

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, 2/-, post free.

The OFFICES of the LEAGUE are at 515 Caxton House, Tothill Street, Westminster, S.W.
Telegraphic Address: "Adversaria, London."
Telephone Nos.: { 8472 Gerrard.
 { 1418 "

No. 45.

LONDON, JULY 1ST, 1912.

PRICE 1d.

THE NATIONAL LEAGUE FOR OPPOSING WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

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POSTAGE ON THE "REVIEW."

It has been found impossible to keep the weight of "The Anti-Suffrage Review" below 2 ozs., and Subscribers are reminded that the postage on each number is now 1d. The price of the annual subscription, with postage, will in future be 2s.

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MEETINGS IN JULY.

JULY 1ST, PURLEY.—Mrs. Atterbury's Garden Party, 8.30. Miss Gladys Pott and Mr. A. MacCallum Scott.

JULY 2ND, SUNNINGHILL.—Cordes Hall, 8.30. Miss Gladys Pott.

JULY 3RD, CRANBORNE.—8 p.m., Village Hall—Miss Gladys Pott.

JULY 3RD, GREAT MISSENDEN.—Mrs. Ker's Drawing Room Meeting at Frith Hill House, 3 p.m. Miss Strong and Miss Mabel Smith.

JULY 3RD, GREAT MISSENDEN.—Public Meeting, Infant Schools, 8 p.m. Miss Mabel Smith, Mr. A. Maconachie.

JULY 10TH, DORKING.—Mrs. Leopold Salomon's Garden Party at Norbury Park, 3.30. Mrs. Greatbatch, Mr. A. MacCallum Scott, M.P.

JULY 10TH, GOLDER'S GREEN.—Mrs. Bramston's At Home at 131, Hampstead Way, 8.15 p.m. Mrs. Harold Norris.

JULY 13TH, WATFORD.—Garden Meeting at "Westfield" 3 p.m. Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun, Mr. Arthur Pott.

JULY 16TH, BIRMINGHAM.—Mrs. Lakin Smith's Garden Party, 3.30. Mrs. Harold Norris.

JULY 18TH, BASINGSTOKE.—Mrs. Mears' At Home, Manor House, 3.30 p.m. Miss Gladys Pott.

JULY 22ND, CHELTENHAM.—Mrs. A. Colquhoun.

JULY 25TH, WHITLEY BAY (NEWCASTLE).—The Café, 8 p.m. Mrs. A. Colquhoun, Miss Stuart.

JULY 26TH, NEWCASTLE.—Lorraine Hall, 8 p.m. Mrs. A. Colquhoun, Miss Stuart, Mr. Arnold Ward, M.P.

JULY 27TH, HEXHAM.—Mrs. Clayton's Garden Party at "Chesters." Mrs. A. Colquhoun, Miss Stuart, Mr. Arnold Ward, M.P.

VOTES AND WAGES.

On Monday, July 22nd, at 3 p.m.

AT

QUEEN'S GATE HALL

(close to South Kensington Station),

MISS GLADYS POTT (N.L.O.W.S.)

will speak in criticism of Miss Maude Royden's pamphlet entitled "VOTES AND WAGES," which deals with a crucial argument of Suffragists in favour of the Parliamentary Vote for Women.

Reserved tickets, 1s. and 6d., and unreserved tickets (to be issued FREE to Members of the N.L.O.W.S.) may be had on application to the Secretary, N.L.O.W.S., 515, Caxton House, Westminster, to whom all enquiries must be addressed.

Discussion Invited.

CLASSES IN ANTI-SUFFRAGE WORK

WILL BE HELD AT THE

Head Offices, 515, Caxton House,

On Thursday Afternoons at 3 o'clock,

JULY 4th and JULY 11th,

Addressed by MISS GLADYS POTT.

Practical Instruction in CANVASSING, ORGANISING, DEBATING, Etc.

Fee for Single Lecture, 1/-.
—

These Classes will be continued in the Autumn.

THE POLICY OF THE LEAGUE.

QUESTIONS are frequently addressed to the Executive Committee of the N.L.O.W.S., both from outside quarters and by members of the League, as to the policy adopted by the League in regard to proposals for amendment of the existing laws relating to women and children in this country. The matter is one that has received the earnest and sympathetic attention of the Executive Committee; and it seems desirable to state the conclusions at which they have arrived. The proposals referred to assume, as a rule, one of three forms:—

- (1) An extension of the powers already granted to women in the sphere of municipal and local government;
- (2) A removal of disabilities from which women and children are alleged to suffer;
- (3) An amendment of the existing laws with regard to such matters as marriage and divorce, criminal assault, affiliation and age of consent.

As regards the first of these points it is to be observed that, under its existing constitution, the League is pledged to "maintain the principle of the representation of women on municipal and other bodies concerned with the domestic and social affairs of the community." With a view to the furtherance of this object a "Local Government Advancement Committee" which, until recently, was affiliated to the League, and of which Mrs. Humphry Ward is the chairman, was constituted some two years ago. Experience has, however, shown that great practical advantage will arise if the work of the League be entirely separated from that of the Local Government Advancement Committee. Arrangements have, therefore, been made under which the latter body is wholly independent of the League.

As regards the questions of the removal of disabilities under which women and children are alleged to suffer, and the amendment of the existing laws in respect to marriage, divorce, &c., it is obvious that the

consideration in detail of these important matters opens up a wide field for discussion and, possibly, for difference of opinion. All that can be said on these subjects is that the Executive Committee, as also, we believe, the members of the League generally, would individually approach them in a spirit of marked sympathy and with an earnest desire to support any changes in the law the necessity of which had been clearly shown. The Executive Committee, however, feel that they have no right to utilise the funds or to employ the organisation of the League for objects essentially distinct from those which it was founded to promote.

At the same time resistance to the grant of the Parliamentary vote to women means the employment of argument and controversy with opponents of many different kinds. We desire accordingly to show not only that Woman Suffrage would be bad for the community to which we belong, but that existing channels and agencies are sufficient, if rightly employed, to meet the demands for social and ethical reform which may be put forward by our own members or by others. (To this end, while unable officially and collectively either to promote agitation in the country or to support Bills in Parliament, on behalf of measures unconnected with our main task, and on the details of which there may be differences of opinion amongst us, we shall endeavour as far as possible to keep our members informed to such an extent on any grave questions relating to women and children which may be before the public as will enable them to appreciate at their true value the fallacious arguments which not infrequently emanate from Suffragist sources on these subjects.) In this way our members may be enabled to hold their own with regard to many forms of Suffragist argument, while the funds and machinery of the League are not diverted from their proper object, viz.: the enlightenment of the country on the dangers of Woman Suffrage and the organisation of a

strong opposition to any Woman Suffrage measure in Parliament and out of it.

The Executive Committee holds that, while individual members of the League may and do very properly interest themselves directly and actively in such reforms as have been indicated, the work of the League itself—which requires all the support that can be given to it—would suffer if it were diverted into other channels.

The Executive Committee, therefore, take the opportunity to re-affirm the central and guiding principle of the League—which is to oppose by all means in its power the extension of Parliamentary Suffrage to women, and they are precluded from associating themselves officially or collectively with any other undertaking.

DEEDS AND WORDS.

A GREAT many admirable people have joined the Suffrage movement. The recent attempts to throw the cloak of religion over the enfranchisement of women will deceive still more, and although the sum total of its supporters will remain but a small proportion of the inhabitants of the British Isles, many of these will thoroughly believe that they are banded together for the uplifting of womanhood and of the nation. But what has been so far the contribution of Suffragists to the national weal? Nothing new, merely the worst methods of political agitation, an intensification of the worst features of party politics, the stirring up of ill-will, lawlessness, and misrepresentation. If, in its public aspect, the Suffrage movement stands thus condemned, it has been equally unhappy in the example that it has given of the political wisdom of women in the mass. During the past month official Suffragedom has afforded several illustrations of its inability to justify the claim for the Parliamentary vote. The annual council meeting of the Women's Liberal Federation was held on June 4th, and was in the main devoted to the subject of Woman Suffrage. In the

course of her opening remarks, the President announced that they were all agreed upon the principle. One of the first resolutions to be passed, accordingly, imposed upon all associations joining the Federation in future the necessity of pronouncing in favour of votes for women. The Prime Minister was reminded in a further resolution of his promise regarding the Reform Bill, and yet another motion emphasised the point with a less veiled threat. Returning again to the charge, a fresh resolution stated that "if the Government Reform Bill becomes law without the enfranchisement of women, the patience of Liberal women will be seriously overstrained, and it will become extremely difficult or, perhaps impossible, to sustain the present amicable relations between the members of the Women's Liberal Federation and the Liberal Party."

Nothing is more calculated to confirm some of the arguments against Woman Suffrage than the course of action to which all its advocates now stand committed. In the first place the complete lack of ballast with which women in the bulk may be expected to consider political questions is revealed by the obsession which the vote mania now exercises over them. At best, the possession of the vote is a matter of convenience, but its advocacy is allowed to over-ride all principles. We have seen how Suffragists *en masse* have embarked on an alliance with Socialism; not because they have considered Socialist principles and approve of them, but because they are incapable of any other consideration than a blind, unthinking craze for the vote. With an equally light heart a Federation of Women organised for the sole purpose of promoting Liberal policy announces its determination to throw Liberal policy to the winds, if the enfranchisement of women is not granted on such and such a date (the day on which a particular measure passes its third reading).

It is well that the electors of the United Kingdom should consider carefully the full meaning of this attitude.

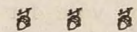
At the back of all these tactics and resolutions stands the fixed determination to intimidate the Government into granting Woman Suffrage before the country has had an opportunity of passing judgment on the proposal. In no Suffragist publication and on none of their platforms is it ever suggested that here is a matter of vital concern to the nation, which must stand or fall by the voice of the people. If Suffragists reject the present electorate because it is composed of males only, they might still demand an appeal to the adult population of the kingdom; but they know too well the inevitable verdict to take either risk. Woman Suffrage, they realise, if it is ever to come, must be obtained by dishonest means, by the negation of all democratic principles. Is Great Britain with its wide Imperial interests to submit to a grave constitutional change enforced by such means? Women have already received the vote for purposes of domestic politics; they have shown that in all matters where woman's special knowledge can be of benefit to the nation, the machinery already exists for making full use of it. Suffragists with that complete indifference to practical considerations that always characterise them pretend that the whole world is going to be made perfect the day after women receive the vote. Wise folk know that in the case of all social evils, whether it be opium smoking or public morality, the one permanent corrective is enlightened public opinion. If this could be attained by the vote all public opinion would be enlightened by to-day. The process is necessarily slow and the Parliamentary vote has little or nothing to do with it.

NOTES AND NEWS.

Religion and Suffrage.

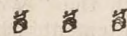
Two meetings were held in the Queen's Hall on June 19th "to consider the religious aspect of the Woman's Movement." The preliminary notice stated that "the promoters of this meeting wish to bring before the public the graver and more serious

issues of the Women's Movement, feeling that in the midst of political conflict and social unrest these are liable to be obscured." No indication was given of the meaning attached by the promoters to the expression "Women's Movement"; but, as Mrs. Humphry Ward pointed out in a letter to the *Times*, which we reproduce on another page, the list of promoters and guarantors and the names of the speakers showed plainly that the meeting was a Suffragist meeting, and that the "Women's Movement" so-called was identical with the Suffrage movement. If there could have been any doubts on this subject they would have been dispelled by the meetings themselves. In the afternoon, Mrs. Creighton stated that no Suffrage society had been officially responsible for the meetings, but that the promoters had had the benefit of the assistance of Suffrage Societies in advertising them. As a matter of fact, the whole organisation would seem to have been handed over to the Church League for Woman Suffrage, as all the stewards, male and female, wore the colours of that League. Mrs. Creighton also said that in selecting their speakers the promoters of the meeting had gone outside the more prominent names connected with the "Women's Movement"—a statement which, in view of the presence on the platform of herself and Miss Maude Royden, can only be described as falling short of the truth. Every speaker spoke as a Suffragist to Suffragists, and dealt openly or tacitly with the Suffrage movement as covering the whole ground of the "Women's Movement." Even prayers were offered up for "the righteous cause."



We feel loth to criticise meetings that bore a religious label and were conducted with the due ceremonial of religion. But as far as the speeches were concerned we have little hesitation in describing them as, in the main, an insult to the Christian religion and to British womanhood. Addressed to a Moslem community or an audience of African natives they would have commanded respect. In the circumstances in which they were delivered they had no point except the straining of Scripture in support of Votes for Women. The Bishop of Hull spoke on "Our Lord's Teaching about Women," and was only able to point out, what his audience presumably knew, that

Christianity had materially altered for the better the status of women. Feeling, however, that the meeting expected something more of him, he announced, in order that his audience should not consider him "a coward," that he was a Suffragist. Dr. Scott Lidgett was at pains to show that if St. Paul were living now, or if Votes for Women had been a party cry in the first century of the Christian era, St. Paul himself would have been a Suffragist. To realise this point, he stated with much eloquence and earnestness, it was necessary not to take into consideration what St. Paul actually wrote, but the interpretation placed by Dr. Scott Lidgett on what he regarded as St. Paul's principles. Both these speakers went out of their way to emphasise the Church's doctrine on divorce—a strange proceeding in view of Dr. Scott Lidgett's statement that he favoured the full emancipation of women, and would give the principle the most far-reaching application. One of its first applications, as, perhaps, the speaker realised, would be, if his fellow-feminists had their way, to cut away the ground from under the Church's objection to divorce, by making not only divorce but also marriage obsolete expressions.



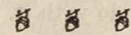
The Archbishop of Canterbury's Letter.

APART from Bishop Gore's utterances, which have to be interpreted in connection with his general attitude towards social politics, the impression conveyed by the speakers was that they had suddenly become impressed by the extent of the clamour for the Parliamentary vote for women, had accepted without question the ideals of the movement propounded for their benefit, and hastened to lend their support for fear it might be said that the Churches had lagged behind. The uplift of womanhood is no more a monopoly of Suffragists than is the scientific progress of the day. It follows, in common with many other ameliorations of contemporary conditions, the gradual enlightenment of public opinion. The Parliamentary vote for women has nothing to do with this steady improvement, which will continue when the agitation for Woman Suffrage is dead. Anti-Suffragists yield to none in their anxiety for the uplift of womanhood, but they are convinced

that the one way to retard the present movement would be to give the Parliamentary vote to women, to make every question a mere matter of party strength at the polls, and to free the representatives of the people from their responsibility of seeing that consideration for women's views is reflected in legislation proportionately with the advancement of public opinion. Just as legislation has in the past been steadily improved without women's votes, so it will continue to march with the national enlightenment. The "Women's Movement" will make the better headway without fettering it with the Parliamentary vote. This contention was the burden of the Archbishop of Canterbury's letter, read at the afternoon meeting, in which he administered a salutary rebuke to the promoters. The letter was in part as follows:—

I am much interested in the meeting over which you preside to-morrow "to consider the religious aspect of the women's movement."

From communications which reach me, I gather that the purpose of the meeting, owing, perhaps, to what I cannot help regarding as the rather unfortunately limited choice of speakers, has been largely misunderstood. I hope I am right in believing that the purpose of these meetings—in part at least—is this: to get people's minds away from dwelling unduly upon the single controversy about the Parliamentary Franchise, which is occupying so disproportionate a share of public attention, and to show that the present-day questions as to the position which women should hold in our common Christian life range far more widely across the field of our common responsibilities—moral, religious, social, economic, and educational—and that people in general ought to be reminded of this by those who have thought most deeply on the subject. To circumscribe these questions within the ring fence of the Suffrage controversy would be as false in principle as it would be inaccurate in fact. Among all kinds of political thinkers, both men and women, both Suffragists and Anti-Suffragists, are to be found those who care intensely for the religious aspect of the women's movement, and your meetings will I hope, do something to raise the whole level of our common thought and effort with regard to a matter which is of obvious and vital importance to the England of to-day.

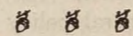


Infant Mortality and the Vote.

THE meeting, at which Mr. John Burns presided, held at the Caxton Hall on June 4th, for the formation of a National Association for the Prevention of Infant Mortality, proved a valuable contribution to the Anti-Suffrage cause. Female Suffragists who want the vote by way of compensation for not being men, there will always be. Many others, however,

have joined the movement from the conscientious belief that there are a number of regrettable features in the conditions of modern life that can and will be remedied as soon as women obtain the Parliamentary vote. This belief is carefully fostered by the leaders of the Suffrage movement, in the knowledge that not one of those whose sympathy is likely to be stirred by the recital of these evils will pause in order to check the accuracy of their remarks. The three chief points on which the sentimental Suffragist lays special stress as arguments for the vote are: The raising of wages, decrease of infant mortality and, latterly, the white slave traffic. Each of these planks in their platform has been taken away in turn; but it would be difficult to find a more thorough refutation of one of their favourite contentions than was contained in the remarks of Mr. John Burns, himself a Suffragist, on the subject of infant mortality.

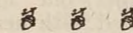
The President of the Local Government Board pointed out that in the six years between 1904 and 1910 infant mortality in the United Kingdom had been reduced from 145 to 106 per thousand—a diminution of 30 per cent. He was able to state that in no country in the world was greater progress being made in the combating of infant mortality than there had been in the last four years in Great Britain and Ireland. This satisfactory decline was not due to any one special reason, but to a variety of causes—the Notification of Births Act, appointment of health visitors, midwives' organisations, better housing, better feeding, change in the mode of traction, enforcement of sanitation, increasing sobriety, among others—all indicating features of the normal progress of the nation, with which the possession of the Parliamentary vote by women has nothing to do. None of the special reasons that Suffragists adduce for the grant of Woman Suffrage is found on inspection to be valid, because other forces are at work to carry out the improvements which they pretend can only be effected by the enfranchisement of women.



White Slave Traffic.

AGAIN, in this connection, we may call attention to the hollowness of the outcry raised by Suffragists against the so-called blocking of the Criminal Law

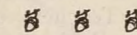
Amendment Bill, which, as explained in the summary of the proceedings in Parliament, was done in order that the measure might be adequately discussed. *The Common Cause*, the organ of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, has now to admit that certain clauses "need very careful examination," and it adds, "there is always the danger, when an agitation results in the passing of a small measure, that this may delay more fundamental reforms." Precisely the contention of those who have maintained that the Bill in question called for discussion, and ought not to be rushed through Parliament without careful scrutiny. Yet a writer in the *Church League* monthly, as we point out elsewhere, holds out as an argument for Woman Suffrage that "We cannot think that it would be possible for a Bill dealing with this horrible trade to be introduced nineteen times and be nineteen times blocked by a Parliament elected by women as well as men." If Suffragists believe this, they have to hand a fatal objection to Woman Suffrage, for nothing could compensate the Empire for the certainty that in future no legislation was to receive adequate consideration in the Imperial Parliament.



A Bishop's Contribution.

ABOVE we have commented on the unthinking haste with which a certain number of clergymen have thrown themselves at the head of the Suffragist movement. The point is clearly illustrated in the June number of the *Church League Monthly*, which was circulated among the clergy of England or Great Britain. In the first article the Bishop of Lincoln writes on "The Reasonableness of Enfranchising Women," and delivers himself of these two statements: (1) Women's social service is impeded at every turn by her want of a vote. (2) The voteless woman is an all but negligible quantity in legislation. We do not know what evidence the Bishop of Lincoln is prepared to adduce for the first of these statements; but with regard to the second sentence we are obliged to say—though we regret the necessity—that the statement is altogether incorrect. If the Bishop of Lincoln had paused for a single moment to think or to make inquiries, he would have realised that his "voteless woman"

is consulted by the framers of legislation in regard to every single Bill that has to do with women. If it is necessary to exclude from this category the ill-drafted Insurance Bill, the fact remains that women's views materially altered its terms before it became law; and in any case this particular measure cannot be quoted in support of the Suffragist contention for the good reason that it ignored even the views of large bodies of men who possess the vote. It is a serious matter for the public morality of this country when a highly-placed dignitary of the Church of England makes a statement of this nature that is palpably short of the truth. Little wonder that minor Suffragist lights are filling the people with all manner of strange conceptions up and down the country.



Wild Statements.

THE Bishop of Lincoln is not the only offender in the June number of the *Church League Monthly*. The Hon. W. A. Cecil writes: "To these latter (many Anti-Suffragists), any idea of raising the social status of women in general, of giving them greater facilities for education, thus making them less cheap, or of interfering in any way by legislation with the supply of women for immoral purposes, is utterly repugnant." From the moral code that governs most Suffragist arguments we are well aware that the writer of this sentence would endeavour to justify it by his own interpretation of the expression "many Anti-Suffragists." In its context, however, it is intended to be an argument against the general Anti-Suffragist position, and as such the statement is, of course, deliberately false. This particular writer is typical of the degree of accuracy that does duty with Suffragist speakers and writers in general. Here are some of his statements:—

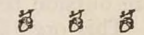
Suffragist women "feel that the Empire cannot stand while the conditions under which women are at present compelled to work are rapidly killing the Imperial race."

This profound utterance is explained in the next sentence:—

"At the present time there are some five million women in the labour market, the vast majority driven there by starvation, many of them having children and invalid husbands or parents to support."

Of the five million (in round numbers) "in the labour market," it is common knowledge that over a million are

under the age of 21 years, while two million and a quarter are domestic servants—a strange commentary on the statement that the majority of the 5,000,000 are driven there by starvation. It is with misleading statements of this nature that Suffragists seek to bolster up their ill-advised and ill-considered cause. The difficulty in overtaking one lie is proverbial; what must be the difficulty in overtaking scores of lies glibly uttered by scores of Suffragists?

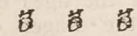


More Wild Statements.

