

THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW.

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THE WOMEN'S NATIONAL ANTI-SUFFRAGE LEAGUE.

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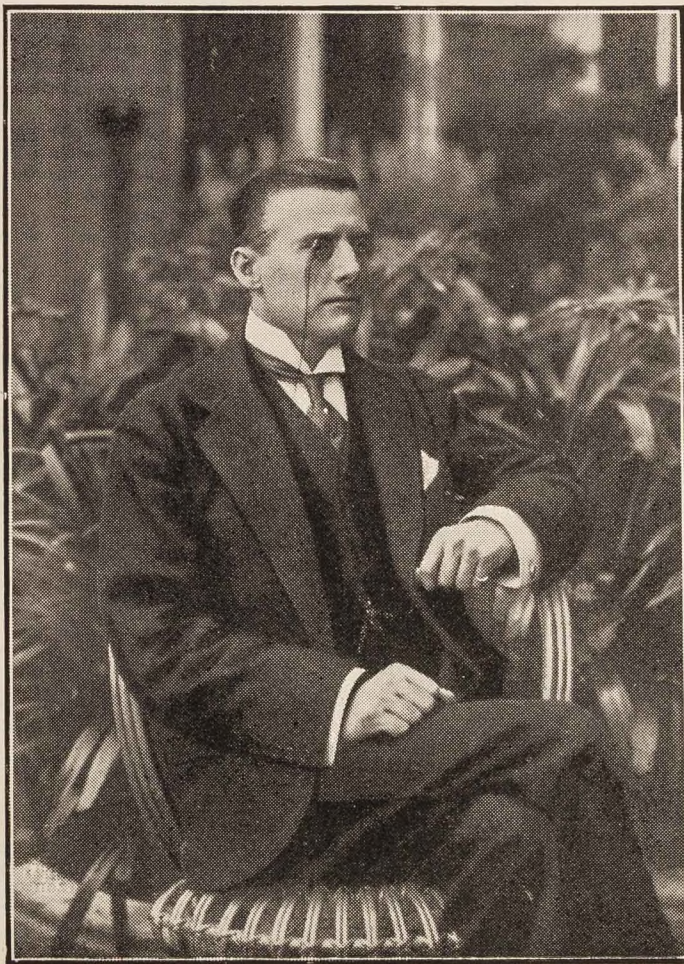
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PROMINENT ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS.

THE RT. HON. J. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN, M.P.

"I hold strong views in opposition to the movement for, I will not say *conferring*, but for *imposing*, upon women political obligations." This sound, concise phrase fell from the lips of the Rt. Hon. J. Austen Chamberlain when he spoke from the platform of the Queen's Hall last year, to an immense gathering of Anti-Suffragists, men and women (and some dissenting Suffragists). When Mr. Austen Chamberlain "talks politics" people always listen, for it has been said of him that he makes politics the business of his life, and he knows his business thoroughly. An extraordinary capacity for hard work, and the fact that as a young M.P. he was always in his place, and always useful to his party, made Mr. Chamberlain a Cabinet Minister unusually early in life. Educated at Rugby and Trinity College, Cambridge, his special subject was history, and he has been busy ever since helping to make the history of his country. He has been the Liberal Unionist Member for East Worcester since 1892, and he placed his foot on the first rung of the ladder when he became Civil Lord



of the Admiralty in 1895. During his tenure of that office till 1900 he earned the golden opinions of his colleagues by his hard unflinching work, and then came his appointment as Financial Secretary to the Treasury. From 1902 to 1903 Mr. Chamberlain was Postmaster-General, and his control of the Post Office proved him to be "possessed of administrative powers of the first order," to quote an authority. As Chancellor of the Exchequer, from 1903 to 1906, Mr. Chamberlain wrestled with the State finances during the difficult period which followed the South African War, and, presenting two Budgets before he was 42, the Chancellor managed to secure a surplus, no small achievement in the circumstances. Mr. Austen Chamberlain has been called a worthy son of a distinguished father, and to his successes as a politician and a financier are sure to be added further laurels, for he is still under fifty. His speech, marked by evident sincerity, and strong feeling, was one of the great successes of the recent Suffrage debates.

L. V. M.

Austen Chamberlain

ANTI WOMAN-SUFFRAGE APPEAL.

THE following appeal, made with a view to a furthering the organisation of the campaign against the enfranchisement of women, has appeared in the Press:—

The debate in the House of Commons on the Female Suffrage Bill, whether we regard the apparently favourable vote on the Second Reading, or the admittedly hostile vote on the proposal to send the Bill to a Grand Committee, does not either settle or advance the question. On the contrary, there is every reason to anticipate a renewed outburst of activity on the part of the supporters of the measure—a challenge which should impose an immediate and urgent duty upon those who hold the opposite view, all the more so that a large number of persons do not appear fully to understand the gravity of the issue, or to realise that modified and restricted enfranchisement can only lead to much bolder and more dangerous proposals at no distant date.

Being ourselves unalterably opposed to the grant of Woman Suffrage in the interests both of women and of the State, and believing that our views are shared by the great majority of both sexes in the United Kingdom, we desire to make it known that a movement is being set on foot to give organised expression to this feeling. Only a small number of influential persons have so far been approached. But already a sum of nearly £20,000 has been promised, and we hope that as soon as the movement is widely known, we may raise a fund that will enable us to identify and unite our sympathisers in all parts of the country, and to place our forces upon an effective footing.

Our idea is to form a large and comprehensive League, in which men and women will be equally represented, possessing central offices in London and branches in all parts of the United Kingdom, exclusively devoted to the propagation of this cause. The nucleus of this organisation is already in existence, and will be developed with as much rapidity as possible. We hope at an early date in the autumn to be able to announce the completion of these measures, and to provide an opportunity for work to all who may be willing to join us.

In the meantime, an active campaign will be prosecuted in the constituencies, and our main efforts at Headquarters will be directed to procuring the necessary resources. We think that it should be our ambition to raise a fund of not less than £100,000.

A Secretary and Treasurer of the National Anti Woman-Suffrage League have already been appointed, with offices at Caxton House, Tothill Street, Westminster, and an account has been opened at Lloyd's Bank, St. James' Street, to which any contributions may be sent.

We invite, without further delay, the prompt and generous assistance of all those men and women who share our views, and are anxious to show that the sentiment of the country is overwhelmingly opposed to this ill-advised innovation.

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 ARMITSTEAD.
 ASHBOURNE.
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 MAUD BEERBOHM TREE.
 H. WACE, Dean of Canterbury.
 HARRIET S. WANTAGE.
 MARY A. WARD.
 A. WARD, M.P.
 J. CATHCART WASON, M.P.
 WEARDALE.
 WELBY.
 GEORGE S. WHITE, Field-Marshal.
 WINTERTON, M.P.
 WOLVERHAMPTON.

[The names have been arranged in alphabetical order. Further information may be obtained by writing either to The Earl of Cromer, 36, Wimpole Street, or to Lord Curzon of Kedleston, 1, Carlton House Terrace, who have interested themselves in organising this appeal, or to Miss L. Terry Lewis, at the office, Caxton House, Tothill Street, Westminster.]

THE DEBATE AND THE DIVISION.

THE long-expected debate and division on the so-called Conciliation Bill, "to extend the Parliamentary franchise to women occupiers" have come and gone, and every Anti-Suffragist in the kingdom may, on the whole, regard the result with great satisfaction. It is true that the second reading of Mr. Shackleton's Bill was carried by a majority of 109 after a strenuous, and—for the first time—serious debate. Let us remember, however, to begin with, that Mr. Stanger's Bill in 1908 obtained a second reading majority of 179; so that the drop in numbers is considerable. The debate on Mr. Stanger's Bill was not nearly so important as the debate of this month, nor was the campaign nearly so well fought on either side. But that, as the result of a far more earnest and practical fight than has yet taken place in the House of Commons, the favourable majority should have fallen by seventy, is not without its significance; and the real meaning of the majority—the real meaning of the debate as a whole—is only to be judged from the second, and far more important, division of the evening. For after the second reading had been carried, Mr. Lehmann rose from the Ministerial benches, and moved that the Bill be referred to "a Committee of the whole House"—in other words, should be adjourned *sine die*, since the Government neither can nor will find any time this session for the Committee stage. Out trooped the crowded House once more, thronging the division lobbies on either side, and this time the spectator in the gallery who in the first division had seen the Anti-Suffrage tellers, Mr. Arnold Ward and Sir Maurice Levy, take their place, in approaching the Speaker's chair, on the left of the four tellers—the side of the minority—saw the same gentlemen

struggling up on the right, amid the cheers of the House, and handing in to the clerk at the table the figures of the really decisive division—320 in favour of Mr. Lehmann's motion to send the Bill to a Committee of the whole House—175 in support of Mr. Shackleton's amendment to refer it to a Grand Committee.

What was the true explanation of this second division, and of the size of the majority by which the Bill was in effect consigned to the scrap heap whither so many other Franchise Bills have preceded it? Simply, in the first place, that the present Cabinet and the Ministerial majority are so deeply divided on the subject of woman suffrage that to proceed further than the second reading of any Suffrage Bill would break up the Government, and split the party; and, in the second, that this particular Bill, after the patient examination and discussion that the House had given it, had been riddled by argument and criticism; that, in truth, it "conciliated" nobody; and that the great majority of those voting for it were either giving a vote in favour of woman suffrage in general, knowing very well that this particular form of it would go no further, or else were, like Mr. Shackleton, voting not for this Bill at all, but for some Bill in the future, to which it was to be the mere stepping-stone and preliminary. The emphatic cheers that went up when the figures of the second division were announced gave curious expression to the general relief and satisfaction. In our usual English way we had "muddled through." The House had given a vote for woman suffrage, and then postponed woman suffrage to the Greek Kalends; and everybody was more or less pleased, in spite of the mutterings of Mr. McLaren, and the tactless anger of Mr. Snowden.

On the general issue, the speech of the debate was Mr. F. E. Smith's. It

has substantially advanced his reputation on both sides of the House. But in the discussion of the Bill itself, Mr. Winston Churchill carried off the honours without a rival. Speaking to a packed House, which followed every sentence with the closest attention, and heightening some of his most telling strokes by the very hesitation, the slight stammer, with which they were introduced, he tore the Bill to pieces, without mercy, yet, if one may say so, without violence. He marvelled that any Liberal could vote for it; and he complimented the Unionists who were going to vote against it, on the public spirit with which they were about to refuse the bribe which it offered of an immediate party advantage. He showed that the Bill would enfranchise the woman of immoral life, and exclude the wife and mother—who might, however, obtain its benefits by divorce! He pointed to the ease with which, under its few clauses, faggot voting could be extended, and the influence of property increased. And when he sat down the opponents of the Bill and the cause may well have felt, not only that the Bill was destroyed, but that the Anti-Suffrage ranks had gained a new and most important recruit.

Utinam! Meanwhile, all that for the moment we have desired we have got. The Bill has gone, and its fate has demonstrated once more the insuperable difficulties of framing any woman suffrage measure whatever. But the fight will be revived, and the final issue is not yet. We have now to use the time given us by the failure of the Bill, together with the immense access of strength brought to us by the foundation of the new National League due to the efforts of Lord Cromer and Lord Curzon, so that the coming year may see a striking and definitive change over the whole field of battle. We have done excellently this session. We must do still better next.

NOTES AND NEWS.

THE Anti Woman-Suffrage Appeal, printed on a preceding page, will show the readers of this Review what a new and strong movement on behalf of the Anti-Suffrage cause has developed since the issue of our last number. A special meeting of the Council of the W.N.A.S.L. will be summoned as early as possible in the autumn to receive the report of the Executive with regard to it, and to determine, we hope, on various important steps. Meanwhile, our friends may rest assured that it marks an immense accession of strength to the Anti-Suffrage campaign.

GRAVE embarrassment will be caused in both political camps if the action of Lady Betty Balfour is going to find any imitators. It will be remembered that Lady Betty Balfour resigned her office of Dame President of the Woking Habitation of the Primrose League, on account of the vote given in the House of Commons by Mr. Macmaster, M.P., the member for the constituency, against the Women's Franchise Bill. Political organisations of both parties would be rent from top to bottom if prominent members were to secede because they could not impose their views on the suffrage question on their Members of Parliament. In the present situation, we should strongly deprecate any similar action on the part of anti-suffragists. The Anti-Suffrage League has never asked any of its members who are also party politicians to subordinate their views on other questions to their opinions on the single question of Women's Franchise. It is curious that the first hostile act committed by one Unionist against another on account of Woman Suffrage should be the act of a lady who is the sister-in-law of Mr. Balfour and the sister of Lord Lytton. Mr. Balfour has often exerted himself in the past to secure toleration for Unionist Free Traders, although Tariff Reform is on the official Unionist programme, and is endorsed by the overwhelming majority of the party. Lord Lytton was a member of the Unionist Free Trade Club, which requested Tariff Reformers in various constituencies to support Unionist Free Trade candidates. And yet Lady Betty Balfour, wife of a Unionist ex-Cabinet Minister, withdraws her support from her Unionist member, on account of his vote on a matter which has nothing

to do with the Unionist programme, and although that vote was the same as the vote given by a substantial majority of his party in the House of Commons.

THE first debate and division on Woman Suffrage in the new Parliament showed conclusively how slight and unimportant a part the question had played at the General Election. When the Prime Minister, speaking in a very crowded House, challenged any member to say that the issue had in any degree affected the result of his own election, not a murmur of dissent was raised through the whole assembly. At the same time, inquiries among members also showed how powerful had been the influence of local Suffragists on the opinions of a number of members who had neither studied the subject nor entertained any sympathy for Woman's Suffrage, but who lightly gave pledges in order to conciliate a few constituents; not realising how imminently the question would enter into practical politics. The number of members who were deeply impressed by the strength of the opposition in debate, and who regret ever having pledged themselves in the past, is very considerable. No one knows exactly how a member's vote on this Bill will affect him in his constituency; but it is quite clear that organised local pressure can even now increase the ranks of avowed anti-Suffragists in the present House of Commons. Over a hundred members were absent unpaired from the division; the great majority of these have little sympathy with Woman's Suffrage, and only require a little helpful pressure from their constituents to feel justified in assisting the Parliamentary opposition.

A LETTER from Dr. Leonard Williams, which appeared in "The Times" of July 23rd, on the physical handicap imposed on women by the tasks of motherhood, has attracted great attention, and was at once answered by several women doctors, including Dr. Garrett Anderson. Dr. Leonard Williams put the case as strongly as it can be put. According to him, the burden of sex, in the case of women, is so heavy "as to leave but very scant margin for what is called the rough-and-tumble of life," physically or intellectually. According to Mrs. Garrett Anderson, it amounts to

nothing more than a liability to occasional headaches, and the average woman's health is quite as good as that of the average man. Most women who have followed the controversy remember, on the one hand, the vast army of women now employed in the industrial life of the country under very "rough-and-tumble" conditions; and, on the other hand, recalling "what every woman knows" of the struggle of maternity, of ruined health among the overburdened poor, of the constant risk of overstrain among young women and girls, far greater than exist among men, and of the nervous trials of middle life—will probably feel that the truth lies between the two contentions; but nearer to Dr. Leonard Williams's than to Mrs. Garrett Anderson's. It is not at the cost of a "few headaches" only that women render their chief and typical service to the State.

LADY BLENNERHASSETT, the author of one of the best modern biographies, the learned and exhaustive "Life of Madame de Stael," has written to Mrs. Humphry Ward, asking that her name may be included in the list of those opposing Woman Suffrage. "My arguments" she writes, "are yours. To drag women into the full stream of politics is insanity."

THE "Morning Post," of August 4th, contained an interesting article "by a New Zealand Visitor" on the working of Woman Suffrage in New Zealand. Lady Stout and many other persons have been informing the public lately on this subject; but the "New Zealand Visitor" makes some wholly new and interesting points, which we commend to the attention, especially, of the Unionist Party. "Woman Suffrage," says this eye-witness "was introduced by a Conservative ex-Prime Minister, who thought that women's votes would have a steadying influence on politics and strengthen the Conservative side as the party representing law and order. The first election conducted under Woman's Suffrage brought a Liberal-Labour Ministry into power, and it has remained in office ever since. During that period practically the whole of our semi-Socialistic legislation has been passed."

THE same observer continues:—
"A very large proportion of New Zealand women shrink from appearing in public,

and, therefore, it is difficult to gauge their opinions. The more 'advanced' or aggressive sections meet in 'National Conventions of Women,' and hold branch meetings throughout the Dominion. If we were to judge from the proceedings at these gatherings, we should view the political future of New Zealand with some alarm should the women voters ever gain a preponderance in numbers. First and foremost they aim at placing New Zealand under complete prohibition, so as to prevent entirely the importation and sale of liquor. They favour the most drastic legislation to put down every form of gambling; they denounce national service, and even the training of school cadets, as 'militarism,' and are never tired of urging that arbitration and Hague Conferences should take the place of preparation for war."

AGAIN,

"It has been pointed out recently that New Zealand, which has adult women's suffrage, was foremost in sending contingents to the Boer War, has given a 'Dreadnought' to the British Navy, and has adopted National Service. That is perfectly true. On the other hand, it must be remembered that the male population of New Zealand are consumed with loyalty to the Motherland; that from the time of their own Maori wars onward there has been among the young men of the Dominion a keen military spirit, combined with a love of adventure. At present the male population exceeds the number of women, but it is only fair to add that many of the wives and daughters of New Zealand are just as loyal to the Motherland as the men, and during the South African War showed the utmost heroism in the sacrifices they made in cheerfully giving up their sons and brothers for the service of the Empire. But, on the other hand, I am bound to say that the aggressive women—those who appear in public and are chiefly prominent in urging that English women should receive the franchise—have actively opposed National Service and the gift of 'Dreadnoughts' to the Navy. There were six members of Parliament, and six only, who opposed the despatch of contingents to the South African War, and of these four were leading members of the Prohibition Party, which, as I have explained, owes its main strength to women voters."

These facts are of considerable interest when one remembers the use that has been made of the New Zealand contingents in the war by Mrs. Fawcett.

IN one of the recent numbers of "Votes for Women" we find an impassioned utterance by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence. Part of it runs as follows:—

"We are children of the dawn, and our combat is with the children of the night. And the sun is rising. The sun is rising. The victory is unto the day. . . . Gone is the loneliness and the sense of isolation and weakness on the physical plane. We are strong in organisation, in numbers, and in friends. We possess the ear and the heart of the people."

Are we to recognise "the children of the dawn" in the "five tall women

robed in white" who arose and solemnly said "Liar!" while Lord Cromer was speaking at the Albert Hall?—in the band of Suffragists who remained sitting on that occasion while the National Anthem was sung, and endeavoured to drown it by the "Marseillaise"?—in the Suffragists who by false declarations in writing obtained platform tickets on that occasion?—or in the shrieking, unsexed demoralised groups of women who at various points in the great audience supplied a visible argument—painfully strong—against the concession of the vote?

WOMEN AND THE SUFFRAGE.

THE following letter from Miss Octavia Hill appeared in "The Times" of July 15th:—

To the Editor of THE TIMES.

SIR,—I am sorry to enter into the political world, even so far as to write about the question of women's suffrage. I am sorry, too, to emphasise the difference of opinion between myself and some of my earnest young fellow-workers. I feel, however, that I must speak now and say how profoundly sorry I shall be if women's suffrage in any form is introduced into England.

I believe that men and women help one another because they are different, have different gifts and different spheres—one is the complement of the other; and it is because they have different powers and qualities that they become one in marriage and one also in friendship and in fellow-work. In public and in private life I think one feels the various powers, and in the main looks to a somewhat different help from men and from women, and that the world is made on the principle of mutual help.

I also believe that a serious loss to our country would arise if women entered into the arena of party struggle and political life. So far from their raising the standard, I believe they would lose the power of helping to keep it up by their influence and inspiration telling on the men who know and respect them. It is not in a general struggle that they are meant to help most, either physically or spiritually.

I think, also, that political power would militate against their usefulness in the large field of public work in which so many are now doing noble and helpful service. This service is, to my mind, far more valuable now than any voting power could possibly be. If you add two million

voters, unless you secure thereby better members of Parliament, you have not achieved anything, but you have used up in achieving nothing whatever thought and time your women voters have given to such duties. Whereas, if they have spent their time and heart and thought in the care of the sick, the old, the young, and the erring, as guardians of the poor, as nurses, as teachers, as visitors—if they have sought for and respected the out-of-sight, silent work which really achieves something, a great blessing is conferred on our country.

If there are large questions on which they think they see more than men, let them tell what earnest and conscientious men they know what they think; they will find ready attention, I know, and perhaps, on their side, the men may know facts women do not and will guide legislation accordingly.

I remember a great actress, performing before a somewhat untrained audience, telling me that when they were somewhat noisy they called out to her to speak louder; "then," she said, "I always drop my voice, and they become quiet and listen." I think we may learn from her.

Let the woman seek the quiet paths of helpful real work, be set on finding where she is wanted, on her duties, not on her rights—there is enough of struggle for place and power, enough of watching what is popular and will win votes, enough of effort to secure majorities; if she would temper this wild struggle, let her seek to do her own work steadily and earnestly, looking rather to the out-of-sight, neglected sphere, and she will, to my mind, be filling the place to which, by God's appointment, she is called. I believe there are thousands of silent women who agree with me in earnestly hoping that no Woman's Suffrage Bill will pass.

Yours faithfully,

OCTAVIA HILL.

EDITORIAL.

WE feel we owe our readers some explanation and apology for the delay in the appearance of this number of the REVIEW. The unusual bulk and interest of its pages must be our excuse, for we found it impossible, with such a pressure of important matter, to get through to press at the usual date. However, next month our publication will be punctual.—Ed.

