

THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW.

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THE NATIONAL LEAGUE FOR OPPOSING WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

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CARTOON PRIZE.

The Prize for the best idea to form the subject of a cartoon to be used in the Campaign against the Grant of the Parliamentary Franchise to Women has been awarded to Mr. J. Priestman Atkinson, 26, Crescent Grove, Clapham Common, S.W. The winning cartoon will appear in a subsequent issue of *The Anti-Suffrage Review*.

THE CONCILIATION BILL.

At the eleventh hour, owing to the Coal Crisis, the Second Reading of the Conciliation Bill, which had been fixed for Friday, March 22nd, was postponed until Thursday, March 28th. By this latter date the April number of THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW will be in the press, and the course of the debate must be a subject for discussion in our next number.

Our readers will be glad to know that every effort has been made by the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage to secure the defeat of the Bill on the Second Reading. Elsewhere in this issue we give the views of some of the Members of Parlia-

ment who have had occasion to revise their attitude towards the Bill. Others have also undertaken to vote against the measure, without setting forth in the Press the special reasons for that step.

To all those who are opposed to Woman Suffrage we appeal for more help in the campaign against the Suffrage movement. The Conciliation Bill is only a milestone. The goal is Adult Woman Suffrage. Funds are needed by our League as well as personal effort. See to it that it is made clear to both Country and Parliament that the vast majority of British women and of the British electorate are against Woman Suffrage. We make this appeal in the interests of the Empire and in the interests of woman herself.

MILITANTS AND NON-MILITANTS.

THE overwhelming success of the Anti-Suffrage Meeting at the Albert Hall on February 28th was not long in receiving eloquent confirmation in an unexpected quarter. Two days later, as the only possible reply to that Demonstration, the significance of which could not be explained away, the militant Suffragists launched an organised window-breaking campaign in some of the principal streets of the West End. This criminal action evoked the utmost resentment from the nation as a whole, and, following as it did the unmistakable evidence afforded by the Albert Hall Meeting of the widespread opposition to Woman Suffrage that exists in the country, threatened to give the Suffragist cause its *coup de grâce*. Realising its predicament, official "Suffragism" hastened to retrieve the day by throwing over its militant members. With a great outpouring of unctuous rectitude in the public Press, it washed its hands of allied militancy and pleaded for a clear distinction between militants and non-militants among the advocates of female franchise.

All this attitudinizing, however, comes too late in the day. It is, moreover, insincere. So long as it suited their purpose the so-called constitutional Suffragists made common cause with the militants. On the part of the latter there has been no change of policy. They have broken windows before, and they declared that, whenever they might consider the step necessary, they would break them again. In spite of this avowed determination, non-militants and militants have been comrades-in-arms; they have held joint meetings, joint processions, joint banquets. Both belong to the body corporate of Suffragism, and the only suggestion of repudiation came from the militants and caused the "constitutionalists"

to redouble their efforts to keep these valuable stalwarts in the fold.

HONEST REPUDIATION.

It is idle, therefore—to use but a mild term—for Mrs. Fawcett, President of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, to quote an academic resolution of 1908, or of any other date, when, even after the window-breaking campaign of last November, militants have been cherished and flattered as valuable protagonists of the cause. If these verbal repudiations had meant or were intended to mean anything, there would have been no need for all the Suffrage Societies, including the National Union, to publish disclaimers immediately after the recent excesses.

The only step that could have given effect to what Mrs. Fawcett would like the country now to believe has been her attitude towards militancy since July, 1908, is indicated in a letter from a former supporter, a "keen Suffragist." When it is too late, the latter urges that Mrs. Fawcett and the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, and all the societies which advocate Woman's Suffrage on non-militant lines, "should combine in determining that they will take no further step whatever towards the attainment of their ends until there is an absolute cessation of the militant crusade." That would have been the "repudiation" which the country had reason to expect, if discrimination had to be made between non-militants and militants.

In the eyes of the law the person who has received stolen goods is not immune because he or she has preached volubly on the eighth commandment. In the eyes of the public, which hates hypocrisy, the offence will have been aggravated by such conduct.

Again, as Miss Gladys Pott, in a telling indictment of Suffragist protestations points out, Mrs. Fawcett herself stated in January that in certain contingencies she would be "compelled to revise her strategy." There can be no doubt regarding the interpretation placed upon those words by all who read them at the time or have read them since, *pace* Mrs.

Fawcett, who would now have us believe that "they did not indicate any weakening at all in our belief that our great cause is injured and not aided by recourse to violence." The utterances and acts of the "stars" of Suffragedom—Mrs. Fawcett, Lady Betty Balfour and Lady Selborne—show that no hard and fast dividing line can be drawn between professing non-militants and professing militants.

SUFFRAGISM AND MILITANCY INSEPARABLE.

A prominent observer of the Suffrage movement in America remarks:—

One of the most lamentable symptoms of the extremes to which women go when obsessed with an idea is what we call "the will and won't" of the Suffragists. Many of them . . . are signing pledges to give no time, no money, no service to any cause whatever until the full Suffrage is won. A prominent Suffragist said . . . that they were striving for the greatest thing in the world, and that when that was obtained they would be willing to devote themselves to the next best things.

Suffragist language in this kingdom is couched in similar terms. Translate such a state of affairs into practical politics, and every adherent of the opposition in any parliament must repudiate all civic duties until the next election, when the "ins" will go "out" and do the same.

Non-militants and militants alike are obsessed by the one idea, the "common cause." All other considerations are excluded. It is "the greatest thing in the world." The interests of the country and of the Empire are of no moment compared with the possession of the vote, which the majority of British women are wise enough to know would be prejudicial to their sex. There could be no more striking illustration of the fact that women in the bulk are temperamentally unfit for political activity. The nation and its representatives in Parliament, therefore, must be brought to realise that as between militants and non-militants there can be no discrimination. A distinction of to-day becomes obliterated if the vote be given; for then emotionalism will have no need to squabble with itself over a question of degree.

THE SUFFRAGETTE'S DREAM.

OWING to pressure upon our space in the March number of THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW, we were unable to give any account of an Anti-Suffrage Bazaar, held at St. Andrews on February 17th. On that occasion a striking entertainment was given in the form of tableaux, entitled "The Suffragette's Dream," which has been repeated elsewhere with such success that we make no excuse for reproducing an outline of the scenes at this interval. Provost Herkless was in the chair, and Lady Griselda Cheape spoke on Woman Suffrage, taking her stand by the decrees of Nature, and declaring that a "mannish woman" and a "womanish man" were very unpleasant creatures. The Anti-Suffragists believed in being women as God made them, and in doing the peculiar work for which they were intended. "In all other countries," Lady Griselda went on to say, "women were in the minority, and the granting of the women's franchise, therefore, meant more to this country. Woman Suffrage had not been successful where it had been tried. In New Zealand the schools had been made secular since the women got the vote. In Australia the Labour Party had gained the ascendancy by the women's votes, and in Colorado the granting of the vote had been accompanied by an increase of juvenile crime."

Professor M'Intosh, proposing a vote of thanks to Lady Griselda Cheape for opening the sale, said he favoured the Anti-Suffrage movement. He had already said in public all he had to say about it. In taking up that position he had been largely influenced by his long experience as a medical man in attending the sane and insane and also by general knowledge as well. His views gravitated to the old-fashioned tradition of the woman being the head of the home and the careful guardian of all household interests. (Applause.)

TABLEAUX WITH A MORAL.

Tableaux entitled "The Suffragette's Dream" were given in the large hall, and were admirably staged. Miss Bertram performed the introductory scene in capital style. She came on the stage as an excited Suffragette, and, being worn out with struggling with policemen, she fell asleep on a couch, and the tableaux represented her dream. The first picture showed the women of Sparta who got full political power, and who brought about the downfall of the country. The second subject was "Penelope, the Faithful Wife." The third picture represented Alfred the Great learning to read at his mother's knee, and it was very effective. The next picture showed women's power of entreaty. "The School of Bologna" represented the Lady Doctor of Laws who lectured veiled because of her beauty. Around her were her pupils. These women were famous for their beauty, their charm and cleverness, but mostly for their modesty. The following picture was "Joan of Arc," who had all power given to her because of her humility. "Catherine de Medici and Charles" represented the bloodthirstiness of the impassioned women; and the "Petrieuses" were the women who let their natures run riot during the French Revolution. "Kate" in *The Taming of the Shrew* was a familiar but appropriate subject. The next picture was a doctor and nurse with an obvious moral. "The Blessed Damozelle" illustrated the power of prayer. "Mercia and Marcus" showed the power of Christianity

over all temptation. Then the sleeping Suffragette awakened. She had learned from her dream that the power of woman lies not in having the vote, but in her nobler and finer influences. Artistically, the pictures were worthy of great praise.

PRIVATE AND CONFIDENTIAL.

"Though we may not think some of the things that have been done lately are the best practices that could be pursued, we are with our sisters in what they are doing for the cause."—Report of Caxton Hall meeting, March 14th.]

To our "quiet" friends from the Suffragettes
A welcome sincere and hearty.
It seems that public opinion sets
Against our militant party,
And so you cannot endorse our plea
When public and Press attack us,
Yet none know better, of course, than we
How much you have done to back us.
Your members plish our party chest,
And our fat account books show it,
But it's better far in your interest
That others should never know it;
We thoroughly understand the move
When you feign to "regret" our capers,
For your complicity's hard to prove,
And it's well to placate the papers.
On many a platform oft we meet,
You join in our grand processions;
Our prisoners when released you greet
With kindest of kind expressions;
Our fêtes and banquets you don't refuse,
With your good repute you screen us,
Although there isn't a pin to choose
Or a hayseed's weight between us.
A.

THE WEST END RAID.

THE incorrigible good temper of the public has hitherto remained impervious to Suffragist attacks. All previous efforts having failed to elicit more than contemptuous or amused indifference, a campaign of wanton destruction on an unprecedented scale was undertaken on Friday, March 1st. A survey of the scene after the outbreak suggested the work of irresponsible lunatics. Miss Pankhurst writes of the "gratitude" and "reverence" due to these misguided enthusiasts, but one would rather agree with Dr. Leonard Williams, who says of these unfortunate women: "They consist largely of the unclaimed, they are certainly irreclaimable." As he points out, the real danger consists in the fact that these characters are being manufactured in enormous numbers—"coaxed, drawn and even driven into the whirlwind of a movement of which illegal and lawless excitement is the essence, and in which credit is obtained only by screaming and scratching and wanton destruction."

On Monday, March 4th, there was a repetition of Friday's scenes. Bands of zealots wandered about the West End of London, and though apparently suffering from the nervousness of inexperience, did their best to emulate the window-breaking exploits of their skilled leaders. The raid so long promised for the evening of March 4th was completely frustrated by the police, who were frequently obliged to protect the Suffragists from the hostility of the crowd. Those arrested in these various disturbances have had their reward in the "lime-light" of various police courts.

What is the immediate development and the apparent end of this movement? To quote the *Saturday Review*: "It tends not to the giving of votes to women, but to violence, assassination and anarchy. It is logical and inevitable; they have been proceeding to it step by step. Each step makes the next not only possible, but necessary. Of the women who so valiantly enrolled themselves five years ago, not one in ten dreamed that she could come to justify to her own conscience the stoning of elderly gentlemen and the smashing of miles of shop windows. In the same way there are some who, no doubt, recoil to-day from the suggestion of assassination, whose attitude will also undergo what will appear to them a 'logical' development. It is no longer a question of votes or no votes, it is a question of order or anarchy."

THE following letters bearing on the window-breaking crusade appeared in *The Times*:—

WEST-END FIRMS' PROTEST.

To the Editor of "The Times."

SIR,—The first thing that the Suffragists require is to be saved from their friends. At the conclusion of the meeting at Queen's Hall yesterday afternoon, a well-known society lady was heard to observe that in future she and her associates would no longer deal with any of the firms whose representatives were present at the meeting. In plain words, a West-end tradesman who dares to protest against stones being thrown through his window is to be boycotted. Comment is superfluous.

Your obedient servant,

WILLIAM BOOSEY.

50, New Bond Street, W., March 12th.

SYMPATHY VERSUS SUBSCRIPTIONS.

To the Editor of "The Times."

SIR,—A letter of sympathy with the West-end tradesmen who suffered under the recent outrages appears in the Press to-day, signed by the names of a number of influential ladies. Amongst these names appear those of Miss Lena Ashwell, Mrs. Bertha Bacon, Miss E. Craig, Miss Eva Moore, Lady Meyer, Mrs. Ronald McNeill, Lady Sybil Smith, Mrs. D. A. Thomas, Lady Willoughby de Broke.

The following subscriptions were acknowledged last year by the Women's Social and Political Union:—Miss Lena Ashwell, £2; Mrs. Bertha Bacon, 9s. 6d.; Miss E. Craig, 5s. 3d.; Miss Eva Moore, 45 2s.; Lady

Meyer, £11 1s.; Mrs. Ronald McNeill, £10; Lady Sybil Smith, £1 9s.; Mrs. D. A. Thomas, £157 2s. 6d.; Lady Willoughby de Broke, 10s. 6d.

It will no doubt increase the gratitude of the tradesmen to know that many of the authors of this kind expression of sympathy are subscribers to the funds of the society which is responsible for the policy of breaking windows.

E. BELL, Hon. Sec., National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage.

March 12th.

NOTES AND NEWS.

Executive Changes.

SINCE the last issue of THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW there have been changes in the Executive of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage. We have to record with genuine regret the resignation of the Earl of Cromer from the post of President. In a letter to the Press, in which he announced this step, Lord Cromer pointed out that the League is not at the end, but rather at the beginning, of its labours; and as the Anti-Suffrage movement had now reached a definite stage, he had come to the conclusion that the further work of organisation must devolve on others who had the advantage over him in respect to years. To all those who have been associated with Lord Cromer in the work of the League, it must remain an open question whether anyone, however fortunate in the matter of years, could have brought more zeal, more untiring energy to the help of the cause than he has shown in the two years of his presidency. With a thoroughness entirely in keeping with his life's record, he devoted himself whole-heartedly to the work, and was never found to spare either time or trouble as Chairman of the Executive Committee in attending to any detail connected with the League's activity. His Presidency secured a fitting termination in the great Albert Hall meeting, which afforded the grandest testimony to the success that had attended the work of the League under his auspices.

§ § §

The New Officials.

As its new Presidents the League is fortunate in having obtained the services of Lord Curzon and Lord Weardale. The former, as a member of the Executive Committee, has already done yeoman work for the cause. His speech at the Albert Hall was one of the outstanding features of

that meeting. Lord Weardale, a distinguished member of the Liberal Party, has also kindly consented to become joint President, in order to emphasise the non-party character of the organisation. For the same reason we are able to welcome Lady Robson, already a member of the Executive Committee, as joint Vice-President with the Countess of Jersey. Colonel H. Le Roy-Lewis, D.S.O., becomes Chairman of the Executive Committee. At this point we may fittingly recall Lord Curzon's appeal at the Albert Hall. "The work of this organisation," he said, "cannot be done by a few hardly-worked men and women in London; neither can it be done by a few active and energetic sympathisers in the country. It can only be done by the co-operation of all men and women who are with us in this matter." That appeal must be echoed now. Much work remains to be done to convince Suffragists that the Suffrage movement, lacking as it does the support of the nation at large, must be given its quietus.

§ § §

The "Undoubted Crisis."

OUR Suffragist friends have been so overwhelmed by what Mrs. Fawcett calls "the undoubted crisis in the Suffrage movement," that it is little cause for wonder if they clutch at any straw in their efforts at self-preservation.

Their last device is to misrepresent the real inwardness of all that has happened since March 1st. As far as Anti-Suffragists are concerned, the latest window-smashing campaign might have been dismissed in a few words as being merely emphatic confirmation of some of the arguments that we have already urged against giving the vote to women. The people who were thoroughly aroused by the action were those who had until then ignored the force of these arguments. In order to save the cause, as they fondly imagined, the Suffragists proceeded to repudiate the militants; and it was only at this stage that Anti-Suffragists found it necessary to intervene, to point out that this attempt at repudiation was sheer hypocrisy. (Subscribers to the Suffragist non-militant organ, in cancelling their orders, call it "bad taste," "unworthy," "jealousy," and so on.) Thwarted in this effort by friend and opponent, Suffragists now appeal to their supporters with the cry, "You surely are not going to wreck the Cause because a handful of women broke some windows." The

answer can truthfully be "No," and it should be added, "We do not wreck the Cause, because windows were broken, but because the Cause is inherently unsound—as evidenced *inter alia* by the breaking of windows."

To Anti-Suffragists the window-breaking campaign offered proofs, not arguments.

§ § §

"By Their Fruits . . ."

ANOTHER current fallacy is one connected with the sentences passed on the militants in the police courts. If we are to believe Mrs. Annie Besant, Mrs. Cavendish-Bentinck and others, Society ought long since to have abandoned the field to anarchists, who, by the same line of reasoning, may with the militants also be regarded as "martyrs." The community, however, refuses to subscribe to the view that the smashing of windows of innocent citizens—in some cases those of foreign firms represented in London—can ever be a political offence. It is a criminal act of a depraved or unhinged mind, and as such had to be punished, not merely to correct, if possible, any erroneous ideas on the subject entertained by the culprits, but also as a deterrent to other would-be lawbreakers. The Suffragists, like the late Paul Kruger, are inclined to claim a monopoly of Scripture. It is a field into which we have no desire to follow them; but they will admit that, if the nation elects to judge Suffragism by its fruits, it will argue on these lines: Suffragism spells militancy, and militancy spells anarchy. To argue that militancy will not be militancy when it has the vote is futile. The latest window-smashing campaign was not to procure the vote, but to register an objection to a particular line of action adopted by the Government.

The nation will, indeed, be blind, if it allows itself to be cajoled now into Woman Suffrage.

§ § §

Honesty and Hypocrisy.

NON-MILITANTS are busy laying the flattering unction to their souls that they are not as other women are, who go about breaking windows. In regard to the respective morality of Suffragist Tweedledum and Tweedledee, there can be no question as to who is adopting the more honourable course. Militants say: "We want the vote, and the present voter shall give it us. Until he

does, we shall break his windows or his head." Their allies, who would prevent an appeal to the electorate, have hitherto said:—"Fire ahead; anything for the cause. But personally we believe in ignoring the voter and getting the vote over his head."

§ § §

The Conciliation Bill.

NON-MILITANT Suffragists are making a great effort to save the Conciliation Bill by representing that its acceptance by Parliament would be a blow to the militants, who, they allege, are opposed to the measure. Let no one be deceived by this quibble. Militants welcomed the Conciliation Bill and would still be keen enough to have it pass into law on its own merits. This fact is amply proved by the attitude of the militants' organ, *Votes for Women*, which roundly denounces as "deserters" those members of Parliament who have withdrawn their support from the Bill. In its issue of March 21st it speaks of these "deserters" as the "rotten fruit" shaken off the Suffrage tree. Yet non-militants would have us believe that such "deserters" are befriending the militants. The objection of the latter in regard to the Conciliation Bill is that the Government threatens to deprive it of all the virtue it possesses in their eyes by the grant of Male Adult Suffrage. Hence the window-breaking. This is a very different thing from the specious but false non-militant plea, "A vote for the Conciliation Bill is a vote against militancy." Non-militants and militants, both are aiming at Adult Woman Suffrage, therefore the Bill must be defeated.

