

THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW.

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THE NATIONAL LEAGUE FOR OPPOSING WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

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The charming photograph which we reproduce this month is of a very enthusiastic Anti-Suffragist, Miss Phyllis Broughton, the well-known actress, whose opposition to Woman Suffrage carries weight and conviction from the dual fact that she is a woman worker, and a woman property owner. Miss Broughton is a daughter of the late General C. Syngé Hutchison, of the Queen's Bays, and her stage career has been a record of very hard work and well-earned success since her first appearance in public at the very tender age of thirteen. Miss Broughton is an enthusiast in her profession, which she loves, and from the time she had her first "speaking part" on the stage of the Gaiety to her more recent successes at the Adelphi, the Apollo, and the Queen's, has held a prominent place in the theatrical

PROMINENT ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS.

MISS PHYLLIS BROUGHTON.



Photo by Bullingham.

Phyllis Broughton

world. Her successes in light opera, "Paul Jones," "Marjory," and "Captain Therése, first made her name known, and from that time she has been a great favourite. Miss Broughton is a hard worker in her profession, yet finds time to help in charitable and social reform work, and is often ready to give her services for charity performances. She lives with her mother (also an Anti-Suffragist) and brother at King Street, St. James's, her town house, and has a little old-world Georgian house at Margate, where she spends much of her leisure time. Miss Broughton rides well, is a great flower lover, and is equally happy in town or country, and, if I may venture to say it, is just the type of healthy, happy, hard-working English woman whose opposition to Woman Suffrage is founded on strong convictions and sound common-sense.

L. V. M.

EIGHT MILLION WOMEN VOTERS.

Do you want eight million women voters? That is the plain question which those who are opposed to Woman Suffrage have now to ask of the country. Eight million women voters is what the Suffragists propose to fasten on the country's neck next year.

For the announcement made by the Prime Minister on November 7th when, as we report elsewhere, in answer to an Adult Suffrage deputation, he announced the Government's intentions in the matter of the Reform Bill, had sequels of the utmost importance. The advocates of Woman Suffrage have at length revealed their true demands in a manner which cannot fail to lock up the Anti-Suffrage ranks with more determination than ever, and to make the task of holding the country to our views at once more vitally necessary and more hopeful. The Conciliation Bill, with its deliberately confusing limitations, and its crafty bait for Unionists, has been virtually thrown over with a haste almost shameless. The Women's Social and Political Union have done it outright; they will have Womanhood Suffrage to match the Manhood Suffrage of the Government proposals. The other Societies, not going so far, propose to keep the Conciliation Bill in being; but they have made it clear that what they really aim at now is an amendment to the Reform Bill on much wider lines than that. The Women's Liberal Federation are said to have agreed with Mr. Lloyd George upon a campaign next year for an amendment which should enfranchise all women householders and all married women whose husbands are qualified. That is well known to be the basis most favoured by the Liberal Party, and that we may take it, is what the Woman Suffrage campaign now means for practical politics.

Anti-Suffragists must meet the challenge with strengthened hands. There is now no tentative proposal to enfranchise perhaps a million women. We are face to face with a proposal to enfranchise at one stroke about eight

million women to a male voting strength of ten or eleven millions. It is a monstrous proposal. The specious suggestions with which the Conciliation Bill was supported—it would serve as a mere experiment, and could not make women voters a formidable body—are shown at their miserable value. They were a blind for the attempt to force upon the country a step of the gravest peril upon which it had never been consulted. The attempt is now to be made on a scale of the most serious danger, and it is to be made under cover of the Parliament Act. The Prime Minister has stated his intention to carry the Reform Bill in the House of Commons next year, so that its ultimate passage may be secured under the Parliament Act. To include in it a Woman Suffrage amendment would be a gross betrayal of the country, and opinion against Woman Suffrage must be made more clear than ever, in order to defeat the attempt. That it can be defeated we have no doubt; we are convinced that the presentation of the issue in the form it has now taken, and the form it will take next year of a stump campaign, will harden a mass of opinion which has hitherto been too little convinced of the reality of the proposal. Before the Prime Minister's announcement was made Mr. Austen Chamberlain and Lord Curzon made strong and determined speeches at a meeting in Birmingham, as did Mrs. Humphry Ward and Mr. MacCallum Scott, a Liberal member, speaking with her at a meeting at Salisbury. It can no longer be a matter of hesitation with Conservative and Unionist members, and with Liberal members opposed to Woman Suffrage, to declare themselves in their constituencies with all their force against the proposal for which Mr. Lloyd George is going to make himself responsible. And if any prospective candidates have been beguiled into acceptance of the Conciliation Bill, let them now see the changed situation and take their stand in time. The country does not want eight million women voters, and will be with those who have the courage to show uncompromising opposition to the idea.

NOTES AND NEWS.

IN Committee of the House of Commons on the Insurance Bill, on November 2nd, Mr. Lloyd George amended Clause 34 in a way which greatly improves the position of the married woman. Instead of the whole of her contributions before marriage going to provide a reserve for the re-entrance of widows at their original rate, one-third will now be taken for that purpose, the deficit being placed on the general fund, so that men and women alike will pay for the re-entry of widows. The married woman has been taken into the Bill. She will have two options, but she must make her choice within a month of marriage. She may either continue insurance voluntarily at reduced rates, paying 3d. a week, the State contributing slightly more than a rd. For that she will receive medical benefits, sick pay of 5s. a week for the first thirteen weeks, and 3s. a week afterwards, and sanatorium benefits from other sources. Or she may decide not to insure, and then two-thirds of her surrender value at the time is placed to her credit with the society, to be drawn at 5s. a week in confinement or in times of distress. The remaining third is to insure her right of re-entry as a widow. At widowhood a woman now has three alternatives. She may (i) Come back as a full employed contributor; (ii) Continue her reduced insurance; (iii) Become a voluntary contributor. Further, if a woman is employed during marriage or widowhood she has two alternatives. She may become the regular employed contributor with full benefits, or she may take the reduced scheme and have her own and her employer's 3d. a week placed to an account which will liquidate her 3d. a week at times when she cannot pay it; this latter alternative being designed to meet the case of the woman in occasional employment.

It has been characteristic of the extreme Suffragists' opposition to the Insurance Bill that it has been absolutely unhelpful. They have done nothing but point out the grievances of women, and rail about them. Of real efforts to amend they have made none. Mr. Pethick Lawrence's last outburst goes to absurd lengths. In writing of the amendments on the position of married women, which Mr. Lloyd George accepted from Mr. Lees Smith, Mr. Lawrence says that they amount to exceedingly little:—

"In the first place, I do not believe that many married working women are in a position to take advantage of the proposal to become voluntary contributors. The family income is already being docked of fourpence a week to find the insurance money for the husband; a further threepence a week would be an intolerable burden. Further, where the money could be found, the wife will often not pay it, either because she will prefer to spend the money on the family, or because she can get better insurance value elsewhere."

We have said all along that the Bill was, in its original form, cruelly unjust to women; and the injustice, though lightened, is still there. But this kind of thing is hopeless. Does Mr. Lawrence propose that the whole be placed upon the State? Is that the kind of legislation we may expect militant Suffragists to favour? It is also characteristic of Suffragist methods that anyone reading "Votes for Women" on the Insurance Bill would suppose that the Post Office contributors were only women, and that all men were under the other scheme.

In the leading article of "Votes for Women," for November 10th, Miss Pankhurst, writing of the Prime Minister's Reform Bill announcement, said:—

"It is hinted that if the Womanhood Suffrage amendment is defeated, an amendment on the lines of the Conciliation Bill may then be carried. We repudiate the very suggestion of such a thing. The Suffrage movement stands for equality of voting rights between men and women. If men have a limited franchise, women also will accept a limited franchise. If, on the other hand, men have an unlimited franchise, women must have an unlimited franchise too. We consented up to the present time to endorse the Conciliation Bill because if carried it would have given virtual equality to women with men, and because it also made inevitable the equality of the sexes under any subsequently enacted franchise measure. But we absolutely refuse to accept the Conciliation Bill as the accompaniment of Manhood Suffrage. To tolerate a situation in which all men had votes, and only one million women had votes upon a restricted qualification, would be a negation of the root principle of the Woman Suffrage movement."

We commend this statement to the notice of those Suffragists who have always protested that the Suffrage movement was not a movement for swamping the male vote. We commend it especially to the notice of the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association. It can hardly be obscure to them any longer that they are being dragged at the tail of a perfectly revolutionary movement, and that the object of all the fine talk about the Conciliation Bill was only to make fools of those unwise Conservative

members who let themselves be duped into supporting it.

At a special meeting of the Executive Committee of the Women's Liberal Federation, the following resolution was carried:—

"That, in view of the Council's enthusiastic determination to secure the immediate removal of the sex disqualification, the Executive resolves that until definite promises are made of a Government Reform Bill including women they will support by all means in their power the Bill promoted by the Conciliation Committee, and will pursue with regard to amendments to that Bill such a policy as circumstances show to be most likely to secure for it a substantial third reading majority."

The cautiousness of this resolution is significant. It is a long way from the slap-dash Suffragist opposition to all "widening" amendments, and the opposition of the militants to any amendment at all. The significance of it is that, proceeding from the Executive Committee of the Women's Liberal Federation, which must be in close touch with Liberal members, it shows clearly that the Federation expects strong amending action on the Liberal side, and is not sure that opposition to all amendments would secure the Bill a substantial third reading majority. Moreover, the Federation would throw over the Conciliation Bill for the promise of a Woman-Suffrage proposal in the Government's Reform Bill. This, again, is an attitude the Federation is not likely to have taken without knowledge of Liberal opinion.