IN consequence of the amalgamation of the Men's League with ourselves, their excellent offices in Palace Chambers, Bridge Street, Westminster, are now to be let at a low rental. Full particulars can be obtained from the Secretary, W.N.A.S. League, Caxton House.

THE FRANCHISE DEBATE.

Powerful Arguments Against the Suffrage Bill.

WE publish below a report of the principal Anti-Suffrage speeches delivered in the House of Commons during the debate on the second reading of the Parliamentary Franchise (Women) Bill. Speeches in favour of the Bill were made by Mr. Balfour, Mr. A. Lyttelton, Lord Hugh Cecil, Mr. Haldane, and Mr. Keir Hardie. Workers in the Anti-Suffrage cause will do well to keep before them the following points from the speech of Mr. F. E. Smith:—

Points from Mr. F. E. Smith's Speech.

The theory that there is such a thing in existence as a right to vote is as dead as Rousseau. A vote is not a right. It never was a right. It is a capacity which is given on proved public grounds to such sections of citizens as in the opinion of the whole State are likely to exercise that quality with benefit to the community taken as a whole.

From 1890 to 1906 only 193,000 women signed petitions to this House in favour of female suffrage, and, during the last eighteen months, a period in which a strong anti-suffrage association has been in existence, 300,000 women have signed petitions against it.

The claim which is put forward that the great majority of women, or that any majority of women, desire a vote, is one that cannot be substantiated.

After centuries of man-made law, woman in England to-day occupies a position so preferential that no parallel can be discovered in any civilised country of the world.

Votes are to swords exactly what bank notes are to gold—the one is effective only because the other is believed to be behind it.

There is not one argument which can be used in favour of giving women the vote which cannot be used in favour of their being allowed to sit in Parliament.

Mr. SHACKLETON moved the second reading of the measure in a speech in which he pointed out that he was not asking for an extension of the franchise which would include the 5,000,000 women of this country, but only that "about 1,000,000 should be brought in as an experiment." He pleaded for votes for "a poor widow left with children" who had "to face the battle of life and provide shelter and food for her family," and he described the "physical difficulty" as nonsense. Sir John Rolleston seconded the motion.

Mr. F. E. SMITH moved that the Bill be read that day three months. He said:

I share the view stated by the Mover of the second reading (Mr. Shackleton) that the Government have acted wisely in allowing two days to this discussion. I cannot help thinking that the supporters of the proposal have had some little grievance in past years in the circumstances under which our discussions upon this subject have taken place; and the efforts which have been made both by the moderate supporters of the change, and, indeed, by its immoderate supporters, certainly appear to me to have entitled them at this stage of the controversy to a deliberate expression of the view of the House of Commons on the problem which they have put forward with so much persistency and determination. It is also an advantage from another point of view that this matter should be

clearly discussed in the House of Commons with a fuller sense of responsibility than has perhaps sometimes prevailed in previous discussions, because—if I may venture to say this to both sides—it may prevent the somewhat inconsiderate giving of pledges which are extremely inconvenient to deal with when the circumstances are modified. The present discussion of this subject is in many ways unique. My experience of Parliamentary life has been a short one, but I cannot recall a previous occasion in which time has been given by the Government of the day for the purpose of a Debate in which every Member on either side of the House enjoyed the refreshing opportunity of giving a vote free from all formal party pressure, and in conformity with his individual convictions. There is a qualification of that, however, supplied by the somewhat promiscuous giving of pledges to which I have made reference. One is struck in this matter by the variety of political opinion to be found among the sponsors of this Bill, whether one looks at the back of the measure, or at the party complexion of the two speakers who have brought it before the House, and this variety of party support is reflected in the whole House. The qualification in the Bill is the household or the £10 qualification.

Like the hon. Member for Clitheroe (Mr. Shackleton), I do not pretend to express a

clear opinion as to whether from a party point of view this Bill would benefit his party, or my party, or the Liberal party. Judging from the party Press, it appears to me that the Liberal supporters of the Bill are under the impression that they have deluded its Conservative supporters; the Conservative supporters are under the impression that they have a considerable advantage over the Liberal supporters; while the Labour party are convinced that they are getting an enormous advantage over both. How this may be I do not know; though I confess that my own observation, now extending over a considerable period of years, with regard to the operation of the franchise, has led me very strongly to the conclusion that the limited proposals of the present Bill would materially assist for the time being the prospects of the party to which I belong, and I confess, having regard to the momentous issues which may easily be presented to the decision of the country at the next election, I have been greatly tempted, holding the view I do as to the effect of this Bill, to make my opposition to it far less vocal than I have ultimately decided to do. I do not quite know what may be the view of my hon. friend who seconded the motion (Sir John Rolleston) as to the statement of the hon. Member for Clitheroe, both on the First Reading and again to-day, in which he dis-

closed his real object. As far as I have discovered, there is no real identity of view between those two hon. Members.

The Thin End of the Wedge.

The hon. member for Clitheroe has stated in the plainest possible manner that this Bill is accepted as a start, and that it is in that sense, and only in that sense, that he asks the House to support it. When he is reminded, or when he reminds himself, of his statement that this is the thin end of the wedge, he meets that criticism by asking whether we who oppose it would have supported it if it had been the thick end of the wedge. I do not think that his question is a very relevant answer to the criticism upon his attitude. He presents himself to the House as the champion of a Bill which he and others have called a Conciliation Bill. If this so-called conciliation means anything at all, it means that all parties who are supporting the cause of female suffrage have given up something in order that they may be able to recommend the House to adopt a less extreme proposal. It is perfectly clear that the hon. gentleman, the champion in this House of the Conciliation Committee, has given up absolutely nothing, and does not propose to give up anything. He told us on the First Reading that he had generally found that inserting the thin edge of the wedge was the most successful way of achieving his object, while one of his colleagues, the member for Blackburn (Mr. Snowden), has told us:—

"I recognise that for all practical purposes the granting of the vote to a few women means the enfranchisement of the whole sex."

I think that statement is clearly true, and that if the fundamental distinction of sex is once abandoned the whole case of the opponents is gone for ever. That alone is why the promoters, many of whom profoundly dislike the provisions of this Bill, are concentrating their efforts to obtain its passage, because they know that once they get any Bill through, no matter what, their case is won, and won for all time. I should like to ask my hon. friend (Sir J. Rolleston), with whom I have often acted in the past, and with whom I hope to act again in the future, whether on reflection it does not occur to him that he is being made something of a decoy duck in this matter? The hon. gentleman the member for Clitheroe explained with great explicitness what his object is. The hon. gentleman's object is adult suffrage. That adult suffrage, of course, includes the vote for all adult women. I do not gather whether or not my hon. friend is in favour of that. It would be very interesting indeed if he had told us. The hon. gentleman the member for Clitheroe has reminded the House that the result of this adult suffrage, when it does come, will be a total electorate of 23,000,000, instead of 7,000,000. In that total electorate there will be a considerable majority of women, an important factor in the consideration of public questions.

I might ask this: "Is there one influential supporter of the Bill now before the House—apart from those who sit on the benches on which I sit—who can sincerely say that he sees a settlement of this question in the Bill which is now engaging the attention of the House?" There is no one in the House, apart from some of my friends sitting here, who can say that. What is the position in which my hon. friend and others on this side will find themselves in the future?

We shall find ourselves in this position. We shall have evacuated every defensible position, and we shall have to approach future controversies bankrupt of any argument which is fixed upon principle; we shall be exposed, and not unjustly exposed, to the taunt that we supported this measure so long as we believed we could derive party advantage from it, and that we only began to oppose it when we became apprehensive that we might sustain party loss.

An Undemocratic Measure.

The hon. gentleman (Mr. Shackleton), after the preface to his speech, will not complain if I examine, not what I may call reconnaissance in force by this Bill, but rather the real object which he quite readily explained was involved in this. I agree with what must have been the view of the Chancellor of the Exchequer when he submitted a point of order to you, Mr. Speaker, a moment or two ago. I believe that the Chancellor of the Exchequer is right in desecrating, as I believe he did, a profoundly undemocratic quality in the provisions of this particular measure. If female suffrage is to come at all, I agree with what the right hon. gentleman said. I should agree, too, with what the late Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman said in an earlier debate in this House, and I dispose of this Bill by saying:—

"That it will enfranchise propertied ladies, but it will not touch the mass of working women, and particularly it will not touch the wives of working men."

I would remind hon. gentlemen of what was said only a year or two ago by the Prime Minister himself. In answer to a deputation in May, 1908, the right hon. gentleman said:—

"It is a distinct condition . . . that the change proposed must be on democratic lines."

For the reasons I have given I do not think that this change is upon democratic lines. I conceive, in spite of what the hon. gentleman who recommended this proposal to the House said, that every Liberal who holds those views is justified in opposing this Bill at its present stage.

A Vote not a Right.

I find that in the charter which is put forward by the Suffragist party that they invariably describe the claims they are putting forward in the formula, "The right of women to exercise the Parliamentary vote." It is stated that that is a claim founded upon justice. The other statement, very closely resembling it, "That women have a right to vote"—a question-begging phrase—is made the basis of a great part of the propaganda which is circulated in the country by way of leaflet by the Suffragist party. It will perhaps be worth while to discuss for a moment or two what is the meaning of the saying that women have a right to the vote. For generations it has been recognised that no man has an abstract right to a vote. The theory that there is such a thing in existence as a right to vote is as dead as Rousseau.

A vote is not a right. It never was a right. It is a capacity which is given on proved public grounds to such sections of citizens as in the opinion of the whole State are likely to exercise that quality with benefit to the community taken as a whole. That is the reason why, when the suffrage was removed in the case of the Irish freeholders—and on many other occasions—that no compensation was given. That is the reason, and almost

the only reason, why it is recognised that it is criminal to traffic in votes, for the probable sufferer in that trafficking is the State which has given the capacity to vote. If women possess a natural right to vote, surely it must be clear that the right must become effective in every community in which the men vote. If it is a natural right it admits of no exception of any kind. It must apply in priest-ridden Italy; in all countries in which men are entitled to vote; and if our Indian fellow-subjects are ever enfranchised it must apply to the unilluminated zenanas of the East.

Taxation and Representation.

May I point out from that that the statement of the hon. Member for Clitheroe is based, as very many of those are who agree with him, upon the dogma that there should be "no taxation without representation." You can hardly examine the charter which is put forward by any one of the Suffragist groups, or a speech made by the prominent advocates, without finding reliance placed upon that dogma: "No taxation without representation." Even so thoughtful an advocate of the cause as the hon. gentleman himself repeated that argument to-day in this House. It really ought to be too late in the day and in this stage of political thought to point out that the phrase, "No taxation without representation," is either universally true or else it is a mere catchword. If it is not universally true the argument as a whole is destitute of force. It can be shown almost in a sentence that it is not universally true. Do our Indian fellow-subjects vote? Do they pay taxes? It is, of course, common knowledge that they pay taxes, but that they do not vote. No one will be bold enough to contend that the mere fact that they pay taxes is a reason that they should be given the vote. Is it to be contended that every man who buys an ounce of tobacco or a quart of ale, and thereby contributes indirectly to taxation, is to be entitled to a vote? If the phrase "No taxation without representation" is not universally true, it is a catch-word, and has no force at all.

The real truth is that the payment of taxes is only one of several general presumptions in favour of conceding the suffrage. The consideration of the criterion is entitled to very great respect, but no one would be so foolish as to treat it as a decisive criterion. If, then, I am right in saying there is no natural right, that the payment of taxes does not in itself confer any right to vote, then one may perhaps make this further observation, that it surely argues an amazing degree of assurance to advocate the measure by the use of the argument, "No taxation without representation" in a Bill which deliberately excludes from the franchise the very class of owners who are the principal sufferers by the fact that they are taxed without having representation. If it be clear that there is no inherent right to vote, let me examine the argument by which the hon. gentleman has attempted to show to the House that they ought to be given the vote. He has used the argument, though he did not lay such stress upon it to-day as he and others have laid upon it before, that women, after a painful struggle for years, have now arrived at the desire for the suffrage in numbers which are increasingly large and, at least, very considerable. May I on that point say that, in the first place, I am entirely unsatisfied by any evidence—I have attempted even in a sympathetic spirit, to go into the matter—entirely unconvinced by any evi-

dence which, in the face of the most explicit challenge has ever been produced by friends of the Suffrage movement, that there is any strong or considerable volume of opinion in its favour amongst the women of this country?

Signatories to Petitions.

Let no one think I desire to open a somewhat sterile controversy as to the number of signatories to Petitions presented to this House for and against, for I think it is a most fallacious method of determining public sentiment. Still, for what it is worth, one finds that from 1890-1906 only 193,000 women signed Petitions to this House in favour of female suffrage, and that during the last eighteen months, a period in which a strong Anti-Suffrage Association has been in existence, 300,000 women, some of them eminent women, have signed petitions against it, and to the effect that these proposals shall not be forced upon them. A rather interesting illustration was furnished by an inquiry which was instituted by "The Sheffield Independent," a newspaper which I think itself is sympathetic with these proposals. This inquiry was addressed to the women householders of Sheffield. Twenty-three thousand papers were sent out and of the replies 9,000 were in favour of Woman Suffrage and 14,000 were against it. The representatives of this paper reported that in many cases their emissaries were chased with violence from the houses by the female inhabitants under the impression that they were collecting statistical matter as the emissaries of the Suffragist party.

I would carry it even further. I would not ask this House in this matter to decide upon the evidence of the signatories to Petitions, or upon the evidence of the provincial newspaper, but I would invite every Member of the House of Commons to use his own judgment of two criteria upon this point. The first is that of the women in his own constituency and the second is that of the women of his own acquaintance. Let me speak for myself. I can only say representing as I do in this House a very large working-class constituency, and having in the clearest possible manner indicated my views on this subject at each Election, and having made the kind of inquiry which every Member of this House is in a position to make among the women of his acquaintance, I am satisfied that the claim which is put forward that the great majority of women, or that any majority of women, desire a vote, is one that cannot be substantiated. But, Sir, I confess that if I were satisfied that every woman in the world wanted a vote it would not influence me one bit. When we point out how many women there are who are opposed to female suffrage we are told that those who do not want to vote need not vote. We are told that it is not to be compulsory, and the woman to whom the opportunity to vote is given and who has not the desire to vote has no grievance if this ability is given to those who are anxious to use it.

An Unconvincing Argument.

Such an unconvincing argument has never been brought forward. What would it have been to an intelligent negro of the Southern States who had believed, after careful reflection, that the possession of the Suffrage would not be in the best interests of his fellow-countrymen as a whole? What answer would it have been to such a man to have

said, "You are not bound to vote if you do not wish to vote. Your countrymen may vote, but you are not compelled to vote"? The whole objection of such a man would be as the whole objection of these women who do not want a vote—that they do not wish to be governed by other women. The real answer to the claim that is put forward that women want the vote, even if that claim could be abundantly substantiated, is that the mere fact of even a widespread desire on the part of women should not be decisive on the question. I agree that that circumstance will be one of which wise statesmanship will take careful notice, but which it will never treat as decisive of this controversy, always recognising that from whatever type of Bill one approaches the question one is brought back to this, that the whole issue is whether or not the larger policy is in the interests of the State as a whole; that is, of the whole body of male citizens and female citizens. When the position is presented in this way, the hon. gentleman opposite falls back upon another line of argument, and let me say quite frankly, upon a very powerful argument, and one of which I recognise the force. It would answer no useful purpose for me or any other opponent of female suffrage to contest that the case has been supported, and can be supported by powerful arguments; if it could not it could hardly have become a matter of high controversy. The whole issue, of course, in the computation of a political argument is on which side does the balance of national advantage fall.

The Position of the Married Woman.

I always have been struck in this controversy—and I was particularly struck when I heard the forcible presentment given to it by the hon. gentleman—by the argument that it might ameliorate the conditions under which many working women live their lives. I feel there is great cogency in his arguments. But before I address myself to the point may I remind the hon. gentleman of what I think he has overlooked, namely, of what, after centuries of man-made law, is the position of women. Considering the matter for a moment as the Suffragists claim, I boldly affirm, taking in the first place the position of married women, that after centuries of man-made law, woman to-day occupies a position so preferential that no parallel can be discovered in any civilised country of the world. At the present moment every Member of this House who is married is under the obligation to provide for his wife, and I am not complaining of that. No Member of this House enjoys a right of compelling his wife to contribute to his support unless he becomes chargeable to the poor rates, however poor he may be and however rich she may be. In the second place, if I or any other Member of the House neglects to provide his wife with decent means of subsistence—and, be it observed, even if by her conduct the day after the wedding she has made it absolutely impossible for the most patient man ever born to live with her—he is in no way relieved from his obligation to maintain her. If she—I am taking an unfortunate illustration—slander or assault a neighbour we are liable. If we slander or assault a neighbour, under no circumstances, whatever her means may be, is she liable. She is protected, in consequence of some assumed fallibility of judgment, against any attempt on her part whilst she is married from anticipating her property and is confined to the income; and, in the second place, she is under no personal

liability in respect of contracts. To carry to a conclusion the somewhat unhappy menage which I have supposed for the purposes of my argument, should she ultimately bring divorce proceedings against the unhappy husband, then, however innocent and successful he may be, he will yet be called upon to pay both her costs and his own.

There is only one grievance that can be successfully alleged existing in the case of married women, and that is the difference between the grounds upon which divorce will be given in the case of the two sexes, and even that distinction does not exist in Scotland. Let me just make this observation on that. I have never been among those—and I have had some little experience of, and practice in, divorce courts—who have found themselves able to support this distinction, and, if women as a sex concentrated to assimilate the conditions under which divorce is given to the two sexes, I believe an overwhelming majority of the House of Commons would support them. In summarising this part of the case, may I ask whether anyone who has sat in this House of Commons for a long period knows of any one case when the advocate of a woman's grievance has come to the House of Commons, and has said, "I have established this grievance, and I ask the House of Commons for remedy," and has failed to meet with a sympathetic reply from all parts of the House? I would ask one further question in the same sense. Has there been one case within recent memory in the House of Commons where the issue of any question affecting women has shown the slightest partiality in favour of the male sex over the female sex? I do not believe that any speaker in this debate can point to one illustration of such partiality within these twenty-five or thirty years.

Women's Wages.

Let me pass on to what is a far stronger point in the argument of the hon. gentleman. He said with great force that unmarried women, and particularly working women, would benefit by, and ought to be given, the leverage of the vote. Let me not attempt to underrate, for the purpose of my argument, the troubles of those women who earn their own livelihood. I think it is incomparably the greatest and the saddest tragedy of the whole of our industrial life. But the question to be asked is this. How far is the case exaggerated which says that the possession of a vote would be likely to remove the grievances under which they lie? The commonest argument of the militant suffragists, which you will hear on every platform which they address, is that if the factory girls of Lancashire, upon whose unanimity the hon. gentleman prides himself so much, will support the cause of female suffrage, they will obtain larger wages than they obtain to-day. It is perfectly true that women obtain lower wages than men obtain. I am not sure—I speak under correction on this point—that any authorised leaders of male trade unions have ever been able to recommend to any large bodies of their supporters the proposition that all women workers should receive the same wages as men workers. I would add this further observation, that while it is true that women's wages are lower than men's wages, the reasons for that inferiority of wage are obviously, ultimately, physical and economic. I do not say that there may not be some balance left over when you have made those two allowances. But the hon. gentleman and his supporters never make

either of those allowances, which are obviously of the utmost importance. First of all, as everyone knows, women are physically weaker than men. This, of course, must be an enormous element in considering the wage they secure for exacting forms of toil. In the second place, men devote all their time, all their lives: women, in many cases, a part of their time and only for a period of their lives. And, in the third place, there is no such organisation, with very few exceptions in the North of England, in the case of female employment as exists in the case of men. I may be told by some that, after all, it was votes that enabled the working-men of England to form their trade unions, and that a similar power should be given to women, but the answer to that is obvious, that the votes which have secured trade unions for them have equally secured trade unions for women. Every step which has been gained as the result of both long and painful years of controversy in the interests of male combination has equally been gained in the interests of female combination. If that is true, it gives away a large part of the female suffrage argument. Is it not plain that the whole power of legislation in raising wages has been grossly exaggerated by those who lay stress on the subject in this connection? Are votes to-day helping the operatives of Lancashire to maintain their wages? Are they helping the casual labourers at the Liverpool docks? Are they helping those of the unemployed who have votes? Have they helped agricultural labourers in the years in which they possessed votes? Surely consideration of these and similar questions and circumstances in our industrial life shows how predominant have been purely economic causes in the fixing of rates of wages. Take the case of domestic servants—housemaids or others. Their wages have appreciated 50 per cent., like many of the classes with which I have been dealing, and they have appreciated, of course, from a cause which is a purely economic cause, and has nothing whatever to do with the question of the suffrage.

Australia and Norway.