FEMALE SUFFRAGE.

A GERMAN VIEW.

PROFESSOR SIGISMUND of Weimar has recently published an interesting pamphlet on the subject of Female Suffrage which contains a powerful indictment against the supporters of the present Suffragist movement. He cites numerous authorities in support of his arguments and quotes the writings not only of male, but also of female opponents of the movement. Among the latter may be mentioned the well-known Käthe Sturmfels, the authoress of "Krank am Weibe." The professor is by no means unfair to the female sex, and does not deny that they possess many excellent and noble qualities, but he does deny that they are in any way capable of exercising political power. One of woman's most striking qualities is her total want of

objectivity. She is a purely subjective being. She could be nothing else, as her whole nature is formed for maternity, which is the most subjective of all functions. A woman reasons from the heart to the head, whereas a man reasons from the head to the heart. Morally and physically man and woman are totally dissimilar, but one sex is the complement of the other, and perfection and happiness entirely depend upon each sex demanding and receiving from the other those gifts which the better alone can bestow.

Woman may possess talent, but genius belongs purely to man. The world's history is that of great men; and art, learning, religion, lawgiving and patriotism are purely masculine. The realm of the ideal is the domain of man. He is creative and independent, and disseminates the ideal, whereas woman is receptive and is the custodian of realities in her own narrow circle.

WOMEN AND GENIUS.

If we consider the progress of mankind we see the truth of the statement made by a woman that "genius belongs to man alone." Who have been the pioneers of all culture? *Men*. Who have been the founders of religions, or religious reformers? Again, *men*, e.g., Zarathustra, Buddha, Moses, Jesus Christ, Mahommed, Huss, Martin Luther, Zwingli and Calvin. Philosophy, the sister of religion, is essentially masculine. Has a woman ever made any important discovery in the realm of science? Whenever a woman has had any scientific tendencies she has confined herself to imitating the particular male teacher from whom she has received instruction. The world has not yet seen a really great sculptress or a female painter who could in any way compare with male artists of celebrity. Then, in music, with which women have occupied themselves for centuries, they have never produced a single composer who has risen to greatness. In fact, if everything that woman had effected in Art and Science were to disappear in dust and ashes, the world in general would be none the worse off.

The Professor then deals with the historical side of women's rights, and with the different spheres of utility of the sexes in more or less remote ages, but his remarks, though interesting and instructive, are too lengthy for reproduction. Coming down to modern times, he remarks that in Germany there were, in 1909, 62 political Women's Societies, with 4,489 members, and it might be granted that the numbers had now risen to about 7,000, but as the female population of the country amounts to over 31 millions, he denies the right of this minute group of political ladies to speak in the name of their fellow-countrywomen.

THE VOTE IN PRACTICE.

He then turns to America, where in certain States votes have been conceded to women, and he quotes statistics to

prove that in the States which are partially governed by women the moral and intellectual condition of the population is lower than it is in those in which the old order of things prevails. Women have not even endeavoured to improve the condition of their own sex, and a working woman is better off in many ways and more carefully looked after by the legislation of man-governed New York than by that of woman-governed Idaho. Besides giving statistics, the Professor quotes at length from American authors who have dealt with these subjects.

He then passes to the consideration of the question as far as it affects Germany, and points out that were votes conceded to women the only people who would gain would be the Socialists. He says: "If the Americans for the sake of change like to turn their Republic into a 'Gynococracy' (*Gynökokratie*) they are at liberty to do so. The monarchical State of Germany, the Imperial Crown of which can only be worn by men, and which has grown great and mighty by the aid of men—surrounded as it is by enemies, can only be protected by masculine force, and can allow no political Amazons to grasp the helm." Here follows a quotation from Meyer's *Conversations Lexicon*, which is to the effect that Female Suffrage is not a practical requirement but a mere theory of doubtful value.

Professor Sigismund concludes his pamphlet as follows:—"To man the State, to woman the Family." Does this theory allow only a narrow horizon to women? This the Professor denies, as he holds that a task of vast importance is confided to woman—"for the family is the corner-stone of the State—the base on which the race rests. The family is a planetary system in which the mother represents the sun—*Paradise lies under the feet of mothers*, says the Koran. The vocation of woman is to reign in this circle, to shed around her light, love and life, to plant and cherish the nourishing fruits of the good, the sweet flowers of the beautiful, to guard the tender souls of children in their butterfly flight through the world, to be the guardian of the proprieties, the high priestess of the Temple of Love, to protect the great heirloom of the past, and to prepare the ground from which the harvest of the future must sprout and mature. The woman who takes things in earnest performs her public duties at home."

BIRMINGHAM GUARDIANS.

At the election for the Greater Birmingham Board of Guardians last month eleven women were successful. Twelve in all had been nominated in various wards. Of these two were returned without opposition, while nine of the remainder were elected, eight being returned at the top of the poll for their wards. The only woman candidate to suffer defeat was the nominee of the Labour Party.

A CANVASS OF WOMEN MUNICIPAL ELECTORS IN 105 DISTRICTS.

Electorate. 138,472	Anti. 48,150	Pro. 22,278	Neutral. 9,478	No Reply. (Include deceased, removed and ill.) 58,566
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THE FOLLOWING RESULTS WERE OBTAINED BY REPLY-PAID POSTCARDS:—

District.	Electorate.	Anti.	Pro.	Neutral.	No Reply.
Aldeburgh	114	36	18	—	60
Berkhamstead	265	88	36	1	140
Birkenhead	3,338	1,154	861	—	1,323
Birmingham Central Division ...	1,739	359	230	228	922
Birmingham (Northern Division) (incomplete)	1,603	167	57	65	1,314
Bournemouth	3,281	977	589	—	1,715
Boxmoor and Hemel Hempsted ...	450	131	35	3	281
Brixton	1,826	741	207	8	810
Carlisle	1,792	514	448	11	819
Chelsea	3,355	617	566	36	2,136
Cheltenham	2,254	643	588	513	510
Chiswick	1,078	240	141	18	679
Croydon	4,080	1,575	606	30	1,869
Ealing	1,749	461	229	35	1,024
East Berks	2,355	603	264	415	1,073
East Toxteth (Liverpool Division)	2,188	316	239	—	1,633
Gloucester	1,221	413	185	2	621
Hammersmith	2,987	855	512	39	1,581
Hampton	277	92	39	14	132
Hastings	2,610	921	425	20	1,244
Hereford (part personal)	792	279	143	40	330
Kew	155	96	21	23	15
Mayfair	2,217	1,118	447	13	639
Mid Bucks	1,389	248	222	47	872
North Hackney	2,044	962	453	9	620
North Hants	1,496	426	417	25	628
North Kensington	2,160	472	211	2	1,475
North Paddington	3,700	1,090	407	98	2,105
North-West Manchester	1,374	246	198	—	930
Oxford	2,145	571	353	22	1,199
Reigate	906	338	199	23	346
Richmond	1,098	413	98	150	437
St. Andrews	598	142	96	47	313
St. George's-in-the-East	457	123	81	2	251
Salisbury	594	231	163	—	200
Sheffield	2,158	237	445	32	1,444
Shottermill Centre and Haslemere Group	336	145	74	58	59
Sidmouth	268	97	44	26	101
South Kensington	4,728	1,183	671	33	2,841
Streatham	1,892	572	325	3	992
Surbiton	469	188	45	9	227
Tonbridge	189	66	33	—	90
Torquay	1,640	467	210	13	950
Watford	934	302	178	7	447
Total	72,301	20,915	11,869	2,120	37,397

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

District.	Electorate.	Anti.	Pro.	Neutral.	No Reply.
Ashbourne	153	107	5	2	39
Bath	2,153	1,026	230	21	876
Bristol	7,615	3,399	915	2,004	1,297
Camberley and Frimley	271	119	38	21	93
Cambridge	2,098	1,168	570	271	89
Cambridge	855	457	110	84	204
Central Finsbury	1,216	535	128	257	296
Cockermouth	143	74	49	1	19
Cranbrook	88	52	7	—	29
Crowborough	147	100	17	—	30
Dorking	290	116	50	31	93
Fulham	2,971	941	265	830	935
Guildford	776	428	67	72	209
Hampstead	3,084	1,288	405	233	1,158
Hawkhurst	95	70	11	—	14
Holmwood	69	33	8	14	14
Isle of Thanet	1,082	231	180	314	357
Keswick	405	196	87	—	122
Liverpool (8 Divisions)—					
Abercromby	1,090	260	231	—	599
Everton	1,018	173	352	—	493
Exchange	728	168	141	—	419
Kirkdale	1,541	386	122	—	1,033
Scotland	716	160	185	—	371
Walton	2,609	1,053	298	—	1,258
West Derby	1,844	434	559	—	851
West Toxteth	1,138	180	338	—	620
Melton	42	38	1	3	—
Midhurst (part reply postcards) ...	73	27	15	20	11
Mid-Surrey (13 districts)	1,819	869	151	419	380
Newport (Mon.)	1,291	844	113	76	258
North Berks	1,291	1,085	75	63	68
Nottingham	8,398	2,300	1,536	884	3,678
Penrith	508	251	126	—	131
Reading	1,700	1,133	166	31	370
Rogate	18	13	1	2	2
Romsey	130	64	17	—	49
Sandown and Lake, I. of W. ...	270	162	49	8	51
Scarborough	2,116	683	513	412	508
Shanklin	283	163	48	34	38
Southampton	2,243	1,361	147	229	506
South Berks	1,368	655	217	289	207
South Paddington	2,500	1,161	334	335	670
South-West Manchester	1,473	441	416	122	494
Westcote	48	28	10	6	4
Westminster	1,979	1,036	221	136	586
Weston-super-Mare	935	380	235	69	251
Whitechapel	758	293	110	34	321
Wigton	224	203	13	2	6
Woodbridge	212	118	11	29	54
York	2,297	773	516	—	1,008
Total	66,171	27,235	10,409	7,358	21,169

THE UPLIFT OF WOMANHOOD.

No. 3.—HELPING THE CHILDREN.

BY MRS. ARCHIBALD COLQUHOUN.

PEOPLE sometimes say to me, "I don't like the Chinese, they seem such a cruel race." To this I feel bound to reply, "Neither in China, nor in any Oriental country, is there a Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. It is not needed!" Most people, I fancy, are convinced of the necessity and utility of the S.P.C.C. in our country—another eloquent testimony to the need of an uplift of motherhood and fatherhood too. It is undeniable that cases of deliberate cruelty occur in classes where poverty and ignorance cannot be pleaded as an excuse. Apart from the rare instances which are evidences of insanity, a large number (and many which the Society cannot trace) are due to in-sobriety or some other form of indulgence by the mistress of the house. Probably the best weapon with which to fight such an evil is the steady fostering of a strong public opinion. The next best is to ensure in the coming generation of fathers and mothers the *healthy mind in a healthy body*, and to train them in habits of self-control and discipline.

THE BOY SCOUT.

Am I straining too far in seeing in the Boy Scouts a promise of better fathers in times to come? I saw a big Boy Scout taking two ragged little youngsters across a crowded street and back to their native slum the other day. Big boys are often devoted to the baby of the family, but that sort of a job, with other folks' babies—that is a moral discipline of a most valuable kind! The Girl Guides do not seem to have "caught on" as rapidly as the Scout Movement. Organised effort is always more difficult to my sex. Perhaps some readers or correspondents can suggest possible methods for girls to gain the sort of mental and moral stiffening that scouting appears to supply. Domestic economy classes always seem to me to have the fatal drawback of lack of reality, and I speak from experience, for after trying them I learnt cooking and housework myself by practical experiment and failures in my own home.

AT SCHOOL.

When the child gets to school age nowadays, he or she comes within the meshes of a social-philanthropic organisation which is rapidly improving. The responsibility now taken by the State for its children includes, theoretically at all events, health inspection, and the only logical sequence of that is medical treatment. With the vexed questions involved in this assumption of parental duties by the State I am not concerned, I only wish to point to a development of it, which needs more co-operation from women for efficient working. The Care Committees attached to schools are doing

a valuable work in bringing the children who need help of any kind under the right treatment. A teacher whose class numbers forty to sixty children will know them all by name, and has often a shrewd idea of the family circumstances of many, but she cannot follow up each case. The doctor who inspects can diagnose and prescribe, but something more is needed if treatment is to be followed out in the patient's home.

AT PLAY.

I have no space to touch on the many Associations for helping sick children, or for convalescents. The Country Holiday Fund is one of the most attractive societies for child lovers, and its workers and inspectors are always anxious for fresh recruits. Incidentally, I should like to say that my own observation inclines me to the view that "a day in the country" is worse than useless to London children. A fortnight should be the minimum. Then there are several Societies which help the children to play—a practical need. Mrs. Humphry Ward's splendid Play Centres aim at making organised play part of the regular school life. The Children's Happy Evenings, of which Lady Jersey is President and Mrs. Bland Sutton Hon. Secretary, uses only voluntary help, and in schools lent by the L.C.C. out of hours 35,000 children every week, in 195 centres, have two or more hours of games, music, painting, drill, dancing and doll dressing, to mention only half the employments provided. The Guild of Play has similar evenings, and a speciality is made of singing and dancing games. London children will learn an old English song and dance in a couple of evenings—it is in the blood.

It will be seen that, just to keep an eye on the normal school child and provide for its health and amusement, we want an army of ready, capable women workers—for I can safely say that all the Associations I have mentioned are crying out for more helpers.

SUFFRAGIST DEFECTIONS.

MAJOR A. C. MORRISON-BELL, M.P.

MAJOR MORRISON-BELL, in a letter to the Chairman of the Unionist Association in the Honiton Division, says that, though he had already voted for the Conciliation Bill, and had given a pledge to vote for it again, he has come to the conclusion not to support that measure again. The speeches at the Anti-Suffrage meeting at the Albert Hall, especially the Lord Chancellor's, have convinced him that wider issues are at stake and that the interests of this country are too complicated and vast to justify the risks that might be run, were such a tremendous experiment to be tried as that of giving all women the Franchise.

MR. W. P. BYLES, M.P.

Mr. W. P. Byles writes to the *Daily News* as follows:—

"SIR,—It is now pretty evident that the cause of the enfranchisement of women (in which I believe as strongly as ever) has been slain for this Session by the hands of its friends. It would have been no easy task to get a Bill through in any case. Now I am convinced it is impossible. The window-breakers have done it—have overdone it. They have not tried to win opinion, but to force it. Now opinion can't be forced; it must grow. And it was growing, very surely, and even rapidly, when this set-back came.

"Even the Conciliation Bill will not pass now; many of its supporters on both sides of the House will not vote for it. For myself, I shall stand aloof, and shall treat the question (in Stock Exchange language) as a 'lock-up.' I have been taunted with inconsistency. Says a redoubtable correspondent: 'You don't throw over the Indians when the extremists take to bombs. How much have you pardoned to agrarian and political agitators in Ireland?'

"Now, Sir, admitting, but only for the sake of argument, that these cases are parallel, I answer that if I were a moderate reformer in India I should despair of progress till the bomb-throwing had ceased; and if in Ireland just now there were a new outbreak of moonlighting and cattle-driving, if John Redmond persistently insulted and interrupted Ministers across the floor of the House, and if John Dillon, taking a crowd of 'the boys' with him, went with stones and hammers to break all the windows in Downing Street—if these things happened, then I should despair of the prospects of Home Rule this Session, and should divert my poor energies to some of the other great causes in which I also believe.

"Home Rule for Ireland is my first objective. I am sent to Parliament to help Mr. Asquith to get it. The Pankhurst people are his avowed and persistent enemy; I am his friend; and I cannot be on both sides at the same time. Therefore, I must choose—and I have no hesitation in choosing—which I will serve. W. P. BYLES.

"House of Commons, March 6th."

MR. WILFRID ASHLEY, M.P.

Mr. Wilfrid Ashley sent the following letter to the *Morning Post*:—

"SIR,—The time has surely come when those who, like myself, have been inclined to favour Female Suffrage should reconsider our position. Undoubtedly there are many strong and cogent arguments in favour of votes for women which must appeal to all of us, and if they had been backed by a temperate and orderly agitation, an enormous body of public opinion would have rallied in support.

"But this has not been the case. On the contrary, personal attacks on Ministers, assaults on the police, destruction of public property, culminating during the last few days, at a time of grave public peril, in senseless damage to the premises of innocent tradesmen, have been the means employed to convince the House of Commons and the country of women's fitness to exercise the Parliamentary Franchise. I therefore, for one, shall feel compelled to vote against the extension of the Franchise to women, till those who demand a share in the government of this country show by their conduct that they mean to carry on their propaganda in a constitutional manner.—Yours, etc.,

"WILFRID ASHLEY.

"House of Commons, March 5th."

MR. PHILIP FOSTER, M.P.

Mr. Philip Foster, M.P. for the Stratford-on-Avon Division, has written to his committee saying that in consequence of recent Suffragist outrages he has decided to withdraw his support from the Conciliation Bill.

MR. H. MALLABY DEELEY, M.P.

Mr. H. Mallaby Deeley, M.P. for the Harrow Division, speaking at Mill Hill on March 14th, said that in his election address he had stated that he was in favour of giving women ratepayers the vote, and he had voted in favour of the Conciliation Bill. Now, however, he had entirely altered his mind on this question, and would not in future support any Bill in favour of Woman Suffrage. He was convinced, after the "exhibition" they had recently witnessed, that women were not fit to exercise the vote. They must be taught to restrain themselves before they assisted in making laws for others. He was convinced that the majority of women did not desire the vote, and he was not going to help them in unsexing themselves.

On March 7th, at the Unionist headquarters, Redhill, Colonel Rawson, M.P., received a joint deputation from the Reigate, Redhill and Dorking Branches of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage, which asked him to reconsider his position.

Colonel Rawson replied that he had voted for the Conciliation Bill, believing it to be a good measure. His action had been quite straightforward. He had, however, resolved, after very careful consideration, to change his attitude. He would not vote for the Conciliation Bill on the next occasion; he could not be expected to vote against it, but he would not support any form of Woman Suffrage while this Parliament lasted, nor until the whole question had been first submitted as a clear and definite issue to the country.

Mr. Perceval Keep cordially thanked Colonel Rawson.

VIEWS ON THE VOTE.

THE PROPERTY OWNER.

IN reply to an invitation to support a proposal to establish a Branch at Abergavenny of the South Wales and Monmouthshire Federation of Women's Suffrage Societies, Mrs. Mansel writes to Miss L. F. Waring, Organiser to the N.U.W.S.S.:—

"Maidiff Court, Abergavenny,
December 12th, 1911.

