

# THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW.

The ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW is published by the Women's National Anti-Suffrage League, and can be obtained through any bookseller or newsagent. 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. 25.

LONDON, DECEMBER, 1910.

PRICE 1d.

## THE WOMEN'S NATIONAL ANTI-SUFFRAGE LEAGUE.

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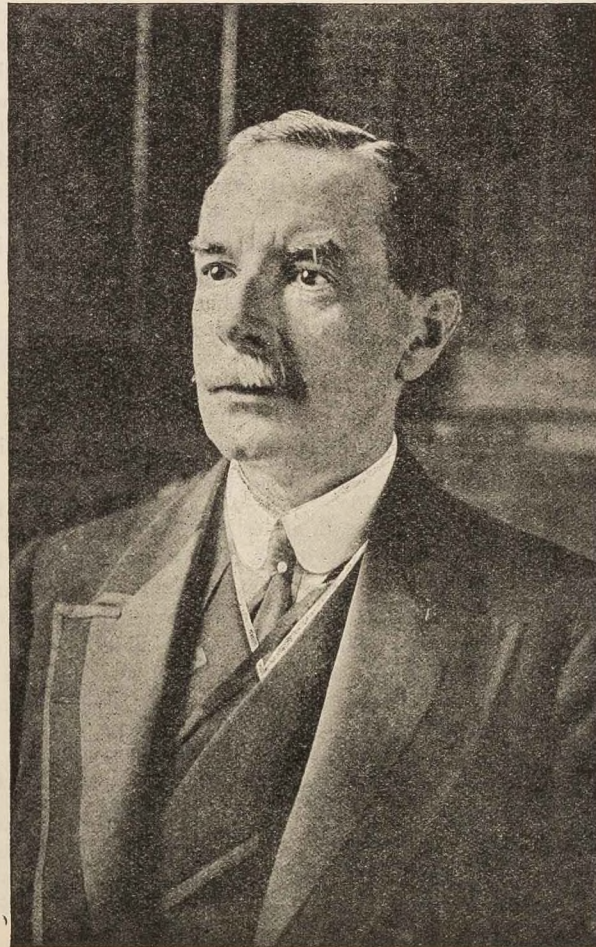
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### PROMINENT ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS.

MR. J. ST. LOE STRACHEY.

THE Editor of the *Spectator* is one of the sturdiest champions of the Anti-Suffrage cause, and so sound, clear, and purposeful are his arguments that we claim for him without hesitation the credit of having converted many believers in Woman Suffrage.

Mr. St. Loe Strachey is a member of the old and well-known Somersetshire family of Strachey, whose name is inseparable from the history of the government of India. He was at Balliol under Jowett, and began to make his name as a writer—like most young men, he first published verse—when he was seventeen years old. Before "going down" from Oxford he had become a contributor to the *Saturday Review* and the *Daily News*. He was called to the bar but did not practise. Having once applied himself regularly to journalism he never looked back from a profession of which he is intensely proud. It would be improper to discuss his politics here, but his political friends and opponents are agreed that he has always followed his profession



with the single motive of serving the public interest, that he has a lofty conception of the responsibilities of a journalist, and that he has acquired for himself a position of exceptional influence and authority.

His work in London soon attracted the notice of R. H. Hutton, the famous editor of the *Spectator*, and he became third man to Hutton and Mr. Meredith Townsend. Since 1898 he has been proprietor and editor of the *Spectator*. Among his books may be mentioned "From Grave to Gay," "Problems and Perils of Socialism," and "A New Way of Life." It is his pleasure to speak of himself as representative of the moderate or Whig temper, which, he thinks, is characteristic of English political thought. Everything that he does—forming rifle clubs or designing labourers' cottages—he does with zest. He has the sovereign moral excellence of independence.

We are glad to acknowledge here the great value of Mr Strachey's support to the Women's National Anti-Suffrage League.

L. V. M.

*J. St. Loe Strachey*

## THE SITUATION.

It has become so much the habit of the daily newspapers to boycott the discussion of Woman Suffrage (apparently because the flood of correspondence can scarcely be controlled) that we fear that the addition of a new issue of tremendous importance to the problems of the General Election has escaped general attention. It seems almost incredible that the question whether the first step towards adult suffrage—with the necessary consequence of women electors being in a majority over men—shall be taken in the next Parliament, should be glossed over as though it did not much matter. Yet so it is. Speaking of Woman Suffrage, Mr. Asquith said: "The Government will, if they are still in power, give facilities in the next Parliament for effectively proceeding with a Bill if so framed as to permit of free amendment." But once the principle of Woman Suffrage has been accepted by Parliament, the various stages to adult suffrage must soon be travelled. Numerically the control of the affairs of the Empire would then be in the hands of women.

One cannot imagine a question which one should contemplate with more scrupulously anxious and careful thought than this, yet politicians daily dismiss it to the background as a secondary or incidental matter. It is regarded rather as though it were some private Member's Bill for building a light railway—as though the Government need not concern themselves in the matter, and might safely leave the decision to the discretion of the House. Everyone is too much occupied with the Constitutional controversy to think seriously about anything else. We venture to say that no Government would be justified in dealing thus with what would be one of the greatest revolutions ever effected in our national life. We hold it to be the duty of any Prime Minister, whatever his opinions, to undertake, before accepting Woman Suffrage, to submit it to the country as a distinct and single issue. As it is, the issue is quite obscured by the dust of the conflict between the Government

and the Lords. We earnestly appeal to electors, in these circumstances, to urge upon candidates for Parliament that it is their simple duty to refuse to vote for any Woman Suffrage Bill, however moderate in form, until the opinion of the country has been ascertained. This is a condition which it should be possible to enforce—for it is in all truth reasonable enough—even upon those candidates who avowedly favour the principle of Woman Suffrage.

It is only too easy to mistake a great deal of noise made by a comparatively few people for the voice of the many. We believe that if those who suppose the cause of Woman Suffrage to be daily gaining in strength could test, as many of our League workers have had the opportunity of doing, the quiet, instinctive, but resolute feeling against Woman Suffrage throughout the land, they would be astounded. The power of resistance to this proposal is not fully declared, but it is enormous. We do not deny the enthusiasm and the sincerity of Suffragists; a movement obviously has life and fire in it which collects thousands of pounds at a single meeting in the Albert Hall. But the frequency and enthusiasm of meetings does not, as Lord Lytton mistakenly supposes, give the least indication of the tendency of thought throughout the country. Enthusiasm naturally belongs to the assaulting party rather than to the defending party. A hundred tribesmen have often made more noise than the whole of an army against which they hurled themselves, only to be shattered. We should not, however, be doing justice to the energy and devotion of the members of our League if we allowed it to be thought that though the Suffragists inevitably attract more attention, there is not a vast deal of activity among those who are opposed to Woman Suffrage. The remarkable increase of our membership, and the desire expressed in all directions by women themselves to form branches to resist the accomplishment of what they know would be an immeasurable injury to their sex, are the best possible proof of the truth of what we say. We sincerely beg all who may still fancy that the Suffrage question is one to which

they may safely remain indifferent, to put away that delusion. If women ever receive the franchise it would be solely because the innumerable persons who are opposed to it had allowed the verdict to go by default.

Of the violence and hysteria displayed by the Suffragist deputations to the House of Commons, and in the deplorable attacks on Ministers and on Government property, little need be said. At numerous meetings before the opening of Parliament, the militant suffragists had worked themselves into a suitable frame of mind for this deplorable work, as the lion lashes himself into fury with his tail. The Suffragists assert that they were treated with deliberate brutality by the police. It is much more probable that they were injured in their own struggles to resist the police, who in most difficult circumstances did their best to be indulgent. And what is one to say of the judgment which caused the Suffragists to seize upon one of the most serious political crises in our history, to urge a demand which obviously could not be granted? The Conciliation committee cordially accepted Mr. Asquith's statement. Not so the militant suffragists, who exceeded all limits in their subsequent behaviour, and must, we should think, have detached from their cause numerous adherents who had not previously questioned the aptitude of their leaders for logical and collected argument. Most suffragists of course, dissociate themselves from these humiliating performances. "But we don't approve of those methods!" they protest. That is quite true in theory, but the fact remains, and should never be forgotten, that the hideous conflicts between militant women and men are only a peculiarly acute expression of the permanent condition of conflict which Suffragists are ignorantly trying to force on the nation.

## NOTES AND NEWS.

ELSEWHERE we publish the latest figures of our canvass in several constituencies to ascertain the views on Woman Suffrage of the women municip-

pal electors. The canvass has attracted a great deal of attention. It speaks for itself, and we shall not here insist again on the importance which we believe rightly belongs to it. But we desire to make some remarks on the manner in which the canvass has been spoken of and written of by the Suffragists. In a public speech in favour of the "Conciliation" Bill, Sir William Chance said: "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?"

WE do not doubt that Sir William Chance spoke in perfect good faith, and we may assume that he referred to the postcards sent out by our League. But he evidently had not seen the postcards, and probably on hearsay evidence, the value of which he will be able to appreciate when he is informed exactly what was printed on the postcards. We reproduce here the whole of the text on the League's postcards:—

No.....  
ELECTOR'S NAME .....  
ADDRESS .....  
(1) Do you consider that women should not be given the vote for parliamentary elections? .....  
(2) Do you consider that women should be given the right to vote at parliamentary elections? .....  
Signature or Initials.....  
Kindly answer "YES" to one only of the above questions.

If that perfectly colourless form is not calculated to extract opinions without bias, suggestion, or any kind of prompting to wavering minds, we confess we do not know what is.

It is difficult to please everybody. While Sir William Chance wrongly attributes to us question-begging formulas of the most improper kind, "The Common Cause" of November 17th complains, in effect, that the women

of Oxford misunderstood our questions, from their very austerity—an austerity dictated, as we have shown, by a desire to learn, not what we desire to believe, but the facts, whatever they may be. "The Common Cause" says:—

"PLEBISCITE, OR INTIMIDATION?—The Anti-Suffragists are pursuing their canvass, and in Oxford they are boasting of the answers to the inquiry, 'Do you wish women to have a vote for Parliament?' But now it appears that many of those who put 'No' to this, took the question to mean 'all women,' and they were in favour of 'duly qualified women' only having the vote. Mrs. Bertrand Russell also says that she has seen a covering letter to such an inquiry saying that 'Lady — (whose tenants many of these voters are) was against the Suffrage, but that she wished to know the views of her neighbours on the subject.' The views of her neighbours will doubtless tend to be in accordance with those of the great lady. We shall be glad of any further particulars which our friends will send us of this sort of plebiscite."

