

# THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW.

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

The OFFICES of the LEAGUE are at 515, Caxton House, Tothill Street, Westminster, S.W.  
Telegraphic Address: "Adversaria, London."  
Telephone Number: 8472 Gerrard.

No. 26.

LONDON, JANUARY, 1911.

PRICE 1d.

## THE NATIONAL LEAGUE FOR OPPOSING WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

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### PROMINENT ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS. THE LADY WANTAGE.

LADY WANTAGE, President of our North Berks Branch, is one of the most important women landowners of England. Her public work, social, philanthropic, and intellectual, of itself refutes some of the most cherished arguments of our opponents. No one is a more convinced Anti-Suffragist than she. A widow since 1901, Lady Wantage has enthusiastically carried on all the social service her late husband, Lord Wantage, rendered to his country as an enlightened and public-spirited landowner.

Lord Wantage, a distinguished soldier, who carried the colours at the Alma, where he won the V.C., always superintended personally the interests of his tenants, built model dwellings and farms, and instituted the system of profit-sharing on his estate. He was in all this ably assisted by Lady Wantage, who now continues the work both at Lockinge (Berkshire), and Overstone (Northamptonshire), properties which she inherited from her father, the first Lord Overstone. On Boards of Guardians and Education Committees



she has taken a prominent part, and has built Wantage Hall, a fine hostel for students at Reading University. She is also a strong and generous supporter of the Church, and has built and aided several schools and churches.

She has travelled widely in Russia, Italy, Spain, Egypt, and France. The Red Cross Society claims her as one of its leaders in its valuable work, and both she and Lord Wantage were actively associated with it during the South African War.

Lady Wantage is one of the best-known and most popular hostesses in London and Berkshire. She has entertained various members of the Royal Family at Lockinge, and she was received by Queen Victoria at Windsor shortly after Lord Wantage had ridden in the Queen's procession at the Diamond Jubilee. A most interesting book, "Lord Wantage, V.C., K.C.B.," an affectionate memoir of her famous husband, is amongst Lady Wantage's writings.

L. V. M.

*L. V. M.*



## THE NEW LEAGUE.

At a meeting, of which we give an account elsewhere, the Men's and Women's Leagues which have been opposing Woman Suffrage were amalgamated under the title of "The National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage." Our readers will notice that the REVIEW appears as the organ of this combined League. We are convinced that the policy of amalgamation is in every sense desirable and wise; union means strength in this case, because there will be no clashing of purpose and no overlapping of work. The principle which informs all the doctrines of Anti-Suffragists, that men and women are complementary to one another, and that the work of neither sex is complete without the dissimilar, but indispensable, work of the other, is symbolised in this co-operation of the old Leagues. Under the new name, we look forward with complete confidence to the work of saving women from the immeasurable injury of having their sex brought into the conflict of political life, of saving the Empire from a most hazardous experiment (which, whatever its other results might be, would undoubtedly cause a weakness at the heart), and of encouraging women to redirect their energies to the municipal work—much of it truly women's work—which has most unfortunately suffered from the diversion of attention to the Suffrage movement. It is the intention of the National League to complete the work of establishing branches all over the Kingdom. A centre will be established as soon as possible in the most important town in every Parliamentary division, and the organisation of the branches will revolve round that centre. We should be glad if those who live in districts where the League is still unrepresented would send us the names and addresses of persons who would be willing to help our work. Information will be willingly supplied from the chief office of the League.

We look forward, as we said, with complete confidence. But that confidence depends on our belief that all

men and women who recognise the vast dangers which lie underneath the insidiously agreeable proposal to right women's wrongs by means of the Suffrage will not fail to give us their help in this time of need. What is the situation? Mr. Asquith has pledged himself to find time in the coming Parliament for "effectually proceeding" with a Woman Suffrage Bill capable of amendment. He cannot go back on that pledge. We do not expect him to do so. The future, then, is in the hands of the private members of the House of Commons. If the Parliament Bill should become law, a Woman Suffrage Bill could be passed ultimately without reference to the House of Lords. In these circumstances the weight of responsibility on the House of Commons will be enormous. Many declared Suffragists have been returned at the General Election. We do not ask them to abandon what we must suppose to be their conscientious convictions, but we hold that it is their duty to their country to make *absolutely sure* of the feeling of the nation before they commit themselves. We have not a shadow of doubt what the sense of the nation is—it is overwhelmingly opposed to Woman Suffrage. No doubt a good proportion of those who voted for the second reading of the Conciliation Bill in the last Parliament would not vote for the third reading of any Woman Suffrage Bill in the new Parliament. A third reading is a very different thing from a second reading; at the second reading a pious opinion may be recorded without much danger, but at the third reading, not only the principle, but the whole apparatus of a Bill must be accepted.

We are certain, therefore, that several members who are counted as Suffragists will be found no longer to be Suffragists in the last resort. But that does not absolve the country itself from the duty of urging the House of Commons unceasingly to recognise that it would be infamous to impose a Woman Suffrage Bill on the nation, and on women themselves without first informing

themselves as to the state of popular opinion. Before Woman Suffrage is adopted, it should be made a distinct issue at a General Election, or be referred to the country as a single issue in some other way. As we have pointed out elsewhere, Mr. Churchill frankly accepts for himself this obligation of first ascertaining the wishes of the people. To bring it about that all other members of Parliament shall take a like course—urged to it by the strong declarations of feeling throughout the land—is the immediate work which the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage sets before itself. And it is for this that it demands help in every district.

## NOTES AND NEWS.

THE results of the General Election must have proved to those who have the power soberly to read political signs that the Suffragists have not more than a fraction of the influence which they believed themselves to possess. Two different policies were adopted by Suffragists, and both have failed conspicuously. Take first the case of the Suffragettes—of the Women's Social and Political Union. Their campaign was directed frankly against the Government. The ordinary observer is amazed by the want of judgment that caused them to try to wreck a Government which had just pledged itself to give facilities for a Woman Suffrage Bill (capable of amendment) in the next Parliament—surely a tremendous concession. But let that pass. "Votes for Women" was very sanguine about the effect of the campaign in the constituencies. It said:—

"The combined effect all over the country of the whole conflict between the W.S.P.U. and the Government has been accordingly very considerable. Such opposition will probably have cost the Liberal Government some thirty or forty seats before the whole tale is told, and these thirty or forty seats (counting sixty or eighty on a division) will make all the difference to the Government when it comes to its task in the new House of Commons."

We can compare now the prediction with the event, and comment would only dim the lustre of the contrast. The National Society of Women's Suffrage Societies drew up a more complicated programme, which excited the contempt of the Women's Social

and Political Union. The most interesting part of this programme was the bold expedient of running Woman Suffrage candidates. For once we think the Suffragettes had sagacity on their side when they pointed out that it was hopeless to pit candidates against the whole force of the two great political parties, and that the only chance was to try to hold the balance of power. However, the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies persisted in their plan. In explaining the scheme in a letter to the "Times," Mrs. Fawcett said: "In constituencies where Women's Suffrage candidates are being run, the candidate has been chosen as representing the views of the party to which the candidate whom he opposes belongs."

A FEW results of the intervention of the Suffragists are worth examination. In East St. Pancras, Mr. H. Jacobs, the Woman Suffrage candidate (who is a Liberal), polled 22 votes. Mr. Martin, the official Liberal, who had against him, be it remembered, not only Mr. Jacobs, but the anti-Government propaganda of the Suffragettes, was returned by 853 votes over his Unionist rival. The Liberal majority in the previous election was only 690. In the Camlachie division of Glasgow a Tariff Reform Woman Suffragist candidate was put forward. He polled 35 votes. At Scarborough the bills of the Unionist candidate, Mr. G. Monckton-Arundell, were displayed side by side with appeals to vote for women, and his election address contained a prominent passage in favour of Woman Suffrage. The local Unionist newspaper also took up Woman Suffrage. Mr. Russell Rea, the official Liberal, however, kept his seat. The Suffragists are proud of having, as they say, compelled Mr. Belloc to retire from the attempt to defend his seat at South Salford. Mr. Belloc declares that the representations of the Suffragists to the local Liberal organisers had nothing whatever to do with his decision. We see no reason to doubt his word. He also said that the Suffragist opposition to him had never done him the least harm. Mr. Brailsford, the hon. secretary for the Conciliation Bill, came forward as a Woman Suffrage candidate. As, however, Mr. Russell, the new Liberal candidate subscribed to all the conditions laid down for him by the Suffra-

gists, Mr. Brailsford withdrew. At the poll Mr. Russell was beaten.

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THIS result was followed by a most interesting manifestation of the state of mind of some Suffragists. In a letter which Mrs. Swanwick, a well-known Suffragist in Manchester, wrote after the South Salford election to the "Manchester Guardian," she spoke of the Suffragists' work in the constituency as "moderate, educational, ready for compromise and treaty." The culmination of this work, as we have seen, was that Mr. Russell toed the line drawn for him, was approved by the Suffragists, who asked their friends to vote for him, and was then defeated. Will it be believed that Mrs. Swanwick wrote that, as the successful Unionist, Mr. Barlow, would vote for the Conciliation Bill, the result was "eminently successful"? The facts most clear to anyone else are surely that Mr. Belloc, a pronounced anti-Suffragist, held the seat in two Parliaments, and that Mr. Russell, an out-and-out Suffragist, lost it. Mrs. Swanwick, in her letter, described the nine months' work of the Suffragists as "anti-Liberal," yet a Liberal candidate received the Suffragist blessing after all, and then, when he was beaten, the result is "eminently successful"! It would be hard to beat this for confusion of motives.

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NOT nearly enough attention has been paid to the answer which Mr. Churchill gave on Thursday, December 1st, to a deputation of the Dundee Women's Suffrage Society. "The Common Cause" professed satisfaction at Mr. Churchill's answer when it published the report of the interview, and compared the results of non-militant methods favourably with the results achieved by the Suffragists. But a week later it came to its senses, recognised the real meaning of Mr. Churchill's words, and denounced him in unmeasured terms. We do not wonder. We must, however, acknowledge the value and the interest of the report which it published of the interview. But for this—we saw no adequate report in any of the daily newspapers—we should not have known that Mr. Churchill really consigns Woman Suffrage, so far as he is concerned, to the Greek Kalends. For mark the following passage:—

"He intended in the present Election to keep himself perfectly free, and to make no further pledges on the question of Women's Enfranchisement; but he would assure the

deputation of this, that in the next Parliament he would vote for no Bill which seemed likely to upset the balance of parties, and which had not behind it the support of a majority of the electors of the country. Miss Miller inquired how he proposed to get at this information, and he said that although not in general in favour of a referendum, he thought this was a question which might be made the subject of a plebiscite."

This declaration must certainly not be forgotten. We can conceive that a Suffrage Bill might be passed with the help of harassed members of Parliament who have weakly committed themselves to the principle of Woman Suffrage. But we believe that so long as evidence of the approval of the whole body of electors is required, Woman Suffrage will never become law. We are grateful to Mr. Churchill for asserting this principle. We are quite justified, we think, in saying that what he means is that he will never be able to vote for a Woman Suffrage Bill.

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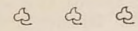
MR. CHURCHILL went on to remark that, in his opinion, the Suffrage movement was not making headway:—

"He had seen hundreds of meetings broken up by militant suffragists, and people had come from the country and paid for their seats, and had had to go away without hearing the subject they had come to listen to, and disgusted by a movement supported by such methods. He dwelt with warm indignation on the policy of the militant societies, and expressed a strong conviction of their disastrous effects upon the public mind. The pledge recently given by the Prime Minister was, he said, a most valuable pledge, and had been received in a most malevolent manner by those wicked and foolish women. Miss Crompton asked him whether, although he disapproved of the Conciliation Bill, he would vote in the next Parliament for a democratic bill enfranchising women 'on the same terms as the vote is or may be given to men.' 'But that,' he said, 'is the Conciliation Bill!' Miss Crompton explained that this was not so, that the Conciliation Bill had been framed so as to meet objections to the Bill on the same terms as men, and would enfranchise only one million of women. Mr. Churchill replied that he would give no pledge, that he would be the judge at the time as to whether any bill brought forward was democratic or not, and he repeated emphatically that before he supported it he would need to be convinced that it had behind it the undeniable support of the electorate."