"DEAR MADAM,—I am obliged by your letter of the 7th instant as to a Branch of the above at Abergavenny. As a Monmouthshire woman I am distinctly averse to the scheme. By long experience, I have concluded that since the days of Eve (whether a figurative story or not) woman has ever been the dupe of Satan, and is now again preparing for herself and this country a dread future, by falling into the hands of astute instigators, for their own purposes, of the Franchise, and probably leading to her own slavery. Can we not grasp that a Creator arranged one strong being in body and mind (man) and a lesser one (woman), both equally to carry out the many but utterly different occupations fitted for each—man not being suited for the one, neither woman for the other? Hitherto she has been wisely spared, taking part in public, man having borne the brunt of life, and been, as intended, her natural protector. Should a woman be in possession of large estates, those serving under her (if she does her duty, thus gaining their confidence and respect) would generally seek her advice in important questions, and, in any case, her one vote would be but a unit to the numerous ones of her tenants. Women's duties evidently are to comfort and elevate those around them unostentatiously, thus endeavouring to help the needy and to better their own surroundings. Theirs is, therefore, not publicly to decide on the leaders of the people, but it appears that even this easily entrapped sex may be one of the means to work the ruin of this most wonderful Empire, allotted to us for trial by the Almighty. I should be glad if you would read this letter to your meeting.—Yours truly,

"LILIAN AUGUSTA MANSEL."

THE CRADLEY HEATH CHAIN MAKERS.

A CORRESPONDENT writes: "I went to a meeting a few weeks ago at which Mrs. Nevinson was speaking on Workhouses, Labour, &c. She stated that the women chain-makers used to work stripped to the waist like men, in front of blazing furnaces, &c. That they received 7s. per week wages. That at a conference held

to alleviate them, some women were deputed to tell the grievances of the workers, and that they held up a yard of heavy chain saying: 'We get a penny for making this.' She then ended her discourse by saying that the *men* were touched, and exclaimed: 'Let us help these poor slaves'; but she did not go on fairly and state the result of that conference! Undoubtedly you know all about that conference and its result, but the majority of us at that meeting did not."

On the authority of the National Federation for Women Workers we publish the following information:—

(1) "That women chain-makers work stripped to the waist on account of the furnace heat (like the men)" is absolutely a fabrication, and does not contain one element of truth.

Women's work is altogether different from that of the men's. The chain and the fire are very much smaller; the work, too, is of a much inferior character. Women who make chains are dressed, speaking generally, as well as most women operatives.

(2) "That they are paid 7s. per week, and that a yard of heavy chain worked out at a penny per yard payment."

Undoubtedly this was true to a very large extent before the introduction of the Trade Board Act. Since that Act has been in operation (operative from August, 1910) a tremendous change has come over the industry, and the rates to-day, which are fixed by the law of the country, are based on 2½d. an hour, or 11s. 3d. for a fifty-four hours' week.

(3) "Regarding the statement of female labour displacing men's labour, and if it be necessary for employers to employ female labour in order to keep their places in the market."

Female labour does not usually affect men's labour in the chain trade. The chain is smaller generally, and of a much inferior quality. Men make chains for ships' cables, rigging, crane, and all kind of lifting chain. Chains made by women do not usually undergo any test, and are used for fencing purposes, dog chains, chains for hanging meat on ships, and for any purposes where there is no risk of life entailed.

As far as the industry can be dated back, women have made chains; therefore, most employers, because there is a market for the chain, employ women.

(4) "Dumping." England seems to have a special advantage in the making of chains, and no chains are dumped from abroad. Therefore no foreign competition to affect the prices.

The women in the chain trade are very well organised under the National Federation of Women Workers, and receive as much attention as the men. There are about 1,800 female workers in the chain trade, and these all belong to the above body.

CORRESPONDENCE.

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

SIR,—Why should the Suffragists have the monopoly of self-advertisement? We are obviously precluded from adopting their blatant methods to draw attention to our views; but we can, in a quiet way, without any loss of self-respect, bring home to the general public—the man (and woman) in the street—the fact that the great majority of women are opposed to having the vote thrust upon them. For this purpose I suggest that it be incumbent upon every member of our League to wear the badge or ribbon on all occasions, in season and out of season. This procedure, if faithfully carried out, cannot fail to arouse attention, and the outbreak of black, white and rose would soon, I believe, swamp the purple, white and green of our opponents.—I am, &c.,

E. B. M.

Maida Vale Mansions, W. March 1st, 1912.

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

SIR,—I should like to suggest through the medium of your columns that a referendum should be taken of the members of Oxford University on the Suffrage. Convinced as I am that it would reject Woman Suffrage, I consider it would materially assist the cause, especially in Oxford, and I think it could be worked with very little expense. I hear that a "Varsity" branch is to be formed of the Woman Suffrage League. Would this not be a suitable occasion to form a "Varsity" branch of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage as a counter stroke? It seems a pity that the other side should always be the first in initiative. It seems at present that, unlike the Suffrage League, the Oxford branch of the N.L.O.W.S. is quite entirely a city one, and altogether apart from the Uni-

versity. I am quite sure that much would be gained by such a change, and that much enthusiasm would be found; and I hope your paper will bring these proposals before the proper authorities.—I am, Sir, yours obediently,

OXFORD UNDERGRADUATE. Oxford Union Society, March 13th, 1912.

A CORRECTION.

SIR,—In Miss Violet Markham's speech at the Albert Hall, which you report in your March supplement, she stated that it was her privilege to speak (four years ago in a small hall in Kensington) at the first Anti-Suffrage meeting held in London. This is incorrect. The first Anti-Suffrage meeting held in England was held on September 1st, 1906, at Anderson's Hotel, Fleet Street, London, E.C., and as I was the chairman, I delivered the first speech. You will find reports of the meeting in The People for September 2nd, and in The Times and other papers for September 3rd, besides comments in the Pall Mall Gazette, Westminster Gazette, Sheffield Telegraph and other journals.

I am, &c.,

ARCH. GIBBS.

ANTI-SUFFRAGE DEMONSTRATION AT OXFORD.

ONE of the most crowded and most successful meetings ever seen in Oxford, even at election times, was organised by the Oxford Branch and held in the Town Hall on March 15th. Sir William R. Anson, Warden of All Souls, and one of the members of Parliament for the University, occupied the chair, and the chief speakers were Mrs. Humphry Ward and Mr. Fred Maddison, late Liberal-Labour member for Burnley. Their speeches—the one from the woman's and the other from the labour point of view—were in every way admirable, and produced a great impression. The Chairman's speech was clear and incisive, and, together with the points afterwards made by Mr. J. F. Mason, M.P. for Windsor, and Mr. John Massie, late

Liberal M.P. for North Wilts and Treasurer of the League (the mover and seconder of the vote of thanks), was heartily appreciated by the responsive audience. The Anti-Suffrage resolution (the same as that passed at the Albert Hall) was carried by a very large majority.

THE NEW RELIGION.

"THE attitude of the Suffragists to-day," recently remarked Mrs. Arthur Dodge, President of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage (United States), "reminds us of Bishop Potter's reply to the facetious Customs' official who asked whether he was bringing in a new religion. 'Ah, no,' said the bishop. 'The only religion that would be fashionable would be one that would be all rights and no duties.'"

A DEPUTATION from the Westminster Branch of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage waited upon Mr. W. L. Burdett-Coutts, M.P. for Westminster, on March 20th, with a view to urge upon him the necessity for continued opposition to the Conciliation Bill. The members of the deputation included Miss G. Pott, Lady Craik, Mrs. Lewis Coward, Mrs. Langebach, Mrs. Clive Hussey, Mrs. Max Meyer, Miss Frewen, Miss Cotesworth (Hon. Secretary), Mr. Harold Wyatt and Mr. Walker. Miss Pott, in the absence of Lady Biddulph of Ledbury (President of the Branch), and Mr. Wyatt spoke for the deputation. Mr. Burdett-Coutts, in reply, made an interesting speech affirming his opposition to any measure for Woman Suffrage.

At a meeting of the Hitchin Debating Society, held on March 14th, when the debaters were—For the Suffrage, Lord Lytton; against, Mr. A. MacCallum Scott, M.P., the Woman Suffrage resolution was defeated by two to one—a very significant result when one considers the Parliamentary representation of the Hitchin division.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT ADVANCEMENT COMMITTEE

(Affiliated to the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage),

CAXTON HOUSE, TOTHILL STREET, WESTMINSTER, LONDON, S.W.

Chairman:—MRS. HUMPHRY WARD.

Hon. Treasurer:—W. R. CAMPION, Esq., M.P.

Executive Committee:

SIR T. DYKE ACLAND, Bt. Mrs. MOBERLY BELL. Mrs. R. T. BLOMFIELD. Mrs. BURGWIN. W. R. CAMPION, Esq., M.P.

MISS LONG FOX. LADY GEORGE HAMILTON. Mrs. FREDERIC HARRISON. J. W. HILLS, Esq., M.P. Miss L. TERRY LEWIS.

A. MACCALLUM SCOTT, Esq., M.P. Mrs. SIMON. Mrs. ARTHUR SOMERVELL. Miss SOULSBY.

MISS STRONG. Miss TOMES. LADY WANTAGE. Miss D. WARD.

Secretary: Mrs. F. T. DALTON (to whom all communications should be addressed). Interviews by appointment. Bankers: London County & Westminster, Caxton House, Tothill Street, Westminster, S.W.

Telegrams—"Adversaria," London.

Telephone—Gerrard 8472.

WOMEN IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT

THE VOTER'S DUTY.

INTERESTING speeches on the opportunities of Local Government, and on the duty of the Women Municipal voters, were made by Miss Margaret Ashton (Manchester Town Council) and Mrs. Arthur Somervell, at a meeting of the

Westminster Women's Local Government Association, held at Caxton Hall on Thursday, February 15th. We reproduce some extracts from them.

Miss Ashton, whose excellent work on the Manchester Town Council is well known, said:—

"I hope that all of you who are here to-day are voters and feel the responsibility of your work in Westminster. If

the ratepayers do not get all they want out of the rates it is their own fault, and I do not think that people have ever taken the trouble to tell women ratepayers what their vote will do for them. I want to tell you what you can achieve by voting for and against candidates; I want to tell you that you should go to candidates' meetings, that you should ask them questions, and press for the

things you think necessary for the country.

"Take education. Is not that the mothers' business? Are not the mothers the people who are most actively interested in the education of the children? How very rarely you find women going to meetings and asking Candidates if they think all is being done for the children that might be done. . . . If your children are not efficiently taught in school they are not likely to get good places afterwards, and it is the women's business to see that the Council attends to this properly.

The Community's Welfare.

"There is the question of street lighting. . . . Is it not your affair that the back streets should be well lighted? . . . Is it not your affair that the cleansing of the streets should be well done? Is it not your affair that the housing conditions should be improved? That landlords should not be allowed to build houses or tenements with water on the ground floor only? Is it not your affair that the sanitation shall be well done? That there shall be proper sanitary accommodation in the streets for women as well as for men? I wish to encourage every woman to think over the things concerning the welfare of the general community—education, the cleansing of the streets, the gas and water supply, the free libraries, the fever hospitals, the schools, and so forth. . . . We cannot choose our Candidates, but we ought to take pains to see that we get the best men or women to represent us. You have no women to represent you in Westminster, I understand. You ought to have, for the work deals largely with domestic matters. . . .

"I do not know if you have sufficient health visitors here in Westminster, I know that we in that rich city of Manchester have not nearly enough to save the babies' lives—a question for women, surely. . . . You can say, 'We want to have women on the Midwives Committee, because they know the difficulties of mothers in the poor houses who are served entirely by midwives.'

Education of Girls.

"Do not you think you might try to get better education for your girls? Why should we teach them as if they were all going to be typists or clerks. There is hardly a woman in the world who does not have to take up some share of housekeeping, some time or other, and these girls never have the chance of learning housekeeping at home. As we have stolen the home training away from them, could we not give them something instead? We are now in the third generation of women who have entirely lost that home training, and, therefore, are not ourselves proficient, and cannot teach our little girls. We get along; that

is all. We have to undo 40 years' education before we shall again be what we were—the best housekeepers in the world. We want the girls to understand how to make use of every scrap, how to economise time, labour and money. This is housekeeping; this is knowledge. How best to bring up their own children: how to keep them in health, the value of fresh air and plenty of sleep. So much has been taken away from our little girls, and so little has been given, and what they want is knowledge for the whole of their lives. . . .

There are many other questions, for instance, the overseeing and care of the parks. We turn out our children to run in the parks by themselves, and the benefit of the parks often becomes a source of danger to them. . . .

"On the questions of poor laws, prisons, and lunatic asylums, we need women's help immensely. There are no women visitors to the lunatic asylums. Can you conceive of the women laying their grievances of detail treatment before the men? And they have no one else to appeal to! In Lancashire, we have persuaded them to have a woman visitor. We are willing to serve; will you see that women have the opportunity to serve? Because without men and women working hand in hand, and together, the work will be as badly done as a home without a mother. . . . I think you will understand from the amount of work there is waiting for women to do, how immensely important it is to have women on a Town Council."

HOME WORK.

Mrs. Arthur Somervell said:—"I do support with all my power what Miss Ashton has said about the necessity of this home work which needs to be done for the community. Men have done great things, but the women must help them, because there are many things they cannot do by themselves. The work is exactly what we have always had to do in our own homes, and I hope we have done it with some success, because, after all, we English have in the past produced some of the greatest men and women that the world has seen. In the extension of this work lies the greatest possible field for all our energies. . . .

"As with family life, so with local government. Certain lines have to be laid down for a household by the work and earning power of the husband; such questions, for instance, as where, and on what scale, the house shall be started. Then it remains to the mother to make that house a home; to see that the social advantages, the educational advantages, all the general advantages which are possible, shall be used to the utmost. . . .

"So in local government, we find ourselves set, in certain conditions, and under bye-laws laid down by Parliament, to administer an immense income. We have to use this great amount of money for the best advantage; and a large part

of it, I am sure Miss Ashton will agree with me, is wasted.

National Education.

"We have to control and administer the education which will affect the destinies of the nation's children. More and more, national education is being transferred from private control to public administration. Local government and the work done under it affects our children from their birth, through infancy, school life, and adolescence. By our administration of the local government powers, we determine how the children of the nation are to grow up. . . .

"Miss Ashton has spoken to you from her great experience. I want to take the other end of the stick, to point to something which those who are first beginning this work can set before themselves as a possible achievement. Let us see what you can do, and how you can do it. First of all—and most important—all ratepayers, men and women, should take the trouble to vote, and find out for whom they ought to vote. Here in Westminster one of the women guardians has a constituency of 2,600 voters. Only 600 voters polled at the last election. And Miss Ashton has given us some idea of the duties which this lady would have to perform! . . .

"I do appeal to every woman here to-night to take her share of this work. It is a time in which the conditions of social life threaten to be destroyed by dry-rot, the great enemy of modern life. Do let us see that all men or women who live in our houses who have a vote, and that we ourselves, if we have a vote, shall use this great power.

Children's Care.

"Miss Ashton has touched on the work of the Education Committee of a County or Borough Council. The early stages of this educational work are especially suitable for the young ones among us. Take the Children's Care Committees. They sorely need women, and not necessarily women who have children of their own. Just girls and women who have kind and sympathetic hearts and who are willing to learn. These Committees make an admirable first step for those who wish to undertake some local government work. They have to do with the feeding of necessitous children, with after-care, and many other things. Everyone who helps in such work will make a better mother when and if the opportunity comes to her, for having tried in this way to help those who are motherless or whose mothers are overworked. Then from the work of the Care Committee we can pass on to the excellent work of being school managers. And, in time, anyone who is in earnest will not find it difficult to get co-opted on to the Education Committee itself. I know of one town where, through the work of a co-opted woman, a magnificent little school of wood-carving and cookery has

been started. The boys learn not only wood-carving, but truth and accuracy and many other such excellent lessons. There is an equally attractive room, where the girls learn cooking. The girls and boys are stirred up to learn reading and writing quickly, because work in the wood-carving and cooking rooms is given as a reward. That is the work of one woman, and I should like to point out to you that the school cost £500 to build and another £500 to equip, while the elementary school cost £23,000, so that the wood-carving and cooking is not an expensive part of the education.

"Among us here, I think, are women of all kinds. There are women whose children are educated in the elementary schools. There are women who have leisure for self-culture, and for artistic culture. But whatever women are present, whatever their homes, whatever their leisure, every one can do something to help on this local government work. Join us as Members or Associates, give us a subscription, however small, however large; above all, give us your interest. For this work touches the very life of the nation which our forefathers have built up, and which, unless we see that it is not rotten at the core, is bound to fall as other great empires of the world have fallen."

LADY DOCTORS AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT WORK.

By Mrs. VAN INGEN WINTER, M.D., D.P.H.

We hope that the time is not far off when a certain number of the seats on all Municipal Councils and Boards of Guardians will be allotted to duly qualified women. Women doctors are peculiarly fitted to be the "pioneers" of this new movement.

It is a well-known fact that all Councils must appoint medical officers of health, sanitary inspectors, and, of recent years, health visitors. A medical officer of health must be duly qualified in medicine, surgery and midwifery, and, since 1892, must also hold a diploma of public health, and his chief work is the *prevention of disease*. A sanitary inspector is the chief agent of the medical officer of health, to whom multifarious outdoor duties fall, such as inspection of foods, cowsheds, dairies, bakehouses, drainage, &c. There are now, in addition to ordinary male inspectors, women inspectors and lady health visitors employed by the Home Office and various local authorities, whose duties include the visiting of women's workshops, home-workers, sick children, and the administering of the various means for the reduction of infant mortality. Hence, it is evident that the working of the sanitary department devolves mainly on the medical profession. And since it is now more clearly recognised that women's points of view, with regard to themselves and their children, are best expressed by

women, it follows that a certain percentage of medical women on Local Government Committees would be beneficial.

Women workers on Local Government have so far been successful, though as yet their numbers are small.

Domestic Legislation.

Much remains to be done in England in the direction of educational work in public health. Especially important is the training of girls in domestic hygiene, food values, and infant management; the personal guidance and teaching in the homes of the people; the awakening of a well-informed public opinion as to the inestimable value to the State of physical well-being, and the creation of a healthy national conscience. Men would freely concede to women this domestic legislation; it is probable that a good many changes could be effected in the home surroundings, the upbringing of the children at home, and the better planning of the Board School curricula; to say nothing of the possible suggestions that may, in the near future, be made *re* the value of domestic service for the Board School girls, and trades for the boys, between the ages of 14 and 16 years; and conscription for lads, with further education for boys and girls between the ages of 16 and 18 years, making them better fit for parental responsibilities soon to follow.

As women doctors have the "entrée" to the homes of all classes, at all times, their opportunities are exceptionally good for getting the necessary information, for rectifying defects, and working on the lines of not only curative, but preventive medicine (as outlined by the Chancellor of the Exchequer under the new Insurance Act); an ounce of the latter being worth a ton of the former. Hence, instead of asking for Parliamentary votes, instead of interfering with the administration of a vast Empire, the maintenance of the Army and Navy, and with questions of peace and war, which lie outside the legitimate sphere of women's influence, let us encourage women to vote for their Parish, or Borough or County Council, to take, that is to say, a more active part in the life which is close to us, in matters which we ought to understand and try to influence.

OUR BRANCH NEWS-LETTER.

We are asked to state that Miss Gladys Pott will be abroad during the month of April. Members of the League who may desire Miss Pott to speak at meetings after April are asked to address their inquiries to the Hon. Sec. N.L.O.W.S., Caxton House, Westminster.