In order to show that we are not condemning the *Church League Monthly* merely out of the mouth of a busy Bishop or of an irresponsible recruit to the Suffragist cause, we may point to the same disregard for accuracy in yet another article, entitled "Women's Vote and National Purity," by Miss Ursula Roberts. This writer states as a fact: "The average wage of the industrially employed women in this country is less than a living wage. It is between 7s. and 7s. 6d. a week." But there is no satisfactory authority for this statement. The figure, it is true, has been arrived at in a private estimate, subsequently modified, we believe, to 9s.; but it includes the wages of over a million girls between the ages of 16 and 20 years, and the wages of over two million domestic servants, all of whom would still be earning a "living wage" if they received only 5s. a week in addition to the board and lodging which every servant receives. Again, the same writer, speaking for Suffragists, says: "We believe that women's votes would do much to check the white slave traffic. We cannot think that it would be possible for a Bill dealing with this horrible trade to be introduced nineteen times and be nineteen times blocked by a Parliament elected by women as well as men." No one can help what Suffragists believe or what they cannot think; but every one, including Suffragists and Miss Ursula Roberts, knows that the blocking of the Bill in question had nothing to do with opposition to the principle of the measure, but was merely a parliamentary method of obtaining discussion on a Bill which, as the Suffragist organ (*The Common Cause*) indicates, stands in need of amendment.

Criminal Law Amendment.

THE Criminal Law Amendment Bill, which has become more generally known as the White Slave Traffic Bill, has been read a second time under the aegis of a Government measure. Its sponsor is an Anti-Suffragist and, as is well known, the objects that it has in view have the fullest sympathy of Anti-Suffragists. Officially, for reasons that are set forth in another column, the League takes no part in promoting causes that are outside its own immediate sphere. This organisation exists to oppose the grant of the Parliamentary vote to women, and it proposes to set an example of adhering to the original purposes of its foundation—an example much needed in these days of indiscriminate log-rolling. Such an attitude, however, does not imply, as the more impetuous advocates of Woman Suffrage love to insinuate, that Anti-Suffragists give no thought to the moral uplift of the nation. The views on the Suffrage question of the chief promoter of the Criminal Law Amendment Bill sufficiently dispose of this absurd contention. But the official abstention of the League does imply that it regards itself as the trustee of certain objects committed to its care for a definite use and is not prepared to misappropriate those objects for other ends however worthy.



Suffragists and Socialists.

HAVING rushed blindly into their alliance with the Labour-Socialist party, Suffragists will now have an opportunity of realising a little more fully the significance of their leaders' policy. They may learn something from the *Daily Herald*, the official organ of the Labour-Socialist party. We read there on the subject of Votes for Women:—

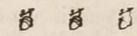
For Socialists—both men and women—the matter depends entirely on class, not on sex at all. Our class war must be directed against all those—women and men—who are rich enough to pour hundreds of pounds into the coffers of Suffrage societies, while our war-chest cannot be assured of as many pence. Any demand for a vote on any sort of property qualification must be opposed by Socialists.

Again:—
Socialist women must not allow the subtle flattery of Suffragism to divert any part of their power into a selfish and self-stultifying side-issue, for nothing matters but Socialism. And in case the obsession of the vote-mania prevents the more ardent Suffragists from grasping the real inwardness of the movement that they

have so lightheartedly undertaken to support for the sake of the vote, we will add a few more sentences from the same article:—

In the *destructive* work of dislodging the capitalists, Socialists are quite capable of using all weapons and all methods. We may even with advantage form an offensive alliance with anarchists for some particular purpose.

Facilis descensus Averni—Liberalism, Suffragism, Socialism.



Domestic Teaching.

It was pleasing to turn from the wild talk, which does duty for most of the Suffragist arguments, to the sound common sense that characterised the speech of the Duchess of Sutherland at the annual conference of the Association of Teachers of Domestic Subjects, at the Battersea Polytechnic on June 1st. Justice cannot be done to her remarks in a brief summary. She entered an eloquent and telling plea for "really practically developed domestic science," which, taken seriously, she was of opinion might prove a very valuable cure for the restlessness of the age. In the signs of the times, however, the Duchess of Sutherland saw reasons for optimism; people were learning the value of domestic science and a next generation of healthy children, healthy women and practical men and women would be the result. On the subject of "House-keeping on £1 a week in London," Mrs. Pember Reeves, at the same meeting, gave some interesting statistics regarding this problem. She quoted instances of people whom she visited regularly, "people in regular work, absolutely steady and respectable." A carter on 24s. a week spent 11s. 8d. on rent and other charges apart from food. Sixpence a day was held to be the minimum for keeping a man in full work in good condition. These figures help to explain in part the lowness of women's wages, as the smallest addition to the common-purse must be welcomed when the weekly outlay for the whole family is so moderate.

In an article entitled "The Moral Aspect of the Woman's Movement," Miss Maude Royden writes:—"We ask now, what we asked when the movement began—freedom of conscience, which carries with it all other kinds of freedom." Those who study Suffragist utterances will be led to infer that in the case of the spokeswomen of the movement their request has been obtained.

IS IT OPACITY?

WHAT is the true inwardness of the strange contradictions in the utterances and actions of so many of the Suffragist leaders? Take, for instance, the following cases of this disease:—

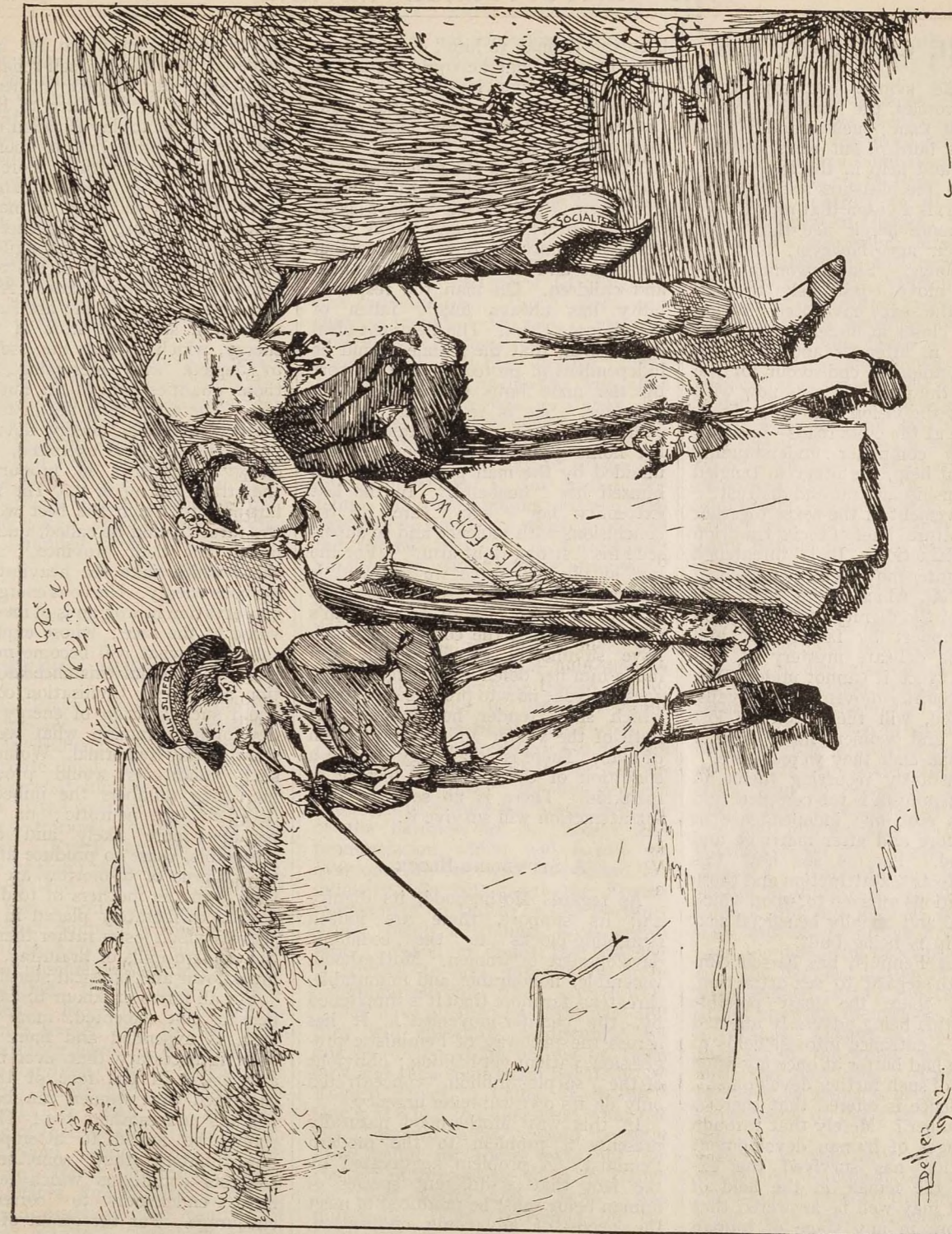
(1) Mrs. Fawcett, as is now well and widely remembered, presided at a feast to the first batch of disorderly militants when they were released from Holloway, and she held up their "noble example" for imitation. Yet, over and over again of late, with wearisome iteration and reiteration, she has asserted that she and her following have "always" been opposed to militant tactics.

(2) She has recently "urged," and with success, the National Union of Women Suffragist Societies to forsake their policy of standing aloof from all political parties, and to declare their intention of assisting at elections the candidates of the Independent Labour (or Socialist) Party. But, more recently, she has been iterating and reiterating that this change is no surrender of their "Non-party character." Actions speak louder than words. As to the contradiction between Socialism and her Unionist principles, we need say nothing, except that her one idea, Woman Suffrage, coupled with her hatred of a Liberal Government, seems to render her capable of swallowing anything.

(3) Then take the recent proceedings at the Women's (so-called) Liberal Federation and the subsequent domestic controversy on the subject. Lady Bamford Slack had something to do with a Resolution to the effect that if the Liberal Party did not give women the vote, it might be impossible for the Federation to continue relations with that party, and other speakers definitely threatened to join the Labour Party. Yet, when certain delegates in a letter to the Press described this Resolution as a "threatening" one, Lady Bamford Slack, while quoting its threatening terms in full, claimed that the Resolution was not threatening at all.

What is the meaning of all this? It is something quite beyond disingenuousness in controversy: it is a brazen contradiction of facts which are patent and cannot be gainsaid. Consequently we are obliged to suppose an inability to perceive even the coarsest distinction between things that loudly proclaim their opposition to one another. In a word, the most charitable solution is—Opacity.

J. MASSIE.



TWO STRINGS TO HER BOW.

(With apologies to the memory of John Pettie, R.A.)

MRS. FAWCETT, Feb. 23, 1912:—"Mr. Lloyd George is a great asset to our movement."

May 14, 1912.—The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies (President, MRS. FAWCETT), in view of the "unsatisfactory record" of the Liberal Party, has decided to support Labour Candidates at Parliamentary Elections.

AT THE CROSS-ROADS.

MAN, the sympathetic friend of woman; woman, the brave and equal comrade of man; neither adding to the other's burden, but each yielding sympathy and help in the leisure and the labours, the pleasures and the pain of the other, is a vision that might have visited a more heroic age than ours. It is to our age, however, that the vision belongs. Since women first began to move consciously towards anything, the sexes have been drawing closer and closer in understanding and sympathy, in interests and aims, towards the union of endeavour for the welfare of the race. It rests now with us whether the vision is to be realised. For we are at the cross-roads—one way leading to completer understanding and mutual help, the other to tangled sex-relationship and mutual distrust.

The movement of the sexes together is on the natural lines of social tradition and sex-attraction. It is threatened by a counter-movement, engineered and artificial, which defies the social tradition of the dignity of motherhood and its support by fatherhood, and tilts at the delicate mystery of sex-attraction, which it cannot understand. If this counter-movement prevails, then, indeed, will the vision be lost and men and women flung further asunder than ever they were before.

The constantly recurring theme of advanced feminism is the complete and continuous economic independence of women before and after marriage and motherhood. Let us see how this demand affects sex-attraction and those social traditions referred to, upon which our natural and racially beneficial sex-comradeship is being built.

A leading Feminist has herself confessed, with regard to sex-attraction, that were there the least possible danger of this being adversely affected by woman's entrance into all fields of labour, she had better at once lay aside all dreams of such further development. What evidence is offered that there is not this danger? Merely that through all the stages of human development sex-attraction has survived the existence of the female in the field of labour. It may well be answered that never before in any stage of human development, when women have shared with men in the work of the world in addition to child-bearing, has the fact of the female being a worker relieved the male of the necessity of protecting her in the ultimate issue. She has still

been the Woman to him; the creature who, lacking what he could supply of the harder virtues, looked to him for ultimate protection and needed him. In that need has always existed for man woman's chief attraction.

Woman's work in the past may have been—indeed, was—different from what it is now; but it has always been complementary to man's. On man devolved finally the onus of protecting the home and the lives of the women and children. On man the responsibility has always finally fallen of maintaining them. The Feminist ideal is, however, that the female should be independent of protection and support by the male both before and after marriage. She is to become so self-sufficient that she can maintain herself, her home and children even, entirely unaided by the man permitted to call himself her "husband." In the last extremity her "wits" are to try conclusions with violence and so supersede his "strong right arm." (For the law of physical force we are told is becoming obsolete.) As woman has in the past, because of her woman's nature, provided the conditions which have summoned man's valour, and made him her defender throughout the ages, so is she now to provide conditions which shall render her independent both of the valour and the protection of man. There is no analogy to such a condition of things in the history of mankind. There is no security that sex-attraction will survive it.

A STUMBLING-BLOCK.

As regards Motherhood, its dignity and its support, there are indeed stumbling-blocks to the economic development of women. Motherhood, venerable, honourable and immutable, threatens, far more than it is threatened by, the counter-movement. It lies across the pathway of Feminist progression, patient yet baffling; oblivious of the "surplus million," concentrated only on its own supreme urgency.

In this way Motherhood naturally presents a problem to the modern Feminist. A problem aggravated by the fact that a different species of human being must be produced to meet the needs of advancing civilisation. The mother of the past was called upon to produce a race adequately equipped with muscle, bone and sinew to carry on the struggle for survival in an age when brute force was the sole gauge of power. The labours which she

shared with man in so far as they rendered her hardy, self-reliant and physically fit, helped rather than hindered her in her duty to her age. The mother of to-day is called upon to produce a being not of bone and muscle only, but with a more highly developed brain power and the necessary nervous force to make this effective. Culture, intelligence, wits; dexterous, perceptive and agile qualities are in most ranks of life to-day a man's real stock-in-trade. Also the demands of modern life are such that without a sufficient store of nervous energy, which modern life itself tends to deplete with increasing avidity, these qualities are worth nothing to him. The distinction lies in this, that whereas muscular energy develops in proportion as it is exercised, nervous energy diminishes in proportion to the strain put upon it. The fields of labour into which the best women of the future would be called, taking "all labour for their province," are just those which take the heaviest toll of nervous energy. Nervous energy whose conservation in woman is of inestimable value to the race; whose expenditure robs it of what will become more and more vital to its existence as civilisation advances. Civilisation could not stand such a drain of energy and its development remain what we understand to-day by normal. Women under such conditions would produce in increasing numbers the imbecile, the decadent, the neurotic; or, what is perhaps more likely and certainly preferable, cease to produce at all. If the citizens of to-morrow are to hold their own the mothers of to-day must not be deliberately placed in circumstances which foster rather than correct the modern evils of brain-fag, nervous breakdown and physical sterility.

For all forms of labour to-day, child-bearing not excepted, more nervous force is expended and more nervous force is necessary than ever before in any age. In the face of this it is suggested that women can be bread-winners and mothers too! That they should be forced to attempt it, as unfortunately they sometimes are, suggests conditions which legislation must endeavour to correct, not encourage. For the strain of modern life is such that they must miserably and inevitably fail in one capacity or the other.

Furthermore—that both men and women should compete on equal terms as bread-winners is unthinkable. With

which is the responsibility to lie? If with the man, then the woman cannot expect to compete with him on equal terms in the labour market, because he cannot afford to open the doors of well paid and already well filled professions—he with his home to keep and family to support—to those who have in the mass no corresponding obligations to perform. If with the woman, then the man loses all stimulus to effort. He must inevitably drop lower and lower in the human scale; lower far than the woman ever could who has her sex-function to keep her, if only moderately, employed.

In this claim of women to be bread-winners lies all the danger of Suffragism to the race. Should the claim be met, the years of steady progress of men and women towards each other will be wasted; all hope of ultimate understanding lost. The tide of civilisation and progress will recede, dragging man into the waters with it, and leaving woman stranded upon the shore.

LEONORA LOCKHART.

BAEDEKER'S PREDECESSORS.

WHEN Roger Ascham wrote his "Schoolmaster," it was proverbial that "an Italianate Englishman was an incarnate devil," and this sums up with somewhat unnecessary force the attitude of the average Englishman of that day towards travelling on the Continent. Every traveller was perforce an explorer rather than a tourist, and, with the classic exception of Bacon, the benefits were regarded as more than doubtful. Bishop Hall said foreign travel was useless, and probably mischievous, and even Purchas decried the habit. "Many gentlemen," he said, "coming to their lands sooner than to their wits, adventure themselves to see the fashion of other countries, whence they see the world as Adam had knowledge of good and evil, with the loss and lessening of their estates in the English paradise, and bring home a few smattering terms, flattering garbs, apish carriages, foppish fancies, foolish guises and disguises—the vanities of neighbour nations." Peacham, in his "Compleat Gentleman," advocated foreign travel with the rather doubtful praise that "it setteth the traveller's affection more sure to his own country." Such being the hostile attitude of the

writers, it is not surprising to find the guide-book of the period sound rather in its moral precepts than in its information. Howell's "Instructions for Forreine Travel," which was printed at "Princes Armes in Paule's Church-yard in the year 1642," was one of the earliest guide-books proper. The author, who had gained his experience as traveller for a glass manufactory, knew many places in Holland, France, Spain, and Italy well, and his contempt for those who had never left England was unbounded. "Such slow and sluggish people," he said, "may be said to be like snails or tortoises in their shells, crawling always about their own houses, or like the cynic shut up always in a tub." Unlike his immediate successors in the guide-book world Howell deprecated any unnecessary display in the way of dress; but one gathered that it was insular contempt for the foreigner rather than any love of simplicity which prompted the remark that "it is a ridiculous vanity to go gaudy among strangers." One is surprised to find that he advised all would-be travellers to adopt the national costume in Spain, but for this he gives no reason. Howell allowed three years and four months for a tour in France, Spain, Italy, Venice, Germany and the Low Countries, and he estimated the cost at £300 for the master and £50 for the servant. He urged all young men to go first to France, "for the younger one goeth to France the better, because of the hardness of the accent and pronunciation, which will hardly be overcome by one who has passed his minority. In this point the French tongue may be said to be like Fortune, which, being a woman, loves youth best." When in doubt the traveller is advised to seek information from "some ancient nun," "for," says Howell, "they have all the news that pass and they will entertain in discourse till one be weary, if he bestow on them now and then some small bagatelles, as English gloves, or knives, or ribands." One is at a loss to understand what use the "ancient nuns" could possibly have found for these toys, but the custom of presenting them in return for their advice and "news" was universal. When travelling on the Continent for pleasure was yet in its infancy, it was customary for a young man to be sent with his tutor first to some provincial town in France—never to Paris first. He learnt the language and perfected himself in the

art of entering a room with distinction, and learnt how to carry his head and hands, and how to turn out his toes. When he had mastered these arts according to the then much-admired French style, he proceeded to Italy, then to the Low Countries, and finally to Paris. To go to Paris first would have been contrary to all guide-book rules and general custom.

Howell's successor, Misson, wrote the "Instructions to Travellers," the accuracy of which Addison so highly praised. The author was a French refugee and he acted as tutor to the grandson of the Duke of Ormonde. Unlike Howell, Misson was a staunch believer in impressing the foreigner by lavish display, and he recommended those who intended staying long in any one place to hire a sufficiency of lackeys, couriers, and interpreters, all of whom should be in livery. He commented sarcastically on the Scotchmen "who wish to get into good company but do not wish to spend their money, either because they have it not to spend or because they wish to make a better use of it." The only advice he had to offer to such is that either they must be prepared to spend royally or else abandon all hopes of getting into "good company." Misson recommended those who visited Italy to go singly or else in small numbers, owing to the limited accommodation, and he further advised them to carry with them all necessary bed-clothes, also a bed if possible, and above all "a small iron machine to close doors." Addison could not praise too highly Misson's "Instructions," but it is a matter of infinite regret that Addison himself did not give us more of his own impressions of the French people than his delightful description of them as "the happiest nation in the world, their women perfect mistresses in the art of showing themselves to the best advantage. Always gay and sprightly, they set off the worst faces in Europe with the best airs." Unfortunately, however, we know as little of Addison's impressions of Paris as we do of Milton's.

Even in the days when Peacham wrote his "Compleat Gentleman," the curio-hunter infested the land, and they must have been halcyon times for them, for we are told that in Greece statues could be had for the digging and carrying away. This laudable effort to transplant old Greece into England always enjoyed royal favour, the Earl of Arundel, who according to

Sir Horace Walpole was "the father of vertu in England," filled the galleries and garden of his house in the Strand with priceless treasures, and the collecting of antiques after some years became the fashionable craze. As such no guide-book worthy of the name could afford to disregard it. When they referred to the collection at York House of the "Romane heads" and statues formerly used by Rubens as models for some of his paintings, it was with the avowed object of inciting the young traveller to acquire similar treasures. It was, above all, necessary to go with some knowledge of these things, whose educational value no seventeenth century writer failed to extol. Such as neglect and despise "these copies and memorials of men and matters of elder times," said one, "must be either idiots or rakehells." "It is not enough," writes another, "for an ingenious gentleman to behold these with a vulgar eye, but he must be able to distinguish them and tell who and what they be," and he adds that the best way is to visit them in company of such as are learned in them.