Mr. Churchill's example in demanding a clear expression of opinion from the electorate as a preliminary to voting for a Suffrage Bill ought to be followed by every member of Parliament. Woman Suffrage, with its inevitable consequence of adult suffrage and the numerical subjection of men to women, is far too grave a business to be accepted as though it were a private member's



Bill on a matter of indifferent importance. Every member of Parliament owes it to the country to make sure of the opinion of his constituents before he takes the irrevocable step.

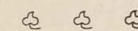


THE newspapers which have taken no notice of Mr. Churchill's indefinite postponement of Woman Suffrage have also ignored Mr. Lloyd George's treatment of the question at a meeting at Bangor. Mr. Lloyd George fell a good deal short of Mr. Churchill, but surely no one who reads his words can believe that he contemplates the possibility of Woman Suffrage becoming law within our time. Had it not been for a letter from a Bangor correspondent, published in the "Manchester Guardian" of December 14th, and notices in the Suffrage papers, we should not have known what significant words Mr. Lloyd George used. His statement was made in answer to the following question:—

"In view of the fact that the Conciliation Committee have undertaken to reintroduce their Bill in such a form as to admit of amendment, will you vote for such a Bill, and do all in your power to secure its passage into law?"

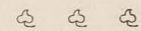
The writer of the letter in the "Manchester Guardian," Mr. James Gibson, of Bangor, says:—

In his reply, Mr. Lloyd George intimated that he was prepared to vote for the second reading of the Bill, if drawn in a form which would admit of extending amendments, but that his support of the third reading would be dependent upon its having been amended in such a way as to meet his views as to what constitutes a "democratic" measure. He went on to advise his "friends of the women's suffrage movement," that "the first thing they have got to do is to educate the country," and maintained that the supporters of the Conciliation Bill were "trying to force upon an unwilling electorate, by doubtful means, something which the country is not ripe for."



ANOTHER American State—the Western State of Washington—has been added to those which have Woman Suffrage. There are now five Woman Suffrage States in America—Colorado, Idaho, Utah, Wyoming, and Washington. South Dakota, Oregon, and Oklahoma rejected the proposal. Oregon has thus refused Woman Suffrage for the fifth time, and by a larger majority than ever. A great deal of money appears to have been spent by the American Suffragists in their campaign. In a statement published in the New York "Tribune," on

November 23rd, Mrs. Shaw, the President of the American National Woman Suffrage Association, said that the Association was head over ears in debt. She went on to speak with entire disapproval of the American fund for the English militant Suffragists. "We had better keep our money at home till we have paid our bills. . . . What have the English Suffragists done for us that we should send money to them?"

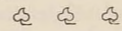


AN Extraordinary Council Meeting of the National Union of Women Workers was held, on November 23rd, 1910, at the Westminster Palace Hotel, to consider the policy to be pursued "in regard to joining in deputations and demonstrations in support of objects upon which the Council has not been unanimous." The meeting was, in fact, due to the division of opinion in the National Union on the question of the Suffrage, and although any direct discussion of the Suffrage was most rightly excluded from the proceedings, the serious question underlying them was, of course, plain to those taking part in them. It would have been very easy for the Suffragist majority in the Union, had they desired it, to have so conducted the meeting, as to make it impossible for those holding Anti-Suffrage opinions to remain members of the Union, but, with the exception of a small intransigent group, the majority of those present, as we gladly recognise, showed a generous appreciation of the position of the minority, and an evident desire to maintain the "open" platform of the Union. The resolution, proposed by Miss Roddam on behalf of the Shropshire Branch, and seconded by Mrs. Humphry Ward—

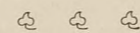
"That, considering the very different views held by the members of the N.U.W.W. on many important subjects now before the public, this Branch strongly urges that the Central Executive should not be officially represented at public meetings and demonstrations"—was lost. But so also was the series of strongly Suffragist resolutions moved by Miss Mair, the result of which would have been to transform the National Union into another Suffrage Society. And, finally, the resolution proposed by Mrs. Edwin Gray, and seconded by Mrs. George Cadbury, was put and carried. It ran as follows:—

"That the whole question of public action by the Executive Committee,

including joining in deputations and demonstrations, be left as heretofore to the discretion of the Executive Committee; but that, in dealing with subjects upon which opinion is strongly divided in the Branches and Council, the Executive should only take action provided notice of the proposal to do so has been placed upon the Agenda, and that such action has been approved by two-thirds of the members present, provided that no action is taken contrary to the resolutions already passed by the Council."

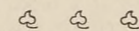


It will be seen that this resolution precludes any *Anti-Suffrage* action by the Council of the National Union, seeing that the Council has already passed a Suffragist resolution. But at the same time it makes the adoption of Suffragist action by the Executive in future a matter of great seriousness and difficulty, and would give ample time to the minority to organise an effective protest were any such proposed. Generally interpreted, it leaves the whole matter to the discretion of the Executive; and in view of the conciliatory temper shown both by the Executive and by the Council, we think that our members would do well to accept the position and to do their best henceforward to strengthen the catholic and non-party aspects of the Union. It would, indeed, be matter for deep regret if any division of opinion on a matter which has now become an acute political question should break up an organisation of women which exists for those moral and spiritual purposes that are common ground to the sincere and worthy members of all political parties. The National Union has done much in the past to enlighten and strengthen among women both the charity and the knowledge which are the original and driving power of all reform. After the Extraordinary Council meeting just held, we are confident that it will not allow this high ideal to be jeopardised by forces of another kind, for which ample scope is provided elsewhere.



THE last number of the "English-woman" contained an entertaining article by Mrs. F. A. Steel, called "The Curzon-Cromer Combine." It is written with all the vigour and freshness which distinguish Mrs. Steel's novels, and it has humour besides. We cannot be sure, however, that we are using the right word, because Mrs.

Steel says that Anti-Suffragists have no humour; and if that be so, we are not, of course, judges. But everyone has the right to be amused, and we may therefore go so far as to say that we found Mrs. Steel's paper very amusing. Mrs. Steel says that the most flagrant of the arguments used by the "Cromer-Curzon Combine" is Lord Cromer's assertion that Suffragism "flies in the face of Nature, which has clearly indicated the spheres of action respectively assigned to the two sexes." Mrs. Steel says, "Now, this is pure, unsupported assumption, a crude begging of the question which supplies us with no argument, no information." We should have thought that the principle that different instruments perform different functions was one of the indisputable facts of life. If men and women are different it follows that they perform different functions. Why should any argument be needed to prove that? Since the beginning of the world it has been either a truth or an illusion, that men and women are different. For all ordinary purposes it has worked very well to act on the assumption that there is, for instance, a difference between being a father and being a mother. Among a certain tribe, when a child is born, it is the custom of the father to dress up as though he were the mother, perhaps because he thus ceremonially testifies that, in his opinion, he has got off too easily in the matter. But the majority of human beings consider that it is not worth while to go in for this make-believe; they quietly recognise that, in this and other matters, Nature, rightly or wrongly, has imposed a difference.



MRS. STEEL produces an argument which we have never seen used before by Suffragists with anything like such boldness. We are familiar with the old arguments, and welcome this new and strange one. She denies that there is any significant difference between men and women, and thinks that what there is may one day disappear. "Many men," she says, "as the barber in 'Punch' puts it, 'take after their ma's in the matter of mustachios,' while some women have to shave twice a week." Again:—

"I look, therefore, to the granting of the vote to women as an educative measure to males as well as to females; as a distinct advance in the upward path of evolution. If I am asked why this should be so, seeing that the world has hitherto gone on fairly well with sex as its

greatest dynamic power, I reply that it is inevitable. In its very nature sex is ephemeral; we can in the past watch its rise, its growth; but for the future it is only the Eternal Value that counts. As Eastern philosophies tell us, all things that are illusion will pass; but those that are real are permanent."

After some more remarks in the same strain, Mrs. Steel says, "If this truth were once fully grasped, I believe every man and every woman in the world would be Suffragists." We believe so too. But, fortunately, most people have a respect for Nature, and do not grasp the truth as Mrs. Steel sees it.

## WOMEN IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

### A CALL FOR SERVICE.

NO feature in modern England can be more painful to anyone who has come in touch with the wage-earning classes and the social and industrial conditions of our great towns, than the appalling waste of *wealth* which takes place; not wealth as measured in terms of money, but wealth as defined in the lofty words of Ruskin—"there is no Wealth but Life, Life including all its powers of love, joy, and admiration." No great nation can hope to live and prosper in whom wealth as so defined is without the reach of myriads of its toilers; no nation can afford to look on undismayed while the spiritual and moral resources of its people are squandered and destroyed. And here, so it seems to me, comes a call to service to the women of England of the clearest character. Service for a country, for a cause, means more than a stirring of the waters of the soul; more than pity, emotion, a generous impulse to give of one's best. Service implies disciplined thought and action, it means the use of such instruments as lie at hand, it recognises that a great nation, through years of experience, evolves definite channels of public work and effort, and that along those lines service becomes practical and fruitful. The part played by women in social and philanthropic work is a valuable and increasing factor in our national life. That work, however, is capable of very great extension in a direction the importance of which it would be difficult to over-estimate.

I desire in this paper once again to draw attention to the vast and practically untitled field of service which lies before women in the great sphere of Local Government. Suffragists often make merry at our expense for what they call the Anti-Suffragist lack of logic in promoting women's work in Local Government, whereas we oppose the extension of the Franchise in Parliamentary matters. But there is no lack of logic in our position—quite the contrary. We oppose the grant of the Parliamentary vote because Parliament is concerned with matters which lie beyond the practical knowledge

and experience of the average woman, and consequently at this point her citizenship is at a disadvantage as compared with that of the average man. In Local Government—happily termed the enlarged housekeeping of the nation—these considerations do not apply. Here a woman's citizenship is complete—the subject matter is all within her practical knowledge and experience, for after all what is Local Government but the extension of that home work which is always a woman's first and greatest task? In Local Government a woman is at every turn touching the lives of men, women and children in special relationship to the home. The far-off day when our Town Councils have built up the City Beautiful; when the County Councils, Parish Councils, Rural and Urban Councils, have vitalised the country side; when Education Committees have trained a generation of wise and thoughtful citizens, and when Boards of Guardians have reduced the area of poverty to a fraction of its present size—that distant England of our dreams will be the England in which a happy and self-respecting home life will be within the reach of every citizen. Many women are already at work, each bringing her stone of service to the building up of that new Jerusalem of Blake's vision "in England's green and pleasant land." How well and truly they have laboured the whole field of social effort bears testimony. But the breaches in the walls are still wide and numerous, and call for more and still more workers.

We hear much of the need nowadays for a wider field of public and political expression for women, and women's anxiety to share the broader and deeper interests of the nation. Yet how little do we hear said by the Suffrage Party of the field already open to women, the field where their status as electors and members is identical, or practically identical, with that of men (the disqualification of married women electors for County and Borough Councils has already been challenged successfully); a field where they have equal rights, but, alas, where they have shown up to the present too little desire to assume the burdens and responsibilities of a citizenship rightfully theirs. And yet to any of us personally acquainted with the affairs of Local Government, who know how at every turn and corner the work cries out for the help and sympathy of women, and how few respond to the call, the unreality of the Suffrage claim comes home with double force. Where, we may rightly ask, are signs of that willing apprenticeship in local affairs which would be the best of all possible credentials as regards any further demand for the Parliamentary franchise? The field, as I have said, is vast, the workers few. According to the last report, dated March, 1910, of the Women's Local Government Society, to whose admirable work in this direction I should like to pay the highest tribute, the numbers of women serving in Local Government barely reaches the meagre total of 1,230, 1,165 of whom—the overwhelming majority—



are members of Boards of Guardians. This total is composed as follows:—

Town Councils, England, Scotland, and Wales	15
Metropolitan Borough Councils	9
County Councils	3
Urban District Councils	3
Boards of Guardians	1,165
Parish Councils	35
Total	1,230

The report points out that the return for the women guardians includes 147 women who serve as Rural District Councillors, and that the figures for Parish Councils are incomplete. I might also remark the above total does not include women serving on Education Committees.