OUR readers have a right to be informed as to the facts of the charge brought by Mrs. Bertrand Russell. Nothing, to our mind, would be more odious or contemptible than to exercise social intimidation on any poor woman, who might fear that opposition to the opinions of her employer, or of her great neighbour, might cause her husband to lose his job or his cottage. Of course, it is impossible to impose a single formula on personal canvassers; but everything that can be done by precept and example to secure an unbiassed expression of opinion is certainly done by the Executive of our League. We believe that the instructions on this point are perfectly understood and abided by loyally. As to the particular accusation made by Mrs. Bertrand Russell, it was contained originally in the following letter to the "Times" of November 10th:—

"Sir,—In your issue of November 5th you give a statement of the statistics collected by Miss Pott, secretary of the North Berks Anti-Suffrage Society, in regard to the views on women's suffrage of the women county and municipal voters. As a resident of North Berks and a member of the committee of the local society in favour of women's suffrage, I should much like to know from Miss Pott: (1) Whether the postcards received were signed by the woman voter or whether any signature was given in the personal canvass; and (2) Whether she made a point of mentioning in her letters or personal canvass the anti-suffrage views of the largest landowner in the county. I saw both the covering letter and the enclosed postcard sent to a neighbor of mine, and the letter stated emphatically that Lady — (whose tenants many of these voters are) was against the suffrage, but that she wished to know the views of her neighbors on the subject. The postcard was

numbered and contained the one question, but did not ask for a signature. In my opinion an unsigned 'Yes' or 'No' on a postcard, even a numbered one, is of no value, particularly as the result of an intimidating letter.—Yours, &c., ALYS RUSSELL.

"Bagley Wood, near Abingdon, Berks,  
"November 8th."

In answer to this letter, Miss Gladys Pott wrote ("Times," November 11th):—

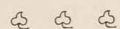
"In reply to the letter in your issue of today respecting the recent canvass of women electors in North Berks, I beg to send the following answer to the questions put to me. Only 142 of the 1,223 replies received were by means of postcards, which were in no instance sent to persons of the working classes, and those ladies who carried out the personal canvass were strictly desired not to bias the electors and especially not to make use of the name of the landowner referred to by your correspondent. There is, therefore no shadow of foundation for the suggestion of any intimidation of tenantry. Signatures were not asked for, but every postcard was numbered and a register kept by which each was identified on its return, the elector being invited to place her mark against one of three opinions—against, in favor of, or indifferent to woman suffrage. The personal canvass was conducted on precisely the same lines, except that in this case the name of the elector was written on a card and her mark invited to be placed against it in one of the two columns headed respectively For and Against Votes for Women, and if she declared herself to be indifferent that word was written after her name. I may add, as further proof of our anxiety not to use unfair influence, that several of the ladies who assisted us are not members of the Anti-Suffrage League, and two at least are not in sympathy with its object."

AFTER all, it may be said, and is being said, by our alarmed opponents, that a canvass means very little. "The Common Cause" for November 17th says:—

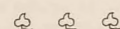
"Another thing that the Anti-Suffragists would do well to abandon is the canvass from house to house. Since some Suffragists covered the very same ground as they and found diametrically opposite results, we have come to the conclusion that canvasses of this sort are really valueless. You can make a canvass prove anything you like: it all depends on the canvasser. So it does not in the least dismay us when we hear that the women of Torquay and Southampton and North Berks have 'declared' against Women's Suffrage. We'd be bound they would be just as ready to 'declare' in favor, if handled in the same style."

We have already said that we desire to get nothing but candid answers, and need not reassert the honesty of our endeavour to do so. The Duke of Wellington used to say that the first rule for defeating your enemy was to understand him. We accept that. It would

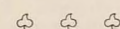
be idiotic to deceive oneself as to the enemy's strength. It is our whole purpose to learn what the enemy's strength is. As Butler says: "Things and actions are what they are, and the consequences will be what they will be; why, then, should we desire to be deceived?" We certainly do not desire to be deceived.



A PERSONAL canvass, we admit, is bound to convey to the mind of the canvasser more suggestion than is conveyed by postcard. For that reason we used postcards as far as possible. But let us mark this. When Sir William Chance quoted figures to prove that the women of Godalming are in favour of Woman Suffrage, he made use entirely of the results of a personal house-to-house canvass, organised by Lady Chance. The Suffragists really cannot "have it both ways," as they say in the House of Commons. And there, for the present, we may leave the subject.

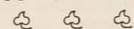


IN a letter sent on behalf of the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association to those Members of Parliament who voted for the "Conciliation" Bill, Lady Selborne and others lightly assume that the vote need be given only to "qualified women," and that women would never want to sit in Parliament. As to the first assumption that votes for women would not lead to universal adult suffrage, we would refer our readers to the convincing argument by Mrs. Herbert which we print elsewhere. As to the second assumption, it is impaired by every sign deducible from logic and experience, and is directly contradicted by the expressed ambition of many Woman-Suffragists.



THE election of Mrs. Lees as Mayor of Oldham was the natural recognition of the notable part in local government played by this lady, who is justly and widely respected. She has earned the reputation of a Lady Bountiful, without ever having sacrificed her sanity, or ever having committed the offence of confusing charity with demoralisation. In her first mayoral speech, which was received with enthusiasm, she referred to those who had opposed her election

on the ground that she was a woman, and humorously remarked: "They have a perfect right to their opinion. They also have a perfect right to change it." We fear that the Woman-Suffrage movement has been a very upas tree to the work of women in local government. There is all the more reason for honouring the example of those who have not allowed their attention to be diverted from this important and appropriate work.



THE November number of "The Commonwealth" contains an account of the meeting to discuss Woman Suffrage, held at Cambridge by those who were attending the Church Congress. We desire to write with all respect of the speeches delivered with obvious sincerity and deep feeling in favour of Woman Suffrage, yet it is difficult to read without much regret and impatience many of the arguments reported in "The Commonwealth." If any speeches against Woman Suffrage were delivered they are not mentioned. Miss H. M. Royden said that "in the early ages of the Church, instead of being told to stay at home, women were honoured in their witness in the amphitheatre, and welcomed on the roll of Martyrs. Men have torn in two the ideal of perfection given us by our Lord." Describing the place in life assigned to women by men, Miss Royden satirically said: "We are to be privately unselfish, publicly selfish; rightly uninterested that thousands of other women are living lives of toil, of bitter suffering, of starvation; rightly kept in ignorance that babies are dying, hundreds of our sisters are perishing in misery and sin—and we are rightly rebelling against this selfish ideal. Is it not an offence not to know not to care?"

One hardly knows what to say of such arguments. Miss Royden has certainly been kept in ignorance of the fact that up and down the country every Anti-Suffragist speaker and every Anti-Suffragist writer are imploring women to inform themselves about the very subjects which she says are neglected. Of all the scandals of our civilisation, infant mortality is perhaps the worst. It is a woman's question. Men—except doctors—can do little or nothing. Knowledge and care of women are required. The vote cannot help at all, but on the contrary would do much harm by diverting attention from the matter more than ever.

### THE PLACE OF WOMAN IN POLITICS.

By MRS. FREDERIC HARRISON.

IT has been well said that it is only possible to destroy an erroneous and mischievous theory or doctrine by putting in its place a wiser, truer theory. You can only destroy what you replace. If this be so, and we cannot doubt the profound truth of this axiom, the anti-suffrage women have a most serious task before them. In the midst of the clash of the political combat they must seek to build up a theory of woman's political activity, and determine her normal functions in life, and this on a scientific and philosophical basis of truth and experience. In the search after such a solid basis it will be no obstacle to produce exceptional cases of ability or achievement; such cases can very well take care of themselves, and in no way invalidate the possibility of a righteous and scientific conclusion as to the normal work and function of woman in the social organism.

The subject is a large one, and would require a learned treatise to consider it from the point of view of sociology and the individual, as from the biological, psychological, material, and spiritual aspects. Some day, we doubt not, the subject will be treated as it deserves. This Review, however, is occupied with special consideration of details in the concrete. We propose here to try and give an answer to one of the most plausible, and, if we may be allowed to say so, one of the most creditable of the arguments for the vote put forward by the Suffragists.

The plea for manhood suffrage has always been, that every class, all conditions of men, have certain special wants, and have, moreover, a knowledge of special aspects of life which it is well to have represented. That the nation cannot afford to lose this special knowledge, or to neglect these wants—therefore every citizen should have that infinitesimal item of power represented by the Parliamentary vote to ensure that his grievances shall be heard, his point of view respected.

It is very easy and obvious, it would seem, to extend this political theory to

women. They, too, assuredly have a distinct point of view; they have their grievances like the ordinary male citizen. We may note in passing that the male citizen does not seem to have any sex grievances; at all events he does not proclaim them, while three parts of women's grievances are as against men, and have the sex character. The male citizen, too, does the world's heavy work, the hardest burdens fall upon him, he represents the country's heavy industries. These are important, if secondary, considerations. What is the fallacy that underlies the plea that as the man needs, and has obtained the vote, so the woman needs, and should have the vote also?

To answer this question we must ask another. Is the vote the only means, or the best means, of making grievances public, or of getting a hearing for any special point of view? Does the vote precede or follow after public opinion? Is it not true that public action—and the vote is public action—can never be taken much in advance of public opinion, for public opinion in that case would render it nugatory and futile. That is the reason why revolutions so often fail. Public opinion is not ripe for these sudden changes, and so things revert to the old order. The Parliamentary vote is but the reflection and expression of public opinion.

Well, but who makes public opinion? Is it not the men and women of a nation? It is a court in which perfect justice obtains—there are no artificial qualifications in this sphere, no ten-pound householders, no lodgers' franchise, but each individual, every honourable man and woman, contributes in their varying degrees of capacity. The woman's opinion may, and very often does, outweigh the man's. Public opinion is no fixed and stationary quality. It varies with the growth of mankind, and is for ever discovering new duties and opening up new vistas of social obligation. Kindness to the brute creation: emancipation from slavery: are two of the latest discoveries. It has many other surprises in store for mankind.

Who made these discoveries, and taught these new ideas to the world?

Was it not women quite as much as men? In our own generation, if man taught that much of our criminal code was valueless, because so much of evil-doing was largely due to physical decadence, it was woman who clad a scientific discovery with the warmth of human feeling. In all the social reforms for which the nineteenth century will be remembered, women will be remembered also for their personal initiative and devotion in countless directions. Miss Nightingale, Miss Octavia Hill, and many other women have done what men, with all the claims of public life upon them, have not been able to do—could not do.

All the great movements of our time have been initiated, inspired, and have grown into life, by the combined thought and action of men and women together. The great movement towards social reform, the Trades Union movement, the movement for Woman's Rights, the movement for the right of the workers to share in the best civilisation of the time, these things are the real political achievements of our age, whether for good or for ill. In all these things women have their full share—in some cases the predominant share. The effect of their efforts is different, widely different to the effect of the man's activity. It comes, indeed, to this: If women truly desire to keep the woman's influence as a thing special to itself, and of enormous importance to the world, they must remain women, accepting, it may be, certain limitations, but cherishing jealously their own special work, and extending their usefulness in all directions in which it may legitimately be exercised; and of this they are the best judges. The moment they seek to usurp other functions they become hybrid, lose their priceless contribution to the world's well-being, and gain what?—to become a pale duplicate of man.

