

# THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW

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## "ON THE SAME TERMS AS MEN."

AS we showed last month in commenting upon Mr. Geoffrey Howard's Bill, there is much division in the Suffragist camp, and small chance of their agreeing. Indeed, the delegates to the recent Conference could not dwell together in unity for the space of one week, but parted company upon the momentous question of whether women's suffrage was to be their sole object or only their chief object. Still, superficially at any rate, they do all appear to support the demand that women shall be given the vote "on the same terms as men." Let us, then, look into this matter a little and meet them on their own ground, which is such a very shaky ground that it might well be mistaken for a quicksand.

From the earliest times civic rights have been dependent on the fulfilment of civic duties. Where government has conceded any share of authority to the governed, it has been in respect of services to the State, either potential or actual. A man, by virtue of his manhood, could be called upon to fight, or to preserve law and order, and in return for these services might hope to exercise an influence, either direct or indirect, upon the making of the laws which it was his business to maintain. Even now, in these days of Hague Conferences and Socialist millenniums, every male citizen would be liable in emergency to be called upon to serve in the militia; and seafaring men might still be impressed into the navy if we went to war

with any great sea-power. Every man is liable to have to serve on a jury, from the coroner's jury upwards. He must see sights and hear details which women are mercifully spared; and though even the Suffragettes will probably not treat us to the spectacle of the pulling up of Hyde Park railings, it is by no means certain that there will never again arise a necessity to swear in the bulk of the male population as special constables. So that if a man has the vote—even if all men had votes—at any rate, the State gets something in return for it. They stand for law and order, and the maintenance of personal security.

We shall be told that most soldiers have no votes. That is true, and it points to the further truth that though manhood is the primary basis of the franchise, the State in its wisdom has seen fit to introduce limitations. The voter must have a certain stake in the country; there must be some permanence in his relations to the State. He must not be a bird of passage, here to-day and gone to-morrow; and to combat any such tendency the State insists on registration and a recognised dwelling-place. In a word, and speaking generally, it enfranchises only the householder and the taxpayer.

Man votes, then, first as a male being and potential defender of person and property; secondly, as a contributor, more or less permanent, to the national exchequer. If woman is to vote "on the same terms as men," is she to vote as a potential fighter, or only as a contributor? If she can perform less than half the civic duties,

why should she receive as an equivalent the whole of the civic *quid pro quo*? No doubt she often contributes to the exchequer, but she gets in return a voice in the expenditure of all local rates, and a share, which is no small share, in the peace, protection, and security created and maintained by men. It is by no means a bad bargain, and when our sex clamours for more, we cannot help reflecting on our proverbial propensity to lose nothing for want of asking. How many Suffragist societies have triumphantly passed motions affirming the right of women to be given the vote "on the same terms as men," without ever settling the preliminary question of what those terms were! There has been no more striking instance in modern politics of the mighty influence of words upon the ignorant and the unreflecting than the wave of enthusiasm running through meeting after meeting on the parrot-like repetition of this misleading phrase. Women take words for things with a vengeance, when they suppose that the legal phraseology defining the property and lodger qualification and all the other technical details of the franchise constitutes the whole definition of the voter, who must be a man first and an owner or occupier afterwards. The one is his essence, as it were, and the other his accident, to borrow a term from logic; and is his civic position to be regarded as merely accidental?

That the State did not so intend it is sufficiently clear from the fact that the accidents do not qualify the holder, if the essential is lacking. Otherwise, every taxpaying, property-holding woman would be voting now. Let the Suffragists go back to their Mill and try to get beyond "The Subjection of Women." When they have learned the difference between the essential and the accidental, we may charitably hope that their advance in logic will be accompanied by a proportionate moderation of their demands.

### NOTES AND NEWS.

THE London Congress of the International Alliance of Woman Suffragists has come and gone without attracting the attention which its promoters seem to have anticipated. An unsympathetic Press, agitated over the Budget and the Revolution in Turkey, found very indifferent "copy" in its proceedings, and even the meeting at the Albert Hall on the 29th of April might have escaped notice if it had not been for the delightful exuberance of metaphor in which Madame Sarah Grand hymned the progress of the movement. The presence on the platform of the released "prisoners" was an interesting but scarcely an impressive spectacle. And both the "industrial pageant" and the "procession" fell rather flat. Indeed, the public is getting rather tired of these theatrical exhibitions. The ability to march four abreast is in itself no great proof of capacity for exercising the franchise, and while it may be gratifying for the possessor of a good seat on horseback to figure as Joan of Arc, or even as Lady Godiva, through the streets of London, this intrusion of the circus element alienates more spectators than it amuses.

MRS. CHAPMAN CATT, who presided at the Congress, refused either to bless or to ban the militant methods of the British suffragettes. As we pointed out in a former number of the REVIEW, the American advocates of woman suffrage are not a whit behind their allies in this country in point of violence of language. But Congress does not afford such a target as the House of Commons, and in the United States there are no bye-elections. The tale of progress made during the life of the Alliance did not in itself disclose any very striking results. Mrs. Fawcett claimed that, wherever it had been obtained, woman suffrage had been a success. The terrestrial paradises appear to be New Zealand, Australia, Finland, Norway, and four states of the American Union, while the cause has very nearly triumphed in Sweden and in Iceland! With regard to this list we may venture to remark that the four American states—Wyoming, Idaho, Colorado, and Utah—are amongst the least populous and least advanced on the continent; and though the analogy is not a perfect one the state legislatures have far more points of resemblance with an English County

Council than with the Imperial Parliament. We are not likely, for the present at any rate, to remodel our constitution in imitation of Scandinavia; the political problems of Iceland differ in several material respects from those which beset the British Empire; and so far our more serious continental rivals show small sign of being converted by Mrs. Catt and Mrs. Fawcett.

AND talking about Finland, it appears from the Helsingfors correspondent of the *Observer* that the "old Finnish party" are by no means pleased with the working of the franchise laws. They have even undertaken, if put in office, to introduce a Bill to reduce the electoral privileges of women. The latter, they assert, "are not practical politicians, and do not apply themselves sufficiently to the duties of their position." The question is a serious one, for in that little corner of the Czar's dominions, where political liberty is held on so precarious a tenure, no less than 140 women have been nominated as candidates for the Diet which is shortly to be elected. In this connection it may be added that the women voters of Victoria already outnumber the men in thirteen out of the twenty-two federal electorates. The "Revolt of Man," foretold so wittily by the late Sir Walter Besant, cannot be far off.

ONE of the most significant incidents of the International Congress was the attempt made by its members to dissociate the female suffrage movement from Mr. Geoffrey Howard's Bill. The Congress decided, though not without some friction, to confine membership of the Alliance to those societies which have as their sole object the enfranchisement of women, and accordingly the "adult suffrage" societies were excluded from the privileges of affiliation, and their delegates retired. The President expressed the view that wherever manhood suffrage was established it was harder to obtain the enfranchisement of women, and one delegate exclaimed dramatically that they must fight for the freedom of woman before they worked for the freedom of any man under the sun. The fact is that Mr. Howard's Bill has unintentionally hit the suffrage movement very hard by exploding the idea that the franchise if won could ever be confined to an ideal class of refined and educated voters with a property qualification. "Do

you think that we are going to give the vote to your women, and refuse it to ours?" said a working man to a suffragette canvasser not long ago. And the lady who has at last obtained political equality with her gardener will find that they both must share it with the kitchen-maid.