Finally, none of these early guide-books failed to impress on their readers that foreigners were not necessarily fools, and several relate the tale of the two scholars in Germany. These two young men remained so long at an inn that they spent not only all their money, but they also ran into debt to the extent of several hundred dollars. They, therefore, with an air of great wisdom told their host of Plato's theory, and informed him that 36,000 years hence the world would be again as it was, and they would be in the same inn and chamber again, and, therefore, they desired him to trust them till then. To this mine host replied that he perfectly remembered how that 36,000 years ago the same thing had happened, that they had left the same reckoning, and if they would pay that he would be pleased to trust them for the next. "Where may wisdom be had," says the author of one guide-book, "but from many men and in many places?" He refers to the fact that even excluding the patriarchs all the great men of the world were travellers; he quotes Plato, Pythagoras, Aristotle, and concludes with the epitaph written on the tomb of Osiris: "Here under I lie, King Osiris, eldest son of Saturn, who have left no part of the world unseent."

TO VOTE OR NOT TO VOTE.

With apologies to Hamlet.

To vote or not to vote, that is the question :
Whether 'tis nobler for the sex to suffer
The (so-called) tyranny of man-made laws,
Or to take hammers 'gainst a sea of troubles,
And by one smashing, end them? To tap,
—to smash—

To crash; and by one blow, to say we end
That window, and the thousand natural ills
That flesh is heir to,—'tis a consummation
Devoutly to be wished. To tap,—to smash,—
And then perchance arrested; ay, there's the
rub;

For in that Holloway what dreams may come!
When we have shuffled off this Suffrage coil,
We stand and pause: where's the respect
That once was paid to Woman's honoured life?
Say who would bear the fuss and toil of votes,
The canvasser's call, the opposing contumely,
The election scrimmage, the publicity,
The insolence of office, and the spurn
Of those who erstwhile honoured women,
When she herself might lead her quiet life
Voteless—yet powerful? Who would these
burdens bear,

Grasping and seeking a political life,
But that the hope of something *after* votes—
The seat in Parliament—the salary,
Attracts the mercenary souls of those
Who, shrieking of the ills they have to bear,
Would fly to others that they know not of!
These hammers do make *bidders* of us all,
And thus the Suffrage hue of noble aims
Is sicklied o'er with the pale cast of greed;
And enterprises of much brawl and turmoil,
With this regard, supporters turn away,
And lose the name of wisdom.

THE END OF THE HOME.

THE extravagances at which, with logical necessity, even clever women arrive when once they have let themselves go upon the inclined plane of "Women's Rights," are well illustrated in a recent appearance on the German book market signed "Hulda Maurenbrecher." It is to be presumed that even Suffragettes—some of them, at least—will consider it what is designated in German as "strong tobacco"; but for all that it is bound to make disciples, being excellently, even brilliantly written, and with a show of plausibility which cannot fail to strew dust into many feminine and, perhaps, even some masculine eyes. If to plain common-sense its teaching does not commend itself, it is, therefore, not for want of any advantage in the presentment.

Das Allzuweibliche (Ernst Reinhardt, Munich) is in itself a significant title and admirably appropriate, since it is against nothing less than the "womanly" in woman that Frau Maurenbrecher has declared war. To my shame be it confessed, that the name of Hulda Maurenbrecher is as unknown to me as her previous utterances—if she has made any—but judging from the internal evidence of *Das Allzuweibliche* I should risk the hypothesis that she is a clever, energetic and conscientious person who has suffered abnormally from housekeeping, and who in her wish to escape from its shackles has mounted a hobby-horse, which, promptly taking the bit between its teeth, has landed her in a quagmire of absurdities.

To compress into a sentence her recipe for the cure of all social evils—beginning, of course, with those suffered by women: it is the eradication of the home, the destruction of the hearthstone, which can only be done by curing woman's one great defect from which all the harm springs—that of being too *womanly*.

The author wastes no time in talking of Female Suffrage or allied questions, which she treats as foregone conclusions, but devotes her attention to the organisation of the new society which will be the outcome of the new conditions. As is only logical, she begins with the question of education. The book, in fact, is almost exclusively given up to the child whom she has evidently studied deeply and sympathetically, but always from the back of her hobby-horse. It is one of the many paradoxes of the work that a person who knows so much about children and their natural tendencies should aim at creating for them so completely unnatural an atmosphere.

GIRLS' EDUCATION.

About boys' education she finds little to criticise, but it is the girls' upbringing which is all wrong, and this only because its avowed object is to make a *woman* of her. The first mistake is committed when the first doll is purchased; for a doll awakens eminently *womanly* feelings, accustoming the little girl to look upon herself as a future mother and a future housewife, and that is fatal to female independence. Moreover—so Frau Maurenbrecher affirms—it is by no means proved that little girls like to play with dolls, but only that grown-up people like to give them dolls, with which they then get so used to play that they cannot do without them. In other words, it is the supply that has created the demand. That it should be the other way round, and the demand have created the supply, is an explanation which does not fit into our author's theories and is, therefore, wisely ignored. "Down with the doll!" is one of her many war cries.

Besides not playing with dolls but only with bricks, sand, plaster and mechanical toys, like her brother, the little girl is likewise to wear his breeches and have her hair cropped short like his—is, in one word, to be treated entirely and exactly as a boy is treated, with the object of making a woman as close a copy of a man as a few elementary facts of nature will allow. Very earnestly are parents called upon, on pains of jeopardising the future of their daughters, never to make a distinction between them and their sons.

"This means that not a glance, not a word, not a gesture, not a hint is to be tolerated in which might be even the breath of a differentiating estimate between girl and boy. Neither task, nor occupation, nor game, nor admonition, nor rule can be admitted which applies either to the boy alone or to the girl alone."

This is introducing woman's rights into the nursery with a vengeance indeed!

The idea at the back of the author's mind is evidently that all mental and psychological differences between men and women are artificial productions; and her dream, as obviously, is to level out these differences, not only by making women less womanly, but also by making men less manly. This latter object is not, indeed, avowed; but

what else can mean her insistence upon the fact that men are probably quite as well fitted to look after small children as are women, quite as adroit and delicate-fingered, and that all they want is practice? In future both "masculine" and "feminine" attributes are to disappear in favour of purely "human." The deadly dullness of a world peopled with these neutral-minded beings is an argument which, of course, cannot fall into the balance beside the immense benefits which Hulda Maurenbrecher proposes to bestow upon the race.

That co-education should be a *sine qua non* of the new system it is almost superfluous to mention. A "girls' school" is to Frau Maurenbrecher almost as black a *bête noire* as is the offending doll or the "terrible petticoat." Another of her antipathies is the female teacher, and for the excellent reason that she too is "womanly"—the worst thing you can possibly be, as we have already heard. If the author had it all her own way, girls would be brought up exclusively by men, at least until a new brand of female teachers has been evolved who will have successfully rid themselves of the detested quality. Meanwhile, this teacher is to her pupil only a somewhat more modified curse than one other person. Will my readers guess who? That pupil's mother!

Let I should be accused of romancing, I hasten to give Hulda Maurenbrecher's own words: "I make no denial of it; the influence of the mother is, to my mind, the most pernicious part of a girl's education." (Page 55.)

And, again: "Every hour spent at the mother's side means an hour lost in general knowledge." (Page 47.)

With pronouncements in this sense the book abounds.

PROFESSION v. HOUSEHOLD.

From all this it necessarily follows that all "womanly" occupations are to be despised, and Frau Maurenbrecher despises them heartily and outspokenly. The cup of her scorn is poured upon the head of the *Hauslochter* (the domestic girl)—a scorn which, as coming from a woman of that nation, which has hitherto stood as the type of the domestic, is significant of the times. It is the thought of the future household that stifles the ambition of the worker; and as women in future are to be nothing but workers, the pernicious thought must itself be stifled. Bitterly does Frau Maurenbrecher reproach women with viewing their profession only as a makeshift until the right man comes along and, therefore, failing to take root in it. But all this will end when education becomes rational, that is, masculine. For her more temperate fellow-workers, those half-hearted women who dream of a compromise between profession and household, and who imagine that a girl can be educated both to keep house and to earn a living, the author has plenty of scorn in reserve. She will have none of these half-measures. The "profession" is the only thing that counts; the "house" is welcome to go to the dogs if it likes. It must be conceded that Hulda Maurenbrecher has, at least, the courage of her opinions.

That a lady of this intrepidity of views should have a word to say for free love was to be expected; and, sure enough, she says it. One of the chief advantages of the "profession," it now appears, is that women will be able to afford to have children without

depending upon the financial assistance of the men, nor, consequently, upon their fidelity. "Does this mean the end of all control?" she asks. "If you like to call it so—yes. But what right has control in the case of a mature young woman?"

A certain amount of legality is, however, to be given to the proceeding by a law enacting that every union producing offspring should be considered a legal marriage. What is to happen in the case of a variety of fathers *versus* one mother? Frau Maurenbrecher does not tell us. Presumably divorce will act as automatically as matrimony.

But these are visions of the golden future. To return to the present and to the analysis of the reasons which make most marriages a failure. Among the chief of these range: the fact that the woman thinks more of the child—even before its appearance—than of the man (a terribly "womanly" thing to do and, therefore, to be mercilessly condemned); the fact that women are given to "spoiling" Man by ministering to his small wants (which somewhat contradicts point 1); then, that she is generally stupid, dusts his writing-table at the wrong moments, and ties away his notes, &c.; but chiefly and principally because she has to look after the house. This is the real root of the evil. "That wretched household!" seems to run like a *burden* through the whole of the book, causing sympathising people to shudder at the thought of what poor Frau Maurenbrecher must have suffered at the hands of her cooks and her housemaids. Speaking of the incompetence of so many wives and mothers, she defends them on the score of the incompatibility of their duties. They would like to be good wives and mothers she feels sure, but they are not allowed to be that: "Because they are housekeepers," and because the housekeeper is the natural enemy of the wife and the mother. And now comes the summing up of the situation:—

"The practical consequence of all this is clear: She who has to bring up children can under no circumstances whatever be a housewife."

STATE UPBRINGING.

Having brought us to this *impasse*, and seeing us plunged in perplexity, Frau Maurenbrecher triumphantly produces her solution; and, in so doing, unmasks herself as a Socialist of the most virulent brand. The plan has the merit of simplicity. The parents being declared incompetent to bring up their children, these are to be looked after in establishments which may be described as glorified *Kindergartens*, graduated according to their age (which is to start from six months). Frau Maurenbrecher calls this the *Kinderhaus* (the Children's House). After the age of ten they move to the *Schulhaus* (School House), where serious study begins. The parents, meanwhile, are both following their professions on exactly equal terms, of course, their respective masculine and feminine qualities having been successfully levelled out; and as it would be absurd to bother with housekeeping for two people only, it follows that they live in a sort of barracks with a central kitchen. It is true that the children are supposed to come back to the barracks every evening, to be returned to the *Kinderhaus* every morning. The process of putting them to bed and getting them up again is about all that remains of the former conception of

home; and even this is evidently a concession to present prejudices. Frau Maurenbrecher does not expressly say that this form of education will be compulsory; but this may be taken for granted, since nothing short of legal compulsion would have a chance against the private opinions, or likings, or prejudices of individual parents; only, to be sure, that in the golden age of Socialism it is understood that nobody will have opinions of his own.

The author draws, of course, a glowing picture of the delights of the future *Kinderhaus*—whose doors, it is to be supposed, will be rigorously closed against the mischievous doll, and within whose walls little girls in breeches, with cropped hair, will be able to scramble and scuffle upon "equal" terms with little boys. In order, presumably, to sugar the pill, parents are assured that the establishment will be open to them at every minute of the day. Also that they will take part in the councils of the directors and teachers. Whether this part will be more than that of resigned listeners it may be permitted to doubt, since it is made quite clear that the last word is to rest with the authorities. Nor is a warning wanting to fathers or mothers who might be inclined to oppose the educational work as a "baneful influence." When once parents have recognised that it is for the good of the child to be brought up by other people, Frau Maurenbrecher is convinced that they will all cheerfully submit. In fact, we are told that nobody but an idiot could think of protesting. "Do not let us be sentimental!" she admonishes all possible idiots who might make the attempt.

And why is this arrangement for the good of the child? Because no *untaught* mother can possibly understand her child or its wants. It is only the earnest student of infantile psychology, the systematic follower of a scientific course of the subject, who can hope to grapple with the problem; and even he or she, of course, only after a successfully passed examination. There we have the kernel of the whole matter: the depreciation of the maternal instinct and the ranging of the knowledge of the child into the exact sciences. In the course of the volume the author has had more than one hit at this instinct, her belief in which is evidently feeble. "We have overvalued this maternal instinct," she says on page 178, "for we expect everything from it." And again: "And this opinion, too, is a *Hauslochter* opinion; that a woman in giving birth to a child has achieved the crowning act of her life."

This pooh-pooing of the maternal instinct is all the more instructive to note, as on the very same page on which the last quoted pronouncement is made Frau Maurenbrecher asserts (with reference to the pangs of child-bearing) that "Nature" never does anything without an object. That this same unerring "Nature" might be trusted to know what she was about in confiding the child to the mother is another of those things which the impetuous pace of her hobby-horse has left Frau Maurenbrecher no leisure to consider.

SHAM MEN.

Such is the teaching of "*Das Allzuweibliche*." The gleams of commonsense which illuminate the volume make one sincerely regret its exaggerations. Had the author contented herself with asserting that

women's education shows at present many shortcomings, that it is desirable that mothers should be able to answer their boys' questions, instead of always having to refer them to their father; that little girls have too many dolls, and learn extravagance from the superfluity of their frocks and other accessories; that an extension of the *Kindergarten* system would be a boon to many overburdened families, and chiefly to such in which the mother is obliged to earn money as well as the father; that housekeeping is still capable of immense simplification, &c., &c., she would doubtless have been listened to with attention even by "womanly" women. But since nothing will satisfy her but to make of the mothers a mere casual and perfectly dispensable accessory to the child's life, and to turn our daughters, not into more capable women, but into sham men, she must look to her following amongst more "advanced" people.

Having gone so far, I rather wonder that Frau Maurenbrecher did not go further. That same spirit of compromise which she scornfully throws up in the faces of her fellow-workers, is not quite absent from her own teaching. Rather it seems to be a case of the mote and the beam. That she should grant to all mothers a six months' rest from the supreme "profession," in order to enable them to nurse their babies for that period, is, to be sure, no concession to "sentimentality," but answers simply to the custom of any rationally conducted breeding establishment, whether for four-footed or two-fitted creatures. But why, for instance, let the children go "home" at night? The fetching them from, and bringing them back to the *Kinderhaus* is surely a superfluous complication—besides being an unwarranted opening of the door to "baneful" counter-influences. No doubt the kind-hearted reformer thinks that the mothers will like it. But for how long will they continue to like it, and not simply be bored with the extra trouble? Has it really not occurred to this enthusiastic psychologist that a few generations of the new system will have killed the despised maternal instinct as outright in women as the incubator has done in hens? Then again, is it quite "consequent" to allow grown women long skirts and long hair— which things, surely, are dangerously "womanly"? The former, to be sure, are to be reserved for festive occasions; and, by the bye—what sort of a figure does Frau Maurenbrecher expect a woman who has grown up in breeches, to cut in the "terrible petticoat," when donned at long intervals? It is likely to be one calculated to add considerably to the hilarity of the occasions in question.

All reformers are profuse in promises; and, of course, this one is so. Amongst other things we are promised a great increase of our "inner life," from the cessation of all material cares. Considering that the whole treatise is dominated by the question of practical merits—needs of the soul, in fact, or the soul itself not being so much as mentioned—the tendency of the programme being to turn out efficient working machines—it is not absolutely clear where this inner life is to come from. That it is exactly the existence of common anxieties, of common needs that knit families together, that children become dear in proportion to the pain they have cost, are things upon which our author does not choose to reflect. Nor, very evi-

dently, has she asked herself whether, by relieving the mother of the necessity—even of the right to suffer for her child, she is doing her a real service, and not rather robbing her of moral joys uncountable, and which would be cheaply bought by a measure of material cares?

But to pursue this subject would be to become sentimental—the very thing which Hulda Maurenbrecher has been so strenuously warning us against.

DOROTHEA GERARD.
(Madame Langard de Langgarde.)

THE CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT BILL.

ON June 10th, the Criminal Law Amendment Bill, after many vicissitudes, was read a second time in the House of Commons. The Government had agreed to adopt the measure as its own, thus giving it for the first time a reasonable chance of being passed into law. Mr. Arthur Lee, the chief promoter of the Bill, moved the second reading. He urged that it was aimed only at those who profited by the white slave traffic, and that it strengthened, without greatly changing, the existing law. He asked the House to send the Bill to a Select Committee, and in the course of his concluding remarks said:—

"I feel very strongly, as an opponent of Woman's Suffrage, that we are under a special obligation to pay heed to the appeal made to us as men by the united voice of women on behalf of the most miserable and unfortunate of their sex. In my judgment, the attitude of the Anti-Suffragists would be inexcusable, and their position untenable, if it could be said, and said truly, that men were callous to the sufferings of women, and not willing to accord them even an elementary measure of protection."

Mr. Booth doubted the efficacy of the Bill, and desired a larger and more complete measure.

Sir F. Banbury declared that, although he had been mentioned as an opponent of the measure, he fully sympathised with its object. Its details, however, needed criticism, and it was only in order that they might not pass undiscussed that he had objected to its second reading after 11 o'clock.

The course of the debate indicated that the House was of the same opinion, having made up its mind to pass the second reading and to leave it to the Committee to introduce amendments.

After the Home Secretary had pointed out that, while the Bill would hardly do all that its promoters expected, it was a good measure, and would considerably strengthen the hands of the police, the Bill was read a second time without a division.

NORTH WALES.—A lady wishes to recommend to visitors seeking lodgings in North Wales the following addresses:—Mrs. Jones, 2, Marine Terrace, Barmouth; Miss Jones, 26, Marine Terrace, Criccieth.

RELIGION AND THE SUFFRAGE.

PROTEST BY
MRS. HUMPHRY WARD.

THE following letter from Mrs. Humphry Ward appeared in "The Times" of June 19th:—

To the Editor of "The Times"

"SIR.—It is announced that to-morrow, June 19th, two "great meetings" will be held in the Queen's Hall "to consider the religious aspect of the women's movement." The promoters of the meetings wish to bring before the public the graver and more serious issues of this subject. The list of promoters and guarantors given on the circulars issued, and the names of the speakers, show plainly that the meeting is a Suffragist meeting, and that "the women's movement," mentioned in their published papers, is, in the opinion of those summoning these gatherings, identical with the Suffrage movement. If further proof were wanted it is to be found in the distribution by Suffragist agents last Sunday outside London churches of the notices of the meeting. A few Anti-Suffragists have been, I understand, invited to the meetings—to hear the speeches.

"Now, when we find Bishops and Canons and the wife of an Archbishop of Canterbury combining to commend "the women's movement"—that is plainly, from the context, the Suffragist movement—to the attention of Christian people, on the ground that it "may help the cause of religion" and lead to the "deepening of political life," those of us who dissent from the Suffrage claims will be inclined, I think, to ask a few questions.

"What kind of "women's movement" is it which the promoters of this meeting assume—by the manner in which they have organised the meeting and the names they have attached to it—to be identical with the Suffrage movement?"

"Do they mean by the words all that mass of philanthropic and social work which is being carried on by women, and those efforts for social and moral reform to which many women are now giving their lives? If they do, it is of course clear that they are wrong—and in my opinion unpardonably wrong—in indentifying such a women's movement with the demand for the Parliamentary Suffrage. There are hundreds and thousands of women patiently working for causes of social and moral reform to-day who believe that to ask for the Parliamentary vote in this country is merely to claim unjust interference with the rightful powers and responsibilities of men, without any corresponding advantage to women.

"From the names exclusively connected with this meeting it is evident that its promoters mean by it the movement with which we are all familiar, which claims for women equal political rights and powers with men, and in all the countries where it has appeared, insists, in the second place, on the economic independence of women.

"And the promoters of these meetings further mean to say that this movement, which they call "the women's movement," is a religious movement, and has strong claims upon religious people.

"We shall read with interest and respect the speeches by which the various eminent men and women announced endeavour to prove their case. The religious arguments on behalf of the Suffrage which are sometimes put forward, sound, to those of us who take a different view, grotesque indeed. In a recent number of the *Church League for Women's Suffrage*, to which various supporters of to-morrow's meetings are contributors, I find it stated, for instance, that "the only reproof our Lord ever spoke to a woman was for too great absorption, regardless of higher things, in details of housekeeping." But we may, I think, without irrelevance, and in gravest seriousness, ask both the conveners of these meetings and the public to consider certain undoubted elements in this "women's movement" which are not likely to be much dwelt on in to-morrow's meetings, but which are causing much searching of heart among women of all kinds and all shades of opinion. The simple truth is that the Suffragist or feminist movement is associated in all countries where it is now active with doctrines which the promoters of to-morrow's meetings would repudiate with horror. They would like to claim "the women's movement" as their own, and to identify it with the ethical and religious views which we all know them to hold. But, unfortunately, they cannot do so. The literature of "the women's movement" as it truly is, and not as the promoters of to-morrow's meetings would like it to be, is widespread, and the driving forces in it are certainly not religious, nor are they ethical in any sense which the Bishop of Oxford and Mrs. Creighton would acknowledge. A newspaper has recently appeared among us, which is largely advertised in the streets, and has, I am told, a growing circulation. It is written by women of high education, who, generally speaking, sign their names to what they write. Its first two editors were women closely connected with the forward Suffrage movement. One, shortly before the paper appeared, was on the Executive Committee of the W.S.P.U.; the other—who is now sole editor—was a well-known Suffragist lecturer, and is a B.A. The paper shows, in some respects, conspicuous ability, and is, I believe, eagerly read. That it clearly belongs to the "women's movement" ought alone, I think, to have deterred the promoters of to-morrow's meetings from putting forward the assumptions on which their circulars are based. The doctrine of the economic independence of women, which is everywhere part and parcel of the Suffrage movement, leads, in the case of this ably-written paper, to strange results. Motherhood outside marriage, by means of temporary unions for the purpose; its formal recognition by society, and the conditions on which the "new maids" of the future will claim and enforce it; arguments against the "immoral" permanence of marriage; complete freedom of union, under the guidance of passion, between men and women; and other speculations and contentions with regard to the relations of the sexes—especially in the letters from correspondents—such as could not be reproduced in your columns; these matters and the handling of them shed a flood of light on certain aspects of the "women's movement" This newspaper does not stand alone, nor are these aspects a mere negligible quantity. Everywhere the Suffrage movement which is fundamentally a movement of revolt—in

America, France, Germany, Scandinavia—runs out, on some one or other of its sides, into conceptions and ideals which would be absolutely abhorrent to the promoters of to-morrow's meeting and to the vast majority of those who will go to hear them.