We maintain that the Central Society of our League has realised this, and is determined to help our workers to extend their usefulness in regions which are essentially theirs. At this moment the society is working hard in two directions: to ascertain with the great-

est amount of care and accuracy the opinion of the Parliamentary voters, and the voters' wives, as also the opinion of the women on the municipal registers, on the much-vexed question of political votes for women. It is felt that much misconception as to the facts of the case will be cleared away if it could be shown what the numbers really are of sympathisers with Women's Suffrage, and of conscientious objections. There has been so much loud shouting over this matter that it is fairly astonishing to find what the results of a careful canvass are. We cannot have too many of these up and down the country. The other direction in which the Society seeks to stimulate activity is in the regions of municipal work, and especially in work which concerns women and children.

Unhappily the Suffrage agitation has dealt a great blow to this more modest effort, and women who are trying to set before other women the importance of their efforts on boards and councils, are met with the rebuff, that the political vote is now the only important thing; that there is no time for these more hum-drum matters. The municipal work of women has been set back for a generation or two. It rests with the anti-suffrage women to revive it, to point out how it differs from political party warfare, and to inspire a new courage and devotion with a clearer understanding of woman's duties and ideals.

It is melancholy indeed to see how supine women are in using their municipal votes, or doing any work for the cause. "There is never any person of importance on parish councils," said a woman voter to me once, as a reason for not taking any part, and doubtless the Parliamentary vote is the more stimulating and attractive. The anti-suffrage woman has a great task before her in endeavouring to raise the standard of women in social and public matters, and in helping the mothers of the race to realise their great privilege of training their sons and daughters to be worthy citizens of our country. Surely, too, the mothers of England have always had time and heart to spare for those others, homeless, maybe, or disinherited, who look to women for sympathy. Long may our women be kept from the hardening influences of the political life.

ETHEL B. HARRISON.

# 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	405	233	1,158
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	80
Westminster ...	1,979	1,036	221	136	586
Reading ...	1,700	1,133	166	31	370
Torquay ...	1,640	467	210	13	950
*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
Guldford ...	544	360	60	26	98
Thames Ditton } Long Ditton }	187	134	10	8	35
Kew ...	155	96	21	23	15
Ashbourne ...	153	107	5	2	39
East Molesey ...	136	93	14	20	9
Cobham ...	88	61	4	15	8
Esher ...	75	52	9	8	6
Cheam ...	69	43	11	10	5
Ashtead ...	67	25	7	21	14

Thus, of those have answered the questions put to them, 15,995 are opposed to Votes for Women, and only 4,382 are in favour of them. But that is not all. A large number of those canvassed 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.

\* North Berks embraces 87 villages, 2 county towns, 2 boroughs, representative of all sorts and conditions of women.

## THE WOMAN-SUFFRAGE STATES IN AMERICA.

### A STUDY IN THE RESULTS OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

THE last number which has reached England of the "Ladies' Home Journal" contains a report on the social conditions of the four American States—Colorado, Idaho, Utah, and Wyoming—which have Woman Suffrage. As the editor points out, Woman Suffrage is expected by its supporters to produce the following results: (1) Higher wages for women, (2) better child-labour laws, (3) a decrease in divorce, and better marriage laws, (4) a positive regulation of the social evil. Mr. Richard Barry went on behalf of the "Ladies' Home Journal" to conduct the inquiry. His report begins by showing that there is no traceable benefit, but rather the reverse, from the influence of women on the Bills submitted to the Legislature. This, however, may mean only that women's good intentions are subject, like men's, to a sense of political expediency, and we shall not unduly insist on the fact. Mr. Barry then goes on:—

"Some one will say, these are superficial examinations of the law. Do the conditions of the States where women vote make these laws so necessary? Suppose we see.

### "AN ALARMING INCREASE IN JUVENILE CRIME.

"In 1905 and 1906 there were sixty-seven children committed to the Golden Industrial Home, the Colorado State reformatory. The following two years one hundred and ninety-seven were committed there: an increase of three to one.

"The chief of police of Denver told me that juvenile crime is on an alarming increase in that city. Judge Lindsey says this is due to the increased pressure of economic conditions, but he does not deny the fact.

"The criers for women's votes have pointed to the establishment of Judge Lindsey's Juvenile Court as one of the greatest achievements of woman's ballot, and have repeatedly said that Colorado was the first State to establish such a court. I found this to be untrue, as the juvenile courts in Boston and Chicago both antedated the one in Denver. Nor is the Denver Juvenile Court an exclusive possession of Colorado. Fifteen States where men only vote have established such courts.

"I went into the question of child illiteracy in the four States where women vote, and found that the United States census of 1900 showed that Wyoming had

one illiterate child to every hundred and eighteen people in the State. Oregon, a Western, sparsely settled State, where women do not vote, had only one illiterate child in every two hundred and forty of the population. Colorado, where women vote, had one illiterate child to every sixty persons in the State, or four times as many as Oregon, where women do not vote. Nebraska, again, where women do not vote, and with twice the population of Colorado, had only half as many illiterate children.

"In none of the four States where women vote was I able to find any Home-Finding societies for the placing of destitute children, such as you find in Massachusetts, Illinois, New Jersey, and a number of other Eastern States. This is the most humane and economical method of caring for the orphan, and yet you do not find it where women vote.

"The conclusion of my investigation of the laws for children was, as any one can see from the actual records I have given, that, instead of being better protected, or even as well protected, in the States where women vote, they were actually less protected in the States where women had for years the opportunity to pass laws for them, and the conditions parallel the laxity of the laws.

### "THE SOCIAL EVIL HAS NOT BEEN ABATED.

"I have heard Woman Suffragists in the East declare that when women voted the social evil would disappear. Mrs. Catt, the International President of the Suffrage Societies, told me that it would certainly eliminate prostitution.

"To ascertain this condition in Denver, I quote the woman who ought to be as well-informed as any one in this country—Mrs. Kate Waller Barrett, National President of the Florence Crittenton Home for Wayward Girls.

"In all the seventy-eight Florence Crittenton Homes in the United States I never saw such a collection of young, innocent girls of the better class as there are in the Denver home," said Mrs. Barrett. "There are fifty-eight girls there, most of them still in their teens. The number of illegitimate births among young girls is increasing at an alarming rate. So-called 'free love' is also alarmingly on the increase."

"The chief of police of Denver joins with the chief of police of Salt Lake City (the only two towns of any size in the Woman Suffrage country) as my authority for the statement that prostitution is largely on the increase both in Colorado and in Utah. Idaho and Wyoming, being rural communities, can show a better record, but still no better than similar communities elsewhere.

"I asked a prominent woman why these conditions were such in cities where women voted, and she condoned them as being 'incident to a Western town.' Yet Los Angeles, California, a Western town

where women do not vote, banished its objectionable district, a relic of early days, five years ago.

"Nor have the women stamped out polygamy, not even when they have the ballot, as in Utah. This on the statement of the most prominent paper in Salt Lake City, 'The Salt Lake Tribune,' which, on August 1st of this year, published a list of one hundred and fifty men who had contracted plural marriages recently.

"As for drinking among women, I was told, and saw for myself, that few cities in the country, not New York nor Chicago nor San Francisco, are any worse in this respect than the capital of Colorado. Even some of the drug stores in Denver, according to good authority, serve whisky and brandy to unescorted girls.

"Last year the police board of Denver passed a regulation prohibiting all unescorted women from entering cafés and restaurants where liquor was sold after eight p.m. Instantly a storm of protest was raised, not by the refined, respectable women, not by the women of the streets, but by political women. These political women complained that their 'rights' were being interfered with, that they might be compelled to be on the streets after eight p.m., and that it would be an outrage to prohibit them the use of restaurants after that hour.

"Ladies," said the chief of police, addressing a committee of these women who visited him, "I can prove to you from the records here in my office that the women of Denver drink more whisky than the men. Shall I open my books and show you?"

"They did not ask for proof. They withdrew their protest, and that regulation is in effect to-day. But this regulation stands, not by reason of, but in spite of, the political women of Denver.

### "DIVORCE HAS INCREASED LARGELY IN THE FOUR STATES.

"My next step of investigation was to see to what extent divorce had been checked in the four States where women have voted for so many years, and, in examining the divorce records of these four States, I found that the laws are as lax as anywhere in the Union. Except that each State requires a year's residence, they are as lax as in Nevada and South Dakota. Several attorneys in Denver told me that, except for the year's residence as against a six months' residence in the other two States named, it is just as easy to get a divorce in Colorado. All the ordinary pleas are substantial grounds, except incompatibility of temper, and that bar against easy divorce is more than made up by the clause in the law which permits a divorce on the grounds of 'mental cruelty.' In one case a man did not speak to his wife at breakfast, and was adjudged to have committed 'mental cruelty.'

"The newspapers of Denver constantly carry advertisements of 'divorce attorneys,'

and one of the Friday afternoon diversions is to go to the County Court and observe the 'divorce mill.' Ordinarily the average time required to 'grind out' a divorce is four minutes and a half.

"The following table, taken from United States Government statistics, shows the increase of divorce in the four States since equal Suffrage became a law, down to 1906, since when the figures have not been computed. In Wyoming, Woman Suffrage came in 1869, in Colorado in 1894, in Utah in 1895, and in Idaho in 1896.

Year.	Idaho.	Utah.	Wyoming.	Colorado
1894 ...	89	189	66	364
1895 ...	134	202	71	414
1896 ...	139	225	70	450
1897 ...	129	228	63	398
1898 ...	162	209	84	437
1899 ...	136	234	99	426
1900 ...	204	273	122	450
1901 ...	243	264	144	509
1902 ...	223	295	94	460
1903 ...	296	350	160	538
1904 ...	281	410	137	476
1905 ...	296	355	145	508
1906 ...	320	387	143	557

"I could not find from any of the records that women have made any successful effort in any of the four States to correct the divorce laws. Nor has the fact that women vote done anything to correct the evil itself. Instead, as these figures prove, divorce has been on the constant increase in all the States where women vote.

#### "IMPORTANT LAWS SNEERED AT AS 'FAD LEGISLATION.'

"But, some one will say, do you think it fair to charge up these conditions to the voting of women? Please remember I am making no charges—I was not commissioned to make charges—I was asked to examine conditions and give results.

"Illinois has just passed a law regulating the practice of obstetrics with the aim of preventing the recent alarming growth in blindness among babies. In not one of the four States where women have a vote is there such a law.

"Massachusetts and New Jersey have taken a deliberate stand against the installment furniture evil. In Colorado and Utah the political women apparently do not know that there is such a thing. Yet the wives with small incomes in Salt Lake City and Denver are as much oppressed by it as they are in the East, where, without voting directly, women have influenced the Legislatures to abate the evil."

We ought to say that we have not the means of verifying these facts. But if they are all true—if even the substance of them is true—they are extremely damning evidence against Woman Suffrage, even after allowance has been made for the notoriously backward state of Colorado, Idaho, Utah, and Wyoming.