THE publication by Lord Curzon of Kedleston of his "Letter addressed to the University of Oxford" marks the penultimate stage in the contest for the higher education of women. Speaking as Chancellor of the University, and as a man of great academic distinction and wide administrative experience, Lord Curzon recommends that women should be admitted to degrees in Arts, Science and Literature on the same terms as the other sex, and a recommendation from such a quarter can hardly fail to be adopted, if not at once yet in the immediate future. There are few readers of our REVIEW who will not welcome this frank recognition of the intellectual emancipation of women, and this widening of the range of their useful employment. But from our point of view it is scarcely less important to observe that Lord Curzon insists most strongly upon the absence of any possible connection between his proposal and the concession of the Parliamentary vote. That movement has no stronger or more convinced opponent than the Chancellor of the University of Oxford. "To give a woman a degree," he writes (p. 199), "is to enable her to obtain the reward of her industry or her learning. As such it is an extension of private liberty. To give her a vote is to give her the right to govern others, and is the imposition of a public duty. Even if an academic degree were undesirable it would do no harm but to the woman herself. But if women proved to be unfit to exercise the Parliamentary franchise, the injury would be done, not to the individual female voter, but to the nation at large, since, once given, the privilege could never be withdrawn. . . . It seems unnecessary to labour the point that there is all the difference in the world between giving women an opportunity of increasing and improving their natural powers, and granting to them a share in political sovereignty."

By the time these lines are in print the access of the public to the precincts of the House of Commons, and to the Strangers' and Ladies' galleries will,

most probably, have been restored to them. The Speaker has intervened where the Government failed. From the first moment of its introduction the Bill to punish disorder in the Palace of Westminster with fine and imprisonment was doomed. Member after member pointed out that such a procedure would give the ladies with the shrill soprano voices the very advertisement they crave, and would permit them to summon the Speaker, half the Cabinet, and anyone who happened to be in the House at the time as witnesses in the police court. It cannot be said that the members as a body showed any great desire to get back their visitors and auditors. But as the *Westminster Gazette* very wisely and properly maintains, "exclusion from the House is a serious loss and deprivation to the general public, and if it is prolonged beyond absolute necessity, it will in subtle but very real ways affect the popular view of the House of Commons." To this deprivation we have been compelled to submit, thanks to the antics of a few inveterate brawlers for several months past. We hope, but with little confidence, that the revised regulations may be sufficient to check the repetition of the old disgraceful scenes. But the conduct of the women who chained themselves the other day to the statues in the Lobby is not encouraging. We regret that the police were not instructed to leave them there for the night like so many Andromedas. The cool of the morning might have brought reflection.

THREE contested bye-elections have taken place during the last month; in two of them the Government candidate was defeated, and in the third he was returned by a vastly decreased majority. The Woman's Social and Political Union is jubilant, as usual, and claims to have played a leading part in bringing about these results. To anyone who knows the peculiar conditions under which the elections at Sheffield, at Edinburgh, and in the Stratford Division of Warwickshire were fought, the ludicrous nature of such an assumption is obvious. Yet with touching self-assurance the Suffragettes still consider that they are the arbiters of party warfare. They have yet got to realise the disgust mingled with amusement that their intervention in the bye-elections has caused. To anyone of fixed political

principles who regards the vote as a sacred trust to be exercised for the good of his country, there can be few things more repellent than these appeals to "vote agin the Government," regardless of the voter's convictions and the candidate's professions. The height of absurdity was reached at Croydon, where two out of the three candidates were ardent supporters of the female franchise, and one a confirmed opponent. The order came from headquarters to strain every nerve on behalf of the latter, because his return would be a blow to Mr. Asquith. If women who act and reason in this manner are to be admitted to the Parliamentary franchise, there is an end of our system of party government.

We have recently come across some words by the well-known authoress who uses the pseudonym of Helen Mathers, in a number of *Hearth and Home*, which put the case for the Woman's Anti-Suffrage League so admirably that we cannot resist quoting them: "To be a satisfactory wife and mother, an efficient housemistress, a philanthropist within the scope of her purse, takes a woman all her time, and I would like to make a sporting wager that if the whole of Great Britain were polled, street by street, house by house, from one end to the other, not one woman in a thousand, or even ten thousand, would evince the smallest desire to have the vote, or even, if its use were forced upon her, know how to use it." This house-to-house canvass is exactly what our league has undertaken, with a success that has surpassed the most sanguine expectations. "Brilliant organisation," continues Miss Mathers, "and an hysterical love of publicity may fill a few streets with a militant procession of women who want the vote, but all London would not hold the army of wives, mothers, and daughters who repudiate it. We hear the clamour of the one, but the silence of the many passes unnoticed. A true woman knows that if she has no hand in law making and law administration she has not only enormous influence over her husband and the men of her family, but she has the moulding of the child, the future law maker, in her hands, and she can so make him love and reverence all womanhood that he will never go against it; never withhold anything that is good for her, or (in the words of Goldwin Smith) give her anything that is bad for her with-

out injuring himself in the same measure." \* \* \*

It is time that something was done to correct the extraordinary perversions of history which are allowed to circulate at the suffrage meetings. A few weeks ago at Hereford, Lady Frances Balfour was asked by a member of the audience if she could mention any period when women possessed the Parliamentary franchise. The question was put in no mocking spirit, and the questioner was obviously a follower of Miss Rosa Dartle, who "only asked for information." Lady Frances, with equal candour, replied that she was not prepared with any instance later than the Norman Conquest. Prior to that event the Anglo-Saxon women had enjoyed the blessed privilege of which their descendants have been deprived for upwards of eight centuries. It is true that the late Professor Freeman used to find the origin of our Parliament in the Witenagemot, or assembly of the wise men, which exercised certain ill-defined functions in the later Anglo-Saxon reigns. But it is equally true that there is no evidence whatever that that assembly was ever constituted on an elective basis, and the Parliamentary franchise is a slow development of feudal tenures and of municipal privilege. The earliest English Parliament, as we understand the term, was summoned on the initiative of Simon de Montfort, in the reign of Henry III. To place the golden age of Englishwomen in the days of Edward the Confessor or Ethelred the Unready is enough to make John Stuart Mill turn in his grave. A well-known Oxford Professor was once advised to read Little Arthur's History of England, but we would recommend the perusal of the more modern text-books to Suffragette lecturers.

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"TERMINOLOGICAL exactitude" generally is not the strong point of the advocates of "Votes for Women," and a striking example of this is to be found in the pages of the last report of the National Women's Social and Political Union. In commenting on the trial at the Leeds Assizes of the lady who tried to force her way into a meeting addressed by Mr. Asquith, the writers make themselves responsible for the following statement: "Mr. Asquith and Mr. Herbert Gladstone were subpoenaed to appear as witnesses, but they used their great political in-

fluence to get their subpoenas set aside, thus establishing a new precedent in criminal cases." To the unsuspecting and ill-informed reader this sentence conjures up a picture of some dark intrigue between Cabinet Ministers and the judicial Bench. Anyone who followed the report of the proceedings in the papers, or who possesses the most elementary knowledge of English law and English judges, will appreciate the absurdity of the invention. The subpoenas had been originally granted by the judge who was to try Mrs. Baines, on the application of her counsel, who assured the Court that the witnesses were in a position to give important evidence. The motion to discharge the subpoenas was made before the High Court of Justice in London, which decided, after reading the affidavits of the Prime Minister and the Home Secretary, that by no possibility could they give any evidence which would be either relevant or admissible. A few weeks earlier Cabinet Ministers had been brought from their offices to the witness-box at Bow Street on a similar errand. The Divisional Court found that the application for the subpoenas was a gross abuse of the processes of the law, and decided accordingly. We do not understand whether it is seriously intended to challenge the integrity of the judges and to suggest that they were actuated by corrupt motives. But this seems the only logical construction to be placed on the sentence we have quoted.