"Yes. But what it seems to me and others they have no right to do is to ignore this dark and dangerous side of the "women's movement," using the words in the sense which they clearly give to them. To us who stand upon the old ways it is plain that the onus of proof is upon those who would have us believe that there is nothing in this movement for the Suffrage but an innocent claim for political reform, or a noble—and religious—desire for the uplifting of women. On the contrary, there is much else. Behind those—like the conveners of this meeting—who honestly desire honest reform there are ranged powers which, in my belief, they very little understand, and which are at war with all that long effort of humanity to realize the Divine in itself—as against the "ape and tiger" of the flesh—which we call religion.

Yours obediently,

MARY A. WARD.

June 18th.

WOMEN AND LOCAL COUNCILS.

AN interesting speech was made on the subject of "Woman's work on Local Councils," by Miss Dorothy Ward (daughter of Mrs. Humphry Ward), at a meeting held in Bromley on June 11th, under the auspices of the Local Government Advancement Committee.

The chair was taken by the Hon. Mrs. Forster, and Miss Mabel Smith, also made a most able speech.

Mrs. Forster said that if women were but to use the Local Franchise they could obtain the same things as by the Parliamentary Franchise, and she urged her hearers to endeavour to get more women interested in Local Government.

Miss Mabel Smith argued that many of the grievances and disabilities of women could be remedied by a wider use of the powers that they already had. The more vital matters in municipal life were matters with which women should deal.

Women were better suited to Local Government; their expert knowledge, temperament, and experience fitted them for it; and while there were many women who took no interest in and had no knowledge of, foreign politics, they had expert knowledge which men had not, with regard to local powers.

Miss Smith then summed up the multifarious duties in Local Government where a woman's work might be valuable, and concluded by saying that what was required was not so much new laws, but better administration of the laws already in operation.

Miss Dorothy Ward said that Miss Smith's remarks had covered nearly the whole field of woman's work, but she would like to comment

more particularly on the necessity that existed for women undertaking municipal work, to equip themselves thoroughly with such knowledge and experience as would make them valuable agents in municipal life. Miss Ward then proceeded to explain with an admirable clearness the many ways and means by which women could make themselves proficient as members of local councils. There was, she said, in the vast area of local government, scope for a practically exhaustless supply of work for the good of the community. Women of practical experience were badly needed in the field. As a beginning—if a woman would become a school visitor she would obtain much valuable information regarding the poor and their lives. There were also the "After-care Committees," in connection with which useful work could be done. A good practical knowledge of medical work was needed if one were to be a voluntary helper for medical inspection of children, and experience of this kind could be afforded by volunteer work in some of the London Hospitals. Women who worked in this way would be at once helping the poor and making themselves fit candidates for local Councils.

Miss Ward concluded by expressing a wish that the Bromley District would have a lady candidate at the next Council election. Mrs. Fischer of Appletreewick, Bickley, the Secretary of the Local Branch of the Local Government Advancement Committee, would be pleased to hear of anyone interested in the work.

IGNORANCE OR DECEPTION?

It is impossible to correct all the mis-statements that are being made up and down the country by Suffragist speakers and writers. Both classes are characterised by the most amazing recklessness, and elsewhere we deal with some of the more notorious examples. Here we would only quote a typical remark made by Lady Frances Balfour at Nottingham. It was given to her audience as a telling epigram in favour of votes for women, and was loudly applauded.

"The homes of the State," said Lady Frances Balfour, "like the homes of individuals, need woman's supervision." They do, and they enjoy that supervision already, without the vote. The women in Great Britain, to the number now of over a million, have had Municipal and County Council votes for 20 years, and these enable them to help to control the following legislation:—Education, housing of working people, lodging-house supervision, sanitation, baths and wash-houses; administration of the Act for prevention of cruelty to children and other Acts affecting children; measures dealing with infant life protection, Old Age Pensions Act, Unemployed Workmen Act, powers as to the inspection of food and food storage, means of transit and supply of light and water, industrial schools, isolation hospitals and inebriate homes, lunatic asylums, control of places of amusement and public parks.

Yet Lady Frances Balfour and her fellow-Suffragists pretend that the Parliamentary vote is required to procure woman's supervision of the "homes of the State."

THE ANNUAL COUNCIL MEETING, 1912.

THE Fourth Annual Council Meeting of the League was held in the Westminster Palace Hotel on Friday, June 21st, at 3 p.m. Earl Curzon of Kedleston presided, and among those who were seated on the platform were:—

Lord Curzon (*President*), Lord Cromer (*ex-President*), Lady Jersey (*Deputy-President*), Colonel Le Roy-Lewis, C.B., D.S.O. (*Chairman of Executive Committee*), Mr. J. Massie (*Hon. Treasurer*), Mrs. Moberly Bell (*Hon. Secretary*), and the following members of the Executive Committee: Miss G. Lowthian Bell, Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun, Mrs. Frederic Harrison, Mrs. Massie, Miss Gladys Pott, Mrs. Humphry Ward, Mrs. Henry Wilson, Lord and Lady Charwood, Lord Haversham, Mr. A. MacCallum Scott, M.P., Mr. A. Maconachie.

Among others present at the meeting were Lady Edward Cavendish, Lady Florence Bourke, Lord Eustace Cecil, Mr. William Campion, M.P., Mr. Gershom Stewart, M.P., Mrs. G. Macmillan.

The following Branches (102 in all) were represented at the Council meeting:—

Abingdon, Altrincham, Ambleside, Ascot, Berkhamsted, Berks (South), Berks (North), Berks (East), Birmingham, Bookham, Bournemouth, Bradford, Bristol, Bromley and Bickley, Cambridge, Cambridge University, Camberley, Frimley and Mytchell, Cheltenham, Chelsea, Chiswick, Clevedon, Cranbrook, Crouch End, Crowborough, Croydon, Cumberland, Daglingworth, Deal and Walmer, Devon (East), Dorking, Dublin, Dulwich, Ealing, Eastbourne, East Grinstead, Egham, Esher, Finchley, Fulham, Girls' League, Girton College, Gloucester, Golder's Green, Guildford, Hampstead, Hampton and District, Hampstead (North East), Hastings and St. Leonards, Hemel Hempstead, Herefordshire (South), Hereford, Highbury, Hythe, Kensington, Kew, Leamington, Leatherhead and Fetcham, Leeds, Leicester, Manchester, Marylebone, Mayfair, Molesey (East), Newbury, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Newport, Upper Norwood, Oxford, Oxshott, Paddington, Petersfield, Portsmouth, Purley, Reigate, Rickmansworth, St. Pancras, Salisbury, Saltwood, Sevenoaks, Sheffield, Shrewsbury, Solihull, Southampton, Southsea, Stratford-on-Avon, Streatham, Surbiton, Sussex (West), Sutton Coldfield, Sutton, Torquay, Tunbridge Wells, Watford, Wendover, Westminster, Weston-super-Mare, Wilts (South), Wimbledon, Winchester, Woking and Over, Woking, and Woodford.

The growth of the League during the year was strikingly shown by the fact that the room at the Westminster Palace Hotel proved too small to accommodate comfortably all the delegates to the Council meeting.

In opening the meeting Lord CURZON said:—

Ladies and gentlemen; First let me say how glad I am to see so large and crowded a meeting this afternoon. There is one conspicuous and regrettable difference between our meeting to-day and that of a year ago. I speak of the change in the occupancy of this chair. During the past year we have lost the presidency of Lord Cromer, although I am glad to see he has come here to show his continued sympathy with us this afternoon. (Hear, hear and applause.) I need hardly say that his retirement was due to no action of ours. (Hear, hear.) We regarded his

presidency as a great source of strength and encouragement to the League, and we were willing and anxious it should be continued as long as he was able to place his services at our disposal. Ill-health was the sole cause for his retirement. (Hear, hear.) That was a reason to which we could not but defer; but in accepting his retirement we placed on record, as I hope you, ladies and gentlemen, will do this afternoon, our profound sense of gratitude for the great services that during the past few years he has rendered to our cause. (Applause.) Although no longer our President, Lord Cromer has not abated by one iota his interest in our work, and he is at the present moment engaged in that most difficult of all tasks, obtaining financial contributions.

I think we meet this afternoon in circumstances of good cheer. (Applause.) We have every right to be satisfied with the record of the past year. We have always contended that although we do not make much noise and clatter, though we do not swell the glaziers' bills in the metropolis, and have none of us ever enjoyed the hospitality of His Majesty in that accommodation which he places at the disposal of his more unruly subjects—(laughter)—yet the silent strength and the convinced opinion of the country are behind us. (Hear, hear.) That opinion merely required a phonograph into which to speak its voice so as to register and record it for the benefit of the country. This is the purpose that our League has sought to fill. We have provided a nucleus round which public opinion could rally, and we have endeavoured to give shape and directness to the sentiments existing in all parts of the country which, until the Central League took the question in hand, were apt to remain undrilled and dumb. (Hear, hear.) That, broadly speaking, is the service which our League endeavours to render.

I said that we had reason to be satisfied with the events of the past year, and there are four amongst them to which you will allude me, in passing, to allude.

The first was our deputation on December 14th last to the Prime Minister in Downing Street. (Applause.) There, in less than an hour, we stated our case, with a cogency which won a high compliment from Mr. Asquith and which brought from him in reply the memorable

statement that the grant of the Parliamentary franchise for women would be a mistake of a very disastrous kind. (Hear, hear.) Ladies and gentlemen, that is exactly our view. It could not be expressed in half a dozen words more effectively or more concisely; and you may depend upon it we shall make great use of that phrase in the campaign which lies before us. Indeed, I would like to add that it is almost impossible to believe that the statesman who gave utterance to such a remark could acquiesce in the perpetration by his Government of a revolution such as is sought by the Suffragist party after using the language I have just read out.

The second great event was the Albert Hall meeting on February 28th—(applause)—when, as many of you will remember, that great hall was filled from floor to roof with an earnest and enthusiastic crowd, and when there was assembled on the

platform such a collection of men of varying political opinions as I believe had never met together on any public occasion before. (Applause.) And that meeting was remarkable, not only for the platform and the audience but for other things also. In the first place it demonstrated the tremendous weight of public opinion that lies behind us in all parts of the country, because from all parts of the country those people came; and, secondly, there was the delivery of a very remarkable speech by a lady—Miss Markham—(applause)—which not only produced an ineffaceable impression on those who heard it, but, owing to the great demand for the speech when it was circulated, has had a profound effect on public opinion outside. Thirdly, it gave us, in the speech of Lord Loreburn—the ex-Lord Chancellor—a man, not only of the highest position, but of the most inflexible integrity—another phrase which will be useful to us. It was the remark in which he said, "It would be a constitutional outrage if Woman Suffrage were carried into law by the present Parliament without the sanction of the constituencies." (Applause.)

We thank the ex-Lord Chancellor for that phrase, and he may depend upon it, just as the public will not forget him in his retirement, so we shall not forget the final battle cry which he gave to us on that historical occasion. (Hear, hear.)

It was immediately after that meeting—it was *post hoc*, I do not know whether it was also *propter hoc*—that the campaign of window smashing began, which attracted so much attention. It seems to me that it is no part of our duty to pass judgment on the tactics of our opponents; though to me they are quite incomprehensible. How any sane body of persons can think they can redress a political wrong—if there is one—by the destruction of other people's property I cannot understand; and how they are at all likely to propitiate those people, some of whom may be their supporters, by smashing their windows, I cannot explain. But, really, the tactics of our opponents are food for study which might occupy us for a considerable time this afternoon, but which I prefer to regard with a silent and amazed surprise. Whether their prisoners should be treated in the first or second class; whether they should adopt the plan of a hunger strike, or not; these matters are of vital importance to them, but, as far as I can see, are wholly immaterial to us. As members of the community we are, it is true, interested in the vindication of the principles upon which alone tranquil and orderly society can exist; as Anti-Suffragists we are satisfied and pleased when they play their hand so badly; but with that remark I think we can pass over their position at the moment. After all, it is merely a domestic pre-occupation of theirs—(laughter)—and we are satisfied by the impression which has been produced by it on public opinion, and are conscious it can do our cause nothing but good. (Hear, hear.)

The effect of the Albert Hall meeting was almost immediately visible in the third event to which I referred, namely, the defeat of the Conciliation Bill in the House of Commons—(cheers)—by a majority of 14. Ladies and gentlemen, that was a great and memorable event. (Hear, hear.) It removed out of sight, I hope finally, an absurd and essentially dishonest measure—(hear, hear)—it simplified and clarified the issue, and it blew aside the fog of confused logic, half-hearted pledges, and political intrigue, in which the female franchise question has been too long involved in the House of Commons. (Applause.) It killed, I hope finally, the policy of half measures—of half-way houses—upon which so much reliance, I think foolishly, has been placed during the past two years, and it brought us to the position which we all along foretold as inevitable, where we are face to face with the question, not whether there should be added to the electorate small and arbitrary classes of women, but whether the sex barrier shall be finally broken down, and whether we shall admit women as a class to the Parliamentary vote in this country. That issue, which has been obscured by the tactics I have mentioned, is now clear, and it will be our fault if ever it is allowed to be wrapt in obscurity again. (Applause.)

That was our third achievement, and it was followed almost immediately by the fourth. It was only about a fortnight after these events in the House of Commons, that there occurred that famous meeting of the National Union of Teachers in their Annual Conference at Hull on April 10th, when, as you know, the attempt to secure a vote in favour of the enfranchisement of women was defeated by the enormous majority represented by 13,941 votes. (Loud cheers.)

That was not merely a great victory for our cause but a crushing surprise and discomfiture for the enemy, and I think it is particularly to be welcomed because it registered the defeat of an effort to capture an organisation which ought to have

nothing whatever to do with politics—(hear, hear)—and to treat the teachers as if they were a mere pawn in the Suffragist game. I believe that result was largely due to an excellent speech made by one of our representatives—Mrs. Burgwin. (Applause.) Those are the four events to which I referred.

We are now face to face in the House of Commons with the new Franchise Bill of His Majesty's Ministers. As you know, it is proposed by that measure to add something like two and a half millions of men to the register. In this mixed company I had better not say what I think of that proposal—(laughter)—but you may, perhaps, infer. However, the sponsor of the Bill has told us that if women are admitted to the register on the same basis as men, as many as ten and a half millions will be added thereby to the roll. In what form the question of the female vote will be raised in the shape of an amendment to that Bill we do not at present know, but we do observe with some interest that the Suffragist societies have declared a war of implacable hostility to the measure. I see in their organ that they denounce it as a fraud, and an insult to the nation; and at their meeting at the Albert Hall the other evening, when Mr. Healy—a gentleman renowned for his vitriolic tongue—(laughter)—was put up to speak, he said in language, which I refrain from endorsing, that the promises and performances of the Government were a specious hypocrisy. I only quote these remarks because they emanate not from the party to which I happen to belong, but from a gentleman who occupies a detached position in observing and criticising the public character of those to whom I am referring. However, I think we may leave the Government to fight out the amendments to this Bill with their supporters; but of this we may be quite certain, first, that the House of Commons, which only a few months ago absolutely declined to set up a system of arbitrary franchises for women, is not likely to do the same thing in another form a few months later in the same year; secondly, that the House of Commons, which in March last declined by the majority that I have described to enfranchise one million of women, is not at all likely a few months later to enfranchise ten and a half millions of women; and thirdly, that a House of Commons which places, if it does place, two and a half millions of additional male voters on the register is not likely, by the same act, to allow that increase of voters to be swamped by an immense addition from the opposite sex. These, I think, are inferences which we shall all of us accept. Therefore, whatever happens to this Bill I do not think we who belong to this League need be very much disturbed.

There is only one other symptom on the part of our opponents to which I would like to refer, and that is the surrender which we have recently seen made public to the Labour and Socialist Parties by certain organisations of the Suffragist movement. What exactly is the weight to be attached to these associations I do not know, for to tell you the truth, it is almost impossible to keep pace with the number of leagues and societies into which our opponents are continually, and almost daily, splitting themselves. Having spent an agreeable morning in studying their organ, I see that their movement comprises constitutional and unconstitutional women societies; men's leagues and women's leagues; the W.S.P.U., the Women's Freedom League, the National Union of Women Suffrage Societies, and many others. (Laughter.) Well, ladies and gentlemen, if union means strength, I hardly think this evidence admits of that desirable quality being predicated of our opponents. But I understand that two branches of their Association, represented respectively by Mrs. Fawcett, and Lord Lytton, have advised their members to support the Labour Party at future elections, because the Labour Party has from its origin promoted the enfranchisement of women. May I venture to say that that seems to me a cynical and immoral attitude to take up? It is cynical, and it is immoral, because we all know perfectly well that in the background of the Labour movement there is a strong tendency towards Socialism, and that Party only advocates the enfranchisement of women, not because they are interested in the sex, but because they think they will thereby get more Socialist votes; and these Societies are going to support the Labour Party, not because they are interested in the Socialist programme—I suspect that the majority of them abhor it—but in order that they may get more votes for their cause. I say that is immoral. (Hear, hear.) I do not think we need be distressed, but what we must do is to make it known to the country and invite public opinion to pronounce upon it. (Hear, hear.)

I think a ray of self-satisfaction may be permitted if we turn from this somewhat disturbed and muddled picture that I have been drawing to the contemplation of our own activities and our



THE RT. HON. THE EARL CURZON OF KEDLESTON, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.

own League. So far as I know we are one body. (Hear, hear.) We have no diverse or rival organisations either inside or outside the main structure of this League. We all serve upon it with good will and harmony, and nothing is more remarkable than the perfect ease with which strong politicians drawn from the two political parties have sat together and worked together for the past two years in the interests which we jointly have at heart. (Hear, hear.)

May I say a word about our organisation, and what it attempts to do? We may regard it from the point of view of what we try to do in London, and what it falls to you, ladies and gentlemen, to do for us in the country. As regards our part, we endeavour, in so far as the impulse can come from us, to create branches of this League in all parts of the United Kingdom. At the present moment, I believe, there are something like 250—(applause)—and I need hardly say I think there ought to be double and treble the number. (Hear, hear.) Then, we interest ourselves in getting up meetings where asked for, and, particularly, when an election takes place, in sending down speakers, and organising the plan of campaign. We endeavour to provide all those who ask for it with literature on the subject, and we have a very capable editor who is trying to improve the quality and extend the circulation of our monthly REVIEW. At headquarters, we have an excellent staff working harmoniously together. (Hear, hear.) Since Lord Cromer retired, Colonel Le Roy-Lewis has placed his services at our disposal. He acts as Chairman of the Executive Committee, and rules them in a manner which represents both courtesy and discipline. (Hear, hear.) Captain Creed

is in the main responsible for our organisation, which he conducts with great efficiency. Amongst our other officials I really must mention Mrs. Moberly Bell—(loud applause)—who has placed her invaluable services quite gratuitously, and, I am sure, at a great sacrifice of her own leisure and comfort, at our disposal for the past year and more. (Hear, hear.) So much for our proceedings at headquarters. But I would like you to bear in mind that really the work of this League is not capable of being done at headquarters in London—the real work lies in the country, and is in the hands of you ladies and gentlemen whom I see before me. You can do so much more than we can do here. As to the Branches, these ought to be created by you rather than by us; there ought to be no great city in England without a Branch. And there is one form of activity I should like to commend to you, and that is, to realise that Members of Parliament are very soft and malleable creatures. (Laughter.) At the Annual Meeting of the Association where the Member speaks, be he pro- or Anti-Suffrage, it would be a wise thing for someone to get up and heckle him on the subject. I have known of cases where, owing to a short speech, or even a question, at a meeting, the Member has been taught for the first time there was a great body amongst his constituents opposed to Woman Suffrage of which he was not previously aware, and has modified his attitude ever afterwards. That is part of the activity which I wish to commend to you. Another thing: Do you not think you could do a great deal to circulate the REVIEW? At headquarters we are only too ready to multiply the issue, to give you a fortnightly instead of a monthly number if you give us the justification; but it is for you to find the circulation, and you may be sure, if you do, that we will respond with all necessary alacrity.

There is one other point to which you will, perhaps, allow me to refer before I sit down. It is rather an important point, and I wish to speak upon it after due reflection, and with caution. It



COLONEL H. LE ROY-LEWIS. C.B., D.S.O.

is the question of the attitude that ought to be taken up by our League on matters which are not immediately concerned with the Parliamentary vote, but which raise the question of the position of women and, incidentally, of children, under the laws of this country. (Hear, hear.) Quite a number of questions are addressed to the officials of our League in connection with this matter, and I believe it to be part of the tactics of our opponents to insinuate that because we are opposed to the grant of the Parliamentary vote to women, therefore we have no sympathy with the efforts that are being made to give them protection and relieve their position under the law. Well, if that charge be made against us by our opponents, I should like to say that I regard it as a vile and unpardonable slander. (Applause.) The two things have no necessary connection at all. (Hear, hear.) Neither side has the right to claim any peculiar credit for itself. I do not claim it for us, and I would not bring the charge against our opponents. Neither side enjoys any monopoly of sympathetic and tender

emotions in matters where the female sex and the young are concerned. It is quite possible to be a very strong Anti-Suffragist, and at the same time to hold the most vehement opinions as to the position of women and children under the law. And I would say of Suffragists also that it is quite possible to hold very strong views in favour of giving the vote to women, and yet at the same time not to be willing to agree to the raising, for instance, of the age of consent. Do not let us muddy the waters by bringing in these outside issues. (Hear, hear.)