An argument which has been used by the hon. gentleman to-day is the argument supplied to us in the case of our own Colonies. I do not think anyone who is discussing this subject with any pretence of completeness would be right to leave it without calling the attention of the House to the broad fact that we are asked, first—we, this great country, with all the complex systems which are dependent upon us—we are asked to take a step for which there is no example in any of the first-class countries of the world. May I take the case of Norway, which, so far as I know, is the only sovereign country cited in these Debates? We are asked to see in the circumstances of Norway some justification for the proposals recommended to us. The population of Norway is 2,358,000, distributed over a territory of 124,000 square miles. Is there anybody who will say that such an illustration as that of Norway supplies us with the slightest useful guidance in the decision we are asked to make now? Then we come to the case of Australia. When I spoke of first-class countries, of course, I meant, and I think everyone understood perfectly well that I meant, countries discharging in their entirety sovereign functions. What is the instance of Australia? The population of Australia is 4,200,000, distributed over 3,000,000 square miles, which is about one and a quarter inhabitants to the square mile,

and we are asked to see in the fact of a lady who formerly lived in Blackburn and is now in Australia, where there is a population of one and a quarter people to the square mile, and is in the enjoyment of this special franchise, an overwhelming argument as to why the Blackburn lady's sister should enjoy the same privileges in this country. I am wholly unconvinced by that argument, and further, let me point out that the Blackburn lady would not obtain the suffrage under this Bill. Take the case of New Zealand. In New Zealand the population is little over 1,000,000, and the area of the country is 104,000 square miles. How can anyone suppose that these countries afford any arguments at all for this Bill? I am at a loss to know why the hon. gentleman omitted the case of the Isle of Man. We might derive useful guidance of the same class from the circumstances of a small and enterprising place like the Isle of Man.

The Suffrage in Utah.

In previous Debates a large part was played by giving illustrations from the United States. I do not suppose that there is anyone who has followed the recent history of this question who will dispute that the case of female suffrage has undergone a very plain decline in the United States in the last fifteen years. Great reliance is sometimes placed upon the States which are in the enjoyment of female suffrage. I am sanguine enough to conceive that the mere recital of their names will make it unnecessary to pursue the argument any further. They are Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, and Utah. I do not think anyone familiar with the government of Colorado will desire to lay great stress upon the guidance which this country will receive from the consideration of its circumstances, and I do not wish to deal at length with the case of Utah. There is an interesting circumstance not wholly unconnected with Parliamentary strategy in a new community that the same Bill which abolished polygamy contained a clause stipulating for female suffrage in Utah, and as a result of the first election, Mr. Bingham Roberts, the uneasy possessor of three wives, was presented to a satisfied Legislature as one of the earliest members. It is to these communities that we are left for these petty illustrations.

There is only one other case ever cited so far as I know, and that is the case of Finland. I desire to lay some facts and figures with regard to Finland before the House, and I confess that I take these facts and figures from "Whitaker's Almanac." Finland has 3,000,000 population, distributed over 144,000 square miles, and its circumstances are thus described in sequent sentences in "Whitaker":—

"There is universal suffrage for both sexes, women are likewise eligible for election to the Chamber; the Finnish troops only exist in name."

Three Hundred Million Orientals.

Upon these illustrious precedents we are asked to mould an Empire of 450,000,000 inhabitants, with an Oriental population of 300,000,000 detesting government by women. With all the examples of the civilised world before us to guide us in this matter, we hold as we do the equipoise of Empire balanced on a democracy in the West and a bureaucracy in the East, we are asked to be the chief body upon whom this experiment

is to be made on a large scale for the first time in the history of the world. The hon. gentleman reinforces that modest claim by reminding us that women have served with advantage to the community upon town councils and boards of guardians. That is most fully conceded. Is not the fact that they do sit on these boards proof that there is no restriction in this sphere which opens up to them the whole question of housing and of education, the care of the poor and the young, and of the mentally afflicted, and the social mischiefs on the sexual side, and opens up to them immense finances of the rates, with which they are far more intimate than with the question of Imperial taxation? Is not the fact that all these areas of activity are open to them to-day an answer to those who come here and say they are entitled to enter upon wholly different and vaster areas of work?

If I choose to take another point which is clear to my mind I might point out to the House that the degree of interest taken by women, whether as candidates or voters, in our local elections supplies a very strong argument as to the desire or otherwise of women for these votes. I confess I am astonished when in these Debates one reads the arguments presented by those in favour of this case, and sees how they never make the slightest attempt to grapple with the arguments upon which we rightly rely. Our arguments may be bad or good, but we always put forward the same arguments, and they have never been attempted to answer. Let me remind the House of a common-place in one contention which has been put forward in every Debate upon female suffrage, and which has never received an adequate answer. Why is it that the majority in this country or in any other are allowed to live peaceably? Because in the last resort they can be coerced, and because it is known to the minority that in the last resort they can be coerced, and because it is more easy to vote than to fight. In other words, votes are to swords exactly what bank notes are to gold—the one is effective only because the other is believed to be behind it. It is the whole basis of the theory upon which political sovereignty rests. If the majority, in fact, cannot coerce because the tribunal of force is weaker the minority will only submit as long as the issues are unimportant or are minor issues.

Negro Votes.

Let me take another illustration which Professor Dicey has used. Let me take the case of the negro voters in the Southern States. In the Southern States you have free suffrage in which both the white man and the negro are entitled to participate. Supposing all the negroes voted on one side, or supposing they united with a set of white men, which might easily happen, you would then have on one side a majority of negroes and white men, and on the other side a minority of white men. What happens in the Southern States in such circumstances? Not being prepared to revoke the form of the Constitution, which is impracticable in the circumstances, what is it that they do? They apply the most simple remedies. The stronger minority of white men say, "We do not propose to allow the majority to use their full legal power," and they institute an examination of knowledge of the Constitution, and the questions addressed to the white men are not always identical with those

addressed to the black men. The questions addressed to the white men are, for example, such as this: "Who was the last President of the United States of America, or who won the last pugilistic encounter?" The question addressed to the negroes is: "Discuss analytically the difference between the Canadian and Swiss Federalism." And it is astonishing how much more successful the white voters are than the black.

A Majority of Women.

I am not, of course, advancing the proposition that the women of this country will ever vote together, but you may easily have women with a minority of men attempting to impose their views upon the actual majority of the men. Supposing this Bill passed—and I honestly believe it is a Conservative Bill in its policy—supposing it passed and enabled me and my hon. friends who believe in national service in the first year of the new Parliament which would be called into existence to pass with the aid of the female vote against the majority of the male vote, and to carry through this House a proposal for compulsory national service. Would the Labour Party be prepared to accept that from the majority of the women? I venture to doubt it. Take another illustration. Supposing as the result of a sinister alliance between Mrs. Pankhurst and the right hon. gentleman the Member for Spen Valley (Sir Thomas Whitaker) that every public-house in the country were directed to be closed, and supposing that was done in opposition to the majority of the male and by the female vote. Do you suppose the men would ever acquiesce in that, or that they would dream of doing so? The result would be that you would be brought to the very verge of anarchy, inasmuch as that numerically the majority were unable to give effect to their decision.

Women and War.

Let me give another illustration. Supposing the powerful eloquence of the late Mr. Gladstone against the Bulgarian and Armenian atrocities found in women voters a fruitful and emotional soil, the result might have been that the women voters, or a majority of them, might have voted for war, and might have asked men who might have been totally unaffected by Mr. Gladstone's eloquence to fight in such a war. I am very little impressed by the statement which is made with so much sanguineness that women are against war and that the female vote would make for a pacific spirit. But even if that were true, it would be an additional reason that would disincline me to support this Bill, because as long as other countries are not taking a bias in the direction of peace I have no desire that we should, of all countries, be prepared to take such a step. The spectacle of a peaceful policy in this country finding no reflection in the policy of any other country gives additional cogency to my argument.

It is undoubtedly one of the arguments most frequently used in this question that man, actually or potentially, is a fighting animal. You make exception in the case of weaklings and old men; and the other argument is that women are, actually or potentially, against fighting. The significance of this point of view for this country must always be prodigious; and let this be noticed, that the differentiation of the sexes grows more acute, and not less, with every day of civilisation.

Mr. Wells's Views.

Consider an observation made by a very fascinating writer, Mr. H. G. Wells, who is a somewhat embarrassing ally of hon. gentlemen opposite on this point. He says:—

"The trend of evolutionary forces through long centuries of human development has been on the whole towards differentiation. An adult white woman differs far more from a white man than a negress or pigmy woman from her equivalent male. The education, the mental disposition of a white or Asiatic woman, reeks of her sex; her modesty, her decorum, is not to ignore sex but to refine and put a point to it; her costume is clamorous with the distinctive elements of her form. The white woman in the materially prosperous nations is more of a sexual specialist than her sister of the poor and austere peoples, of the prosperous classes more so than the peasant woman."

This fundamental limitation is not confined to the Army; it extends equally to police, governors of gaols, coastguards, and to every person by whom the coercive power of the State is directly exercised. The most characteristic quality in the conception of law is its sanction, or the means by which it is made effective. In making it effective no woman can play the slightest part. That argument is one of the most decisive. It is an elemental disqualification, and one which is periodical in its source of weakness, even before maternity, and during and after maternity it can generally be pronounced chronic. May I ask whether there is any supporter of this Bill who agreed with the child-like sanguineness of my hon. friend when he said he did not believe for a single moment women would ever sit in the House of Commons? It was unthinkable. May I ask whether that is the view of those who in other parts of the House are convinced supporters of the principle of female suffrage?

The Suffragist Ideal.

It is, of course, a common-place, and no one who has studied the suffragist literature is unaware that the ideal of those to whose energies the cause of woman suffrage owes everything, and whom we have to thank for the Government even giving us this two days' Debate is complete political equality between the sexes. I will ask my hon. friend who waves it away with what I believe a wholly unfounded spirit of optimism, if these proposals are brought forward, as assuredly they will, with what arguments is he going to meet them? If the fundamental disqualification of sex is once obliterated how is either my hon. friend or myself to reply to the hon. Member for Clitheroe (Mr. Shackleton) when he comes down to the House of Commons and asks the Government for two days, and when that Bill should go upstairs to a Committee in order to discuss the proposal as to whether women shall sit in the House of Commons? I can almost hear the speech which the hon. gentleman would deliver. He would say: "I agree it does not go so far as I would like. I would like to see women in the Cabinet, but, after all, I have always believed in getting the thin end of the wedge in, and therefore I will be satisfied on this occasion if the House will allow women to sit in the House of Commons." There is not one argument which can be used in favour of

giving women the vote which cannot be used in favour of their being allowed to sit in Parliament. I commend this reflection to the House.

Women as M.P.'s.

How about those ladies to whose eloquent advocacy in many cases of the cause of female suffrage its conspicuous position in politics to-day is mainly due? With what argument will those who believe in female suffrage meet their claim: "We who in the country have supported the heat and burden of the day; we, whose fitness to elect Members of Parliament you have recognised by your votes, claim the right to sit by you and discuss the laws which you have admitted we are entitled to vote upon in the country?" I know not by what argument that distinction will be maintained. They never deceived the clear and strenuous mind of Mr. Gladstone. He said:—

"The woman's vote carries with it, whether by the same Bill or by a consequential Bill, the woman's seat in Parliament."

I agree with that view. Hon. gentlemen opposite in their hearts agree with it too, and I would venture most solemnly to urge my hon. friends who, some of them, are in favour of this Bill, not to give a vote for its second reading unless they are prepared to face this logical consequence. The matter may be carried to a point which will cause even more poignant anguish to my hon. friend below the gangway. Mr. Gladstone anticipated with prescience an even further development. He said:—

"A capacity to sit in the House of Commons, logically and practically draws in its train capacity to fill every office in the State."

We are therefore face to face with this, that the vote carries with it as a logical corollary not merely the presence of women in this House, but the right of women to occupy the great executive offices in the State. If that be recognised, and none vote for this Bill who are not prepared to face the consequences, then I have no apprehension as to the result of the Division. I do not believe a majority in this House are prepared to face these results.

The Sacrifice of Womanhood.

The most appalling sign of all to those who believe this will be a prodigious misfortune is the levity with which the substance of everything that womanhood enjoys to-day and has enjoyed for centuries is to be sacrificed to the shadow. I saw a short time ago a statement made by a leading advocate of the suffrage cause that all she ever got from the respect paid to her sex by the male sex was that a man who met her would raise his hat, and she did not attach very high political or monetary value to it. The same paper, four days later, contained the record of a shipwreck, in which, with the most admirable heroism and discipline, every man of the crew obeyed the order of the captain that women and children should go first to the boats. I am far from suggesting that that would go; I do not believe it would go; but I do believe that all that has been regarded in the past as being most characteristic and of the greatest value to the country in true womanly character would be degraded, if not destroyed, by the proposals of this Bill. We are the legatees of the most nicely adjusted political fabric which the world has ever known.

We are asked to-day to make this final commitment without the slightest knowledge of how these votes will be given by women when enfranchised. We are told it is no answer to say women voters may be ignorant, and that men voters are ignorant too. That is the most crude application of the doctrine of political homœopathy to which I have listened. I do not assent to the gloomy view held of the capacity of male voters. During centuries in schools, in shops, the mill, the street, in clubs, in ale-houses—in all those places men are continually rubbing shoulders with their fellows and discussing public affairs, acquiring that extraordinary adaptability to the exercise of the vote which has long been the pride of this country in its democratic institutions. No such opportunities are open to women. If those specific discussions in the Conference which are taking place to-day should unhappily prove unsuccessful, we are threatened with the risk of being governed not by a bi-cameral, but by a uni-cameral system, and this is the moment chosen when we are asked to add two million electors as to whose bearing and trend on the polls no living man can pronounce with the slightest confidence.

If Sappho had never sung.

The hon. gentleman has spoken of many illustrious women writers and those of whom the whole sex, and, indeed, the whole community, irrespective of sex, are proud. I do not wish to decry the claim of women to intellectual distinction. I have never in the course of my observations here or elsewhere founded myself on some assumed intellectual inferiority of women. I do not believe it, but I venture to say that the sum total of human happiness, knowledge, and achievement would have been almost unaffected if Sappho had never sung, if Joan of Arc had never fought, if Siddons had never played, and if George Eliot had never written. At the same time, without the true functions of womanhood faithfully discharged throughout the ages the very existence of the race and the tenderest and most sacred influences which animate mankind would have disappeared. Profoundly believing, as I do, that these influences are grievously menaced by the intrusion of women into the field of politics, I move the amendment which I have on the paper.

Mr. Annan Bryce.

Mr. ANNAN BRYCE seconded the motion, pointing out that the hon. Member who introduced the Bill frankly said it was only, in his view, the thin end of the wedge. He went on to say that Mr. Gladstone and Sir William Harcourt in 1897 saw that any admission of the principle of woman suffrage, however limited, would carry with it the admission of the principle of adult suffrage. Their very emotional nature made women an easier prey to showy argument, to the influence of attractive personality, and to the allurements of a ceremonial church. It was said in New Zealand that since the introduction of the female vote the influence of clap-trap and cant had become greatly pronounced. No doubt in many parts of this kingdom the power of the clergyman would be enormously increased. But other considerations faded into insignificance compared with the result of the transfer of the balance of power to women, the effects of which were absolutely incalculable. What kind of authority would a Government have which depended on a majority given by

women? What kind of authority would the Government of Egypt have in that case? What kind of authority would the Government of India have in such circumstances? It was enough to consider the question of woman suffrage when women had shown that they wanted it. The clamour and din of a stage army, however picturesque, and the *mise en scene*, however attractive, could be, and were, no proof. The membership of the "suffragette" societies must rise from thousands to millions before proof was given of any real desire on the part of women for the suffrage. They had no real backing in the country.

Mr. Walter Long.

Mr. WALTER LONG dealt with the suggestion that women were not intellectually fit for the exercise of the franchise. He said that he had never opposed the extension of the franchise to women on the ground that they were not intellectually as capable as men if they compared one woman with one man. Women had played, and were playing, as great a part in the country as men. He agreed that it was not only of the great women of the age like Mrs. Fawcett, or that most distinguished opponent of the suffrage movement, Mrs. Humphry Ward, it might be said that they were able to exercise the franchise. He agreed that in towns and villages working women, so far as intellectual capacity went, had minds as powerful and were as able to form a judgment as men were. But he did not think that there was any solid ground for the argument that women had suffered through exclusion from the franchise. Although the anti-suffrage movement had started very late in the day, and the suffrage movement had got very far ahead before the other movement had started in opposition to it, yet he thought it remarkable that that second movement had gone on as rapidly as it had, and that already it had got a considerable hold on the country, and was able to show that it represented a very large number of women, who were just as anxious that it should not be conferred as those who asked for the franchise were that it should be conferred; and their reason was that they were most anxious that they should not be governed by other women. That showed that it could not be maintained that there was any strong demand on the part of the women of the country that this change should be carried into effect.

Mr. Belloc.

Mr. BELLOC asked what kind of woman was it who moulded the State, and to whom they who knew anything at all of human life would very gladly give some of its governance? The mothers of families and the wives; not the disappointed women, not the women who had not borne or could not or would not bear children. But under that Bill they would bring in every woman who had quarrelled with her husband and was keeping a separate establishment; every woman who wished to live her own life, whatever that might mean; every one of that sex who had a grievance against her Creator; and they would bring in a large body of that other class who numbered many thousands in every large city, to whom without the slightest doubt no civic influence whatever should be given; while these others whom, if any, they would gladly admit, were excluded. Let him use what to him as a demo-

crat was the most powerful argument of all. He knew that the great weight of popular opinion was utterly against the proposal. Members must know it. In the songs of the populace, in their caricatures, in their jokes, in their whole attitude towards the movement, the populace disliked it. The mass of popular opinion and the great majority of women were utterly opposed to the proposal.

Need of a Referendum.

Mr. S. H. BUTCHER said that there had never been a great question for the extension of the franchise put before the House with so little knowledge as to what the opinion of the country was. It seemed to him that it was just one of the very few questions on which one would like to get a referendum both of the men and the women of the country. He lately talked with a gentleman from Finland, which was one of the model countries in the eyes of the female suffrage party. He was very much in favour both of woman franchise and of all it carried with it. He was also a Socialist. The Diet consisted of 200 members, and already there were thirty women in the Chamber. These thirty women were highly Socialistic, and also highly moral in their legislative efforts. He understood that married ladies did not take a very great part in politics. It was the discontented spinster who did. It was she who was in favour of carrying out the ideas of Socialism and enforcing morality by legislation.

Mr. McLaren's Threat.

Mr. WALTER M'CLAREN said that if they desired to know whether the Bill was democratic, the answer was clear. In the Metropolitan area it would enfranchise about 197,000 women, of whom 95,000 worked for their living outside their homes, and were, therefore, of the poorer classes. Of the remaining 92,000, 70,000 kept no servant, and therefore unquestionably belonged to the poorer classes. That would simply leave some 22,000 who might be called well-to-do. The million women whom they proposed to enfranchise were the women who for twenty years past had been trained to exercise their vote. The rejection of the Bill would be the signal for an outbreak of agitation such as the country had never seen before; and he warned the House, with a sense of the seriousness of his language, that the rejection of the Bill would be one of the most disastrous things that could happen to politics in this country.

Mr. Churchill.

Mr. CHURCHILL said that he believed that there was a proportion of women capable of exercising the Parliamentary franchise, not merely for their own satisfaction, but to the public advantage, and he believed that that proportion of women was found in every class throughout the community. He believed the State would be the gainer if they had the vote, and if, in consequence of the vote, they had what he thought followed from that—access in the fullest sense to all positions in our public life. On the other hand, he thought the grievance was greatly exaggerated. The great mass of women were not in any sensible degree losers by the disability under which they lay. It could not be proved that they suffered any disadvantage in legislation. The Statute Book in fact

left them a privileged class. The greatest measure of social reform and social beneficence which had ever passed from the point of view of expense to the State was the Old Age Pensions Act, passed by a man-made Parliament, who at the very least considered the cause of woman as fully as that of man. He agreed with Mr. Smith that the standard of wages for women would not be raised by the possession of the Parliamentary franchise. It would be raised by making economic conditions better, and by further trade unionism among women. He did not believe that the great mass of women wanted a vote. They had made singularly little use of the immense opportunities of local and municipal government which had been thrown open to them. Although there were numerous brilliant exceptions, these exceptions did not alter the actual fact. He was not in the least convinced that the male electorate of the country was in favour of making a change, and he also saw a grave danger in creating without great consideration a vast body of privileged and dependent voters, who might be manipulated and manoeuvred in this direction or that. Might he say quite coolly what he thought the grievance actually was?

A Twofold Grievance.

It was a twofold grievance. First of all, there were a number of women who took a keen interest in politics. They belonged to the different political organisations. They worked with the utmost keenness and enthusiasm for the success of their various parties, and they were bitterly disappointed when they found that at the conclusion of all their labours those who had invoked their aid suddenly turned round and said: "Your assistance is not now required; you are unfitted to exercise the franchise, although you are fitted to exercise every other function leading up to it." He thought that was a grievance. It was a serious grievance. But there was a second grievance which was more serious, though it was purely sentimental. He meant that a denial of a recognised political status for the whole sex implied, and women thought implied, the slur of inferiority—a slur of inferiority, not to individuals, but to the entire race of women. He would like to see that grievance redressed and that slur effectively removed. There were—he spoke only for himself—only two ways in which the House would be able to redress that grievance. They could give the vote to some of the best women of all classes. That was the first way. Or they could give the vote to all women. First of all, they might give a vote to a comparatively small number of women of all classes by means of a series of special franchises—which, no doubt, would be disrespectfully called bound to say at once that I agree with my "fancy franchises"—franchises, that was to say, arising from considerations of property, arising from considerations of wage-earning capacity, or arising from considerations of education. That would not be giving votes to women on the same terms as men; neither did the Bill.

An Anti-Democratic Bill.