The great impetus that has been given to the work of our League by recent events has, of course, affected our Branches strongly, and activity is great throughout the country. The most noticeable feature in the Branch reports which reach us, now is the record

of "new members joined"; and it looks very much as if the official Anti-Suffrage army will before very long have doubled its numbers.

Branch Secretaries and Workers' Committee.—There will be no meeting of this Committee during April. The next meeting will be held on May 8th at 11.30 a.m., at 27, Queen's Gate Gardens (by kind permission of Mrs. George Macmillan). Chairman, Miss Gladys Pott; Hon. Secretary, Miss Manisty, 33, Hornton Street, Kensington, W.

Abingdon.—Miss Gladys Pott, in an open debate with Mrs. Rackham (Cambridge), held in the Corn Exchange, Abingdon, on February 29th, put the Anti-Suffrage Resolution with so much conviction that it was carried, after discussion, by an overwhelming majority. Mr. John Downing was in the chair.

Altrincham.—Miss Gladys Pott's debate at the Public Hall, Altrincham, with Miss Margaret Robertson, Secretary of the Manchester Federation of Woman Suffrage Societies, on February 16th, was a very great success. Mr. W. E. Thompson was in the chair, and the debate was arranged by the Altrincham League of Young Liberals.

Miss Pott's arguments, which were varied, and full of clever logic, greatly impressed her audience, and Miss Robertson's resolution that the "Parliamentary franchise should be extended to women without delay" was only carried by a very narrow majority.

Ascot.—A Branch is in course of formation here, and promises well. A meeting held at the Royal Hotel on March 5th (which Dr. Crouch, of Ascot, had organised) was attended by a very large number of local residents. The chair was taken by Mr. Roland Barran, (M.P. North Leeds), and the speakers were Mrs. Harold Norris, Mr. A. Maonachie, and Dr. Crouch. Towards the end of the proceedings, the Anti-Suffrage resolution was moved by Miss Lee, put to the assembly, and carried by an overwhelming majority.

Dr. Crouch read the following very interesting letter from Lord Roberts:

"DEAR DR. CROUCH—I am very sorry I cannot be present at the Anti-Suffrage meeting at Ascot to-morrow. I trust the meeting will be a great success. I agree with Lord Lansdowne that to grant Parliamentary Suffrage to women of this country would be a political mistake of a very disastrous kind. I wish that every woman who favours Woman Suffrage would carefully consider the admirable speech made by Miss Violet Markham at the protest meeting at the Albert Hall on the 28th ult.—Yours very truly,

ROBERTS."

Seven new members and thirty Associates have joined this Branch since the meeting.

Ashton-under-Lyne.—Mr. Douglas A. Cowburn, M.D., Miss Moir, and Mr. W. M. C. Martin addressed a largely attended meeting in Ashton Town Hall on March 15th, Dr. Morison being in the chair. The Anti-Suffrage resolution was carried by a good majority.

Barks (North).—A large company of Anti-Suffragists partook of tea in the Corn Exchange, Abingdon, on February 29th. This was preliminary to a debate on the Suffrage question, at which there was a large attendance, both sides being represented, but the Anti-Suffragists predominated. Mr. J. F. Downing was a most impartial chairman, and Miss Gladys Pott ably set forth the Anti-Suffrage case against Mrs. Rackham,

of the Cambridge N.U.W.S.S. Each lady had some supporters on the platform, with Miss Pott being Lady Norman, Mrs. George Morland, and Miss Randall, while on the right of Mrs. Rackham were Mrs. Jessop and Miss Sandys.

An animated general discussion followed the principal speeches, and at the conclusion Miss Pott's resolution that Woman Franchise would be detrimental to the best interests of the State and to woman herself was passed by a very large majority.

Birkenhead, Liverpool and Wirral.—On February 20th the annual meeting of the Birkenhead, Liverpool and Wirral Branch was held at the Adelphi Hotel, Liverpool. The meeting was very well attended, and after the very satisfactory report and accounts for the year had been passed, Mrs. Maggs gave an address on the present situation, and also suggested enlargement of the combined Branch in various practical ways. At the close of the meeting tea was provided.

Bournemouth.—The third annual general meeting of this Branch was held in the Haverall Hall on March 6th, Mr. C. J. Hankinson, J.P., being in the chair. A summary of the year's work and a statement of accounts was read by Mrs. Dering White, the Hon. Treasurer, and it is gratifying to record that the Bournemouth Branch is going steadily ahead, the membership now numbering between five and six hundred.

Major Dixon, of the Southampton Branch, gave a short address, and Mrs. Roberts-Thompson and Miss Mary Schofield proposed the votes of thanks. Mrs. Roberts-Thompson, who was especially thanked for the help which she has given to this Branch during the past year, kindly entertained those present at tea after the meeting.

On March 5th, a drawing-room meeting was held at the residence of Mrs. Alan Sturdy, Wavenaen, Wareham. Mrs. Dering White addressed a large gathering, and a good proportion of those present joined our League at the conclusion of the meeting.

Bristol.—On February 24th a deputation, consisting of the Hon. Secretary (Miss Long Fox) and other members of the Bristol Branch, was received by the Right Hon. Augustine Birrell, K.C., M.P. for North Bristol.

Mr. Stanley Gange, introducing the deputation, said that although those present were of different political parties, they all met with the common object of impressing on Mr. Birrell their hope that the Government would not extend the Parliamentary Franchise to women.

The Hon. Secretary said that the Bristol Branch of the N.L.O.W.S. had 2,100 subscribing members, 390 of whom belonged to Mr. Birrell's constituency, and more than 8,000 people had signed the Bristol petition against Woman Suffrage.

Mrs. H. C. Trapnell drew Mr. Birrell's attention to the fact that out of 7,615 women with the municipal vote only 915 were in favour of Woman Suffrage, while 3,399 were opposed to it. The remainder sent no reply or expressed themselves as neutral.

Mrs. Rose, Mrs. Robeson, and Messrs. A. Langlands, J. Inskip and Gladstone Wills also spoke.

The Right Hon. A. Birrell, although expressing himself in favour of Woman Suffrage on a limited scale, owned that many legal reforms regarding the rights and

position of a woman as to property and other matters had been made by men. He considered that if women were able to help in the government of a large corporation they were quite capable of going to the poll and voting on national questions. With regard to the Referendum, Mr. Birrell thought that there would be a great deal of difficulty in its working. There would be numbers of people who would not take the trouble to vote, and this, in his opinion, would destroy the authority of it. He added that he would convey to his friends in the Cabinet what the deputation had said, and he also noted the numerical strength of Anti-Suffragists in Bristol.

A vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Birrell, on the motion of the Hon. Secretary, seconded by Mr. Stanley Gange.

On February 22nd the last debate of the season, between this Branch and the West Bristol Liberal Association, was held at the Lesser Memorial Hall. The Anti-Suffrage speaker was Mrs. Gladstone Solomon, and Miss Baretti took the Suffrage side. An animated discussion followed the speeches, and many questions were asked. The meeting closed with a vote of thanks to all the lady speakers who have taken part in the debates of the season and to the Hon. Secretaries of the N.L.O.W.S. and the N.U.W.S.S.

On February 26th, a debate was held at the Queen's Hall, Clifton, under the auspices of the Junior Conservative Association. Mr. Rudge presided, and very strong opposition was provided by speakers from the Bristol Branch of the N.L.O.W.S.

Lady Isabel Margesson spoke at great length from the Suffragist point of view, and Miss Stuart (London), Miss Price, and Mrs. Aitchley very ably answered Lady Isabel, cleverly refuting her arguments with their Anti-Suffrage logic.

Only two speakers supported Lady Isabel.

Bromley.—At the Literary Institute, Bromley, on March 1st, a gathering of members and friends of the local Branch was addressed by Mrs. Gladstone Solomon. Mr. Powell was in the chair, and the Anti-Suffrage resolution was carried by a large majority.

Bromley and Bickley.—On March 4th, 5th, 7th, 11th and 12th, meetings have been held at Bromley and Bickley.

Mrs. Gladstone Solomon also addressed "dinner hour" meetings of working people at Bromley. A large number of new members have been enrolled in this district.

Camberley.—On March 13th Colonel Sir A. Hammond, V.C., took the chair at a well-attended debate on Woman Suffrage in Camberley Drill Hall. The greatest enthusiasm prevailed in the crowded hall, and Miss Gladys Pott and Mrs. Johnstone took our side against Miss K. D. Courtney, N.U.W.S.S., and Mrs. Bassett. So successful were the Anti-Suffrage arguments that our resolution was carried by an overwhelming majority.

Cambridge.—By the kind invitation of the President, Mrs. Austen Leigh, a most successful meeting was held at her residence on February 12th.

Mrs. Greatbatch addressed a good audience, and her speech was thoroughly appreciated by those present.

Mr. A. J. Pell was in the chair, and, at the conclusion of the meeting, a vote of thanks was accorded to him and to the speaker

by Mr. Boughey, and seconded by Mr. Perry (President of the Men's League, Cambridge). The names of several new members were taken by Mrs. Austen Leigh.

Carlisle.—The second annual meeting of the Committee of the Carlisle Sub-branch was held on February 22nd, at 37, Lowther Street, Carlisle, those present being Lady Allison (President of the Branch), Mrs. James, Mrs. Kighley Hough, Miss Wilson, Miss Lidiard, and Mrs. Spencer Ferguson (Hon. Secretary). The result of the Carlisle canvass of municipal women votes was read, showing a majority of 68 to the Anti-Suffrage side, 792 cards not being returned out of a total of 1,792 sent out.

The resolution as proposed by the Lord Chancellor at the Albert Hall demonstration was passed.

Crouch End.—Mrs. Gladstone Solomon spoke at a drawing-room meeting at the residence of Mrs. E. Thompson at Crouch End on February 29th, and the resolution against Woman Suffrage was carried by a very large majority.

Crowborough.—The Crowborough Branch sends in a very encouraging account of the work done here, and of the interest displayed in Anti-Suffragism in the town. Forty-eight new members have been enrolled since last month.

Croydon.—Under the auspices of the Croydon Branch of the National League of Young Liberals, a debate on Adult Suffrage was held at the Braithwaite Hall on February 14th. Mr. Percy Cohen put forward the case against Woman Suffrage and Miss Ward, of the People's Suffrage Association, put the resolution that "the time had come to confer the Parliamentary franchise on all men and women on the short residential qualification." Although Miss Ward's resolution was carried, feeling in the meeting was of strong Anti-Suffragism.

There was a very representative gathering in the Small Public Hall, Croydon, on February 26th, to hear Miss Gladys Pott debate with Miss L. F. Morland. Mr. Aldous was an admirably impartial Chairman. Miss Pott's arguments were listened to with the greatest attention, and several points raised by both speakers were afterwards discussed.

Dublin.—Mrs. Marcus Goodbody presided at the annual general meeting of the Dublin Branch, held at 6, Stephen's Green, on March 15th.

Mrs. A. E. Murray (Hon. Sec.) read the annual report, which showed a most satisfactory state of affairs, and that the membership of this Branch is steadily increasing. Mrs. Starkie read an interesting paper on "The Forward Policy of the League," and Mrs. Pim, Mrs. Pollock and Miss Stronge made most interesting short speeches. The Anti-Suffrage resolution was carried unanimously.

East Berks (Windsor).—The Guildhall, Windsor, was crowded to its utmost capacity on March 14th, when a debate took place between Miss Gladys Pott and Mrs. Swanwick, of the L.S.W.S. Sir Frederick Dyson, Deputy-Mayor, was in the chair. Mr. A. Wenyon Samuel was to have spoken for us, but was unable to attend. Mrs. Swanwick, who was supported by Mr. K. Cholmondeley, put the Suffrage resolution, but after the audience had heard Miss Gladys Pott Mrs. Swanwick's resolution was defeated by an overwhelming majority.

Anti-Suffrage Campaign in Devon.

East Devon.—On March 5th, 6th, 7th and 8th, highly successful meetings were held in South Devon, in which officials of the East Devon Branch very actively interested themselves. The Rt. Hon. Sir John Kennaway, Bart., C.B. (President of the Branch) was the Chairman of a crowded meeting, held in the Church Institute, Ottery St. Mary, on March 5th. Mrs. Greatbatch and Mrs. Lane, who were the speakers, were enthusiastically received, and at the close of the meeting were given a cordial vote of thanks. On the motion of Sir Ernest Satow, seconded by Mr. Rennell Coleridge, a hearty vote of thanks was also accorded the Chairman, Sir John Kennaway briefly responding.

Another very interesting meeting was that held at Exmouth, in the Temperance Hall, on March 6th. The Rev. Dr. Way presided, and addresses were given by Mrs. Greatbatch and Mrs. Lane. The vote of thanks to the speakers and Chairman was proposed by the Rev. Sub-Dean Martin, and seconded by Dr. H. Martin. So convincing were the arguments of the speakers that no less than eighty adherents were gained for our League, and the resolution was carried by a very large majority.

Mrs. Greatbatch and Mr. Arthur Pott were the speakers at a largely attended meeting at Sidmouth on March 7th. The Manor Hall was packed, and Sir Ernest Satow made a brief speech from the chair. A telegram from Major Morrison-Bell, M.P. for the Honiton Division (who was previously pledged to support the Conciliation Bill) was read, Major Morrison-Bell saying, that in consequence of the recent suffragist disturbances, and a study of the leading speeches made at our Albert Hall meeting, he now intended to vote against Woman Suffrage. This message was received with the greatest enthusiasm, and the audience carried the Anti-Suffrage resolution by a very large majority.

At Exeter, on March 8th, Mr. C. T. K. Roberts, a town councillor and ex-mayor of the city, presided over a crowded and sympathetic meeting. Letters of regret for absence were read from Lord Fortescue, Lord Lieutenant of the county, and Sir Thomas Acland, Bart.

Mrs. Greatbatch and Mr. Arthur Pott were given a very attentive hearing, and at the conclusion of the meeting a vote of thanks was accorded to Mrs. Lane, who was responsible for the successful organisation of the series of Devonshire meetings.

Hants. (North) (Fleet).—A very successful meeting was held in the Pinewood Hall at Fleet on March 12th. The hall, to which admission was free, was well filled, some 300 to 350 persons being present. Mrs. Laurence Currie took the chair, and Miss Gladys Pott gave an address upon the principles of Anti-Suffrage. A resolution against Woman Suffrage was then put to the meeting and passed. A notable and pleasant feature of the afternoon was that, at the end of the proceedings, those in the audience who advocated Woman Suffrage proposed and passed a vote of thanks to Miss Pott for her speech and replies to questions from her opponents, an action which Miss Pott told them was the greatest honour she had ever received.

Hooton and Capenhurst (Cheshire).—On March 12th a drawing-room meeting was kindly given by Mrs. Wyatt, at The Priory,

Hooton, Cheshire. Mrs. Maggs was the speaker, and the room was quite full, and many more people who wished to be present could not be accommodated. Nearly everyone present joined the League.

Leicester.—A very animated discussion took place between the members of the Leicester Parliamentary Debating Society, in the Memorial Hall, Leicester, on February 16th. After some nine or ten speeches for and against had been heard, a resolution against Votes for Women was well carried.

Leyton.—At a debate arranged by the Leyton Liberal Political Committee, and held on March 6th, at the Leyton Liberal Club, Mr. A. Maconachie proved an admirable opponent to the extraordinary arguments of Miss Nina Boyle. Mr. E. J. Davey presided over a crowded meeting. It is not remarkable, in view of Miss Boyle's statement that "she would not repudiate or apologise for those responsible for the window smashing, neither did she or her colleagues feel ashamed of them," that the sympathies of the audience were with Mr. Maconachie!

Mr. A. Maconachie debated very successfully with Mr. Theodore Gugenheim, at the Newport Road Schools, on February 20th, in connection with the Leyton Central Liberal and Radical Association. The attitude of the meeting was decidedly in favour of the opinions of our League.

Manchester.—Two hundred new members have joined the Branch, and many meetings have been held. Mrs. P. W. Craven and Miss C. Moir have debated at the Prestwich Church Institute Literary Society and the Accrington Women's Co-operative Guild, on February 23rd and 24th. Miss Moir debated alone at the Cheadle Society for Women's Suffrage, and addressed the New Moston Mutual Improvement Society and the Northenden Literary Society. The results of these meetings and debates have been very satisfactory to us. On February 27th Mr. A. C. Gronno spoke to an interested audience, at the invitation of the North Division of the Manchester Liberal Federation, and on the same date a public meeting was held at the St. Clement's Schools, Urmston. The speakers were Miss Moir and Mr. W. M. C. Martin, Councillor H. Nall being in the chair. Another successful debate was that arranged by the Mellor Women's Association at Marple Bridge, Miss Moir speaking against Miss Margaret Ashton. David Thompson, Esq., was in the chair.

Many semi-social gatherings have been held during the past month, invitations being sent to sympathisers in certain of the Parliamentary Divisions. It is hoped soon to hold a meeting in each division covered by this Branch with the object of having local sub-committees to watch our interests. At each meeting so far held new members have joined and officials and working committees appointed.

These meetings have been held in North, East and South-west Manchester, North Salford and Levenshulme.

Marylebone.—The annual general meeting of the Marylebone Branch took place on March 15th, at 34, Upper Hamilton Terrace, N.W., by kind invitation of Mrs. Alexander Scott. In the absence of Lady George Hamilton, the chair was taken by the Dowager Lady Hastings. The reports of the Hon. Treasurer and Hon. Secretary showed that the Branch was in a satisfactory condition and working well. The Executive

Committee for the year was elected. Mrs. Alexander Scott retires from the treasurer-ship in favour of Miss Emily Luck. After the business meeting a most interesting address was given by Mr. Rowland Whitehead, K.C.

Mayfair and St. George's Branch.—The Countess Dowager of Ancaster presided over a meeting held at Claridge's Hotel, on Friday, March 22nd, for the purpose of re-organising the work of the Branch and strengthening the Committee, and to enlist interest and support in the work of the League. An Anti-Suffrage resolution was proposed and carried unanimously. It was decided that the resolution should be sent to the Rt. Hon. Alfred Lyttelton, Member for the Division, and that a deputation from the Branch should call on Mr. Lyttelton in the course of the next few days. Several new members were enrolled, and a substantial addition made to the Branch funds.

Newport.—The Hon. Secretary of the Newport Branch of the Girls' Anti-Suffrage League, Miss L. Sealy, has written to us, pointing out that the drawing-room meeting held at Chesterholme on February 17th, at the residence of Mrs. Wallis, was under the auspices of the Girls' League and not of the adult Branch. The Girls' League in Newport is doing much energetic work, and we are glad to take this opportunity of acknowledging it.

North St. Pancras.—A number of ladies attended as guests the weekly meeting of the North St. Pancras Junior Imperial Club on February 26th, at the Unionist Club, Kentish Town, to hear an address on Anti-Suffragism by Mr. A. Maconachie. Mr. Maconachie's remarks were principally a reply to a Suffrage lecture given at the Club during the previous week, and an interesting discussion followed.

Penge.—At a debate organised by the Conservative and Unionist Club on March 9th Miss Mabel Smith v. Miss Abadam, the Anti-Suffrage resolution was almost unanimously carried.