As regards the policy of the League—the policy at headquarters—I think it is quite easy to state to you in a few words what it is, and, I think, ought to be. I may put upon one side the question of the representation of women in municipal and cognate bodies, because that is printed on the front page of our REVIEW as part of the recognised policy of our League, and it is the special work of a Committee which is presided over by Mrs. Humphry Ward. But that is not the kind of question I am alluding to this afternoon, and on all these other issues about men and women I should like to say this to you: The funds we collect are given primarily and, I think, exclusively, for resistance to the Parliamentary vote for women. It is for that purpose, and that purpose alone, that our organisation exists. (Applause.) We have no right—because of our warm hearts or tender sympathies—we have no right, with due loyalty to our constituents in

the country, to use the money that they subscribe, or the activities we have organised, for any purpose but one. I hope you will be quite clear upon that. But let me add this, that there are among our members at headquarters—among the members of our Executive Committee, for instance—men and women who have carefully studied, and who take a deep interest in these matters, and they are most anxious, with the knowledge and consent of the Committee of the League, to place their information, and their services and advice, at the disposal of our members in any part of the country who may require them. Lord Charnwood has written a most admirable memorandum upon the subject which he will be ready to place at the disposal of any one who so desires. I hope, therefore, this policy of adhering most closely to our one central idea, but at the same time giving every information in our power to those who seek it, will be acceptable to the great body of those who support us in the country. (Hear, hear.)

I will not detain you longer, but will conclude by saying I think we have a right to regard the past with congratulation,

and the future with hopefulness. (Hear, hear.) Do not let any one of us suppose for a moment the battle is at an end. The battle, in my view, is only just beginning, and is likely to be before us for years and years to come. In waging it I think we may act with a clear conscience, and with high hopes, believing, as we have full reason to do after the events of the past year, that behind us lies the common-sense of the majority of our fellow citizens. (Loud applause.)

The CHAIRMAN then called upon Mrs. Humphry Ward to propose the first motion.

Mrs. HUMPHRY WARD: I rise to propose a motion which will I am sure meet with the warm sympathy of everybody in this room, namely, the re-election and the confirmation of the election of the chief officers of this League—our two Presidents, Lord Curzon and Lord Weardale, and our Deputy-Presidents, Lady Jersey and Lady Robson. Of Lord Curzon, what shall we say that can be adequate to our sense of the value of his co-operation, his leadership of this patriotic cause of ours? It is indeed a happy fortune for us that one who has played so great a part in the history of the Empire should be with us in this battle and pledged to us in this campaign. But it is, I am sure, precisely because Lord Curzon is so great an Imperialist—and in no party sense—that he is here at our head. It is with no wish to circumscribe the rightful powers and influence of women within their own sphere, it is with no hostility to women and no depreciation of their work for the nation. If it were so, I, at least, should not be here under his leadership to-day! No. It is because Lord Curzon knows better than most of us how great, how appalling are the tasks laid upon this "weary Titan" of an England; it is because he realises more acutely, shall we say, than the young women who chatter at open-air meetings, how vital to this country, and to all its vast interests at home and abroad, is the maintenance of the male hand upon the helm of English Government, and the predominance of the male brain in matters affecting the very existence of this nation among other nations, that he refuses—as we here all refuse—to risk the making or upsetting of English Ministries by the votes of millions of women who have not asked for the vote, who, in our belief, do not wish for it, who have quite other things to do for the nation, and would be the first to suffer, as citizens, from a usurpation so unnatural of the executive powers and responsibilities of men.

Lord Weardale has done excellent service for the League both as a speaker and as a member of the Committee. I hope he will long remain in the service of the League.

Of Lady Jersey what need is there that I should say anything? She has stood by us from the beginning. She has fought all our battles and won all our affections! And to Lady Robson, who has become Lady Jersey's colleague since the last annual meeting, we should all like, I think, to extend our hearty welcome and express our hope that she will long continue to be with us. (Hear, hear.)

Then, as Lord Curzon has said, the battle is not yet over!—far from it, though I confess when he spoke of years before us my heart sank. But when once this critical session is past, we may, perhaps, hope for some comparatively peaceful years in which to strengthen our propaganda throughout the country. And we shall succeed just in so far as we succeed in convincing the sober mind of the English people, first, that the claim of Woman Suffrage in the case of Great Britain, or of any first-class European power, under European conditions, is a claim that women, in the paramount interests of the State, ought not to make—(hear, hear)—and, secondly, that the work which women, making use of their special gifts and their special knowledge, have to do for the State—both in private and public—is of such enormous importance and is, as yet, in many directions so undeveloped, that for them to attempt at the same time what are the proper political tasks of men is the purest waste, and involves the confusion of functions to which, as it seems to us at any rate, all scientific thinking on politics is wholly opposed. Let us do our work; our work in the home; our work in local government; the nation's housekeeping, which is as yet hardly begun; our work as the helpers of other women; our work as the friends and comrades and upholders of men in that free sphere of public opinion, political or social or moral, where all law-making which is to have any permanency or fruitfulness has its beginning. (Hear, hear.) And if we do it, I think we shall find that the self-realisation which the Bishop of Oxford claims for women has abundant channels and opportunities already, if we would only use them.

That brings me to the two considerable meetings held in London a few days ago, to which I think the attention of many of us has been drawn. They remind me of a famous saying of a Roman historian with regard to a Roman Emperor: "Capable of ruling—by the consent of all—unless he had ruled." And so I think we

may say of the Queen's Hall meeting held the other night: We might all have believed it to be a religious meeting, as it was announced to be—*unless it had been held*. But when it was held it was plainly seen to be what after all we are familiar with—a Suffragist meeting, which was not only content to advocate the legal methods of Mrs. Fawcett, but included, according to the newspaper reports, an impassioned appeal for the "imprisoned princesses" of the W.S.P.U. (Laughter.) Far be it from us to question the sincerity or the earnestness of many of the eminent speakers who addressed that meeting. Let us rather rejoice that its occurrence drew from the head of the English Church words of grave protest against the "unfortunately limited choice of speakers," a choice clearly intended to convey that so far as the Women's Movement was religious, it was also Suffragist; and also the reminder, to quote the Archbishop's words, that "among all kinds of political thinkers, both men and women, both Suffragists and Anti-Suffragists, are to be found those who care intensely for the religious aspect of the Women's Movement." So that by the "Women's Movement" the Archbishop clearly does not mean what the promoters of the meeting meant by it, but that infinitely larger thing in which all women of good-will, whatever their political opinions, are enrolled for life; the great effort of our time to know more clearly and to feel more tenderly, described by the words of an Elizabethan poet:

"to ease, to loose, to bind,
As need requires, this frail, fall'n human kind." (Applause.)

I have great pleasure in moving the re-election of our Presidents, Lord Curzon and Lord Weardale, and of our Deputy-Presidents, Lady Jersey and Lady Robson.

Mrs. ARCHIBALD COLQUHOUN: Lord Curzon, Ladies and Gentlemen, the motion which it is my pleasant duty to second is one which needs no words of mine, but when I move it and see the names of the women who are honouring us by becoming our Vice-Presidents, and the names of other women who many of us know to be working for our cause—some of them quietly and silently in the country, others in more conspicuous places—I am brought to think of the so-called Women's Movement of which Mrs. Humphry Ward has spoken. I shall not detain you for one moment in putting before you what I have to say. Many of our friends come to me and say: "Is it not a shame that the Suffragists should arrogate to themselves this title of the Women's Movement?" Well, so far as I am concerned, they are welcome to it. I will tell you why. I do not see why we want a Women's Movement. (Hear, hear.) I do not much want anything which lays stress upon an antagonism of sex. (Hear, hear.) Our movement is a movement in which men and women have joined hands and, therefore, it is the best kind of movement, and we do not want to be in a Women's Movement, because we are something a great deal better. And, moreover, what I like about our movement is that you find it not only lays stress on sex, it also makes a wider and more permanent appeal than could be made on such grounds, it makes an appeal on patriotic grounds; it is a national movement, a race movement, and for one I am quite satisfied with our movement and am willing to leave to my opponents those little masquerades which they have adopted, because having discovered the political platform was no good, and having been driven from one field to another, they are adopting all sorts of cloaks and disguises to endeavour to convince people, as they have not been able to do heretofore. I think it is a sign of weakness and not of strength that they should adopt one masquerade after another. I say that our movement is attracting more and more patriotic citizens to its banner, and I think we have no cause to be dissatisfied either with our name, the character of the movement, or the tactics of our opponents.

I have the greatest pleasure in seconding the re-election of those ladies and gentlemen who have served us so well in the past and who, I believe, are going to be towers of strength to us in the future. (Hear, hear.)

The Resolution was then put to the meeting, and on a show of hands declared to be carried unanimously.

In proposing the re-election of the Hon. Treasurer, Lady JERSEY (who was received with loud applause) said: Lord Curzon, Ladies and Gentlemen, after the eloquent words which have been addressed to you by the former speakers, it is not my intention to speak upon the subject which is so near to all our hearts, the more so, as I believe I am to have the honour of addressing you this evening. But my present duty is a very pleasant one and I am exceedingly glad it has fallen to my share; it is to propose the re-election of our Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Massie. (Applause.) Perhaps I have a double claim to this pleasant task, because not only have I known Mr. Massie from the first inception of this movement, when we were a provisional committee, but also because I know of his good work in my own county

of Oxfordshire, where he and Mrs. Massie are real towers of strength to the cause; in fact, I know perfectly well he has prevented at least one member of Parliament from voting for the so-called Conciliation Bill. (Applause.) But I think, ladies and gentlemen, you are hardly aware it is impossible for anyone who has not served upon the Executive Committee from the beginning to be aware of the time and devotion which Mr. Massie has given to the cause, not only to the guardianship of our money (though that is no small task), but also to the smoothing over of difficulties which are incident at the beginning of every society. He has been the friend of all and the enemy of none, and I know very well that the Executive Committee would be deeply disappointed, if you were to fail to elect him to the office of Honorary Treasurer or were he to fail to accept that office.

I have great pleasure in moving the re-election of Mr. Massie as Honorary Treasurer.

Mrs. MYLES formally seconded.

The Resolution was then put to the meeting and, on a show of hands, declared to be carried unanimously.

Mr. J. MASSIE: I thank you all very much for this renewed instance of your confidence, and I shall have something more important to say to you later.

Mrs. HUMPHRY WARD formally moved the election of the following members of the Executive Committee:—

Miss G. Lowthian Bell, Mrs. Moberly Bell, Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun, Mrs. Frederic Harrison, Mrs. Massie, Miss Pott, Mrs. Humphry Ward, Mrs. Henry Wilson, Lord Haversham, J. W. Hills, Esq., M.P., A. MacCallum Scott, Esq., M.P., A. Maconachie, Esq., E. A. Mitchell-Innes, Esq., K.C., Arnold Ward, Esq., M.P.

Mrs. ARCHIBALD COLQUHOUN seconded.

The Resolution was then put to the meeting and, on a show of hands, declared to be carried *nem con.*

Mrs. MOBERLY BELL (Hon. Secretary) then read the Hon. Secretary's Report, which was as follows:—

THE HONORARY SECRETARY'S REPORT.

Since the last Annual Meeting our League for Opposing Woman Suffrage has made a great and wide impression on the country. We have scored some notable successes and we have wiped off the reproach—never deserved—that we were asleep. We are not as noisy as our opponents, but we are awake—wide awake.

The truth is that until the Conciliation Bill came into the region of practical politics few people believed that there was any real danger of any Woman Suffrage measure passing the House of Commons; but from the moment this Bill became an active menace, Anti-Suffrage feeling was aroused and Anti-Suffrage energies awakened all over the country.

Four members of Parliament—Mr. J. W. Hills, Mr. Neil Primrose, Mr. MacCallum Scott, and Mr. Arnold Ward—formed themselves into a Parliamentary Advisory Committee and, with Captain Creed as their representative at the League head office, organised campaigns in various parts of the country to uphold our cause and to impress our views—a course which was forced upon us when Sir Edward Grey and Mr. Lloyd George took the field on the other side.

Members of Parliament were approached, petitions were presented, by-elections were attended, and deputations waited on many Members of Parliament, among others on Mr. Macmaster, Mr. Gibbs, Mr. Birrell, Mr. Burdett-Coutts, Mr. Alan Burgoyne, Sir J. D. Rees, Mr. Haslam and others—I will not weary you with the full list—and on December 14th, a strong deputation from the League was received by the Prime Minister at Downing Street. It was introduced by Lord Curzon in the unavoidable absence, through illness, of Lord Cromer, and he was supported by Lady Jersey, Mrs. Humphry Ward, Miss Violet Markham, and Sir Charles Henry. In replying, Mr. Asquith said: "I may say without flattery that after a long and somewhat chequered experience of deputations of various kinds, I do not think I ever heard a case, strong in itself, presented with more sound sense and less superlative rhetoric." His uncompromising statement that he believed the grant of the "Parliamentary Franchise to Women in this country would be a mistake of a very disastrous kind," was followed with the expression of his opinion that the time had come for us "to take off our coats," and this our friends have done, as probably friends and foes alike will agree, and I am happy to add that there are no signs of any intention to put their coats on again just at present.

Two days after the deputation to the Prime Minister, a splendid meeting was held in the Colston Hall at Bristol. The meeting was remarkable for the first appearance upon our

platform of an Anti-Suffragist Cabinet Minister, and we shall always be grateful to Mr. Charles Hobbhouse for leading the way with uncompromising vigour and courage. His admirable speech had a success which can be gauged by the frequent references which have been and still are being made to it. Lord Cromer presided over the meeting, which was also addressed by Mrs. Humphry Ward, who had an enthusiastic reception, and by Mr. J. W. Hills, M.P. The organisation of the meeting reflected the greatest credit upon the Secretary of our strong and flourishing Bristol Branch and all who were associated with her in the arrangements.

On February 28th came our Great Demonstration at the Albert Hall, over which our late President (Lord Cromer) presided. He was ill at the time, and it was only his iron will which overcame physical difficulties and enabled him to render us this service.

For the actual conduct of the meeting, Captain Creed deserves the sincerest thanks. By his organisation and the volunteer stewards whom he enlisted, order was kept and attempted interruptions were at once silenced.

This was followed by the defeat of the Conciliation Bill and our success at the Teachers Conference at Hull, of which Lord Curzon has just told you. I will not repeat his account, but will turn to the internal work of the League. You know, of course, that in January Miss Terry Lewis who had done such splendid work for us had to leave us, and you will all agree that the League owes her a great debt, and that out of her devoted labours grew the possibility of the great Albert Hall meeting.

Then I come to our speakers and organisers and I ask you to realise how small a band it is, this band of ours, how magnificent the results of its work for us, how deadly for our opponents. Mrs. Colquhoun, Mrs. Greatbatch, Mrs. Norris do splendid service by their brilliant speaking, and the name of Miss Pott strikes such terror into the souls of our opponents that it is with difficulty we can get any Suffragist of her metal to meet her in debate. While mentioning Miss Pott, may I say that we who work in the office know how, besides speaking for us, she devotes hours to the study of Blue Books and official documents, and how ready she always is to put her store of accurate information at the service of the League.

Miss Sinclair is a new recruit, Miss Stuart one of our earliest, Mrs. Gladstone Solomon, Miss Mabel Smith, Mrs. Maggs and Mrs. Lane are organisers and speakers, and they, with Miss Page who, added to everything else, works in the office, are ready to do by-election work and to throw themselves into any hot corner where their pertinent questions or ready arguments can avail. But this is a very small army, and we have now three new recruits, all keen Anti-Suffragists, who we expect, when trained, will be valuable in the service of the League. The only paid men organisers we have are Mr. Martin, and Mr. Samuels an open-air speaker. The outside help we get from men speakers we acknowledge gratefully; it is at no small inconvenience to themselves that such speakers as Mr. Mitchell Innes, Mr. Pott, Mr. Arnold Ward, Mr. MacCallum Scott, Mr. J. W. Hills, Mr. Holford Knight, Mr. Maconachie, Mr. Madison, Mr. Wenyon-Samuel, and others attend meetings for us, often at great distances from their homes. Of the speeches of our leaders: Lord Curzon, Lord Weardale, Mrs. Humphry Ward and Lady Jersey, I need say nothing but that they inspire and animate our work.

As to our staff: I have never worked in an office before, but from office boy upwards, lady clerks and men clerks included, they are all eager and capable. Both Miss Page and I find more difficulty in getting them to leave the office than to come to it—in time.

I have to report that the Committee decided to open a house at Earl's Court Exhibition—56, Staples Inn, "Shakespeare's England," is the address. A sign board hangs over our door with our name in Elizabethan English—we hope correct—"The Folk Guild to withstand the Rule of Feminye." From the first day it has been a grand success. Mrs. Bray, who has hitherto worked for us in the city, is in charge there, and an onerous charge it is; but she does it admirably and is relieved by members of the branches in and near London who undertake week and week about to share the responsibility and to "keep shop" with her.

You may have seen a statement in some paper that our house is left to the care of young girls from 9 or 10 to 15. This is absolutely false—Miss Page, on whom the burden of the Earl's Court arrangements has fallen, herself mapped out the charges for each week, and not one single day has been left to chance.

Since May 11th we have enrolled 900 members, and have taken about £100 in subscriptions.

Our Branch at Felixstowe set us the example of doing propaganda

work at an exhibition, for they had a stall at the Felixstowe Fair which did much to help the cause.

The activity of the League is shown by the addition to the number of Branches. During the past year we have formed 50 new Branches and 36 Sub-branches, the sphere of these operations stretch from Dundee to Dover, from Aberystwyth to Norfolk. To old and new Branches alike I want to say: "You are the backbone of the League," whether you are Bristol with your 3,000 members or the youngest offshoot with 30, you all alike keep the League alive and growing.

There are, I know, parts of the country where the Member of Parliament is so firmly Anti-Suffrage that we have no need to put our views before him; but even there do not think our work is not wanted. A good Branch, even if numerically small, keeps the Suffragists away, or if they make an appearance is ready to upset their arguments and frustrate their designs. When an election is announced it forms a rallying point from which deputations can be arranged and other useful work done. Therefore, I would say at all costs keep your Branches going, for you render an enormous service, and I am only echoing the unanimous feeling of the Executive Committee in thanking you for it.

Kensington's party yesterday and Mayfair's to-night, to which they have invited all delegates, are expressions of the sympathetic good comradeship in the League; and the fact that Ireland and Scotland have sent representatives to-day as well as many Branches in England and Wales far distant from London, shows how keen the members are.

Thanks also are especially due to those of our members who give drawing-room meetings, garden parties and other gatherings, not forgetting kind Mrs. Parish who provides us with all our decorations—all so valuable in the good work they do; we know well that they all entail considerable trouble and much personal service.

As you know it has been suggested that our REVIEW should, in a smaller form, be issued weekly in order that news of the League, forthcoming events, meetings, &c., should be more easily circulated, in the hope also that a weekly publication would stimulate interest in the cause. Our Editor has asked the opinions of the Branches—some favour the experiment, some do not, and the Executive Committee have decided to make no change yet, but to reconsider the question in the autumn. I may mention in answer to repeated questions on the subject that the REVIEW cannot be registered as a newspaper with postage paid, as long as it is a monthly issue—neither is there any hope of a satisfactory increase in advertisements.

We have to record with deep regret the loss of Lord Northcote, who was Chairman of our Finance Committee, a wise and cautious counsellor who put his whole heart into our work in spite of failing health. We miss his guiding mind. From our members of Council we have lost by death Lord James of Hereford and Sir Charles Scotter.

I cannot close my Report without a word of thanks from the staff and myself to the Chairman of our Executive Committee. He is very strict with us and very severe. We all tremble when he comes to the office to see that we are doing our duty, but we are so thankful to see him appear and to know that our faltering steps will be guided and the rough places made smooth for us. He has been away only one week since he undertook the strenuous business, and we missed him badly then.

Miss LONG FOX, in moving the adoption of the Report, said: My Lord Curzon, my Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen, in moving the adoption of this Report it gives me great pleasure heartily to congratulate the Executive and all the workers at the Central Office and in the branches upon the good work which has resulted in such a splendid record, one which only could have been obtained through the united efforts of the whole League. We sincerely appreciate the very great assistance given by our past and present honoured Presidents, and by the strenuous labours of the members of the Executive and of the Parliamentary and Campaign Committees, and also that a great part of valuable spade work is done by members of the Branches, those women who often with great reluctance have thrown aside the occupations which interested them most and have given up that most precious of all things—their spare time—for the object of preserving the harmony of their home life from the dissensions caused by party politics and the government of our Empire from the peril of Female Suffrage.

That women can no longer be called apathetic on this question is demonstrated by the large number of new Branches which have been started this year and which confer great credit upon our able organisers.

Very kind things have been said about our meeting at Bristol. It was a great protest against the Conciliation Bill and a demon-

stration of loyalty to our late President, Lord Cromer, and to Mrs. Humphry Ward, to whom we, as a Branch, owe our existence. She spoke at our first public meeting and has given us the benefit of her inspiring help and sympathy ever since. The gratitude we feel to the Campaign Committee for the speakers they found for that meeting is very great; Mr. Hobbhouse's speech and action awakened enthusiasm and activity in the most distant parts of the city, the whole ponderous Branch sprang into life, and we no longer find it difficult to get our members to attend meetings; the difficulty now is to find rooms large enough to hold them.

I should like to say that I was helped very considerably in the organisation of that meeting by a sub-committee of our men members. Since the amalgamation of the two Leagues many more men have joined our Branch and have given very valuable help which only the officials of Branches can rate highly enough, because our experience has taught us that though a woman can work quite successfully up to a certain point, she is never to be really depended upon. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) She may resist physical fatigue and the boredom of sustained occupation, but what she cannot resist is the call of the real woman's work which has been here since the world began! The cry of a child or the woe of a man is enough to make her leave everything else to rush to their aid, and we who are left to gather together the broken threads of her work cannot blame her for what is obviously part of temperament, though we perhaps appreciate all the more highly the sense of security—(hear, hear)—given by the steady balance of the men. While I am speaking of Branch work may I say that the secret of success lies in never leaving off. Nothing hurts a Branch so much as slackness or indifference on the part of the officials and nothing helps it so greatly as the introduction of the human element. It is difficult to know personally a very large number of members, but it is worth remembering that if we make friends with even the fourth part of our total we shall find our burden lifted from our shoulders and our Branch will grow in strength as well as in numbers.