We publish elsewhere an important letter from a member of the Irish branch of the Anti-Suffrage League. It shows that the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association has landed itself, as might have been foreseen, in a ridiculous quandary. Suffragists, pursuing their one subject in their one-idea fashion, have found a peg for fresh agitation in the prospect of a Home Rule Bill. In a forecast of the Bill given by the "Daily News," it was stated that women would not be qualified as voters under the Bill. Hence has arisen a violent demand that Woman Suffrage should be included in the Bill, and a comical anxiety that the question should not on any account be left for the Irish people themselves to decide. Now, see what happens. The Suffrage Societies plunge into the campaign, the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association sets to work to get

up a Suffrage meeting in Dublin, and finds it turned into a Home Rule meeting. You cannot ask for Woman Suffrage under a Home Rule Bill without asking for the Bill, a simple fact which these innocent Unionists did not discern. After the event they were indignant. But the fact is that other Unionist women will be much more indignant with those who have lent themselves to the Suffrage campaign, a campaign which, having no political ballast whatever, and dashing wildly at any chance for advertisement, has made professedly Unionist women demand a Home Rule Bill.

MRS. BILLINGTON GREIG has an article in the "Contemporary Review" for November, which is a restatement of her now well-known position. She has dissociated herself from the Suffrage Societies because she finds that in their monotonous insistence on the vote they are doing harm to the general feminist movement. "So completely," she writes, "has the part obscured the whole, that it has come to be taken for the whole, has passed for it in the public eye, and has blocked the way to it among adherents. So that at this present time there is no feminist movement in the country, but only a Suffrage movement—and chaos." She goes on to say that one of the great faults of Suffragists is that they have shrunk from facing the "fierce outcry, the bitter antagonism" that the full feminist movement must expect to arouse, and, concentrating on the vote, "of all aspects of sex-equality the least vital," have "concealed cautiously" any further aims. The result is that this policy "has reduced the feminist movement to a vague chaos of confused opinion."

But the most trenchant passages of the article are those in which Mrs. Billington Greig deals with the common answer of the Suffragists to her main thesis, the answer, namely, that the vote will hasten and not postpone the feminist programme. This answer she says is based on two very doubtful assumptions. One is that the women who will wield the new power will use it to achieve the further emancipation of their sex. Mrs. Billington Greig says this is not justified by the common facts. "Those women to whom the vote is an end have not been taught to use the new weapon, and will come to its use raw and unskilled. The vote

will be of little use to them or to the world through them. . . . Seeking temporary or superficial advantage they will succeed only in creating fresh bonds to trammel their sex in the future.

. . . Only those who accept the vote as an end in itself can be satisfied without a programme, and the fact that Suffragists have been so long unconscious of this need shows that upon these women we can rest no hopes of speedy change." The second assumption is that full sex-equality can be achieved by the aid of political power. "This," she continues, "is not true. The assumption shows both exaggeration and misconception of the function of the political weapon. . . . The passing of laws may give us only dead measures which the unconverted individual will evade, which will serve to irritate without accomplishing. . . .

Those alterations in sex and social matters which feminism demands depend much more upon persistent and rational teaching than upon any change of law or Governmental machinery. Even in industrial affairs this is true." Returning again to the suppression of feminist principles for the furthering of the mere vote campaign, Mrs. Billington Greig says this policy was made more doubtful and dangerous by the nature of the sphere in which they sought to work. "In this atmosphere Suffragist caution tended to become cunning, compromise to become bartering, and selection hypocrisy. . . . The tricks of evasion have had to be employed, and these have been followed by untruth. When the advantage of the Suffrage campaign exacted that price, it was paid."

MRS. BILLINGTON GREIG does not pursue her theme to its full logical conclusions; it is not to be expected that she should. But there has seldom been a clearer presentation of the fact that the Suffrage agitation is really anti-political, and shows in every stage the complete unfitness of woman for the direct exercise of political power. "The magnification of the functions of politics leads to a belief in what may be called emancipation by machinery. . . . This is not by any means a weakness confined to Women Suffragists, though they are contributing in very large measure to this dangerous and tyrannical tendency in our present political life." Once more it seems beyond belief that Unionists should be found in the Suffragist camp.

The establishment of Woman-Suffrage in California makes any sidelights on mental processes of women in that State peculiarly interesting. According to the "Daily Chronicle," the first trial with a jury composed entirely of women under the law passed since women had the Suffrage, has been held at Los Angeles. It was the trial of Mr. A. A. King, the editor of a newspaper of that city, charged with circulating obscene and improper matter. The jury of women, after a trial lasting two days, acquitted the editor. They had decided that the matter published was not obscene, but profane. "Honest and clean profanity," ran the decision, "cannot be considered seriously objectionable when it is published, because it is not necessary that any one should read it." This appears to us to need no comment.

The following amendment to a Resolution was passed at the Conference of the National Conservative Union at Leeds, on the 18th of November, by a 6 to 1 majority: Proposed by Mr. Campion, M.P., and seconded by Mr. Arthur Chapman—"That this Conference is of opinion that no further action should be taken in the extension of the franchise to women until the matter has been definitely referred to the opinion of the country."

UNIONISTS AND THE REFORM BILL.

THE Unionist section of the House of Commons Committee for Opposing Woman Suffrage met on November 15th. Sir F. Banbury presided, and among those present were Mr. F. E. Smith, Lord Claud Hamilton, Mr. J. W. Hills, Lord A. Thynne, and Mr. Arnold Ward. The change in the situation produced by the announcement of the Government's Manhood Suffrage policy was discussed, and Mr. F. E. Smith, among others, addressed the meeting. The general feeling, according to the "Times," was that, as a result of the Prime Minister's announcement, if any measure of Woman Suffrage were now to be passed by the Government it was inevitable that it would either be a universal measure of Woman Suffrage or that it would very soon be made so. It was hoped that when this was realised by those Unionists who have been supporting the Conciliation Bill it would have the effect of detaching them from the position they have hitherto taken up.

We understand that Mr. F. E. Smith's speech put the situation very clearly. He took the line that, roughly speaking, the Conciliation Bill would stand, since the

Prime Minister's announcement, as a Conservative form of Suffrage; and the Reform Bill amendment would represent the Liberal form. It would, therefore, be fatal if Conservatives lent any countenance to the Conciliation Bill now, because even if the Bill went through it would obviously not stand for a moment. It would be brushed aside by the Liberal amendment, and it would be an absurd situation for Unionists who had consented to the lesser measure when the idea was pushed to the full extent it would reach in the amendment. Mr. Smith made, we believe, certain estimates of the number of votes which would probably be detached from the Ministerial side on the form of amendment which at present seems most probable.

THE MANHOOD SUFFRAGE BILL.

THE Prime Minister has entirely altered the face of the suffrage question. On November 7th, in reply to a deputation of the Parliamentary Council of the People's Suffrage Federation, he announced that the Government would introduce next Session a measure on simple lines reforming the franchise. It would abolish all the different categories of qualification for the vote—lodger, property owner, occupier, rated resident, householder, and the like—and would proceed on "the only rational foundation" that a man who was a citizen of full age and competent understanding, and was a *bona-fide* resident in the neighbourhood where he claimed a vote, should be automatically, without any effort of his own, and by the machinery of a public officer, and at the public expense, invested with the franchise. Plural voting would be abolished. The deputation, being from an adult suffrage body, had, of course, urged that policy, which would include the enfranchisement of all adult women. On this point the Prime Minister said that, speaking for himself and not for the Government, he necessarily parted company with them when they said that the term "man" must include "woman." But any Bill introduced would be introduced in such a form that it would be open to the House of Commons, if it pleased, to make that extension and amendment to it. He said that by way of parenthesis, in order that it might not be supposed that he had gone back on anything he had said in the past.

Earlier in his speech he had intimated that the Government did not withdraw their undertaking with regard to the Conciliation Bill. He repeated that the pledges were that if the Bill was introduced in the next Session of Parliament, on the assumption that its title was sufficiently wide to admit of a complete and thoroughgoing amendment in the sense which he understood that the deputation desired, on that assumption, and that assumption only, it would receive the facilities which were asked for, and which they had agreed to give.

Suffragists were completely taken by surprise by the Prime Minister's announcement. They were more than surprised—they were utterly taken aback. The Women's Social and Political Union, being a body of slap-dash opinions, were naturally the first to recover; they pronounced that the Government had finally declared its hostility

to Woman Suffrage, and that they would commence their old tactics again. They also threw off the Conciliation Bill mask, and said that they would now have none of it. They must have Womanhood Suffrage.

The Conciliation Committee have decided to proceed with their Bill. According to the "Manchester Guardian's" account of their meeting there was much diversity of opinion, but as the impression was that the Government would not take the Reform Bill beyond second reading next year, the Conciliation Bill would stand alone for that year as a Woman Suffrage movement. The opinion was also expressed that when the time comes for amendments to the Reform Bill they would be moved in diminishing order—a Womanhood Suffrage amendment first, then one on the lines of the Dickinson Bill, and then one on the lines of the Conciliation Bill.

The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies also held to the promises regarding the Conciliation Bill, but only did so at the end of a long statement, which amounted to a demand for Womanhood Suffrage, and a particular request for an answer from the Government to the question whether they were prepared in the matter of an amendment to the Reform Bill to stand by what Mr. Lloyd George said in 1908—that if Woman Suffrage proposals were by amendment incorporated in the Bill they would from that moment become part and parcel of the measure, for the fate of which the Government must accept responsibility. Mr. Asquith subsequently let it be known that the Government would stand by any Woman Suffrage amendment which might be introduced into the Bill by a majority of the House.

THE FOLLY OF FEMALE SUFFRAGE.

I.

A COURSE of Female Suffrage literature shows that the main arguments relied upon are the following:—

1. "That women have a right to the vote. This is not often adduced, for all the authorities on the subject, including even John Stuart Mill, who was in favour of female suffrage, deny the existence of any such hypothetical right.
2. "That taxation and representation must go together." This again is an illusion. No such principle has ever been in force. At the present time there are in this country some three million adult males who pay taxes and have no vote.
3. "That every class needs the vote as a protection against subjection." But here, again, there are three million adult males who have no vote, and nobody pretends that they are the victims of any special tyranny. On the other hand, there are many classes of the community who have votes, but no power. Payers of income-tax, brewers, and many other particular sections of voters, know by painful experience that their votes give them no effective representation, and do not enable them to resist oppression.