Purley and Sanderstead.—A very successful drawing-room meeting was held by the Purley and Sanderstead Branch on March 16th, by kind invitation of Mrs. Lanyon, at her residence, Red Gables, Purley Downs. Dr. Newnham presided, and Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun gave a most convincing speech. A resolution against Woman Suffrage was carried, and a large number of new members joined the League.

Scottish National Anti-Suffrage League.

Glasgow.—The annual meeting of the Glasgow Branch of the Scottish National Anti-Suffrage League was held on February 28th in the Christian Institute, and there was a large attendance.

Mrs. John M. MacLeod, who presided, read a telegram from Lady Glasgow expressing regret at her inability to be present, and wishing the meeting every success. Mrs. MacLeod, in the course of an interesting speech, said that they were justified in looking back over the past year and feeling greatly cheered and encouraged by what had been accomplished. People hitherto quiet were arousing themselves for the first time to the great danger to the country, and they must all make an effort to keep that feeling alive and do their utmost to prevent the feminine vote becoming the dominant power in the State and Empire. Mr. A. D. Ferguson also spoke, and the reports read were ample

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and Mrs. Harold Norris gave most interesting addresses. The Anti-Suffrage resolution was carried by a good majority.

West Hants.—A very successful meeting was held at Echinswell on February 7th, at the house of Mr. and Mrs. Lionel Wasey, who kindly placed their drawing-room at the disposal of the Branch. About eighty people attended, and Miss Mabel Smith spoke very ably on the reasons why it would be disastrous to the Nation to admit women to the Suffrage. Over thirty new members were added to the Branch at the conclusion of the meeting. Tea was afterwards served to those present.

Wimbledon.—At the residence of the Hon. Mrs. Van Zandt, The Chestnuts House, Wimbledon Common, a most successful drawing-room meeting was held on February 23rd, Mrs. Gladstone Solomon and Mr. A. MacCallum Scott both giving unusually interesting addresses.

Woodford.—The Woodford Branch held an interesting meeting on February 17th in the Woodford Green Lecture Hall, when Mr. E. North Buxton presided over a large attendance.

Mrs. Greatbatch gave an excellent address, and Mr. J. Arthur Pott and Mr. Andrew Johnstone, J.P., also spoke exceedingly well. The Anti-Suffrage resolution was carried by a large majority.

Yarmouth.—A very keenly contested debate took place at the Assembly Hall, Yarmouth, on February 10th, in connection with the local Central Liberal Club. Miss Mabel Smith opposed Miss Leonard Tyson, and interest was strongly on the side of the Anti-Suffragists.

York.—A number of Suffragists attended a meeting of our York Branch, held in the Exhibition Buildings, York, on March 8th, with the deliberate intention of creating disorder, and our speakers only succeeded in making themselves heard amidst constant interruptions and noisy outcries. Mrs. H. Norris effectively produced silence for a time by asking "if the Suffragists intended to deny the right of free speech."

Miss Edith Milner was in the chair, in the unavoidable absence of Mr. John Massie. Colonel Sandiland and Mr. C. A. Thompson also spoke.

A Debate.—Mr. Jesse Argyle (President of the Political and Educational Club) was the Chairman at a debate between Mr. H. B. Samuels and Mrs. Richardson at the Mildmay Radical Club on February 21st. The debate was arranged by the Political and Educational Council, and the working men, who mostly composed the audience, showed the deepest interest in Mr. Samuels' Anti-Suffrage arguments.

Mr. Samuels has addressed open-air meetings at Edgware Road, Walham Green, Hyde Park, and Highbury Corner, and many other places in the neighbourhood of London during February and March. At Bradford, Leeds, Wakefield, Doncaster, March, and Nottingham, Mr. Samuels has, during March, addressed large gatherings and held debates. Many new members have joined throughout these districts.

LIST OF LEAFLETS.

36. Registration of Women Occupiers. Price 1s. per 100.
37. Why Women Cannot Rule: Mr. J. R. Tolmie's Reply to Mr. L. Housman's Pamphlet. Price 5s. per 100.
38. Substance and Shadow. By the Honourable Mrs. Evelyn Cecil. Price 5s. per 1,000.
39. Against Votes for Women (Points for Electors). 4s. per 1,000.
40. Woman and Manhood Suffrage. Price 3s. 6d. per 1,000.
41. A Liberal's Standpoint: Women's Suffrage. Price 5s. per 1000.
42. Black Tuesday, November 21st, 1911. Price 5s. per 1,000.
43. Woman Suffrage: The Present Situation. By Mrs. Humphry Ward. Price 3s. 6d. per 1,000.
44. The Lord Chancellor's Speech at Albert Hall. Price 6d. per 100, 5s. per 1,000.
45. Miss Violet Markham's Speech. Price 6d. per 100, 5s. per 1,000.
46. Suffragist Fallacies. Price 3s. 6d. per 1,000.
47. Most Women do not desire a Vote. Price 3s. 6d. per 1,000.
48. Some Words of Wisdom.

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(Continued on page 84).

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(In affiliation with the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage.)

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THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW.

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

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THE NATIONAL LEAGUE FOR OPPOSING WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

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The next issue of The Anti-Suffrage Review will appear on May 1st.

The Editor will be glad to receive contributions to the Review, and payment will be made, if necessary, for those published. Articles should not exceed 1,000 words in length; they need not deal with the Suffrage question, but should have some bearing on women's interests.

NEW BRANCHES.

The following new Branches have recently been opened:—

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THE LAW AND THE WOMAN.

"Rebel not. The things worth winning can never be won by strife. The odds are against us ever when we are at odds with life."
"What is won or spared in battle may in battle be lost or slain; But the things that are won by waiting can never be lost again."
She heard it and paused and listened; knew it to be the law; Laughed in her folly and blindness, and shackled her spirit with war;
Fought for conditions that were not; struck at conditions that were, Dreaming that all surrenders to them that shall greatly dare;
Laughed as she heard them murmur—those wise in the ways of life— "Rebel not, for things worth winning can never be won by strife."
For patience to her seemed folly; battle was in her blood; A new and a wayward passion bore her on like a flood.
"What is it cometh by waiting? What, oh ye Prophets, has come?" She shouted her scornful challenge, but the lips that had spoken were dumb.

* * * * *

The days of her folly and blindness shall pass with their toil and their fret;
The challenge she flung to the Prophets remaining unanswered yet.
But she shall obtain her answer in different guise than by word, When (Experience understanding what Ignorance only heard)
The good that shall come by waiting, no longer delayed by war, Is safe in the hands of women who hear and obey the law.

LEONORA LOCKHART.

THE CONCILIATION BILL— AND AFTER.

THE defeat of the Conciliation Bill has helped to clear the air. Instead of a mischievous and dishonest measure, that sought to throw dust in the eyes of the moderates while smoothing the path for the extremists, we have now an issue that offers no scope for self-deception. So long as the fate of the Conciliation Bill hung in the balance, there could be little clear thinking in Parliament or the country on the question of Woman Suffrage. Interests overlapped; pledges had to be redeemed against better judgment; the whole business was inextricably tangled. Although our opponents may seek to explain away the majority of fourteen against the Bill by a score of theories, they would have had to admit that a different verdict would in turn have been based on a variety of fortuitous circumstances. Now, by common consent, the Bill is dead, and it has died, as it deserved to die, unwept, unhonoured, and unsung. With it, we trust, will lie buried all those rash promises that were wrung from unwary candidates at the crucial moment of an election, or from unwilling Members in some other political predicament. The grave constitutional question that was behind the Conciliation Bill is no

longer to be decided by an attempt to adjust a nice balance between conflicting emotions. Quibbles and deceits have now to be abandoned, for the issue before the country is Adult Woman Suffrage, and no specious half-way measure to lure an unthinking public on to an unrealized but inevitable goal.

On a clear issue it will prove a simpler task to marshal the contending forces. Those who are opposed to Woman Suffrage need no longer stultify their principles on the mistaken plea that a limited franchise might prove harmless, while there would still be time to prevent the universal vote. Suffragists have been driven from the cover of the Conciliation Bill, and may be seen hurrying to and fro in the open, searching out likely ground for a fresh determined assault. Both sections have declared for the full measure of female enfranchisement. The militants, wholly unrepentant, are prepared for a frontal attack, and have announced that "there is now time to make a vigorous fight for a measure which shall be initiated by the Government, and shall guarantee complete equality to women under present and future franchise laws." Non-militants, through the executive committee of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, have declared it to be their first object "to strengthen the support of a woman suffrage amendment to

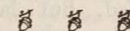
the promised Government Reform Bill," adding threateningly, "the committee feel that the responsibility for ensuring the passage of such an amendment is laid upon those who opposed the Conciliation Bill, because they preferred a wider measure."

The situation that presents itself to Anti-Suffragists is thus obvious. On April 2nd, the Prime Minister, in answer to a question, repeated his promise that the contemplated Government measure of electoral reform would be so drafted as to be capable of amendment in the direction of including the franchise for women, and that, if the present House of Commons chose to include women as voters in the Franchise Bill, the Government would not hold it to be its duty to oppose such amendment. There are also before Parliament two private measures dealing with the same question; one in the name of Sir W. Byles, "to establish a single franchise at all elections, and thereby to abolish University representation, and to remove the disabilities of women"; the other put forward by the Labour Party, stipulating that "Every person not under 21 years of age (whether male or female, married or unmarried) . . . shall be entitled to be registered as a voter for a Parliamentary election." Against one and all of these measures Anti-Suffragists must concentrate their efforts.

NOTES AND NEWS.

The Anti-Suffrage Review.

It has long been apparent that a monthly publication does not do justice to the steady growth of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage, nor is it adequate to meet the demands on the space of an organ devoted to the Anti-Suffrage cause. In due course, therefore; we hope to be able to announce that arrangements have been made for a more frequent issue of THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW. The last REVIEW was published on the day of the Second Reading of the Conciliation Bill, and it was only possible to include in a certain number of the copies that had not been issued a one-page Supplement dealing briefly with the defeat of that measure. To allow a whole month to elapse before the subject could be referred to again was felt to be inconsistent with our contention that the present moment—the period between the defeat of the Conciliation Bill and the introduction of the Government's Reform Bill—is one of critical importance to the cause that the League has at heart. Accordingly, an *interim* issue of THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW makes its appearance with this number.

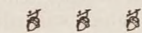


Co-operation.

THE special attention of the many thousands of the League's supporters is called to the impending changes in the publication of the Anti-Suffrage organ. Not the least of the disadvantages of a monthly Review was the fact that subscribers and others were often deterred by the long intervals between the issues from contributing to its pages, and felt compelled to seek the hospitality of other columns. A more frequent issue, it is hoped, will remove this drawback. To make its pages a reflex of the widespread opposition to the Woman Suffrage movement and at the same time to bring home to the general reader the necessity for testifying, however passively, to that opposition will be the continued purpose of the REVIEW. The policy of the League, however, is also constructive, and in order to set forth this side of its activity these pages will always be open to contributions dealing with those aspects of public life in which women's work, beyond the limits of the home, finds its fullest and best expression.

Mr. Asquith's Support.

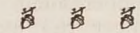
IN searching for explanations of their defeat the supporters of the Conciliation Bill, we are glad to see, do not under-rate the service that Mr. Asquith has rendered the Anti-Suffrage cause. "The Prime Minister's active opposition alone," avers the Women's Social and Political Union, "was more than enough to account for the hostile majority of 14 votes." Few who heard, or have read, the speech delivered by Mr. Asquith on the Second Reading of the Bill can fail to appreciate the encouragement that his carefully reasoned and eloquent utterance gave to the opponents of the measure. It was spoken with all the tense feeling that the Prime Minister knows so well how to use on occasion, and we can well imagine that to many of his audience it threw into rather crude relief the lack of consideration that some of his colleagues had shown to Mr. Asquith's position in their handling of the Suffrage question. It is true that he has made a startling concession to the enemy in offering Government support to a Woman Suffrage amendment to the promised Reform Bill. The effect of that pledge cannot yet be gauged, and Anti-Suffragists can only hope that it will not result in the betrayal of the fort, in one of the outposts of which Mr. Asquith himself has put up such a stalwart defence.



Teachers in Conference.

IT would be affectation on our part not to regard the decision of the Hull Conference of the National Union of Teachers as yet another convincing proof that the voice of the nation is against Woman Suffrage. Here was the happiest of hunting grounds for the Suffragists, and they had made the most of their opportunities. A carefully organised campaign had been carried on throughout the year with a view to capturing the Conference, and it was a campaign that could not well be countered by Anti-Suffragists. The latter had to rely mainly on the good sense of the individual teacher that would find expression at the Conference. Right thinking has again prevailed, for the Suffrage motion was defeated by 36,225 votes against 22,284. But while we do not wish to surrender any of the advantage that the Hull decision gives the Anti-Suffrage cause, we welcome it no less for the sake of the National Union of Teachers and for the honour

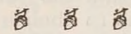
of their calling. A more insidious attempt to degrade that splendid profession by making it a mere pawn in the Suffragist political campaign could not be imagined. It should open still further the eyes of the country to the viciousness of a movement that tries to masquerade under the high-sounding names of citizenship and equality.



"War to the Knife."

IT is not necessary to be an adherent of any "milk and water" school of thought to have brought home to one the reflection that the Suffragist movement threatens to abolish once and for all the old conceptions of woman's pacific mission in life. We have already seen how the moment of a grave national crisis has been utilised for the attempt to force Female Suffrage through an unwilling Parliament upon an antagonistic country. If ever an occasion presented itself to the women who claim that their voice is not heard in the nation's counsels to promote the national welfare, it was during the period immediately preceding and following the declaration of the coal strike. *There* was an opportunity for substantiating the contention—if, indeed, it were capable of substantiation—that the nation is neglecting to make use of more than half of its collective intelligence. But what was the Suffragist contribution to the alleviation of that crisis? First and foremost, the organised breaking of shop windows; secondly, clamorous insistence for the vote from platform and in Parliament. It is Suffragist logic to meet these charges with the retort, "Did Anti-Suffragists stop the strike?"; even as taunts are levelled at Miss Violet Markham because Anti-Suffragists have not secured wider representation of women on Local Government bodies. But the answer is obvious. Anti-Suffragists are not complaining of the lack of opportunity for woman's activities in public life; they accept the openings that already exist, and they know that when this ill-advised movement for the dangerous extension of the Parliamentary vote has been suppressed, there will be more time for the right type of woman to give her attention to the opportunities that exist. During the coal strike Anti-Suffragists have been working on the very lines that, according to their contention, belong properly to woman's sphere in such matters—the lines of

meeting unostentatiously, but no less effectively, the distress caused by the strike. Married or unmarried, as Mrs. Somervell and Miss Markham remind us, woman has the mothering work of the world to do. Compare with this the very essence of the Suffragist movement which, as the first of its measures, has ransacked the glossary of military terms to keep itself before the public eye. Its temperament knows no change, whatever the national need. The latest war bulletin comes from Ireland, where, we learn, the Irish Women's Franchise League has made a declaration of "war to the knife" against the Irish Nationalist Party.



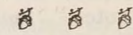
The Boycott.

"Verily, verily, travellers have seen many monstrous idols in many countries: but no human eyes have ever seen more daring, gross, and shocking images of the Divine nature, than we creatures of the dust make in our own likenesses, of our own bad passions.—LITTLE DORRIT."

—Charles Dickens.

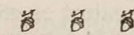
It is difficult to say whether His Majesty's Government or the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage ought to be the more alarmed by the last and most terrible fiat of the Suffragist camp. What the maddest militancy has failed to wrest from a hostile public, what threats and appeals have failed to cajole from a distracted Government, is now to be achieved by the sight of Mrs. Despard without a hat. The Women's Freedom League is to be congratulated on the statesmanship that directs its policy, which is thoroughly in keeping with the wisdom underlying its origin and its objects. There is some uncertainty regarding the numbers of the Women's Freedom League, but we can well imagine the anxiety prevailing in the millinery world lest the annual output of a score or more million hats should be diminished by a few thousand self-denying Suffragists. Then comes the boycott of seaside places. Bourne-mouth, Eastbourne and Hastings are to be deprived of the presence of a hundred hatless Suffragists. If it were possible to add to the attractions of these popular resorts, Mrs. Despard's *mot d'ordre* will have provided the method. It would be difficult to imagine a more delightful accompaniment to a holiday than the certainty of being freed from the Suffragist craze. May we hope that the Suffragist Societies will announce, at as early a date as possible, the seaside places from which they propose to remove their

troublesome presence? The only interests that are likely to be perturbed by the announcement are the newspapers that have taken the wrong side in this controversy. One, indeed, is already alarmed, and has been eagerly canvassing the views of "prominent Suffragists and others." It can reassure itself that the true interests of seaside Britain are not likely to be affected.



The Future of the Child.

In a German book on the question of women's rights, "*Die Anmassungen der Frauenbewegung*," by Karl Ert, one aspect of the Suffrage movement is touched upon which has hitherto escaped the notice, we believe, of English observers. The author, as we learn from a letter from Madame de Longgarde to the *Outlook*, sets out to prove with masterly clearness and force that, if women attain the Suffragist ideal, it is the child that will, in the first line, suffer; for all the qualities of the feminine mind—even its very defects—have been cunningly calculated by nature to meet childish needs. The more these qualities become modified—as they are certainly capable of being modified by contrary habits—the more successful a woman is in assimilating man's fashion of thought (as, again, she must do in order to compete with him), the greater failure will she be as a mother, the less will she be suited for what will always remain her supreme mission—the upbringing of the child. Karl Ert continues: "Women have set out to conquer for themselves a personality, and are thus on the road to barter that personality—which as loving wives and mothers they possessed—for an unattainable phantom, a senseless travesty, and not only do they ruin their own personality, but that of the man is involved in the ruin. In naïve ignorance the axe is laid to the root of all culture—masculine initiative. Women cannot and should not act and debate with men; that would be the end. But what shall I say of those degenerates of the masculine sex, the 'feminists,' who likewise completely overlook the significance of male initiative, and out of the depth of their blindness support the women's demands?"



Infant Mortality.

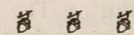
THE reduction of the infant death-rate is held out by Suffragists as one of the aims in view to be achieved

by the vote—and, the public is asked to infer, by the vote alone. A correspondent in the *Daily Telegraph* recalls the well-known fact that the infant death-rate in the principal French cities and departments has been reduced more than one-third within a single decade as the result of the good work done by *Consultations des Nourrissons*, whereby mothers are freely assisted and instructed in the care of their own infants, and he adds, what is perhaps little known, that the German infantile death-rate has been reduced one-fourth in five years by like means.

In 1905 Berlin followed the example which had been given by Paris first in the year 1894, and there are now 251 German "infant care stations" open in 165 towns of the empire. Berlin has seven large municipal "infant care stations" open daily, and the annual expenditure on each averages £2,400. The staff of each school consists of a senior physician with several assistants, the "sister-in-charge," a number of trained nurses, and attendants. In 1909 the babies brought to Berlin "stations" numbered 13,494, being nearly 30 per cent. of all born alive, and 156,510 consultations were given, with 38,266 visits to homes.