I feel sure that I am speaking for all the Branches when I express the gratitude which we feel to Mrs. Moberly Bell for her devoted service to the League and for her kindness and courtesy and ready response to our often worrying requests.

I move that the Report be adopted.

Mrs. GREATBATCH: I have the greatest pleasure in seconding the adoption of the Report so ably moved by Miss Long Fox, and in endorsing fully all she has said with regard to the Executive Committee in that Report.

Since the last annual meeting of this Council we have been perforce largely interested in the tactics of our opponents and have considerably increased our expedients in dealing with their tactics, and in view of their unscrupulous methods, the Executive Committee is to be congratulated very warmly on the tremendous success that has crowned its efforts in the past year. As far as we are concerned it has been a straight, clean fight, and we have come out of it not only triumphantly, but with clean hands. (Hear, hear.) We have very strong hopes in looking forward to the future, and we have an equally strong determination to give no quarter to the enemy, for we know it is no time for sitting down and resting on our oars.

May I refer to one matter which has been mentioned but which is of such importance that I make no apology for re-introducing it. I refer to the action of the Suffragettes in attempting to capture the sympathies of the National Union of Teachers. Suffragists, from Mrs. Pankhurst downwards, realise what a tremendous impetus would be given to their movement and the prestige they would gain, if they could say the National Union of Teachers, 70,000 strong, is as a body in favour of Woman Suffrage, and to this end they have been working for years to obtain a vote of sympathy from the representatives of teachers at their conference held annually during Easter week. In 1911, at Aberystwyth, and again this year in Hull, this attempt was frustrated, owing largely to the heroic behaviour of Mrs. Burgwin. A woman of wide outlook and deep insight and exceptional ability—(applause)—she carries tremendous weight with all elementary teachers; her name is a household word amongst them, and until the Suffragist movement invaded that organisation, she was loved by all. Her unflinching efforts have brought down upon her a storm of insult and invective, but she said: "I feel I am doing the right thing." Before she spoke at the National Union, a lady came to her and said: "You are going into the conference for your first defeat"; but Mrs. Burgwin replied: "I am not defeated yet." And I believe that as long as we have her there, we shall not be defeated. Next year the matter is coming up again at Weston-super-Mare and we look to Mrs. Burgwin to carry our flag to victory. She will have at Weston-super-Mare the advantage of a Branch already

established, and we, as a League, offer her a tribute of gratitude, and are glad to have her with us in this room in company with women of equally high fibre. In the name of the Branches I offer to the Executive Committee hearty wishes for their success during the coming year.

The Resolution was then put to the meeting and, on a show of hands, declared to be carried unanimously.

Lord CURZON of KEDLESTON: Before we go on to the Hon. Treasurer's Report, I am going to introduce an unauthorised item into the programme, and it is to ask you to pass a vote of thanks to Lord Cromer for his services on his retirement. (Loud applause.) We members of the Executive Committee who served under Lord Cromer during the last two years did pass such a vote of thanks some months ago when he retired, and we accompanied that vote with the presentation of a silver inkstand, but here this afternoon we must surely take advantage of this wider meeting to signify the appreciation of our supporters all over the country. I need not recapitulate any remarks about Lord Cromer; suffice it to say that wherever a meeting had to be held anywhere in the country, or a letter written to the newspapers couched in that diplomatic form of which he is an acknowledged master, or unruly members had to be kept in order at a committee meeting, Lord Cromer performed each of these duties he was called upon to discharge with great ability and with conspicuous advantage to our movement.

I ask you to mark your appreciation of his services by passing a vote of thanks to him this afternoon. (Loud applause.)

Colonel LE ROY-LEWIS: Lord Curzon has asked me to second this vote of thanks, and I need only tell you I am most delighted to have an opportunity of seconding a vote of thanks to a man so eminent as Lord Cromer; not only eminent in the great services he has rendered his country, but also in the work he has done for this League. (Applause.) I have had to succeed him in the Chair of our Executive Committee, and every time we meet I am reminded of the wisdom with which he ruled the Council of the League down to the time when he required a little rest.

As we have a great deal to get through this afternoon, I will not say any more, but heartily second this vote of thanks.

The vote of thanks was then put to the meeting, carried with acclamation, and conveyed to Lord Cromer.

Lord CROMER: I did not come here this afternoon with any intention of making a speech, but as your ex-President, and as one who has had his windows smashed—(laughter)—I certainly should not like to take leave of this assembly without expressing to you my very warm thanks for the invariable kindness I have always received from all its members. Even advancing years and ill-health would not have induced me to go, if I had not felt assured that in the hands of Lord Curzon, Lord Weardale, Lady Jersey and Lady Robson the Association is left in excellent hands. (Applause.)

Let me before I sit down also ask you to bear in mind what Lord Curzon has said. Let us bear in mind the fable of the bundle of sticks—union is force, and if we all stick together we shall win the day. (Applause.) Also, let us stick to the point, and the point is to resist the extension of the Parliamentary vote to women. (Hear, hear.) There are a number of other subjects connected with women in which we all take an interest. We all want to do justice to women—I am sure I do, and I always bear in mind a very pertinent but somewhat irrelevant question addressed in writing to me by a Suffragist, who asked me what I should have done if I had never had a mother. (Loud laughter.) I was unable to answer it.

There are a great many subjects in which we all take an interest. One is the matter of the white slave traffic with which I have had a great deal to do in stopping—(applause)—and I know how necessary legislation is with regard to that. I shall certainly do my best to support such legislation in the assembly of which I am a member. We also ought to bear in mind that the battle is not by any means won yet. We must go on combating our opponents in every form possible on the hustings and put pressure on wobbler members of Parliament. We must combat them at those meetings to which Mrs. Humphry Ward has alluded, and also at those so-called religious meetings, and if you do that, I feel certain you will find the country is at your back and you will eventually win the day. (Loud applause.)

Mr. J. MASSIE then submitted the Treasurer's Report. The Report included the audited account of receipts and expenditure and the audited balance-sheet for the financial year ending December 31st, 1911, as well as a preliminary statement for the first five months of 1912. Mr. Massie pointed out that the special fund raised by Lord Cromer and Lord Curzon, and originally, for the

most part, invested as capital, was being rapidly reduced, because the regular income could not, even approximately, meet the expenditure which was inevitable, if the necessary propaganda of the League in Parliament and in the country was to be carried on, if literature was to be produced and circulated, and if branches were to be created and maintained; and he concluded with an earnest appeal to the members of the League not to accept the popular idea that the League had only to ask in order to receive, but to realise the fact that large and regular contributions were urgently required if the operations of their opponents, rendered easy by a well-furnished exchequer, were to be even partially counteracted.

Miss RAWLINSON formally moved the adoption of the Report.

Mr. HASTINGS seconded.

The Resolution was then put to the meeting and, on a show of hands, was declared to be carried unanimously.

Lady GRISELDA CHEAPE read the Report of the Scottish League.

Mrs. ALBERT MURRAY read the Report of the Irish Branch.

Lady FLORENCE BOURKE then moved the following Resolution:

"In consequence of many women joining the Suffrage movement owing to the industrial question and in the belief that the vote would improve their position in the distribution of wealth, it is desirable for this League to meet their difficulties and explain what policy it advocates respecting female labour."

Lady Florence Bourke advocated the consideration of the causes which created the Suffrage movement relative to industrial questions. She maintained that the Parliamentary vote for women would avail nothing, and she put forward three policies for the consideration of those interested in the subject.

1. Work paid on its own value and not according to sex.
2. Policy to diminish excess of female workers in labour markets by reasonable and humane emigration. This scheme is for very young girls going out to training colleges in colonies.
3. Policy to encourage support of women by men's labour.

She held that at present many were unable to do this, and advocated training for all males after thirteen. Should these three policies be worked conjointly, she maintained, the need for sweated and unhealthy women and children's work in the homes would be lessened, the position of women be improved, and one considerable cause of the Suffrage movement removed. In the interest of "sex and nation" she emphasised the necessity of acknowledging womanhood apart from wifehood and motherhood.

At the conclusion of Lady Florence Bourke's remarks,

Lord CHARNWOOD said: After Lady Florence Bourke's opening remarks I think I must explain on behalf of the Executive Committee that the Committee has not, as she very naturally thought, any responsibility in regard to what motions should appear on the Agenda. It is the right of any member present, supported by five others, to send in a notice. I had agreed to second this resolution for the purely formal purpose of making it in order for anyone to make any remarks upon a subject upon which it is extremely necessary to understand one another; but I think after what has been said by Lord Curzon and Lord Cromer we do all understand one another on this question. We are, every man and woman, deeply interested and extremely sympathetic to all movements in that direction, but when you go to form a League for the purpose of opposing Woman Suffrage it naturally follows that the attitude of that League towards any other question, whatever it is, must be an attitude of absolute neutrality—(applause)—and our whole work would fall into confusion if that were forgotten.

There is, however, one point I would like to put before you. We could hardly do anything worse than allow this sort of question with regard to labour as affecting women—the legislation in regard to that—to become involved with an atmosphere of party cries. One thing only you can do worse, and that is to set up some sort of competition in which Suffragists and Anti-Suffragists should vie with one another in bringing forward proposals professedly the best, but possibly illusory. These questions require to be considered carefully on their individual merits and in the light of knowledge and calm reflection. I am quite sure this League could do no worse service to the cause of women than by rushing in perpetually and throwing its weight in on this or that side on one or another of these delicate questions in which in most cases it would be impossible for the majority of us to do anything.

Lady FLORENCE BOURKE may be assured of having every one of us with her in her objects, but I hope with that assurance she will withdraw the Resolution, which I am afraid we shall be otherwise compelled almost unanimously to vote against.

Lady FLORENCE BOURKE said that as she was without any seconder, there was no Resolution before the meeting, and she thought that it would be better that the matter should rest there.

Lord CURZON: I think we may now bring a thoroughly successful meeting to a close.

The meeting then terminated.

ENTERTAINMENT OF DELEGATES.

In addition to the individual hospitality offered to a certain number of the delegates attending the Annual Council Meeting, two of the London Branches gave special entertainments in honour of the representatives of the provincial Branches.

KENSINGTON BRANCH "AT HOME."

On Thursday, June 20th, Mary Countess of Ilchester and the Committee of the Kensington Branch invited the members of that Branch to meet the delegates to the Council at tea at the Quadrant Restaurant in "Shakespeare's England," Earl's Court Exhibition. The big verandah and dining-room of the restaurant had been reserved and were charmingly decorated with the colours of the League. About 300 guests accepted the invitation and were received by the Committee at the entrance. Among those present were Lord Charnwood, Sir Joseph and Lady Dimsdale, Lady Priestley, Lady Bowden Smith, Lady Webb, Lady Ibbetson, Lady Pender, Sir Joseph Hutchinson, Mrs. George Macmillan, Mrs. Simson, Miss Houghton Grey, Mrs. Brice Pearse, Mrs. Gerard, Miss Manisty, Colonel Stainton, Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Carson, Major-General Black, Mrs. Sandham, Mrs. Hall-Hall, Colonel Le Roy-Lewis, Miss Pott, Mrs. Moberly Bell, and Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun.

The Hon. Secretary for Kensington wishes to express regret to any delegates who may not have received passes, but the late hour at which some of the answers were received made it impossible to send them.

Most of the guests visited the Anti-Suffrage house after tea, and groups wearing our badges and colours were to be seen everywhere about the Exhibition.

MAYFAIR BRANCH RECEPTION.

On the evening of Friday, June 21st, the Countess of Cromer, the Dowager Countess of Ancaster, and the Committee of the Mayfair and St. George's Branch held a reception in the Grafton Galleries in honour of the delegates to the Annual Council. The guests, who numbered nearly 400, were received by Lady Cromer. After a brief selection of music had been given by Herr Boxhorn's band, Lady Ancaster welcomed the delegates on behalf of the Mayfair and St. George's Branch, and introduced the speakers of the evening. On the platform with her were Lady Cromer, Lady Jersey, Lady Charnwood, Lady Tree, Lord Curzon and Lord Weardale, and among those present were: The Dowager Marchioness of Headfort, Viscountess Parker, Right Hon. Charles Hobhouse and Mrs. Hobhouse, Right Hon. Lewis Harcourt and Mrs. Harcourt, Lord and Lady Nunburnholme, Lord Charnwood, Lord Glenconner, Hon. Mr. and Mrs. Grosvenor, Hon. Lady Tryon, Dowager Lady Calthorpe, Lady Malcolm of Pottaloch, Hon. Lady Leigh, Hon. Mrs. Yorke Bevan, Lady Griselda Cheape, Lady Noble, Lady Lawson Walton, Sir Joseph and Lady Hutchinson, Sir Richard and Lady Musgrave, Sir Francis and Lady Leyland Barrett, Sir Cecil and Lady Harcourt Smith, Sir David Gill, F.R.S., Sir Edward O'Malley, Colonel and Mrs. Le Roy Lewis, Mr. and Mrs. Humphry Ward, Mrs. Laurence Currie, Mrs. Lewis Coward, Miss Phyllis Broughton, Mrs. Elinor Glyn, and Major-General Pemberton.

On the conclusion of the speeches an adjournment was made to the supper room.

Lady ANCASTER, in welcoming the guests, said that she thought they were all very fortunate in finding such a large number of people ready to come and help them and give them their assistance. She hoped they would all take every possible advantage of that gathering to encourage one another in spreading the work. She referred to the efforts she had made to enlist the active interest of Bond Street tradesmen, who had had their windows broken by Suffragists, in the cause of Anti-Suffrage, but she said that with two exceptions—she was glad to see one of the gentlemen there—no response had been received of a practical nature, although they all declared themselves to be strongly against Woman Suffrage. She objected strongly to some of the methods adopted by the Suffrage party. She did not think that women should usurp the functions that God certainly never intended them to take over.

Lady TREE, in a clever and humorous speech, said, amidst

laughter, that while it was the prerogative of women to talk, it was the sole prerogative of men to speak. (Laughter.) Referring to the personal influence of women, she said that woman had never in any age impressed herself upon the multitudes, but upon the individual. Woman, in fact, was not a leader of man except in so far as she led him by the little finger. It was as the wife, the mother, and as the woman that all her power was exerted. The woman to whom it was given to be a wife and mother to fulfil a woman's noblest duties would never lack means to make her influence felt. No right of voting would add to her power, and the absence of the vote would never detract from it. Women were strong just in proportion as they were women, just in proportion as the distinction between themselves and men was maintained. She pictured the possibilities of women being thrown in the electoral tornado, with revolvers, brass bands and megaphones, in the great and free republic of America, and of Mrs. Taft or Mrs. Roosevelt taking the place of their husbands. It was a curious thing that the whole movement called "The Women's Movement" was really a movement away from women and towards men. This movement was merely a most outstanding example of the restlessness of the age. Although it might be possible to convert a Labour Member into a Peer and a docker into a shipowner, it was quite impossible to convert a woman into a man. (Laughter.) She declared that the whole force of Nature was against the principles of the Suffrage movement, and the whole trend of progress and the development of civilisation had been to emphasise the womanhood of woman and the manhood of man.

Lord WEARDALE, who was received with applause, said: I think that I can claim some sympathy in coming to address you in immediate sequence to so distinguished an individual, so eminent a person, as my friend Lady Tree. Accustomed as she is to face large and various audiences, what must be the position of a man like myself, whose life has been cast, it is true, very often among large and crowded audiences, but audiences which have been generally composed of the sterner sex and in connection with political matters? Now, this is a social reunion brought about by the kind offices of the Mayfair Branch of the League, and distinguished by the presidency of Lady Ancaster, who has made such pertinent observations to you upon the question under discussion. My office will be, if I may occupy your attention a little, to try and detach this question from all suspicion of party politics. (Hear, hear.) There ought not to be the smallest doubt or hesitation on the part of anybody here—let him be Conservative, let him be Liberal Unionist, let him be Liberal, let him be Labourite—there ought to be no kind of hesitation on the part of any partisan to put this question, as it were, aside, and to say: "It is a question that transcends in importance"—and I think it does—"all other political questions; which must be decided on its merits alone, and I will not allow political ties, political prejudices, or political passion to weigh with me in the question." (Hear, hear.) Well, now, ladies and gentlemen, those of us who have lived for a certain number of years in political life, have heard a good deal about Woman Suffrage from time to time. In my earliest political battles there was always a timid lady—they were timid in those days—who got up and asked me my views upon Woman Suffrage. I am sorry to say that I was always obliged to tell her that I had no sympathy with her—that I never could be converted to doing what I considered to be an injury to her sex. But times have moved rather rapidly of late, and we have now had what is called a militant movement. We won't use violent language here. We neither teach violent doctrines nor will we have recourse to violent measures. Our business is to discuss dispassionately and temperately the reason why we believe that the grant of Woman Suffrage in any form, limited or unlimited, would be to the prejudice and disadvantage of women. (Hear, hear.) Womanhood, as we conceive and judge it—womanhood we all of us men admire and bow before. Even the most hardened of men, as he calls to mind the mother who taught him, the nurse who nursed him, and the woman who soothed him in his time of trouble, feels that woman should occupy the highest possible place in the world's affairs. But that place must be the place of a woman and not the place of a man. (Cheers.) Ladies and gentlemen, we have had lately, as I say, violent methods and violent language. But it is not our business, no part of our programme; it is not our business to direct particular attention to the proceedings of others, however lamentable we may think them to have been, however deplorable we may conceive those methods to have been, because all must recognise that at the bottom of that movement there is much sincerity and great enthusiasm, and that the men and women engaged in it are individually worthy of the highest respect and esteem. And therefore, as I say, it is not their mistakes upon which we ought to depend,

but rather upon the arguments which we can advance in favour of the views which we hold. (Cheers.) It is often said by the friends of Woman Suffrage that if women had the vote it would do wonders for womanhood, that the *status* of woman would be improved, that vast numbers of questions particularly affecting woman would be treated in a more sympathetic spirit than they are to-day. Well, all I can say is, that so far as I have seen, the intervention of women in political matters—and I have had some experience of them as a representative for many years of a great industrial community, Burnley, in Lancashire—all I can say is, that I have never seen actual working women so enthusiastically demanding the vote as their friends would lead us to suppose at their meetings here. On the contrary, when women have intervened at all in political matters they have generally intervened in a manner which I should consider prejudicial to their interests and their sex. Take, for instance, the question—the very serious question—of the employment of children in factories. The people who resisted most the raising of the age of half-timers in Lancashire were the women. I say emphatically, and I am able to show chapter and verse for it, that when the question of raising the age of half-timers was, as it was constantly, debated in the constituencies in Lancashire, the women were foremost in opposing it, and they did it on grounds which most of us will regret, on the ground that we were taking away a bread-winner from the family. Another anxious question was that of the employment of women at the period of maternity in factories, which many people would like to see put under much greater restrictions than at present. The women were the people who opposed. The men were all in favour, and the men had nothing to gain. Again, a third question connected with the great temperance movement: When some of the advocates of temperance were anxious to see women restricted, if not altogether forbidden to engage as barmaids, who got up the great movement against it? Women! And, therefore, I contend that so far as we have any knowledge whatever of the action of women in political matters—it is, I say, a tender point rather recently put forward—we have nothing to show us that the improvement of their condition would be in any way accelerated by giving votes to women. (Cheers.) What are the grounds against the giving of votes to women? The grounds are obvious. They come home to every family, to every individual. Everybody knows, it is uncontested in every particular—that the woman is the guardian and supreme head of the home. (Hear, hear.) We look to her to preserve the amenities of the home, we look to her to bring up the children in those early years of childhood—all-important, I would say absolutely essential, in the formation of character; we look to her to be the commanding genius, and it is to her influence, to her actions, that the childhood of the nation must owe its future advance. We are, according to the advocates of Woman Suffrage, to take women from that occupation which is natural to them, which nobody else can perform than they, and we are to cast them into the turmoil and the strife of politics; to make of them, what some of us are unfortunately, agitated politicians, engaged in all sorts of unfortunate controversies, losing our tempers and doing all sorts of things which we should be extremely sorry to see women do in our place. But do not let us forget that whereas, until quite recently, this question was debated rather as an academic subject or theory than anything else, we have now got to close quarters with it. The enemy is at our gates, and we cannot afford to parley with him any more; we cannot allow others to stand by and press forward with enthusiasm if we do nothing. The Conciliation Bill, it is true, has been thrown out. But what do we see? The Government—I am a supporter of the Government—the Government has introduced a Reform Bill. The Prime Minister has declared that while he believes that the grant of the franchise to women would be a disaster, nevertheless he is prepared to stand aside and allow an amendment to be introduced into that Reform Bill which might add from eight millions to twelve millions of women to the electoral register. And that is to be done without the country being consulted upon it in any form. (Shame.) But while I am a supporter of the Government I am also a believer in the people, and being a believer in the people, I believe in referring to the people questions upon which the people have not yet given a definite mandate. (Hear, hear.) And I maintain that no Government has, or has had up to the present time, any mandate whatever to give one or two or two millions of women a vote without having the mandate of the people upon it. Most of you know what used to happen during an election. What used to happen was this. A candidate went down to his constituency; he met his committee; he began his campaign, and in the course of his campaign the agent came to him and said: "There are some women want to see you." And he said "Oh dear, what a bore. Must I see them?" The other said "Oh yes, it is

Mrs. Jones, a most important lady, she will be at all your meetings, and you must see her." And so, accordingly, Mrs. Jones is introduced, and I am sorry to say that in most cases the candidate said: "Well, it really does not matter very much. I may as well pacify Mrs. Jones and her friends." And then addressing Mrs. Jones, he said, "Of course—Woman Suffrage—delighted." (Laughter.) But how many of those candidates who gave pledges of that kind seriously meant what they said? I do not believe that when this question is put, as it must be put, to the people to decide, that you will find many of those candidates so strong in their faith, who have given these rather refractory pledges to small groups of women in order to placate them in their constituency. I think you will find that they will say that circumstances have changed, and they will fall back probably upon the argument that women have spoiled their own cause by the violence of some of their advocates in breaking windows. But that is not our case. Our case is that broken windows or no broken windows, the plea for Woman Suffrage is a bad plea, the plea for giving women the vote is the worst possible one that can be put forward in the interests of women themselves. (Cheers.) Woman must be retained in that noble function which nature has given to her; woman must be continued in those happy duties to which I have already referred, and she must not be swept into the vortex of party or other politics. Her mission is a great one. And we, as the friends of the Anti-Suffrage movement, are also the best friends of women themselves when we deny them, not the right but the occupation of taking part in political work. (Cheers.)