It is to a remedy of this state of affairs that I would urge every Anti-Suffragist woman to address herself. A passive opposition to the Parliamentary vote is, after all, a poor position. Women should be able to demonstrate by their actions that they have a definite faith and a positive doctrine in these matters. Public service in one form or another is the first condition of any existence worthy of the name. "Here, and here did England help me, how shall I help England," is, after all, a question which comes home personally to every one of us. Further, I would urge that no woman who overcomes her reluctance to take part in public activities will ever regret the venture, for to share these wider interests of the national life is to attain to a wider horizon in the matters which touch one's own existence.

Education Committees and Boards of Guardians are the two bodies on which the need of women members is the most obvious, and the value of their services the most demonstrable. Elementary education, in my opinion, will remain in a faulty and inefficient state till a far larger number of women are actively concerned in the management of schools than obtains at present. Education Committees—I speak from an experience of thirteen years—are largely occupied with routine business and matters of policy. Business of this character is inevitable, and demands time and care, but it is not directly concerned with education. Generally speaking, there is far too little personal touch between the committee and the school. The committee is composed overwhelmingly of men, all busy, and who with the best will in the world, have little or no time to give to following up educational matters in the schools they control. Yet I am convinced that in closer co-operation between managers, teachers, and children lies the solution of many of our most serious educational problems. Splendid work is done by individual managers, a work which invariably is found reflected in the whole tone and character of the school. If women of education and some leisure would throw themselves more energetically, either as members of Education Committees or as school managers, into the work of elementary education, if they kept in close touch with the teachers and children, I venture to prophesy they might vitalise

one of the greatest and most important branches of the nation's life.

Considerations no less important attach to the work of women as Poor Law Guardians. Here the need of the woman worker is even more crying than in the field of elementary education, perhaps because the abuses to be remedied are more flagrant. At the date of the publication of the Royal Commission on the Poor Law in 1909, the figures given showed the appalling total of 1,709,436 people in receipt of Poor Law relief during the year 1906-7, and an expenditure of £14,685,983 during the year 1905-6, the last for which at that moment figures were available. However great the cleavage between the Commissioners of the Majority and Minority Reports, there was at least unanimity as regards their condemnation of the existing system. Into the merits of Poor Law revision I have no wish to enter here, but it is obvious that a branch of public work responsible for the care of thousands of women and children and old people is one which calls particularly for the active sympathies of women. The beneficial changes brought about in workhouses and children's homes, thanks to the women Guardians, are universally admitted, and the fact pointed out by the report of the Women's Local Government Society that there are no less than 226 Boards on which no woman sits, is a state of affairs calling for immediate alteration. It is one which is a reproach to every woman within the areas concerned. The boarding out of Poor Law children is another important duty which women Guardians may rightly make their own, and on the infirm side of the work the influence a woman can bring to bear is too obvious to need insisting upon.

On Education Committees and Boards of Guardians women members are able to specialise their duties to a certain extent for the benefit of the sick, the old, and the young. For this reason they will probably remain the most popular channels of woman's work in Local Government. I would, however, like to urge the importance of women sitting on Borough or County Councils for the efficient handling of many important public matters. Sanitation, overcrowding, slum areas, public health, and last but not least the vital question of infant mortality—all these great problems call for women's help and women's experience if they are to be solved on wise lines.

Parish Councils, Urban and District Councils, each in turn offer to women their special opportunities—all would be the better, the more efficient for the activities of women members and the different point of view a woman brings to the deliberations of a public body. The social problems of rural districts, if less acute and obvious than those of the towns, are nevertheless considerable, and everything which tends to promote a vigorous and healthy rural life indirectly makes a valuable contribution to the relief of congested urban centres.

It is fast becoming a commonplace that

what England needs at present is not so much legislation as the efficient administration of the laws she already possesses. As we range round the great area of Local Government it is increasingly borne in upon us that here to hand lie the most serious problems social reform has to face—here to hand lie the means for their solution. The Suffragists promise us a new Heaven and a new Earth when women have the vote. To which I would reply, the means with which to create that new Heaven and Earth lie already within their power, and the Suffrage Party as such has done little to promote either. We hear of women manacled politically and unable consequently to redress the wrongs of their generation. To which I would reply, what check, even of the most theoretical character, hampers a woman in Local Government? For it is pertinent to ask if this burning desire for the Parliamentary franchise really exists, why women as a whole, despite certain brilliant exceptions, have shown so little interest in the rights they already possess. It is idle for women to talk of reforming the world by means of feminine legislation, when so large a proportion hold back from any share in the administration of such laws as already exist. Where, in our great towns, are the organised bodies of women rate-payers banded together to reform the social life of the city, to abolish overcrowding, slum areas, to save infant life, to protect the toilers, to shield the aged? Dare it be suggested if women had so willed such bodies could not have existed; dare it be suggested that had they existed the influence they would have brought to bear might not have proved enormous on both civic and national life? It is idle to talk here of humiliating disabilities which render women impotent politically. Local Government work of first-rate importance might have been carried through by united action on the part of the women rate-payers, had some fraction of the energy devoted to the Suffrage cause been turned into a channel which, personally, I can only regard as a more excellent way. It is useless to point in reply to the activities of individual Suffragists in this field. Those activities are admirable and have borne admirable fruit, but I am dealing with the contention of political grievance and must urge that such a contention is largely unreal in view of the apathy of women in Local Government, and the real dislike many of them show to entering public life in any form whatever. True, Local Government work is less sensational and offers fewer excitements than the alarms and excursions which mark the Suffrage campaign. The care of the boarded out child, the supervision of the sick or the aged, the management of schools, health visiting, the many activities through which a vigorous and healthy municipality leaves a broad mark on the life it guides and controls—all these things call for quiet, patient, laborious work and self-effacing effort. There is no room here for sensationalism or self-advertisement; there is room for a service, the value of which

might prove incalculable if the educated women of England resolved to give it of their best.

It is difficult to insist too strongly on a point often overlooked in the Anti-Suffrage position, namely that we value the fact of women's citizenship as fully as our Suffrage opponents. Where we differ from them is in the view we take of the character of that citizenship and the channel in which it can flow with most profit, not only to women themselves, but to the nation as a whole. Behind the Suffrage agitation lie the broader issues of the commonweal, and the touchstone of the whole position resolves itself into the question, not as to what it is best for women to have, or what it is best for men to have, but what best serves the interests of the State they severally compose, and whose strength and sanity depend upon a proper division of social and political function between its component parts.

I would urge all Anti-Suffragist women who value their citizenship and desire that it should further, not personal ambitions, but the broader welfare of the State, to make this work their own. Woman is, in a very special sense, the guardian of life, and on every side we are confronted with social evils which in the broadest sense of the word are destructive of life—physical, moral and spiritual. "The State came into being so that men might live," wrote Aristotle, "but it exists in order that they may live nobly." Let women accept the means and instruments within their reach, and so avoid that squandering of effort which too often follows on a desire to promote visionary schemes and ideal methods. For it is through cheerful co-operation with the State as it is, that the State of the future, fulfilling the old Greek ideal of "the good life," for all its citizens, may one day be established in our midst.

VIOLET MARKHAM.

## THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE CAMPAIGN.

### WORK AT THE GENERAL ELECTION.

THE Women's National Anti-Suffrage League was able, we are glad to record, to accomplish far more work at the late General Election than at the previous election. The "Rose, black and white" of the League have become well-known colours, and many of the Anti-Suffragist speakers popular figures. Organisers sent by the League worked in numerous constituencies, and the Branches did the cause much service and themselves much credit.

We cannot mention all the work done in our cause, but we may acknowledge the valuable services of Mr. A. W. Thompson and Mrs. Agnes Stewart, of our Brixton Branch, who recently did such good work in the Walthamstow by-election. They set themselves specially to oppose the Suffragist candidates in East St. Pancras and Camlachie.

Mrs. Stewart severely heckled the Suffragist candidate one evening in St.

Pancras, for the short time that he was able to withstand her pertinent inquiries. Unfortunately, the torrential rain, day after day, prevented her from holding many out-door meetings; but both she and her helpers were untiring in the distribution of leaflets. A notable feature is the van Mrs. Stewart uses, decorated with the flags, shields and banners of the League. The banner inscribed "No Petticoat Government" evidently appeals to the people. Mrs. Stewart paraded the principal streets of St. Pancras with the van on three evenings, in addition to going to and fro through London, although it was raining heavily on each occasion. After this work (finishing late on Saturday night) Mrs. Stewart travelled to Glasgow to join Mr. Thompson, who was organising the campaign there. She found plenty of work awaiting her, as Mr. Thompson had arranged a series of ten meetings for her to address before the polling day (three days off). Owing to various reasons, however, she was not able to address more than seven meetings. Four of these were held outside large works in the workmen's dinner hour, the other three being held outside the halls where the Suffrage candidate was speaking. On one of the evenings Mr. Thompson addressed an audience for an hour, and Miss Maude Adams, of the Glasgow Branch spoke at another meeting. This makes a total of nine large meetings in Glasgow. One evening, although it was raining in torrents, Mrs. Stewart spoke to a large crowd (outside the hall where the Suffrage candidate was speaking) for a hour and a-half, the people repeatedly cheering her points. One of the Suffrage ladies (Miss McMillan—"the only lady who has ever been privileged to address the House of Lords") came out of the hall to retaliate. She began, but not more than a dozen people showed any desire to listen to her. She soon got tired, and another lady took up the theme. In this way, five Suffragists spoke in succession, and then the Suffrage candidate came out, but he did not prove a greater attraction, and very soon Mrs. Stewart was left alone, still talking and interesting the same large crowd, most of whom were wet through.

This is only one example of the several successes of Mrs. Stewart in the give-and-take of street speaking. About 50,000 leaflets were distributed to the electors in Camlachie. Many thanks are due to Miss Gemmell, the Organising Secretary of the Scottish League, Mrs. Blair the Hon. Treasurer, Miss Deane, the Secretary of the Glasgow Branch, Mr. and Mrs. Adams, Miss Maude Adams, Miss Winnie Adams, and all the ladies who so willingly and earnestly co-operated with Mr. Thompson.

Captain C. Cookson, Mr. George Calderon, and Mr. H. G. Winter took the field in the South-West and the Midlands, seeing many members and arranging Branch deputations to the candidates. The results were thoroughly satisfactory. We have no doubt whatever that there is a growing tendency, even among those candidates who are definitely in

favour of Woman Suffrage, to regard the question as far too grave to be decided without respect to the general wishes of the country, which obviously have not yet been made known.

In London and the suburbs sandwich-men bearing placards: "Women do not want Votes," and "Write to your candidate against Woman Suffrage" paraded the streets.

As an example of the admirable work done by Branch Leagues, we may describe the Oxford campaign.

Every Parliamentary candidate in the city and county was asked to receive a deputation from the Branch. Lord Valentia and Mr. Fischer Williams (Oxford City), and Mr. Nicholson (Henley) at once consented. The reply of Lord Valentia was unreservedly hostile to Woman Suffrage. That of Mr. Fischer Williams was that he was an Adult Suffragist, but would not pledge himself to oppose a measure for a more restricted franchise. That of Mr. Nicholson was that he was himself in favour of Woman Suffrage, but that he would not vote for it until he was convinced that the majority of women desired it, which he believed was not at present the case. Moreover, he considered that Woman Suffrage could not be regarded as an issue at the late election.

Mr. Valentine Fleming (Henley) wrote that he thought a deputation to him unnecessary, as he is in entire sympathy with the objects for which our League exists, as his votes in the House of Commons will show. Captain Brassey (North Oxon) excused himself on account of pressure of engagements, but said that he was at present an opponent of Woman Suffrage. Mr. Fiennes (North Oxon) made no reply to the request to receive a deputation. Mr. Hamersley (Mid Oxon) also did not reply. Mr. Bennett (Mid Oxon), in consequence of indisposition, was unable to receive a deputation, but offered to answer any question sent in writing. He was accordingly asked by letter whether he would vote against or abstain from voting for any measure for Woman Suffrage which did not provide for some form of direct consultation of the electorate on such a radical change in the constitution. His reply, while expressing his views in favour of Woman Suffrage on "democratic lines," did not contain an answer to the question.

The Branch also distributed 1,300 of the postcards provided by the League, which were signed in many cases by electors, and sent to both the City and County candidates.