Even if it were true with regard to men—which it is not—that each section required the vote to prevent its subjection,

it would not be true with regard to women, for they are already, both by law and by custom, in a position of supreme and uncontested privilege.

Shortly put, men have, in sex relations, no rights, while women have no obligations. A man can be, and often has been, severely punished for any conduct, however innocent and harmless, which a woman may choose to regard as an offence, while the woman may commit any crime against a man, from murder downwards, and go scot free. She has the power to say and do to man what she likes, and to extort from him such service and sacrifices as she may choose to demand.

The extraordinary privileges accorded to women by statute law, by judges, and by juries, by the influence of certain newspapers, would seem incredible to those who have not gone into the subject. But it is a fact which books of law, and the reports of cases in the civil and police-courts make as clear and certain as anything can be, that women have an immense advantage over men in all matters between the sexes which come before the public.* What, then, is the protection offered by the Parliamentary franchise? None whatever, as between the sexes. For men with the vote are tyrannised over by women, who have it not.

If women get the vote, will they rectify this injustice and give men equal rights, by law and custom, with themselves? They have not done so in the countries where they already have the vote.

4. Some Suffragists consider it a foolish superstition to suppose that women are politically less competent than men. Others say that they are less competent, and for that very reason require the vote for the sake of its educational experience. Others, again, like Lord R. Cecil, combine both opinions, asserting that women are politically as competent as men, and (in the same speech) that only a few women should be given the franchise at first, until they have proved their competence.

Now, if women, with no political education, are politically as competent as men, who have spent many centuries of arduous struggles, and bitter experience, in acquiring such political understanding as they may at last have obtained—if women are already as capable as men without having had to learn—they must be by nature endowed with far superior political abilities. Those who think women are gifted in so exceptional a degree are entitled to their opinion. Probably they think also that women are "superior" to men altogether. On such a subject, where there is no excuse for dogmatism, it can merely be suggested that from all we know of the world in which we live, a natural inequality in the sexes is most improbable. There is strong ground for the belief that, if a balance of merits and defects could be drawn up, it

* See "The Legal Subjection of Men," by E. Belfort Box.

would be found that the sexes are equal, with no aggregate superiority or inferiority between them.

It is, however, probable that in the matter of political competence the sex which has had all the experience is superior to the sex which has had none. Suppose that all the political machinery were in the hands of women, as electors, legislators, and civil servants, men being relegated exclusively to the executive department, there is no reason to suppose that women would be able to keep the State up to its present standard of political conduct, even with the history of men's achievements to help them. Yet, if they were by nature more gifted than men in such matters, they should be able to introduce great improvements. Those who think that women are politically as competent as men would not like to see the Government of the country placed in their exclusive hands, without any assistance from men except as hewers of wood and drawers of water.

Assuming, then, that women are at present politically less competent than men, how long will it take to complete their education, and what is to happen to the world while it is blundering along under the influence of the incompetent female voter?

Suffragists will reply that women will follow the men, into the compartments made for them by men, and divide very much in the way that men divide; and they will then assert that in that case female suffrage would be a proved success. On the contrary, it would be a proved failure. Unless women make their own feminine mark on the political world their voting is a mere useless doubling of the electors. It has no excuse or justification. Here we come to the dilemma. For if women do make a change in the legislation of the country, such change can only be in opposition to the wishes of men, who have made the laws as they now stand. Women would then be using the vote to tyrannise over men, forcing upon them legislation of which they disapprove. And the country would suffer from the less politically competent half dictating to the more politically competent half.

Either women will imitate men in their voting, in which case they have no grievances, no wrongs to redress, are quite satisfied with our present laws, and therefore do not need the vote; or they will vote against the men, arousing sex antipathies, and making their ignorance supersede the better political understanding of the men.

5. It is said that the fact that the majority of women are opposed to female suffrage is of no importance. But if the opinion of the majority of women on a political question in which they are vitally concerned, is worthless, the sex is obviously unfit for the political franchise. If women are incompetent to judge of female suffrage, they must be politically incompetent altogether, and it would be madness to give them the power of deciding important political questions.

A CANVASS OF WOMEN MUNICIPAL ELECTORS IN 102 DISTRICTS.

Electorate. Anti. Pro. Neutral. No Reply.
135,351 47,222 21,708 9,358 57,063
(Include deceased, removed and ill.)

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

District.	Electorate.	Anti.	Pro.	Neutral.	No Reply.
S. Kensington ...	4,728	1,183	671	33	2,841
Croydon ...	4,080	1,575	606	30	1,869
N. Paddington ...	3,700	1,090	407	98	2,105
Chelsea ...	3,355	617	566	36	2,136
Birkenhead ...	3,338	1,154	861	—	1,323
Bournemouth ...	3,281	977	589	—	1,715
Cheltenham ...	3,127	648	585	478	1,416
Hammersmith ...	2,987	855	512	39	1,581
Hastings ...	2,610	921	425	20	1,244
N. Hackney ...	2,044	962	453	9	620
East Berks ...	2,355	603	264	415	1,073
Mayfair ...	2,217	1,118	447	13	639
East Toxteth (Liver- pool Division) ...	2,188	316	239	—	1,633
N. Kensington ...	2,160	472	211	2	1,475
Sheffield ...	2,158	237	445	32	1,444
Oxford ...	2,145	571	353	22	1,199
Streatham ...	1,892	572	325	3	992
Brixton ...	1,826	741	267	8	810
Ealing ...	1,749	461	229	35	1,024
Birmingham Central Division ...	1,739	359	230	228	922
Torquay ...	1,640	467	210	13	950
North Hants ...	1,496	426	417	25	628
Mid Bucks ...	1,389	248	222	47	872
N.-W. Manchester ...	1,374	246	198	—	930
Gloucester ...	1,221	413	185	2	621
Richmond ...	1,098	413	98	150	437
Chiswick ...	1,078	240	141	18	679
Watford ...	934	302	178	7	447
Reigate ...	906	338	199	23	346
Hereford (part personal) ...	792	279	143	40	330
St. Andrews ...	598	142	96	47	313
Salisbury ...	594	231	163	—	200
St. George's-in-the-East ...	457	123	81	2	251
Boxmoor and Hemel Hempsted ...	450	131	35	3	281
Shottermill Centre and Haslemere Group ...	336	145	74	58	59
Hampton ...	277	92	39	14	132
Sidmouth ...	268	97	44	26	101
Berkhamstead ...	265	88	36	1	140
Tonbridge ...	189	66	33	—	90
Kew ...	155	96	21	23	15
Aldeburgh ...	114	36	18	—	60
Total	69,310	20,051	11,316	2,000	35,943

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

District.	Electorate.	Anti.	Pro.	Neutral.	No Reply.
Nottingham ...	8,398	2,300	1,536	884	3,678
Liverpool (8 Divisions)—					
Walton ...	2,609	1,053	298	—	1,258
West Derby ...	1,844	434	559	—	851
Kirkdale ...	1,541	386	122	—	1,033
West Toxteth ...	1,138	180	338	—	620
Abercromby ...	1,090	260	231	—	599
Everton ...	1,018	173	352	—	493
Exchange ...	728	168	141	—	419
Scotland ...	716	160	185	—	371
Bristol ...	7,615	3,399	915	2,004	1,297
Hampstead ...	3,084	1,288	405	233	1,158
Fulham ...	2,971	941	265	830	935
S. Paddington ...	2,500	1,161	334	335	670
York ...	1,715	773	516	—	1,008
Southampton ...	2,243	1,361	147	229	506
Bath ...	2,153	1,026	230	21	876
Scarborough ...	2,116	683	513	412	508
Cambridge ...	2,098	1,168	570	271	89
Westminster ...	1,979	1,036	221	136	586
Mid-Surrey (13 districts) ...	1,819	869	151	419	380
Reading ...	1,700	1,133	166	31	370
S.-W. Manchester ...	1,473	441	416	122	494
South Berks ...	1,368	655	217	289	207
North Berks ...	1,291	1,085	75	63	68
Newport (Mon.) ...	1,291	844	113	76	258
Central Finsbury ...	1,216	535	128	257	296
Isle of Thanet ...	1,082	231	180	314	357
Weston-super-Mare ...	935	380	235	69	251
Camlachie ...	855	457	110	84	204
Guildford ...	776	428	67	72	209
Whitechapel ...	758	293	110	34	321
Penrith ...	508	251	126	—	131
Keswick ...	405	196	87	—	122
Dorking ...	290	116	50	31	93
Shanklin ...	283	163	48	34	38
Camberley & Frimley ...	271	119	38	21	93
Sandown & Lake, I. of W. ...	270	162	49	8	51
Wigton ...	224	203	13	2	6
Woodbridge ...	212	118	11	29	54
Ashbourne ...	153	107	5	2	39
Crowborough ...	147	100	17	—	30
Cockermouth ...	143	74	49	1	19
Hawkhurst ...	95	70	11	—	14
Cranbrook ...	88	52	7	—	29
Midhurst (part reply postcards) ...	73	27	15	20	11
Holmwood ...	69	33	8	14	14
Westcote ...	48	28	10	6	4
Melton ...	42	38	1	3	—
Rogate ...	18	13	1	2	2
Total	66,041	27,171	10,392	7,358	21,120

EARL CURZON AND MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN AT BIRMINGHAM.

THE meeting organised by the Birmingham Branch and held in the Town Hall on November 7th was a great success, and a crowded assemblage greeted the speeches of Earl Curzon and the Right Hon. Austen Chamberlain with enthusiasm, and Mrs. Greatbatch delighted the audience with her clear-cut and concise views.