That would not be a democratic proposal, but, at any rate, it would not be anti-democratic as this Bill was. It would not provide protection for the weakest and feeblest among women. It would provide for the representation of the sex through the strongest, most capable, and most responsible women of every class, and that would meet

the main grievance in his humble judgment. He had urged the friends of this movement in the House not to close their minds altogether to some attempt to advance along that path. Apart from that method, which he recognised was not likely to excite any enthusiasm, there was only one other that was worthy of consideration, and that was a broad measure of adult suffrage, or practically adult suffrage, by which every person should have a vote over the age of twenty-five years. The Bill was neither one thing nor the other. It was not a genuine democratic reform nor a fairly balanced restricted mitigation of the grievance which existed. It was an enormous addition to the franchise of one million persons, and altogether a capricious and one-sided addition to that franchise. It was not merely an undemocratic Bill; it was worse. It was an anti-democratic Bill. It gave an entirely unfair representation to property, as against persons. He had only to turn to what they had heard quoted frequently in the Debate—namely, Mr. Booth's figures in regard to London. Out of the 180,000 women voters it was calculated that 90,000 were working-women, earning their living. What about the other half? Half of these voters were persons who had not to earn their own living. At any rate only half of them were workers. How many of the propertied voters would be increased by the husband's giving a £10 qualification to his wife and five or six daughters? It was open to question whether it would not be possible for a wealthy man with a large family or retinue of dependants to multiply faggot votes by letting to them any property of the value of £10 within his own residence. The basic principle of the Bill was to deny votes to mothers and wives—that was to say, to deny votes to those who were upon the whole the best of their sex. They were asked to defend the proposition that a spinster of means living on the interest of man-made capital was to have a vote, and the working-man's wife was to be denied a vote even if she was a wage-earner and wife. This was the new democracy.

The debate was continued by Mr. Kirkwood, Mr. A. W. H. Ponsonby, Sir W. Nugent, Mr. Leach, Mr. H. Chancellor, and Mr. Leonard Brassey.

The Premier's Speech.

THE PRIME MINISTER said: The great interest which has been excited by this Debate and the high level of argumentative ability with which it has been sustained, I think, amply justify the decision of the Government to allow, for the very first time in our Parliamentary history, a full and adequate opportunity for the discussion of an issue which is not less grave because it does not belong to the domain of party politics. I am right hon. friend (Mr. Haldane) that, having regard to our practice and procedure in such matters, this is not the class of measure the details of which ought to be left for discussion and settlement by a Committee upstairs. I do not profess in any way to represent even the views of my colleagues in the Cabinet or those of my hon. friends who sit behind me. If I intervene at all, instead of adopting the much more convenient and comfortable course of recording a silent vote, it is simply because I think it would be almost a dereliction of duty if, after many years' experience and reflection, I was not prepared to offer to the House such counsel on a matter of this kind as seems to me to be wise and just.

We have heard a great deal about the "principle" of this measure. I am unable to discover—and as the Debate proceeds I am increasingly unable to discover—what is the principle which is supposed to have combined together those who promote and support it. It is called, I know, a "Conciliation Bill," and that phrase is apparently intended to convey to us that it is a Bill which has succeeded in uniting for the moment and for its own particular purposes all the various sections, carrying different flags and aiming at different goals, who are devoted to the cause of the political enfranchisement of women. The hon. Member (Mr. Shackleton) who is the Parliamentary father of the Bill, speaks of it in terms scarcely even of parental affection. He admits that it is a makeshift, an experiment, an instalment, even the thin edge of the wedge, but he has no regard for it and no affection for it except as the first step upon a longer and steeper road, which is to lead to adult suffrage without discrimination of sex. But my hon. friend's most powerful supporters in the course of this Debate, I think, even on the opposite side of the House—I take even the right hon. gentleman (Mr. Lyttelton) and the noble lord (Lord Hugh Cecil)—entirely repudiate this construction of their intentions, at any rate, in supporting and voting for the Bill. They both declared in the most explicit terms that nothing will induce them to go a step further in the direction of adult suffrage, and the noble lord shrinks in horror and trepidation from the first, the simplest, the most inevitable, logical application in passing a measure of this kind—namely, that the persons whom it enfranchises should be eligible for seats in this House.

The Principle at Stake.

What, then, is the principle at stake? It is certainly not the political equality of women and men. That is not it. I have no doubt the hon. Member (Mr. Shackleton) says he is a supporter of that principle. Let him embody it in a measure, and I predict that he will not get the support of half the gentlemen who are going to vote with him in the Lobby to-night. It is not a question of the political equality of men and women. On the contrary, the sole difference between them and some of us—whom my hon. friend no doubt regards as even more reactionary—is at what particular point you are to draw the line of demarcation which is to recognise the political inequality of men and women. It is impossible, therefore, to pretend, having regard both to the character of the Bill itself and the kind of arguments which have been used to justify their support by some of those who are going to vote for it that this is a Bill which in any true sense of the word lays down the principle of the political equality of the two sexes. What its principle is I do not know. It is some principle not yet defined, which in the opinion, at any rate, of a large number of those who profess it has exhausted its practical application when, out of the millions and millions of women there are in this country, you have selected one million—it may be a little more or less—as the sole depositories and recipients of political rights, while you are incidentally excluding, by the very framework of your measure, from all share in the possibility of exercising political power or privilege in this country the great bulk of the wives and the mothers of our countrymen. It seems to me impossible to practice conciliation at

the expense both of logic and of common sense. Here, again, I am speaking entirely for myself. Those of us who object, not only to this, but to what I conceive to be the much more reasonable scheme for the partial or total enfranchisement of women, proceed upon the principle which, whether it is right or wrong, is certainly intelligible and capable of being stated in plain English.

Colonial Experiments.

I believe, having regard to the social and political expediency of such a country and such an Empire as ours, it is better to maintain the distinction of sex which has always hitherto been treated as lying at the root of our Parliamentary system, and which has been, and is, recognised, with exceptions trivial in number and not in any way relevant in their circumstances, by all the great civilised nations of the world. I do not wish in the least degree to disparage the experiments which have been made by our own Dominions and Colonies. New Zealand and Australia are great fields of social and political experiment. No one who is acquainted with the circumstances of those countries, their vast areas, their sparse population, their social and economic conditions, separated by almost as great a distance as they are in point of geography from ourselves, can say that even had the experience been long enough, and the lessons taught by that experience been more generally agreed upon, they form any relevant guidance as to what is to take place here. The principle which I have just endeavoured to enunciate involves no adverse reflection whatsoever upon the intellectual capacity of women. We have to deal in politics not with individual cases, and not even with classes. We have to deal with causes and tendencies—physical, intellectual, emotional, spiritual—operating and interacting on a large scale and over a wide field. It is quite impossible, in my judgment, to determine what will be the practical consequences, both to women as a sex and to this country as a State, of such a measure, or any measure of political enfranchisement, if you confine your attention to the intellectual capacity of this woman or that, or even of women as a whole. You have to look at much larger and wider considerations than those. You have to look to the functions which, by nature and by our social development, they as individuals and as a class are equipped to discharge in such a community as ours. Nor is the principle—in my judgment, at any rate, for reasons which I have pointed out at length some years ago, and which I will not repeat to-day at length—in any way inconsistent with the doctrines of democracy. Democracy wages war against, artificial, and not against natural, discriminations. It is true—and I am glad it is true—that women have of late years been admitted, with good results, to occupations and spheres from which, in days gone by, they were excluded.

No one would deny—I should be the last personally to deny—that there is a large field where mutual kinds of co-operative work may be carried out by men and women jointly, and in many parts of that field not only does sex not disqualify, but, on the contrary, it imparts special qualification to women in the pursuit of the duties specially appropriate to them. I will give one illustration which came within my own administrative experience. When I first went to the Home Office as Secretary of State, now nearly twenty years ago, I found that the inspection

of factories and workshops was entirely confined to men. There are employed in these factories and workshops a vast number of women and girls, and it seemed to me irrational and almost grotesque that the administration of our sanitary laws and our protective laws in these factories and workshops, in so far as they affect the lives and health of women and girls, should be left to men, who cannot claim any special knowledge of their own regarding the particular care of women in such places. I therefore, and not without a good deal of perturbation and trepidation on the part of the officials with whom I was surrounded at the Home Office, instituted a system of women inspectors which has since had a large development by my successors at the Home Office, and which has had the most beneficial results in the administration of our factory laws. That seems to me to be precisely the ground on which it may fairly be said in the light of rational experience that women are peculiarly qualified for the functions they were called upon to discharge, and with which in the public interest they should be invested.

Legislation for Women.

These experiments do not, in my opinion, form any kind of ground for the proposals that we should invite, or even compel, women—for an invitation would really amount in the long run to compulsion—to come into constant competition and collision with men in the daily work of national and Imperial Government. It has been said, I know—I have heard the argument used more than once in the course of this Debate—that the absence of women from the roll of electors has led, and does lead, to a neglect of women's interests on the part of the Legislature of this country. I do not believe that that is a statement which is historically accurate. I challenge comparison of our Statute Book with any code of legislation in any part of the world in regard to the degree of protection and care which it gives, not only to the property of women and to the status of married women, but to the position of women workers. I do not think you will find women fenced round with the same number of legislative safeguards in other parts of the world. I will give an illustration, which is also a concrete fact. We had a very good illustration in the course of last Parliament. I think it was in the first Session of last Parliament that the then Home Secretary introduced a Bill which involved a large extension to new classes of workers of the Workmen's Compensation Act. That Bill did not include domestic servants as originally presented to the House, and an amendment to include them was resisted in the first instance by the Home Secretary, but such was the pressure from all quarters of the House that these women, as the vast majority of domestic servants are, should not be excluded from the protection of the law that my right hon. friend had to yield, and he yielded very gladly, to that pressure. That was solely in consequence of the insistence of a Parliament elected by men. These are facts, and I do not think that anyone who has followed the course of our legislation will deny my general assertion that there is no country in the world where the interests of women are so zealously safeguarded and so sedulously respected by the Legislature as they are in this country.

I do not base my objections, such as they are, to this extension of the suffrage on any abstract theory or on any supposed code of natural rights. My objections are based on

knowledge of the inevitable tendencies of human nature which seem to me to involve consequences both to the sex and to the State—consequences injurious to the real interests, as I shall endeavour to show in a moment, of the one, and not without peril to the stability of the other. I shall not go over the ground which was covered in the able speech of the hon. and learned Member (Mr. Smith), who moved the rejection of the Bill. I will content myself with two illustrations, and two only, of what I mean by that proposition. I will first ask this question: If you extend the suffrage to the other sex, with whom will the ultimate political control of this country rest? Of course, in answering that question I look far beyond the scope of this half-hearted and unstable compromise.

A Reply to Lord Hugh Cecil.

I entirely agree with my hon. friend the Member for Clitheroe that if once this step is taken, it does not afford a logical halting-place. You must go farther. You must go at least as far as you are prepared to go in the case of men. For my part I should not regard any measure of woman suffrage as satisfying my conception of equality which did not confer the suffrage on women on precisely the same grounds as, for the time being, it is enjoyed by men. I cannot imagine a position more unreasonable, illogical, and inconsistent than that of the noble lord the Member for the University of Oxford (Lord Hugh Cecil). He is in favour of this Bill, and he says that after all it is quite a ladylike thing to go into a polling booth and put a cross on a voting paper as if that exhausted the whole matter. And yet when the noble lord is confronted, first of all with the prospect of adult suffrage, he begins to tremble and shiver, and when confronted with the inevitable and logical conclusion that if a woman is a voter, she must be eligible to be voted for; and if eligible to be voted for, she must be entitled to sit in this House if she is returned by a constituency; if she is entitled to sit in this House, she cannot be debarred from being placed in your Chair; and if she is fortunate enough to command the fidelity of those who sit behind, she may sit on this bench. If you grant the suffrage to women, all these things must follow, and ought to follow. I do not shrink from these conclusions in the least. I think they are inevitable. What I cannot understand is the position of the noble lord, who says that nothing will ever induce him to sit in a House where women have seats. The moment he is exposed to the full glare of such a logical consequence he is to retire at once to the most sequestered nook of the camp of conciliation. Let there at any rate be no misapprehension as to what we are doing.

In the long run, if you grant the franchise to women, you will have to grant it on the widest possible basis, and with all the consequences to which I have referred, and the result will be that you will have in this country, as at present constituted and as its population is likely to be constituted for a long time to come, a very distinct majority of women voters. I am not so foolish as to suppose that we are likely to see all women voting in one camp and all men in another. Nor is that a point which any sensible controversialist is disposed to make, but what you will see, or may see, is that on some particular issues, and in particular constituencies, and in reference to particular controversies, the male vote will be dominated and overborne by the female vote.

That is a state of things which is very likely to happen.

Undesirable Contingencies.

It appears to me that you are exposed to one or two dangers, or rather let me say, one or two undesirable contingencies. The first is that you may have a decision taken by the electorate which will not be regarded by the nation, the Empire, or the world at large, as decisions of the electorate now are, as having behind it the requisite moral and physical authority. That is one contingency. The other which I would deprecate almost even more, is that you would have what is not without parallel in other parts of the world, namely, a nominal and paper majority—of all political fabrics the most fragile and insecure—which exists only so long as it has the tolerance of the minority. In my view, and I think it will be the view of a great many gentlemen in all quarters of the House who have observed political developments carefully, one of the great dangers of democratic Government is what I, for want of a better phrase, will call intermittency of interests. That is to say, you have waves of enthusiasm and of movement which for the time seem to sweep everything before them. A particular cause, or a particular controversy, excites almost passionate interest among thousands or millions of people, and that is followed, or is very apt to be followed, as a wave is by the trough, by a period in which there is lassitude and indifference. In my opinion you will introduce what the Home Secretary a few moments ago so well described as this fluid and mobile element in your electorate, for everybody who knows the facts knows that in the long run, if you are going to introduce that fluid and mobile element in the electorate, you will enormously increase the danger of having fitfulness and capricious movement followed by intervals of indifference. What you want is something like continuity and concentration of interests, and anything which tends to impair that continuity or distracts that concentration appears to me so far *pro tanto* to cause the Parliamentary machine to be a less perfect instrument for the expression of the wishes of the nation.

Two Necessary Conditions.

We are dealing here not with the general controversy so much as with the merits of this particular Bill. I ventured to say a year ago, when I was approached by some of the supporters of this movement, that I did not think any measure of woman enfranchisement would commend itself to the House of Commons or the country unless it satisfied two conditions. In the first place, there should be the fullest and clearest proof that it was in accordance with the wishes and desires of the women themselves, and, in the second place, it must be democratic in its character and scope. Neither of those propositions is satisfied by the measure now before us.

What evidence is there that ought to influence the judgment of a tribunal such as this House that this measure is desired by the majority of the women, or by the majority of the electorate? We can all recall the circumstances of a very few months ago of the General Election of last January. Is there a man sitting on these benches in any quarter of the House who will tell me that woman suffrage was a question which influenced his return? I do not think there is a single man here who would say it did. And why? I do not want to press, I never have pressed,

the doctrine of mandate, as it is called, to its extreme, and it seems to me sometimes its extravagant conclusion. I quite agree that the majority for the time being are entitled, and are clothed with constitutional power, to alter the laws, and, if they please, the fundamental institutions of this country. But when you are trying to answer the question as to whether a particular measure is desired or not desired by the people, you are bound to go back to the circumstances of the election. As everybody knows, the circumstances of the last election were such that what with the constitutional controversy about the House of Lords, the financial controversy as to the merits of the Budget, the fiscal controversy as between Tariff Reform and Free Trade, woman suffrage played an insignificant part. It was not only not a predominant, but it was not a prominent, it was not even a subordinate, issue at the General Election.

The Need of a Mandate.

What House of Commons, without pressing the doctrine of a mandate too far, has any moral authority to make a vast change like this in the Constitution of the country by adding a million of votes to the electorate without its being proved by demonstration that it has in making such change the support or, at least, the sanction of the electors? Look back upon our previous reforms in the franchise. Everyone of them has been the result, often the tardily attained result, of years of agitation. Lord Derby described the passing of the Reform Act of 1867, which gave the household suffrage to towns as a leap in the dark, and no doubt that Bill did undergo a most marvellous transformation in the course of its progress through the Houses of Parliament. But even then the question of suffrage—household suffrage—had been the dominating issue at elections, and had been the dividing line between the two great political parties of the State for years before that measure passed into law. But here you are taking a leap in the dark without any of those precedent conditions which alone justify a responsible Legislature such as this in making a great change in the very constitution of the body by which it is elected. So much for that point.

The second condition, it appears to me, is equally ill-satisfied by this measure. Is it a democratic measure? My hon. friend who has just sat down said it was democratic because it adds 1,000,000 people to the electorate. That is not my notion. By democratic I understand a measure which does not create but removes distinctions—a measure which, in granting new political rights, grants them upon some intelligible principle of equality as between the different classes of claimants. I do not understand by "democratic measure" a measure such as this, which, as has been pointed out with admirable and unanswerable force by my right hon. friend the Home Secretary (Mr. Churchill), is really a measure which in its personal application would enable an enormous number of new qualifications to be manufactured by well-to-do people, and, as I believe, would enable them to adulterate the constituencies of the country.

It is really no answer to say, as I think was said a few moments ago, that it is already in force for municipal purposes. That does not deal with the case at all. That register is in force for municipal purposes, but when you add it to the Parliamentary

register the man who has got property may at once transfer his property qualifications to his wife and daughters, and may multiply votes to a very considerable extent if he holds a sufficient amount of property, and if he divides his property. It is no answer to say that this thing works well when the conditions are totally different. What the leaders of the Labour Party who are responsible for this Bill are really doing is in the name of democracy to introduce into the electoral roll of this country a number of property voters, a number of persons who are possessed, so far as I understand, of no special claim of any sort or kind to be distinguished from their fellow-women, and at the same time, as has been pointed out over and over again in the course of this Debate, they are deliberately leaving off the electorate that class of woman who would be entitled to be on it, who are best fitted by the circumstances of their lives and by the functions which they have performed to exercise political rights, the wives of our citizens and the mothers of our children.

A Travesty of Democratic Institutions.

It is a travesty of democratic institutions to have a measure such as this that does not satisfy the most rudimentary requirements of democratic ideas. I very much regret on this occasion to be at variance with many of my friends, but on this latter point I was glad to see that a very large number of those who are entirely in favour of the enfranchisement of women agree with me. The division which is going to be taken here cannot be regarded as a division upon a clear issue as to whether or not there is to be political equality between the sexes. I will add one word, and it is with very great regret: Some of us who have the courage of our convictions are told that our votes against this measure, if we do vote against it, will expose us to considerable peril, and the threat is held out of the life of persecution and perhaps something worse. Well, I am very sorry that such language should be used. I do not believe it will affect a single vote. The House of Commons would indeed be unworthy of its traditions and false to its duties and treacherous to the country if there is a man in it who is capable of allowing his vote to be influenced for a moment by such threats. It has been expressed on the very highest authority that all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword, I venture to say, and say with all sincerity and earnestness to the promoters of this movement, high-minded chivalrous men and women as I know the great bulk of them to be, that the cause which cannot win its way to public acceptance by persuasion, argument, organisation, and by the peaceful methods of agitation, is a cause which has already in advance pronounced upon itself its own sentence of death.

Mr. Balfour.

MR. BALFOUR said that he had always regarded with pain, and with the strongest moral disapprobation, the violent methods which had been adopted in that controversy, although he knew, as the Prime Minister himself had stated, they had been often adopted by persons with motives as high and as pure as the Prime Minister's or his own in the matter. But that injustice being admitted, he still thought, as he had always thought, that in the long run, though momentary appearances might be to the

contrary, the adoption of these methods would be ruinous to the cause in which they were adopted. He was one of those who did not believe that the enfranchisement of women would have any important effect upon their material well-being. He could not honestly say that he believed it would raise their wages. He could not honestly say that in his judgment it would initiate schemes of social reform which would take a different complexion, and be cast in a different shape, if women had the vote, from what they would be cast in if women had not the vote.

He was one of those who were extremely sceptical about the effect of lowering the franchise on what was called social reform. He did not believe that the extension of the franchise to women would, broadly speaking, have any effect whatever for good or for evil upon the legislation which that House passed. There was another point on which he did not quite agree with his friends. He would find his whole attitude on the question altered if he thought the majority of women were against the extension of the franchise. The Member for Oxford University who said the fact that a great many women did not want it was in his view irrelevant, because a great many women did want it. He said: "Let the women who want it use it, and the women who do not want it abstain from using it." He could not quite agree with him in that. He never heard of a great class excluded from the franchise being included unless that class itself desired it. He did not say every member of that class, but he did say the class speaking of it as a whole; and if it was the fact, as some asserted, though he took leave to doubt it, that women did not want it, then, although some might ardently desire it, he thought they themselves ought to be the first to recognise that they were not the spokesmen of a down-trodden class of our fellow-citizens. They could not claim to be preaching the redress of wrongs extended to half the human race when that half of the human race did not want those wrongs redressed.

Mr. Arnold Ward.

MR. ARNOLD WARD expressed the opinion that the hysterical action which had characterised the suffragist campaign conducted by women would remain inherent in their political activities after they had obtained the vote. Why had they committed militant acts? Because they honestly believed that not to have a vote was an intolerable injustice. When they had obtained the vote would there not still in their view be intolerable injustices to be redressed? He admitted that it was true that the vote would help women in some cases to improve their material position. Those who were in private employment would not be assisted in that respect, but postmistresses, telephone women, and others in public employment would, no doubt, gain by the possession of a vote. There was something in their situation that night which powerfully illustrated the indirect influence of women in politics. He did not know whether it was indiscreet to mention it, but in the course of making inquiries among members as to their attitude on this question he had found nothing more striking than the number of instances in which, he would not say the opinion, but the course of action of a given member had been influenced by a particular individual woman. Women had immense influence now

because they were women, and it was proposed now to give them in addition the direct political power of the vote. They felt certain that they could rely on the rising tide of popular opposition to this measure to support them in their belief that the responsibility of Government belonged to man alone, and that it would be cowardly and unmanly to lay it down.