## DO WOMEN WANT THE SUFFRAGE?

### INDIFFERENCE IN AMERICA.

UNDER the title of "Why Woman Suffrage?" Mrs. Otto Kiliani, of the New York State Association Opposed to Woman's Suffrage, writes in the "Republican" of South Dakota:—

"The real question in Woman Suffrage is whether it will add to the already tremendous and always threatening army of indifferent voters. The burden of proof is on the women, and the place to prove they are not indifferent is where they already have the ballot. An election was held at Detroit a few days ago. Twenty thousand tax-paying woman had the right to take part in it. Of the number only 600 got far enough out of their indifference to go to the polls, and, of course, no one knows with what intelligence these 600 marked their ballots. About one out of thirty of the women 'suffering' what has been called taxation without representation took advantage of their enfranchisement. The other twenty-nine of each thirty come under the head of indifferent voters. Colorado has Woman Suffrage. Yet Colorado sent to the United States Senator Simon Guggenheim, of the rapacious Guggenheim Syndicate. And, because in the last tariff law the duties on lead, zinc, anti-mony, castor oil, linseed oil and copper, were fixed as Guggenheim wanted them, every family and, of course, every woman in the United States is paying tribute. Every farmer or householder who paints his buildings, every family that has a bathtub or plumbing, every housewife who uses zinc-coated kitchen utensils, contributes to the fortunes of the Guggenheims. And they contribute more in all probability, because the voters of Colorado, half of them women, allowed Simon Guggenheim to buy a seat in the United States Senate. If the women voters of Colorado had not been indifferent, family bank accounts all over the country might have been larger to-day. For that matter, no State has drunk more deeply of political dregs than has Colorado. Surely, if Woman Suffrage is the civic panacea it is called, Colorado would have shown some regeneration. As it is, the Republican State Convention of Colorado, held a few days ago, was in the control of the very men who helped put Guggenheim in the Senate. It must be said that the most dangerous enemies of Woman Suffrage are the women who already have been given Suffrage."

This is an illuminating comment on the argument, on which British Suffragists lay so much stress, that women require the vote in order to protect themselves against vicious or tyrannical legislation.

We are often assured by Suffragists in Great Britain that there is no warrant whatever for the belief that the majority of women are opposed to Woman Suffrage. Such tests as have been applied do, as a matter of fact warrant that belief. But apart from them, we cannot help thinking that there is bound to be a strong similarity in sentiment between the women of the two great branches of the Anglo-

Saxon race. Indifference in the United States would almost certainly be matched by indifference here. Suffragists are commonly deceived by the contrast between the enthusiasm of their supporters and the quietness, the leisureliness, or even the apathy of their opponents. Yet this contrast, as we have remarked in our leading article, is only to be expected.

## THE OUTCOME OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

WE have received a copy of a paper read recently at a meeting at Haslingdon, Lancashire, by Mrs. Arthur Herbert, one of the hon. treasurers of the Manchester Branch of our League. The argument as to the outcome of Woman Suffrage seems to us to be so compact and thoughtfully stated that we have much pleasure in reproducing this part of the paper. Manchester, as we all know, is a stronghold of Suffragists, and we trust that Mrs. Herbert's words may reach and influence some of those who, no doubt, mistakenly assume that she is less sensible than they are to the importance of women's work and influence in the world. After distinguishing between material force and moral influence, and showing that men are the only proper instruments of compulsion, Mrs. Herbert continues:—

Now for the practical side of the question. If it were possible to select a few women here and there to whom it would be well to give votes, there would be much to be said for such a course; but the fact that it has been found impossible to give votes to men without including large numbers who are totally unfitted for it is pretty clear evidence that it would be also impossible to give it to the fit and exclude the unfit women. In fact, a little consideration will show that it must mean giving it to all men and all women eventually, making an electorate of over twenty millions, the majority being women, and the majority in both sexes an ignorant electorate.

Suffragists often say, "Oh, we don't ask for that; we only ask for the franchise on the same terms as it is, or may be, given to men"—surely thereby proving their unfitness for government in ignoring the possibilities of the future. But it does not really matter what they say they are asking for, it must inevitably lead to that, and that is what we are concerned with. For would women long remain content with such cases as these?

1. Would single women, strongly interested in politics, continue to be willing to give up their votes on marrying?

2. Would it be held satisfactory that young unmarried and comparatively inexperienced girls should have the vote, whilst older married women, with an infinitely larger experience of life, should not?

3. Would women rest content with a state in which wives had no vote, whilst many courtesans had?

4. Would the Labour Party be content if most of their women-folk were excluded?

Therefore we see that, in order to be fair to women, it must eventually lead to adult suffrage. This means the introduction of political disputes into the home. Suffragists deny this possibility, thereby displaying an ignorance of human nature which pervades so many of their arguments.

It is, of course, probable that 90 per cent. of wives would vote on the same side as their husbands, and it is reasonable to suppose that half would be Liberals and half Conservatives, thereby neutralising one another and being totally ineffective. But, on the other hand, the married women voters who would have any effect would be those who voted against their husbands, and anybody who thinks that this would not lead to domestic dispute and unhappiness must be singularly unobservant of the facts of life. There is no greater factor in the moral up-raising of our race than the influence of the home on character. It has done more than all the laws since the beginning of the world. But on all hands we hear from clergymen, ministers of all denominations, the Labour leaders, and we see for ourselves, the increasing disintegration of the home. Can anyone doubt that this is largely due to the increasing disinclination of women of all classes to devote themselves to the interests and duties of home (which, by the way, are not confined to minding the baby and mending socks)? Is the increasing disinclination among women to undertake the duties of maternity, the increasing inability to bear children safely, and to nurse their own children, a healthy sign of the times? Is this moral advance, or is it moral as well as physical deterioration? As Miss Stephen says: "We want more feminine and motherly influence on public affairs, but would not that very aim be defeated if we were to call women away from home, their own deeper and more lasting range of influence, into the wider arena of political strife and struggle? It is more than likely that the very qualities of which we are in search would be forfeited."

One more point. Suffragists say (in fact, I myself have heard Miss C. Pankhurst state) that it is no argument against the Suffrage to say that the majority of women do not want the vote. But this is unmeaning, without considering their reasons for not wanting it. If these are frivolous reasons, or merely the result of indifference, then it is no argument against their having it, provided it is for the good of the State. But, in so far as their reasons are serious and important, then to this extent it most emphatically is an argument against it. (You will remember that Mr. Asquith himself said in his reply to the Women's Deputation that he would like to have some evidence that the women really wanted it.) We are showing him that we really do not want it.

## ANTI-SUFFRAGE LETTER TO THE PRIME MINISTER.

THE following letter has been addressed to Mr. Asquith by the Women's National Anti-Suffrage League:—

"DEAR MR. ASQUITH,—We observe that, in a letter addressed to you by Lord Lytton on behalf of what is called the Conciliation Committee, you are being pressed to grant Parliamentary facilities for the successive stages of their Woman Suffrage Bill.

"This demand is enforced by an argument drawn from the resolutions passed in its favour by certain city and town councils, and also by the allegation, on the basis of Suffragist meetings in the Albert Hall and other places, that the opposition to it is 'inert' and unsupported by public opinion.

"It is quite superfluous for us to suggest to you that such evidence is not convincing. But perhaps you will permit us to draw your attention to one or two considerations.

"(1) The Councils which have allowed these resolutions to go through are, in no small degree, dependent for votes upon the very women whom the Bill proposes to enfranchise, and it is most natural that councillors should shrink from the risk of offending them. These councillors are not yet properly aware of what we, as a League, are daily coming to know through systematic canvassing by postcard or personal visitation—that the large majority of the women who possess municipal votes are opposed to Woman Suffrage. We ask permission to enclose for your perusal typical statistics of the canvass so far as results have been obtained.

"(2) It will not strike you as surprising that the vast number of women, who view with alarm the prospect of the governing power in the country being put into the hands of their sex, do not so naturally rush into the conspicuous atmosphere of public meetings as those of the Suffragist Party. Nor will you be misled by the comparative infrequency of mass meetings, of women against Woman Suffrage into the conclusion that the opposition is 'inert' or ineffectual. For some time back, and especially since the debate in the House of Commons on the Conciliation Bill, the League which we represent has received a large accession in funds, in Branches, and in membership, and has been increasingly appealed to from all parts of the country to satisfy the desire for local meetings and debates, at which it is now the almost invariable experience that the motion against Woman Suffrage is carried by a large majority.

"You will not, we are sure, forget that, while the movement in favour of Woman

Suffrage has been existent for nearly half a century, its opponents have only begun to organise themselves within the last two or three years, since, in fact, the question has emerged into the sphere of practical politics. The arguments in its favour, accordingly, so plausible and so easily advanced, have been hitherto almost uncontradicted. But we can assure you that the exposition of the contrary arguments, in quarters where their strength has not yet been understood, is steadily and surely making its way. The consequent attempt to hurry a Bill through Parliament is therefore not unintelligible.

"We venture to urge that such precipitation to get a measure passed, which, though apparently of modest dimensions, surrenders the whole principle of Imperial government as this country has conceived it, should not be facilitated, but that the nation should at least have the opportunity, first of all, of pronouncing judgment upon the proposal as a clear and single issue at a General Election.

"We remain, yours faithfully,

"M. E. JERSEY.

"CATHERINE E. ROBSON.

"MARY A. WARD.

"CROMER.

"CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

"JOHN MASSIE."

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

### THE "CONCILIATION" BILL.

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

SIR,—In a report of a speech made recently by Mrs. Fawcett I read the following sentence:—

"By giving the Parliamentary vote to women householders the first cautious step is made towards a wider extension of the Suffrage; but, since, after this Bill becomes law, there are still seven and a-half men to every woman voter, it is ridiculous to make the objection that the women's vote will swamp the men's."

But surely a "first step" is a step to be followed by other steps, and when the last step is taken (and no one knows how soon that would be), then will "the women's vote swamp the men's."

Therefore, the objection is not "ridiculous." It is common talk among Suffragists and anti-Suffragists that Mrs. Fawcett is not in favour of many subsequent steps, and certainly not of the final one. But it needs small prophetic insight into human nature to foresee that when a million women have obtained the vote, the millions of women left will not be long without it.—I am, Sir, &c.,

JOHN MASSIE.

Oxford, November 6th.

## A TEACHER'S WORK.

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

SIR,—A few weeks ago (October 7th, 1910) the following extraordinary statement was made in "Votes for Women": The work of a school teacher does not constitute any severe physical strain, the hours of work away from home are not particularly long.

Is Mrs. Pethwick Lawrence aware of the fact that the reason a school teacher gets between three and four months holiday a year is that "teaching" is acknowledged to be a more severe physical strain than any other profession, and unless very long holidays were given, no man or woman could do the work?

As for long hours of work out of school, I have known a High School mistress, from the Cambridge Training College, who was obliged to get up at 5 a.m. every morning to prepare the five or six advanced lessons she had to give during the day, and who sat up until from 11 p.m. to 1.0 a.m. every night to correct the dozens of written exercises which were sent in every day. This is an extreme case, but the preparation for lessons and the correcting of exercises and examination papers, means a great deal of work out of school; in addition to which the strain of forcing light-hearted, thoughtless children to absorb knowledge which they would, in most cases, much rather not absorb, is very great.