Lady JERSEY said: If Lord Weardale's has been a difficult task, you will allow that mine is still more difficult, because I come at the end of this series of most interesting addresses which you heard this afternoon at the Westminster Palace Hotel and this evening from the distinguished ladies and gentlemen who have just addressed you. For my part, I feel that I come as a kind of index, like the "contents" which is sometimes put at the end of a volume, merely to recall to those present what they have heard this afternoon and this evening, and to carry away with them certain definite ideas which they will spread through the length and breadth of the British Isles. It appears to me, having listened with great attention to what has been said by those who have gone before me, that there are just four things that we must recollect. There are two arguments, or rather two series of arguments, advanced by our opponents, and there are two difficulties by which we are faced and which have to be surmounted. First as regards our arguments. Well, I have very often met with friends of my own who have advanced certain arguments. I don't know that I should even call them arguments—but certain opinions. The first opinion is one which is now almost exploded. I have constantly had said to me by people who have really not thought much about the matter: "Why are you not going to give a vote to women who have large properties and large interests in the country, and are yet giving votes to their gardeners?" I don't know why it was always the gardener—but it was. (Laughter.) Well it is certainly not the gardener only to whom you are going to give it, but to the gardener's wife as well, and she will very soon outvote you. I don't think I should have mentioned this if it had not been for that very singular meeting which was held two or three days ago in Queen's Hall, when a large number of people came together, and professed to argue the matter on a religious basis. Well, I hope that I have the greatest respect for every form of religion, but I have yet to learn why this was a sort of religious representation of the people of this country. It was a meeting organised by Suffragists, presided over by a Suffragist, addressed by Suffragists, and to a very large extent attended by Suffragists. And yet they professed to represent the religious feeling of this country.

After it was all arranged and after it was all organised and after the notices were printed, a certain number of the notices were brought to the office of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage, and the people there were asked to distribute them. That was in order, I suppose, that both sides might be fairly represented. But, even so, it would hardly have been worth mention were it not that a very distinguished person presided over and addressed the meeting, and, among others, there was one who, I suppose, is my own spiritual pastor, because he was the Bishop of Oxford, in whose diocese I reside, though I have not had the privilege of making his acquaintance. He said, among many other rather remarkable things, that the Conciliation Bill had been objected to because it was the thin end of the wedge. He apparently had an acquaintance with how these things were managed, and he said that the argument of the thin end of the wedge was forged by the devil. (Laughter.) I apologise deeply to this meeting, but I

leave all here present to make the application. (Laughter.) I understand that my Bishop mentioned St. Paul, but he thought that if St. Paul were living in the present day he would have changed his mind. He accepted the authority of St. Paul, because, unfortunately for St. Paul, he had not had the privilege of attending Suffragist meetings; I suppose he would not have accepted the authority of Solomon, who, I believe, said that the beginning of strife was as the letting in of water. That is also the thin end of the wedge. It appears to me that the thin end of the wedge having been forged, according to the authority, by somebody whom, perhaps, we had better not refer to again—(laughter)—we had better keep clear of the thin end of the wedge. I will pass away from the Conciliation Bill (so called), because I think it was proved this afternoon by the distinguished speakers who addressed us at the Westminster Palace Hotel that that was accepted as the thin end of the wedge. We all know now, whether you like it or not, that, if you give the vote to any women, you give it to all women. It may be right, it may be wrong. Personally, I believe it is wrong, because I am not convinced that a large number of women have the time for tackling political questions. I feel sure that a very large number of excellent women who have to look after children and so on have not very much time to study politics, and I doubt very much whether the factory girls have more opportunity of studying politics. I don't think that the ten millions of women who are to be added to the constituencies are likely to have that opportunity of making the profound study of political questions, which would be necessary, in the way that is desired. The other argument that is generally advanced is that we should very largely conduce to the welfare of the working classes—those poor women who are now in great trouble and affliction—if we were to give votes to women. Well, I think personally, that whatever I have thought before, I should have been entirely convinced by the arguments of people like Mrs. Humphry Ward and those who have studied the conditions of the working classes, who say that the difficulty is not that of getting laws made, but it is that of getting them worked. Whenever a law is to be made which is to affect women, women are always consulted and taken into counsel. The real difficulty is to get women to work the laws. They have every possible and conceivable opportunity on municipal councils, on boards of guardians, and in all sorts of ways, of exercising their influence, and their work might be of the greatest practical value. And yet they will not come forward to do that work. Before they trouble about getting the vote let them do the work which has been put into their hands. I don't want to keep this meeting long, but I should like to tell you of a letter I received from a lady. I do not know her. It was a very nice letter. She did not know whether to be a Suffragist or an Anti-Suffragist. In order that she might be enabled to make up her mind she asked to have answers to several questions—very useful, practical questions. One was that she had been told that cooking classes had been organised for men by the London education authorities; another, that there were laws preventing women from being bookbinders; and a third, that there were laws interfering with the work of women at pits' mouths. They all seemed to me to be questions that might be very easily answered, but, nevertheless, I sent them to our offices. I think they were referred to Miss Pott, who is generally able to answer everything. (Hear, hear.) She sent back complete answers. The first was that Votes for Women had nothing to do with the cooking classes, which all depended upon the London County Council, which was elected by men and women alike. The second was that the question about bookbinders was one which had been brought up by the trades unions. And the answer to the third and most difficult question was that the Government had already had a deputation from the pit girls, and the matter was being carefully inquired into. I understand that the answers were perfectly satisfactory. I am most anxious that people should know that all these questions which affect the legislation of women really are in the hands of women just as much as they are in the hands of men, and if they have any difficulty and will send question up to the Central Office, they will be carefully inquired into. Lord Curzon told us, with great justice, this afternoon that the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage, as a League, cannot go into all these side issues, but if there is a practical and difficult question which requires answering, I am sure you will agree with me that we should go into it and give an answer about it. I do not know what other practical questions there are that raise difficulty in the minds of our opponents, but I would now turn to the question of our own supporters. I think that the difficulty which we meet here may be summed up on two points: one is the apathy of despair, and the other is the apathy of over-confidence. You meet with a certain number of people who are absolutely against Woman Suffrage, and

if you talk with them they say: "It is no use opposing it; it is bound to come." Well, I think that is about the most futile thing I have ever heard. If you think a thing is wrong, go against it up to the very last. If you come across those people, tell them that they are cowards and that they have got to come round and join. But there is another apathy which is much more dangerous, and that is the apathy of over-confidence. People think that because the so-called Conciliation Bill is defeated, and because our opponents have been foolish enough to go about breaking windows and have, therefore, turned the populace against them, that the battle is won. Well, it is not won, though I hope at the same time that it will be won. Only will you please recollect that you are now in possession. Possession is nine points of the law, and we are not going to have the other people come and drive us from it as long as we sit tight. (Cheers.) All we have to do now is to convince our members of Parliament or our candidates for Parliament that they will lose ground unless they set their faces firmly against this new claim for Woman Suffrage. Somebody said this afternoon—I should not have ventured to say it—that men are very feeble—(laughter)—well, it was not feeble, but it meant it—men are very easily swayed. Ladies—I am not speaking to the gentlemen now—you must recollect that we were put into the world to be a helpmeet to men, that is to say, we have got to see that they do the right thing. But it is beyond me to see why they should ask us to do their work for them. Their work is to fight for us, to work for us, to go into Parliament—which I am sure is a most tiresome thing—because Parliament must be a very stuffy place and it is a very long business. We don't want to have to sit up to the middle of the night as they have to do. That is all the work they have to do for us. But when they are doing their work and when they are fighting and legislating for us, we have to see that they do it properly. We have not to go and do it for them. Therefore, men must see to it, ladies you have to see to it, that when they go into Parliament they go there pledged to vote against giving the work to us—which is what it comes to. We have plenty of work of our own, we have work of all kinds far more important than theirs. We have to bring up children and educate them; we have to see that the houses are properly conducted; that our husbands and sons and brothers and everybody connected with us do their duty properly; and when we have done all that, when we have looked after—what we ought to do also—the poor, the suffering and the destitute, and the little children who are appealing to us from every part of the country, if you have any spare time left to look after politics I have not, and I don't think any of the ladies who are here this evening have either. (Cheers.) Ladies and gentlemen, I beg your pardon for intruding upon you so long. I think I may venture to say on behalf of the Central Executive Committee that they are exceedingly grateful to Lady Cromer and to Lady Ancaster for giving us the privilege of meeting you here, and we return them our sincere thanks. We hope that you will go back into the country prepared to spread far and wide the formation of new Branches in defence of our homes, in defence of our families, and in defence of the Empire of which we are all so proud. (Loud cheers.)

Lord WEARDALE: With your permission, and at the request of the Executive Committee, I have been asked to call your attention to the importance of giving financial assistance to the League. I know it is a somewhat invidious task, but I would remind you that the leaders of the militant Suffrage movement have recently made an appeal for a quarter of a million of money for the purpose of advancing their views, and they have received no less a sum, I understand, than £180,000 towards that quarter of a million. I think it behoves all of us to make a giant effort to obtain sufficient funds to meet them at every point.

Lord CURZON said: I hardly recognise in this meeting the social gathering which we were told it was going to be. For the best part of an hour I have heard as much sensible talk as I have ever heard in a similar space of time. And I am only sorry that this meeting consists of sympathisers with our own cause rather than of independent persons or of persons who are opposed to us or who have not made up their minds. I have never yet attended a meeting at which the ladies who sympathised with our side spoke better. In articulation, delivery and reasoning they can give points to any of us men. For instance, to-night we had a most excellent speech from Lady Tree, brimful of most original thought. I suppose that ladies who live the life that Lady Tree does, in crowded houses, where they are continually giving utterance to the profound thoughts of other people, generate the faculty of profound thought themselves. Certainly Lady Tree gave us an excellent speech of great originality, and she also made observations which, she told us, were derived from Shakespeare himself. Then we had, a little later, Lady Jersey, who came in and covered

the whole ground, in a speech argumentative, persuasive, admirably delivered, making mere man rather doubtful about his own position. (Laughter.) It is quite true that Lord Weardale put women on a very low level, because, speaking from his own experience in a benighted Radical constituency in Lancashire—(laughter)—he told us of all the mistakes that the Liberal ladies in that part of the world had made—not, I mean, in returning him to Parliament—(laughter)—but in the unfortunate influence they seemed to have exercised upon the men. But then Lady Jersey came and put the whole thing right again, because after about a quarter of an hour of her speech I realised that, after all, men are only the docile and rather placable adjuncts of women. (Laughter.) That is the position in which we had better leave it. All I would ask is that while women perform all those noble functions in connection with the family they should leave to us the right to rule; I don't mean to rule women—(laughter)—but the State. Let the burden of rule rest on the shoulders of men. I seem to be wandering a good deal. But I rose in order to move a vote of thanks to our hostesses and to the speakers who have delivered us such admirable orations, most of all to Lady Ancaster for her kindness in talking to us. I need not labour the matter, but I would ask you all to join me in giving a very hearty vote of thanks to these ladies. (Cheers.)

The motion was agreed to, amid cheers. Lady ANCASTER briefly responded, observing that the speeches had been most invigorating, and expressing the hope that they would lead to renewed effort on behalf of the objects of the League.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN NEW ZEALAND.*

By HERBERT G. WILLIAMS, M.Eng.; M.Sc.; A.M.I.C.E.

SUFFRAGISTS are never weary of stating that where Woman Suffrage is in force, the results have been nothing but good, and in particular they have drawn attention to its beneficent effects in New Zealand. That country is so far suitable for the purpose of comparison, in that Woman Suffrage has been in force there longer than in any self-contained community; its legislature is mainly concerned with domestic, not international, affairs, but it is to all intents and purposes a sovereign one, in contradistinction to the subordinate ones in the two or three American States, where Woman Suffrage has been in force rather longer than in New Zealand.

In an article which appeared in *Votes for Women*, it was claimed that as a result of Woman Suffrage in New Zealand, crime, drunkenness and immorality, had all decreased. The complete falsity of this claim will be shown in the present article.

The statistics relate to the earliest and latest years available, and such other years as are necessary to show their full significance.

Women first exercised the Franchise in New Zealand in the year 1893, since when there have been six General Elections, of which the details have been published, and one—that of 1911—of which details are not yet available.

* The statistics are taken from the New Zealand Official Year Book, 1911.

It is of interest to compare the extent to which men and women use the vote: the figures are as follow:—(pp. 461-2, 1910).

YEAR	Number of Electors.		Number who Voted.		Percentage who Voted, Allowing for Unopposed Returns.	
	Men.	Women.	Men.	Women.	Men.	Women.
1893	193,536	109,461	129,792	90,290	69.61	85.18
1908	294,073	242,930	238,534	190,114	81.11	78.26

The most noteworthy feature of these figures is the large proportion of women and the small proportion of men who voted in the first election as compared with that of 1908, indicating an increased sense of civic responsibility amongst the men, accompanied by a decreasing sense of civic responsibility amongst the women. This fact is strongly brought out by taking the ratios of the percentages as follow:—

YEAR.	Ratio of Percentages of Women to Men Voting
1893 1.223
1908 0.965

LOCAL OPTION AND DRUNKENNESS.

Local option is in operation in New Zealand, being exercised at each General Election, each Constituency being also a Licensing District.

The questions submitted to the electors are:—

- (1) Shall existing Licences be continued?
- (2) Shall existing Licences be reduced?
- (3) Shall all Licences in the District be abolished?

An examination of the results of the voting in the 1908 Local Option Poll (pp. 454-6, 1910), shows that in general where "Reduction" or "No-Licence" won the day, the proportion of women voting was above the average. Advocates of Woman Suffrage have claimed, and quite rightly, I think, that this is evidence that the Prohibition majorities were mainly due to the women's votes. The further deduction that therefore Woman Suffrage tends to promote real temperance is superficial and wrong, like most of their reasoning.

Communal interference with habits which in themselves are not wrong, but only so when carried to excess, is an almost invariable cause of excess, and the truth of this is shown, so far as Local Option and temperance in New Zealand are concerned, by the following figures relating to the convictions for drunkenness in New Zealand:—

Drunkenness in New Zealand (p. 400, 1911; p. 239, 1896). Convictions per 1,000 of Population.

YEAR.	Males.	Females.	Total.
1888	Not shown separately prior to 1900.		8.92
1893	15.78	2.51	7.63
1900	20.58	1.72	9.50
1910			11.70

Thus we see that in the five years prior to Woman Suffrage there was a decrease of 14 per cent., whereas in the 17 years subsequent to its introduction there has been an increase

of 53 per cent., which compares very unfavourably with the decrease of 19 per cent. during the same period in the United Kingdom (vide Judicial Statistics).

The fact that drunkenness has increased amongst the men, while it has decreased amongst the women, only gives point to the argument with regard to Communal interference with habits not in themselves wrong, the decrease in drunkenness being found amongst that section of the community in which the majority favoured Prohibition, and the increase amongst those on whom the Prohibition was forced.

Suffragists, whose attention I have drawn to these figures, attempt to explain them away by asserting that the increased drunkenness is due to the immigrants into New Zealand, and back up their assertion by pointing to the fact that only 24 per cent. of the convictions in 1910 were those of New Zealand born persons, though of the population over 15 years of age, they numbered just over 55 per cent., according to the census of 1906.

Again their reasoning is at fault as can be shown in two ways. In the first place, the population is increasing more rapidly by the excess of births over deaths than by immigration, as the following figures show:—

YEAR.	Percentage of Population born in New Zealand (p. 129, 1910).
1886 (Census Figure)	52.08
1906 (Census Figure)	68.26
1910 (Estimated)	70.00

Furthermore, we find on further enquiry (p. 400, 1911; p. 282, 1902; p. 173, 1899), the following figures:—

Year	Percentage of Population over 15.	Convictions	Percentage of Population over 15 who were born in New Zealand.	Percentage of Convictions amongst New Zealand Born.
1896	63.8	6.82	43.71	15
1900	65.7*	9.50	50.50*	17
1901	—	—	51.85	—
1906	68.5	—	55.75	—
1910	70.3*	11.70	59.00*	24

* Estimated.

By a little simple arithmetic we can calculate the number of convictions of New Zealand born persons per 1,000 of the New Zealand population over 15 years of age, which are as follow:—

YEAR.	Convictions of New Zealand born Population per 1,000 of New Zealand born persons over 15 years of age.
1896 3.67
1900 4.88
1910 6.75

It is thus seen that the rate of increase of convictions is greater among the New Zealand born over 15 years of age, than among the population as a whole, the increase being 84 per cent. and 72 per cent. respectively for the period 1896-1910.

Other Suffragists take the line that the increased convictions are not due to increased drunkenness, but to a more rigid administration of the Law, owing to political pressure

by the women. This argument is again wrong, as the following figures for the consumption of alcoholic liquors per head clearly show. The equivalent gallons of beer in the last column I have calculated for the purpose of combining the figures, and in doing so, I have assumed that the alcohol in 10 gallons of beer is equal to that in two gallons of wine, or one gallon of spirits.

Consumption of Alcohol per head of Population (p. 112, 1894; p. 225, 1899; p. 259, 1911).

YEAR.	Gallons per head.			Equivalent Gallons of Beer.
	Beer.	Spirits.	Wine.	
1883	8.709	1.005	0.291	20.21
1893	7.255	0.656	0.159	14.61
1910	9.294	0.737	0.147	17.40

We thus see that whereas there was a decrease of 28 per cent. in the 10 years prior to Woman Suffrage, there has been an increase of 19 per cent. since.

CRIME.

Those who oppose Woman Suffrage assert that it violates the basic principle of Government, namely that those who make laws must have the strength to enforce them, if they are to be respected; it is further contended that the supersession of justice by sentiment must ensue where women have votes. The criminal statistics of New Zealand seem to bear this out, as the following series of statistics will show:—

Charges before the Magistrate per 1,000 of Population (p. 165, 1905; p. 394, 1911).

YEAR.	Charges before the Magistrate per 1,000 of Population	(Woman Suffrage granted.)
1882 42.45	
1893 26.37	
1894 24.76	
1910 38.48	

The above figures will be found to be slightly different from those which appear in some of the earlier editions of the Year Book, as charges involving unsoundness of mind are now excluded.

The striking feature of these figures is the rapid decrease of 38 per cent. in the eleven years prior to Woman Suffrage, and the rapid increase of 46 per cent. in the 17 years after. Suffragists contend that these figures are not a satisfactory basis, including, as they do, many offences which are essentially technical and not criminal.

The two following sets of statistics show the weakness of that argument:—

Prisoners in Gaol (31st December), per 10,000 of Population (p. 403, 1911; p. 285, 1902; p. 173, 1894).

YEAR.	Prisoners in Gaol (31st December), per 10,000 of Population	(Woman Suffrage granted.)
1881 12.8	
1893 7.48	
1910 8.48	

These figures show a decrease of 41 per cent. in the 12 years prior to Woman Suffrage, and an increase of 13 per cent. during the 17 subsequent years.

Distinct persons imprisoned after conviction per 10,000 of Population (p. 405, 1911; p. 287, 1902; p. 243, 1896).

YEAR.	Distinct persons imprisoned after conviction per 10,000 of Population	(Woman Suffrage granted.)
1886 47.82	
1893 31.92	
1897 25.84	
1910 32.66	

The striking feature of these figures is the rapid decrease prior to the grant of the vote, amounting to 33 per cent. between 1886 and 1893; this decrease continued till 1897, since when there has been a rise of 26 per cent.

WHERE WOMEN MEET.*

By MISS EDITH LONG FOX.

(Concluded.)

THAT it is difficult to get women candidates to offer themselves for election to the Town Council is chiefly owing to the state of the Law which raises formidable barriers against many valuable workers. I think I am correct in saying that Birmingham is the only city outside London in which a married woman has been elected to serve on a municipal council, because there the overseers placed the names of married women on the Burgess roll on account of the decision of Mr. Brookes, the Revising Barrister, in October of 1909, made in virtue of the Qualification of Women's Act of 1907. Unfortunately, other revising barristers have not agreed with this ruling and, therefore, married women cannot vote in the election of county and borough councillors, and are not eligible as candidates, so the State is all the poorer for the lack of its most experienced women, those who have been influenced by the breadth of a man's mind and have learned their wisdom through the bearing and the training of a child.

No woman from a city where the workhouse babies have been reared and mothered by such women as Miss Mary Clifford, Alice Winkworth and the late Katherine Woollam can say one word against the work of the unmarried; these ladies have been ideal lady guardians, and could they begin their lives again we should want none better for our borough council. The mistakes the unmarried women make often come from over-carefulness, the maiden aunt is much more anxious than the mother and rarely understands the advantage to a child of a little wholesome neglect! Our Local Government work is still suffering from the effects of a case of this kind. Four of our lady guardians felt it their duty before the Christmas of 1909 to vote against the children's treat to the pantomime. The men guardians out-voted them and the children went. The episode closed, but the harm was done. From the parents of little children all over the city there arose a storm of indignation. Over and over again has that story met me when I have canvassed for a woman, and the number of votes which have been refused on that account has made me heartily wish that those good, kind ladies, none of whom possessed a child, had had the courage to take risks for those of their adoption.