Mr. Austen Chamberlain was in the chair, and amongst many well-known people on the platform were Mrs. Joseph Chamberlain and Miss Beatrice Chamberlain.

The following resolution was put before the meeting by the speakers: That this meeting protests against the passage of any measure for the enfranchisement of women until that measure has been approved by a majority of the electors of this country.

Mr. Austen Chamberlain, M.P., said the subject of Woman Suffrage was one on which the dividing line follows none of our ordinary party distinctions, but makes an entirely new cleavage. This question could not be a party question, for it split each party and all parties right down the middle of their ranks, and that was one of the difficulties in dealing with it; because it was not a party question it had never come before the electors as a crucial question.

After pointing out that we had returned to the House of Commons a party in favour of the extension of some sort of suffrage to women, Mr. Chamberlain added: It is because I believe that this principle would be bad for men, worse for women, and dangerous to the State that I am here to take the chair to-night.

On what ground, he asked, was the vote claimed for women (a Voice: "For justice."): Where was the justice in the Conciliation Bill? (Cheers). They were apt nowadays to talk too much about rights, and think too little about duty. The suffrage was not a question of abstract right but of expediency and of the welfare of the State, and justice should be even-handed, not fortuitous and accidental. It should be equal for all. If he were in favour of the extension of the franchise to women he would not support the Conciliation Bill, which left out of account the mothers of the country. What was the argument for the Bill? ("It's better than nothing.") Yes, that was the chief argument for it—"Better than nothing," and a jumping off ground for more. The Conciliation Bill, as a compromise was a hollow fraud and a sham, and they would never be able to rest where it would leave the question. So great a change in our whole system of Government ought not to be carried, and if they could prevent it, it should not be carried out without a clear judgment in its favour from the electors of the country.

Lord Curzon moved the resolution. Woman Suffrage, he said, was or would shortly become one of the most important political subjects of the day. It was a question of whether the Government of the British Empire in its political relations was in the future to remain in the hands of men or was to be shared by women; it was a question of the entire British Empire, with all its great scheme of political relations connected with peace and war.

He wished to see every opportunity given to women for the development of their intellectuality. He was in favour of what was stupidly called "the emancipation of women," and he had nothing to say for the

Oriental conception of women, that they were to be merely dolls and drudges. As the holder of a responsible position at the University of Oxford he had done his best to arrange that women should obtain the degrees which were the reward of academic distinction, but when he came to the question of the vote he was absolutely firm. To any extent they liked, he was prepared to concede that woman was a social, intellectual, academical, and spiritual creature. But he did not want her to become a political creature. He admitted that if they looked at demonstration and display the party in favour of female suffrage put them out of the field. Some people when confronted with this would say that theirs was a losing cause, but their policy was not one of banners and drums. Defenders always were at a disadvantage when compared with the attacking cause, because they had no victories to gain. All they wanted to do was to preserve the *status quo*, to keep the condition of affairs, and to save the nation from what they thought would be disaster. The great bulk of male voters in the country was on their side. When they came to the polling booth they would know how to vote. An indication of this was given at the last election in the few places where candidates were put forward exclusively in the interest of female suffrage. Their candidates were hopelessly unsuccessful.

It was contended, Lord Curzon went on, that to give women the vote would benefit their position and increase their wages, but to prove this they must demonstrate three things: that women suffered from grave disabilities under the existing condition of things; second, that men declined to redress those disabilities; and, third, that if the vote were given to women they would be able to redress their grievances themselves. The women of this country enjoyed more liberty and protection than the women of any other part of the world. He did not deny that there were grievances to be redressed and anomalies to be removed, but if there were shackles to be removed from the intellectual or industrial life of women he did not believe that a House of Commons elected by men could not be relied upon to strike them off. If women had the vote, was the condition of things likely to be improved? The vote could give this or that, but the women were indulging in an economic fallacy if they thought that it would give them a rise in wages.

In conclusion, Lord Curzon warned his hearers against the Conciliation Bill, which meant writing above the polling booth: "Spinsters admitted; married women need not apply." It was a temporary expedient which would lead to adult suffrage.

Mrs. Greatbatch then made a most admirable speech, which was listened to with the greatest attention, after which the resolution was put and enthusiastically carried.

MRS. HUMPHRY WARD AT SALISBURY.

A MEETING of the Salisbury Branch was held at the Assembly Rooms on November 10th, when addresses were given by Mrs. Humphry Ward and Mr. MacCullum Scott, M.P. for Glasgow (Bridgeton Division). Mr. E. Waters presided over a very large audience. The Chairman, in opening the proceedings,

appealed for a fair hearing for the speakers. He read letters from the Earl of Radnor and Lord Glenconner expressing regret at inability to be present. Lord Radnor regretted that owing to other engagements he was unable to take the chair at that meeting in opposition to Women's Suffrage. At the same time he might say that he was in hearty sympathy with that opposition. Lord Glenconner regretted that business prevented him taking part in that meeting, which he hoped would be well attended. The Chairman added that Lord Glenconner had enclosed a cheque towards the expenses of the meeting.

Mrs. Lane briefly explained the re-organisation of the Branch.

Mrs. Humphry Ward said that in the announcement that Mr. Asquith made with regard to manhood suffrage, a bombshell had been thrown into both camps, and the plan of campaign had been changed, or must eventually be changed, on both sides. Mr. Asquith told them a Manhood Suffrage Bill was to be brought in by the Government next year, and although the Government as a Government would not make any proposals for Women's Suffrage, they would allow a Woman's Suffrage amendment to be brought forward freely in the House, and if it were passed by the full action of the House of Commons they would adopt it, and press it forward with their whole Bill. They all asked what was the meaning of this announcement. Her view was this—and it was based upon some inquiry at headquarters—the Conservative support given to the Conciliation Bill had led to a great deal of searching of heart on the Liberal side. A good many inquiries as to the probable results of the Conciliation Bill had been going on quietly among Liberal members, who had not been, apparently, at all ready to accept the very perfunctory investigations of Mr. Keir Hardie and many others on the subject, and it was said—she did not know with what truth—that they had convinced themselves that the Conciliation Bill was really a Conservative Bill, and would tend to strengthen if passed, Conservatism at the polls—at any rate in the first instance. That was the meaning, she took it, of Mr. Lloyd George's very natural declaration against the Bill. The Conservative and Unionist Franchise Association by their enthusiastic advocacy of the Bill, which, according to them, was to stand as a bulwark against manhood suffrage, had directly contributed to bringing manhood suffrage before the country. Many had foreseen, and many had said in public and private, that the Conciliation Bill was the first inevitable step to adult suffrage, which, by vast majority, at any rate, of the supporters of the Conservative and Unionist Association expressly dreaded and repudiated. However, it seemed the Conciliation Bill campaign was to go on. The Conciliation Committee had met, and had decided to go on, and, if defeated next March, as in all probability it would be, the Conciliation Bill could still be brought on as an alternative to the wide Suffrage Bill in the form of an amendment.

Mrs. Ward, in arguing that the Bill was absurd, spoke of the position of married women, and referring to the statement that under the Bill the "best" women would get a vote, asked if married women had no place at all among the "best" women of the country. Was it not probable that the women who were rearing children were at least equal in character, experience, and ability, to help the State, to the spinster and the widows? If they interpreted the word "best" as meaning the greater aptitude

for and fitness for the vote, then she replied that the married women of the country, by the very fact that they were still in direct and personal contact with the thoughts and activities of men were thereby, not less, but more qualified than their unmarried sisters to give a political vote.

Mr. A. MacCullum Scott, M.P., said he had never heard one argument in favour of Women's Suffrage. He had heard many appeals, demands, claims, and much irrelevant talk about the injustices of differences which no human laws and no human Parliaments could alter. The nearest approach to an argument in favour of Women's Suffrage that he had heard was that the right to vote was some kind of inherent human right. It was thought an essential part of human dignity. If that was so, were they prepared to give the vote to-morrow to every inhabitant of England? He did not attach much weight to many of the arguments put forward against Women's Suffrage. His whole case against granting women the franchise rested on four propositions. The first was, that the only stable form of government was that in which the balance of political power was on the same side as the balance of physical force. The second was that among the Western races, as they knew them, among people in whom habits of unity and co-operation had been developed, the unit of physical force was the individual man, and the third, that, therefore, by counting heads among men they could obtain an approximate index of which party or which government had behind it the physical force of the country. His fourth proposition was that women had not physical force units equivalent to men, and if, in counting heads, women were included as well as men, the result was not reliable as an index of the balance of physical force in this country.

Lady Muriel Herbert, in proposing a vote of thanks to the speakers, expressed gratification that she stood there as President, and her desire that the Branch should be a success.

Mr. H. Newbolt seconded the vote, which was carried, and with a vote of thanks to the Chairman the meeting concluded.

MISS CICELY HAMILTON v. MISS GLADYS POTT. QUEEN'S HALL DEBATE.

A DEBATE on Woman Suffrage was held at the Small Queen's Hall, November 6th, between Miss Cicely Hamilton and Miss Gladys Pott. Mr. Ernest Franklin presided.

Miss CICELY HAMILTON moved the resolution: "That it is essential to the best interests of the State that women should have the Parliamentary Franchise."

She said she was "not going to bring forward statistics and other spiky and bristling facts from other countries such as Finland, New Zealand, Norway, and certain States of America and so on, where women already possess the Parliamentary Franchise. It would, of course, be quite easy to prove in certain ways that the franchise had benefited them, but she had not been to those countries, and they were a far way off." "Statistics really could be made to prove anything." She considered that the women of this country would be enormously improved by the franchise throwing them

into political life, because they had already been enormously improved by the mere act of demanding the franchise for themselves.