For a married woman to do this work properly, and at the same time be a good mother, would be quite impossible. I would also point out that we do not wish the married teacher to make room for a "brutal man," but only for some poor unfortunate woman who will starve if she cannot get a post.—Yours truly,

GWLADYS GLADSTONE SOLOMON.

Boyn Tug, Tunbridge Wells,  
November 24th, 1910.

## THE VIEWS OF A VILLAGE.

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

SIR,—In common, of course, with thousands of others, I read Lord Cromer's speech with deep interest. Amongst other points, Lord Cromer quoted the statistics taken in several towns. To secure an opinion by asking people to sign papers is, in a measure, necessary; yet, all the signatures obtained by request, and often argument, must somewhat lack the spontaneity of speech, and, could the Suffragists hear the reply of ninety-nine women out of a hundred, when asked in a chatty way by another woman, if they want a vote, these ladies would soon understand how intensely unpopular their scheme is. As an elderly woman, and an invalid, I cannot do much, but all last summer, when I was staying in the village where my father was rector, and my brother is now the squire, I made a point of asking, in the course of conversation, all the women I saw, if they wanted a vote, and the answer invariably was a long-drawn amused "No-o, of course not." I could not help noticing the extremely harsh opinion of the militant Suffragists expressed by the work-

ing women, the farmers' and shopkeepers' wives. These seemed to consider them quite shocking and disgraceful. "It makes one ashamed of one's sex," &c., was their universal verdict. And even the ladies of the village, though, perhaps, a shade less severe, seemed horrified at the violence of the tactics, and were all (with one exception) against the vote. This village, Marnhull, is the largest in Dorset, just 1,500 inhabitants, and is, I imagine, a fair representative of other villages all over England.

The Suffragists say of women who do not want the vote, that they are ignorant, selfish, and stupid. I have lived nearly all my life at Marnhull, and can hardly think that the women—to many of whom I am warmly attached and have every reason to esteem—are quite all below the average English woman.

"A travers les âges" men have protected, provided for, toiled for, and not seldom even laid down their lives for women, and are ready to continue to do so; and yet these Suffragists, many of them undoubtedly good, well-meaning women, are advising us to throw all this to the winds, and give up our bread for a stone.—I am, Sir, &c.,

GRACE KENNARD.

## AN APPEAL FOR FORBEARANCE.

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

SIR,—The efforts of the Women's Anti-Suffrage League seem hitherto to have been directed exclusively to combating the arguments of the Suffragists, and to ascertaining and educating public opinion on the subject. It seems that the time has now arrived when more direct action must be taken if the Suffragists are to be prevented from attaining their (to us) pernicious ends. The forceful opposition which has been used against them has only added fuel to the conflagration they have started, and thinking men and women should pause and consider whether another spell of similar treatment will not be likely to carry them to their goal.

It would seem that a grave and almost irreparable mistake has been made in the past. When men so far forgot themselves and the gallant and courteous treatment which under all circumstances is due to women, as to lay hands on them and violently eject them from various halls on public occasions, they were but adding to the movement the support of many men and women who witnessed the proceedings, and enlisting in its behalf many of the relatives and friends of the heroic and misguided women who were victimised. The reports of imprisonment, hunger-strikes, and artificial feeding read like a horrid dream; and it is this treatment in the past which has transformed the Suffrage movement into a real live cause, which insists on complete and early satisfaction.

If these conclusions are correct, it behoves the League to direct their most strenuous endeavours to effecting a change of treatment, and those responsible for the treatment must be influenced. Implicated under this head are the members of the Government, the chiefs of the Police forces, the politicians who will preside at meetings which women may interrupt, and every steward or member of the public who may be placed in a position to practise, encourage, or applaud forceful treatment.

The seriousness of the issue, and the acute stage at which the agitation has now arrived, seem hardly to be adequately realised. There is no secret about the Suffragist plan of campaign. It is:

(1) A revival of the active militant methods already well known to the public, accompanied by

(2) Passive resistance to rating and taxation.

It is the self-imposed duty of the League to undermine this plan of campaign. With regard to (1) it seems that most careful precautions must be taken that no arrests are made at Westminster. Ministers should be prevailed upon to give a patient hearing to what deputations may have to say. Provided that the women are restrained from doing damage, what does it matter if a policeman or two (or even a Superintendent) get their faces smacked or their head-dresses rolled in the mud? They are women. Super-masculine tact is required. A committee of gentlemen should have no difficulty in deciding on an effective alternative course to be pursued in dealing with interruptions. The writer would only ask two questions: Are our public meetings of such importance that they should be preserved from interruption at the cost of violent treatment of women, and the loss of self-respect of stewards and witnesses? Are there not, in these enlightened days, many other means than public meetings by which politicians can place their views before those who may wish to hear them without interruption?

With regard to (2), two can surely play at "passive resistance." If the authorities can be persuaded to forgo the infliction of arrest, and to confine themselves to levying distress, the resisters will have anything but a pleasant time. Should distress be resisted, the mistake of using personal force should be carefully avoided. Means might be devised to deprive the passive resisters of many of the benefits law-abiding people secure by the payment of their rates and taxes. It might be made possible in some cases for gas and water to be turned off, or for refuse carts to omit to attend the premises, or for police protection to be withheld; in short, the residences of the resisters could be made to stink actually and metaphorically in the nostrils of their neighbours, and public opinion would effect the cure.—I am, Sir, &c.,

X.

[With the spirit of much of our correspondent's letter we are in agreement. We consider it a weakness in those Anti-Suffragists who do not recognise that there is sincerity behind the Suffrage movement. Violence is deplorable and defeats its own purpose. But we cannot assent to the suggestion, as we understand it, that public meetings should be abandoned in the face of persistent interruption. To yield the right of free speech to a minority would be absurd. And we are bewildered by the frame of mind which sees a "horrid dream" in the imprisonment of law-breakers, but proposes that the houses of these same law-breakers should be reduced to plague-spots.—ED. A.-S. Review.]

## SAFEGUARDING THE HOME!

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

SIR,—In a letter addressed to the "Croydon Guardian" (issue November 12th) by Miss Edith M. Wilson-Haffenden, the following occurs:

"And if, as is regrettably the case to-day, questions of Naval policy and Army reform have been degraded to party questions, can't she (the anti-suffragist) trust the mothers and wives and daughters and sisters of the nation to see to it that the safety of their homes and the honour of their men are duly safeguarded?"

Which sentence, if rightly driven home and punctuated, will speedily convert the most hardened anti-suffragist to the value of "votes for women." Should German guns be trained on Croydon, or the Afghans raid India, a pleasant sense of relief will be experienced in knowing that the mothers, wives, daughters, and sisters of the nation have safeguarded the homes and honour of their men!—I am, Sir, &c.,

A. B.

4, Chepstow-road, Croydon,  
November 16th, 1910.

## STOP AND CONSIDER.

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

SIR,—It is with great humility that I venture to address you. The question of Woman's Suffrage has become so grave that the duty of every woman is to do her best to place before others what a doubtful power (if one at all) is being fought for. In any case, it would be a power to the detriment and abnegation of the wonderful influence now possessed by women. There is no doubt that this influence which mothers have, is not properly appreciated or used by the great majority of women. If only our Heaven-given gifts were employed as they should be, the best work by and for women would be accomplished. If the work put in women's hands as mothers, sisters, aunts, and friends, by God, were carried out in its entirety for the good of His Kingdom and the welfare of our country, far greater results would be achieved than any that can conceivably be accomplished by votes. Let me implore all women to stop and consider well before they abdicate their royal prerogatives in order to become on an equality with men. By nature, as Lord Cromer and Mr. St. Loe Strachey so well put it, we cannot rule as they can. But in a thousand ways we can work and influence where they cannot. Directly we become rivals to men in their own sphere our peculiar influence goes.—I am, Sir, &c.,

A MOTHER.

## A SHEFFIELD DEPUTATION.

A DEPUTATION of the Sheffield Branch were received on November 5th, at the Royal Victoria Hotel, by Mr. C. B. Stuart Wortley, the Conservative member for the Hallam Division of Sheffield. The deputation was introduced by Miss Watson, Vice-President of the Branch, and included Mrs. Arthur Balfour (Hon. Secretary), Mrs. C. H. Bingham, Mrs. Munns and Mrs. Halpin. The ladies presented their case at some

length, and Mr. Wortley promised consideration to their arguments.

Mrs. Balfour said so much had been heard about improving the conditions of the home by the granting of the Parliamentary vote to women that they felt it was rather absurd that the Conciliation Bill would, in practical working, discriminate against married women in favour of the single women. As married women of over 25 years of age were in the majority and had the greatest stake in the country, they had the most right to be heard in matters relating to women and children. In one sentence they were told by the Suffragists that men did not adequately represent women, and in the next sentence they said if the Conciliation Bill were passed the husbands would represent the married women.

The Anti-Suffragists certainly did not consider that children and married women suffered under the terrible legal grievances one so often heard alleged by their opponents.

"We feel that the destinies of the Empire should be left to men, unhampered by women," Mrs. Balfour urged, "since women already possess boundless influence. They were glad to know there were millions of women who lived happily at home with their husbands and children, and they need not be despised and ignored as though it were a crime for a woman to lead a sheltered life that was enormously useful to the State.

Mrs. Halpin approached the question from the point of view of working women, having formerly been a teacher. In Sheffield she had had experience of the lowest working class districts, and from what she had seen of the homes, she viewed with dread any proposal to give more votes to those homes; for, ignorant as the men were, the women were worse. Dealing with the argument that the vote would tend to increase women's wages, she said that 25 of the American States had laws limiting the hours in which women could be employed, but in three of the four States where women had the vote there was no such legislation. Some thirteen States prohibited the employment of women by night, but none of them were Suffrage States.

There was general agreement that the will of the majority should prevail, and an endorsement of the charge that women are more prone to sweat women than men are.

Mr. Wortley, in replying, said that before Mrs. Balfour spoke he had not found any argument against Women's Suffrage as such, but they had advanced weighty arguments.

## OUR BRANCH NEWS-LETTER.

The Branch Secretaries' and Workers' Committee.—The next meeting of this Committee will be held (by kind permission of Mr. George Macmillan) on Thursday,

December 8th, 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 Thursday 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, and would like to be present at them, will be cordially welcomed.—Hon. Sec., Miss Manisty, 33, Hornton Street, Kensington, W.

Before we begin to record the news of our Branches for the past month, we have to announce, with the deepest regret, the sudden death of one of our most valued Branch workers Mrs. Forbes, the President of our Ealing Branch. Mrs. Forbes has done much active and kindly work for that important Branch, and we offer our deepest sympathy to her family in their bereavement.

New Branches.—Much has been accomplished during the last month throughout our Branches; meetings have been frequent and very successful. A very strong and promising branch has been established in Mayfair and St. George's, and, under the presidency of Lady Cromer, is assured of success.