Mr. Lloyd George.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said that he had always voted for woman suffrage in that House. He had voted for Bills that were badly drafted, but he never voted for the Bill which was incapable of amendment in Committee. Women in this country were affected by good Bills and by bad Bills, by good government and by bad government, just as seriously as were men. He had never been able to find out why they should not have a hand in fashioning the laws which affected their lives and happiness, and why they should not also have a voice in choosing the Government under which they lived. He had always taken that view. After the argument of intellectual inferiority had been abandoned, as it had been very frankly in the course of that discussion, he thought that the last shred of argument against woman suffrage had disappeared. Women who suffered wrong in this country could seek redress from every tribunal high and low equally with men except one. They could not approach the highest court in the land. They had no more right to appear before the High Court of Parliament than lunatics had. That was a position which could not long be defended. He could not, however, conceive the attitude of mind that induced anyone to give a Second Reading to a Bill which could not be amended in Committee. The Bill was framed in such a way that nobody could move another alternative. What did that mean? It meant that that Committee of Conciliation, whoever they might be—a committee of women meeting outside—came to the House of Commons and said that "not merely must you vote for woman suffrage, but you must vote for the particular form upon which we agree, and we will not even allow you to deliberate upon any other form." That was a position that no self-respecting Legislature could possibly accept. They had framed the Bill in such a way that it was quite impossible to test the question what form the extension of the suffrage ought to take in the opinion of the House of Commons. How had these ladies chosen to dictate to the House of Commons the manner of discussing the Bill? They had deliberately framed the Bill in a way that it was impossible to amend it, and for that reason he would absolutely not only refuse to vote for it, but with very great reluctance, and for the first time, he would give a vote against a Bill which appeared to be a woman suffrage Bill, but which was really an attempt to dictate to the House of Commons the way in which the question should be solved.

Mr. A. Chamberlain.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said the question of woman suffrage went to the root not merely of our constitutional and political system, it went to the very root of the whole construction of society and its whole conformation as we had witnessed it in its growth and development in the centuries of our history. They were told the Bill was a Conciliation Bill. Whom did it conciliate? It

did not conciliate those who, like himself, were opposed to woman suffrage in any shape or form. It was no conciliation to them to be told that they might proceed at first by easy stages towards the precipice over which they were ultimately to be pushed. The President of the Board of Education supported the Bill because it was the best way of breaking the ice. If they passed that Bill they had not arrived at a settlement of the question. They were at the beginning of a revolution, and he for his part, was not to be conciliated by being told that the first step was only a little one, for it was not the amount, but the thing itself to which he objected. It was not the number of women who were to be admitted, but it was the extension of the franchise to women as such to which he offered his resistance. There was no inconsistency between welcoming the counsel and advice of women and saying that the ultimate decision should be the decision of men, and that with them the final responsibility and power should rest. He might say, not going further afield than the circle of his own family, he owed a debt of gratitude to a wife and a sister, who would be the first to withdraw their support from him if he attempted to impose upon women the vote. Then let him observe that in his temporary separation from his leader he found some comfort in the fact that he had stated that day that if they could show to him that the majority of women did not desire the vote, then his support of the movement ceased. They were speaking on both sides in lamentable ignorance as far as proof was concerned. Many of them had convictions amounting to certainty, but on neither side could they advance proof as to the attitude of the majority of women. For his part, he was convinced that the great majority of women not only did not desire the vote, but were directly opposed to the obligation to voting being placed upon them. What were the arguments which were urged in support of that Bill, or of the demand of women to vote? for, in truth, in the short time that was his he was not going to argue the Bill. Its absurdities were so palpable, its inconsistencies were so glaring, that it was not really the Bill that they were discussing, and it would not be worth while if it were for him to delay the House for a moment. But what were the arguments urged in favour of giving the vote to women? Where they were not abstract arguments as to the rights of men or of women, in the style of Rousseau, they all came back to this: Woman could not be represented at the polls by man. If he, a male voter, could not represent women by his vote, could he, as a male member of that House, represent women there? No answer had ever been given to that question. Every argument which had been urged in support of the demand of women to the franchise could be urged with equal reason to support that ideal which the Secretary of State for War (Mr. Haldane) pictured, and to produce which, he said, in earlier years he had himself introduced a Bill—that ideal world in which there was no distinction in law between man and woman, and where what distinctions there were to be were to be left to nature to enforce. He thought it was better that the law should conform and that we should follow in our laws the distinction thus laid down. It was on that ground that he was an opponent of woman suffrage. In his opinion the sex of woman was a disqualification in fact, and they had better continue so to regard it in law.

In his opinion women were not qualified

to exercise the franchise, with all the succeeding steps which it would entail—not because they were inferior to man, but because they were different from man, and because these differences were of a kind which were vital in the consideration of this question. To impose upon two sexes unequally constituted equal burdens and equal rights, if they would, would, to ignore the distinctions set up by nature and to treat them as if they were artificial, to regard as ephemeral those differences which were profound and which have existed through all time and grow greater rather than less with the progress of civilisation, that was not to remove inequality or to alleviate injustice. It was to perpetrate injustice and create inequality.

After Mr. SNOWDEN had spoken the question was put, "That the word 'now' stand part of the question."

The House divided: Ayes, 209; Noes, 190. Mr. LEHMANN moved "That the Bill be referred to a Committee of the Whole House."

The House divided: Ayes, 320; Noes, 175.

THE QUEEN'S HALL PROTEST MEETING.

OUR great Protest Meeting, held in the Queen's Hall on the evening of July 11th, with Lord Cromer in the chair, fulfilled completely the expectations of its promoters. There was some disgraceful interruption by suffragists in the gallery, but it was kept in check, and the speakers had little difficulty in dealing appropriately with those who attempted heckling.

The hall was crowded, and among the audience, lady stewards, dressed in white, and wearing clusters of pink carnations, were busy selling literature.

Before the opening of the meeting, Miss Ibbotson, F.R.S.O., played selections on the grand organ.

Among those on the platform were: Gen. Sir R. Biddulph, Lady Haversham, Lord Haversham, Mrs. Burgwin, Sir Alfred Lyall, Lady Weardale, Lady Ashby St. Legers, Lady Tree, Lord Edmund Talbot, Duchess of Montrose, Lord Sheffield, Miss V. Markham, Sir Edward Clarke, Sir Hugh Bell, Mrs. Colquhoun, Mr. Leo Maxse, Lady Wantage, the Dean of Canterbury, Mrs. Humphry Ward, Lord Eversley, Mrs. Austen Chamberlain, Sir E. Tennant, Miss Soulsby, Prof. Ferrief, Lady Robson, Lord Sanderson, Rev. Stephens Roose, Sir West Ridgeway, Admiral the Hon. Sir E. Fremantle, Lady Edmund Talbot, the Hon. Gervase Beckett, M.P., the Hon. Nina Kay Shuttleworth, Sir Clarendon and Lady Hyde, Lady Clarke, Sir Hugh and Lady Alice Shaw-Stewart, Mrs. G. Macmillan, Mr. and Mrs. Massie, Miss Hogarth, and Sir Graham Bower.

Lord Cromer's Speech.

LORD CROMER said: I had better read to you the names of a few of those who entirely sympathise with our cause, but who are not able to be present here to-night. I ought perhaps to explain that this meeting has been got up rather hurriedly, otherwise I believe the list which I am about to read to you might have been almost indefinitely prolonged. The first name on the list is that of a very distin-

guished and indefatigable lady who presides over the Women's Anti-Suffrage League. I mean Lady Jersey. Other ladies are: Lady Simon, Mrs. Arnold Toynbee, Mrs. Austen Leigh, and Miss Filippi. Behind these few names there are something like 400,000 women of all classes of society who have signed petitions against female suffrage. The next on my list is Lord Curzon of Kedleston, and the next is Mr. Austen Chamberlain. And although I am not authorised to make any statement on his behalf, I believe I am quite correct in saying that Mr. Chamberlain's views are fully shared by his distinguished father, whose absence from political life is a cause of regret both to his political opponents and to his friends. The next are Mr. Walter Long, Lord Balfour of Burleigh, Lord Donoughmore, Lord Hamilton of Dalziel, Lord Stalbridge, the Duke of Montrose, the Earl of Glasgow, Lord Welby, Lord Shuttleworth, Lord Waldegrave, and Lord Weardale. We are honoured here also to-night with the attendance of some eminent members of the House of Commons, and that attendance would have been very much larger had it not been for the debate which is on in the House to-night on Mr. Shackleton's Bill. I have just come from the House of Commons, and I think we Anti-Suffragists may congratulate ourselves in having such a sturdy champion as Mr. F. E. Smith, K.C., who made one of the most eloquent and convincing speeches against the Bill that I ever heard in my life. Many members of the House of Commons have expressed their sympathy with our cause and their regret that they could not attend this meeting. I have also received a letter from the Bishop of Peterborough expressing great regret that he cannot be here. The law represented in the person of Lord James of Hereford, Sir Edward Fry, and Professor Dicey.

Professor Dicey's Letter.

I think I might as well read you an extract from Professor Dicey's letter to me. He says:—

"The one thing to which, in my judgment, every effort should be directed is to prevent this Conciliation Bill, to which I am pretty sure the electors would, if consulted, refuse their assent, being passed by a dodge through Parliament without any appeal to the electors. The present House of Commons has no moral right to impose such a momentous change upon the country without having a distinct mandate from the electorate to do so."

Then the medical profession is also represented in the person of Sir James Crichton Browne, and literature in the persons of Mr. Rudyard Kipling and Mr. St. Loe Strachey. Other names are those of Admiral Sir N. Bowden-Smith and Mr. Julius Bertram. You will observe from these names, and also from those who are present on this platform, that both of the two great parties in the State are amply represented. This is in no degree a party question. It is an almost unique example of a great political issue, where all of us, men and women, have to think for ourselves. There is no political caucus pulling the strings behind the scenes to relieve them of the trouble of thinking. This is not a meeting for discussion, but a meeting to protest. We are assembled to protest against the passing into law of a Bill very erroneously called a Conciliation Bill, which I venture to say entirely fails to conciliate the very large majority of those present here

to-night. It is a very insidious measure, though it may be supported by many plausible arguments. In appearance it is moderate. In reality, it is far from moderate. We have to look not at this special Bill, which gives the franchise to a very limited number of women, but to the ultimate consequences, and the ultimate consequences will be that there will be a strong demand which it would be very difficult to resist, to give votes to all women. We protest against this Bill because we consider it is fraught with danger to the British Empire. We protest against it because we consider that it would be subversive of domestic peace in our British homes, and because it flies in the face of nature, which has indicated clearly the spheres of action to be assigned to the two sexes respectively. We protest against it because those who make the laws should also have the physical force to cause the laws to be obeyed. And, finally, we protest against it because we do not consider that it contains any element of finality.

A Revolutionary Measure.

I am told that this hall, which is densely packed, contains some 2,000 people or more. We could have filled it over and over again with sympathisers in our cause, but outside there are our countrymen and countrywomen to be reckoned, by hundreds of thousands, who share our views, and whose common sense and political instincts will lead them to reject this unwise and revolutionary measure. If this large body of people are to make their views heard they must bestir themselves. What we have to fear is not so much the activity, and certainly not the argument, of our opponents, as the apathy and indifference of our friends. The fact of the matter is that we Anti-Suffragists up to the present time have been extremely good-natured. We have shown that forbearance and deference to women which is ingrained in us, and which the promoters of this Bill, as also the somewhat unmannerly young ladies in the gallery, are doing their best to undermine and destroy. I hope that forbearance will continue to be shown, but I decidedly think that the apathy and indifference should be cast aside. I am convinced that members of Parliament and others with whom the ultimate decision in this matter rests, do not as yet realise the very strong opposition which this Bill, and anything like it, will encounter in the country. I do not believe that the majority of the electors of this country, or the majority of the women themselves, want this Bill, or any Bill like it. They do not want female suffrage in any form or shape. Let us therefore do all in our power to convince those who are already pledged—and some of them much too hastily pledged to support this measure—that they have mistaken the views of their countrymen and countrywomen, and let us also do all we can to show those weak-kneed waverers, many of whom are thinking not so much of the merits of the question as to how to catch a few votes; let us show them that where they will win one vote by yielding to the pressure of the Suffragists, they will lose two by not offering a sturdy resistance to it. I hope therefore that this is only the first of a number of representative meetings which will be held in London and the United Kingdom.

The Committee of the League has organised a series of open-air meetings, and

I hope that at those meetings it will be made quite clear to the working women of this country that they have a great deal to lose, and nothing whatever to gain if this Bill becomes law. I believe the idea is very prevalent that if working-women get votes they will get their wages raised in all cases to the same extent as men. I will now only say that if women's work is equal in extent and quality, they ought to have the same wages, but, as a matter of fact, the reason why large numbers of women are employed in many trades at this moment is because their labour is cheaper. Once raise those wages, and the result will be to throw a very large number of deserving working-men and working-women out of employment altogether.

A Fallacious Argument.

What, after all, is the main fallacy which lies at the bottom of all this Suffrage movement? It is that it is held that there is an inherent and natural right for every human being, man or woman, to take part in the government of the country, and to have a vote. Once yield to that very fallacious argument, and you are already far on the high road towards universal suffrage for all men and women. That is what the main promoters of this measure wish for, and it is what most of us here present to-night are determined to the best of our powers to prevent their getting. There is no such thing as an inherent and natural right to vote. The common-sense and the political instinct of the British nation have always rejected abstract propositions of this sort. Voting is not a right. It is a privilege that can only be conferred by those who exercise the sovereign power, in this case the male electors of Great Britain and Ireland. In asking themselves whether they will extend that privilege, they have also to find an answer to one question: Is it in the general interests of the community and of the British Empire that women should have votes? I believe the very great majority of those present here to-night will give the same answer to that question as I give, and that answer is a most distinct negative. We want in the future, as in the past, to be governed by men, and we want in the future, as in the past, that women should exercise their very legitimate, their very natural, their very beneficial influence in that sphere of action which is most suitable to them, and that is in the home. (Cheers.)

Sir Edward Clarke.

SIR EDWARD CLARKE, K.C., said: I have to propose this resolution:

"That this meeting protests against Parliament passing any measure which would confer votes on women without a distinct expression of opinion from the nation."

If I am not greatly mistaken, this is a resolution which ought to meet with the unanimous support of all who are within these walls, whether they are in favour of votes for women or against; for whether they are in favour or against, they cannot deny that the change which is proposed is one which goes so very deep in our national institutions, that it would be absurd for a Parliament to pass a Bill and bring it into law without the distinct acquiescence and the approval of the nation. I am delighted with this meeting. To tell you the truth, it is now more than ten years since I had the pleasure of facing a public meeting without a good many of my opponents in it, and I never enjoyed anything more, for through the course of forty years of active political life I have never been at a meeting where, if my friends kept

silence, I could not very easily deal with my opponents. Lord Cromer is right in saying that we have no need to discuss here to-night. The great discussion has begun in the place which to all Englishmen is the place where great public questions should be debated and decided, where the chosen representatives of the people are meeting now, undisturbed by Suffragist interruptions, to consider and discuss this great question. We are quite satisfied with regard to that debate, and we know that Mr. Asquith, and Mr. Austen Chamberlain, and Mr. Walter Long, will speak for us in that debate. We are satisfied that our side of the question will be courageously and honestly set forth. Here anew we make our protest, and I shall make it for one in terms which I hope will convey no offence to our opponents, but I should like to utter a word of warning. For the first time to-day, this question becomes a real and important part of public politics.

"A Conciliation Bill."

There is only one aspect of the present Bill upon which I would say a word. This Bill is called a Conciliation Bill. A Conciliation Bill means making matters pleasant for your opponents. In this case it does not. It means making matters possible for your friends. It is not a Bill to conciliate the opponents of Woman Suffrage. It is a Bill to prevent the supporters of Woman Suffrage from flying at each other's throats; but the special characteristic of it is that, for the time, at all events, excludes altogether from the franchise the married women of this country. Now, that is a clear absurdity. I want to make two quotations from the supporters of Woman Suffrage with regard to this exclusion of married women.

The only time on which, so far as I know, my great and revered leader and pattern, Disraeli, spoke one word about Woman Suffrage was in 1847, when he said, "If Woman Suffrage were to be granted at all, the married women ought to be admitted to its privileges." But, believe me, this question of the admission of married women to the Suffrage will be in this matter exactly what in Home Rule the question of admitting the Irish members to the House of Commons was. It passed the wit of man to solve the difficulty, and I should like to read you this from the writing of one whom our young friends under the galleries will probably accept as an authority.

Mrs. Fawcett said, in 1889, in the "Nineteenth Century," that if married women were excluded, changes will be introduced into home life which have not been adequately considered; and then she gave her reasons against admitting married women. Those reasons are: "If married women were enfranchised, the effect in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred would be to give the votes to their husbands." Mind, I am not saying this. It is Mrs. Fawcett. But nobody dreams that a Bill could pass and come into law in this country which enfranchises girls like those who are making a noise under the gallery, and leaves without votes the women who, by their work in private life, by the exercise of those virtues which make the married women of this country a pattern to all the world, are doing their highest duty to their country and the race.

The Political Ignorance of Women.

Why is it that women are necessarily ignorant in politics, and therefore inferior to men? Because the necessary occupations of nine women in ten in every agricultural

or industrial community exclude them from the opportunity of obtaining that knowledge and experience which alone would enable them to deal reasonably with these matters.

The proposed extension of the franchise would lower the intellectual quality of the whole electorate, and lower it because women are necessarily by the conditions and occupations of their lives debarred from that study of political questions which men have the opportunity of studying. If the women were as well instructed as the men they would still be much less valuable and useful as a political influence. It is because they are more susceptible to prejudice and to personal influences than the men are to-day. The comparatively uninstructed part of the masculine electorate is dangerous to this country. It is the part which is operated upon at election after election by those mendacious placards issued by both sides in politics—placards about Chinese labour on one side, or cocoa taxes on the other—which have a great influence upon the uneducated part of the community, and mischievously disturb the balance of opinion. But the women would be more liable to it than the men. They have a smaller store of knowledge and a smaller store of experience to enable them to test and guard against these mendacious placards, which carry the art of exaggeration to such an extent that it only just fails from being an absolute lie. And there is another thing which I ask every one of you to think of quietly. You will be inclined to contradict it, I know, but do not be in a hurry to contradict. Think of it, and then think if you can honestly contradict it. It is that a woman electorate would be very much more susceptible to those subtle forms of corrupt influences brought to bear at every election. For these reasons, because the new electorate would be less educated, would be more passionate and sentimental, and therefore less stable, and would be more subject to those corrupt influences, for these reasons I protest we ought not to extend the franchise.

A Quotation from the King.

Last Friday the King received deputations and addresses, and he made answers to those addresses, in one of which—the answer to the address of the Convocation of York—there was a sentence which ought to be written in letters of gold within every house in this country. He said this, "The foundations of national glory are set in the homes of the people." They will only remain unshaken while the family life of our race and nation is strong and simple and pure." I do not know what opinion on the question we are speaking of to-night the King may hold, and if I knew I should not presume either to quote or to discuss it. But these words are to be remembered. They are the King's motto; the message which he gives in noble words to be treasured in the memories and in the hearts of his people, the key-note of a reign which begins with splendid promise, and which we hope will be long and prosperous and happy. We should now pledge ourselves to resist this proposal, and I for one, will never vote, or speak, or work, for any man who votes for Woman Suffrage. We take our firm and resolute stand against it because we believe that it will weaken and unsteady our national policy, that it will confuse the counsels of our statesmen, and that it will invade with an alien and mischievous influence that family life which is "the foundation of our national glory."

Sir Hugh Bell.

Sir HUGH BELL said: I am going to endeavour to lay before you the grounds on which I object to the concession of votes for women. It depends, it seems to me, upon a very far-reaching political proposition which lies at the root of all my political beliefs. In my opinion the sole effective sanction of society is force. It is on that which we rely in the ultimate resource for the maintenance of society. It is on that on which we are at this moment relying for the maintenance of peace throughout the world. Every civilised nation is lying under the burden of armaments, and is almost crushed by its armour. It is pretended that instead of force we should rely upon reason and argument in the matter of politics. Every unmannerly interruption which has greeted the speakers this evening is a sufficient proof that the women themselves are looking to force to carry their point. The arguments on the other side appear to me to be a compound of false economics and wrong-headed politics, mixed with an enormous quantity of sentimentalism. Read the admirable letter of Mrs. Ward in today's "Times," and compare it with any utterance you like on the other side, and tell me how you arise from the perusal of the two. I have taken the trouble to read a pamphlet which came to me from America the other day, where they have been holding a kind of discussion upon the merits and demerits of the question which is being debated there as it is here. And I can assure you that I arose from that perusal ashamed of the men and women who could put forward as arguments the silly nonsense they urged in favour of the grant of the suffrage to women. But let us assume that there were to be found a logical basis on which the extension of the franchise could reasonably be granted. I am glad we continually take credit to ourselves for being ruled by logic, and now we are well justified in that boast because the one thing that is necessary in logic is to be perfectly certain of your premises. In political matters the one thing of which you cannot be sure is that you have got the premises right, and for that reason I should demur to accept the syllogism that ended by giving me the proposition that it was right to give votes to women. If, on the other hand, I can logically show that women ought not to have votes, the matter is much more clear because there you see I have got all the premises before me. I know what is happening and I am sure I am omitting no important consideration.