A large number of letters were also written to the City candidates by distinguished residents who are opposed to Woman Suffrage, expressing their views.

In this brief account of the Oxford campaign we have referred to the postcards supplied by the headquarters of the League. It will be convenient now to describe exactly the nature of the appeals and questions sent by postcard or letter to the candidates. The form of words on the postcards was as follows:—As a resident in your constituency I earnestly appeal to you



not to support any measure for the enfranchisement of women until the question has been brought before the country as a main issue at a General Election." When it was found impossible to send a deputation to a candidate the following letter was sent and signed by Anti-Suffragists of both political parties:—

SIR,—The members and supporters of this League wish to bring to your attention the fact that there is a strong feeling in the constituency for which you are a candidate against the proposal to confer the Parliamentary franchise on women. We propose to continue the canvass of women occupiers already begun in various constituencies, and judging from the figures obtained, have little doubt as to the result. The canvass is

may be brought into the next Parliament.—  
We are, yours faithfully,

The League was not content with providing postcards and letters for signature in the constituencies. The Secretary at the central office sent letters in the name of the whole League to candidates. These letters were in three different forms.

(1) To candidates known to be Suffragists:—

The decision of the Cabinet to grant facilities for a Woman Suffrage Bill in the next Parliament, makes Woman Suffrage a primary issue at the coming election. Will you allow us to express to you our conviction, strengthened daily by testimony from all quarters, that the great body of opinion in

rely upon you to do the same again. We shall be glad to have an assurance from you to this effect. Every day facts come to our knowledge proving how strong is the feeling in the country against governing power being placed in the hands of women. Any information or assistance which we can give you shall be at your disposal.

(3) To new candidates:—

The decision of the Cabinet to grant facilities for a Woman Suffrage Bill in the next Parliament makes Woman Suffrage a primary issue at the coming election. It is surely reasonable to say that no such revolutionary change in the basis of the electorate ought to be made until the question has been before the country as a clear and single



Mrs. STEWART addressing a crowd of (about 5,000) workmen at Messrs. Singers' Works, Clydebank, on Thursday, December 8th, 1910.

carried on, either by post, or by house to house visiting, but no persuasion or pressure is used as we really desire to get genuine statistics. A few results are appended:—

	No. of Electors.	Anti-Suffrage.	Pro-Suffrage.	Neutral.	No. of Answers.
Bristol ...	7,615	3,300	915	2,004	1,297
N. Berks ...	1,201	1,085	75	63	68
Croydon ...	4,080	1,575	606	30	1,860
Southampton ...	2,243	1,367	147	229	496
Hampstead ...	3,084	1,288	405	233	1,158
Westminster ...	1,979	1,036	221	136	586
Reading ...	1,700	1,133	166	31	370
Central					
Finsbury ...	1,216	535	128	257	296
Bath ...	2,153	1,026	230	21	876

Apart from any other consideration we urge that so important a question ought not to be settled until it has been placed as a clear issue before the constituency, and we therefore hope that you will oppose any measure conferring the franchise on women that

this country is hostile to the sovereign power of the Parliamentary vote being placed in the hands of women? As such a radical change in the basis of the electorate ought clearly not to be made without the country having had an opportunity of expressing its opinion upon it as a direct and single issue, may we ask you to assure us that you will secure to the country this right in the case of any Woman Suffrage Bill presented to the coming Parliament? And may we, therefore, respectfully urge you, if you cannot vote against such a Bill, to abstain from voting altogether?

(2) To candidates who opposed Woman Suffrage in the last Parliament:—

The decision of the Cabinet to grant facilities for a Woman Suffrage Bill in the next Parliament makes Woman Suffrage a primary issue at the coming election. You voted against the Woman Suffrage Bill on a former occasion, and we hope that we may

issue. Every day facts come to our knowledge proving how strong is the feeling in the country against governing power being placed in the hands of women.

May we ask you:—

(1) Whether you are opposed to Woman Suffrage; or

(2) Whether, at any rate, you share the opinion above expressed, and will vote against the change until the country has directly expressed a judgment in its favour?

Any information or assistance which we can give you shall be at your disposal.

We must note in conclusion that, with excellent appropriateness, the Irish Branch of the Women's National Anti-Suffrage League opened an office at 5, South Anne Street, Dublin, just as the election began. Literature for distribution during the election was supplied from this office.

## THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE CANVASS AND MISREPRESENTATION.

LAST month we wrote of a misrepresentation of our Canvass of Municipal Women Electors, which was attributed to Sir William Chance in reports of his speeches. We said then that we had no doubt that if Sir William Chance was correctly reported he had spoken in good faith but on inaccurate evidence. Sir William Chance has since informed us that he was mis-reported. We are glad to have this acknowledgment. But we cannot help expressing our astonishment that no regret of any kind should have been expressed in any of the Suffrage papers or by Sir William Chance at the circulation of a mis-statement which travestied the truth. The mis-statement has been repeated in various forms, and we all know that when an inaccuracy is given a good start it is almost impossible to overtake it. Surely it should be the special aim of those who plead the general fitness of women to enter political life to be particularly careful that nothing whatever which lowers the existing standards of controversy should be tolerated.

The statement attributed to Sir William Chance was as follows:—

"I learn that postcards have been sent round to women municipal voters by Anti-Suffragists in regard to this Bill. The question was not directly, Do you want the Parliamentary vote, but a series of questions were asked. One was, Do you wish women to become bad wives and mothers, to leave their homes and children, to meddle in politics? Another was, Do you wish women to go into Parliament, and make laws for the nation? and another, Do you wish to be governed by women instead of men?"

The assertion contained is plain enough—that most improper, question-begging appeals were printed on our post-cards. As our readers already know, nothing of the sort was printed on the cards.

The questions were:—

(1) Do you prefer that the Parliamentary vote should remain, as at present, in the hands of the men of this country?

(2) Do you consider that woman should not be given the vote for Parliamentary elections?

(3) Do you consider that women should be given the right to vote at Parliamentary elections?

In some cases the first question was omitted. The Secretary of our League wrote to the "Standard" to point out the serious injury done to our cause by such a perversion as that attributed to Sir William Chance. Thereupon Sir William Chance wrote to the "Standard":—

"SIR,—In reply to Miss Lucy Terry Lewis's letter on the canvass of the Women's Anti-Suffrage League, I did not state that

the objectionable questions asked by Anti-Suffrage canvassers were printed on their official postcards or in their leaflets. These questions were asked personally by the canvassers. Two of the questions were put in this district and one in the North, and I have these facts on unimpeachable authority.

"I may, however, remark that the question on the canvass card: 'Do you prefer that the Parliamentary vote should remain, as at present, in the hands of the men of this country?' might be interpreted as implying that, if women were given the Parliamentary vote, it would take away the men's vote, or at any rate swamp it. The question is most unfortunately worded, to say the least of it.

"I am, sir, your obedient servant,

"W. CHANCE.

"Orchards, West Godalming."

This is the only public correction we have had the pleasure of reading, although the Suffrage papers had quoted the words said to have been used by Sir William Chance and turned them to their own purposes. It will be noted that Sir William Chance attributed the objectionable questions to personal canvassers of our League in his own district—Godalming. We have therefore to state that no canvass of Women Municipal Voters has been conducted by our League in the Godalming district. Thus the result of the exchange of letters, so far, was that Sir William Chance corrected a mistake in a not very gracious manner, as we think impartial persons will admit, and did our League new injustice by making it appear that we had conducted a canvass of municipal electors at Godalming, a district where we have not competed with the personal canvass conducted by Lady Chance.

The next step was for Miss Terry Lewis to write to the "Standard" and ask Sir William Chance to give the names of any Anti-Suffrage canvassers who had asked objectionable questions, the dates when the questions were asked, and the places where they were asked. "Should it be proved," she wrote, "that any answer received by us was made in response to such questions, we should immediately remove the name of the voter from amongst our returns." Sir William Chance offered to supply the data privately. This he did—he gave one name and promised another, and in the circumstances we cannot of course publish them. But we are entitled to say that his information referred to a district in which the League has not organised a canvass.

Let us turn now to the statements made by Suffragists about their own canvass of Women Municipal Voters at Godalming, organised by Lady Chance. Our own canvasses have been carried out as far as possible by post-card rather than by personal canvass, as we are quite conscious that the personal canvass introduces the human

element of persuasion. This is always a matter of degree, but persuasion may easily render the results quite valueless. We want facts, not extorted expressions of sympathy. We want to know our enemy's strength, not to deceive ourselves. In a communication to the newspapers Lady Chance stated the results of her canvass, we are sure, with perfect accuracy (e.g. "Times," 26th November, 1910). But on December 9th the "Times" published a letter from Lady Betty Balfour giving completely different and much more startling figures. She said that in the Godalming canvass "out of 791 women voters, 612 had declared in favour of the Suffrage, 61 against, and 118 were neutral." No wonder that Mr. Massie, who wrote to the "Times" in answer to this letter, found the figures very puzzling. For he had thought the number of women municipal voters extraordinarily high, and on applying to the Town Clerk at Godalming had learned that there are only 294 women voters on the register. Thereupon Lady Chance wrote to the "Times" (December 16th), positively with an air of grievance against Mr. Massie. She said:—

"Mr. Massie took his information from the letter of the secretary of the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association. She, in quoting the figures of the Godalming canvass, omitted to separate women voters from non-voters, and at the time her letter was written she had not got the results of the completed canvass before her.

"If Mr. Massie had applied to the secretary of the Godalming Suffrage Society for information instead of to the Godalming Town Clerk, or if he had read the statement I sent you on November 26th, he would have been spared any mystification."

In other words, several days after the correct figures of Lady Chance's personal canvass had been published, the secretary of the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association comes out with a ludicrously inaccurate version. When Mr. Massie applies to the right quarter for official information as to the number of voters he is treated *de haut en bas* by Lady Chance, as though he had committed an error in taste in not addressing himself to a Suffragist—the Secretary of the Godalming Suffrage Society. Meanwhile, Lady Betty Balfour's extraordinary statement, like the statement attributed to Sir William Chance, had been allowed to get one of those long starts which it is difficult to overtake. Lady Chance does not hint at any feeling of regret; she writes to Mr. Massie as though he ought to know better than to apply to a mere official when there is so untainted a source of information available as a Suffrage Society. We do not know what our readers think of this



kind of thing. Possibly some Suffragists—we should think, not the majority—regard it as good sport and good tactics. Or it may be said that our opponents are honourable persons and that the mis-statements are due simply to carelessness. That may be so, but to our thinking such carelessness is inexcusable, and happily we live in a country where it will react, if it is persisted in, to the disadvantage of those who are guilty of it. The fact is that our canvass figures have attracted a great deal of attention in the country, and the alarm of the Suffragists is to be traced in the character of their methods.

### THE NATIONAL LEAGUE FOR OPPOSING WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

#### THE MEETING OF AMALGAMATION.

A COUNCIL Meeting of the Women's National Anti-Suffrage League, which was called to consider the proposed Amalgamation with the Men's League For Opposing Woman Suffrage, was held on December 6th, in the Westminster Palace Hotel, Lady Jersey being in the chair.

The Executive Committee, members of Council, and delegates from numerous branches were present in large numbers (though many were kept away by the Elections), and the large room was crowded. The meeting was asked to decide by vote whether amalgamation should take place, and it was arranged that if the vote were favourable a second meeting should follow, when the Men's League would be called in formally to effect the amalgamation.

Lady Jersey was supported by a very strong platform, there being present, amongst others, Lady Wantage, Lady Weardale, Lord Haversham, Sir Alfred Lyall, Lady Desart, Miss Janet Hogarth, Mr. and Mrs. John Massie, Mrs. A. Somervell, Miss Lowthian Bell, and Lady Robson.

Lady Jersey (the warmth of whose reception was an acknowledgement of her untiring zeal in the cause, and her great popularity) read the following telegram from Mrs. Humphry Ward, who was unavoidably prevented from being present:—

"So very sorry, owing to West Herts election, cannot attend to-day. I hope amalgamation will be satisfactorily effected, and that we shall be then free and united to pursue our two great objects in the country, strenuous opposition to Woman Suffrage and warm support of women's existing rights and duties in local government."