When these "stations" were first established 60 per cent. of the babies were bottle-fed, but last year the percentage was only 35, and the mortality among the children has been reduced from 8.4 to 4 per cent. During the same period the infant death-rate of the city has been reduced from 20.6 to 15.6. The working mothers of Germany are now protected from employment statutorily during a period of two weeks before and six weeks after childbirth, and the sick insurance fund must compensate compulsorily for loss of wages all who have been insured for six months, and entitles to free medical attendance, with nursing, either at home or in hospital, at choice.

Both in Germany and France, as in Great Britain, great strides have been made in reducing the infant death-rate, and this good work is being and can be done entirely without reference to the possession of votes by women.



Suffragettes and America.

In connection with the report that Miss Christabel Pankhurst has fled to the United States, it is of interest to note that the American Press claims to have discovered that all Suffragettes who have suffered imprisonment belong

to a class excluded from the United States by the immigration laws. The language of the statute, it is pointed out, is clear and mandatory, and the immigration authorities are being invited to "take note." Visitors to America are familiar with the questions now put to those who intend to set foot on American soil, and in due time we may expect yet another "Are you or have you ever been a Suffragette?" We cannot pretend to feel otherwise than disappointed at the proposed application of this embargo on certain Suffragists. America's powers of absorption are so great that we had hoped that there would be a general exodus after the leader who, in that case, would not be lost but merely gone before. Such emigrants would have the satisfaction of knowing that here they would be missed—but not regretted.

THE NATIONAL UNION OF TEACHERS.

THE HULL CONFERENCE.

(FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.)

THE tale of Suffragist disasters continues to grow. On the thirteenth day after the rejection by the House of Commons of the Conciliation Bill, an amendment at the Hull Conference of Teachers, known as "the Previous Question," the number of which on the agenda paper was 13, was carried by a majority of over 13,000, and the attempt to saddle the National Union of Teachers with a declaration in favour of Woman Suffrage was defeated. Thirteen seems to be an unlucky number for our opponents.

It may seem strange to the layman—unacquainted with Suffragist tactics—that the programme of the National Union of Teachers, overburdened as it always is with questions of vital educational interest, should have been loaded with a question in which the public would be far better pleased that the teachers of their children should not meddle; but it would appear that the Suffragists are under the impression that they can carry out a revolution by means of a resolution, and they lose no opportunity of endeavouring to brand upon every kind of organisation the magic device—"Votes for Women."

On paper, they claim to prove that many millions of the nation desire Woman Suffrage. Perhaps their recent experiences in the House of Commons, and at the Hull Conference, may cause them to reconsider the value of artificial majorities achieved by wire-pulling and impurity. Patience and grace in the hour of defeat are not conspicuous among Suffragists; but they are virtues which have to be cultivated in order to carry on any campaign which is really sound and great. It may be doubted also if the finesse which so often characterises the tactics of our opponents really pays in the long run.

The resolution which Miss Isabel Cleghorn proposed at the Hull Conference was evidently drawn with a view to achieving the

maximum appearance of colourless innocence. It ran as follows:—

"That this Conference expresses its sympathy with those members of the National Union of Teachers who desire to possess and exercise the Parliamentary franchise, but because they are women, and for that reason alone, are by law debarred from it."

The innocence is, perhaps, rather over-done. The pathetic appeal contained in the sentence, "Because they are women, and for that reason alone, are by law debarred from it," is not a very candid admission of the fundamental differences between the sexes, which render the proposal to grant the Parliamentary franchise to women such a perilous, and as many people believe, disastrous experiment. Miss Cleghorn did not take very high ground; she was unequal to the task of showing the propriety of introducing the topic of Woman Suffrage at the Conference, and the analogies which she brought forward in support of her action were hollow. Miss Cleghorn is an ex-President of the National Union of Teachers who is universally respected, and it is difficult to understand that she believes in such clap-trap as her contention that, because the man who digs her garden has a vote, and because she has not a vote, that therefore she is classed among paupers, lunatics, and infants. We then had the familiar catchword about taxation and representation, the historical origin and application of which Miss Cleghorn evidently does not know. There was some curiosity as to whether Miss Cleghorn would condemn militant methods, but her only allusion to them was frivolous, and we waited in vain for a practical or serious repudiation of the scandalous scenes which have been borne on militancy.

It fell to the lot of Mr. A. E. Cook, of London, to move the "Previous Question"—a task which he carried out with trenchant and uncompromising vigour. His indictment of the Executive Committee for allowing the question of Woman Suffrage to appear on their agenda evidently interpreted the feelings of a large majority of the Conference. His allusion to militant tactics drew from Miss Palmer the protest that the subject under discussion was one of principle and not of tactics; Miss Palmer is evidently endowed either with great nerve or with complete innocence of any sense of humour, the resolution upon which she had set her heart being bare-faced tactics on the part of the Suffragists, as Mrs. Burgwin pointed out in her speech when she said that—

"She knew the tactics of the Suffragists. They wanted the Union to pass this resolution that they might boast throughout the country that they had this great body of teachers added to those supporting their movement."

Mrs. Burgwin's speech was the feature of the debate. When she rose to address the meeting she met with a reception which indicated the expectation that she would succeed in interpreting the views of the great majority of the audience. When she sat down, she was greeted with an ovation which showed that the expectation had been satisfied to the full.

Mrs. Burgwin (Director of Special Schools to the London County Council) said: First let me express my regret that I have to oppose any motion which is put forward by my dear friend, Miss Cleghorn. But there are times and occasions when it would

be mere cowardice not to express freely and fully one's own opinions. And so I stand here to-day to oppose the resolution which has been submitted to you. Why do I do this? Because, I tell you frankly, all the arguments, the sophistries of the Suffrage associations dissolve when I think of the actualities of life as I know them. (Cheers, and a voice: "Traitor.") I am sorry that that lady in the gallery apparently finds a difficulty in hearing me. It is so often said that the thing is logical. Very often I have had to oppose questions which are logical, because commonsense did not support them. Now, here let us be perfectly frank. It is no argument to say that because a man has a vote a woman should have a vote. Who are the women who are to have the vote? My colleagues, I am told, I can only say that I hope that during the next year some of you may become happy wives. (Cheers.) I want to point out to you that immediately you start your married life you start with a grievance; for you will say to the man who is your husband: "There! see what I have to give up. I am no longer considered fit to have a vote." So often it is said—Man is man, woman is woman. There is positively no argument in that; it is a fact. There is a side of this question which I should like to discuss with my young friends, but I cannot discuss it here; it is a sex question this. Sometimes the friends of Woman Suffrage tell me that in Finland the women have the vote. Good gracious, you cannot compare Finland with the City of Hull! Often and often I have been asked: Don't you believe in the equality of the sexes. I believe neither in the equality of the sexes nor in the superiority or inferiority of man or woman. I say that both, of course, are absolutely necessary to civilised society. (Laughter.) Miss Cleghorn told us that the Conference of the National Union of Teachers had discussed many political questions. Granted, but every one of those political questions concerned education. I say the giving the vote to women does not concern this National Union of Teachers.

I think of two neighbours of mine, two maiden ladies, whose father worked hard and provided them with the money they now spend. I go to them sometimes to ask them to vote for So-and-so. I was a worker to get the votes for women for the London School Board and the London County Council. When I ask them "Will you vote," they reply: "Now, is not the rate up a halfpenny, Mrs. Burgwin?" They know nothing of politics. It is not their fault. ("Why not?") They have no man at home to instruct them in them. (Loud cheers and laughter.) In the very next house there is a woman, the mother of six children, managing her house, her servants, and her husband; and when I think that, if I was a party to giving the vote, that I should give it to the two and refuse it to the one who is much more capable of exercising it, for she has a greater stake in the country—I decline to do so. I cannot consent to giving the vote to just a few women.

Then, too, I have a personal grievance. We have a Government which would have carried out social reforms, reforms that are burning to be dealt with. (Cries of "Who is introducing politics now?") And that Government has been hampered and hindered by this question of women's votes.

("Shame.") At a time when men's passions might have been easily aroused, it was for my sex to preach "Peace, peace, peace!" (A voice: "Peace with honour, yes.") But they went about and disgraced the sex to which I belong. (Loud cheers.) Here let me tell the Conference a story of fact. I asked the Right Hon. John Burns to come down to the Teachers' Orphanage to the Old Boys' reunion to distribute the prizes to our boys, because I thought he could tell them how he had struggled and worked, and then they would see the proud position to which he had attained. I was obliged to ask him not to come, because I did not want our boys to see any row between men and women. Then we had floating over our Orphanage the Union Jack of England. It was cut down and the flag torn and trampled upon by women—and that on an occasion when, surely, we were bound, as teachers, to set the highest example. ("Shame.") And so it is, ladies and gentlemen, because my sex, my womanhood, my motherhood, convince me that this is not the time to give the vote to women, that I ask you to-day to say emphatically that in this National Union of Teachers we do not wish to waste time on these pious opinions. We will not pass this resolution, for what is the nature of it? I know the tactics of the Suffragettes. Their object will be to go and boast throughout the country that they have added this great body of teachers to the number of those supporting their cause. (Cheers.)

The voting resulted as follows:—

For the "Previous Question" ..	36,225
Against	22,284
Majority	13,941

BOOK REVIEWS.

Woman Adrift. By Harold Owen. (Stanley Paul & Co. 6s.)

To Mr. Harold Owen belongs the merit of having first put the case against Woman Suffrage in a form lucidly exhibiting its connections and its consequences. Hitherto we have had booklets and pamphlets, many of them excellent, but for the most part dealing with sections of the subject rather than treating it as a whole. Mr. Owen, on the other hand, digs down to the foundations of the Suffragists' claims and investigates the justice, wisdom, and propriety of their demands stone by stone as the building rises, until he reaches the summit, that full-blown feminism of which the "vote" is only one of the intermediate stages. For, just as a Socialist is almost invariably a Suffragist, though "votes for women" is only an ingredient in his programme, so the Feminist is necessarily a Suffragist, though, in this case also, Woman Suffrage is merely subsidiary to the fuller consummation.

The specially satisfying and convincing part of what Mr. Owen has set himself to do is his clear and incisive demonstration, out of the mouths of Suffragists themselves, of the morass of troubles—social and political—into which the extension of the Parliamentary franchise to women would sooner or later plunge society and the nation at large. He shows that if women are to receive complete equality with men, then,

of course, any privilege now accorded to women must go, and women must be self-dependent. As says Mrs. Billington Greig: "The new demands and the old condition cannot subsist together. But the abolition of the old condition must place upon the very women who make the new demands a heavy burden—the burden of personal economic independence." Mr. Owen points out that the "old guard" of the Suffragists try to escape from this dilemma by the expedient of "Wages for wives." But it is only an escape out of the frying-pan into the fire. The wife under the present régime they brand as a parasite, but to transform her into a claimant for wages is to force upon her the cry: "Make me as one of thy hired servants," and to deal a deadly blow at marriage and wifehood. The last state of that woman would be worse than the first. The feminist position which is prepared honestly to impose upon woman the burden of self-dependence in all respects equally and similarly with man—even to the maintenance of her children, if she has any—has, at all events, the merit of courage; but, as Mr. Owen irrefutably proves, it would destroy not only individual happiness but, in the end, the race itself. His conclusion is that "the only difference between the Suffragist and the Feminist is that the Suffragist is the Feminist minus her intellectual honesty and perception."

To a writer of Mr. Owen's insight and literary facility it is child's play to demolish the well-worn Suffragist arguments with which the speeches and literature of that school have made us already too familiar: such as that "the vote affects wages" and that "taxation and representation must go together." He offers a concrete and recent illustration of the truth that votes and wages have no connection in the railway strike of last year, when "the rise of wages conceded by the railway companies had no more to do with the fact that their employees had votes than with the fact that they had hats. Indeed, the whole economic uprising of that summer showed very vividly not only the power behind the vote in one direction, but the power apart from the vote in another direction that men possess."

We are glad to see that Mr. Owen lays great stress on the impropriety of the present Parliament presuming to deal with a measure so revolutionary as a Woman Suffrage Bill. As he remarks, there would be an "ignoble irony in a Parliament which owes its existence to its determination to uphold the 'will of the people' being prepared to ignore it upon a matter more vital to it than any it could touch." "If," Mr. Owen continues, "it is said this is a woman's question only, or even mainly, why is a Parliament of men going to decide it without making any attempt to find out what women think about it?" And since this is the first time on record when it has been proposed to give the vote to a section of the population many (possibly most) of whom are actively and acutely hostile to the reception of it, Mr. Owen's demand that some attempt should be made to find out the opinion of women before the vote is imposed upon them is, surely, worthy of consideration.

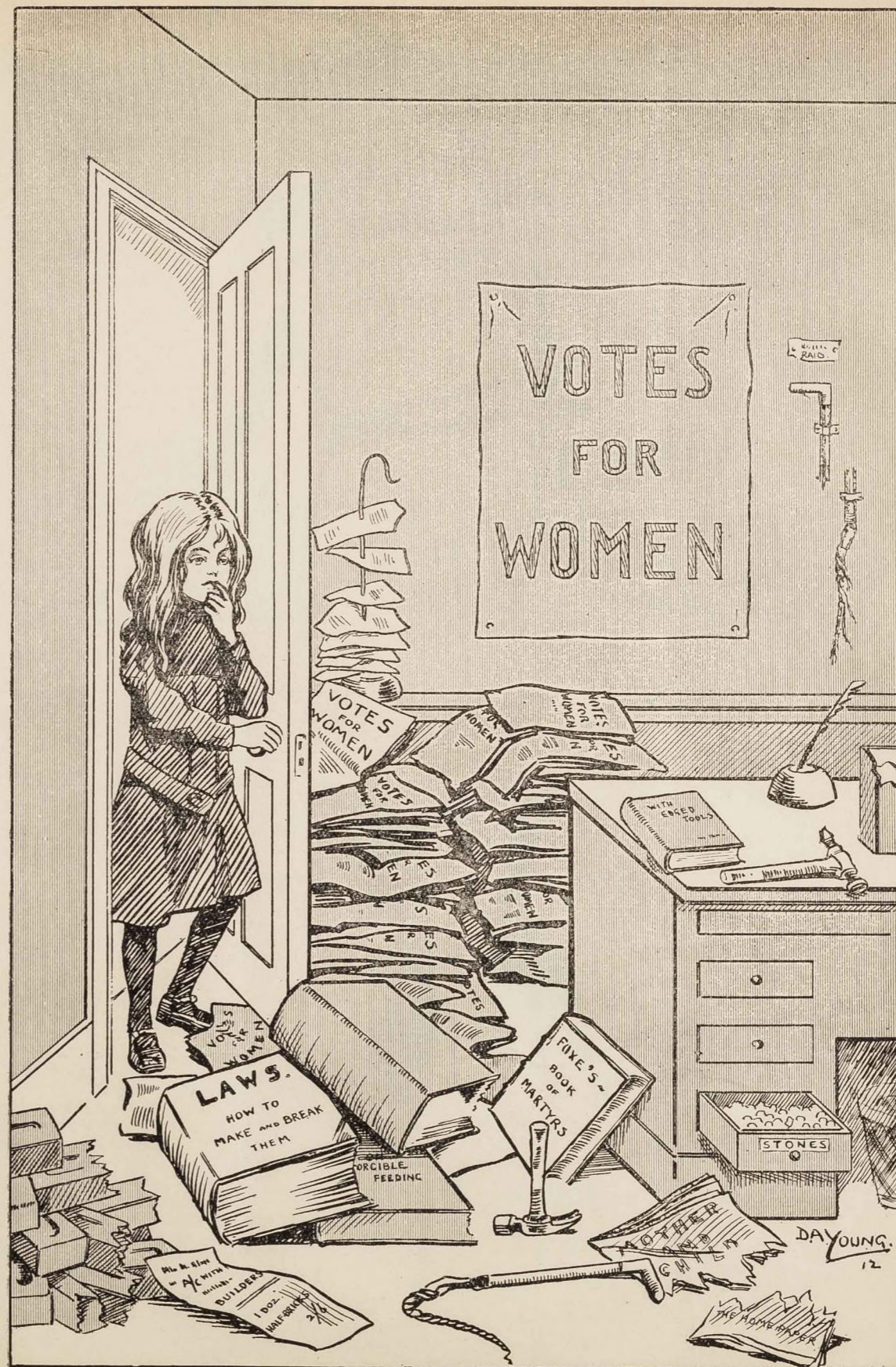
If, among our warm acknowledgments, we may offer a word of criticism, we think that Mr. Owen is too sweeping in depreciating the activities of woman outside "the price-less work" within and connected with the home. No doubt, as he says, the work of

the State could go on without her; but we believe that the State would suffer serious loss by the withdrawal of women from the administrative, as distinguished from the governmental, function. We cannot ignore the fact that if woman's work had been severely confined to the home and its immediate relations, we should have lost the beneficial activities of Miss Nightingale and Mrs. Fry, as well as of the women who have proved their administrative capacity in connection with education and the Poor Law. Mr. Owen has done marked service in showing that opposition to political government by women is entirely consistent with an exalted idea of womanhood, but we think he would have done well not to leave his approval of administrative activity so much to the inference of his readers.

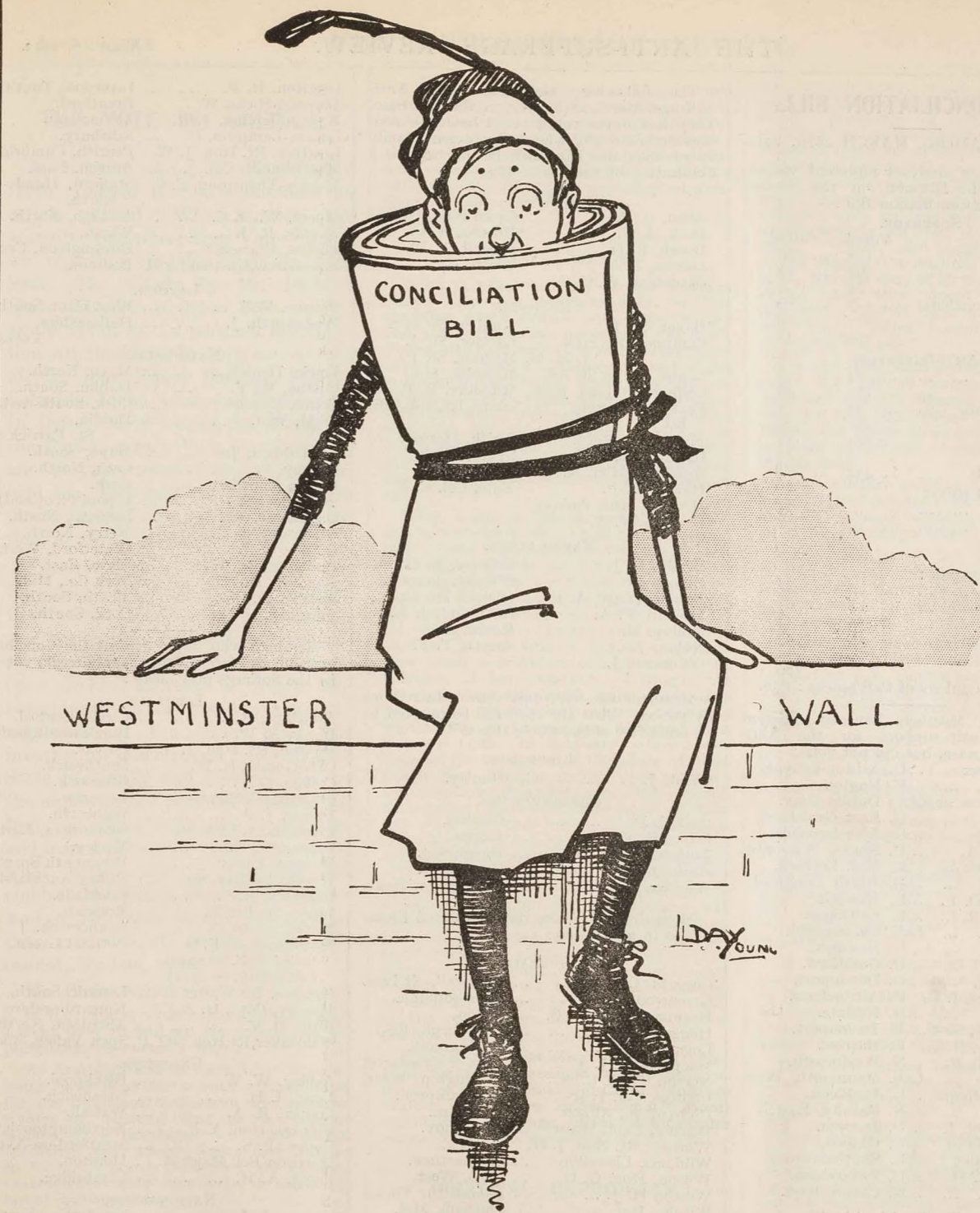
"WOMEN, AND THE NATION."