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SOME of the weightiest arguments against woman's suffrage do not lend themselves to the atmosphere of a public meeting, and when clothed in the words of a tactless or unskilful speaker, are apt to arouse animosity, and even to excite derision. We venture, then, to give an example of the way in which one of these arguments has been put by a great master of the English language. The passage will be known to many of our readers, but we take the responsibility in the interests of those to whom it is unfamiliar:—"Compromise is the daily and hourly necessity of practical affairs. And those who disdain compromise are ever on the verge of oppression and disaster, and too often face both together with a light heart. We are bound to hear and weigh all that such men can urge. But it is for men of a very different stamp—often it may be men of a stamp more

common and less fine—to decide the issue and abide the result. Now, women in the average, as a sex, share this nature. They form opinions more quickly, less patiently, less coolly than do men. Emotion, prejudice, sentiment play a larger part in their decisions than in those of men. They are less in the habit of facing practical risks and dilemmas. They will not take pains to walk all round embarrassing crises before they decide; nor do they habitually weigh all sides of a question with a fair, impartial temper. It would be laughable to tell us that men and women are equally fitted by nature to form a balanced judgment of this kind. Common sense records the contrary as a fact. But all political questions and all Parliamentary elections really turn, or ought to turn, on nicely balanced judgments of this sort."—"Realities and Ideals," by Frederic Harrison, p. 134).

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A GREAT impetus to the Anti-Suffrage movement has been given by the drawing-room meetings which are being held so largely all over London and in the big provincial towns. We cannot be too grateful for the kindly hostesses who place their beautiful rooms at the disposal of guests, only a fraction of whom can be known to them, and who dispense such welcome hospitality. But a drawing-room audience is not always an easy one to handle or to interest, and it is impossible to exercise too great care in the selection of speakers. Ladies as a rule resent being "talked down to," and they are easily bored. It happens not unfrequently that when the turn comes of "the prize guest" (to use a phrase of the late Lord Coleridge), he or she is face to face with a wearied audience, and conscious that his or her best points have been anticipated and spoiled. We remember a story of a missionary meeting in a village not far from London to which the parent society had sent down one of its most eloquent and popular speakers. The squire took the chair, and prosed for thirty minutes; he was succeeded by the rector and one of the churchwardens, who were equally liberal. "Now," said the chairman, "I will call upon our distinguished visitor for his address." "My address, ladies and gentlemen," responded that much tried individual, "is 137, Peckham Terrace, and as you have only just left me time to catch the last train, I must wish you all good-evening."

## OXFORD DEGREES FOR WOMEN.

LORD CURZON'S emphatic advocacy of degrees for women, in his recent memorandum on University Reform, will inevitably lead to the revival of the question. It can be considered, of course, quite apart from Parliamentary suffrage: for the grant of a degree, even with consequent privilege of voting in academic assemblies, cannot exempt graduates from disabilities imposed by the law of the land—a fact which the recent judicial ruling against the claim of Scotch female graduates has made doubly clear.

The actual status of women students at Oxford is briefly this. There are about 300 of them, two-thirds of whom belong to institutions larger and smaller which house them, keep them under collective discipline, and provide for their instruction. Only one of these, however, Somerville, has modelled itself in name and form on a masculine collegiate body. The rest are "Home Students," under some control and discipline at the hands of the local Association for the Higher Education of Women, which also directs the Institutions. These students are in a position analogous to that of the male non-collegiates up to a certain point.

To all these students the University extends a benevolent toleration. It places its whole teaching machinery at their disposal so far as it can do so independently of the autonomous rights of colleges; and the latter, with practically no exception, now support the University in this matter. The libraries and laboratories are opened to women, under certain restrictions. Further, women are admitted to all examinations, examined by the same examiners as the men, subjected to the same standards, and, in the event, classified on the same principles. But the University does not admit them in any sense to membership; does not matriculate them; cares not whether they reside before examination, nor how long they reside, nor, again, what examinations they choose to take; is entirely without responsibility for their conduct outside its classrooms and examination halls, and gives them no degree whatever. What it does for them, it does in great measure as a free gift, taking no dues from them either at the beginning or at the end of their residence. But they pay a fee to examiners, and also for lectures and tuition, if these be not professorial. This status has certain

advantages. It leaves absolute liberty to the women to study what and how they please. While male students must pass prescribed courses within certain limits of time, women (except in so far as their own Association restricts them) can take one or a dozen subjects, and stay up two years or twenty. It makes also for cheapness; and, further, the disciplinary control is left, as is most suitable, entirely in feminine hands. These advantages, however, the women concerned hold light in comparison of the Degree, so necessary to those who wish to enter professions, and so honourable to all. To get that, they are prepared to pay matriculation and other University dues, to accept the same conditions of residence as the men, to be bound by the same courses and prescribed limits of time, and to submit to the control of a University Delegacy, though, perhaps, not without representation of themselves upon it.

Why should they not have their wish to be hall-marked with the outward and visible sign of a complete academic course gratified? The objections taken, other than those arising from mere conservatism or anti-feminine prejudice, which it would be idle to discuss, are these. In the first place, the full degree of M.A. carries a vote in Convocation, if the graduate's name be kept by payment on the books of his Society, and also a vote in Congregation, if he reside a statutory number of days. If women are to have these votes, they will enter the arena of University politics and become (unless expressly excluded) eligible to University offices. Well—some fear this change, and some do not. It is not much use arguing the matter. Let it be said only that the affairs debated in these assemblies are almost wholly local affairs, in which the women, if members of the University, would have as much concern as anyone else. The strength of their vote would be in proportion to their concern, and would be very unlikely to be preponderant. There is no reason to suppose their vote and interest would be used less intelligently than those of men. Lastly, the contention that they ought not to have a voice in managing institutions and endowments not originally designed for them, would be a very dangerous one for male representatives of the newer studies in Oxford to put forward.

Secondly, many doubt how far women can stand the pressure of the courses and terms prescribed for men.

Those responsible for the actual women students in Oxford must answer that objection themselves. With few exceptions they express no fear of the result. Thirdly, objection is taken to the small amount of reciprocal advantage that would probably be offered by the feminine institutions and staffs to the masculine. The Ladies' Colleges and Halls are, and perhaps always will be, comparatively poor; and, also, in their own interest and for their own protection, possibly must not open themselves to men as existing male colleges open themselves to women. Neither part of this objection can be pressed with a very good grace by an august and highly endowed University, and neither is likely to be pressed.

Last and most important is a social objection taken in the interests of discipline. Many hold that if the Degree be given, and women be admitted to full membership and privileges, their numbers will greatly increase, and there will be much more question of Idle Rich among the women than now, while Ladies' Halls are modest in means and equipment, and all students must read for an Honour School. With increased numbers, and the advent of the pleasure-seeking girl-undergraduate, a new social difficulty may arise in a University of three thousand youths, not to mention pastors and masters, who have all the rights of long possession. Academic discipline outside colleges is not exercised, and not to be exercised, with any real effectiveness. It deals only with the grosser sex relations, and is certainly not intended to control more innocent ones. England is not America, and has not its social code. If Oxford is to become a Mixed University, its discipline might have to be so revised that the present freedom of undergraduates from restraint would be impaired, and the character of their life would be changed. This is a reasonable objection undoubtedly, advanced by sane men and women with wide experience of the sexes, and one not to be met by mere indignant protests on the part of the staffs of Ladies' Colleges. As someone has said, it does not matter if boys will be boys, so long as one can prevent girls being girls. At present the Oxford boys can be boys without coming into much relation with girls. The women advocates of the Degree will have to meet this objection with a satisfactory scheme of private and public discipline designed for their own students, which perhaps must ad-

mit of some control of these by masculine University authorities. The onus of justification lies on the feminine authorities. Even their present system of discipline, it is said, can be evaded. They must propound another to meet altered circumstances which shall be as effective as can be demanded in reason. The present writer believes that they can formulate such a system, and if they do, will see only injustice and lack of generosity in the further withholding of University membership and the Degree from women. If Oxford had never admitted women to its class-rooms and examination halls, it would have had a logical case for not admitting them now. But as things stand, and have stood for years, it has given away the principle, and can hardly in reason withhold for ever that which constitutes the chief value of its favours to the poorer student. D. G. H.