Brixton has founded a very good Branch as the result of active outdoor propaganda during the last few months.

One of our organisers from the Central League has been very busy throughout Cumberland, and meetings have been held at Wigton, Cockermouth, Maryport, Carlisle, and several new Branches will soon be in full working order.

Watford.—A Branch is in course of formation in this important country town, and Mr. Arnold Ward, M.P., son of Mrs. Humphry Ward, is actively interesting himself in its founding.

Woking.—The new Branch at Woking, with Lady Arundel as President, held its first meeting on November 5th, Sir Charles Walpole in the chair. Mrs. Greatbatch, with forceful argument and clear reasoning, explained the views of our League, and Sir Arundel Arundel also spoke. A good deal of interest was aroused by this meeting, many of the large audience coming long distances.

Kensington.—The annual meeting of the Kensington Branch was held at the Kensington Town Hall, on November 2nd, the principal speaker being Lord Cromer. Previous to the meeting at which he presided, the Branch business was transacted under the presidency of Sir Alfred Lyall. Mrs. Colquhoun said Lady Ilchester, the President of the Branch, desired to apologise for her inability to take the chair as she was suffering from a weak throat, but she was present on the platform. Mrs. Colquhoun, as Hon. Sec. of the

branch, then submitted her annual report, in which she referred enthusiastically to the growth of public opinion against Woman Suffrage.

The Hon. Treasurer read the statement of accounts, which showed a balance in hand.

Mrs. Colquhoun thanked Lady Ilchester for the great assistance she had rendered the Branch, for she had been a very active worker, and given much assistance in perfecting the organisation.

Sir Alfred Lyall remarked that the flourishing state of the Branch was in a great measure due to the zeal of Mrs. Colquhoun.

At the public meeting presided over by Lord Cromer the hall was crowded.

Lord Cromer referred to a recent Suffrage meeting in Manchester, when only 46 men appeared to show sympathy in that cause, and contrasted it with the recent meeting of the Anti-Suffrage League, when he addressed an audience of some 1,300 men. He was, he continued, opposed to the wholly illogical and indefensible measure brought forward by Mr. Shackleton, which involved not merely giving the vote to a limited number of women, but giving it to all women. He knew perfectly well that the majority of the House of Commons a short time ago affirmed the principle of Female Suffrage; but he also knew why they did it. It was largely due to the fact that a number of weak-kneed members were hampered by pledges most incautiously given. Another reason why members voted for the Bill was because they knew it would be shelved, and that it had not the slightest chance of having practical effect given to it during that session. On that account he did not attach any great importance to that vote of the House of Commons, and he could not admit that it represented the true opinion of this country, which the members were under a moral obligation to represent.

This large meeting testified that whatever apathy existed elsewhere, it did not exist in Kensington. It was most important that the views of the women of the country should be known, for they would remember that Mr. Arthur Balfour, who he regretted to say was a Suffragist, though not apparently a very whole-hearted one—said his views would be entirely altered if he were convinced that the majority of women did not want the vote.

Lord Cromer added that proposals were under consideration for the formation of one united League of men and women. He could not too strongly impress upon them the fact that they could only hope to be successful by cordial co-operation between all men and all women interested in the question.

Apart from the question as to what all the women of the country thought, there was a set of women whose opinions it was more easy to secure—those who already had municipal votes. The League was now endeavouring to ascertain the facts by a perfectly fair canvass of these women.

Mr. Leo Maxse, proposing a resolution condemning the granting of the Parliamentary franchise to women, declared that the great majority of men and almost all the women resented the combined operations of Suffragists and Suffragettes. Votes for Women meant Parliamentary seats for women, and that meant "petticoat government," which had always been odious to every man worth his salt, and unutterably odious to the overwhelming majority of women in all countries.

Mrs. Colquhoun seconded the resolution, which was carried by an overwhelming majority.

Lord Claud Hamilton, M.P., proposed a vote of thanks to Lord Cromer in an excellent little speech, in which he pointed out that those people who are prepared to grant a limited measure of female franchise, forget that, in giving away the principle, they deprive themselves of any safeguard against full adult Suffrage.

Mr. T. Carson, K.C., seconded the vote of thanks in a few well-chosen words, and Lord Cromer, in replying, added fresh arguments to those already put forward.

**Tunbridge Wells.**—A successful meeting was held at the Great Hall, Tunbridge Wells, on November 5th, and was presided over by Councillor C. W. Emson, who was supported by Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun, Mr. G. L. Borrodaile, Councillor E. Weldon, and Col. Hunter.

The Chairman said what had been called the Conciliation Bill now before Parliament, proposed to extend the franchise to women householders on the same qualification as men. He was personally strongly opposed to such a Bill, for it was perfectly clear that this Bill would not end the agitation, but would be involved as a small instalment of the principle involved. He had received apologies for absence from Lady Amherst, Mr. Rudyard Kipling, and Colonel and Mrs. Sladen.

Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun moved the Anti-Suffrage resolution, and said it appealed to her most strongly because she believed the word compromise or conciliation had deceived some of their friends. There was no half-way house in this matter.

Mr. G. L. Borrodaile said it was often stated by the Suffragettes that women were a class. They were not a class, but were of all classes, and their interests could not be divided from those of men. Everything a man did to better his position was for the benefit of some woman. Suffragettes said women had the right to vote, but there was no right to vote, because there was no compensation for deprivation of the vote.

**North Berks.**—A meeting of the North Berks Branch was addressed by Lady Wantage at "The Gables," Blewbury (by kind permission of Mrs. Caudwell), on October 20th, to which the chief residents of the village were invited.

Lady Wantage, in her opening speech, said that her aim was to try to obtain a friendly discussion between the advocates and opponents of Woman Suffrage, for which purpose adherents of both parties had been invited to the meeting. The subject was one of grave importance to the Empire, and should not be settled without due consideration of its far-reaching effects. She hoped that after the speech that would be delivered by Miss Pott, and before the resolution against the enfranchisement of women was put to the meeting, questions would be asked of the speaker by anyone not in agreement with the terms of the motion.

Miss Pott then moved "That the proposal to extend the Parliamentary franchise to women is opposed to the best interests of the Empire," and spoke in support of the resolution.

This was seconded by Mr. Buckeridge. A few questions were then asked and answered by Miss Pott, and the resolution was carried with only four dissentients.

After votes of thanks to Lady Wantage,

Mrs. Caudwell, and Miss Pott, the company were entertained at tea by Mrs. Caudwell.

**Newport.**—A very largely attended meeting was held at the Temperance Hall, Newport, Mrs. Arthur Somervell's thoughtful and clever address was listened to with the deepest interest by an audience of over 700, and several of her well-reasoned points aroused considerable enthusiasm. A resolution was passed, by a large majority, protesting against the Conciliation Bill, and expressing the opinion that the extension of the franchise to women was against the best interests of the State.

**Bournemouth.**—We have received the following from Mr. Bernard Fletcher:—

"During the week ending November 5th I had the pleasure of addressing daily gatherings of those in this neighbourhood who are interested in—some for, but the large majority against—'Votes for Women.' There is established at Bournemouth a strong Branch of the Anti-Suffrage League, and among the members of this branch there are not only many hard workers, but willing and able speakers who are proud to come forward to testify their strong objection to the assumption that any number of women, except an infinitesimal—though somewhat noisy—minority, are desirous of any alteration in the present status of women in their relation to Imperial politics."

"The Bournemouth Branch are fortunate in having for their President Lady Abinger, who presided at the meeting at the Town Hall at Christchurch. All those present that afternoon were hospitably entertained to tea by Mrs. J. Roberts-Thomson (the Vice-President). On the following Tuesday evening the meeting was at St. Katherine's Hall, Southbourne. The Vice-President was in the chair, and the meeting was addressed—besides myself—by Mrs. Dering White, an able local exponent of our views."

"On the Thursday the meeting was at a hall in Holdenhurst Road (Bournemouth), with Mr. C. J. Hankinson, J.P., one of the Branch's most active supporters, in the chair. Seamoor Hall, Westbourne, was the place of meeting on Friday evening, this small hall being packed. Mrs. Dering White was in the chair. Mr. Ingram also spoke. Miss Broad very kindly lent her gymnasium at the High School for a Saturday afternoon gathering, which was very well attended."

"The success of the meetings must be largely attributed to the indefatigable work of the Secretary, Miss Blanche C. Fraser, and her assistant Miss Sherring. The Branch now numbers in membership about 450, and it is pleasing to record that 25 new members joined during that week of work."

**South Hampstead.**—On the invitation of Mrs. Talbot Kelly (Hon. Sec.) a drawing-room meeting was held at her residence, on October 27th. The speakers were Mrs. Greatbatch and Mrs. Gladstone Solomon.

Mrs. Greatbatch covered the whole range of the controversy, and demonstrated that the demand for the franchise was not the wish of the majority of women in England. The great mission of women, she pointed out, was to be good wives and mothers, and upon this the future of the Empire really depended. There could be no privilege without its responsibilities, and with the exercise of the vote women must face the question whether they are prepared to serve on juries, enter Parliament, or assume the arduous duties of Statesmanship.

In Municipal affairs and the administration of the Poor Laws women already had an ample field, congenial to their sympathies and within their powers. Woman Suffrage, if given at all, must soon be universal, when we should see the anomaly of an enormous female preponderance in the electorate of a country which dominated one-third of the world's population, and among whose subjects were many hundreds of millions of Orientals, whose whole traditions and instincts would rebel against a Government elected, dominated, and perhaps actively directed by women!

Mrs. Solomon, who followed, took as her text, Mill's maxim that no such thing as absolute right existed beyond the requirements of utility. The Suffragists claimed the right to vote, but the onus of proof rested with them to show that this privilege, with its attendant duties, would be to the advantage of the community or the Empire.

Mrs. Solomon laid stress upon the duties of motherhood, and the evils which would result to the rising generation if the care of mothers should be withheld, or seriously curtailed through the demands of more public duties.

The Chairman (Mr. R. Talbot Kelly, R.I.) invited criticism by any who held contrary views, but no serious debate was entered upon.

The Rev. Noel Gill, M.A., proposed a vote of thanks to the speakers.

**Chiswick (sub-Ealing).**—The Chiswick (sub-Ealing) Branch held its annual general meeting in the Devonshire Room of the Chiswick Town Hall, on November 10th.

The President, Mrs. Harold Norris, who had promised to take the chair, was unavoidably prevented from being present; but her place was ably filled by Mrs. Greatbatch.

The election of officers and committee left the list as before, Mrs. Greatbatch and Miss Mackenzie being respectively elected to the offices of Treasurer and Secretary, which during the greater part of the year they have held temporarily. The Secretary's annual report and the Treasurer's financial statement were read, and adopted unanimously.

A few suggestions of local interest were discussed, and matters of correspondence gone through.

Miss Gladys Pott, in a most able speech, suggested to her hearers the entire lack of logic in the Suffragists' arguments, and the absolute want of connection between their premises and their deductions. Votes of thanks to the chair and to the speakers concluded the proceedings.