A message with a resolution approving of the new constitution from the Scottish Council also came from the Duchess of

Montrose, the President of the Scottish League, who expressed regret that neither she nor a representative of her League was able to attend.

Lady Jersey explained the conditions of the proposed amalgamation, and pointed out the advantages that would accrue to the Anti-Suffrage movement from the spontaneous and hearty co-operation of men and women in one cause, under one strong and united Executive. The Secretary was then called upon to read aloud the Constitution of the Women's League, for the consideration of those present, and some discussion followed on the question of the title for the re-organised League. Mr. Massie, in an amusing speech, argued that "Anti-Suffrage" did not express the objects of their League with accuracy, as they were not "Anti-Suffrage." Nor, he went on, was "Anti-Woman Suffrage League" at all a happy title, for they most distinctly were not "Anti-Woman," as their opponents sometimes rather maliciously suggested. Finally it was decided that "The National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage" should henceforth be the recognised title of the amalgamated Leagues, and after Lady Jersey had put the resolution to the meeting, the amalgamation was formally carried by unanimous voting. Lady Jersey explained that as there was not time to ballot among the members of Council for the election of the Executive in the usual manner, the Executive Committee of the Women's League (chosen by the members of Council in July last) had balloted among themselves to elect seven of their number to act on the new joint Executive until the next Annual Meeting.

After several Branch delegates had spoken, Mr. John Massie, Hon. Treasurer, briefly recounted the energetic work that the Women's National Anti-Suffrage League had accomplished during rather more than two years of existence. He also referred to the success of the recent Municipal Canvass and quoted some of the now familiar figures, which were greeted with applause.

At this juncture the members of the Men's League began to assemble for the second meeting, at which Lord Cromer took the chair, Lord Curzon of Kedleston, Lord Northcote, Sir Edward Tennant, Mr. Heber Hart, and others joining those already on the platform.

Lord Cromer (who was very cordially received) spoke of the appeal sent out by Lord Curzon, himself, and others for funds to forward the Anti-Suffrage movement, and urged the desirability of amalgama-

tion. At the conclusion of an excellent speech, Lord Cromer asked for the acceptance of the new constitution. This led to a very interesting discussion, and amongst those taking part were Lord Curzon of Kedleston, Miss Gertrude Lowthian Bell, Lady Desart, Mrs. Gladstone Solomon, Sir Arundel Arundel, Mrs. Trapnell, Mrs. Tennyson, Mrs. A. Somervell, Lord Northcote, Lord Haversham, Mr. Heber Hart, Sir Edward Tennant, Sir Alfred Lyall, and several members of the audience.

After the constitution had been accepted, Lady Jersey proposed that Lord Cromer should be President of the Amalgamated League. This was seconded by Lord Curzon, and carried unanimously, as was also the election to the office of Deputy-President of Lady Jersey, proposed by Lord Cromer and seconded by Lady Robson. This was followed by the cordially welcomed re-election of Mr. John Massie as Hon. Treasurer. In the unavoidable absence of Miss Violet Markham, the Treasurer's election was proposed by Miss Gertrude Bell, and seconded by Lord Northcote.

Universal approval has been expressed throughout the League at the satisfactory Amalgamation of the Women's and Men's Leagues, which it is felt will become a very strong and united power.

The new Executive of the Amalgamated League is as follows: Mrs. Burgwin, Lady George Hamilton, Mrs. Frederic Harrison, Mrs. Massie, Lady Robson, Mrs. A. Somervell, Mrs. Humphry Ward, Lord Curzon of Kedleston, Lord Haversham, Mr. Heber Hart, Mr. Rudolph Lehmann, Lord Northcote, Mr. F. E. Smith, M.P., Mr. Arnold Ward, M.P.

The "Times" published the following letter from Lord Glasgow addressed to Lady Jersey a few days before the meeting of amalgamation:—

"Kelburn, Fairlie, N.B., Nov. 28th.  
"Dear Lady Jersey,—I am extremely sorry that my engagements will not admit of my attending the meeting of the W.N.A.S. League, called for December 6th. It is a subject on which I have always taken a great interest since the day on which, as Governor of New Zealand, it was my duty to give the Royal Assent to the Bill for enfranchising women.

"The more I have studied the question the more I am convinced that it would be deplorable if ever such a measure became law in this country, and I therefore welcome the amalgamation of the different leagues, and the adoption of a constitution, and I earnestly wish all success to the anti-suffrage movement.

"Believe me, dear Lady Jersey, yours very faithfully,  
"GLASGOW."

## A CANVASS OF WOMEN MUNICIPAL ELECTORS.

### ASTONISHING RESULTS.

THE very class in whose interests the Conciliation Bill is framed do not desire Woman Suffrage. We have the pleasure of publishing below some figures which prove this extremely important fact. The canvass of Women Municipal Electors by which we have obtained the figures is not yet complete, in the constituencies that have been undertaken, but we have no doubt that the results already obtained are typical of those yet to come. We feel justified, therefore, in urging them most earnestly on the attention of Members of Parliament. The whole case for the Conciliation Bill rests on the assumption that those women who now have the Municipal Vote are those who suffer the most crying injustice in not having the Parliamentary Vote. Those Members who voted for the Conciliation Bill did not hesitate to make this assumption, just as Mr. Balfour makes the wider assumption that women in general want the Suffrage. Mr. Balfour has declared that if his assumption proves to be unfounded, his opinion would be greatly modified. We venture to hope that the figures below will help towards that modification, and that figures yet to be published will complete the process. The figures show that among women householders and women with occupier qualifications, there is no grievance. The vast majority declare that they do not want the Parliamentary Vote:—

District.	Electorate.	Anti.	Pro.	Neutral.	No Reply.
Bristol	7,615	3,399	915	2,004	1,297
Croydon	4,080	1,575	606	30	1,869
Hampstead	3,084	1,288	495	233	1,168
Southampton	2,243	1,361	147	229	496
Bath	2,153	1,026	230	21	876
Oxford	2,145	571	353	22	1,199
Cambridge	2,098	1,168	570	271	89
Westminster	1,979	1,036	221	136	586
Reading	1,700	1,133	166	31	370
Torquay	1,640	467	210	13	950
Mid Bucks	1,389	248	222	47	872
North Berks	1,291	1,085	75	63	68
Central Finsbury	1,216	535	128	257	296
Weston-super-Mare	935	380	235	69	251
Reigate	906	338	199	23	346
Hampton	277	92	39	14	132
Thames Ditton	187	134	10	8	35
Long Ditton					
Kew	155	96	21	23	15
Ashbourne	153	107	5	2	39
Haslemere	138	59	34	28	17
East Molesey	136	93	14	20	9
Cobham	88	61	4	15	8
Esher	75	52	9	8	6
Midhurst	73	27	15	20	11
Cheam	69	43	11	10	5
Ashted	67	25	7	21	14
Bramshott	63	37	9	7	10
Oaklands Park	56	21	1	5	29
Shottermill	37	16	8	7	6
Fernhurst	29	13	3	3	10
Hindhead	28	10	11	3	4
Grayshott	21	4	5	4	8
Lynchmere	19	7	3	5	4
Rogate	18	13	1	2	2

Thus, of those who have answered the questions put to them, out of a total electorate of 36,163 the great number of 16,520 are opposed to Votes for Women, and only 4,892 are in favour of them. But that is not all. Out of those canvassed 11,037 have not answered. It is reasonable to suppose that these mostly—probably almost entirely—are unfavourable to Woman Suffrage. It is not to be supposed that many Woman Suffragists would fail to declare the faith that is in them, well knowing that the results of the Canvass might be used against their cause. We do not pretend, of course, to estimate the exact majority against Woman Suffrage, but it is certain that it is very large, and it is probable that it is enormous.

Guildford canvass is omitted this month as it is not quite completed.



## THE SUFFRAGETTE CAMPAIGN.

BY AN EX-SUFFRAGIST.

"The trouble which we have been able to give the Government during the last few weeks is but a dim forecast of what we have in store for them!"—(Miss Christabel Pankhurst, at a Welcome Breakfast to Suffragist prisoners released from Holloway Gaol, on Wednesday, December 7th.)

So much has been said and written on this subject! Can further argument be of any avail? It might indeed seem not. Yet the friends of the movement clearly think otherwise, and from their iteration and reiteration of their tenets and their show of ceaseless energy it is apt to be concluded, in spite of frequent but quiet assertions to the contrary, that a great number of women do still ardently desire the suffrage at almost any cost, even though there is no doubt that the policy of the Suffragettes has alienated the sympathies of many friends of both sexes.

Let us, however, assume for the sake of argument that the vote is as ardently desired by a large proportion of women, as the militants and some others would have us believe; assume that it would lead to many desirable general reforms and to much improvement in the lot of women in particular; forget for the moment how ridiculous many incidents of the campaign have been, or magnanimously explain them away as all exaggerations of the Press; let us freely ignore remarks about what is "ladylike" or "womanly," for if the militant policy were in other respects justifiable, such objections would in truth have little relevancy.

It may yet be held that the tactics of the Suffragists (a) rely in a degree very dangerous to the community on the assumption that the end justifies the means; (b) that they are reactionary, and (c) that they are evidence of a want of balance of mind which detracts seriously from the value which might otherwise be attached to their opinions. (a) There can be little danger of error in assuming that the most ardent militants (apart at any rate from temporary excitement) would not recommend their policy as in itself desirable; they would claim no other justification than that they had been driven to it, and would probably argue further that it is an open-handed fight. But is it open-handed warfare for a quiet-looking, well-dressed woman to carry stones in her muff for the deliberate purpose of window-breaking? If women claim that it is ethically excusable in the circumstances for them to resort to dangerous stone-throwing and row-

dyism in support of what they may deem their "rights," they are putting forward a most dangerous example and encouragement for all sorts of hooliganism and violence. It can only be expected that such an example will tend to produce or increase a general spirit of unrest and lack of self-restraint almost irrespective of cause. For once such a spirit is engendered, none knows where it may lead, none is able properly to appraise his (or her) own rights, none is able any longer to weigh and distinguish the different motives which colour so contrastingly actions otherwise similar. At the best faction reigns in the place of principle; at the worst riot follows in its train. Fortunately the element of the ridiculous, which in spite of their earnestness, has often been so prominent in the actions of the Suffragists, has weakened their influence for evil in this direction. Certainly, however, they themselves have no right to complain when they are hooted down at their own meetings: such conduct is only the natural result of the lessons they have taught, whatever the rest of us may think of such forms of opposition. Nothing but the Jesuitical doctrine that the end justifies the means can be offered in excuse for such methods. Before they are adopted the "end" must be weighed against terribly heavy odds, and most of us are firmly of opinion, whether the "end" we desire be the "Votes for Women," or the suppression of the Suffragist campaign, that the good of the end is as nothing compared to the bad of the means.

If the Suffragists have earnestly weighed the pros and cons and wish to pose as sufferers in a great cause, it may fairly be expected of them that they will pay the penalty of their actions with some show of dignity, not complaining loudly of the discomforts they have gone through. And on this point it may be observed that, whereas the chief ordinary penalty of imprisonment is the after-ostracism, this is replaced among Suffragists by an ebullient reception and feasting at the hands of a company of colleagues.

(b) Trite aphorisms about our boasted civilisation may be left aside. But surely we have been inclined, not without good cause, to rejoice that, thanks to the ballot-box alone perhaps, but possibly in part, to the raising of the general level of understanding and culture and a greater sense of responsibility in the electorate, however much there may still be to desire—surely we have had some cause to rejoice that the earlier rowdyism of electioneering had been

replaced by a better tone, howbeit a spirit of sweet reasonableness may often be far enough to seek. Are women to be the leaders in a reactionary policy which prevents one part of the audience from hearing a speaker and attracts the other part in the mere hope of witnessing a rowdy "lark"? There was much good in the olden times, part of which can never be restored in our altered circumstances, though in part the difference may be rather an exchange of one good for another. But there are ills too that we have left behind. If women wish to show their "equality" with men, why choose for imitation some of their deplorable traits which were once allowed free play and as the result of a better public opinion are now curbed? Why step backwards and resuscitate the ills of bygone days?