### OUR BRANCH NEWS-LETTER.

NOTWITHSTANDING Easter holidays, and the break that they inevitably make between the work accomplished in winter and the new work of spring and summer, our branch activity has been as pronounced as ever, and the record of April is of a number of successful and interesting meetings, of new branches formed, and an ever fresh enthusiasm for the work of the League in the country and provinces.

It was with deep regret that the news was received by our League of the sudden death of Lady Leigh, President of our Birmingham Branch, at her residence, Stoneleigh Abbey, Warwickshire, on April 28th. Lady Leigh took the deepest interest in the Anti-Suffrage League, and accomplished much valuable work for it, and the Birmingham Branch in particular has suffered an irreparable loss by her death.

### APRIL'S FIRST MEETING.

THE Westminster Branch was the first to hold a public meeting for last month, and Mrs. Frederic Harrison presided over a full gathering in Denison House on April 1. In the course of an eloquent speech, Mrs. Harrison referred to the Anti-Suffrage League's popularity with the officials at Holloway prison, and emphasised the fact that 68 wardresses out of 72 had signed the now famous Anti-Suffrage petition.

Mrs. Harrison added that if she thought the vote would help the best interests of women she would become a suffragist to-morrow, but there was no royal road to anything. Women must make themselves good workers. She had never heard of a woman who was a good worker who lacked work. Votes could not regulate wages, make a just or generous em-

ployer, or a kind and considerate forewoman. Mrs. Baynton (of Australia) gave the audience an interesting glimpse at "women and the vote" in the antipodes.

### IN THE "WEST COUNTRY."

THE League has a splendid following in the West Country, and the April campaign in East Devon has been crowned with brilliant success. A special correspondent of ours writes: "In Easter week the East Devon Branch held a vigorous campaign in their constituency. The president, Miss Chalmers, and hon. sec., Miss Browning, arranged afternoon meetings in public halls at Seaton, Honiton, Budleigh Salterton, and Exmouth, and an evening meeting at Sidmouth. The speakers were Mr. and Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun, the latter giving a series of addresses covering the whole subject, while Mr. Colquhoun supported her in telling little speeches, in which he showed that women did not need the vote in order to be patriotic. At Budleigh Salterton Colonel Walker took the chair, and the meeting was organised by Mrs. Price, while several well-known ladies and gentlemen were on the platform. The Seaton meeting was arranged by Mrs. Murland, and the room was full, while the large evening meeting at Sidmouth was presided over by Lady Arundel of Wardour, who made an admirable little address in introducing the speakers. Miss Chalmers took the chair at Honiton and Exmouth, and on both occasions made an excellent speech. Her account of the progress of the East Devon Branch was very striking. Altogether East Devon must be congratulated on its success. The intelligent and thoughtful people of the constituency are waking up to the importance and truth of the Anti-Suffrage cause."

With regard to Sidmouth, where the League has been established five months, the League has practically expelled the Suffragettes from the town.

A new West Country Branch is the one just formed in Bridgwater, and its first meeting was held on April 5th. Miss K. Lovell Marshall presided over a large attendance, and Miss Dickens explained the objects of the League. A committee and officers were formed, and their names will be found in our "List of Branches."

### NEWS FROM KENSINGTON.

FROM the Kensington Branch comes the report of continued success. In answer to an appeal to members, signed by Lady Ichester, which was sent out just after the Queen's Hall meeting, some sixty new members have been secured in the last month, and they continue to come in daily. The weekly meeting in Kensington Town Hall is discontinued for the summer. A number of drawing-room meetings are being arranged in Kensington, and anyone desirous of attending these should send her name to the hon. sec.

Mr. Reginald Cripps presided at an "At Home" held by the South Kensington Branch at Kensington Town Hall on April 14, when some of the audience were Suffragists of a pronounced noisy type. Mrs. Burgwin, who is treasurer of the *Referee* Children's Dinner Fund, Mrs. Norris, and Mrs. Colquhoun were the speakers, and they contended gallantly with a great deal of interruption.

Mrs. Burgwin said she was told that women

in England were slaves; that this slavery must be overcome, and she wanted to ask those who said that, where the slaves were to be found, for she did not know of one in all her acquaintances. She had worked for the women's cause for the last thirty years, and there was a period when she thought that in the course of time women would have the vote. It was not until she saw her sisters adopting the methods they had, and displaying their emotion and hysteria, that she came to the conclusion that the time was not ripe for conferring the vote upon women. The progressive movement of women was now being thrown back amid the ribald jokes of men, and great injury was being done by these militant suffragist tactics.

Mrs. Colquhoun reminded the suffragists present that they did not show the strength of their position by exhibiting such petulance when listening to the arguments of the Anti-Suffrage League members.

### THE LEAGUE IN THE EMERALD ISLE.

WE have now broken new ground by introducing the League across the Irish Sea, and, as was to be expected, support and warm-hearted enthusiasm were at once extended to the women who are opposing the dangerous revolution threatened by the "Franchise to Women" idea. With the Duchess of Abercorn as president, and the Countess of Pembroke, the Dowager Countess of Drogheda, and Lady Iveagh as supporters, the Dublin Branch is now fully launched on its career, and the Irish women of the people are also determined to do their share in making our Irish League a success.

Miss Dickens addressed an important meeting in the Molesworth Hall, Dublin, on April 21st, and Mrs. Bernard, wife of the Dean of St. Patrick's, presided. Mrs. Murray, hon. sec., also spoke. The following extracts from a thoughtful leading article in the *Dublin Express* of April 22, represent fairly well public feeling in Ireland regarding "Women and the Franchise," and Irish sympathy with the Anti-Suffrage movement:

"The report which we publish of a Woman's Anti-Suffrage League meeting, held in Dublin, marks a change in the position of the over-accelerated movement of the Suffragettes. The meeting was composed of women who are opposed to the demand for the suffrage, and it represented the local branch of a society which, although only two months in existence, has already become a large and powerful organisation. It may be suggested, by way of disparagement that if the Anti-Suffrage movement amongst women were really the outcome of a deep and earnest feeling, this League would have come into existence, not months, but two years ago. There is, however, not very much force in this suggestion. In the first place, women are entirely unaccustomed to the practical work of politics; and, in the second, many women looked on, if not altogether with approval, with at least a sort of sex patriotism, that made them reluctant to take the field. In the end they had no choice. Organisation became absolutely necessary for those women who, conscious that they represented the majority of their sex, had no desire to exchange the privileged position of that sex for the wild and whirling leadership of the 'Suffragette.'"

In addition to the public meeting, informal debates were held at the residences of Mrs. Grove White and Mrs. Albert Murray.

### OUR WELSH CAMPAIGN BEGINS.

OUR Welsh campaign has begun gallantly, and judging from the enthusiasm aroused in Rhyl and Newport, it looks as if Wales will be a stronghold of the Anti-Suffrage League.