It frequently is said that we have extended again and again the franchise to men. That is perfectly true. We have enlarged the franchise to men on grounds which appeared to us irresistible. They were not alone grounds of reason, though reason went for much in the matter. It was perfectly right the Chartists should ask for the enlargement of the franchise before 1832. They were making an appeal they were justified in making, and when women can make the appeal in the same terms then it will be granted. But observe, you have given away the only logical justification for your demands. You demand it because you say, among other things, reason ought to guide us in politics. But the very moment you entered upon the ground of conflict, that very moment you denied the justification of your demand. You put yourselves into an illogical impasse from which it is impossible that you can issue. Are you going to allege that women are stronger than men? Are

you going to say that you are going to carry on the work of the world as men carry it on? You cannot for a moment allege any such thing. In administrative spheres of activity to which women belong they are of incontestable value, but when it comes to the polling booth which is to determine the great policy of the nation both at home and abroad, there we say is no place for them, and from that polling booth, as from the House of Commons, we intend to exclude them. I claim for myself to be in the true sense of the word a democrat, and therefore I am able quite heartily to second the resolution. If, unfortunately, it be the pleasure of the nation, duly consulted, to decide this issue against me, then reluctantly I shall bow my head, but I shall do so in the firm belief that we have taken a step on the downward course and that the greatness of England is departing from us.

Miss Markham.

Miss VIOLET MARKHAM said: I beg to support the resolution which has been moved and seconded with so much ability, and as a woman, to bear my testimony to the profound objections that countless women feel to the principles and to the provisions of Mr. Shackleton's Bill. Now those young things in the gallery have been destroying my illusions ever since this meeting began, because I have always said it was a base slander on my sex that they could not listen to opinions which they did not hold themselves. So far as I can judge with regard to this Bill, the same sort of defence is forthcoming for it as for a certain celebrated baby in literature, namely, that it is only a very little one. I am afraid that is a defence which cannot be accepted. We say a change of such magnitude cannot be brought about without a definite expression of the wishes of the country. Looking round this platform to-night I take it that we represent a good many varied and mixed political experiences at the last election, and I appeal to anyone here whether their experience was not the same as mine, and I speak with some experience of electioneering in a great industrial district. I say that never once through that campaign did I hear the question of Woman Suffrage mentioned. Shall I tell you why? Because there was a great living issue before the country that silenced all others for the time being. The country did not consider Woman Suffrage either a living issue or an important issue. Now this Bill which we have come to protest against to-night, I must confess is sufficiently astonishing, particularly in its provisions. If I were a suffragist and setting out to give votes to women, it seems to me I should have a good deal to say against a Bill which enfranchised women of property at the expense of married women, and above all of the working women of this country. And I am very much surprised that Mr. Shackleton should have lent his name to such an undemocratic measure. But so far as we are concerned, in vain is the net, however conciliatory, spread in sight of the bird.

If I may say so without arrogance, we Anti-Suffragists take a long view of what the consequences of any establishment of that principle must be. And it is on a long view of those consequences that we reject the principle of political enfranchisement of women utterly and entirely. Some months since it was my good fortune to take part in a debate held between members of the Suffrage and Anti-Suffrage Societies. I was struck by this argument, brought forward by a lady

on the suffrage side: "We want the vote because we consider it would be good for us to have it." As a woman I was sorry to hear any woman take so narrow and selfish and individualistic a view of a great public issue, because a woman is not a woman unless she is standing for a higher and more spiritual expression of any matter, public or private. In a great national question of this kind, you do not want to be guided by what it is good for women to have—or for men to have for that matter—but what it is good for the nation as a whole to have, what will serve the best interests not of a class, not of an individual, not of a sex, but of the nation and the empire as a whole. We of the Anti-Suffragist cause say that in our opinion the grant of votes for women will not increase the efficiency of the nation and empire as a whole, but will be a weakening and a disturbing element in government and in the exercise of the sovereign power. The point is this: In any Bill to give votes to women you must see not only what it enacts but what it involves. What did Mr. Gladstone say about this matter as far back as 1892? He said that as soon as you cross the gulf that at present divides the administrative from the legislative functions of women, you cannot possibly stop there, that the right to vote implies sooner or later the right to sit in Parliament, and the right to exercise every legal and administrative function in the State. Your little modest Conciliatory Bill is the first step in this principle. Furthermore, any measure which enfranchises women of property to-day implies adult suffrage tomorrow, because adult suffrage is the only possible suffrage that is fair as between women and men.

I have nothing whatever to say about manhood suffrage, but as far as adult suffrage is concerned, in a country where the women outnumber the men by one and a-half millions, it means that the balance of power is taken out of the hands of men and put into the hands of women, and as a woman I say that that is an intolerable situation for a great nation and a great empire. At present we draw a line between the administrative and legislative functions of women, and we do this because we say that a woman's citizenship is different in kind and in quality from that of a man. It is not a question of inferiority or superiority—that old stupid red-herring. I should like to paraphrase the musical similes of Sir Edward Clarke and say you might as well discuss whether the white keys or the black keys of the piano are superior one to another. What we say is that it is the union of both which gives us harmony. Nature's Salic law, as it was well called by Professor Huxley, is a hard fact from which there is no escape. Say what you may, a woman's practical citizenship is not so complete as that of a man. She is physically debarred by her sex from taking part in very important functions of government. She cannot defend the State in any capacity, she cannot take part in any of the rough industries which are the great industries of this country, she cannot take part in any share of the government of the three hundred and forty millions of coloured people who form the major portion of the population of this empire. You rightfully give a woman a vote in local government because in local government a woman's citizenship is complete. All the subject matter of local government is subject-matter within her direct experience, and as Mrs. Somervell has truly said, it is but an extension of

her own mothering work, which is always a woman's greatest work in this world, whether she has children of her own or whether she has not. But when you come to the Imperial Parliament you find that some of its most important deliberations are concerned with matters from which woman is debarred by her sex from having the average knowledge that falls to the lot of the average man. I should like personally to conduct a party of the ladies who disagree with me down Whitehall and ask them to consider the government buildings. We might first pay a visit to the Admiralty, responsible for naval estimates of £40,000,000 this year, responsible for those great fleets on which our national existence depends, protecting commerce estimated at the enormous total of £1,700,000,000. Can women build or man battleships? Can women take them into action in the day of Armageddon? Can she serve as an able-bodied seaman in the humblest tramp steamer of the mercantile marine on the high seas? Take the War Office and the same principle applies. Go to the Board of Trade, and think of the complicated issues of a trade like ours covering the whole world. Think of the staple industries of this country in which woman only shares to a very limited extent. Then take the Treasury. I have the highest opinion of my sex, but I really do not think that Budgets and high finance are matters about which a woman's information is usually very valuable. I know, of course, there is a minority of brilliant women here to-night who are no doubt capable of floating loans and bringing forward an alternative Budget and solving the fiscal question. I am only speaking for the majority of ordinary commonplace women, and I can only say so far as we commonplace people are concerned our weekly house-keeping books give us as much scope for financial calculation as we have any fancy for. Take the Foreign Office and the Colonial Office. What share can women take in the control of those offices? And last of all take the India Office. What share can women take in the government of those three hundred millions which people that great Dependency? If women cannot have political experience of these matters, is there commonsense, is there logic, under a system of adult franchise in giving her the preponderating vote in the decision of matters of which she personally can know so little? I quite admit the ignorant man elector, but it is a most astonishing argument that because you have an ignorant element in your electorate you want to double it. Besides, the ignorance of a man is a different sort of ignorance from the ignorance of a woman. It is an ignorance of circumstances, of education, an ignorance which we hope some day absolutely to abolish and do away with in this England of ours. But woman's ignorance is an ignorance of sex, and applies as much to the educated woman as to the most uneducated woman in the land. To give political power without full political experience is altogether too great and dangerous an experiment for such an empire as ours, just because we are an empire and not a laboratory for the experiments of cranks and of faddists. I spoke just now of the government of India. The bearing of woman's franchise on the native question is a very important point in this controversy which I feel is too much overlooked. It is with all diffidence before our distinguished chairman that I even touch on this question to-night. But I do not think Lord Cromer

will deny my proposition that there is no graver or more difficult problem which lies ahead for the British Empire than the development of the social and political relations of the coloured races under the flag. It is a problem women cannot touch, and what the effect on native opinion would be of a preponderating female electorate in this country is a point which I respectfully offer to the consideration of any light-headed legislator who at this moment in another place is cheerfully whittling at the foundations of the constitution. Let me sum up the difference of ideal between the Suffragists and Anti-Suffragists. The Suffragists want political power. They disclaim physical force, but it is the physical force of the vote they are after. We, on the other hand, stand for the principle that we want to see woman's work and influence extended in all the directions in which it can be most valuable to the State and to the nation as a whole. I trust there will be no misconception as to the value we attach to women's public service to the State. I will go further and say that you will never have efficient local government in this country, you will never have full value out of any scheme of reform, of education, Poor Law, Housing, or Sanitation, until you have a far vaster number of women engaged in local government than you have at the present moment.

I have sat on local governing bodies for years, and when one knows how vast the field is, and how few the workers are, I feel I should like to divert the energies and the enthusiasm of many of the dear young ladies who go walking about London with banners in their hands into better and more fruitful channels. I say to them "Come and work in our workhouses, come and work on our education committees, come and work on our boards of guardians; come and help to make England a cleaner and sweeter and better place than it is at present. Deal with those matters which it is your own particular genius to deal with successfully. If you are to do these things it will not be by trying to set men and women by the ears, but by each sex developing to the highest points its own particular genius and its own particular gift that you will arrive at the highest maximum of life for the whole community, and that you build up a manhood on the one hand and a womanhood on the other which together form a nation capable of bearing worthily the great and onerous responsibilities that attach to the proud title of British citizenship."

The motion was then put to the meeting and carried by a large majority.

Mr. Leo Maxse.

Mr. LEO MAXSE said: None of us would like to leave this hall without expressing our indebtedness to Lord Cromer, one of the most brilliant and distinguished of living Englishmen, and one whose good fortune it has always been to enjoy the complete confidence of all parties in the State. It is an immense satisfaction to us, who take this question quite as seriously as those who are in favour of conferring the franchise on women, that Lord Cromer should have placed himself at the head of this movement. We feel that under him we shall not fail. Miss Markham appealed to anybody who might have had electioneering experience, as to what they learned during the General Election as regards popular feeling towards Woman Suffrage. May I in a sentence or two give you mine? I went north, west, east, and south. I am an unrepentant Tariff Re-

former and I made many speeches. I heard many more speeches, and I tell you that never at the sixty meetings I went to did I ever hear in any speech on a Unionist platform one single reference to Woman Suffrage, and I only heard one question asked about it. It does not interest the democracy of this country. It is a spurious, and to a great extent a London, agitation.

We resist this movement; we shall resist it to the end. May I tell those innocents in the gallery that if they imagine that a Unionist Government is coming into power, founded on a Woman Suffrage programme, they are making the greatest mistake of their lives, because any attempt to force that odious policy on the Unionist party would split that party from top to bottom. The leader of the Opposition makes a speech in its favour once in twenty years. The Prime Minister makes a speech against it about once every three weeks. In this matter I and many other Unionists prefer the opinion of the Prime Minister to our own leader, and there is so much opposition, determined opposition, in the Unionist party among the rank and file, among all the best men in the House of Commons that there is not the slightest chance of this becoming an item in the Unionist programme.

Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun.

Mrs. ARCHIBALD COLQUHOUN said: I have one or two things which are burning within me, which I want to say before I leave this Hall, and I appeal to the chivalry of my own sex to allow me to say these things. I want you to listen to me for one special reason. That reason is that I belong to a type of woman who has been rather cavalierly treated in the discussion of this Suffrage question. She is not a very spectacular woman; she is not a very interesting woman perhaps; she does not make a very good heroine for a problem play or a sex novel; she does not much adorn processions or frequent meetings; she is just the ordinary common or garden married woman living with her husband and her family. When Lord Cromer was introducing me with a few kind remarks about what I had done, somebody behind me said, "Why should I not have a vote?" Well, we are now talking about the special Bill before the House of Commons brought in by Mr. Shackleton. Ladies and gentlemen, that Bill would not give me a vote. It would not enfranchise the vast majority of married women living under their husband's roofs, many of whom, like I myself, pay income tax upon income which they earn, but who could not qualify as occupiers of separate dwellings, and therefore could not qualify for the municipal franchise as suggested by this Bill. I know that the promoters of this Bill are aware that this feature of the Bill is a disadvantage to it, and therefore they have put in a clause that no woman should be disqualified by marriage. That is cant. It is cant because the promoters of the Bill know quite well that a woman when she marries would and does disqualify herself in nine cases out of ten from earning that independent income or being in a position to occupy a separate dwelling place. Marriage is a disqualification. They are perfectly aware that the proposal before the House now cannot touch the married women of the country, and I think that is a situation too ridiculous to be considered by the men of the country, because if there is one great central fact which conditions womanhood it is the fact of her possible maternity. That great central fact of our

being conditions our social, our physical, and our moral lives, and any proposal professing to deal with women which does not place that fact in the forefront is a Bill which is rotten at the core and which cannot possibly be accepted by the country. I am opposed to the proposal to give votes to women because I do know a little about politics. I have seen something of political warfare in a very minor capacity, and that warfare is a great deal harder, keener, and more strenuous than many of our young friends in the gallery seem to imagine. The vote is not only a privilege, but it is a weapon. It is a weapon forged by men for their own use, and which they can use. I do not think it is a weapon which we women can use. The speakers have shown you already that one of the essential features of that weapon is that it must be backed by force. I want to see women in this country exercising more influence than they exercise at present. I want to see women helping forward this nation on the higher and the more upward path. I regard the proposal that we as a sex should be flung into the vortex of politics as a proposal which is a downward step and not an upward step, because we cannot fulfil the duties which nature has laid upon us in their entirety, and at the same time qualify ourselves for the great battle with this weapon which man has forged. We cannot do both. We are neglecting the first duties which are laid upon us; women in this country are neglecting their duties to-day. This is an age in which everybody is inclined to think that his next door neighbour should do his duty, and that he should go

out and do somebody else's. This danger is particularly strong with us women. Right at our doors it lies, that great field of the home, that great field of child-work, of child education which we have not by any means carried to the height we should carry it if we had our hearts in it. No votes are needed for this. We are crying for women to do the work which can be done by women in the schools, the work which she can be doing in checking that great infant mortality which is such a feature of civilisation to-day. This is work for women who are mothers, who are mothers in their souls if they are not mothers in their bodies. It is my supreme conviction that the vote would hamper us instead of helping us because at present we women stand outside party politics. That is a position which many of us who are social workers are most anxious not to forfeit. I am going a little further in this subject and will say I think we want a great deal less party in this country to-day than we have. The parodied quotation, "When all are for the party and none are for the State," sometimes occurs to us when we read what is going on in the country. We women can help in that as long as we are outside politics. It is for us to point the way always, to hold up the lamp, to illumine the path and always to fight for the ideal which is for us the highest thing. It is as wives and mothers first that we women must justify our existence and value to the State. There is nothing more open, more clean, and more wholesome than the influence of a woman over her men folk if she uses it in accordance with her ideal.

The Political Equality of Men and Women.

Just one more point, and I am going to tell it in the form of a story. A friend of mine was in a 'bus in London. He happened to be a very big man, with a beard and a red tie, and because he wore a red tie people took him for a Socialist and sometimes they asked him funny questions. A lady sat beside him and said, "Are you in favour of votes for women?" He said "No." She said, "Will you kindly give me your reasons?" He said "No." She got a little annoyed, and said various sarcastic things. He said, "Do you really want to know my reasons?" She said, "Yes." He said, "Well, I will give you one. You are one." The end of this story gives you in a very brief and concise form a very strong argument. He ended up by saying: "Madam, if a man who was a perfect stranger to me came and asked me impertinent questions about my politics and religion, I should knock him down or throw him out of the 'bus; but I cannot do that to you because you are a woman, and therefore I do not believe in the political equality of men and women." I have very great pleasure in seconding the vote of thanks, not only to our chairman, but also to the speakers who have so kindly come to-night to give us their support.

LORD CROMER, in acknowledging, said the success of the meeting was largely due to the efforts of Mrs. Colquhoun. So long as they had ladies like Miss Markham and Mrs. Colquhoun to advocate their cause among their sex, he felt certain that in the end they should win the victory.



AN ANTI-SUFFRAGE AUDIENCE IN TRAFALGAR SQUARE.

THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE OUTDOOR CAMPAIGN.

THE Outdoor Campaign began a month ago, when two members of the Men's League hired a cart and held a meeting on Hampstead Heath. The nucleus of a staff of outdoor speakers has been formed, and meetings have been held regularly on Sundays in five places in London—viz., Hampstead Heath, 11.30; Streatham Common, 3.0; Hyde Park, 6.30; Regent's Park, 6.30; and Wandsworth Common at 7.0. It is intended to extend the number of the meeting-places as quickly as possible, both in London and in the country, where it is hoped to send travelling expeditions to support the Anti-Suffrage organisation. In order to give public evidence of the coming activity of the campaign, a big meeting was held in Trafalgar Square on July 16th, which was largely attended by the general public to the number of quite 10,000. Excellent speeches were delivered from five platforms, by Mr. J. W. Hills, M.P., the Hon. Charles Mills, M.P., Mr. W. M. R. Pringle, M.P., Mr. Maconachie, Mr. Dundas Pillans, Mr. d'Egville, Mr. Borradaile, the Rev. J. A. Waldron (the Vicar of Brixton), Captain Waud and others. The Shottermill census was exhibited by a member of the Haslemere branch, and a number of members from the Bristol branch were on the plinth of the Nelson column. The resolution was carried by a large majority at the several platforms. There was nothing in the nature of disorder during the meeting. At all the outdoor meetings which have been held, we have readily invited questions, and have always allowed our opponents to use our platforms, a privilege never accorded to us by the Suffragettes. At all our meetings we have had large and interested crowds, and the vote is always overwhelmingly on our side. We have made it a rule never to hold meetings without the A.-S. tricolour flying overhead, and we hope that this rule will be observed at all future meetings in order that the public may get to know us.

LORD CROMER ON THE POSITION OF WOMEN IN EGYPT.

FREQUENT references are being made to the effect that Lord Cromer's and Lord Curzon's long residence in the East have imbued them with Oriental views upon the status of women. The following extract from Lord Cromer's book "Modern Egypt" (Vol. II., p. 538, *et seq.*), speaks for itself:—

"Looking then solely to the possibility of reforming those countries which have adopted the faith of Islam, it may be asked whether anyone can conceive the existence of true European civilisation on the assumption that the position which women occupy in Europe is abstracted from the general plan? As well can a man blind from his birth be made to conceive the existence of colour. Change the position of women, and one of the main pillars, not only of European civilisation, but at all events of the moral code based on the Christian religion, if not of Christianity itself falls to the ground. The position of women in Egypt and in Mohammedan countries generally is, therefore, a fatal obstacle to the attainment of that elevation of thought and character which should accompany the introduction of European civilisation, if that civilisation is to produce its full measure of beneficial effect.

"The obvious remedy would appear to be to educate the women. The remarkable and continuous progress of female education in Egypt within the last few years marks, in fact, very clearly the changes of custom and alteration of ideas which are taking place in the country. When the first efforts to promote female education were made, they met with little sympathy from the population in general. When, many years ago, this matter was first taken in hand, Yacoub Pasha Artin was the only Egyptian who took the least interest in it. More than this, most of the upper-class Egyptians were not merely indifferent to female education; they were absolutely opposed to it. They did not want the women to be educated. Even when girls' schools were with much difficulty established, parents, in the first instance, sent their daughters to school reluctantly and took them away early. In order to encourage the education of girls it was necessary to admit a large number of free pupils. Most of these came from the poorer classes, and left early, either to be married or because it was thought unbecoming for a girl to attend school after she had passed the earliest years of childhood. All this has now been changed. The reluctance of parents to send their daughters to school has been largely overcome. Free Education in the Government Primary Schools has been practically abolished. Demands are frequently made for the establishment of other schools in different parts of the country. The number of private schools for girls has also greatly increased of late years. Further, it is to be observed that the steady output of boys from the Secondary Schools and Higher Colleges has indirectly stimulated the movement in favour of female education. The younger generation are beginning to demand that their wives should possess some qualifications other than those which can be secured in the exclusion of the harem. The inter-

action of the two branches of education does not stop here, for not only has the growth of education among boys stimulated the desire for instruction to girls, but it has also tended to improve the quality of the education given to girls by prolonging the period of instruction. There appears good reason for supposing that, where education has made progress, the age of marriage has risen, and that in consequence the girls are allowed to remain longer than heretofore at school. The prospects of the future are, therefore, distinctly bright in connection with this all-important question.

"It, of course, remains an open question whether, when the Egyptian women are educated, they will exercise a healthy and elevating influence over the men. The few Moslem women in Egypt who have, up to the present time, received a European education are, with some very rare exceptions, strictly secluded. It is difficult, therefore, to form any matured opinion as to the results so far obtained.

"In Christian Europe the religious faith of women is generally stronger than that of men. The woman feels and trusts, the man reasons. The faith of Moslem women, on the other hand, is probably rather less strong than that of Moslem men. Neither need this be any matter for surprise. It is not merely due to the curious impulse which appears almost invariably to drive the East and the West in opposite directions. It is a consequence of the fundamental differences which separate Christianity from Islamism. Although it is an error to suppose that Mohammed's general plan did not involve a future life for women,* there can be no doubt that not only did he, by precept and example, relegate women to a position in this world inferior to that of men, but also that the religion which he founded is eminently one conceived by the genius of a man and intended for men. It is, therefore, natural that women should generally be less fervent Moslems than men.