(c) The vote itself is no good except as a means to an end. The questions now before the country are very definite, and of paramount importance to the followers of either party. Therefore when the Suffragists set themselves to work against the Government supporters, *quâ* the Government for the time being, they must as often as not be working to place in power a set of people who will enact legislation which is diametrically divergent from the policy which they themselves believe to be for the best interests of the country. And, mark this. The effect of legislation is never of an ephemeral nature which can be rectified by working against this new Government in its turn, or even by obtaining the vote and thus influencing legislation subsequently. To play fast and loose with the Government of a country in this way is poor evidence of a capacity to make a sober use of a future responsibility. For a vote is much more a responsibility than a "right." It is this narrow view, this loud talk of "rights" which causes so much mischief in this and in other causes. Therefore, even assuming for the sake of argument, that the vote is genuinely desired by more women than is generally believed; that it might lead to many desirable general reforms and to much improvement in the lot of women in particular; it would yet seem to a hitherto life-long Suffragist that the present time would be a most inopportune period in which to grant votes to women. The danger to the community of its being supposed that militant methods are the surest means to gain an end would still be greater than all these problematic gains.

Therefore, if a handful of Suffragists "demand" that the Prime Minister shall grant facilities for the passing of their

Bill, there are many Suffragists, ex-Suffragists and Anti-Suffragists who, considering that no one set of people have a right to make demands in this fashion, feel strongly against such legislation at the present time. And they feel inclined to pray:—

"From so ungrateful fancie,  
From such a female frantie,  
From them that use [folks] thus,  
Good Lord deliver us!"

K. COOPER.

## ARGUMENTS FOR USE IN POOR DISTRICTS.

We have received from one of our active workers the following form of argument as a suggestion for those who, while anxious to combat Suffragist doctrines in poor districts, may be at a loss for a method of approaching and presenting the subject briefly and effectively. Our correspondent's hints are the result, we may say, of much and varied experience.

"Are you Mrs. So-and-So? Good morning! I've called from the League which is *against*—(pause)—*against* giving women votes for Parliament. We think that women ought to have a municipal vote, because they have time to study the needs of their own town, and they can understand such things as 'milk supplies' and 'sanitary houses.' But we think that when they have done that, and looked after their children and homes, they have done all a woman has time for, and had better leave such things as the government of India, and the Army and Navy, and all those outside things, to the men, who understand them. You see, women have a special work to do which men never could do, and while we are doing that, don't you think we might leave fighting and Imperial politics to the men?"

"Men have made England the greatest nation in the world, and have made such good laws that other nations copy them! Isn't it, then, a little impertinent of these women to say they will do men's work for them now? It is quite true that many women could, and would, vote wisely; but does that make it right to give the vote to thousands and thousands of young, ignorant women, who have neither the time *nor* the wish to study politics? They might embroil us in a war just through their ignorance of foreign politics, and then where should we be?"

"It is no good saying we will let a few women vote. If the vote is given to women of property, the women without property must get it too: and we couldn't possibly give it to unmarried women and not to married women, could we? So you see it must end in all women voting, and then in all men voting, and that means an addition of about seventeen million ignorant voters, *the majority of them women*, undoing, perhaps, all the

good the seven million wise men and women would do.

"And is this the time to try such an experiment as adding seventeen million voters to the list? One slip just now might ruin England for ever, and *how do you know they wouldn't make that slip?*"

"You haven't time to go into the question? Well! that is just what we say! If women do their own work, they have *not*, most of them, time to go to meetings and study politics. And if they *have* time, they can be town councillors, and borough councillors, and Poor Law inspectors and factory inspectors, and school inspectors, and enough other things to keep all the unmarried women busy, without voting and getting into Parliament—which they must do if they get the vote.

"Now, the Suffragists are saying that all the women who stay at home and do their work quietly are on their side. Are you?"

## THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE CANVASS.

"THE TIMES" of December 2nd published the following letter from Mr. John Massie:—

SIR,—Will you permit me, as representing the League for opposing Woman Suffrage, to say a few words in reply to the letter, published by you to-day, from the "Organising Secretary of the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association"? The errors it contains are being continually repeated and have gone too long without exposure.

The secretary strives to pick holes in the striking anti-suffrage results of the recent canvass of women municipal voters. She argues that because "all women" were not consulted when the municipal vote was "thrust upon them," the opinion of "obscure women" against the Parliamentary vote should be ignored now. It would hardly be possible to crowd more fallacies into one brief argument. Firstly, "all women" had not the municipal vote "thrust upon them"; secondly, she has no business to assume that those municipal women voters who now object to the Parliamentary vote are "obscure women"; thirdly, the circumstances of the two cases are in no wise parallel. The municipal vote concerned a very limited and strictly defined sphere; the Parliamentary vote governs the whole Empire. Moreover, the municipal vote was conferred upon qualified women rather than demanded by them, and, because of its limitations, there was no serious opposition; now the "suffrage" is (by assumption) claimed as the right and the demand of the sex, and there is stern opposition on the part of women as well as men; and the strength of the opposition among women to those who profess to speak for their sex it is surely most pertinent to ascertain.

The secretary strives to pick another hole. "We have been told," she writes, "that the question [to the women voters] was put in this form—'Do you wish the Government of the country to pass from the hands of men into the hands of women?'" It is undeniable, in an official utterance, to offer as evidence a piece of sheer gossip without verification. I cannot tell, of course, what was the exact shape of the question everywhere. I can only say that on the postcards I have

seen, printed and addressed by post to every woman voter, there was (without embellishment of any kind) the plain and straightforward question, "Do you wish women to have a vote for Parliament?" (I enclose one of these postcards for your inspection.) But, supposing that the gossip is correct for the question as shaped somewhere, would the shape have been far wrong? When the sex barrier is once broken down and adult woman suffrage follows, will the million overplus of women count for nothing? And adult woman suffrage was Mr. Shackleton's undisguised object and frank forecast when he moved the "Conciliation" Bill.

Lastly, the organising secretary light-heartedly complains of a specimen canvass and desiderates a universal one as "better." Of course it would be "better"; but anybody, one would think, can see that it is not practicable, at any rate for an ordinary society with such time and organisation and money as it has at its disposal. Apparently the organising secretary sees no difficulty. Why then, we may ask, has the visionary assertion that the working women enfranchised by the "Conciliation" Bill would be 80 per cent. of the whole number been supported only by an alleged specimen canvass of a single borough, and that a working-class borough?

It was hardly worth while to write a letter containing complaints so baseless and so futile.—I am, Sir, &c.,

JOHN MASSIE, Hon. Treas.  
Oxford, November 29th.

## THE RESULT OF A COMPETITION.

In a recent competition in a north country newspaper prizes were offered for the best reasons "Why Women Should have the Parliamentary Vote," and "Why Women Should *Not* have the Parliamentary Vote." A member of the Anti-Suffrage League was awarded the prize (a lady's dressing case) for the following "best list of reasons why women should not have the Parliamentary vote:—

1. Because women cannot be spared for political life; their *woman's* share in making life tolerable is too badly needed in the world of suffering.
2. Because they already (confessedly) have too little time to use their municipal vote in the best interests of women and children, the sick and incapable, and mere politics must tend to divert their energies from such work on Councils and Local Government Boards.
3. Because there would be, roughly, a million more women than men enfranchised in the United Kingdom, and such a preponderance of the feminine element in the Government of Britain is entirely undesirable.
4. Because it has, so far, been proved that the majority of women are indifferent to, or do not desire the vote.
5. Because if women were placed by the vote on an equality with men, and were thrown into such an open field of competition with them, chivalrous considerations would have to be thrown aside, and the physically weaker sex, woman, would suffer.
6. Because the large female factor in our Imperial Empire, the governing centre of a colonial world, would weaken that Empire in the estimation of foreign Powers, and in that of the huge native populations of our Colonies.



7. Because the real basis of all government is physical force, and women in the firing line, *manning* machine guns, as miners, as policemen, &c., &c., are not only undesirable, but—impossibilities! The Amazons of old had to renounce motherhood, and we have not enough *good* mothers for our nation as it is!

8. Because it has been shown that women's interests are well looked after by men, and it is a strange but, after all, quite natural fact, that in industrial and social matters women get more sympathy and consideration from men than from their own sex.

9. Because *the women who are now clamouring for the vote* are amply proving, by their militant and riotous behaviour, their entire lack of self-restraint, and consequent unfitness to govern. "She who would govern a city must first learn to govern herself."

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

### VOTING AT DEBATES.

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

SIR,—The voting at Anti-Suffrage meetings, and particularly at debates on the Suffrage question, is not conducted on satisfactory lines. Anti-Suffrage speakers will do well to insist beforehand (making it, if necessary, a proviso of debating at all) that a ballot shall be taken on the resolution, and that ballot-papers shall be supplied only to members of the club or debating society which has inaugurated the meeting. Chance visitors or friends brought by either side should not be allowed to vote, and thereby obscure the real mind of the assembly. A show of hands is often unsatisfactory, and leads to discussion and disagreement, which cannot occur if ballot papers are issued in advance to members only. This rule should be clearly laid down when the invitation to take part in any meeting is accepted.

I find it also a very good plan to rule that questions asked at an Anti-Suffrage gathering (not at an equal debate) should be written down and sent up to the chair to be clearly read aloud to the audience before being answered. This makes for dispatch of business, and prevents Suffragist supporters using our meetings to air their own views, in lengthy speeches which a polite chairman sometimes finds it very difficult to curtail or repress.—I am, Sir, &c.,

ANTI-SUFFRAGIST SPEAKER.

### THE PARLIAMENTARY AND MUNICIPAL FRANCHISE.

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

SIR,—I have been asked my opinion on the policy of the League in supporting the Municipal Franchise for Women. I must say I heartily approve of it. The important position, which women occupy, and rightly so, in the life of modern European countries, is entirely due to Christianity. The position of Athenian women at the time of the Roman women at the time of Augustus were very different indeed from the high position which women hold in modern life. And, looking at the question from the religious point of view, the teaching of the New Testament, especially of St. Paul's Epistles, and

the teaching of the early fathers of the Church would seem to me to lay down definitely that woman was to be the head of the home, whereas in the Church and in the assembly—in fact, in all public life—man was to be supreme. It is on these lines that the relations between man and woman in modern civilised countries have been developed. Man has his province and woman has hers, and it is the mutual obligations of the two towards one another that are the strength of the Christian family, and one of the underlying principles of Christian life. Woman, as the head of the home, is naturally far better acquainted than man with domestic matters, and with many of the social affairs of the community; and it is consequently only right that woman should play her part and do her work on municipal bodies. But to drag woman into the province of man, and make it her duty to decide questions of foreign policy, and matters of naval and military importance, and all the affairs of a great Empire, will be a departure from the course, which this country has always pursued, and which Christianity has followed for the last nineteen hundred years, and will be an innovation which is bound to shake the foundations of this Empire, and make the whole fabric of Christian life totter. The proposals of the moderate woman suffragists of to-day may affect the country and Christianity but little; but they are, to my mind, only the beginning of a movement, which I am unable to regard with any other feelings than those of the greatest apprehension.

I regret to have written to you at such length, but I have in this letter endeavoured to explain my reasons for at the same time condemning the Parliamentary Franchise of women and maintaining the principle of the representation of women on municipal and other bodies, which the Woman Suffragists say is a paradoxical attitude.—I am, Sir, &c.,

C. R. HAIGH.

Corpus Christi College, Oxford,  
December 5th, 1910.

### A FRAME OF MIND.

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

SIR,—Let me beg the attention of your readers to the following extract from "Votes for Women." It is taken from a short account of how the "Suffragettes" interrupted at a dinner presided over lately by Mr. John Burns. The significance of the ecstatic, frenzied frame of mind here frankly confessed to is surely worth pondering. After describing how she had noticed a fine-looking stranger sitting opposite to her the writer goes on:—

"He was alone, but in the next seat to our party and opposite me. Two men and one well-dressed woman had the courage to speak and to be ejected. I was feeling sick and cold with the multitude who could sit there unmoved. I was beginning to recover and to hear a few of the words of one of the speakers, when, to my surprise, this great man stood up. What he said I cannot remember; by the look on his face I don't suppose he knew what he was saying himself, it cost him such an effort. In a few minutes shouts on all sides rent the air. I heard him say, 'If I do, I take the table with me.' And, sure enough, he twined the tablecloth in and out of his fingers, and as he was torn from his feet, away went the cloth, over went

wine bottles, glasses, silver, flower-vases, &c."