Newport, Monmouthshire, is to be congratulated on the spirited commencement of its career. On Monday, April 26th, Miss Prothero, of Malpas Court, and her helpers organised two meetings, to be held in the Temperance Hall, Newport, where the week before Mrs. Pankhurst had addressed a large but somewhat hostile audience. The district of which Newport is the centre has been vigorously worked by the suffragists, and some of their best speakers have been down, so it was a daring policy to hold two open public meetings at the outset of the career of the branch. The result more than justified the daring. The meetings were admirably organised, an influential platform being arranged for each, and even heavy rain in the afternoon did not prevent an audience of some 400 persons assembling, while in the evening the hall, which holds 1,600, was crowded to the doors, many people having to stand. A small suffragist contingent attended both meetings, but obviously the large majority of the audience was entirely in sympathy with the speakers. The chair was taken in the afternoon by Miss Prothero, who read a letter from Lady Llangatock, president of the branch, deeply regretting that her absence from the country prevented her from taking an active part in the meeting, and many other letters were received, also a telegram of sympathy from the Hon. Ivor Guest.

The chairman in the evening was Mr. J. E. Ward, and the speakers on both occasions were Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun and Mr. F. J. Newman. A pretty little girl presented Mrs. Colquhoun with a shower bouquet of pink roses tied with the League colours, while Mr. Newman received a buttonhole. Mrs. Colquhoun spoke first, and was followed with rapt attention. Mr. Newman, following in a more humorous and sarcastic vein, provoked ripples of laughter, and his dissection of Mrs. Pankhurst's recent speech in that hall was most effective. When question time arrived several suffragists armed with voluminous notes, and some apparently with speeches prepared, sprang up to do battle, but Mrs. Colquhoun disposed of the first comers so neatly (to the vast amusement and delight of the audience) that there was no great competition for the honour of breaking a lance with her. One young man asked her if she was not "a dog in the manger." She replied at once, "No, I am the dog who is crossing a stream with a bone in his mouth, and some of his friends advise him to drop his bone and seize the larger one seen in the reflection below. But I am a wise dog, I shall keep my bone!" The audience was delighted at this neat illustration of what had been the burden of the speeches—that women are in risk of losing something infinitely more precious by snatching at a spurious political equality with man.

On the next day, Tuesday, by kind permission of Miss Andrew, a drawing-room meeting was held at Caldicot, and Mrs. Colquhoun had the satisfaction of seeing a considerable addition to the membership of the branch.

The meeting at Rhyl on April 23rd was attended by a good muster of townspeople,

and there were also present large numbers of ladies and gentlemen from the immediate neighbourhood and not a few from distant places. Col. W. Cornwallis West, Lord-Lieutenant of Denbighshire, presided, and was supported by Mrs. West, president of the branch, Mr. Hughes of Kinnel, Lord-Lieutenant of Flintshire (who was accompanied by Miss Frances Hughes, Miss Horatia Hughes, and Colonel H. B. L. Hughes), and the indefatigable local hon. secretary, Miss Ermine Taylor. Col. W. Cornwallis West delivered a splendid speech, which was reported in full in the *Rhyl Journal*.

### SUCCESS AT BOURNEMOUTH.

WE have to acknowledge our great indebtedness to Mrs. Arthur Somervell, who was assisted by Sir Edward O'Malley, for most eloquent and successful speeches on April 21st, at a crowded meeting, in the Town Hall, Christchurch. Mrs. Wiggins most kindly was hostess for the afternoon, and all the arrangements were perfectly carried out. Mrs. Wiggins also generously providing tea. Mrs. Somervell's speech was full as ever of unanswerable logic and the best of reasons against granting the suffrage to women, Sir Edward O'Malley following in an interesting and telling speech. Other shorter speeches were well received, and the show of hands at the conclusion of the meeting was unanimous against the granting of the vote to women, with about half a dozen dissentients. In the evening a largely attended meeting was held at the Prince's Hall, Bournemouth, when Mrs. Arthur Somervell and Sir Edward O'Malley again spoke. The audience was most appreciative, many who had come undecided in opinion going away quite convinced by clear and vigorous arguments.

The branch in Bournemouth is very flourishing. We have now a large and representative committee and an increasing number of members. It is intended to still further spread the knowledge of the League during the summer by means of garden parties, etc., with short speeches and the distribution of literature.

### LADY BANCROFT AT MARGATE.

A WELL-ATTENDED meeting was held early in April at St. John's Hall, Margate. Lady Bancroft presided, and there were also present Mrs. R. L. Harrison, the Lady Rose Weigall, Miss Weigall (secretary of the branch), Mrs. C. T. Hatfeild, Mrs. Clutton (Mayoress of Ramsgate), Mrs. Fishwick, Mrs. Bomford. In the rear seats were a number of ladies who did not adopt the views of the speakers, and there were a few interruptions, which were soon silenced. Lady Bancroft and Mrs. Harrison spoke splendidly. The Thanet branch was formed nine weeks ago, and 1,200 signatures have been obtained to the petition against the Suffrage.

### THE LEAGUE IN THE NORTH.

MISS DICKENS was the chief speaker at an enthusiastic meeting held at the Grosvenor Hotel, Hull, on April 28th. Mr. T. Sheppard was in the chair, and a number of well-known local people were on the platform. Of course, the suffragist element was present, and their questions were very aptly answered, rather to their chagrin. Several new members were enrolled for the district,

and it is believed that Anti-Suffrage is making a deep impression in this great northern town.

### WHITBY DISTRICT.

A BRANCH of the League has been formed at Whitby, with Lady Dora Yeoman as president, as a result of a meeting held in the Waterloo Hall on the 27th. Miss Priestly was in the chair, and Miss Dickens' very able address elicited some questioning, which she dealt with very cleverly.

### SOUTHSEA.

MR. MORGAN VEITCH and Miss A. J. Lindsay gave stirring addresses at a meeting held in Southsea on April 19th, when a large audience proved that the Portsmouth and District Branch has been doing good work lately. Mr. Veitch dwelt upon the possibilities of women voters being swayed by the emotions rather than the mind, and pointed out the disabilities women would incur in the form of jury service and so on. If they granted votes to women they must logically give adult suffrage, and every argument in favour of the one was also an argument in favour of the other. With regard to the Socialists' support of the movement, he remarked that the women outnumbered the men in this country by a million and a half, and if they had the control of the votes there might be eventually just such an upheaval as the Socialists desired, and the country might be placed in serious danger.

### MICKLEHAM (EPSOM).

MRS. WILFRID WARD, Mr. C. S. Gordon Clark, Mr. R. S. Bond, and Miss Norah Peachey were the speakers at a very successful meeting held at Mickleham, under the auspices of our Epsom Branch (of which the Dowager Countess of Ellesmere is President), and Mr. Leopold Salomons, J.P., was in the chair.

Mrs. Wilfrid Ward said the burden of proof of fitness for having the vote rested on the Suffragists themselves, and they had not shown the necessity for the vote. Female suffrage would mean an enormous risk to the Empire, and an enormous danger to their home life.

Mr. Bond also spoke at some length on the dangers of granting the vote to women, and moved a resolution expressing the opinion that the granting of the franchise to women was neither to the interests of the women nor of the Empire.

### SCARBOROUGH.

ONE of the most successful of our April meetings was that held in Scarborough Old Town Hall on April 26th, when Miss Dickens' address on the objects of the Anti-Suffrage League interested a very large audience. Mr. Ralph S. Bond (London) made a very stirring and able speech on the Imperial aspect of the Woman's Suffrage question, and his arguments proved very conclusively the evils that would ensue if the vote were ever given to women.