Miss HAMILTON continued: "Real progress consists of two parts, the progressive part, and the conservative part. In other words, the front legs and the hind legs of an elephant. They belong to one animal. You cannot divide them." We (Suffragists) are the front legs standing here. In a few seconds more, the hind legs will be here. Think of the horror of really respectable people in the old days. Think of my grandmother, and, very possibly, of Miss Pott's grandmother, at seeing us two women standing here on this platform and daring to address an audience. Think how ashamed they would be of women doing this appalling and brazen thing. Here we are, not afraid of showing ourselves in public and expressing our minds in the demand for the enfranchisement of women, of which political enfranchisement is one part only."

Miss HAMILTON'S amazing remark: "I do not care a bit whether you oppose the vote or not as long as you bring your intelligence to bear on the question," was one that further bewildered her somewhat astonished audience, and made them the more willing to hear Miss Pott's serious argument.

Miss GLADYS POTT said Miss Hamilton had put her in a somewhat awkward position, because, having listened very carefully to her speech, it seemed that she was just as pleased with the Anti-Suffragists for declining the vote, as with the Suffragists for demanding it.

It was the duty of anybody who proposed to make a change in the existing order of things to prove, not only that the existing order of things was wrong, but that the proposed remedy would make it better, and until those two things were proved up to the hilt, no Suffragists had proved their point or their case. The mere demand of the vote by women was no proof that it was in the interests of the State to give it to them. The ordinary woman would not only lose a great deal herself, but would cause the most irreparable loss to the world if she chose to put public duties before private duties. Public duties must be performed by somebody, but was it necessary that both sexes should perform them? If it were, then all those private duties must go to the wall, and if the ordinary woman gave up that life of personal devotion, or self-sacrifice, of the personal touch that makes the whole difference in everybody's life, then they were getting rid of one of the best parts of life itself, and to her mind, the only thing that made life tolerable.

After the two principal speeches, Miss Pott and Miss Hamilton engaged in brief controversy on the main points of objection raised by each, and when Miss Hamilton's Suffrage resolution was put to the meeting it was defeated by an overwhelming majority.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

SUFFRAGIST TACTICS.

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

SIR,—A delightful instance of quibbling is afforded by a comparison of the statements of Miss Janet Price before and after the recent

municipal election, at which she was one of the unsuccessful candidates. During the period of vote-catching, it suited this lady's convenience to publicly repudiate the idea that she was a Suffragist—a very ungracious act in the light of subsequent events—for immediately after the election we find her once more in the rôle of Suffragist, denouncing the latest proposals of the Premier and indicating the future policy of her party—the Suffragists. Are the electors of Cathays to assume that Miss Price's repudiation of the term Suffragist during the election was a "red herring" to catch votes, or that Woman Suffrage has no connection with municipal work? If the first assumption be correct, then the electors have been fooled, whilst if the latter assumption has any significance then Miss Price's position becomes paradoxical, according to the principles of Women's Suffrage.—I am, Sir, &c.,

D. AUSTIN HARRIS.
Glantaf, Taff-embankment, Cardiff,
November 13th, 1911.

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

SIR,—In the November number of THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW, on page 238, through a slip in reporting, I am represented as saying the exact opposite of what I did say at the Glasgow meeting with reference to the pit-brow women.

I am represented as saying "that some of the keenest supporters of the cause of the pit-brow workers were Suffragists, whereas he and many of the Anti-Suffragists were stringently opposing it." What I did say was "that some of the keenest supporters of the Clause prohibiting women from working on the pit-brow were Suffragists, whereas he and many of the Anti-Suffragists were strenuously opposing it."

I will be glad if the correction can be noticed in next issue, as it may have puzzled some readers.—I am, Sir, &c.,

A. MACCULLUM SCOTT.

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

SIR,—There is an old saying, "When thieves fall out honest men come by their own." I do not desire to call Suffragists thieves, but there has been a cleavage in the ranks of the Suffragists in Dublin, that will, I imagine, help our cause more in Ireland than anything that has yet taken place in connection with the Suffrage movement.

The two important Suffrage societies in Ireland are the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association and the Irish Women's Franchise League, the latter professing to be non-party, but militant, and working on the lines of The Women's Social and Political Union.

In spite of the fact that two members (women) of the I.W.F.L. were arrested because of their speeches and conduct at a Socialist meeting held in Beresford-place, last July, a meeting protesting against the King's visit to Dublin, the C.U.W.F.A. continued to work with the I.W.F.L. when opportunity afforded.

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On the 16th inst. a manifesto was published by the I.W.F.L. demanding the insertion of Woman Suffrage in the Home Rule Bill, and expressing determination to secure provisions by which the first Irish Parliament should be elected on the Local Government register.

This was followed by a meeting in the Mansion House on the 17th., at which Miss Pankhurst was the principal speaker. I was not present, but will use the words of "A Disgusted Suffragist," as they appeared in a letter to "The Irish Times," of the 20th, to give your readers some idea of this meeting.

"There is much indignation among Unionists at the meeting in the Mansion House having been turned into a Nationalist one, advocating Home Rule. Unionists" (meaning, I suppose, the Conservative and Unionist Womens' Franchise Association), "had worked with earnestness and self-sacrifice to make it a success in numbers. These have now to face indignant feelings and friends, as having, through wrongful solicitations and expectations, attended a Home Rule demonstration."

She goes on to tell us that Miss Pankhurst said "there was 'weighty evidence' that the Home Rule Bill was being drafted on the registers of the Local Government Board." Later on, "Miss Pankhurst, rating highly her logical demonstrations, yet with feminine inconsistency"—This from a Suffragist.

These women of Dublin, joined in a common cause, cannot, even without a vote, keep clear of party politics. It needs, I am sure, no words of mine to bring home to your readers the hampering effect it will have on woman's real work, if we are forced to become the slaves of a party.

The fact of an effort being made to get a Woman Suffrage clause in the Home Rule Bill raises other obvious and important questions on this subject, which I hope some of your writers and speakers will make good use of.—I am, Sir, &c.,

A. F. MORTON.

Irish Branch U.L.O.W.S.
October 23rd, 1911.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

WOMEN AND REFORM.

THE formation of an independent Local Government Advancement Committee, affiliated to the N.L.O.W.S. (which supersedes the old Local Government Sub-Committee of the League), is meant to give outlet and expression to those members of our League who feel strongly that the development of women's Local Government powers, at present in their infancy, represents, in the matter of reform and publication, the true alternative policy to that put forward by the Woman Suffrage movement. At the same time, the step taken avoids pledging the League officially, or as a whole, to work for a policy which some of its members may regard, even while they sympathise with it, as outside the original purpose of the association. But for those of us who are convinced that the true solution, for England, of the feminist question which is now stirring every civilised nation, lies, not in identical,

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President—LADY STRACHEY.

OBJECTS.

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

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but in complementary powers for men and women, the obligation to take a hand in this Local Government movement is strong indeed.

For what is Local Government? In its modern form, however ancient may be its roots, it is the creation of a century of political effort, prompted always by that instinct for the wide diffusion and distribution of the powers of government which has made England the political teacher and guide of other nations. The two middle quarters of the nineteenth century saw the hurried creation of a number of new local bodies, dealing with the Poor Law, with health, education, and many other matters, and intended to meet new social needs. The result, by the end of the century, had been the accumulation of a vast mass of new knowledge; but with confusion and overlapping in the application of it. Then came the bold simplifying reforms of 1888 and 1894, establishing the County and Borough Councils, and the Urban and Rural District Councils; adjusting the old conflicting boundaries of parish, borough, and county; and drawing out of the tangle of our local jurisdictions, a national system of *delegated powers* which is destined, as all political thinkers allow, to be of greater and greater importance to the nation as time goes on.

And now, what is it that these local authorities have to deal with? Practically everything that most closely concerns the daily life of the average citizen. The beauty, convenience, and health of his or her town (as affected by the Housing, Town-planning, and Sanitary Acts that local bodies have to administer); the order and decency of its streets, involving moral questions of the utmost importance; the care of the sick and old in hundreds of local infirmaries; the enlightened treatment of the insane and feeble-minded; almost the whole primary education of the nation's children, and a great part of

the secondary education; local provision for exercise and wholesome amusement, for art and books, for scientific and humane knowledge, through parks, playgrounds, libraries, and museums; the opening of schools for blind and deaf and crippled children; the constant endeavour through medical inspection, school clinics, school doctors, school nurses to rear up a nobler and a healthier England; these are the great matters, so often lightly and ignorantly dismissed, under the general name of "local government." The outside public is still far too apt to take its ideas on this subject from the old Dickens days of bumbledom. Local government, at the present time, for all its drawbacks, is full of the most inspiring opportunities and possibilities that any Englishman or Englishwoman can lay hands on. It brings men and women face to face with the actual human realities on which laws are based; it provides the practical knowledge out of which useful law-making is born.

But, say the Suffragists, it is *not* law-making; it is administration—of laws made only by men. Those who say this—quite apart from the question as to whether laws are made "only by men"—are generally quite ignorant of the large law-making power that belongs to local government. The great Local Government Acts of recent years are all, to a large extent, *sketches*, to be filled up by the local bodies themselves—wide instructions, so to speak, under which local bodies make their own laws. Manchester manages her education in one way, Liverpool in another. London possesses day cripple schools; Manchester has a fine residential school, and no day schools; Glasgow possesses municipal lodging-houses; another town is without them. The bye-laws of one great town or county differ in a hundred respects from the bye-laws of another town or county.

In all this social law-making, qualified

women may now take their part. More than that. Again and again a wise bye-law passed by a County or Borough Council is seen to work, and is taken up and passed through Parliament for the country at large. Moreover, the Councils have the power of themselves promoting Bills in Parliament, and any reform to which they largely set their hands would be sure to find acceptance there.