Britannia Poems. By Hedley Vicars Storey. (Shelley Book Agency, Oxford.)

The greater part of this volume of verse is devoted to the apotheosis of patriotic Socialism or, rather, Socialistic patriotism. Mr. H. V. Storey is enthusiastically enamoured of an abstract conception which he calls England, Britain, Britannia, &c.; but for everything connected with the geographical, social, or political entity that we understand by these names he has nothing but contempt and malediction. "England's half in hell," because Queen Britannia (to adapt our poet's forceful imagery) suffers from a toothache or a sore finger for half an hour. Patriotism that cannot look behind and ahead is jaundiced egotism. Towards industrial tyranny Mr. Storey is particularly bitter, but in the one sphere in which he shows himself to us as an employer, he does not scruple to subject a willing, apt, but withal, delicate assistant to such "sweated labour" as the following: "I am doing another preface." "If an editor wished to do an Anthology of modern poetry." "It (a book) does in prose very nearly what I would (sic) like to do in poetry." "I do not say I have got (sic) the thing (i.e., punctuation) right or have done it consistently or perfectly." These quotations are not from Mr. Storey's verses. They prepare us, however, for much lack of polish in the body of the book. Inspiration is the essence of poetry, but the technical side of the art cannot be altogether neglected. A writer who can perpetrate the atrocities quoted above has to be particularly careful that he does not overlook crudities in language and prosody that will jar upon the more sensitive ear of the average person who takes up a book of poems. Mr. Storey's verse is forceful and full of life, but sadly uneven. He promises us "Songs of Earth and Sky," and we cannot help thinking that he will be happier in such a subject than in his political diatribes. We may be prejudiced, but to our mind in the poem entitled "Women and the Nation" our author is at his best. He is, it is true, opposed to Woman Suffrage, but he pleads his cause on the ground of the loftiness of woman's natural place in the world, and does not press his point with the bitterness of partisanship. The poem shows that Mr. Storey is capable of higher flights than he has achieved in the first part of the book, and it is worthy of being removed from its present context to another volume.



"NO ROOM FOR ME!"



HUMPTY DUMPTY SAT ON A WALL; HUMPTY DUMPTY HAD A GREAT FALL.

THE CONCILIATION BILL.

SECOND READING, MARCH 28TH, 1912.

The following analyses represent various features of the Division on the Second Reading of the Conciliation Bill :-

Table with columns: SUFFRAGE, Voted, Paired. Rows include Liberals, Unionists, Labour, Ind. Nationalists, ANTI-SUFFRAGE, and Totals.

Total Members of Parliament: 670.

The following Members have at different times expressed support for the Anti-Suffrage cause, but did not vote :-

Table listing names of members who supported the anti-suffrage cause but did not vote, such as Aitken, Sir Max, Baird, J. L., etc.

Table listing members who supported the 1912 Bill and previously voted Anti, such as Gardner, Ernest, and those who apparently converted to the suffrage.

The following Members voted Anti-Suffrage, March 28th, 1912, for the first time. They had never voted at all before, except those marked (*), who had previously only voted that the 1910 Bill be referred to a Committee of the whole House :

Table listing members who voted Anti-Suffrage for the first time, categorized by LIBERALS, UNIONISTS, and NATIONALISTS.

Members who have only shown their views by voting "That the 1910 Bill be referred to a Committee of the whole House" :-

Table listing members who only showed their views by voting for a committee of the whole house, such as Ward, J., Dalziel, D., etc.

Members who have never declared themselves in a Division :-

Table listing members who have never declared themselves in a division, categorized by LIBERALS, UNIONISTS, and NATIONALISTS.

Table listing members who voted against the Conciliation Bill on March 28th, 1912, but who voted for the suffrage previously.

Table listing members who voted against the Conciliation Bill on March 28th, 1912, but who voted for the suffrage previously, categorized by LIBERALS, UNIONISTS, and NATIONALISTS.

Members who voted against the Conciliation Bill on March 28th, 1912, but who voted for the Suffrage previously :

Table listing members who voted against the Conciliation Bill but supported the suffrage previously, categorized by LIBERALS, UNIONISTS, and NATIONALISTS.

Table listing members who voted against the Conciliation Bill but supported the suffrage previously, categorized by LIBERALS, UNIONISTS, and NATIONALISTS.

Table listing members who voted against the Conciliation Bill but supported the suffrage previously, categorized by LIBERALS, UNIONISTS, and NATIONALISTS.

THE VOTE IN AMERICA.

A RECENT issue of The Ladies' Home Journal (U.S.A.) contained an article entitled "What Women have actually done where they Vote," which we reproduce in this and our next issue.

Special emphasis was laid on the four claims made for Woman Suffrage, that it would result in (1) higher wages and better hours for working women ; (2) great reforms in child-labour laws ; (3) a decided decrease in divorce and better marriage laws ; and (4) a positive regulation of the social evil.

Mr. Barry writes :- In four States women have full Suffrage. I went there to find out the definite accomplishments of women's votes.

My first step was to learn what women's votes have done for women and children. On the statement of Eastern advocates for "votes for women," that in States where women have the ballot we could expect conditions that affect women and children to be much better than they are in those States where only men vote, I based my initial investigations.

Before I went West I ascertained that Oklahoma, the newest State, is commonly conceded to have the best child-labour laws in this country ; and my first surprise came when I found that these laws were compiled from the best provisions of the laws of New York, Illinois, Massachusetts, Ohio, Wisconsin and Nebraska, and that Oklahoma did not go to any of the States where women vote to find a model when providing for its child-labour laws.

I found that Wyoming and Utah, where women vote, prohibit the employment of children in mines only, while the States of Nebraska, Oregon, New York, Wisconsin and Illinois, as well as several others, where men only vote, prohibit the working of children under 14 years of age in 12 specified employments during school hours.

CHILD LABOUR.

When I asked officials of the Suffrage States how they could account for this condition where women vote, they replied that the question had never been discussed. They added that such a law was not necessary anyway, as there is no chance of child labour in the mountain States, where they have no factories. Yet Montana, where men only can vote, and which is as sparsely settled and as free from factories as Wyoming, Utah or Idaho, all three States where women vote, has a constitutional amendment prohibiting the working of all children under 16 years of age.

While I was in Denver one of the newspapers undertook the exposé of a revolting child-labour condition near the city. As it was the paper of the party out of power, and as an election was in progress, the opposition papers and every man in office pool-poohed the exposé. Nothing came of it. Nor did the voting woman of Denver even investigate whether it were true or not that children were being overworked and abused in the outskirts of her own city. I sought the reason for this and found, for example, that the most prominent political women's organisation of Denver was absorbed in a factional fight. In February, when knowledge of the condition of the abuse of child labour first became public, this woman's political organisation held a meeting at which the members fought with their fists. Women who wore false hair lost it, and one woman lost a handful of real hair. Their debate was not over the outrages committed on children in their State ; it concerned the choice of one of their number for endorsement to an unimportant office. In May, when I was there and the employment of children in factories was more widely discussed, this same woman's political organisation was absorbed in a more desperate fight : one faction was striving to have the treasurer arrested for refusing to distribute the funds of the organisation as this minor faction desired.

I found, too, that no proof of age, other than the mere statement of the child or parent, is required in any of the four Suffrage States, whereas 19 States require documentary proof of age. None of the States where women vote is in this last list.

POLITICAL EXPEDIENCY.

I could not understand this singularly lax condition, so I sought Judge Ben Lindsey, of the Juvenile Court, who is outspoken in his theoretical belief in Woman Suffrage. He admitted that the conditions in Colorado were far from what they ought to be, and was frank to say that the women of his State are fully as much bound by the political expediency of the moment as are the men.

Then he told me his experience in the last Legislature. He had seven bills affecting

the Juvenile Court which he asked to be passed. They were all drawn with an eye to the protection of children and were modelled on proved legislation elsewhere. When it came to submitting them to the Legislature he asked the one woman member of the lower house to introduce them. The woman member introduced the bills. The woman's clubs publicly endorsed them, and women went to the State House to lobby for them. "Three," said Judge Lindsey, "concerned technical trivialities in the reading of the law and were of no particular moment except that they would expedite legal procedure. One of them was revolutionary and vital. Three concerned important changes in the law."

The first three were passed. The last four never got out of committee. The unimportant bills got through ; the important ones are still pigeonholed. Yet California, Illinois and Massachusetts, where women do not vote, have found no difficulty in passing similar laws.

Judge Lindsey could not explain why his laws failed of passage ; the woman member of the Legislature would not. But I found an old State Senator who told me the truth.

"The Legislature has nothing against children," he said, "and if some sensible man had presented those bills and explained their need in simple, forceful language, they would have been passed."

I also found that the eight-hour law for working-women failed in the last Colorado Legislature. A similar law went easily through the Legislature of Illinois, but was annulled by the Supreme Court, after which a ten-hour law was passed. Now why should such a law for women fail in Colorado, where the women vote, and pass in Illinois, where they do not vote ? I asked this of a prominent official of the State of Colorado, and he answered : "There is nothing that a woman wants to accomplish that she cannot accomplish without the ballot."

In 20 States, where men only vote, laws have been passed limiting the hours that a woman may be employed. In not one of the four States where women vote are there any laws restricting the hours of labour for woman employees.

In 38 States the earnings of married women are secured to them and cannot be required by law (as can the earnings of married men) for the support of their families. Eight States have no such law, and Idaho, where women have voted 14 years, is one of them.

Thirty-four States compel employers in stores, factories, shops, &c., to provide seats for female employees. Idaho is not one of them.

There are other good laws pertaining to the work of women. For instance, Massachusetts prohibits an employer from deducting from the wages of women when time is lost because machinery has broken down ; Delaware has a law exempting the wages of women from execution, while Indiana, Massachusetts and Nebraska have laws prohibiting night work by women. None of these laws is found in any of the four States where women vote !

But, some one will say, these are super-critical examinations of the law. Do the conditions of the States where women vote make these laws so necessary ? Suppose we see.

(To be continued.)

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE OXFORD BRANCH.

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

SIR,—Your correspondent in the April number of the REVIEW, signing himself "Oxford Undergraduate," is under a misapprehension as to the component parts of the Oxford Branch of the N.L.O.W.S.

We are very glad to be able to count many well-known city men and women amongst our members; but our Branch, so far as its new members are concerned, is predominantly university. Amongst our number are many heads of colleges, professors and fellows.

Undergraduates have not so far joined our Branch, and the better way would be to carry out the excellent suggestion made by "Oxford Undergraduate" that a Varsity Branch should be formed. I understand that there is now a prospect that this will be done, and if I can be of any assistance—e.g., in giving the names of those in the University whom we know to be Anti-Suffragists—I shall be very pleased to help.—I am, &c.,

MARY WILLS-SANDFORD,
Hon. Sec. Oxford Branch,
N.L.O.W.S.

A TOAST.

HERE'S to the strenuous militant maid;
Here's to her "moderate" sister;
Here's to the mischievous hammer brigade,
And here's to the Passive Resister.

Chorus.

Greet with applause the breakers of
Laws,
They all of them help in the Suffragist
Cause.

Here's to the preacher of theories wild;
Here's to the ignorant canter;
Here's to the speaker delusively mild,
And here's to the feminist ranter.

Here's to disturbers of "Anti" debates;
Here's to the Party that pays them;
Here's to evaders of taxes and rates,
And here's to the papers that praise them.

A general health to our every ally
To make sure that we haven't forgot one.
A health to the "forward" whose mind is
awry,
And a health to the rest—who have not one.

A CORRESPONDENT with a penchant for figures writes to point out that the title of our League contains seven words, and that multiples of seven are prominent in the Anti-Suffrage calendar:—

Deputation to Mr. Asquith, December 14th.
Albert Hall Meeting, February 28th.
Conciliation Bill defeated, March 28th.
Majority against the Bill, 14.

At the recent election for the Municipal Council in Felixstowe, four of the five members returned were Anti-Suffragists. Of the five candidates who failed to secure election, four were Suffragists.

BRANCH NOTES.

Bristol.—A meeting of new members was held on March 26th at 15, Royal York Crescent. Miss Long Fox gave details of the work of the Bristol Branch of the League, telling the new members the various ways in which they could help, and begged all who were present to do their best to obtain new members, impressing upon them the importance of women's work in Local Government as lady guardians, health visitors and members of county and borough councils. She asked those women who were qualified to vote to see that their names were on the register, and to take an interest in municipal affairs. Miss Stuart, London, delivered an interesting address, and promises of help were given by several members.

A petition was presented to Mr. George Gibbs, M.P. for Bristol West, signed by over 2,000 householders and others in the Division prior to the Suffrage debate in the House on March 28th, praying him to oppose the Conciliation Bill or any measure which includes, or may be amended to include, provision for extending the Parliamentary franchise to women, until it has been approved by a majority of the electors of this country.

Forty-five new members joined the Bristol Branch during March and the membership to date is 2,147.

Downton (Wiltshire).—By the kindness of Mrs. Eyre-Matcham, a meeting was held at Newhouse, Redlynch, on March 25th. The chair was taken by Lady Luck, and the speakers were Lady Pender and Mr. Chapman-Huston. There was a representative audience from Downton and the surrounding district. The speeches dealt in a most able and interesting manner with the more important aspects of the question, and were listened to with much interest. Questions were invited, but, although the Suffragist element was well represented, the invitation was not responded to, and the Anti-Suffrage resolution was carried by a large majority. A vote of thanks to chairman, speakers and hostess was proposed by Mr. Lawrence, and seconded by Mrs. Richardson (Hon. Sec. for South Wilts), and heartily carried. It is hoped that a sub-branch for Downton will now soon be formed.

East Molesey.—The Conservative Hall of East Molesey was filled to overflowing on March 25th, when Miss Pott met in debate Miss Abadam, N.U.W.S.S. Mr. F. Fletcher, C.C., was an admirable chairman. During the twenty minutes question time allowed, a number of interesting questions were put to both speakers, who answered them very fully. Our resolution was carried amidst great enthusiasm, and a great deal of interest has been awakened in East Molesey by this meeting arranged by the local branch.

Hampstead and Highgate.—At a conference on Woman Suffrage held at the Hampstead and Highgate Institute on March 27th, Miss Gladys Pott debated with the Earl of Lytton of the Men's League for Women's Suffrage. Lord Lytton's contention was that women influenced, instructed and canvassed the male voter, and really did everything except actually register their own votes, and that this method required twice as much work and effort as would be necessary if they had the franchise.

Miss Pott, in replying, said women would make a bad Government, because of the mother instinct which compelled them to be individualists, and made them put the interests of those near to them, of those

whom they had reared and looked after, above the interests of the community at large. Women were individualists; men were communalists. At present only the man had the vote, and it might be presumed he used that vote in the interests of the household. The household was, therefore, represented. But give the woman a vote, too, and what would happen? The woman would vote for her own party and the man for his, with the result that the household would not be represented at all.

Henfield (Sussex).—A very successful public meeting was held on March 29th at Henfield, arranged by Mrs. Blackburn, who is starting a branch in this district. The speakers were Miss Sinclair and Mr. A. Wenyon Samuel. Mr. Eardley Hall acted as chairman and the Anti-Suffrage resolution was well carried. As this is the first meeting held in this district, a good deal of local interest was aroused and it is evident that the sympathies of residents are strongly on the Anti-Suffrage side.

Kensington.—We have received the following interesting report from Kensington.

"During the first two weeks of March we have employed a Canvasser to get signatures, chiefly of householders, to a memorial to the Member for North Kensington, Mr. A. Burgoyne. In a few days we obtained 450 names, and these were presented to Mr. Burgoyne by a deputation consisting of Sir Aston and Lady Webb, Miss Houghton Gray, Mrs. Malden, Mr. R. W. Cracroft, Mr. J. W. Josephs, Mr. Brooke-Little, and Dr. Muzio-Williams. Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun, as Hon. Sec., introduced the deputation, and Mr. Burgoyne said that although he had previously supported the Conciliation Bill he was not prepared to do so again in this Parliament.

"A crowded drawing-room meeting was held on March 26th at the house of Mrs. E. P. Moon, when Mrs. Gladstone Solomon and Sir Henry Craik, M.P., were the speakers; Mr. E. P. Moon was in the chair. The result has been a large accession of members to the League.

Kensington Town Hall Debate.

"The large Town Hall, Kensington, was filled to overflowing on March 29th, when a debate took place between Miss Gladys Pott and Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun (against the Suffrage) and Lady Frances Balfour and Miss Margaret Robertson (for). Dr. Douglas Cowburn occupied the chair.

The arrangements for this debate were entirely in the hands of the Hon. Sec. of the Kensington Committee of the N.L.O.W.S., and, by arrangement between her and the N.U.W.S.S., no resolution was submitted to the meeting.

"The National Union disposed of a fair share of the tickets, and both sides could have sold more had the capacity of the hall been greater.

"Lady F. Balfour tackled a trying situation pluckily, and asked her friends in the audience 'Are we downhearted?' Her speech was no attempt to present a reasoned view, but consisted entirely of assertions, such as, that the reasons advanced against the vote are actually the same as those advanced against the higher education of women.

"Miss Pott argued with her usual clear and close-knit methods that, until it can be proved that women will make good voters, there is no question of justice in granting them the vote. Dealing with the militants,

she declared herself unable to understand the force of the arguments of those who broke the laws in proof of their fitness to make other laws. The contention of those who used violence, obviously, was that the ends justified the means—than which no more immoral doctrine had ever been conceived by man or woman.