Mrs. Daniel, who occupied the chair, announced the receipt of letters from several supporters who were not able to attend, among them being Viscount Helmsley.

Since the Scarborough Branch was formed

in March it has made satisfactory progress. The membership is seventy, and there have been 438 signatures secured to the petition.

#### A NEW BRANCH.

OUR York Branch was started in the middle of April, with Lady Julia Wombwell as president, and its prospects of success are reported by the hon. secretary, Miss Jenyns, to be very rosy. The petition against the Suffrage is being largely signed in the district.

#### A NOTE FROM SHERBORNE.

AT A MEETING held in Sherborne on April 28th, Colonel Bethell was in the chair, and Lady Theodora Guest was amongst those present. Mrs. Arthur Somervell spoke for nearly an hour to a large and interested audience, and cleverly answered a volley of questions from some interrupting Suffragists. It is hoped that a branch of the League will shortly be opened in the neighbourhood.

#### A NOTABLE SPEECH AT BRIGHTON.

MR. GEORGE CALDERON, hon. secretary of the Men's League for Opposing Women's Suffrage, made a very racy speech at a meeting of the Women's Anti-Suffrage League, held at Hove on April 29th. Major-General Erskine, J.P., was in the chair. Mr. Calderon regretted that their methods were misrepresented by the Suffragettes. They (the Suffragettes) did not know what their arguments were. There were 105 women to every 100 men; therefore, if the vote were extended to women, they would be able to rule the elections. They would be able to send whomever they liked to Parliament, and, if they were elected, they would not refuse a seat in it. And eventually the country would find them filling the seats of the State ministers and judges. The whole country would be turned into a woman-run country. He did not say, however, that women were incapable. But he could then picture woman saying, "Would you kindly hand over the power?" Men would not very likely do that. Men had made the State, and women never had had a vote. They had certainly exercised a civilising influence, but the State had been formed by fighting. Women had nothing to do with making the Empire; but men maintained it by the force of their arms.

Suffragettes thought that in these advanced times moral force took the place of physical force. There was no united moral force. The Suffragettes were suffering from the bottling up of nervous energy. They were at work all day, and walked about dressed up like Joans of Arc. Many of them said it was a degradation to live as they were doing now, and one suffragette had only lately said that it was a disgrace "to wash up pots and pans." And even Mr. Bernard Shaw, who was a suffragist, had set forth in one of his plays poetic phrases: "You asked me to give you love, and I gave you the mountains, the sunshine, etc.; and what did you make of me? You made me your household drudge." That was, said the speaker, the kind of stuff they got. They talked about economic independence, and said that man and woman were equal. With a little training the Suffragette thought that woman could do everything that man could do, but they had never really made a start to compete with man economically.

#### ADMIRAL FREMANTLE ON ANTI-SUFFRAGE.

SOME of the most notable and convincing speeches that have yet been made by well-known Anti-Suffrage supporters were heard at a drawing-room meeting held at the residence of Lady Haliburton in Lowndes Square on May 5th. Admiral Fremantle and the Countess of Desart spoke brilliantly against the folly and wrong-headed policy of the Suffragists, and we give, as fully as space permits, a report of their speeches.

Admiral Sir E. Fremantle, presiding, said the Suffragists had brought to this country representatives from various countries to instruct us as to our duty in respect to women and the vote. But he could not see what qualification these visitors possessed, either by any experience in their own land or knowledge of what was needed in this, to show us what we should or should not do. It was little help to this country to learn what had been done in Finland, a mere military arondissement of the Russian Empire, and the same applied, to a great extent, to the representatives from America. One of them talked about slavery; but it would be interesting to know in what particular women in this country were comparable to slaves. It was not creditable to this country that here alone the foolish pranks of the "Suffragette" had been employed. It was full time that this condition of things should be put down.

Ellen, Countess of Desart said that to give the franchise to women in this country meant a revolution. It might seem strange to talk in these days of physical force as a basis of government, but if they paused to think they would see how true it was and how inevitable. If the Parliamentary franchise were given on an educational basis—which it was not—there might be something to be said in favour of throwing it open to members of both sexes. It was useless for the weaker sex to try to impose measures upon the stronger, since the stronger could always get rid of the weaker by knocking them on the head. Strength was man's prerogative; there was a far finer one—influence. A woman had the same privileges as a man; but what she had not got was his duties. What a woman could not achieve without the vote she certainly would not achieve with it. They could not seek to outscreech their opponents, but by signing the petition against the vote—and they wanted a million more signatures—they could convince people of the strength of their cause. For what purpose did the advocates of the vote want it? For the most unmitigated class legislation, and in order to wage war on the other half of creation. It was the old cry, "I am as good as you are, and why should not I have what you have?"

Mr. Frederic Harrison, on behalf of his wife, who was unable to attend through indisposition, read a paper, in which the writer said that if she believed that the wages of the poor sweated woman worker would be raised because the franchise was extended to women, then she would be a Suffragist, but she was convinced that the vote would have no such effect on women's wages, and that that was not the way in which woman's salvation was to come. Wages were raised not by the vote, but by trade conditions and trade combinations. Women's wages had in some directions already been raised. There was the wage of the domestic servant, who earned more than her father the agricultural labourer.

#### A REPORT FROM MANCHESTER.

THE provisional committee of this branch are engaged in organising the work of the office, and in the formation of a strong general committee from which the executive committee is to be elected. The office staff began work early in May, and the committee hope that the various plans of work under consideration by them can now be carried out. A campaign has been started among elementary school teachers, and the preliminary work of sending letters and literature is now nearly complete. This distribution of nearly nine hundred letters has been carried out on the advice of an affiliated member of the League, who gained the help of a number of teachers willing to distribute the letters in various schools, and the committee are exceedingly grateful to this gentleman, and await with interest the result. The oversight of this branch of the work is undertaken by Miss Sinclair, who attends at the office every Tuesday morning.

By the invitation of Mrs. Hughes, a tea party for post office employees was held at the office on Thursday, April 29th, convened by Miss Hardie, who has undertaken to assist the League in this valuable way. Six young ladies came, and an interesting discussion was held.

The canvassing for the petition is being organised, and four districts are started, under a district secretary. Miss Simon has undertaken to act as petition secretary.

All members of the League have been invited to join the general committee, which will shortly be summoned.

#### A WANSTEAD MEETING.

A WELL-ATTENDED meeting, admirably organised by Mrs. Frank Warner, was held at Wanstead on April 29th, with Colonel Eardley Wilmot in the chair. Mr. Edward North Buxton and other influential people were on the platform.

Mrs. Arthur Somervell spoke most convincingly for about forty-five minutes, and was followed by Mrs. Carr, who dwelt chiefly on the useful work done by women in prison reform, mentioning her own experience with regard to the way in which Government officials welcomed the co-operation of women.

A number of questions were put by members of the W.N.S.P.U., and were admirably answered by Mrs. Carr and Mrs. Somervell, the latter confuting very cleverly the challenge of a Suffragist of Mrs. Somervell's statement that no election had taken place in Norway since the granting of the suffrage to women. A strong resolution against the granting of the vote to women was passed enthusiastically.