Imagine, not three, but a hundred women on the County and Borough Councils of Lancashire, elected freely by the men and women municipal voters of Lancashire. In any legislation dealing with the factory population of Lancashire, how great would be their legitimate influence; how ready would Governments be to consult them, and through them the interests directly concerned! The Parliamentary vote of a minority of Lancashire women, mixed in with the general course of party politics, exploited by this side and by that, in the interests of men, would be infinitely weaker for any purpose of intelligent reform than a strong local government representation. It would distract the purposes and, in male affairs, dilute and weaken the intelligence of men; it would do much less for the purposes of women.

Meanwhile, it is perfectly true that in order to obtain a really just representation of women in local government, two reforms in the law, one small and one important, are necessary; together with an abatement of the dominance of party politics in municipal life. To these points I will return on another occasion.

MARY A. WARD.

WOMEN IN THE MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS.

The number of women candidates at the Municipal Elections this year was a slight advance upon last year's number; but in the result fewer women were returned. Last year there were thirteen candidates, and this year there were sixteen, including two in Scotland. But last year nine were returned, and this year only six. Five stood for re-election last year, and only three this, so that two of the losses can be accounted for; but the figures show how great is the necessity for the two Bills which our Women's Local Government Advancement Committee are promoting in Parliament to amend the law in certain but important particulars. The result of passing them would be both to enlarge the field of candidature, and to stimulate women's interest generally in local affairs. Two of the sixteen candidates stood in Scotland, but neither succeeded. There were also two women candidates at Carlisle, where no woman has ever stood before—Mrs. Nigel Buchanan, and Miss Maltravers.

The six women elected to the Town Councils are:—
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MANCHESTER: Miss Margaret Ashton (returned unopposed), Mrs. Redford.
 BATH: Miss Hope (re-elected).
 OLDHAM: Mrs. Lees (re-elected, unopposed).
 GODALMING: Miss Ogilvy (returned head of poll).

The following ladies also stood, but were not elected:—

BIRMINGHAM: Miss Margaret Pugh (Independent).
 CARDIFF: Miss Janet Price (Independent).
 CARLISLE: Mrs. Nigel Buchanan (Independent); Miss Maltravers (Independent).
 GLASGOW: Miss M. B. Blackie (Independent); Miss M. S. Kerr (Independent).
 OXFORD: Miss Mullam (Independent).
 REIGATE: Miss Allen (Independent).
 SUTTON COLDFIELD: Miss Earl (Independent).
 WEST HARTLEPOOL: Miss Vitty.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT. ADVANCEMENT COMMITTEE.

(AFFILIATED TO THE N.L.O.W.S.).

Caxton House, Tothill Street,
 Westminster, S.W.

Chair.—Mrs. HUMPHRY WARD.

Executive Committee.—Sir T. Dyke Acland, Bt., Mrs. Moberly Bell, Mrs. R. T. Blomfield, Mrs. Burgwin, W. R. Campion, Esq., M.P., Miss Long Fox, Lady George Hamilton, Mrs. Frederic Harrison, J. W. Hills, Esq., M.P., Miss L. Terry Lewis, A. MacCallum Scott, Esq., M.P., Mrs. Simon, Mrs. Arthur Somervell, Miss Soulsby, Miss Strong, Miss Tomes, Lady Wantage, Miss D. Ward.

The new Local Government Advancement Committee affiliated to the Anti-Suffrage League, is beginning to push forward its work.

A series of leaflets are being prepared, pointing out that in the development of Local Government, women have a great field before them, which is the natural and legitimate alternative to the demand for the Parliamentary vote. Arrangements will be made as soon as possible to support Anti-Suffrage candidates in local elections, and those who wish to co-operate with the new Committee and to help forward its work are requested to communicate with Mrs. Humphry Ward, at Caxton House.

A DRAWING-ROOM meeting will be held at 25, Grosvenor Place, S.W., by kind permission of Mrs. Humphry Ward, in January, 1912, to explain the work of the Local Government Advancement Committee.

The speakers will be announced later. Discussion will be invited.

ADVICE AND INFORMATION.

BRANCHES can obtain advice, information, and pamphlets about Women's Local Government Work by applying to the Secretary of the Local Government Advancement Committee of the N.L.O.W.S., which meets at our offices at Caxton House, Tothill Street, Westminster, once a month.

OUR BRANCH NEWS-LETTER.

We have had a very full month of meetings, and with the limited space at our disposal, we find it impossible to give detailed reports of any but the most important public meetings, and in these we have been obliged to condense the speeches as much as possible.

Branch Secretaries' and Workers' Committee.—The next meeting of the Committee will be held (by kind permission of Mrs. George Macmillan) at 27, Queen's Gate Gardens, S.W., on Wednesday, December 13th, at 11.30 a.m. It is hoped that all Branch Secretaries of the League who are able to do so will try and attend these meetings. Chairman, Miss Gladys Pott. Hon. Secretary, Miss Manisty, 33, Hornton Street, Kensington, W.

Berkhamsted (Herts.).—A successful open-air meeting was held at Berkhamsted, Herts., on October 21st, Mr. A. Maconachie and Mrs. Harold Norris addressing a large and very interested audience.

Birmingham.—A drawing-room meeting was held, on October 30th, by the kind invitation of Mrs. C. A. Palmer, at Park Hill, Handsworth, Mrs. A. Colquhoun being the speaker, and Councillor J. E. Willmott in the chair. The meeting was well attended, and much enthusiasm was shown, a good number of those present joining the League. Arrangements are being made to form a sub-branch at Handsworth. A full report of the great public meeting on November 7th will be found in another column.

Solihull (Sub-Branch).—A meeting of this newly formed Branch was held at the Public Hall on October 31st. There was a crowded attendance. Mr. Murray N. Phelps presided, and Mrs. A. Colquhoun, in her speech, dealt principally with the question of the Conciliation Bill. At the close of Mrs. Colquhoun's address the Chairman invited questions, and several were put to the speaker and very satisfactorily answered by her.

Bradford.—A series of drawing-room meetings have been held in Bradford with most excellent results, the speaker at each being Mrs. Maggs. These were followed by an important public meeting on November 23rd, when the speakers were Mrs. Harold Norris and Mr. Maconachie. The membership of this Branch is now a large one.

Bristol.—Miss Price was the speaker at a crowded drawing-room meeting held at the residence of Mrs. Paul, 23, Belvoir-road. Miss Long Fox was in the chair, and as a result of the meeting, several new members joined the League.

Chiswick.—This Branch held its third annual meeting in the Town Hall on November 10th, the President, Mrs. Harold Norris, in the chair.

The Secretary's report bore witness to unprecedented successes, and a marked increase in membership.

The financial report of the Treasurer, Mrs. Greatbatch, was equally encouraging, as it showed that the subscriptions have doubled during the past year, and that although the Branch has incurred unusually heavy expenses, there is a good balance on the right side.

All the officers and committee stood for re-election.

Most interesting speeches followed from Mrs. Norris and Mrs. Greatbatch. Later on

questions were asked and answered, and new members enrolled.

Cirencester.—At the Cirencester meeting, which we briefly reported last month, Sir Gilbert Parker's speech was most convincing. He said the question before them was one of extreme critical national importance. That was the first time he had spoken about it, having for long sat on the fence, but having got down on the side represented there that night, he meant to stop there. He represented blunt men—men who may have given up chivalry for justice. The women who advocated Parliamentary suffrage represented only a moiety of their own class; and certainly they did not represent the majority. His views were absolutely apart from sentiment. Why should not women have the Parliamentary vote? There were physical reasons—patent to everybody—for their disabilities prevented them from performing the last great act for the benefit of the country, defence by force. The Imperial view—power—was the centre of the whole thing. Here women failed and must fail. The ladies had not the case of the Chartists, and they would be long without the vote. Wages and divorce—sweating and social evils—seemed to be the chief trouble of those who advocated the vote. Wages were increased not by legislation but by combination, skill, and economic conditions—only ability to pay warranted any wages. Ten hundred thousand women in Parliament could not alter the economic laws; but in local affairs and social matters women might work great good and get carried out what reforms they desire. Where women had votes they had no control in the power of State and sovereignty—but only local and arbitrary powers. The right to vote would not regenerate women—he had a better opinion of them than to think that.

Croydon.—The Croydon Branch had an excellent meeting in the Public Hall on November 15th. The chair was taken by Alderman Barrow, and there were a number of well-known local residents on the platform.

Miss Gladys Pott and Sir J. D. Rees made most interesting speeches, and the Anti-Suffrage resolution was carried by a large majority. The Branch officials worked hard in organising this meeting.

Guildford.—On October 23rd, a deputation of our Guildford branch, consisting of Miss S. H. Onslow (President), Lady Martindale (Vice-President), Vice-Admiral Tudor (Hon. Treasurer), Mr. and Mrs. Neel, and Mrs. Jacobs, waited on Mr. W. E. Horne, M.P. for the Guildford Division, to ask him to oppose any measure brought before Parliament.

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On November 14th and 16th, at the Horbury Rooms, Notting Hill Gate, most successful evening meetings were held. Speeches were made by Mrs. A. Colquhoun and Mr. G. L. Borrodale, and excellent programmes of music rendered.

On November 21st, at the kind invitation of Mrs. Macmillan, a large and influential audience gathered at 27, Queen's Gate Gardens at 8.30 to listen to Mr. H. T. Mackinder, M.P., whose speech was most forcible and convincing. Mr. C. E. Mallett was in the chair.

Future arrangements include a debate between Mr. H. Maconachie and Mr. J. Clayton in St. Mark's Hall, on December 2nd, at 8.30, and another meeting in the Horbury Rooms on December 14th.

The Kensington Branch is concentrating its efforts chiefly on the constituency of North Kensington, with the gratifying result of an increase of 130 members and associates in the last few weeks.

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Malvern.—This Branch has been re-organised, and several new names added to the Committee. Miss Monckton has kindly consented to be Hon. Treasurer in place of Miss Sheppard who is leaving Malvern.