"Miss Robertson declared that women must have the right to live their own lives effectively, and called the suffering of the industrial worker to witness that women need 'the protection of the vote.'

"Mrs. Colquhoun swept aside the minor issues of what women might and might not get for themselves, and focussed the argument on the functions of Government. These, she said, fell roughly into two categories, internal and domestic (including Local Government), and external relations—foreign and commercial policy, peace and war, and the administration of dependencies. In the latter sphere, she said, women could not, either by experience or by personal responsibility, stand on the same level as men.

"Lady Frances Balfour, in a brief reply, declared she had nothing to answer, since no arguments had been used, 'only some fine confused thinking'; but instead of giving us 'some clear thinking,' she proceeded to irrelevant reflections on the white slave traffic.

"Although Miss Pott was also entitled to reply, Lady Frances did not wait to hear it, but left the platform at the conclusion of her own speech.

"Miss Pott replied most effectively and spiritedly to some of the points raised, and General Craigie closed the proceedings by proposing a hearty vote of thanks to Dr. Douglas Cowburn."

Palmer's Green.—There was a very interested audience to hear an address from Mrs. Greatbatch, at St. John's Hall, Palmer's Green, on March 10th. Mr. Roberts occupied the chair, and the Rev. and Mrs. Exton afterwards spoke from the Suffrage point of view and a general discussion followed.

Reigate, Redhill and District.—Mr. A. F. Mott presided over a most enthusiastic public meeting held by this branch in the Market Hall, Redhill, on March 29th, and was supported by a very influential platform of local residents. Mrs. Harold Norris and Mr. A. Maconachie gave excellent addresses and a number of questions were asked by members of the audience and well answered by the speakers. Votes of thanks were proposed and seconded by Mr. H. Sewill, Alderman T. Gregory and Major Sharpe.



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Prior to the public meeting, the Branch's annual meeting was held under the chairmanship of Mr. A. F. Mott, and very good progress for the past year was reported; the balance sheet also showed a satisfactory state of affairs. The Executive Committee and officers were re-elected unanimously.

Tunbridge Wells.—At the annual meeting of the Tunbridge Wells Branch held on March 22nd, the account given of the past year's work was entirely satisfactory and showed that Anti-Suffragism has made great strides in the district.

Mrs. Duke presided over the meeting, which was held in the Christ Church rooms, and the annual report read by the Secretary (Miss Mary B. Backhouse) proved most interesting. A good deal of useful propaganda work had been carried on in the villages around Tunbridge Wells, and the present membership is 255.

Councillor C. W. Emson presented the balance-sheet and both that and the report were adopted.

Mrs. Colquhoun gave a long and very interesting address and dealt most ably with a number of Suffragist fallacies.

The committee and officials who have done so much for the Branch in the past were unanimously re-elected.

THE SILENCE OF DISSENT.

At a recent open-air meeting held at Castle Hill, Windsor, under Suffragist auspices, the Chairwoman at the conclusion of the proceedings remarked that, as in that large gathering it was clear that there was no opposition, the Member for that division must be told that his constituents were all in favour of Woman Suffrage, and that he would be expected to vote according to his instructions. A member of the crowd at this point suggested that a vote should be taken. This was done, and the result was, approximately, for Woman Suffrage, 35; against, well over 100. Suffragists will not realise that on this question in the vast majority of cases silence implies dissent.

OUR LEAFLETS.

1. Woman's Suffrage and After. Price 3s. per 1,000.
2. Mrs. Humphry Ward's Speech. 1d. each.
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4. Is Woman Suffrage Inevitable? Price 5s. per 1,000.
5. Nature's Reason against Woman Suffrage. Price 5s. per 1,000.
6. What Woman Suffrage Means. Price 3s. per 1,000.
7. Is the Parliamentary Suffrage the best way? Price 10s. per 1,000.
8. To the Women of Great Britain. Price 3s. per 1,000.
9. Why Women should not Vote. Price 3s. per 1,000.
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11. (1) Woman's Suffrage and Women's Wages. Price 5s. per 1,000.
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14. (4) Women's Wages and the Vote. Price 6s. per 1,000.
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44. The Lord Chancellor's Speech at Albert Hall. Price 6d. per 100, 5s. per 1,000.
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46. Most Women do not desire a Vote. Price 3s. 6d. per 1,000.
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PAMPHLETS AND BOOKS.

- A. Freedom of Women. Mrs. Harrison. 6d.
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- 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.
- s. "Songs for Suffr," or "Clement's Inn Carols," by I. Arthur Pott. 3d. each.
- t. "Feminist Claims and Mr. Galsworthy," by J. Arthur Pott. 1d. each.
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- u. Equal Pay for Equal Work. A Woman Suffrage Fallacy. Price 1d.
- v. The Albert Hall Demonstration. Price 2d.

BOOKS AND LEAFLETS.

- 3. Gladstone on Woman Suffrage. 1s. 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.
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- Ladies' Logic: A Dialogue between a Suffragette and a Mere Man, by Oswald St. Clair. 1s.
- The Danger of Woman Suffrage: Lord Cromer's View. 3s. 6d. per 1,000.
- "Votes for Women" Never! 3s. 6d. per 1,000.

All the above Leaflets, Pamphlets, and Books are on sale at the offices of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage, 51s, Caxton House, Tothill Street, Westminster.

Application for Leaflets for free distribution at meetings, or for any other purpose, should be made to the Secretary.

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- Guinness, Hon. Rupert (Essex, S.E.)
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- Hamilton, Marquess of (Londonderry)
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- Hope, James Fitzalan (Sheffield)
- Hunt, Rowland
- Jardine, Sir J. (Roxburgh)

THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW SUPPLEMENT.

THE DIVISION. The House divided: Ayes, 208; Noes, 222.

AYES.

- Leach, Charles
- Lewis, John Herbert
- Lewisham, Viscount
- Lough, Rt. Hon. Thomas
- Lowther, Claude (Cumberland, Eskdale)
- Lytelton, Rt. Hon. A. (St. Geo., Han. S.)
- Macdonald, J. R. (Leicester)
- Macdonald, J. M. (Falkirk Burghs)
- Maclean, Donald
- Macnamara, Rt. Hon. Dr. T. J.
- McCallum, John M.
- McCurdy, C. A.
- McLaren, Hon. H. D. (Leics.)
- McLaren, Hon. F. W. S. (Lincs, Spalding)
- McLaren, Walter S. B. (Ches., Crewe)
- McNicking, Major Gilbert
- McNeill, Ronald (Kent, St. Augustine's)
- Markham, Sir Arthur Basil
- Marshall, Arthur Harold
- Mason, D. M. (Coventry)
- Millar, James Duncan
- Montagu, Hon. E. S.
- Morrell, Philip
- Morrison-Bell, Major A. C. (Honiton)
- Munro, Robert
- Neilson, Francis
- Newdegate, F. A.
- Newton, Harry Kottingham
- Nicholson, Sir Charles N. (Doncaster)
- Norman, Sir Henry
- Nuttall, Harry
- O'Brien, William (Cork, N.E.)
- O'Grady, James
- Ormsby-Gore, Hon. William
- Palmer, Godfrey Mark
- Parker, James (Halifax)
- Pearson, Hon. Westman H. M.
- Pease, Herbert Pike (Darlington)
- Pointer, Joseph
- Price, C. E. (Edinburgh, Central)
- Price-Jones, Col. E.
- Radford, George Heynes
- Raffan, Peter Wilson
- Ratcliff, Major R. F.
- Remnant, James Farquharson
- Rendall, A. Heston
- Richardson, Thomas (Whitehaven)
- Roberts, Charles H. (Lincoln)
- Roberts, George H. (Norwich)
- Roberts, Sir J. H. (Denbighs)
- Roberts, S. (Sheffield, Ecclesall)
- Robertson, Sir G. Scott (Bradford)
- Robertson, J. M. (Tyneside)

NOES.

- Jessel, Captain H. M.
- Keating, Matthew
- Kerry, Earl of
- Keswick, Henry
- Kimber, Sir Henry
- Lambert, Richard (Wilts, Cricklade)
- Lane-Fox, G. R.
- Larmor, Sir J.
- Lee, Arthur H.
- Locker-Lampson, O. (Ramsey)
- Lockwood, Rt. Hon. Lt.-Col. A. R.
- Low, Sir F. (Norwich)
- Lowe, Sir F. W. (Birm., Edgbaston)
- Lundon, Thomas
- Lytell, Charles Henry
- Lytelton, Hon. J. C. (Droitwich)
- MacCaw, Wm. J. MacGeagh
- Mackinder, Halford J.
- Macmaster, Donald
- MacVeagh, Jeremiah
- McKenna, Rt. Hon. Reginald
- Magnus, Sir Philip
- McColm, Ian
- M'Infield, Harry
- Marks, Sir George Croydon
- Martin, Joseph
- Mason, James F. (Windsor)
- Masterman, C. F. G.
- Meagher, Michael
- Meehan, Francis E. (Leitrim, N.)
- Meehan, Patrick A. (Queen's Co.)
- Menzies, Sir Walter
- Mildmay, Francis Bingham
- Mills, Hon. Charles Thomas
- Molloy, Michael
- Molteno, Percy Alport
- Morrison-Bell, Capt. E. F. (Ashburton)
- Morton, Alpheus Cleophas
- Munro-Ferguson, Rt. Hon. R. C.
- Murray, Capt. Hon. Arthur C.
- Nicholson, William G. (Petersfield)
- Nolan, Joseph
- O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
- O'Connor, John (Kildare, N.)
- O'Dowd, John
- O'Kelly, Edward P. (Wicklow, W.)
- O'Kelly, James (Roscommon, N.)
- O'Malley, William
- O'Neill, Dr. Charles (Armagh, S.)
- O'Neill, Hon. A. E. B. (Antrim, Mid.)
- O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
- Paget, Almeric Hugh
- Parker, Sir Gilbert (Gravesend)
- Pearce, Robert (Staffs, Leek)
- Pearce, William (Limehouse)
- Pease, Rt. Hon. Joseph A. (Rotherham)
- Peel, Hon. W. R. W. (Taunton)

- Roch, Walter F.
- Roe, Sir Thomas
- Rolleston, Sir John
- Rose, Sir Charles Day
- Rowlands, James
- Rowntree, Arnold
- Runciman, Rt. Hon. Walter
- Rutherford, W. Liverpool, W. Derby
- Salter, Arthur Clavell
- Samuel, J. (Stockton-on-Tees)
- Sanders, Robert Arthur
- Schwann, Rt. Hon. Sir C. E.
- Shortt, Edward
- Simon, Sir John Allsebrook
- Smith, Albert (Lancs., Clitheroe)
- Smith, H. B. L. (Northampton)
- Snodden, Philip
- Spear, Sir John Ward
- Spicer, Sir Albert
- Sutton, John E.
- Swift, Rigby
- Taylor, John W. (Durham)
- Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliff)
- Tennant, Harold John
- Terrell, G. (Wilts, N.W.)
- Thomas, J. H. (Derby)
- Thomson, W. Mitchell (Down, North)
- Thorne, G. R. (Wolverhampton)
- Touche, George Alexander
- Toulmin, Sir George
- Trevelyan, Charles Phillips
- Ure, Rt. Hon. Alexander
- Verney, Sir Harry
- Walton, Sir Joseph
- Wardle, George J.
- White, Major G. D. (Lancs., Southport)
- White, J. Dundas (Glasgow, Tradeston)
- White, Sir Luke (Yorks, E.R.)
- Whitehouse, John Howard
- Wiles, Thomas
- Wilkie, Alexander
- Williams, P. (Middlesbrough)
- Wilson, W. T. (Westhoughton)
- Wolmer, Viscount
- Wood, John (Stalybridge)
- Wood, Rt. Hon. T. McKinnon (Glas.)
- Worthington-Evans, L.
- Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart-
- Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
- Yoxall, Sir James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE AYES.—Mr. Agg-Gardner and Sir A. Mond.

- Phillips, John (Longford, S.)
- Pirie, Duncan V.
- Powder, Patrick Joseph
- Pretzman, E. G.
- Price, Sir Robert J. (Norfolk, E.)
- Priestley, Sir Arthur (Grantham)
- Priestley, Sir W. E. B. (Bradford, E.)
- Primrose, Hon. Neil James
- Quilter, Sir William Eley C.
- Rawlinson, John Frederick Peel
- Reade, Michael
- Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
- Roche, Augustine (Louth)
- Ronaldshay, Earl of
- Rothschild, Lionel de
- Royds, Edmund
- Russell, Rt. Hon. Thomas W.
- Samuel, Sir Harry (Norwood)
- Samuel, Rt. Hon. H. L. (Cleveland)
- Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
- Sandys, G. J. (Somerset, Wells)
- Scott, A. MacCallum (Glas., Bridgeton)
- Scott, Leslie (Liverpool, Exchange)
- Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)
- Seely, Col. Rt. Hon. J. E. B.
- Smith, Rt. Hon. F. E. (Liverpool, Walton)
- Smith, Harold (Warrington)
- Smyth, Thomas F. (Leitrim, S.)
- Soames, Arthur Wellesley
- Stanley, Hon. G. F. (Preston)
- Starkey, John R.
- Steel-Maitland, A. D.
- Stewart, Gershon
- Strauss, Edward A. (Southwark, West)
- Sykes, Mark (Hull, Central)
- Talbot, Lord E.
- Thynne, Lord A.
- Tobin, Alfred Aspinall
- Tryon, Captain George Clement
- Tullibardine, Marquess of
- Warner, Sir Thomas Courtenay
- Wason, Rt. Hon. E. (Clackmannan)
- White, Patrick (Meath, North)
- Whittaker, Rt. Hon. Sir Thomas P.
- Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset, W.)
- Williamson, Sir A.
- Willoughby, Major Hon. Claud
- Winterton, Earl
- Wood, Hon. E. F. L. (Yorks, Ripon)
- Wright, Henry Fitzherbert
- Yate, Col. C. E.
- Young, William (Perth, East)
- Younger, Sir George

TELLERS FOR THE NOES.—Sir M. Levy and Mr. Arnold Ward.

THE FIRST FENCE.

THE Conciliation Bill has been defeated.

The majority against it was 14; small enough, it is true; but in view of the majority of 167 in favour of the same Bill last year the result constitutes a signal success.

OUR CHAMPIONS.

Our first thoughts are naturally of gratitude to the 222 Members in the House who have secured the victory. Among them are those who have had the courage to change convictions that had previously been arrived at after insufficient consideration. They have been made the target of considerable abuse, but they stood their ground. Others who are also deserving of special praise are those who, while they would like to see a few women—obviously fitted for the vote—enfranchised, have appreciated the great danger ahead of the movement, and have realised that the issue was the enfranchisement of all or of none.

To one and all of our supporters in the House the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage offers its heartiest thanks; especially to those on whom the brunt of the struggle has fallen.

THE FUTURE.

Our second thoughts at this time must turn on the fact that, however much encouraged by the defeat of the Conciliation Bill, we have to realise that it is merely a preliminary success—victory in the first skirmish. The fight has now begun in real earnest. Our opponents will not be persuaded by a majority of 14 to abandon their campaign, and it is the urgent duty of all those who are opposed to Woman Suffrage to redouble their efforts to crush the movement.

The National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage wants the support of every right-minded man and woman in the country. It is not enough merely to sympathise with our Cause. **Sympathy should be Expressed by Enrolment**, by sending name and address, and at least one shilling, to the headquarters of the League, in order that we may show conclusively that we have the vast bulk of public support.

Those who have no time for active propaganda will not be troubled further. Half the League's work would be done if all who in their heart of hearts are opposed to Woman Suffrage would send in their names to the League, for it is the silence of those who, not unnaturally, resent the intrusion of the whole question into their lives that allows the Suffrage movement to be continued.

A WORD TO UNIONISTS.

One word of warning as to the future. The Conciliation Bill has been defeated, but extreme Suffragists will now concentrate their efforts on Adult Suffrage for Men and Women. We refuse to believe that Unionists with any regard for their principles can vote for such a measure. By continuing the Suffrage campaign, however, they must inevitably play into the hands of the Socialist extremists. We would appeal, therefore, to the Conservative and Unionist Woman's Franchise Association to accept the situation and to refrain from aiding or abetting a movement with which they cannot conscientiously be in sympathy.

THE BILL IN THE HOUSE.

Long before the Division upon the Conciliation Bill was taken it had become evident to everybody who had followed the course of the debate that a marked change had taken place in the sympathies of the House since

Sir G. Kemp introduced the measure of last year. The ringing cheers that greeted every scoring point made by the opponents of the Bill and the interjections of dissent from the somewhat feeble rejoinders of its supporters alike proved how great has been the growth of Anti-Suffragist opinion during the last few months, a growth which, as Mr. Arnold Ward showed, had begun to manifest itself long before the outrages committed by the militants had alienated the sympathies of those—and they are many—who had previously had some lukewarm feeling in favour of Suffragism as an academic theory.

THE SPEECHES.

Mr. Agg-Gardner, who moved the Second Reading in a speech which was difficult to hear because of its method of delivery, and impossible to follow through its lack of any logical sequence, seemed to be endeavouring to show that militancy was a matter of little moment, and that women as a body were in favour of the proposal (which is notoriously untrue). He resuscitated a few ancient and moribund fallacies, but made no serious contribution to our knowledge of the subject.

Sir Alfred Mond's "matter" was even worse than his manner, which is saying much. The argument is hardly worth giving, even in the most condensed form, but it may be well to record his view that women should be allowed to sit as well as to vote, an opinion which Lord R. Cecil seemed to share theoretically, though with weaker logic and perhaps higher instincts than those which characterise Sir Alfred, he refused to commit himself definitely on the point.

Far the most valuable contributions to the debate were those of Mr. Harold Baker and Mr. Arnold Ward. The former spoke in a manner which was wholly admirable, and the incisive phrasing of his speech, combined with its close reasoning, made a great impression upon all who heard it, and the force of the delivery may be measured by the feebleness of Mr. P. Snowden's attempt to counter, which attempt resolved itself into an endeavour to foist upon the Member for Accrington statements and views which he had never made or held. The Socialist leader's thin and querulous tones were eminently in keeping with the exiguous substance of his speech, which must have confirmed all Anti-Suffragists in their faith and alienated not a few waverers.

Mr. Ward hit hard, but with perfect fairness, putting very forcibly the points which he desired to make. He showed how many so-called Constitutional Suffragists had supported with money and influence the militant body whose tactics they professed to condemn—"We do not accuse them of hiding behind the skirts of the militants, we say and will show that they walk hand in hand with them"—a statement which fairly brought down the house, and was followed up by damaging proof of the accuracy of the charge. We have never heard Mr. Ward speak better, and he may justly be proud of his share in the great Anti-Suffragist victory.

Sir Edward Grey's speech was perhaps the best on the Suffrage side, and it left the impression that, if a politician of Sir Edward's ability can produce no better argument for Woman Suffrage, the cause is in a poor way, and that this is the case was emphasised by the feeble and indeed most disingenuous utterances of Lord Robert Cecil and Mr. Snowden. Sir W. Byles gave the debate the necessary touch of humour, and he returned—a somewhat truculent lamb—to the Suffrage fold.

The debate has added immensely to our force, and March 28th should be a most memorable day in our annals.