#### WORK IN HASLEMERE AND SHOTTERMILL, SURREY.

WE quote the following from a letter received from Mrs. Beveridge, a keen worker in this district (where a branch is in course of formation), which will interest our members: "We are doing very well, we poll the vote and are getting knowledge of our support in all classes. We have gone far beyond our first small circle, and have now drawn in the tradespeople and workpeople of Haslemere, Grayshott, Shottermill, and several hamlets. Excellent help comes to us from people of these classes especially. We have had two meetings at Pitfold, where Miss Stuart spoke

—an afternoon meeting very well attended and most interesting, and an evening meeting, under the presidency of Mr. Cecil Wray, of Grayshott, where there were as many men as women in the audience. This was admirable—serious, attentive, and interested. . . . The work widens well. There are many useful secondary outcomes of the whole discussion of great interest to those at work. A tradesman said a true thing to me lately, that our Women's League is right, because without our 'woman's' action men cannot oppose lest they seem tyrannical."

#### HINTS ON BRANCH WORK.

THE following extract from a letter from Mrs. Jelf (Chairman of the Ashbourne Branch) contains some very interesting hints on branch work, which we think our members will welcome: "It seems to me that every local branch ought to be able to start itself without coming on the central fund. There would, I think, generally be a few people who are keen and sufficiently well off to get up a local meeting to start a branch, which would involve having a room and speakers, the distribution of literature, and providing it. In this branch we started our proceedings by getting volunteers to go round districts in the town and neighbourhood with literature and collecting signatures—this ventilated the matter. Practically we provided the literature, room, etc., and paid for the journeys of the excellent speaker whom the League sent, and after the meeting started the branch, without coming on the central fund at all, and are now proceeding with the organising. At our meeting we reserved three or four rows for paid seats (rs.)—this helped us on. We shall recoup ourselves as far as we can from our local branch members' and associates' subscriptions for the original outlay, and I think it ought really to be possible for each local branch to pay its way from starting."

#### A LATE NOTE.

AN "At Home" was held, by the invitation of Mrs. Fraser, at her residence, 3, Craven Hill, W., in connection with our Paddington Branch, on Thursday evening, May 6th, the speakers being the Countess of Desart, the Honble. Michael Hicks-Beach, M.P., and Mr. Thomas. A full report of the proceedings will be given in next month's REVIEW.

#### BRANCHES.

**ASHBOURNE AND DISTRICT**—President: The Lady Florence Duncombe. Chairman: Mrs. R. H. Jelf. Vice-Chairman: Mrs. Sadler. Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Parkin. Hon. Secretary: Miss M. L. Bond, Alrewas House, Ashbourne.

**BATH**—Branch in formation

**BASINGSTOKE**—President: The Lady Calthorpe. Hon. Treasurer and Secretary: Mrs. Allnutt, Hazelhurst, Basingstoke.

**BECKENHAM**—Provisional Hon. Secretary: Miss E. Blake, Kingswood, The Avenue, Beckenham, Kent.

**BERKS (NORTH)**—President: The Lady Wantage. Hon. Secretary: Miss Gladys Pott, The Red House, Streatley-on-Thames; and 7, Queensborough Terrace, Hyde Park, W.

**BERKS (SOUTH)**—President: Mrs. Benyon. Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Dickinson, Eastfield, Whitechurch, Reading.

**BERKS (EAST)**—President: The Lady Haversham. Hon. Treasurer: Lady Ryan. Hon. Secretary: Chas. Hay, Esq., South Hill Park, Bracknell, Berks.

**BERWICKSHIRE**—President: The Hon. Mrs. Baillie Hamilton. Vice-President: Mrs. Baxendale. Hon. Secretary: Miss M. W. M. Falconer, L.L.A., Elder Bank, Duns, Berwickshire.

**BIRMINGHAM**—Vice-Presidents: The Lady Calthorpe; Mrs. E. M. Simon; Miss Beatrice Chamberlain. Hon. Treasurer: Murray N. Phelps, Esq., L.L.D. Hon. Secretaries: Mrs. Saundby; Mrs. E. Lakin-Smith; Miss Baker. Secretary: Miss Gertrude Allarton, 19, New Street, Birmingham.

**BOURNEMOUTH**—President: The Lady Abinger. Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Drury Lowe. Hon. Secretary: Miss Clara Sivewright, Brinklea, Bournemouth. Assistant Hon. Secretary: Miss Frost, Clovelly, Bournemouth.

All communications to be addressed to Miss Frost for the present.

**BRIDGWATER**—President: Mrs. Marshall. Hon. Treasurer: Thomas Perren, Esq. Hon. Secretary: Miss M. Foster-Barham, Marycourt, Bridgewater.

**BRIDLINGTON**—No branch committee has been formed; but Mrs. Bosville, Thorpe Hall, Bridlington, is willing to receive subscriptions and give information.

**BRIGHTON AND HOVE**—Hon. Treasurer: General Erskine. Hon. Secretary: Miss Irene Duke, 30, New Church Road, Hove.

**BRISTOL**—Chairman: Lady Fry. Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Alfred Robinson. Hon. Secretaries: Miss Long Fox, 15, Royal York Crescent, Bristol; Miss Lillingston, 91, Pembroke Road, Bristol.

**CAMBRIDGE**—President: Mrs. Austen Leigh. Hon. Treasurer: Miss Seeley. Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Wardale, Orcheston, Madingley Road, Cambridge.

**CAMBRIDGE (GIRTON COLLEGE)**—President: Miss R. Lubbock. Hon. Treasurer: Miss I. Wilkinson. Hon. Secretary: Miss E. L. Duckett.

**CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY**—President: C. C. Perry, Esq., M.A. Hon. Secretary: Herbert Loewe, Esq., M.A., 6, Park Street, Jesus Lane, Cambridge.

**CHELtenham**—President: Mrs. Hardy. Hon. Treasurer: Miss Plumer. Hon. Secretary: Miss Geddes, 4, Suffolk Square, Cheltenham.

**CHELSEA**—Hon. Treasurer: Admiral the Hon. Sir Edmund Fremantle, G.C.B. Hon. Secretary: Mrs. A. Myles, 16, St. Leo Mansions, Cheyne Gardens, S.W.; Miss S. Woodgate, 68, South Eaton Place, S.W.

**CRANBROOK**—President: Miss Neve Osborne Lodge. Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Mordaunt, Goddard's Green, Cranbrook. Hon. Secretary (for Benenden): Mrs. W. Hoare, Summerhill, Benenden, Cranbrook, Kent.

**CROYDON**—Provisional Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Cory, Rosenheim, Park Hill Road, Croydon.

**CUMBERLAND AND WESTMORLAND**—Chairman: Hon. Nina Kay Shuttleworth. Vice-Chairman: Mrs. Hills. Hon. Treasurer: Miss Cropper. Joint Hon. Secretaries: Miss Howard, Greystoke Castle, Penrith; Miss Thomson, Ashbank, Penrith.

**DUBLIN**—President: The Duchess of Abercorn. Chairman: Mrs. Bernard. Joint Hon. Treasurers: Miss Dickson and Miss Orpin. Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Albert E. Murray, 2, Clyde Road, Dublin.

**DULWICH**—President: Mrs. Parish. Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Teall, 174, Rosendale Road, Dulwich, S.E.

**EALING**—President: Mrs. Forbes. Hon. Treasurer: L. Prendergast Walsh, Esq. Hon. Secretary: Miss McClellan, 35, Hamilton Road, Ealing.