Manchester.—During the past month much active work has been done in the Manchester Branch. On October 26th a meeting of working-men at the "Queen's Park Parliament" was addressed by the Secretary. There were about 100 men present. In the open discussion several strong speeches were made defending the Anti-Suffrage point of view, and only one speech in favour of "Votes for Women." It is against the rules of the "Parliament" to take a vote after these addresses, but much sympathy was evinced for our cause.

Several of the members were asked to help in canvassing for Mrs. Redford's election to the City Council. Miss Croggon, Manchester assistant in the office, spent an afternoon canvassing for Mrs. Redford, and the Hon. Secretary, Mrs. Henry Simon, lent her motor car on polling-day.

On November 3rd, by the kindness of Mrs. W. S. Barratt, a drawing-room meeting was held at her residence in Victoria Park. No formal address was given, but a discussion was led by the hostess, in which the ladies present joined, and several have joined the Branch as a result.

On November 7th a debate took place at the Wycliffe Memorial Hall, Warrington, between Miss Sterling, of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, and Miss Cordelia Moir, Secretary of the Manchester Branch. This debate was arranged jointly by the two societies. The Suffrage resolution was carried, but the debate has been of much help to our cause, several prominent Warrington people having shown so much interest in the Anti-Suffrage movement that we hope soon to start a Branch in Warrington.

On November 13th Miss Moir addressed a meeting at the North Salford Women's Liberal Association. There were about 100 members of this Association present, and the Anti-Suffrage resolution was carried with enthusiasm.

On November 15th Miss Moir addressed a meeting of members of the Higher Crumpsall Liberal Club. Although the local secretary of the W.S.P.U., and many other well-known Suffragists were present, and made speeches in the open discussion which followed Miss Moir's address, the Anti-Suffrage resolution was carried.

On November 16th, at the request of the Newton-le-Willows Suffrage Society, Miss Moir debated in the Town Hall, Newton-le-Willows, with Miss Ford. The debate was an interesting one, and won us several new converts.

A debating class has been arranged by Mr. Tolmie and Miss Moir in order to encourage members of this Branch to become good speakers. The first of the series was held on November 17th, when Miss Moir spoke on "The Feminist Movement: a Difference of Ideals." It is hoped to train a number of speakers by means of these classes, which will be held every Friday evening, at the office, at 8 p.m.

Midhurst (Sussex).—On October 26th a drawing-room meeting was held, by kind permission of Mrs. Sale, in Midhurst; and on the following afternoon another meeting was held in Miss Fenn's drawing-room at Dodsley Gate. As a result of these two

meetings, at which Mrs. Gladstone Solomon was the speaker, a promising Branch has been formed at Midhurst, with a nucleus of forty members and associates.

North Berks.—A meeting of Vice-Presidents of the North Berks Branch was held at Lockinge House on October 13th, by invitation of Lady Wantage, who entertained some twenty ladies at luncheon before the meeting. A report of the year's work was read by the Secretary, Miss Gladys Pott. The membership of the branch was announced to be 342, as against under 300 in October, 1910, and twenty-five fresh names were handed to the Secretary during the afternoon.

Paddington.—At Paddington, on November 13th, Lord George Hamilton, Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun, and A. MacCallum Scott, Esq., M.P., spoke to a well-attended meeting at the Portman Rooms, and a resolution against the proposal to enfranchise women, was carried almost unanimously.

Ross and Ledbury.—The recently formed Branches in the Ross and Ledbury district, which is under the Presidency of Lady Biddulph of Ledbury, held highly successful meetings on November 2nd and 3rd at both these towns, the speakers being Miss Gladys Pott and Mr. Maconachie. The meetings, which were free and open, attracted excellent audiences, and there is every reason to hope that the cause advocated by our League has been greatly strengthened. The sitting Member for South Herefordshire has voted for the misnamed Conciliation Bill, for which reason the resolution, carried unanimously at Ledbury, was forwarded to him by Mrs. Manley Power, the Hon. Secretary of the Branch, being worded as follows: "That the Bill for the Enfranchisement of women, known as the Conciliation Bill, is unjust, inexpedient, and ought to be opposed." No resolution was put to the Ross meeting as, owing to the fact that the proceedings took a longer time than was expected, a large number of the audience were obliged to leave after the chief speeches and before the close of the meeting, and a vote taken in such circumstances might have seemed to be unfair, since almost all who remained were known to be strong Anti-Suffragists.

Mr. Manley Power took the chair at Ross, and Mr. Saxon Mills at Ledbury, and at the second meeting Lady Biddulph gave a short address which was much appreciated.

The Committee of the Branch hope to hold further meetings and debates during the spring.

Isle of Wight.—A vigorous campaign is now being carried on in the Isle of Wight.

On November 7th Mrs. Gladstone Solomon addressed a small meeting of working women and girls. The resolution against Woman Suffrage was passed unanimously, and everyone present joined the Anti-Suffrage League.

The same afternoon a drawing-room meeting was held, by kind permission of the Hon. Secretary of the Isle of Wight Branch, at "Cluntyagh," near Ryde. A Branch of the "Girls' League" was formed, with Miss Wheatley as Hon. Secretary and Treasurer.

On November 15th a very well-attended public meeting was held at the Oddfellows' Hall, Sandown. Mr. J. H. Oglander, J.P., was in the chair, taking the place of Mrs. Oglander (President of the Isle of Wight Branch) who was, unfortunately, ill. Mrs. Gladstone Solomon gave an interesting

address, at the end of which the resolution "that this meeting asks Mr. Douglas Hall, M.P., not to support any measure of Woman Suffrage until it had been before the country as the main issue at a General Election" was carried *nem. con.*

In the evening of the same day Mrs. Gladstone Solomon addressed a meeting of women Municipal voters at Shanklin. Lady Cox kindly lent the room, and Sir Edmund Cox took the chair. The resolution to Mr. Douglas Hall was carried unanimously, and another resolution against Woman Suffrage was passed with only two dissentients.

On November 16th a drawing-room meeting was held at "Salween," Newport, by kind permission of Mrs. Graham. Mrs. Gladstone Solomon spoke, and the nucleus of a Newport Branch was formed.

In the evening of November 16th a public meeting was held at Carisbrooke. Miss Arthur, proprietress of the Waverley Inn, kindly lent a large room. The Rev. I. Rees took the chair, and Mrs. Gladstone Solomon gave the address, after which an interesting discussion took place. The resolution to Mr. Hall was again passed unanimously, and a resolution against Woman Suffrage by a good majority.

Streatham.—A well-attended meeting was held by kind permission of Mrs. Lunge at her residence, Streatham Common, on October 31st. Mrs. Watson, in the chair, made an able speech, and welcomed the formation of a new Branch at Streatham. Mrs. Lane gave a most interesting address, after which some discussion took place. Mr. Lunge also spoke. Many new members joined, and we are glad to report that this Branch is increasing rapidly. It was resolved to hold a large public meeting in the near future.

Tonbridge.—Mrs. F. O. Streeton gave a reception at the Young Women's Christian Association, Tonbridge, on November 10th. Mrs. Frederic Harrison gave a very able and interesting address, and Mr. A. Maconachie, also spoke well. An Anti-Suffrage resolution was carried unanimously.

Watford.—The first public meeting of this Branch was held on November 13th, in the Masonic Hall, which was crowded. Miss Dorothy Ward took the chair. Mrs. Harold Norris and Mr. E. A. Mitchell-Innes, K.C., addressed an attentive audience, and promptly answered many questions put by leading local Suffragists. The following resolution was put and carried by a large majority: "That this meeting of residents in Watford and district declares its strong opposition to all proposals for conferring the Parliamentary vote on women, condemns the attempt to carry Woman Suffrage behind the backs of the electors, and heartily supports the proposal to submit this question to the judgment of the people."

The Hon. A. Capell proposed a vote of thanks to the Chairman and speakers, commending the work of the League, and Mr. Geoffrey Millar seconded. The meeting closed with a musical and dramatic entertainment, which was highly appreciated. Those taking part including the Misses Thomas, Miss Doubleday, Mrs. Haygarth Brown, and Mr. Havelock Collins. As a result of the meeting, many new members joined the Branch.

Weston-super-Mare.—A very successful social meeting of the members of this Branch was held on November 9th, at the North Street Hall, and there was a large at-

Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals.

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

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

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

WHAT THE SOCIETY DID LAST YEAR (1910).

6556 offenders were prosecuted and convicted for cruelty to animals.
153 persons were acquitted, but the Society's costs were remitted, which justified the Society's action.

1,073 persons guilty of minor acts of cruelty were admonished in writing.
24,344 persons guilty of minor acts of cruelty were cautioned by Inspectors.
3,243 Sermons were preached on the subject of Mercy to Animals, by Clergymen of the Church of England.

99,133 Essays were written by school children on the subject of Kindness to Animals.
The increased operations of the Society have drawn from the funds an amount vastly exceeding the yearly subscriptions. The Council need much greater assistance, and unless such additional support be extended to them, this most righteous cause of humanity must suffer.

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WESTBOURNE GROVE LONDON, W.

tendance. Mrs. Portsmouth Fry (President) occupied the chair, and was supported on the platform by a large number of ladies. Mrs. E. M. S. Parker (Hon. Secretary) presented a most encouraging report of the year's work, showing an increase of nearly one hundred in the past year.

Mrs. H. C. Trappell, from Clifton, gave a most convincing address, which was much appreciated.

A resolution was proposed by Mr. Clatworthy, and carried unanimously, requesting the Member for Wells to use his influence in the House of Commons to oppose the passing of the Conciliation Bill, or any other measure for the purpose of giving the franchise to women. At the conclusion of the meeting Mrs. Alford and some other ladies gave a short concert.

Woking.—A deputation of members of the Woking Branch waited on Mr. Donald Macmaster, K.C., M.P., by appointment at his residence, Mayhurst, Maybury Hill, Woking. The deputation consisted of the Hon. R. C. Grosvenor, the Hon. Mrs. R. C. Grosvenor, Sir Edward Clayton, C.B., Miss Clayton, Lady Arundel, Mrs. Dorman, Mr. J. R. Crockatt, Mrs. Crockatt, Miss Onslow, and Miss Pascoe.