**Guildford.**—On November 12th some 25 ladies met at "Pareora," to discuss the formation of a Guildford Branch of the Women's National Anti-Suffrage League. The host, Sir Edmond Elles, took the chair.

Mrs. Gladstone Solomon, a delegate of the League, said that if any women were given the right to vote at Parliamentary elections, the necessary and logical result would be Adult Suffrage. It would be impossible to give the vote to the woman of property and not to the woman without property. It would be impossible to give it to unmarried and not to married women. Eventually all women would get it, and all men. The woman of property must be willing to sacrifice her feelings for the sake of the Empire. Adult Suffrage would mean swamping the electorate

with well-meaning but ignorant voters, at a time when one mistake might ruin the Empire. It was too dangerous an experiment to try.

Sir Edmond Elles proposed the formation of a Guildford Branch of the Anti-Suffrage League.—Lady Martindale seconded the proposal, and it was carried unanimously.

The nucleus of a Committee was formed. Mrs. Carter will act as Hon. Sec., and Admiral Tudor as Hon. Treasurer.

**Sheffield.**—On November 22nd two events of importance took place in connection with our Sheffield Branch. The first was the Federation Meeting of the four Northern Branches (which will be reported fully in our next issue), and the second the large evening reception, in the Cutlers' Hall, where about 400 guests were received by Lady Mary Howard, in the name of the Vice-Presidents and Executive Committee.

Miss Violet Markham, Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun, and Mr. A. Maconachie gave thoroughly interesting addresses, and the result of the very pleasant evening was that many new members were enrolled, and impetus given to the Anti-Suffrage movement in Sheffield.

**Leicester.**—With the idea of extending the work of this Branch of the League into the county, the Leicester Committee arranged a meeting at Market Harborough. This was held on November 16th, and proved a very successful event. Even more satisfactory was the fact that the resolution: "That this meeting is of the opinion that the extension of the Parliamentary Franchise to women is detrimental to the best interests of the Empire and the individual" was negated by only three hands. This, although Market Harborough is looked upon as a Suffrage stronghold.

Sir Arthur Hazlerigg occupied the chair, and was supported by the Hon. Mrs. Murray Smith, of Gumley Hall, and Mrs. G. E. Rudd, and Mrs. Butler of the Leicester committee. In introducing Miss Dawbarn the chairman said he was strongly of the opinion that the possession of the Parliamentary vote by women would not benefit either them or the country.

Miss Dawbarn then gave a comprehensive account of the aims of the League, stating many of the usual strong arguments against the extension of the franchise to women.

**St. Leonards.**—A very successful drawing-room meeting was held at the residence of Madame Wolfen, in St. Leonards, on November 21st, Madame Wolfen being in the chair. Mrs. Arthur Somervell gave one of her characteristically convincing addresses, and Mr. A. Maconachie and Miss Beth Finlay spoke well and successfully.

#### DEBATES.

Debates and general meetings continue to be frequent.

Mr. H. Stanley Smith writes from Leicester that, at a recent debate, he scored a victory for us, when the votes for Woman Suffrage

were only 25, while against were 60, and "this in an audience mainly of women."

**Ipswich.**—Mr. Harold Ingersoll writes from the yacht "Sea Lady," that a recent debate in Chelmondiston "resulted in a large majority against Woman Suffrage, in spite of the fact that those who supported it were all experienced speakers, while those who opposed all spoke in public for the first time."

**Crouch End and Hackney.**—Miss Mabel Smith spoke well for us in a debate at Crouch End, on November 5th, and Mrs. Stuart, on November 7th, at Hackney.

**Letchworth.**—At a very interesting debate of the Reading Room Debating Society, at Letchworth, a mock Women's Suffrage Bill, (identical with the famous Conciliation Bill) was introduced, and warmly supported by many speakers; in fact, the balance of argument throughout was in favour of the Bill; but—the meeting decided by a good majority against it!

**Otley.**—At a meeting of the Otley (Airedale) Women's Liberal Association, Miss Horne, of London, a member of our League, spoke very well and successfully on the reasons for Anti-Suffragism, her remarks being punctuated throughout with the applause of her audience.

**Manchester.**—During the last week in October, Mr. A. Maconachie spoke successfully at debates at Lytham, Haslingden, and Chorlton-cum-Hardy.

**Croydon.**—A debate of the St. Paul's Presbyterian Church, South Croydon Literary Society, was held on October 15th, the motion of the evening being: "If the granting of Votes to Women makes it possible for their sex to sit in Parliament, is the Vote inevitable?"

Mr. Douglas Young took the affirmative and Mr. Robert Cory the negative. It was interesting to note that Mr. Young was most careful to safeguard himself when asserting that it would be desirable for women to sit in Parliament, by suggesting that their power should be restricted to home government, and that statutory limitations should effectually debar women from Imperial power.

Our side was supported by several able speakers, and amongst them, Miss Jefferies Davies' clear reasoning carried great weight.

The Suffrage proposition was defeated at the closing of the debate by a large majority.

#### AN ANSWER FROM CROYDON.

Our Croydon Branch has approached Mr. Ian Malcolm, Unionist candidate for Croydon, and we consider his answer to us entirely satisfactory. It is exactly what we are asking, that the entire Suffrage question should be thoroughly discussed on its merits before any further steps are taken.

Mr. Malcolm, in his reply, says: "My position on the Women's Suffrage question will probably be unsatisfactory to both parties, as I have declined already at this election, as in my last, to give any pledge of

any kind, until the militant movement is finally abandoned. So long as that continues, I am against the extension of the franchise; when it stops, and not before, I shall be prepared to discuss the question on its merits."

#### AN ACKNOWLEDGMENT.

WE acknowledge very gratefully the generous gift of a ten pound note (£10) from an anonymous donor, who enclosed with it a message saying that it was sent to "The Women's Union of Anti-Suffrage Societies for England, their opponents' arguments having convinced the sender of the danger of their intentions."

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#### LIST OF LEAFLETS.

2. Woman's Suffrage and After. Price 3s. per 1,000.
3. Mrs. Humphry Ward's Speech. ½d. each.
4. Queen Victoria and Woman Suffrage. Price 3s. per 1,000.
5. Is Woman Suffrage Inevitable? Price 5s. per 1,000.
6. Nature's Reason against Woman Suffrage. Price 5s. per 1,000.
7. What Woman Suffrage means. Price 3s. per 1,000.
9. Is the Parliamentary Suffrage the best way? Price 10s. per 1,000.
10. To the Women of Great Britain. Price 3s. per 1,000.
12. Why Women should not Vote. Price 3s. per 1,000.
13. Women's Position under Laws made by Man. Price 5s. per 1,000.
15. (1) Woman's Suffrage and Women's Wages. Price 5s. per 1,000.
15. (2) Woman's Suffrage and Women's Wages. Price 3s. per 1,000.
15. (3) Votes and Wages. Price 5s. per 1,000.
15. (4) Women's Wages and the Vote. Price 6s. per 1,000.
16. Look Ahead. Price 4s. per 1,000.
18. Married Women and the Factory Law. Price 5s. per 1,000.
19. A Suffrage Talk. Price 3s. per 1,000.
20. A Word to Working Women. Price 3s. per 1,000.
21. Votes for Women (from Mr. F. Harrison's book). Price 10s. per 1,000.
22. "Votes for Women?" 3s. per 1,000.
24. Reasons against Woman Suffrage. Price 4s. per 1,000.
25. Women and the Franchise. Price 5s. per 1,000.
26. Woman Suffrage and India. Price 3s. per 1,000.
27. The Constitutional Myth. 3s. per 1,000.
28. We are against Female Suffrage. Price 3s. per 1,000.
29. Mrs. Arthur Somervell's Speech at Queen's Hall. Price 5s. per 1,000.
- Women and The Suffrage. Miss Octavia Hill. Price 4s. per 1,000.
30. On Suffragettes. By G. K. Chesterton. Price 3s. per 1,000.

[Continued on page 15.]

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- A. Freedom of Women. Mrs. Harrison. 6d.
- B. Woman or Suffragette. Marie Corelli. 3d.
- C. Positive Principles. Price 1d.
- D. Sociological Reasons. Price 1d.
- E. Case against Woman Suffrage. Price 1d.
- F. Woman in relation to the State. Price 6d.
- G. Mixed Herbs. M. E. S. Price 2s. net.
- H. "Votes for Women." Mrs. Ivor Maxse. 3d.
- I. Letters to a Friend on Votes for Women. Professor Dicey. 1s.
- J. Woman Suffrage—A National Danger. Heber Hart, LL.D. Price 1s.
- K. Points in Professor Dicey's "Letter" on Votes for Women. Price 1d.
- L. An Englishwoman's Home. M. E. S. 1s.
- M. Woman's Suffrage from an Anti-Suffrage Point of View. Isabella M. Tindall. 2d.
- N. "The Woman M.P." A. C. Gronno. Price 3d.
- O. The Red Book (a complete set of our leaflets in handy form). Price 3d.
- Q. Why Women Should Not Have the Vote, or the Key to the Whole Situation. 1d.
- R. The Man's Case Against 1,000,000 Votes for Women. 1s. each.

All the above Leaflets, Pamphlets, and Books are on sale at the offices of the Women's National Anti-Suffrage League, 515, Caxton House, Tothill Street, Westminster.

#### BOOKS AND LEAFLETS.

Published by the Men's League, also obtainable from the Women's National Anti-Suffrage League, Caxton House, Westminster.

3. Gladstone on Woman Suffrage. 1s. per 100.
4. Queen Victoria and Government by Women. 6d. per 100.
5. Lord Curzon's Fifteen Good Reasons Against the Grant of Female Suffrage. 9d. per 100.
6. Is Woman Suffrage a Logical Outcome of Democracy? E. Belfort Bax. 1s. per 100.
7. Speeches by Lord James of Hereford and Lord Curzon of Kedleston at a Dinner of the Council. 1d.
8. Woman Suffrage and the Factory Acts. 1s. per 100.

The Legal Subjection of Men: A Reply to the Suffragettes, by E. Belfort Bax. 6d.

Ladies' Logic: A Dialogue between a Suffragette and a Mere Man, by Oswald St. Clair. 1s.

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Hon. Secretaries: Herbert Loewe, Esq., M.A., 6, Park-street, Jesus Lane, Cambridge; D. G. Hopewell, Esq., Trinity Hall, Cambridge.

All communications to be addressed to D. G. Hopewell, Esq.

**CANTERBURY**—President: Lady Mitchell.

Deputy President: Mrs. Trueman. Joint Hon. Secretaries: Miss Moore, and Miss C. Dinely, Bramhope, London Road, Canterbury.

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

**CHELSEA**—President: Lady Hester Carew.

Hon. Treasurer: Admiral the Hon. Sir Edmund Fremantle, G.C.B.

Hon. Secretaries: Mrs. Myles, 16, St. Loo Mansions, Cheyne Gardens, S.W.; Miss S. Woodgate, 68, South Eaton Place, S.W.