**EALING DEAN**—President: Mrs. Semmerhayes. Joint Hon. Secretaries: The Misses Turner, 33, Lavington Road, West Ealing.

**EASTBOURNE**—Provisional Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Durell, Enys House, Eastbourne.

**EAST GRINSTEAD**—President: Lady Musgrave. Hon. Secretary: Miss D. G. Arbuthnot, Plawhatch, East Grinstead.

**EDINBURGH**—President: The Marchioness of Tweeddale. Vice-President: The Countess of Dalkeith. Chairman: Mrs. Stirling Boyd. Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Paterson. Joint Hon. Secretaries: Mrs. Johnson, 19, Walker Street; Miss Kemp, 6, Western Terrace, Murrayfield, Edinburgh. Joint Hon. Secretaries for the Petition: Miss Dick Peddie, Miss Mackenzie, M.A., and Miss Horne.

**EPSOM**—President: The Dowager Countess of Ellesmere. Hon. Treasurer: R. T. Monier-Williams, Esq. Joint Hon. Secretaries: Miss Norah Peachey, Esq.; Mrs. D. R. Cameron, Chessington Lodge, Chessington, Surrey.

**EXETER**—President: Lady Acland. Hon. Treasurer: Miss Sanders. Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Lesley Derry, 4, The Crescent, Mount Radford, Exeter.

**GLASGOW**—President: The Duchess of Hamilton. Chairman of Committee: Mrs. John M. Macleod. Hon. Secretary and Treasurer: Miss Bicknell, Armstrong's Hotel, 244, Buchanan Street, Glasgow.

**GLOUCESTER**—Hon. Treasurer: W. E. Cullis, Esq. Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Naylor, Belmont, Brunswick Road, Gloucester.

**GOUDHURST**—Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Fitzhugh, Grove Place, Goudhurst.

**GRIMSBY**—Branch in formation.

**HAMPSTEAD**—President: Mrs. Metzler. Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. G. H. Pooley. Hon. Secretary: Mrs. W. E. Gladstone Solomon, 98, Sumatra Road, Hampstead.

**HAMPTON AND DISTRICT**—Joint Hon. Secretaries: Mrs. Ellis Hicks Beach, Cranham House, Hampton-on-Thames; Miss E. J. Mather, Sheen Cottage, Nightingale Road, Hampton.

**HASLEMERE**—Branch in formation.

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### NOTES ON THE OXFORD WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE MEETING.

(By a "CHIEF AMANG" THEM.)

The following criticism, passed locally upon a speech at Oxford by Mr. H. Y. Stanger, M.P., deals with a pertinent illustration of one favourite method of the Suffragist on the platform and in the press. "When they persecute you in one city, flee ye unto another—and make haste to say that ye have never heard of the last."

One of the most strongly-marked characteristics of suffragist argumentation is its elusiveness. When any argument is exploded, or shown to lead to absurdities, the method is to say that no responsible advocate of woman suffrage has ever used it, and then to drop it—till the next opportunity. This elusiveness was copiously illustrated in Mr. Stanger's recent speech at the Corn Exchange meeting in Oxford. He charged Lord Cromer with "resorting to a method which he was afraid was too common with a certain class of controversialists, of putting into their opponents' mouths arguments which they did not use and then commenting upon

them. Lord Cromer said it was put forward that there was an innate right in every human being to vote. . . . He (Mr. Stanger) did not know that any responsible advocate of women's suffrage had demanded it on this ground"; . . . "that would be ridiculous." But Mr. Zangwill, in "The Case for Woman Suffrage," speaks of the vote as an "elemental human right," due to a woman as "a separate and individual personality, a human soul." And I suppose Mr. Zangwill is a "responsible advocate." But the very meeting at which Mr. Stanger spoke supplied his refutation, for Miss Margaret Robertson, another speaker, said: "The first step [towards woman suffrage] was taken in the fifth century, when the fathers of the Church"—what a wholesale accusation!—"discussed whether a woman had a soul. Once that was decided, woman's suffrage was the logical and inevitable consequence." And I suppose Miss Margaret Robertson may also be classed as "a responsible advocate." Anyhow, the argument will appear again, when wanted.

Mr. Stanger also rebuked Lord Cromer for quoting as a suffragist argument the contention that "taxation without representation is tyranny," and quoting it as an argument intended to be comprehensive and final. Again, Mr. Stanger "did not know that any responsible advocate of woman's suffrage had demanded it on this ground." When I heard this I was amazed. It has always been one of the foremost arguments employed without reservation by the advocates of woman suffrage, responsible and irresponsible. It is an argument invariably received with resounding suffragist cheers. Why, then, Mr. Stanger's elusiveness? Because the argument has been shown to be neither comprehensive nor final, and he wanted to minimise its importance. But the argument will appear again, in all its comprehensiveness, when there is a favourable opportunity. It has the high sanction of the incontrovertibly "responsible." In "The Case for Women's Suffrage" (page 128) we read that "No taxation without representation" is one of the "maxims" of "philosophic Liberalism."

In the first number of *Women's Franchise*, the recognised organ of the various suffrage societies, the argument "that women are taxed without being represented" is recommended as "among the best of the arguments generally adduced"; and, in an authoritative article on the policy of the National Union of Suffrage Societies, it is maintained that "the withholding of the suffrage from tax and rate paying women is an injustice." While, once more, in "The Case for Women's Suffrage," Mr. Zangwill perorates, "Woman . . . is a human soul, and, what is more to the point, a tax-payer; . . . with taxation must and shall go representation." Here are the two arguments together which Mr. Stanger would fain persuade us have never been unreservedly used as comprehensive and conclusive by "responsible advocates of women's suffrage."

### LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

To the Editor of THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW.

DEAR SIR,—May I claim the courtesy of your columns for the correction of a statement of facts?

Anti-Suffragists and Suffragists are alike interested in getting a truthful report of their work before the public, and Anti-Suffragists are, I feel sure, particularly scrupulous in correcting inaccuracies that may have crept into the speeches of their supporters.

In the public utterances of Mrs. Somervell, Miss Angela Dickens, and others, the students of Girton College have been several times referred to as having pronounced against women's suffrage. The facts are as follows:—The Girton College Women's Suffrage Society numbers 105 members, the Anti-Suffrage Society 28.

Some misconception may be due to the fact that several of the household servants were asked to sign the Anti-Suffrage petition, and did so. It is possible that they were added to the number of students.

I am, sir,

Faithfully yours,

(Signed) HELENE REINHERZ,

Member of the committee of the Girton College Women's Suffrage Club.

Girton College, Cambridge.

March 23rd, 1909.

[EDITOR'S NOTE.—We gladly publish the above letter, but we should be obliged to our correspondent if she would state where and when any public utterance on the subject has been made by either Mrs. Somervell or Miss Mary Angela Dickens.]

To the Editor of THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW.

MADAM,—In a letter signed H. E. Hamilton King, published in THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW for April, it is stated that, owing to divided opinion among female advocates of the suffrage, "Suffragists and suffragettes have come to actual blows at public meetings." I shall be obliged if your correspondent will supply me with particulars of the meeting, or meetings, at which this has taken place, as I am unable to verify the information. I find that personal chastisement is a method of propaganda sometimes adopted by male politicians, but, so far, I have discovered no woman suffragist who has resorted to this form of argument.

Yours faithfully,

EMILY GREEN.

May 10th, 1909.

[EDITOR'S NOTE.—The distinguished authoress of "The Disciples," whose ill-health prevents her from replying to our correspondent, informs us that she was alluding to the meeting at the Albert Hall when Lady MacLagan, on behalf of the older Suffrage Societies, appealed in vain to the militant Suffragettes to cease their interruptions. Violent scenes followed, in which a woman armed with a dogwhip lashed at those who tried to remove her, and other women were carried out struggling. Possibly the blows were not inflicted by the Suffragettes upon the female Suffragists, but they were inflicted upon the male stewards who acted under Suffragist orders.]

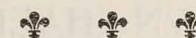
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