The italics, except in the case of the two words "unmoved" and "such," are mine.—I am, Sir, &c.,

MENS SANA.

### THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE STATES IN AMERICA.

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

SIR,—In your issue for this month you have an article dealing with "The Woman Suffrage States in America." With your kind permission I should like to make a few remarks upon the statements contained in Mr. Barry's report quoted therein. For the past twenty-five years I have been familiar with the States of Wyoming, Utah, and Colorado, my wife and I having resided for nearly twenty years in Wyoming and Utah. We are both English, but were naturalised American citizens, and my wife voted at all elections. Since returning to England in 1905 we have been re-admitted as British subjects.

Perhaps I had better state at once that I am not in favour of the suffrage for women in Great Britain (Parliamentary vote), but I am not opposed to it in Wyoming, Utah, or Colorado. The conditions are so different that it seems to me absurd to compare those Western States with this country. There are only a few States which have woman suffrage, and their representation in the Federal Congress is so small that they do not carry any weight in national affairs, but in local State and County government I believe women's influence and votes are largely beneficial to the community.

Statistics of "child illiteracy" &c., are not worth anything, in my opinion, and the fact remains that the average of illiteracy of the people of Wyoming is lower than that of any other State in the Union. There is no need for "Home-finding societies for the placing of destitute children" in Wyoming, for any such would be taken care of by the county in which they happened to live, and homes would be found for them. In the Eastern States mentioned by Mr. Barry there are great cities and congested population where such institutions are needed. Children are protected in every way under the laws of Wyoming, the original woman suffrage State.

In relation to the social evil the statutes of Wyoming are far stricter than the laws of England, and women are better protected. In the matter of causes for divorce they are on an equality with men, which does not obtain here. The statistics of divorce, quoted by Mr. Barry, are misleading. He does not give a percentage, but mentions sixty-six divorces granted in 1894 against 143 granted in 1906 in Wyoming. He does not explain that the population of these Western States is constantly increasing by reason of immigration, and that the percentage of divorces was probably no higher in 1906 than it was in 1894.

The reasons, in my opinion, for the laxity of morals mentioned by Mr. Barry, are various. This laxity is not confined to these Western States by any means, and has nothing to do with women's votes. The American system of mixed schools, of boys and girls of all nationalities being crowded together regardless of class distinction, has much to answer for, as also the custom of allowing children to run about the streets without supervision of any kind, partly, no doubt, due to the fact that in the West

especially it is impossible to obtain servants, and the parents have their time taken up with their work.

When I went to Wyoming in 1885 there were not many women in the territory, and in 1890, when the State was admitted to the Union, women were still in a small minority. At that time gambling hells and brothels were running "wide open," while to-day gambling is illegal, all public gambling houses having been closed, irregular relations between the sexes are punishable by imprisonment, and liquor dealers and shopkeepers must close on Sundays. Married women are fully protected in their interests, as well as children, in every way, far better than they are in Great Britain. The statute books are full of regulations for the benefit of women and children, and if they are not always properly enforced it must be the fault of the men who are elected to office to execute the laws.

There are not many women elected to office in Wyoming, and the positions filled by them are generally "Superintendent of Public Instruction" in the State, or "Superintendent of Schools" in the several counties. Both of these positions have been filled by women in the past to the great benefit of the public, and only last month a woman was elected to the former office to replace a man who has held it for eight years.

Mr. Barry says that polygamy has not ceased to be practised in Utah. There are stringent laws against it, and if they are not properly enforced it must be the fault of the officers of the law, who are all men. My wife and I resided for some time in a country town in Utah, where there were about fifteen hundred Mormons, we being the only non-Mormons, or "Gentiles" as the local term is. They were the best and pleasantest lot of neighbours we have ever had anywhere, and we cherish very pleasant memories of their kindness to us. There were no public houses, no paupers, no miserable outcast women in that community. Plural wives were certainly not looked down upon, and were considered respectable members of society, but there were few such, and nobody lived openly in polygamous relations. This was over twenty years ago, when the West was far wilder than it is to-day.

In conclusion, I wish to take exception to your remark about "the notoriously backward state of Colorado, Idaho, Utah, and Wyoming." In what are these States "notoriously backward," and where and amongst whom are they held thus? It must be by people who have had little actual personal experience there, for if any parts of this world are "up-to-date" in almost everything, surely these new communities are. It is the man or woman from Denver, Salt Lake City, or Cheyenne that generally finds things behind the times when landed in England.

If any of your readers desire to find out more about Wyoming and the laws of that State I would refer them to the new "Encyclopædia Britannica" just about to be published. The article "Wyoming" was partly written by—Yours faithfully,

ARTHUR W. PHILLIPS.

Warren Edge,  
Southbourne-on-Sea,  
December 18th, 1910.

[In giving extracts from Mr. Barry's report we expressly said that we had not the means of verifying his facts. We understand Mr. Phillips to argue that the female vote in the Woman Suffrage States of America is comparable only with the women's municipal vote here. If that be so we are delighted to

have his assurance that the vote works well. But we must point out that the day will come when these States will take a much larger part in the Federal affairs of the Union, and when that happens, his objections to female suffrage will presumably be as cogent in their case as they are in the case of Great Britain. "Advanced" legislation is characteristic of young communities. We used the word "backward" in the sense that the Woman Suffrage States are still in a youthful and experimental stage.—ED., A.-S. REVIEW.]

## AGAINST VOTES FOR WOMEN.

### SIR FRANCIS LOWE'S REPLY TO ANTI-SUFFRAGE LEAGUE.

A DEPUTATION from the Birmingham Branch of the Women's National Anti-Suffrage League waited upon Sir Francis Lowe, M.P. for Edgbaston, at the offices of the Birmingham Conservative Association, Colmore Row, on Friday, December 2nd. The deputation, which was introduced by Mrs. Lakin-Smith, Chairman of the Birmingham Branch, consisted of Lady Simon, Miss Gertrude Allarton, Messrs. Murray, N. Phelps, J. C. Vaudrey, and Ernest Lakin-Smith.

Lady Simon, Mr. Phelps, and Mr. Vaudrey having spoken, Sir Francis Lowe thanked the deputation for having placed their views before him. He said the other day he received a deputation from the Suffragists, who subsequently sent a very inaccurate account to the papers, without it having first been submitted for his approval. He had to correct that report by a letter to the Press. He had always been in favour of the extension of the suffrage to single women householders, provided that the extension could stop there; but he did not see how that could be done. The question was not yet one of practical politics, and most of the discussions upon it had been more or less academic, even upon the last Bill. All members felt sure that the second reading would be carried, but no one thought the Bill would go any further. A great many of those who voted for the Bill also voted against it being sent to a Grand Committee, which was the only means of getting it passed. They were, therefore, parties to killing the Bill they had supported on second reading. He had never voted for the Conciliation Bill, or any other women's suffrage Bill, and he doubted whether facilities would be given in the new Parliament for a women's suffrage Bill to go any further than had been the case hitherto, viz., for second reading and a motion to commit the Bill to a Grand Committee, which he thought would be defeated as in 1910. If they once admitted that sex was no disqualification, there could be no logical reason for refusing to include women in any extension of the franchise which might hereafter take place, even to the extent of universal suffrage, which would place the controlling power in the hands of women, they being largely in the majority. Apart from the question of sex disqualification, such a change would entirely unsettle and disorganise the whole of the electoral machinery of the country. An extensive redistribution of seats and re-arrangement of the whole electoral system would have to take place, and an immediate appeal to the country would have to be made.

The deputation thanked Sir Francis for having so clearly stated his views.

## OUR BRANCH NEWS-LETTER.

**The Branch Secretaries' and Workers' Committee.**—The next meeting of this Committee will be held (by kind permission of Mrs. George Macmillan) on Wednesday, January 11th, at 27, Queen's Gate Gardens, S.W., at 11.30 a.m.

These meetings have been formed with the object of giving opportunity to the Branch Secretaries and Workers of the League to come into touch with each other; of giving them facilities of discussion among themselves on any points of common interest or difficulty which may arise, and thus of strengthening the bond of sympathy and of work, which already exists among them. It is much hoped, therefore, that all those Secretaries and workers, both in London and the provinces, who are able to do so, will try to attend these meetings. They will take place on the second Wednesday in each month, at 11.30 a.m., and due notice will be given of them in the REVIEW.

It may be added that any members who are interested in any discussion that may be going on at these meetings, will be cordially welcomed.—Hon. Sec., Miss Manisty, 33, Hornton Street, Kensington, W.

Owing to much other active work throughout the Branches during the General Election there were not many large public meetings held on the ordinary lines, but numbers of outdoor meetings were organised, and much excellent propaganda work has been done, of which particulars are given in another column. Branch work has been most successful all through November and December, and the most cheering reports of progress of the cause come in daily.

**Manchester.**—During the past month a sub-Branch to Manchester has been formed at St. Anne's-on-Sea, with an initial membership of forty.

Mr. H. A. Pickup, 28, St. Anne's Road, W., St. Anne's-on-Sea, has kindly undertaken the duties of Hon. Secretary, and will be glad to hear of any ladies or gentlemen in the district who will lend him support.

A personal letter was issued to the candidates for Parliament in the two counties of Lancashire and Cheshire, requesting them to resist any pressure that may be brought to bear upon them during the present election, by members of the Suffrage party.

Several debates which had been arranged for the latter end of November have had to be postponed on account of the General Election, the polling day falling in Manchester on December 3rd.

A meeting, addressed by Mr. A. C. Gronno, was held at St. Luke's, Cheetnam Hill, arranged by the Debating Society of St. Luke's Church. The meeting was of a very successful nature, and the Anti-Suffrage resolution was carried by a large majority. Miss C. Moir addressed a meeting at the University Settlement, Ancoats, arranged by the Fawcett Debating Society for Women, and an interested and attentive hearing was given her.

A considerable number of new members and associates have joined the League during the month.

A number of meetings are being arranged for the New Year, and negotiations have been entered into for a number of debates between members of the Manchester Branch and the opposing parties.

**Upton (Cheshire).**—A drawing-room meeting in connection with the Liverpool Branch



was held by the invitation of Mrs. T. S. Hannay at her residence at Upton, on December 2nd. Mrs. T. S. Hannay was in the chair, and Mr. John C. Philipps gave an interesting address and very successfully answered questions put by some Suffragists who were present. Miss Gostenhofer, of Birkenhead, also spoke.

**Reading.**—"Woman Suffrage and Empire" was the title of an address given on November 27th, in Cross Street Hall, by Mr. A. Maconachie, of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage. Mr. Arthur Broadley presided. An interesting discussion followed Mr. Maconachie's address.

**North Berks.**—A meeting in connection with our North Berks Branch was held in the Reading Room on November 24th, Colonel T. J. Bowles in the chair. Miss Gladys Pott, in explaining the objects of the League, said if it came to a question of the country or the individual, then the latter ought to go to the wall, for the cry of those craving for the vote had always been, and is, "What is it going to do for women?" and not "What for the Empire?"

A resolution then put by Miss Pott: "That this meeting desires to record its opposition to the proposal to extend the franchise to women and gives its warm support to the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage," was carried without a dissentient, as was the following resolution: "That this meeting desires to thank their representative, Mr. Mount, for voting against the Conciliation Bill, and that an address signed by the electors of Strealey be sent to him."

**Reigate.**—Under the auspices of the South-East Surrey Branch of the League a very successful concert and entertainment was held in the Public Hall, Reigate, on November 30th, followed by a general meeting with addresses. The hall was well filled with an enthusiastic audience.

Mr. G. W. Rundall, who occupied the chair at the meeting introduced Mrs. Greatbatch, who delivered a delightful and clever address dealing most ably with Suffrage fallacies. Mr. Rundall then announced the successful results of the local canvass of women municipal electors. A delightful programme of music was supplied by a small company of artistes, and the success of the entertainment is due to Mrs. G. W. Rundall, who arranged and organised it, assisted by Mrs. Lemon, Mrs. Yates, and Mrs. Cooke.