**CHELTHAM**—President: Mrs. Hardy.

Hon. Treasurer: Miss G. Henley, The Knoll, Battledown.

Hon. Secretary: Miss Geddes, 4, Suffolk Square, Cheltenham.

**CRANBROOK**—President: Miss Neve, Osborne Lodge.

Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Mordaunt, Goddard's Green, Cranbrook.

Hon. Secretary: Strangman Hancock, Esq., Kennel Holt, Cranbrook.

#### CROYDON—

President: Mrs. King Lewis. Hon. Treasurer: Miss B. Jefferis. Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Corry, 39, Park Hill Road, Croydon.

**CUMBERLAND AND WESTMORELAND**—Chairman: Hon. Nina Kay Shuttleworth.

Hon. Treasurer: Miss Thompson. Hon. Secretary: Miss Howard, Greystone Castle, Penrith.

**Carlisle (Sub-Branch)**—President: Mrs. Spencer Ferguson.

Hon. Secretary: Miss Dobinson, Stanwise, Carlisle.

**Cockermouth (Sub-Branch)**—President: Mrs. Green Thompson, Bridekirk, Cockermouth.

**Maryport (Sub-Branch)**—In formation.

**Wigton (Sub-Branch)**—President: Miss Ida Kentish.

**DORKING**—President: Mrs. Barclay.

Hon. Treasurer: Miss MacAndrew. Hon. Secretary: Miss Margaret Powell, Goodwyns Place, Dorking.

**DUBLIN**—President: The Duchess of Abercorn. Chairman: Mrs. Bernard.

Hon. Treasurer: Miss Orpin. Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Albert E. Murray, 2, Clyde Road, Dublin.

Asst. Hon. Secretaries: Miss C. H. Pollock and Miss Dickson.

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

**DULWICH**—President: Mrs. Teall.

Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Dalzell. Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Parish, 1, Woodlawn, Dulwich Village.

**East Dulwich (Sub-Branch)**—Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Batten, 2, Underhill Road, Lordship Lane, S.E.

**EALING**—President:

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**—President: Mrs. Norris.

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

**ACTON**—Branch in formation.

**EASTBOURNE**—Hon. Treasurer and Secretary: Miss I. Turner, 1 Hardwick Road, Eastbourne.

**EAST GRINSTEAD**—President: Lady Musgrave.

**EPSOM**—President: The Dowager Countess of Ellesmere.

Joint Hon. Treasurers: Mrs. Godfrey Lambert, Woodcote, Esher; Mrs. Lawson, Bracklenas, Esher.

Hon. Secretary: Miss FitzGerald, Lamas Cottage, Esher.

**EXETER**—President: Lady Acland.

Chairman: C. T. K. Roberts, Esq., Fairhill. Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Depree, Newlands, St Thomas', Exeter.

Hon. Secretary:

**GLOUCESTER**—Chairman: Mrs. R. I. Tidswell.

Vice-Chairmen: Mrs. Nigel Haines and Mrs. W. Langley-Smith.

Hon. Treasurer: W. P. Cullis, Esq. Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Naylor, Belmont, Brunswick Road, Gloucester.

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

**GUILDFORD AND DISTRICT**—President: Miss Onslow.

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

**HAMPSTEAD**—President: Mrs. Metzler.

Hon. Treasurer: Miss Squire, 27, Marlborough Hill, N.W.

Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Talbot Kelly, 96, Fellow Road.

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

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

**HAMPTON AND DISTRICT**—Hon. Treasurer: H. Mills, Esq.

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

**HAWKHURST**—President: Mrs. Frederic Harrison.

Hon. Secretary: Miss Patricia Baker, Delmonden Grange, Hawkhurst.

Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Beauchamp Tower.

All communications to be sent to Mrs. Frederic Harrison, Elm Hill, Hawkhurst, for the present.



**HEREFORD AND DISTRICT—**

Hon. Treasurer: Miss M. C. King King.  
 Joint Hon. Secretaries: Miss Armitage, 3, The Bartsens, Hereford; Miss M. Capel, 22, King Street, Hereford.  
 District represented on Committee by Mrs. Edward Heygate.  
 Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Sale, The Forbury Leominster.

**HERTS, WEST WATFORD—**

Hon. Treasurer: Miss Metcalfe, Cassiobury Park Avenue, Watford.

**HEMEL HEMPSTEAD—**

Hon. Treasurer:  
 Hon. Secretary: Miss Sale, Mortimer House, Hemel Hempstead.

**HULL—**

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

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

**HERNE BAY (Sub-Branch)—**

**ISLE OF WIGHT—**President: Mrs. Oglander.  
 Hon. Treasurer: Miss Lowther Crofton.  
 Provisional Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Perrott, Clantagh, near Ryde, Isle of Wight.

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

**KENSINGTON—**

President: Mary Countess of Ilchester.  
 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'Hôpital, 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.

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

**KEW—**

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

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 Chairman: Mrs. Frank Gott.  
 Hon. Treasurer: Miss E. M. Lupton.  
 Hon. Secretary: Miss Gabrielle Butler, St. Ann's, Burley, Leeds.

District Secretaries: Miss H. McLaren, 152, Otley Road, Headingley; Miss M. Silcock, Barkston Lodge, Roundhay.

**LEICESTER—**President: Lady Hazelrigg.  
 Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Butler, Elmfield Avenue.  
 Hon. Secretary: Miss Valeria D. Ellis, 120, Regent Road, Leicester.  
 Assistant Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Waddington, 52, Regent Road, Leicester.

**LIVERPOOL AND BIRKENHEAD—**

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

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

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

**MANCHESTER—**  
 President: Lady Sheffield.  
 Chairman: George Hamilton, Esq.  
 Hon. Treasurers: Mrs. Arthur Herbert; Percy Marriott, Esq.  
 Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Henry Simon.  
 Secretary: Wrench Lee, Esq., 1, Princess Street, Manchester.

**Didsbury (Sub-Branch)—**  
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**Hale (Sub-Branch)—**  
 Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Arthur Herbert, High End, Hale, Cheshire.

**Marple (Sub-Branch)—**President: Miss Hudson.  
 Chairman of Committee: Mr. Evans.  
 Hon. Secretary: Mrs. G. F. Sugden, 53, Church Street, Marple.

Assistant Hon. Secretary: Miss Rayner, Stoke Lacy, Marple.

**MARYLEBONE (EAST)—**  
 Chairman: Mrs. Copeland 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. GEORGES—**

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

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

**NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE—**  
 Hon. Secretary: Miss Noble, Jesmond Dene House, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

**NEWPORT (MONMOUTHSHIRE)—**  
 Hon. Secretary: Miss Frotho, Malpas Court.

**NORTH HANTS—**  
 President: Mrs. Gadesden.  
 Vice-President: Lady Arbutnot.  
 Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Stedman, The Grange, Woolton Hill, Newbury.

All communications to be addressed to Mrs. Gadesden, Burley, Woolton Hill, Newbury, for the present.

**NORTH WALES (No. 1)—**  
 President: Mrs. Cornwallis West.

**NOTTINGHAM AND NOTTS—**  
 President: Countess Manvers.  
 Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. T. A. Hill.  
 Hon. Secretaries: Mrs. Bumbay, 116, Gregory Boulevard; Mrs. Mitchell, Greenholme, Forest Road, West Nottingham.

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

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

**PORTSMOUTH AND DISTRICT—**  
 Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Burnett.  
 Hon. Secretary: Miss Craigie, Silwood Villa, Marmion Road, Southsea.

**READING—**President: Mrs. G. W. Palmer.  
 Hon. Treasurer: Dr. Secretan.  
 Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Thoys, Furze Bank, Redlands Road, Reading.

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

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

**ST. ANNE'S AND FYLDE—**  
 Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Banbury.  
 Hon. Secretary: W. A. Pickup, Esq., 28, St. Anne's Road, W.

**ST. LEONARDS-ON-SEA—**Branch in course of formation.

**SALISBURY—**  
 President: Lady Tennant, Wilsford Manor, Salisbury.

**SCARBOROUGH—**Chairman: Mrs. Daniel.  
 Hon. Treasurer: James Bayley, Esq.  
 Hon. Secretaries: Clerical, Miss Mackarness, 19, Princess Royal Terrace; General, Miss Kendall, Oriol Lodge, Scarborough.

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

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 Hon. Treasurer: Miss M. Colley, Newstead, Kenwood Park Road.

Hon. Secretaries: Mrs. Arthur Balfour, "Arcadia," Endcliffe, Sheffield; Mrs. Munns, Mayville, Ranmoor Park Road, Sheffield.

**SHOTTERMILL—**  
 Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. R. S. Whiteway.  
 Hon. Secretary: Mrs. H. Beveridge, Pitfold, Shottersmill, Haslemere.

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

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

**SOUTHWOLD—**  
 Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Adams, Bank House, Southwold, Suffolk.

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

**SURREY (EAST)—**  
 Hon. Treasurer: Alfred F. Mott, Esq.  
 Hon. Secretaries: Relgate—Mrs. Rundall, West View, Relgate; Redhill—Mrs. Frank E. Lemon, Hillcrest, Redhill.

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President: The Lady Edmund Talbot.  
 Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Travers, Tortington House, Arundel, Sussex.

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

**TAUNTON—**President: The Hon. Mrs. Portman.  
 Vice-President: Mrs. Lance.  
 Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Somerville.  
 Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Birkbeck, Church Square.

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 Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Cayley.

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 Hon. Treasurer: The Hon. Helen Trefusis.  
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President: Countess Amherst.  
 Hon. Treasurer: Miss E. H. Tipple.  
 Hon. Secretary: Miss M. B. Backhouse, 48, St. James' Road, Tunbridge Wells.

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 Hon. Treasurer: Miss E. H. Tipple.  
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**WESTON-SUPER-MARE—**  
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 Vice-President: Mrs. Portsmouth Fry.  
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 Hon. Treasurer and Hon. Secretary: Miss Peregrine, The Firs, Woking.

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 Hon. Treasurer: A. C. Cherry, Esq.  
 Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Ernest Day, "Doria," Worcester.

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

## THE SCOTTISH NATIONAL ANTI-SUFFRAGE LEAGUE.

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 Vice-President: Miss Rutherford, M.A.

Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Aitken, 8, Mayfield Terrace, Edinburgh.  
 Hon. Secretary: Miss Gemmill, 3, Deanpark Crescent, Edinburgh.

**BRANCHES:**

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 Vice-President: The Countess of Dalkeith.  
 Chairman: Mrs. Stirling Boyd.  
 Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Paterson.

Joint Hon. Secretaries: Mrs. Johnston, 19, Walker Street; Miss Kemp, 6, Western Terrace, Murrayfield, Edinburgh.

**GLASGOW—**President: The Duchess of Hamilton.  
 Chairman of Committee: Mrs. John M. McLeod.  
 Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. David Blair.  
 Hon. Secretary: Miss Eleanor M. Deane, 180, Hope Street, Glasgow.

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

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 Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Burnet.  
 Hon. Secretary: Miss Playfair, 18, Queen's Gardens, St. Andrews.