"But the Moslem woman is, after all, a woman first and a Moslem afterwards. She would belie her sex if she were not impulsive and inclined, even more than the men, to run to extremes. Although, therefore, the faith of the Moslem woman may perhaps be comparatively weak, her prejudices in respect to all the customs and habits of thought which cluster round Islamism are as strong as, if not stronger than, those of the men. A Europeanised Egyptian man usually becomes an Agnostic, and often assimilates many of the least worthy portions of European civilisation. Is there any reason why European education should not produce the same effect on the Europeanised Egyptian woman? I know of none. Indeed, in so far as the Agnosticism is concerned, the woman, on the assumption that her faith is relatively lukewarm, would probably find less difficulty than the man in shaking herself free from the ideas and associations which have surrounded her from her cradle.

"It would obviously be neither safe nor just to draw any general conclusion in connection with this subject from such a limited number of facts and examples as can at present be adduced. If it be once admitted that no good moral results will accrue from female education in Egypt, then, indeed, the reformer may well despair of the cause of

* Surah III., verse 193, and Surah IV., verse 123, of the Koran are conclusive as to Mohammed's teaching on this subject. There can be no doubt that all devout Moslems believe that a future life is reserved for women.

Egyptian education generally in the highest sense of the word. The experiment of female education should certainly be continued with vigour. Few people now living can hope to see its results. All that can at present be said is that those results must necessarily be uncertain. But whatever they may eventually be, this much is well-nigh certain—that the European reformer may instruct, he may explain, he may argue, he may devise the most ingenious method for the moral and material development of the people; he may use his best endeavours to "cut blocks with a razor" and to graft true civilisation on a society which is but just emerging from barbarism; but unless he proves himself able, not only to educate, but to elevate the Egyptian woman, he will never succeed in affording to the Egyptian man, in any thorough degree, the only European education which is worthy of Europe.

"What the Egyptian man most requires is the acquisition of all those qualities comprised in the expressive Greek term *αὐδω*—poorly translated by the English word "self-respect"—and those qualities he can never fully acquire unless, like the Christian European, he becomes monogamous, and thus learns to honour the one woman whom he will also have sworn to love and to cherish until the hand of death parts him from his life-long helpmate."

A PARISH REFERENDUM.

MRS. BEVERIDGE and Mrs. Cortlandt White-way, hon. secretary and hon. treasurer of the Shottermill Branch of the Women's National Anti-Suffrage League, have addressed the following letter to the members of the House of Commons:—

"As it is admittedly difficult to learn at a General Election how far voters support any single item of projected legislation, we hope you will welcome the precise information given by the results of a complete parish poll on woman suffrage. It should be said, that the parish to which a referendum has been made, is not agricultural but industrial; that it is the permanent residence of leisured and well-to-do immigrants from towns, and is the country quarters of several London suffragists of known name. Moreover, while it has long been a field of varied suffragist activity, we have merely picked up opinion as that activity has left it.

"The statement here subjoined is a copy of the poster which declared the completed poll on July 2nd last:—

"Shottermill Parliamentary Voters' Poll on Woman Suffrage.

"Voters on Register, and Lodger claims allowed to July, 1910, 289.

ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS:

Voters whose wives poll with them	...	156
Voters whose wives poll for the vote	...	5
Voters whose wives take no part	...	23
Widowers and bachelors	...	21
Voters' total against Woman Suffrage	...	205

SUFFRAGISTS:

Voters whose wives poll with them	...	19
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Voters whose wives poll against the vote	...	1
Widowers and bachelors	...	2
Voters' total for Woman Suffrage	...	22
BALANCE OF THE REGISTER:		
Voters agreeing with their wives to take no part	...	44
Not polled through death, illness, removal, &c.	...	18
Total counting to neither side	...	62
Total Register	...	289
Voters' majority against Woman Suffrage	205—22	183
Women's majority on the register basis	157—24	133

Anti-Suffrage Majority, 316

"We would now ask you attention to the following points:—(1) The suffragists included in our poll are even weaker than they there seem, because, as we know in detail, they are not of one mind; (2) each anti-suffragist woman (one excepted) has her own voter to declare their joint will at an electoral poll; (3) Our referendum has not been made to a class but is as democratic as the franchise. Perhaps it will prove to be a short-cut to the final results of both the suffragist and the anti-suffragist petitions now referring the woman suffrage question to the nation.

"We next offer information (of precise pertinence on July 11) derived from a complete poll of the 260 women ratepayers in the six contiguous and residential parishes of Haslemere (122), Shottermill (36), Hindhead (31), Fernhurst (29), Lynchmere (22), and Grayshott (20).

ANTI-SUFFRAGIST:

Widows	...	61
Wives	...	5
Spinsters	...	40
		106

SUFFRAGIST:

Widows	...	29
Wives	...	7
Spinsters	...	34
		70

Anti-Suffragist majority ... 36

The balance of the register (84) includes 50 who take no part.

"We could supplement these figures by more from outside the register, but without the precision given by a through-and-through restricted poll.

"We have gathered in the opinions of some 1,400 persons; of men and women, not of girls and boys. We find in them nothing to lead us to expect a reversal of the verdict of the completed poll of Shottermill; rather, we expect a final result less favourable to the suffragist side, for this reason:—that we have, by letter, polled all but a few of the well-to-do in the whole of our work-area, and those remaining unpolled in it are of the class which here goes solid against woman suffrage in any form."

PLÉBESCITE IN CENTRAL FINSBURY.

MAJOR ARCHER-SHEE, M.P., for Central Finsbury, has written to the "Morning Post" as follows:—

"I was unable to take part in the Suffrage debate, and, consequently, was not able to bring forward the result of a recent poll of the women electors in the constituency which I have the honour to represent. I mentioned the figures at a political meeting the other day, and in consequence of the letters I receive on the subject I venture to ask you to give publicity to them.

"The following was the result of the poll:

Number on register	...	1,216
Died, ill, or away on holidays	...	94
Removals (untraceable)	...	181
No answer obtainable	...	21
Answers received	...	920
Against vote being given to women	...	535
Indifferent	...	257
In favour...	...	128

"All the cards received marked "for" or "against" were signed or initialled except eighteen of those "against" and nine of those "for" Woman Suffrage.

"To summarise the results: Over 86 per cent. of those returning answers were against or indifferent, and under 14 per cent. for.

"I believe that if a poll were taken in other constituencies the results would be similar, and I think that those who are in favour of Woman Suffrage have first to show that the majority of women demand it—before the matter is even considered at a General Election."

BOARDED-OUT CHILDREN.

A DEPUTATION from the Women's Social Local Government Society waited on Mr. Burns on July 7th to ask that a new order may be issued by the Local Government Board to make better provision for the carrying out of the Board's regulations as to the homes and care of children boarded-out within the Union.

Mr. Walter McLaren, M.P., introduced the deputation, and Lady Strachey read and presented the Memorial. Other members of the deputation were Miss Henry, R.D.C., Mrs. W. N. Shaw, Mrs. Maitland (formerly an active member of the London School Board), Miss Kilgour, and Miss Leigh Browne, Hon. Secretary of the Society.

The representations of the deputation were directed towards showing the need for the speedy issue of a new Within Union Boarding-Out Order to provide:—

For the regular visitation of every Within Union boarded-out child by a woman or women.

For the inclusion of a proportion of women members in every Boarding-Out Committee.

For the co-option, where necessary, of women members, and for the status of such members.

That, in any locality where the voluntary services of a sufficient number of well-qualified women cannot be obtained, a paid woman official shall be appointed by the Guardians.

And that Within Union Committees authorised by the Local Government Board may retain the power of employ-

ing at their discretion a medical practitioner other than the local Medical Officer of Health.

The deputation made a further representation as to the need for increasing at an early date the number of Local Government Board women inspectors of boarding-out, and as to the desirability of including among the qualifications for such inspectorship knowledge and experience of the requirements of healthy children as well as of sick children, and an acquaintance with different social classes and with the various aspects of country and provincial life. Mr. Burns received the deputation sympathetically, and said that he would consider the points contained in the Memorial.

OUR BRANCH NEWS-LETTER.

THERE is scarcely any necessity to comment on the enthusiastic response on the part of all our Branches to what we may almost term "the call to arms" from the Central League. All over the kingdom our Branches are working hard and loyally, and success is daily crowning their efforts, and though evidence was not before lacking that the majority of the women of England do not desire the suffrage, it is now more than ever abundant.

Bristol.—Much activity is being displayed by our very flourishing Bristol Branch, and the energetic Secretary, Miss Long Fox, is heartily to be congratulated on the state of Anti-Suffragism in Bristol.

A well-attended drawing-room meeting was held at Woodlands, Bower Ashton, by invitation of Mrs. Macdonald on June 16th, at which Mrs. H. C. Trapnell made a very able speech. At a working members' meeting held at 15, Royal York Crescent, Mrs. Rose in the chair, it was decided after discussing the Conciliation Bill, that as many more signatures to our petition as possible must be collected.

Village meetings held by Mrs. Radford at Keynsham, and at St. George's Park, Bristol East, have been largely attended, and much local interest has been aroused by these means. Letters were written to the four Bristol members and the Members for Thornbury and North Somerset asking them to oppose Mr. Shackleton's Bill, and a fund is being raised for the campaign of the Central Organisation. An immense audience assembled on Durdham Downs on July 9th to protest against the Conciliation Bill. Mr. Stanley H. Badcock was in the chair, and the speakers were Mr. A. Maconachie and Miss Lindsay, who delivered stirring addresses which so appealed to the audience that the Anti-Suffrage resolution was carried with the utmost enthusiasm.

Mr. A. A. Langlands, Mr. E. Radford, and Mr. G. Spafford also spoke.

Mr. A. C. Trapnell, Hon. Secretary, read the following letter from Mr. C. E. Hobhouse, M.P., for East Bristol:—

"I do not know that I can add anything to the expression of my views, which I have already made to the Bristol Anti-Suffrage Society, but I wish you every success at your meeting, and I only regret that my engage-

ments in London prevent me from being with you to render you all the assistance in my power."

Bath.—We are delighted to note that a very strong Branch of our League has just been established in Bath as a result of a meeting held at Bathampton House, the residence of Mrs. Dominic Watson, on July 16th, when addresses were given by Mrs. Maggs, an organiser of the League from London, and others. Lady Charlemont is the President of the Bath Branch; Mrs. Dominic Watson, Vice-President and Hon. Treasurer, and Miss Codrington, the Hon. Secretary.

Eastbourne.—A very successful protest meeting was held on July 8th at the Grove Hall, Eastbourne. The chair was taken by Colonel Sir Duncan A. Johnston, K.C.M.G., and there was a large attendance. The speaker was Mr. Arnold Ward, M.P. (a son of Mrs. Humphry Ward), who spoke on the Conciliation Bill. In the course of his remarks, Mr. Ward said Nature had made men strong to carry on the responsibilities of the Empire. If women were granted the vote, very few months would elapse before an extension of the franchise would be sought after. If they granted women's suffrage, they would see a hysterical outburst all over England. He ventured to say that the tactics of the suffragettes were entirely demoralising. Mr. A. J. Bowen proposed the resolution: "That this meeting is opposed to the granting of the Parliamentary franchise to women," and it was carried by a large majority.

A protest meeting, under the auspices of the Men's League, was also held on the beach on July 23rd, and attracted a very large audience. Mr. Maconachie gave a most excellent address, and answered very ably a number of questions addressed to him by some suffragists.

West Marylebone.—A very interesting meeting was held at the residence of Mrs. Jeyes, Hon. Secretary, on July 19th. The Dowager Lady Hastings (who is a niece of Lord Cromer, our staunch upholder) from the chair referred to the need for greater activity on the part of Anti-Suffragists, and read aloud Miss Octavia Hill's recent illuminating letter to "The Times." Mrs. Maggs spoke from the point of view of the Anti-Socialists, and showed how the Socialists intended to work the suffrage.

Miss Bradley explained the need of women in local government and confessed the difficulty of getting women to take up such work. As a speaker was a Suffragist, this point proved intensely interesting to the audience.

Mrs. Colquhoun, in proposing a vote of thanks to Lady Hastings, delivered a telling little speech. A social feature of this meeting was a strawberry and cream tea served in Mrs. Jeyes' pretty garden, and the Hon. Secretary's hospitality was heartily appreciated.

Monmouthshire.—The following comes from Newport: "Our general annual meeting was held in Newport the last week in June, Mrs. Prothero presiding. The report for the past year gave a very encouraging record of work done, together with a well-filled programme for the next few months, and we were able to say that although three large meetings had been held in Monmouthshire at which three thousand people have been addressed with most en-

couraging results, we still find that our financial balance is still on the right side of the sheet—a happy condition for which we are largely indebted to Lady Llangatock's generosity. Our membership steadily increases, and it is interesting to note that the greater proportion of this increase has been enrolled since the first reading of the Conciliation Bill! Petition work proceeds steadily, and we hope to send in a really good contribution in signatures from this Branch.

"Owing to the greater pressure of work in Newport, and the organising of sub-committees, the Hon. Secretary finds it advisable to invite the assistance of a sub-Secretary and by this means it is hoped to cope more effectively with the additional work. Many offers of assistance and hospitality in the form of drawing-room and garden Anti-Suffrage teas, were made by members present, which were gratefully accepted by the Hon. Secretary, Miss Prothero, who would be glad to receive any such kind and welcome invitations from ladies in other parts of the county. After various suggestions for the improvement of the Branch had been discussed the meeting closed, and members and associates remained to a tea hospitably provided by the Committee."

Leicester.—A very successful garden meeting was held by this Branch on July 11th in the grounds of Mr. Thompson's residence, Woodlands. Lady Hazelrigg took the chair, and was supported by Lady Faire and the officers of the Committee. There was a very good attendance, the best feature, perhaps, being the presence of several working women members who showed a keen interest in the working of the League. The object of the meeting was mainly to discuss the best means of opposing the Women's Conciliation Bill. Several speeches were made and listened to with evident approval, and suggestions were made for dividing the town up into wards for better individual working. This will probably be done and secretaries appointed for the separate districts in the early autumn, when it is hoped the Branch will be able to do some useful work. The following resolution was carried *nem. con.*:—

"That this meeting is in favour of a strong constructive policy on the part of the Anti-Suffrage League with regard to local government work, domestic and social reform."

Hitherto Longborough has been worked from the Leicester Committee, but as the town is a large one and strongly opposed to the suffrage for women, a meeting will be called and a separate Committee formed to work the whole district.

As the work of the Leicester Branch is very heavy a volunteer assistant secretary was appointed.

The meeting wound up with thanks to those concerned and a daintily-served tea.

The Leicester Branch, in pursuance of the policy decided upon by its Committee from the commencement, is devoting most of its energies to getting signatures for the petition forms. The greatest and most encouraging success is met with, especially among that body which the suffragists' camp regards as peculiarly its own—the working women. With few exceptions they readily sign the papers, and a morning's house-to-house work in the streets of the respectable poor will produce a splendid batch of names. In fact, it is under-estimating the case to say that 80 per cent. of the women thus visited are

strongly against the franchise being granted to women. Equally good results are being obtained by the Men's League whose members here are particularly active, and who meet with support in every direction. Discussions are being held concerning future activities.

Oxford.—A public meeting of protest against Mr. Shackleton's Bill was held in the Masonic Hall, Oxford, on July 7th, which was very well attended. Sir Robert Buckell presided, and was supported by Mr. J. W. Hills, M.P. for Durham, Mr. A. Maconachie, Dr. Farnell, Dr. and Mrs. Massie, Mrs. Max Müller, and Professor Jenkin. The Committee of the Branch had only three days in which to organise and advertise the meeting, and it was an unfortunate necessity that it should have to be held at a time when so many residents and members of the University are absent. In spite of these difficulties, however, the meeting was very successful. Letters of sympathy were read from Sir William Anson, M.P., Warden of All Souls; the Provost of Oriel, the Rector of Lincoln, the Rector of Exeter, the President of St. John's, and the President of Trinity; Professor Dicey, Professor Goudy, Professor Oman, Professor Stewart, Professor Macdonell, and Professor Gardner; Sir William Schlich; Sir Ernest Trevelyan; Dr. Hunt (reader in Papyrology); Dr. Cowley, Dr. Butler, Dr. Dixey, the Sheriff of Oxford, and others. Lady Wantage telegraphed to express her regret at her inability to be present. The following motion was proposed by Mr. Hills, seconded by Mr. Maconachie, supported by Dr. Farnell, and passed by all but a very small minority: "That this public and open meeting of Oxford citizens strongly protests against so revolutionary a measure as the Votes for Women Bill being rushed through Parliament without the country having a constitutional opportunity to express its opinion upon it, and earnestly prays the House of Commons to reject it." The proceedings closed with votes of thanks to the speakers proposed by Dr. Massie and seconded by Mrs. Max Müller.

On July 14th Mrs. Max Müller and the Committee of the Branch were at home to all the members and associates in the Assembly Room of the Town Hall. After an excellent address by Miss Lindsay, which was very much appreciated, tea was served at tables decorated with sweet peas in the colours of the League.

Richmond.—By kind permission of Mrs. Dalgarno-Robinson, a well-attended drawing-room meeting was held at Marshgate House, on June 4th, in connection with the Richmond Branch. Miss Trevor, President of the Branch, occupied the chair, and the speakers were Mrs. Colquhoun, of the Kensington Branch, and Lady Frances Burke, of the Paddington Branch.

Miss Trevor briefly introduced the speakers, and Mrs. Colquhoun made an interesting speech, answering some of the best-known suffragist arguments.

Tunbridge Wells.—The news from our Branch here is most encouraging. Three successful meetings have recently been held, and there is a very strong Anti-Suffrage feeling evidenced in this district.

Weston-super-Mare.—A meeting of the Weston-super-Mare Branch was held on June 2nd at the Popular Café, followed by a tea. In the absence from home of the President,

Lady Mary de Salis, the chair was taken by Mrs. Portsmouth Fry, and the appointed speaker was Mrs. Biddle, of Newport, Mon., who gave a most interesting and exceedingly practical address.

She called upon those present to do everything they could to increase their membership. Mr. Asquith said he would not introduce proposals unless the majority of women were in favour. They were not, and they could show it by the strength of their Branches and by means of petitions.

A hearty vote of thanks was accorded Mrs. Biddle at the close.

OUR EAST MARYLEBONE BRANCH.

A DRAWING-ROOM meeting, convened by the East Marylebone Branch, was held, upon the invitation of Mrs. Moberly Bell, at 22, Park Crescent, W., on July 15th, at which Lady Tree and others spoke. Lady Cromer, the President, occupied the chair, and those present included Lady Malmesbury, Lady Lugard, Mrs. Copland-Perry, Mrs. Elkin Salaman, and Mrs. Markham (Hon. Secretary).

Lady Tree said that all the woman in her cried out in revolt against the thought of woman suffrage. It was an idea which to her mind violated the fundamental principles of common sense and set at defiance the laws of nature. It was, moreover, a retrograde idea. It meant a destruction of the position of women which had been built up through the centuries. Since there seemed to be some difficulty in establishing the fact of their preponderance, except through the medium of agitation, she suggested that at the next taking of the Census there should be an attempt made to arrive at some rough conclusion in the matter of those who were for and those who were against the movement. She believed that those who dreaded the establishment of votes for women would be found to be immeasurably more numerous than those who demanded it. She did not allow that the women of England were represented by the terrific specimens of humanity who in her eyes degraded themselves by assuming the attitude of female fire-eaters. There were a thousand right ways by which a woman might right wrong in the world and one wrong way—and the wrong way was by trying to force an entry into the Parliamentary arena.

Dr. Leonard Williams and Dr. David Sommerville dealt with the question from a physiological point of view, and both expressed the opinion that on mature consideration women would find that they had a far finer field for good work than politics.

ANTI-SUFFRAGE ADDRESS AT THE EIGHTY CLUB.

DR. HEBER HART took part in a discussion on Woman Suffrage at a meeting of the Eighty Club held in the Whitehall Rooms on June 27th, at which Mr. G. Greenwood, M.P., presided. He said that the Conciliation Bill would be a singular measure to be passed into law by a Liberal Government. It would only enfranchise a very small percentage of married women, while it would leave the overwhelming majority of the women of the working classes as unrepresented as they were now. On the other hand it would greatly increase the power of wealth, because it would increase relatively the voting power of the upper and middle classes as

compared with the working people. It might fairly be said that the Bill would establish a Conservative Suffrage. There would be much to be said in its favour if it would settle the question of votes for women and satisfy all the aspirations of women who desired enfranchisement; but the supporters frankly admitted that the measure was meant only as an instalment, a temporary resting-place on the road to a much more extended suffrage for women. Were women sufficiently educated in this country to form a sound and stable policy in Imperial questions? Had they studied the Indian and Egyptian questions? The real racial problem was the differentiation of functions. Women gave us the raw material upon which politicians could act. This struggle was only the beginning of a vast effort towards women becoming citizens fully possessed of the same franchises and privileges as men. What would be given to the State and public life would be very largely taken from the family and the home, and it would be the worst act of prodigality to take women from their homes to dissipate their energies. While the women's movement had been developing the birth-rate had been declining; the Registrar-General's returns were getting worse and worse; the women of England were the least fertile mothers in Europe with the exception of France. The movement bade defiance to history, despised the past, hated the present, and gambled with the future. Mr. Herbert Jacobs, Mr. Frank Newbolt, Mr. Crawshaw Williams, M.P., and others also spoke.

ANTI-SUFFRAGE BADGES.

All members of the Anti-Suffrage League ought to possess one of the very pretty and artistic little badges which will proclaim their allegiance to the League and its principles. There are now three kinds of badges to choose from, each of them very dainty little ornaments, and they can be obtained on receipt of postal orders or stamps from the W.N.A.S. League Offices, Caxton House, Westminster. Solid silver badges, enamelled in design of rose, black, and silver, are 2s. 6d. each; white metal similarly enamelled 1s., and celluloid button badges one penny.