**Scarborough.**—A meeting was held at Matthew's Boarding House on December 11th. Mrs. Daniel, of Saxefield, presided, and introduced Miss Mabel Smith. Miss Smith, in her address, showed that Woman Suffrage must ultimately result in adult suffrage with women in the majority; that the grievances of which the Suffragists complain are not the result of "Man-made laws" but of handicaps imposed by the immutable laws of Nature; that many of the inequalities which were apparent fifty years ago have now been removed by the force of public opinion, and the same force, if rightly influenced by women, could and would remove those that remain.

Mrs. Kitching endorsed the speaker's words from another point of view, insisting upon woman's higher power of influence, and suggesting that if the stream of energy and money now directed towards obtaining the vote was directed towards the spread of practical Christianity every social problem would be on the way to a satisfactory solution.

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**Bristol.**—The annual meeting of the Bristol Branch was held on November 21st, in the Queen's Hall, Clifton, where a very large attendance was presided over by Mrs. Robeson.

Miss Long Fox, hon. secretary, read the annual report, which gave a full account of the year's work, and the large and successful meetings held during that time. Miss Fox referred to the highly successful canvass of women municipal voters of Bristol, and said its results could not fail to encourage those of their members who had helped to carry through this arduous task.

Mrs. Robeson moved the adoption of the report and accounts, and made a very able speech, pointing out the real dangers of the Suffrage movement.

Mrs. Robeson and Miss Lillingston, retiring members of the committee, were then re-elected.

Mrs. H. C. Trapnell seconded the adoption of the report and statement of accounts. She said they had really gone forward in Bristol, but they wanted to concentrate their efforts. They wanted soon to form a "discussion" society, and she hoped many would give in their names as members. They also wanted to have a good Council of Workers to help the executive committee, and to put forward new ideas. She thought a society of that kind was much needed—to enlighten people on the subject.

Miss Stuart, in her very interesting address, presented a number of convincing arguments against Woman Suffrage, and moved the resolution that "If Parliamentary responsibilities were imposed on women it would be unjust to them, unjust to men, and mischievous to the State." Miss Price seconded, and the resolution was carried with acclamation.

**Woodbridge.**—A meeting under the auspices of the Woodbridge Branch was held at the Lecture Hall on November 16th. Admiral Pelham Aldrich, who presided, was supported on the platform by Mrs. Stuart Ogilvie, Mr. and Mrs. G. H. Grant, Mrs. H. F. Sullivan, Miss Nixon (hon. secretary of the local branch), Col. R. J. Carthew, and Mr. John Loder.

Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun gave a very fluent and able address which was much appreciated by the large audience. The

Chairman, Mrs. Grant, Mr. Grant, and Mr. John Loder also spoke.

**Glasgow.**—The annual meeting of the Council of the Scottish League was held at 200, Buchanan Street, Glasgow, on November 22nd. The Duchess of Montrose, as President of the League, was in the chair, and delegates were present from the various Branches of the League in Scotland. The annual report was read and approved, and business in connection with the Branches was brought up for consideration. The hon. office-bearers and members of the Executive Committee were re-elected for the ensuing year.

**North of England Federation of Branches.**—The first Conference of delegates of Federated Branches was held in the Cutler's Hall, Sheffield, on November 22nd, at which representatives from Leeds, Manchester, Liverpool, and Sheffield attended.

Reports were read by the delegates for the Branches represented, and, after the future work of the Federation was discussed, it was resolved that in future two Conferences be held annually, the next one to be held at Leeds before Easter, 1911.

### DEBATES.

A good many debates have been held during the month, and success has been very generally on our side.

**Bloomsbury.**—Miss G. B. Stuart debated with Mrs. Arncliffe Sennett at Bloomsbury House on November 20th, and scored a distinct success, defeating her opponent by thirty-two votes to eleven, after the ballot had been taken.

**Surbiton.**—Mr. G. L. Borradaile, M.A., barrister-at-law debated for our League with Mr. R. F. Cholmeley, barrister, at the Lecture Hall of the Surbiton Hill Wesleyan Church on November 16th, and a very interesting general debate followed the addresses given by both speakers.

**St. Austell (Cornwall).**—"That it is undesirable in the interests of the community that women should have the Parliamentary vote," was the resolution proposed by Mr. S. P. Bunn at the Y.M.C.A. Debating Society, St. Austell, on December 5th. After a debate, in which all the members took part, the Anti-Suffrage motion was carried.

### GIRLS' ANTI-SUFFRAGE LEAGUE. COMMITTEE.

President: Miss Ermine Taylor.  
Miss Golding. Miss Macmillan.  
Miss Husey. Lady Florence Pery.  
Miss Kersey. Miss Stephenson.  
Hon. Sec.: Miss Elsie Morgan.

Miss Ermine Taylor, who has been associated with the Anti-Suffrage movement since its inception and was a member of the Central Executive Committee, has formed a Girls' Anti-Suffrage League, to bring together girls of the upper classes for the purpose of giving social entertainments to collect funds for the League, and with leisure time to undertake work that may be helpful in forwarding the Anti-Suffrage cause.

All particulars of this League, and of a dance which is now being arranged to take place at Princes Hall on February 8th, may be obtained on application to:—

MISS ERMINE TAYLOR,  
President Girls' Anti-Suffrage League,  
30, Hyde Park Street, W.  
or to:—  
MISS ELSIE MORGAN, Hon. Sec.,  
18, Redcliffe Street,  
Redcliffe Gardens, S.W.

### A PUBLIC MEETING

has been arranged to take place in the HAMMERTON HALL, Stockwell, on January 11th, 1910, at 8 p.m. Speakers: Mrs. AGNES STEWART, Mr. A. W. THOMPSON, and others. Chairman: REV. A. J. WALDRON, Vicar of Brixton.

### AN ACKNOWLEDGMENT.

We acknowledge gratefully an anonymous donation of 10s. from "Richd. D.," Streatham.

### LIST OF LEAFLETS.

1. Woman's Suffrage and After. Price 3s. per 1,000.
2. Mrs. Humphry Ward's Speech. 3d. each.
3. Queen Victoria and Woman Suffrage. Price 3s. per 1,000.
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14. (4) Women's Wages and the Vote. Price 6s. per 1,000.
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17. A Suffrage Talk. Price 3s. per 1,000.
18. A Word to Working Women. Price 3s. per 1,000.
19. Votes for Women (from Mr. F. Harrison's book). Price 10s. per 1,000.
20. "Votes for Women?" 3s. per 1,000.
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[Continued on page 18]

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

**LANCASHIRE.**

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Organising Secretary *pro tem.*: John C. Phillips, Esq., 3, Canning Street, Liverpool.

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Chairman: George Hamilton, Esq.  
Hon. Treasurers: Mrs. Arthur Herbert, Percy Marriot, Esq.  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Henry Simon.

Secretary: W. Wrench, Esq., 1, Princess Street, Manchester.

**Didsbury (Sub-Branch)—**  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Henry Simon, Lawnhurst, 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.

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Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Banbury.  
Hon. Secretary: W. A. Pickup, Esq., 28, St. Anne's Road, W.

**LEICESTERSHIRE.**

**LEICESTER—**  
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Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Butler, Elmfield Avenue.  
Hon. Secretaries: Mrs. Waddington, 52, Regent Road, Leicester, and Miss M. Spencer.

**LONDON.**

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Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Agnes Stewart, 29, Albert Square, Clapham.

**DULWICH—**  
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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.

**HAMPSTEAD—**  
President: Mrs. Metzler.  
Hon. Treasurer: Miss Squire, 27, Marlborough Hill, N.W.  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Talbot Kelly, 96, Fellows Road.

**North-West Hampstead (Sub-Branch)—**  
Secretary: Mrs. Reginald Blomfield, 51 Frognaal.

**North-East Hampstead (Sub-Branch)—**  
Secretary: Mrs. Van Ingen Winter, M.D., Ph.D., 31, Parliament Hill Mansions.

**KENNINGTON—**  
President: Mrs. Darlington.  
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Millington, 101, Fentiman Road, Clapham Road, S.W.

**KENSINGTON—**  
President: Mary Countess of Ichester.  
Hon. Treasurer: Miss Jeanie Ross, 46, Holland Street, Kensington, W.  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun, 25, Bedford Gardens, Campden Hill, W.

Asst. Hon. Sec.: Mrs. de L'Hopital, 159, High Street, Kensington, W.  
Mrs. Colquhoun is at home to interview members of the Branch, or inquirers, on Tuesday mornings, 11-1. Owing to the extension of the work in Fulham, no office will be opened in Kensington as yet.

**MARYLEBONE (EAST)—**  
Chairman: Mrs. Copland Perry.  
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. David Somerville.  
Hon. Secretary: Miss E. Luck, 31, York Street Chambers, Bryanston Square, W.

**MARYLEBONE (WEST)—**  
President: Lady George Hamilton.  
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Alexander Scott.  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Jeyes, 11, Grove End Road, St. John's Wood.

**MAYFAIR AND ST. GEORGE'S—**  
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Chairman of Committee: The Countess of Ancaster.  
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Carson Roberts.  
Joint Hon. Secretaries: Mrs. Moberly Bell, Mrs. Markham, 10, Queen Street, Mayfair.

**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.

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**MIDDLESEX.****EALING—**

President:  
Hon. Treasurer: L. Prendergast 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—**

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Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Greatbatch.  
Hon. Secretary: Miss M. Mackenzie, 6, Grange Road, Gunnersbury.

**MONMOUTHSHIRE.****NEWPORT—**

Hon. Secretary: Miss Prothefo, Malpas Court.

**NORTHUMBERLAND.****NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE—**

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

**NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.****NOTTINGHAM AND NOTTS—**

President: Countess Manvers.  
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. T. A. Hill.  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Bumby, 116, Gregory Boulevard.

**OXFORDSHIRE.****OXFORD—**

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

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President: The Countess of Charlemont.  
Vice-President and Treasurer: Mrs. Dominic Watson.  
Hon. Secretary: Miss M. Codrington, 14, Grosvenor, Bath.

**BRIDGEWATER—**

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Hon. Treasurer and Secretary *pro tem.*: Thomas Perren, Esq., Park Road, Bridgwater.

**WESTON-SUPER-MARE—**

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

**SUFFOLK.****SOUTHWOLD—**

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**WOODBIDGE—**

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

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Vice-President: Miss Harris.  
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Hon. Treasurer: Miss B. Jefferis.  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Corry, 33, Park Hill Road, Croydon.

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Joint Hon. Treasurers: Mrs. Godfrey Lambert, Woodcote, Esher; Mrs. Lawson, Bracklenlea, Esher.  
Hon. Secretary: Miss FitzGerald, Lamas Cottage, Esher.

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Hon. Treasurer: Admiral Tudor.  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Carter, 15, Wodeland Road, Guildford.

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

**KEW—**

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

**RICHMOND—**

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Hon. Treasurer: Herbert Gittens, Esq.  
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**WEYBRIDGE—**

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Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Gore-Browne.  
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**WIMBLEDON—**

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Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Morgan Veitch, 2, The Sycamores, Wimbledon.

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**BRIGHTON AND HOVE—**

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Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Curtis, "Queex," D'Avigdor Road, Brighton.  
Co-Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Shaw, 25c, Albert Road, Brighton.

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**EAST GRINSTEAD—**

President: Lady Musgrave.

**ST. LEONARDS-ON-SEA—**

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**WEST SUSSEX.**

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Assistant Hon. Secretary: Miss Rhoda Butt, Wilbury, Littlehampton.

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President: The Countess of Coventry.  
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**YORKSHIRE.****BRIDLINGTON—**

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

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Hon. Treasurer:  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Walker, 18, Belvoir Street, Hull.

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Chairman: Mrs. Frank Gott.  
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District Secretaries: Miss H. McLaren, 15, Otley Road, Headingley, Miss M. Silcock, Barkston Lodge, Roundhay.

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Secretary: Miss A. F. Morton, 5, South Anne Street, Dublin.

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Vice-President: Miss Rutherford, M.A.  
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Vice-President: Mrs. Hamar.  
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Burnet.  
Hon. Secretary: Miss Playfair, 18, Queen's Gardens, St. Andrews.

**WALES.****CARDIFF—**

Acting Hon. Secretary: Austin Harries, Esq., Glantaf, Taff Embankment, Cardiff.

**NORTH WALES (No. 1)—**

President: Mrs. Cornwallis West.