Mr. Macmaster said he had, in an unbiased way, heard the arguments that both sides had presented in the House of Commons and outside it, and he had come to the conclusion that the granting of the franchise to women would not be in the general interest. He did not find in his intercourse with the people whom he met that there was any general desire for the franchise among women themselves.

The Public Hall, Woking, was crowded on October 25th for a meeting under the auspices of the Woking Branch. The Hon. R. C. Grosvenor presided, and was supported by a very influential platform.

Miss Gladys Pott gave one of her characteristically clear and interesting speeches, and Mr. H. B. Samuel's address, as giving the working-man's point of view, was listened to with keen attention.

FORTHCOMING DEBATES.

DECEMBER, 1911.

Friday, 1st.—Bristol Liberal Association. Member of the Bristol Branch, N.L.O.W.S. and Member of the local Suffrage Society.

Saturday, 2nd, at 2 p.m.—N.U.W.W. Drawing Room Meeting. Miss Mabel Smith and Mrs. W. S. Dowson (N.U.W.S.S.).

Monday, 4th.—Walthamstow Women's Liberal Association. Mrs. Gladstone Solomon and Miss Ward (L.S.W.S.).

Monday, 4th, at 8 p.m.—Luton Congregational Church Guild. Mr. A. Maconachie and Member of the W.S.P.U.

Thursday, 7th, at 8 p.m.—Troybee Hall. Mrs. Gladstone Solomon and Miss I. O. Ford (L.S.W.S.).

Saturday, 9th, at 3.30 p.m.—Queen's Gate Hall. Miss Gladys Pott and Miss Nina Boyle (W.F.L.).

Monday, 11th, at 8 p.m.—Chiswick Town Hall. Mrs. Colquhoun and Miss K. D. Courtney (N.U.S.S.).

Monday, 11th, at 8 p.m.—Streatham Unionist and Conservative Association, Ladies' Branch. Mrs. Gladstone Solomon and Mrs. Corbett Ashley (for the Suffrage).

Wednesday, 13th.—Bristol Liberal Association. Member of the Bristol Branch, N.L.O.W.S. and Member of the local Suffrage Society.

Wednesday, 13th, at 8 p.m.—Kilburn. Mrs. Gladstone Solomon and Member of a Suffrage Society.

At a debate, held in Kidderminster Co-operative Hall, on November 16th, at a local Literary Society's meeting, between a Suffragist and an Anti-Suffragist, the Suffrage resolution was lost by a large majority.

FORTHCOMING MEETINGS.

DECEMBER, 1911.

Monday, 4th, at 8 p.m.—Public Meeting at Purley. Miss Mabel Smith.

Tuesday, 5th, at 8.30 p.m.—Fulham Town Hall. Mrs. Humphry Ward, Mr. A. MacCallum Scott, M.P. Chairman: Mr. J. St. Loe Strachey.

Tuesday, 5th, at 8 p.m.—Public Meeting at Brentford "Baths." Mrs. Colquhoun, Mr. A. Maconachie. Chairman: Dr. A. Douglas Cowburn.

Wednesday, 6th, at 8 p.m.—Public Meeting at Folkestone. Mrs. Arthur Somervell, Mr. W. R. Campion, M.P.

Friday, 8th, at 8 p.m.—Public Meeting at Dorking. Miss Gladys Pott.

Monday, 11th, at 8 p.m.—Public Meeting at Thornbury. Miss Stuart.

Wednesday, 13th.—Reading. Miss Gladys Pott, Mr. Mitchell-Innes, K.C. Chairman: Mr. John Massie.

Wednesday, 13th, at 2 p.m.—Meeting at Newbury. Mrs. Gladstone Solomon.

Thursday, 14th.—Meeting at Ashbourne (Derbyshire). Mrs. Harold Norris.

Series of Scottish Meetings arranged by the Scottish National Anti-Suffrage League:—November 29th to December 9th.—Mrs. Harold Norris, Mr. H. B. Samuels.

at 8 p.m.—St. Paul's Hall, Norbiton, Kingston. Mrs. A. Colquhoun, Mr. C. E. Mallett. Chairman: Mr. J. Wellesley Orr.

A demonstration will be held at the Queen's Hall, on January 22nd, at 8 p.m. Chairman—The Right Hon. the Earl of Cromer. The principal speakers will be Mrs. Humphry Ward, the Right Hon. F. E. Smith, K.C., M.P., and Mr. John Massie. Previous to the demonstration, a Conference of Delegates will take place in the Caxton Hall (afternoon), when a variety of questions of vital interest to the League will be discussed.

Hon. Secretaries of Branches are specially requested to reply early to the official notification they will receive, so that the many necessary arrangements may be completed as early as possible.

SCOTTISH NATIONAL ANTI-SUFFRAGE LEAGUE.

Scottish Campaign.—The campaign at Peebles, Hawick, Kirkcaldy, St. Andrews, and Dundee, undertaken by Mrs. A. Colquhoun, proved very successful.

The Hawick meeting on October 19th was a full one, Provost Melrose presiding over

a very interested gathering, and Mrs. Colquhoun giving an excellent address.

At Peebles, on the 19th, Mrs. Colquhoun spoke again, Mr. Michael Thorburn being in the chair.

A well-attended public meeting was held on the 20th at Kirkcaldy, Mr. Pye, of Bogie, acting as Chairman for Mrs. Colquhoun.

Lady Griselda Cheape presided over the meeting at St. Andrews on the 22nd, and at Dundee on the 23rd, the Lord Provost was in the chair, and, as a result of Mrs. Colquhoun's arguments, a good many new members were enrolled.

Glasgow.—Arrangements are being made by the Glasgow Branch for a series of meetings, during the first week in December, to be held at Kilmalcolm and Bearsden, and for a drawing-room meeting at the residence of Mrs. Maur's, Lyndhurst, Kelvin-side, and a public meeting on the South Side of Glasgow. Mrs. Norris and Mr. Samuels will be the speakers.

Aberdeen.—An address on Anti-Suffrage principles was delivered by Mrs. Murray M. Lockhart in Aberdeen to the students (men and women) of the Aberdeen Training Centre for Teachers. It was a more or less informal gathering, but there was a good attendance, and the audience was much interested. Questions and discussion were invited after the meeting. The voting was: Anti-Suffrage, thirty-two; Pro-Suffrage, twenty-four. Many did not vote, and some of the "Pros," on being spoken to after the meeting, expressed themselves as still in doubt!

Mrs. M. M. Lockhart gave a most admirable Anti-Suffrage lecture at Aberdeen, on November 14th, at the invitation of the Women's Social and Franchise League in that town. The Round Room of the Music Hall Buildings was packed, and in the debate that followed Mrs. Lockhart's point of view was warmly supported by many.

The reading of an Anti-Suffrage paper at a meeting of Suffragists is a new idea that should commend itself very warmly, and certainly should be adopted.

KILMARNOCK BY-ELECTION.

The Committee would like to take this opportunity of thanking Mr. Kyles for his enthusiasm and the excellent work he did on behalf of the League throughout the Kilmarnock By-election.

[The report we published was not from the pen of Mr. Kyles.—Ed.]

As there seems to be some misunderstanding among our Branches as to the possibilities of obtaining the ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW and our literature, we wish our readers to know that the ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW is on sale at any of Smith's or Wyman's bookstalls, and that any newsagent wishing to have copies can get them by applying to the well-known wholesale firms, or to the Central Office of the League at Caxton House.

A resolution was on the Agenda at the last Council Meeting proposing that subscribers of five shillings and upwards should be entitled to the ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW free, but this resolution was defeated by a large majority of the Council, and it was agreed that, while individual Branches should be at liberty to make this arrangement with

their own members should they wish it, it was *not* thought desirable that this scheme should be carried into effect throughout the League.

All Branches can obtain grants of free literature for meetings or distribution on application to the Secretary at the Central Office.

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

CHINA TEA IN THE ASCENDANT.

It is pleasing to lovers of the incomparable Teas sent to us from China, to note that the Board of Trade Returns indicate a strongly growing appreciation of China Tea by the Public. There can be no other interpretation of the following figures which show the importations of China Tea into this country during the first eight months of the present year and its two predecessors:—

1909	5,337,723 lbs.
1910	6,761,960 "
1911	9,339,920 "

for home consumption, an increase of nearly three millions of lbs. on the corresponding period of the preceding year!

Messrs. James Lyle & Co., of 15, Old Bond Street, W., who for over 100 years have been engaged in the China Tea Trade, beg to advise their many patrons that the China Tea now being landed in their Bonded Warehouses, is being universally described by experts as the finest that has reached this country for a number of years.

Messrs. James Lyle & Co. still continue to sent out a complete range of six different samples of China Tea Blends (as detailed below), amounting to 12 oz. in all, 1s. 6d., post paid.

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THE GIRLS' ANTI-SUFFRAGE LEAGUE.

President: Miss Ermine M. K. Taylor.

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

ISLE OF WIGHT—
Hon. Secretary: Miss Wheatley.

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

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

IRELAND.

DUBLIN—
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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.)
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Vice-President: Miss Helen Rutherford, M.A.
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Aitken, 8, Mayfield Terrace, Edinburgh.
Hon. Secretary: Miss Gemmill, Central Office, 10, Queensferry Street, Edinburgh.

BRANCHES:

BERWICKSHIRE—
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DUNDEE—
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Chairman: Lady Christison.
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Chairman of Committee: Mrs. John N. MacLeod.
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. James Campbell.
Hon. Secretary: Miss Eleanor M. Deane, 180, Hope Street, Glasgow.

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

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

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WALES.

CARDIFF—
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President: Mrs. Cornwallis West.