LIST OF LEAFLETS.

2. Woman's Suffrage and After. Price 3s. per 1,000.
3. Mrs. Humphry Ward's Speech. 1/4d. each.
4. Queen Victoria and Woman Suffrage. Price 3s. per 1,000.
5. Is Woman Suffrage Inevitable? Price 5s. per 1,000.
6. Nature's Reason against Woman Suffrage. Price 5s. per 1,000.
7. What Woman Suffrage means. Price 3s. per 1,000.
8. Woman's Suffrage and National Welfare. Price 3s. per 1,000.
9. Is the Parliamentary Suffrage the best way? Price 10s. per 1,000.
10. Women of Great Britain. Price 3s. per 1,000.
11. The Latest Phase of the Women's Suffrage Movement. Price 5s. per 1,000.
12. Why Women should not Vote. Price 3s. per 1,000.

13. Women's Position under Laws made by Man. Price 5s. per 1,000.
14. (1) The Franchise for Women of Property. Price 3s. per 1,000.
14. (2) Women and the Representation of Property. Price 3s. per 1,000.
15. (1) Woman's Suffrage and Women's Wages. Price 5s. per 1,000.
15. (2) Woman's Suffrage and Women's Wages. Price 3s. per 1,000.
15. (3) Votes and Wages. Price 5s. per 1,000.
16. Look Ahead. Price 4s. per 1,000.
17. Why the Women's Enfranchisement Bill (1908) is unfair to Women. Price 5s. per 1,000.
18. Married Women and the Factory Law. Price 5s. per 1,000.
19. A Suffrage Talk. Price 3s. per 1,000.
20. A Word to Working Women. Price 3s. per 1,000.
21. Votes for Women (from Mr. F. Harrison's book). Price 10s. per 1,000.
22. "Votes for Women?" 3s. per 1,000.
23. Anti-Suffragist's Letter. 6s. per 1,000.
24. Reasons against Woman Suffrage. Price 4s. per 1,000.
25. Women and the Franchise. Price 5s. per 1,000.
26. Woman Suffrage and India. Price 3s. per 1,000.
27. The Constitutional Myth. 3s. per 1,000.
28. We are against Female Suffrage. Price 3s. per 1,000.
29. Mrs. Arthur Somervell's Speech at Queen's Hall. Price 5s. per 1,000.
30. On Suffragettes. By G. K. Chesterton. Price 3s. per 1,000.

PAMPHLETS AND BOOKS.

- A. Freedom of Women. Mrs. Harrison. 6d.
- B. Woman or Suffragette. Marie Corelli. 3d.
- C. Positive Principles. Price 1d.
- D. Sociological Reasons. Price 1d.
- E. Case against Woman Suffrage. Price 1d.
- F. Woman in relation to the State. Price 6d.
- G. Mixed Herbs. M. E. S. Price 2s. net.
- H. "Votes for Women." Mrs. Ivor Maxse. 3d.
- I. Letters to a Friend on Votes for Women. Professor Dicey. 1s.
- J. Woman Suffrage—A National Danger. Heber Hart, LL.D. Price 1s.
- K. Points in Professor Dicey's "Letter" on Votes for Women. Price 1d.
- L. An Englishwoman's Home. M. E. S. 1s.
- M. Woman's Suffrage from an Anti-Suffrage Point of View. Isabella M. Tindall. 2d.
- N. "The Woman M.P." A. C. Gronno. Price 2d., or 1s. 6d. per dozen.
- O. The Red Book (a complete set of our leaflets in handy form). Price 3d.
- Q. Why Women Should Not Have the Vote, or the Key to the Whole Situation. 1d.

BOOKS AND LEAFLETS

- Published by the Men's League, also obtainable from The Women's National Anti-Suffrage League, Caxton House.
1. Why Woman Suffrage is an Illusion. 1s. per 100.
 2. Woman Suffrage and the Empire. 1s. per 100.
 3. Gladstone on Woman Suffrage. 1s. per 100.
 4. Queen Victoria and Government by Women. 6d. per 100.
 5. Lord Curzon's Fifteen Good Reasons Against the Grant of Female Suffrage. 9d. per 100.

6. Is Woman Suffrage a Logical Outcome of Democracy? E. Belfort Bax. 1s. per 100.
7. Speeches by Lord James of Hereford and Lord Curzon of Kedleston at a Dinner of the Council. 1d.
8. Woman Suffrage and the Factory Acts. 1s. per 100.
11. A £5 Note. The Legal Subjection of Men: A Reply to the Suffragettes, by E. Belfort Bax. 6d.
- Ladies' Logic: A Dialogue between a Suffragette and a Mere Man, by Oswald St. Clair. 1s.

BRANCHES.

- ASHBOURNE AND DISTRICT.**
President: The Lady Florence Duncombe.
Chairman: Mrs. R. H. Jelf.
Vice-Chairman: Mrs. Sadler.
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Parkin.
Hon. Secretary: Miss M. L. Bond, Alrewas House, Ashbourne.
- BASINGSTOKE AND DISTRICT.**
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Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Allnutt, Hazelhurst, Basingstoke.
- Basingstoke Town (Sub-Branch).**
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- Farnborough (Sub-Branch).**
Chairman: Mrs. Grierson, Knellwood, South Farnborough.
- Hartley Whitney (Sub-Branch).**
Chairman: Mrs. Lawrence Currie, Minley Manor.
- Minley, Yateley, and Hawley (Sub-Branch).**
Chairman: Mrs. Lawrence Currie, Minley Manor.
- Fleet (Sub-Branch).**
Chairman: Mrs. Hornblow, The Views, Fleet.
All communications to be addressed to Mrs. Allnutt, Hazelhurst, Basingstoke.
- BATH.**
President: The Countess of Charlemont.
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Provisional Hon. Secretary: Miss E. Blake, Kingswood, The Avenue, Beckenham, Kent.
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- BERWICKSHIRE.**
Vice-President: Mrs. Baxendale.
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Hon. Secretaries: Mrs. Sandby; Mrs. E. Lakin-Smith; Miss Baker.
Secretary: Miss Gertrude Allarton, 19, New Street, Birmingham.
- Bournemouth.**—President: The Lady Abinger.
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Drury Lowe.
Hon. Secretaries: Miss Fraser, Dorloch, Alum Chine Road, Bournemouth; Miss Sherring, Kildare, Norwich Avenue, Bournemouth.
All communications to be addressed to Miss Fraser.
- Bridgwater.**—President: Miss Marshall.
Hon. Treasurer and Secretary *pro tem.*: Thomas Perren, Esq., Park Road, Bridgwater.
- Bridlington.**—No branch committee has been formed; Lady Bosville Macdonald, Thorpe Hall, Bridlington, is willing to receive subscriptions and give information.
- BRIGHTON AND HOVE.**
President: The Hon. Mrs. Campion.
Vice-President and Hon. Secretary *pro tem.*: Mrs. Curtis, "Queex," D'Avigdor Road, Brighton.

- BRISTOL.**—Chairman: Lady Fry.
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. A. R. Robinson.
Hon. Secretaries: Miss Long Fox, 15, Royal York Crescent, Bristol.
Assistant Secretary: Miss G. F. Allen.
- CAMBERLEY, FRIMLEY, AND MYTCHELL.**
President: Mrs. Brittain Forwood.
Vice-President: Miss Harris.
Hon. Secretary and Treasurer: Mrs. Spens, Athallan Grange, Primley, Surrey.
- CAMBRIDGE.**—President: Mrs. Austen Leigh.
Hon. Treasurer: Miss Seeley.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Bidwell, 10, Barton Road, Cambridge.
- CAMBRIDGE (Girton College).**
President: Miss K. H. Brownson.
Treasurer: Miss D. Watson.
Secretary: Miss R. Walpole.
- CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY.**
President: C. C. Perry, Esq., M.A.
Hon. Secretaries: Herbert Loewe, Esq., M.A., 6, Park-street, Jesus Lane, Cambridge; D. G. Hopewell, Esq., Trinity Hall, Cambridge.
All communications to be addressed to D. G. Hopewell, Esq.
- CARDIFF.**
Acting Hon. Secretary: Austin Harries, Esq., Glantaf, Taff Embankment, Cardiff.
- CHELSEA.**—President: Lady Hester Carew.
Hon. Treasurer: Admiral the Hon. Sir Edmund Fremantle, G.C.B.
- Cheltenham (Sub-Branch).**
Hon. Secretaries: Mrs. Myles, 16, St. Loo Mansions, Cheyne Gardens, S.W.; Miss S. Woodgate, 68, South Eaton Place, S.W.
- CHELTHENHAM.**—President: Mrs. Hardy.
Hon. Treasurer and Hon. Secretary: Miss Geddes, 4, Suffolk Square, Cheltenham.
- CRANBROOK.**
President: Miss Neve, Osborne Lodge.
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Mordaunt, Goddard's Green, Cranbrook.
- CROYDON.**
Provisional Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Corry, Rosenheim, Park Hill Road, Croydon.
Assistant Hon. Secretary: Miss Jefferis, 49, Park Hill Road, Croydon.
- CUMBERLAND AND WESTMORELAND.**
Chairman: Hon. Nina Kay Shuttleworth.
Hon. Treasurer: Miss Thompson.
Hon. Secretary: Miss Howard, Greystone Castle, Penrith.
- DUBLIN.**—President: The Duchess of Abercorn.
Chairman: Mrs. Bernard.
Hon. Treasurer: Miss Orpin.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Albert E. Murray, 2, Clyde Road, Dublin.
Asst. Hon. Secretaries: Miss C. H. Pollock and Miss Dickson.
- DULWICH.**—President: Mrs. Teall.
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Dalzell.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Parish, 1, Woodlawn, Dulwich Village.
- East Dulwich (Sub-Branch).**
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Batten, 2, Underhill Road, Lordship Lane, S.E.
- EALING.**
President: Mrs. Forbes, Kirkconnel, Gunnersbury Avenue, Ealing Common.
Hon. Treasurer: L. Frenckergast Walsh, Esq.
Hon. Secretary: Miss McClellan, 35, Hamilton Road, Ealing.
- EALING DEAN.**
Joint Hon. Secretaries: The Misses Turner, 33, Lavington Road, West Ealing.
- EALING SOUTH.**—Mrs. Ball.
All communications to be addressed to Miss McClellan as above.
- EALING (Sub-Division), CHISWICK AND BEDFORD PARK.**—Chairman *pro tem.*: Mrs. Norris.
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Greatbatch.
Hon. Secretary: Miss M. Mackenzie, 6, Grange Road, Gunnersbury.
- ACTON.**—Branch in formation.
- EASTBOURNE.**
Hon. Treasurer and Secretary: Miss I. Turner, 1, Hardwick Road, Eastbourne.
- EAST GRINSTEAD.**—President: Lady Musgrave.
- EDINBURGH.**
President: The Marchioness of Tweeddale.
Vice-President: The Countess of Dalkeith.
Chairman: Mrs. Stirling Boyd.
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Paterson.
Joint Hon. Secretaries: Mrs. Johnston, 19, Walker Street; Miss Kemp, 6, Western Terrace, Murrayfield, Edinburgh.
- EPSOM.**
President: The Dowager Countess of Ellesmere.
Joint Hon. Treasurers: Mrs. Godfrey Lambert, Woodcote, Esher; Mrs. Lawson, Brackenlea, Esher.
Joint Hon. Secretaries: Miss FitzGerald, Lammas Cottage, Esher; Miss Norah Peachey, Esher.

EXETER—

Chairman: C. T. K. Roberts, Fairkill.
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Depree.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Lessey Derry, 4, The
Crescent, Mont Radford, Exeter.

GLASGOW—

President: The Duchess of Hamilton.
Chairman of Committee: Mrs. John M. McLeod.
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. David Blair.
Hon. Secretary: Miss Eleanor M. Deane, 180,
Hope Street, Glasgow.
Chairman: Mrs. R. I. Tidswell.
Vice-Chairman: Mrs. Nigel Haines and Mrs. W.
Langley-Smith.
Hon. Treasurer: W. P. Cullis, Esq.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Naylor, Belmont, Bruns-
wick Road, Gloucester.

GOUDHURST—

Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Fitzhugh, Grove Place,
Goudhurst.

HAMPSTEAD—

President: Mrs. Metzler.
Hon. Treasurer and Hon. Secretary *pro tem.*
Miss Squire, 27, Marlborough Hill, N.W.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Talbot Kelly, 96, Fellow
Road.

North-West Hampstead (Sub-Branch)—

Secretary: Mrs. Reginald Biomfield, 51,
Frognaal.

North-East Hampstead (Sub-Branch)—

Secretary: Mrs. Van Ingen Winter, M.D.,
Ph.D., 31, Parliament Hill Mansions.

HAMPTON AND DISTRICT—

Hon. Treasurer: H. Mills, Esq.
Joint Hon. Secretaries: Mrs. Ellis Hicks Beach
and Miss Goodrich, Clarence Lodge, Hampton
Court.

HAWKHURST—

President: Mrs. Frederic Harrison.
Hon. Secretary: Miss Patricia Baker, Delmon-
den Grange, Hawkhurst.
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Beauchamp Tower.
All communications to be sent to Mrs. Frederic
Harrison, Elm Hill, Hawkhurst, for the
present.

HEREFORD AND DISTRICT—

Hon. Treasurer: Miss M. C. King King.
Joint Hon. Secretaries: Miss Armitage, 3, The
Bartens, Hereford; Miss M. Capel, 22, King
Street, Hereford.

District represented on Committee by Mrs
Edward Heygate.

Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Sale, The Forbury
Leominster.

HERTS (WEST)—

Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Lucas.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Mitchell-Innes, Churchill
Hemel Hempstead.

Co. Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Stafford, The Warren,
Potten End, Berkhamsted.

HULL—

Hon. Treasurer: Henry Buckton, Esq.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Walker, 18, Belvoir Street.

INVERNESS AND NAIRN—

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

ISLE OF THANET—

President: Mrs. C. Murray Smith.
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Fishwick.
Hon. Secretary: Miss Weigall, Southwood,
Ramsgate.

ISLE OF WIGHT—

President: Mrs. Ogländer.
Hon. Treasurer: Miss Lowther Crofton.
Provisional Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Perrott,
Clantagh, near Ryde, Isle of Wight.

KENNINGTON—

President: Mrs. Darlington.
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Millington, 101, Fentl-
man Road, Clapham Road, S.W.

KENSINGTON—

President: Mary Countess of Ilchester.
Hon. Treasurer: Miss Jeanie Ross.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun.
The Kensington office (14, Church Street) being
now closed, all communications should be
made to the Hon. Secretary, 25, Bedford
Gardens, Kensington, W., until further notice.

KESWICK—

President: Mrs. R. D. Marshall.
Hon. Treasurer: F. P. Heath, Esq.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. J. Hall, Greta Grove

KEW—

Hon. Secretary: Miss A. Stevenson, 10, Cum-
berland Road, Kew.

LEEDS—

President: The Countess of Harewood.
Chairman: Mrs. Frank Gott.
Hon. Treasurer: Miss E. M. Lupton.
Hon. Secretary: Miss Gabrielle Butler, St.
Ann's, Burley, Leeds.
District Secretaries: Miss H. McLaren, 158,
Otley Road, Headingley; Miss M. Silcock,
Barkston Lodge, Roundhay.

LEICESTER—

President: Lady Hazelrigg.
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Butler, Elmfield Avenue.
Hon. Secretary: Miss Valeria D. Ellis, 120,
Regent Road, Leicester.
Assistant Hon. Secretary: Miss Nancy Druce.

LIVERPOOL AND BIRKENHEAD—

Hon. Treasurer and Hon. Secretary *pro tem.*:
Miss C. Gostenhofer, 16, Beresford Road,
Birkenhead.

LYMINGTON—

President: Mrs. Edward Morant.
Chairman: E. H. Pember, Esq., K.C.
Hon. Treasurer: Mr. Taylor.
Hon. Secretary *pro tem.*: Mrs. Alexander, The
Old Mansion, Boldre, Lymington, Hants.

MALVERN—

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

MANCHESTER—

President: Lady Sheffield.
Hon. Treasurers: Mrs. Arthur Herbert; Percy
Marriott, Esq.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Henry Simon.
Secretary: Miss M. Quarrier Hogg, 1, Princess
Street, Manchester.

Didsbury (Sub-Branch)—

Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Henry Simon, Lawn-
hurst, Didsbury.

Hale (Sub-Branch)—

Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Arthur Herbert, High
End, Hale, Cheshire.

Marple (Sub-Branch)—

President: Miss Hudson
Chairman of Committee: Mr. Evans.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. G. F. Sugden, 53,
Church Street, Marple.
Assistant Hon. Secretary: Miss Rayner, Stoke
Lacy, Marple.

MARYLEBONE (EAST)—

President: The Countess of Cromer.
Chairman of Committee: Mrs. Moberly Bell
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Carson Roberts.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Markham, 10, Queen
Street, Mayfair.

MARYLEBONE (WEST)—

President: Lady George Hamilton.
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Alexander Scott.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Jeyes, 11, Grove End
Road, St. John's Wood.

MIDDLESBROUGH—

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

NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE—

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

NEWPORT (MONMOUTHSHIRE)—

Hon. Secretary: Miss Prothefo, Malpas Court.

NORTH HANTS AND NEWBURY DISTRICT—

President: Mrs. Gadesden.
Vice-President: Lady Arbutnot.
Hon. Treasurer: Paul Forster, Esq.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Stedman, The Grange,
Woolton Hill, Newbury.

NORTH WALES (No. 1)—

President: Mrs. Cornwallis West.

NOTTINGHAM—

Acting Hon. Secretary and Treasurer: Miss
A. J. Lindsay, 54, Parliament Street, London.
Mrs. T. A. Hill, Normanton House, Plumtree,
Notts, has kindly consented to give informa-
tion and to receive subscriptions locally.

OXFORD—

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

PADDINGTON—

President of Executive: Lady Dimsdale.
Deputy President: Lady Hyde.
Hon. Secretary and Temporary Treasurer: Mrs.
Percy Thomas, 37, Craven Road, Hyde Park.
The Hon. Secretary will be "At Home" every
Thursday morning to answer questions and
give information.

PETERSFIELD—

President: The Lady Emily Turnour.
Vice-President: Mrs. Nettleship.
Hon. Treasurer: Miss Amey.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Loftus Jones, Hylton
House, Petersfield.

PORTSMOUTH AND DISTRICT—

Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Burnett.
Hon. Secretary: Miss Craigie, Silwood Villa,
Marmion Road, Southsea.

READING—

President: Mrs. G. W. Palmer.
Hon. Treasurer: Dr. Secretan.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Thoyts, Furze Bank, Red-
lands Road, Reading.

RICHMOND—

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

ROCHESTER—

Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Conway Gordon.
Hon. Secretary: Miss Pollock, The Precincts.

ST. ANDREWS—

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

SALISBURY—

President: Lady Tennant, Wilsford Manor,
Salisbury.

SCARBOROUGH—

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

SEVENOAKS—

President: The Lady Sackville.
Deputy President: Mrs. Rycroft.
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Herbert Knocker.
Hon. Secretary: Miss Tabram, 3, Clarendon
Road, Sevenoaks.

SHEFFIELD—

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

SHOTTERMILL—

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

SIDMOUTH—

President: Miss Chalmers.
Acting Hon. Treasurer: B. Browning, Esq., R.N.
Hon. Secretary: Miss Browning, Sidmouth.

SOUTHAMPTON—

President: Mrs. Cotton.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Langstaff, 13, Carlton
Crescent.

SOUTHWOOD—

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

SPILSBY—

No branch yet formed.
Mrs. Richardson, Halton House, Spilsby, acting
as Provisional Hon. Secretary.

SURREY (EAST)—

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

SUSSEX (WEST)—

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

TAUNTON—

President: The Hon. Mrs. Portman.
Vice-President: Mrs. Lance.

Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Somerville.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Birkbeck, Church Square.

THREE TOWNS AND DISTRICT, PLYMOUTH

President: Mrs. Spender.

TORQUAY—

President: Hon. Mrs. Bridgeman.
Hon. Treasurer: The Hon. Helen Trefusis.
Hon. Secretary: Miss M. C. Phillpotts, Kil-
corran, Torquay.

TUNBRIDGE WELLS—

President: The Hon. Mrs. Amherst.
Hon. Treasurer: E. Weldon, Esq.
Hon. Secretary: Miss M. B. Backhouse, 48, St.
James' Road, Tunbridge Wells.

UPPER NORWOOD AND ANERLEY—

President: Lady Montgomery Moore.
Hon. Treasurer: J. E. O'Connor, Esq.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Austin, Sunnyside,
Crescent Road, South Norwood.

WENDOVER—

President: The Lady Louisa Smith.
Hon. Treasurer and Secretaries: Miss L. B.
Strong; Miss E. D. Perrott, Hazeldene, Wend-
over, Bucks.

WESTMINSTER—

President: The Lady Biddulph of Ledbury.
Hon. Treasurers and Hon. Secretaries: Miss
Stephenson and Miss L. E. Cotesworth,
Caxton House, Tothill Street, S.W.

WESTON-SUPER-MARE—

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

WHITBY—

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

WIMBLEDON—

President: Lady Elliott.
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. T. H. Lloyd.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Morgan Velthe, 2, The
Sycamores, Wimbledon.

WINCHESTER—

President: Mrs. Griffith.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Bryett, Kerrfield, Win-
chester.

WOODBIDGE—

Hon. Secretary: Miss Nixon, Priory Gate,
Woodbridge.

WORCESTER—

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

YORK—

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