Our Association have met with great difficulty in finding seats for our candidates to contest. The political parties have their candidate ready before the public know that a vacancy is expected, and they don't

* The first part of this article appeared in the June number of THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW.

encourage women by giving them much information. The committee of a ward in which the opposite party wanted to oppose the sitting member might, as they have plainly told us, if a man refused to stand, ask a woman, but only as a forlorn hope! That this opposition will die away as soon as the first lady councillor is elected we feel certain—once their advent is assured the difficulty seems at an end. All the ladies who have spoken at our meetings have impressed upon us the fact that they are happily working with their men companions. Many have begged us to remember that they are not working against but with the men, and some of their audience noticed with satisfaction that, with only one exception, the term "a mere man" was not used.

PARTY POLITICS.

Another grave difficulty lies in party feeling; it seems absurd that women who have no parliamentary vote should be run by a party; but experience has proved that political parties will not stand back for the sake of an independent candidate, neither will they adopt her themselves; party feeling runs too high; men will not risk losing a vote for their side by putting up a woman. So the lady who wants to stand cannot count on help in her expenses from the party, and this is a serious consideration, as a borough election costs on an average about £50. Granting, however, that a suitable woman comes forward and that a political party do ask her to stand for a contested election, her troubles are not yet over. She attends a meeting, where she is unanimously nominated as a representative of the ward, and issuing her election address, in which it is necessary she should give her opinion on any vexed questions then before the Town Council, she holds meetings out of doors and in, and the work begins. The strain and the stress of a woman's candidature are terribly hard. I who have helped in a ward election imagine myself once more in the dreary committee room, so different from those of the men candidates for Parliament. I can hear the yells of the mocking children (those little creatures about whose welfare our lady candidate felt so much solicitude) as they banged at the door, threw mud at our canvassers and repeated their parrot cry of "Votes for Women" with a pertinacity worthy of a better cause. Idle young hooligans leant against the adjoining wall and amused themselves by finding nicknames for our lady workers, and from time to time an irate, much-cumbered mother would run in and relieve her pent-up feelings by letting us know exactly what she thought of women who, instead of darning their stockings at home, wanted to sit with other women's husbands on the Town Council! The election was well fought, but was lost, chiefly on account of the opposition of the large number of women voters in the ward, very few of whom took the trouble to vote for or even wished to support our candidate. They could have carried the day had they as a body taken an intelligent interest in the cause.

We are now starting a new piece of work—a canvass of all the municipal women voters in one of the city wards. We intend to ask if they are prepared to vote for and support a lady candidate, and if they will join a committee to work for that object? Such a band of women may do much by signing a memorial to be presented to the

ward committee in whose hands the choice of a candidate lies, saying that they particularly want a woman to represent their ward and are ready to vote and work for one; they can also make a point of being present at their ward committee meetings. Some we think will lend us a room in their houses, and we hope to have a series of small meetings, and later on some public ones to discuss separate parts of the work such as "The Powers the Council have over Children," or the duties of "Health Visitors." It is possible that such meetings have a wider effect than we know. It is true that women workers are quickly needed, but before any considerable number can be pressed into this service we must have an alteration in the law to enable married women to become eligible for election and to extend the residential qualification to county and borough councils; also, my political experience makes me feel very strongly that we want above everything the establishment of recognised seats for women on all municipal councils; seats which only they can fill and which would be quite irrespective of party claims. There would be less difficulty to persuade women to come forward if they were freed from the indignity of an equally contested election, and our meagre number of lady town councillors would rapidly increase.

THE SCIENCE OF CHARITY.

By LADY ROSE WEIGALL.

III.—SANITATION.

DISTRICT Visitors are apt to be very strongly impressed with the conviction that "cleanliness is next to godliness," and no doubt this is true to a very great degree; but the maxim, like every other, may be ridden to death. A very clean, tidy cottage and a woman with a very pleasing address must appeal to any Visitor more than the rough, untidy woman in a dirty cottage with everything in the wrong place and everything grimy. But a closer acquaintance may reveal the fact that the rough, untidy woman has a warm heart, is a really affectionate mother and would be, perhaps, if not as tidy as her immaculate neighbour, quite fairly clean, if her own physical health and her surroundings made her capable of being so, but in the circumstances it seems impossible. How can the Visitor help to uplift her? It is no use preaching cleanliness in a house where everything is dilapidated and broken, and every drain and every tap is out of order. Very likely this state of things is largely owing to the people's own untidy habits, but no one really likes to live in dirt and discomfort, and an expression of regret and pity at their state will be favourably received—if not accompanied by reproaches—and, if possible, some suggestions for improving matters may be of use. But if it appears that matters in regard to drains and structural conditions are hopelessly bad and beyond repair, then it seems a plain duty to do what the poor are generally afraid of doing for themselves—and that is to call in the assistance the law can give. This is done by reporting the condition of things to the local Sanitary Inspector or Medical Officer

of Health, who will then inspect the premises and cause what is necessary to be done by the landlord. Of course, great care should be taken not to make frivolous complaints, to be quite satisfied that the defects go beyond what can be remedied by ordinary household methods; but once satisfied on this point, no one need hesitate to make the report to the sanitary authorities. In so doing, a Visitor may feel she is doing a public service as well as benefiting the individual tenants; and as her Report is confidential she need not fear being involved in any unpleasantness with the landlord. Good landlords are grateful for having their attention called to any defects in their property, and careless ones may be roused to a better sense of their responsibilities. It would be a good thing if the wives and daughters of owners of small properties could have the same sense of personal responsibility for their tenants' welfare that exists on large estates, and by personal intercourse find out before it has gone too far the mischief caused to their husband's or father's property by careless and bad tenants. This can only be done by friendly intercourse with the tenants, and is essentially a woman's work, and cannot be done by the weekly rent collector, but only by a sympathetic woman finding out what goes on behind the scenes. Of course, this means facing sometimes much that is sordid and disagreeable, but it also means a real chance of uplifting the poor and ignorant. A tidy home means so much to the poor; it is the best counter attraction to the public-house and the best educational influence the children can have.

Other matters in which the Visitor can do very much are questions of Vaccination, care in promptly recognising cases of infectious disease, and willingness to comply with all the doctor's requirements in matters of disinfection, &c. It is no use to wait for this advice till the emergency arises, but in ordinary times the people should be made to understand that the Sanitary Inspector and the Doctor are not evil geniuses who come prying round their place to find out mysterious reasons for punishing them, but rather friends bringing them the safeguards and benefits the law provides for all, rich and poor alike, to help them to make their homes healthy and to fight disease. It is important to make them understand that the richest and highest in the land are subject to the same laws and have the same obligations.

When once these questions are fairly grasped the most degraded woman will have an inkling of her duty in these matters, and that may be the first step to higher things—spiritually as well as physically.

REVIEWS.

THE HOUSE OF THE SUFFRAGETTE.*

"The House of the Suffragette" is a lively booklet with a stern moral, by Mrs. Nita Simmonds. The dismal story of the disorganised household of a "militant," purporting to be told by "Tricks," the pet dog, is only the lightest of light sketches; but the matter-of-fact, common sense of the arguments, so very simply illustrated, is unanswerable.

"The Neglected Home" argument in the Suffrage controversy, is one that a good many people are inclined to regard merely from a humorous point of view, but in reality it constitutes every-day tragedy. The Mrs. Carruthers, of the "House of the Suffragette," who shirks maternal responsibility, casts scorn on the interests of home and husband, and glorifies "woman hooliganism" into a beautiful martyrdom, is quite a common type of Suffragette in London to-day. Other features, happily less usual, are introduced for narrative purposes. The writer wields an easy and attractive pen, which might well venture upon a more serious effort. We recommend this unpretentious grey-covered booklet to those who are inclined to sentimentalise over the "grand selflessness," the "magnificent motives," &c., &c., of the militant movement. It will be found on sale at the League's house in the Earl's Court Exhibition.

* "The House of the Suffragette." By Nita Simmonds. (Doherty & Co., Great Newport Street. Price 6d.)

A NEW TRANSLATION.

"The Memoirs of Babur,"* a new translation of the Babur-nama incorporating Leyden and Erskine's translation of A.D. 1826, by Annette S. Beveridge, M.R.A.S., has just been issued by Luzac & Co., 46, Great Russell Street, and will be welcomed as an addition to the libraries of English students of Oriental literature. As the translation is to be followed by an imprint of the Turki text, students will also find this volume useful in the study of the Turki classics.

Mrs. Beveridge, the talented author of this volume, is the Hon. Secretary of the Shottermill and Haslemere Branch of the N.L.O.W.S., and on the list of classics translated by her pen are F. von Noer's "Emperor Akbar," translated from the German, and Bibi Brooke's "Key of the Heart of Beginners," translated from the Persian, and "The Haidarabad Codex of the Abur-nama."

* "The Memoirs of Babur." By Annette S. Beveridge M.R.A.S. (Published by Luzac & Co., 46, Great Russell Street, W.C.)

A BUSH OF ROSEMARY.*

By NORAH MCCORMICK.

A charming little collection of verse is published under this fragrant title by the Walter Scott Publishing Co., and includes some poems which have appeared in the *Sunday at Home* and the *Leisure Hour*.

The writer, who died last summer, was a strong but gentle advocate of the views upheld by those whom modern feminists flout as "the old-fashioned women." In other words, the ideals of Anti-Suffragism were cherished by the author of "A Bush of Rosemary." "An Old-fashioned Girl," for instance, contains both a plea for the now infrequent type of "the sweet old-fashioned little maid," and a mild rebuke to "women boasting their advance."

"A Ballade of Dreams," "The Ballade of the Golden Bough," and "April," are haunting little lyrics, and the lilt of the real verse-maker is present in most of the simple and unpretentious verses.

* "A Bush of Rosemary." By Norah McCormick. (Published by the Walter Scott Publishing Co., Ltd., London, New York, and Melbourne.)

A VALUABLE HANDBOOK.*

The second edition of Mr. Heber Hart's invaluable book, "Woman Suffrage: A National Danger," has just been issued by Messrs. P. S. King & Son, of Orchard House, Westminster.

This sound and solid opinion on a Woman Suffrage question as expressed by a lawyer from the Constitutional point of view, first published in 1909, is deservedly popular on the literature list of the N.L.O.W.S. Its value is enhanced in a second edition with a preface written by the Rt. Hon. Lewis Harcourt, M.P.

Revised in the light of recent events, its pages are now enriched with the latest statistics available at the time of going to press, and the newest pronouncements of eminent men on the present aspect of the Woman Suffrage question.

Mr. Lewis Harcourt's preface is significant and terse, and runs—"There is much necessity at the present time for a careful and calm study of the main arguments against the extension of the Parliamentary Franchise to women, and these seem to be admirably and moderately stated in Mr. Heber Hart's book. It is now admitted by all practical people that there is no half-way house at which there could be more than a temporary sojourn on the road to Adult Suffrage. This would mean that the Government of the United Kingdom would be, so far as they chose to exercise their powers, in the control of a majority of women, nor does it seem reasonable to suppose that the logical corollary of the admission of women to Parliament itself could be long or justly withheld. It is for these, amongst other reasons, that many, like myself, believe that the grant of Female Suffrage would be disastrous to the country as a whole."

* "Woman Suffrage: A National Danger." By Heber Hart, LL.D. 2nd Edition (Published by P. S. King & Son.)

ANTI-SUFFRAGE HOUSE AT "SHAKESPEARE'S ENGLAND."

AN ACKNOWLEDGMENT.

THE League has reason to be grateful to the kind helpers from our Branches who, during the past month, have undertaken to spend hours daily working at its house in "Shakespeare's England." The following Branches have in turns taken charge with the chief Organiser: Marylebone, Gunnersbury, Chiswick, and Paddington. Richmond and Kew devised the admirable plan of working in conjunction for a week, as did also Norwood and Hampstead.

Miss Helen Page, in heartily thanking all those who have helped, would like to suggest that workers for occasional days would be very welcome. For the relief of those Branches who live far out of town, and have to catch early trains, volunteers for evening work, from 6 p.m. to 10 p.m. will be very valuable.

Some of the Branches have been good enough to promise to give an extra week later on, and Miss Page would like to take this opportunity of thanking them also.

Promises of help for the latter end of August, and the months of September and October will be gratefully received by Miss Helen Page, 515, Caxton House, Westminster.

LONDON TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION

A SPECIAL General Meeting of the London Teachers' Association was held in the Great Hall of the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, on Wednesday, June 26th, at 7 p.m., when Miss A. K. Williams presided over a crowded attendance. In her opening remarks, she said that she did not ask the men to give a fair hearing to the women speakers, because they were accustomed to attending political meetings, but she did appeal to the women to listen quietly to what the men had to say—because they were not so accustomed to attending meetings.

Miss Lightman proposed, and Miss Dawson seconded, the following resolution: "That this meeting of London Teachers desires to record its conviction that it is in the best interests of education that duly qualified women teachers be granted the Parliamentary Franchise."

The following amendment was proposed by Mr. J. Litt, B.A., and seconded by Mr. A. E. Cook, F.E.I.S.: "That it is inexpedient for this Association to express an opinion on the question of the extension of the Parliamentary Franchise to Women."

Before the resolution was proposed, the Secretary had to deal with a great number of questions concerning the validity of the meeting and the procedure that would be followed, and although great exception was taken to the replies, and to the stubborn resistance of the Lady Chairman to the attempts to raise points of order, the business of the meeting was proceeded with, in spite of the fact that the whole audience was bubbling over with excitement.

Miss Lightman was not able to say very much owing to interruptions; but these she had invited to some extent by saying to her male interrupters almost at the beginning of her speech, "Oh, you humbugs!" The greater part of the audience had undoubtedly come to enjoy themselves, but at the same time were determined not to allow the introduction of politics into their deliberations. Any speaker touching this subject was immediately met with the cry of "No politics!" Not one speaker was listened to without interruption, and the result was pandemonium all the evening. During the course of the proceedings, it was found that women who were not members of the Association were present at the meeting.

A resolution was proposed that standing orders be suspended, which would allow discussion of opposed business after 9.30 p.m., but this was defeated by an overwhelming majority.

At 9 o'clock it was proposed that the discussion be now closed, and this was carried almost unanimously, and then an attempt was made to put the amendment.

Mr. Gautrey (the Secretary), speaking for the Lady President, said that he was desired by Miss Williams to declare the amendment carried (that was undoubtedly his own opinion), but he was immediately stopped by that lady, who said that she thought otherwise. A second vote was then taken, and Miss Williams said that she thought the amendment was lost, but at once there were loud cries of disapproval from the audience, and demands for a poll were heard from all quarters of the room. The next half-hour was spent in attempting to find a solution of the difficulty, but without result.

A suggestion was made that a plebiscite should be taken of the members of the London Teachers' Association, two-thirds of whom are women, but the President refused to accept the motion, and was applauded in her decision by the Suffragettes, who evidently do not relish a vote of the whole of the members—they prefer a packed meeting.

At 9.30 cries of "Time!" came from all sides, and realising that nothing could be done, the President took up her cloak and left the chair in apparent disgust.

The speeches were so broken that it is not worth while quoting them, but the result of the meeting shows that the introduction of politics into the London Teachers' Association will undoubtedly lead to renewed trouble, and other organisations should take warning.

OUR BRANCH NEWS LETTER.

THERE has been much activity throughout the Branches during the month of June. Many new Branches have been formed, and the increase of membership is very satisfactory. Organisation campaigns that have been carried out in various parts of the country have shown the considerable interest that is now evinced in the work of our League. The out-door meetings have been resumed in the London parks and open spaces throughout the suburbs, and are attracting large audiences wherever held.

The Branch Secretaries and Workers' Committee.—The next meeting of this Committee will be held (by kind permission of Mrs. George Macmillan) on Wednesday, July 10th, at 27, Queen's Gate Gardens, S.W., at 11.30 a.m. It is hoped that all the Secretaries of the League who are able to do so will attend these meetings. Chairman, Miss Gladys Pott; Hon. Secretary, Miss Manisty, 33, Hornton Street, Kensington, W.

Ascot.—The recently organised Sub-Branch at Ascot is growing fast, and already numbers 126 members with a widely representative Committee. The members of this Committee include a house-keeper, a hotel manageress, a gardener's wife, a gardener, a builder, a bootmaker, a stone mason, a painter and a business manager. Lady Cecelia Webbe is also a member of the Committee. "It is most gratifying to find," says the local Press, "that here, as in most places in England, the great majority of men and women are entirely opposed to this unqualified revolution in the constitution of the country."

Barmouth.—A very promising Branch has just been formed in this town as a result of a vigorous campaign which is being conducted in North Wales. On May 22nd, a large and enthusiastic meeting to inaugurate the Barmouth Branch was held in the Bellevue Hall, Barmouth. The chair was taken by Mr. John Lloyd, M.A., and Mrs. Gladstone Solomon ably set forth the principles of Anti-Suffragism and briefly sketched the aims of the N.L.O.W.S. The resolution against votes for women was passed with only two dissentients.

Bournemouth.—A very enjoyable afternoon meeting was held at the Garden Tea House, on June 12th, there being a large audience of Bournemouth Anti-Suffragists and their friends present. Miss Mary Schofield was in the chair, and an excellent address was given by Mrs. Harold Norris. At the close of the

meeting a resolution asking Mr. Page Croft, M.P. for Christchurch, to do all in his power to forward the passing of the Criminal Law Amendment Act was unanimously passed. A dainty tea was served to all present by the kind hospitality of Mrs. Roberts-Thomson, Vice-President of the Branch.

Bristol's Campaign.

There has been great activity in connection with the Bristol Branch during June, and the secretaries and members have been very busy. A very successful outdoor campaign has been conducted by Mr. Page and Mr. H. B. Samuels, assisted by Mr. Radford and Mr. de Bonniface, in Bristol East, North and South Divisions, Bishopston and Bedminster, where they have been addressing large gatherings of working people, and distributing large quantities of our literature.

Meetings have been held at Wells, Winscombe and Clevedon, and as a result very promising Branches have been formed at Wells and Clevedon, and many new members have joined the League. The secretaries have called on nearly all the residents at Wells, Cheddar, Axmedge, Winscombe and Clevedon, for the purpose of obtaining a large number of signatures to a petition to be presented to the member of that Division of Somerset, praying him to oppose any Suffrage measures.

On May 27th, a meeting was held on Durdham Downs by Mr. Radford, who addressed an audience of about six hundred people. A quantity of literature was distributed, and everyone present seemed much interested in Anti-Suffrage arguments, for the resolution against Woman Suffrage was passed unanimously.

Clevedon.—A very promising Branch has been formed at Clevedon, the inaugural meeting taking place on June 1st, in Wickenden's Room. Captain A. E. Y. Trestrail, late Liberal Candidate for the Tiverton Division, in presiding over a very good attendance, declared his reasons for supporting the Anti-Suffrage movement in a brief and interesting address.

Mrs. Greatbatch made a great impression upon her hearers with her able arguments, and answered the questions of the Suffragists present most successfully.

Laurence Hill.—Miss Price addressed a crowded meeting, held at Sutton's Dining Rooms, Laurence Hill, on June 12th. Twenty-three new members joined the League, and Mr. Walter Smith, the Chairman, proposed the resolution "that this meeting prays the Hon. member for Bristol East to oppose any measure which includes, or may be amended to include, provision for extending the Parliamentary Suffrage to Women until it has been approved by a majority of the Electors of this country."

An interesting incident occurred at a Suffrage meeting on Durdham Downs, called to protest against the imprisonment of the militant leaders. Mr. H. B. Samuels, at the request of the audience, made objection to the views expressed with the result that the militant party was routed.

Altogether twenty-three meetings have been held during this great Somerset campaign.

Wells.—Mr. Jeffrey Mawer presided over a successful afternoon meeting at the small Town Hall, Wells, on June 4th, where a very promising Branch was inaugurated. Mrs. Greatbatch was the speaker, and one

result of her clever reasoning was the "conversion" of two Suffrage ladies to Anti-Suffrage views.

Winscombe.—Mrs. Greatbatch spoke again on the evening of the same date at Mr. Bird's Assembly Room, at Winscombe. Miss Price was in the chair. A resolution asking for the passing of the Criminal Law Amendment Bill this session was passed.

Criccieth and Llanystumdwy.—A particularly good Branch has been formed at Criccieth. It had been feared that the association of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who is looked upon as a champion of the Suffragists, with this town, would have prejudiced the inhabitants against the N.L.O.W.S., but our organiser in North Wales writes: "The inhabitants of Criccieth are strongly opposed to their member's views on Woman Suffrage."

Owing to the inclement weather an open-air meeting which was to have been held in Criccieth "by special request" has been postponed.

The Criccieth Branch will for the present amalgamate with Llanystumdwy, where we also have a good deal of support.

Exmouth.—An unusual number of questions were asked by the audience at a debate held in Exmouth on May 22nd between Miss Gladys Pott and Miss Ward of the N.U.W.S.S. The King's Hall was well filled, and Miss Duke, who presided, was supported by a representative and influential platform. Miss Pott, in an excellent speech, put the Anti-Suffrage resolution, and after the audience had heard Miss Ward's reply, a very animated general debate took place. On the motion of Mr. Ley, the Rev. M. S. Shaw seconding, a vote of thanks was accorded to the speakers.

Fulham.—The first annual meeting of the Fulham Branch was held, by kind invitation of Mrs. Oskar Fux, in her drawing-room, at 3, Beaumont Mansions, West Kensington, on June 4th.

Mrs. Richard Harrison, President, was in the chair, and reported the most satisfactory growth of this Branch in the fourteen months of its existence. It was formed in April of last year by Mrs. A. Colquhoun, with thirty members transferred from the Kensington Branch, and its membership is now 400.

Mrs. Harrison then introduced Miss Donaldson, who gave an interesting address on Suffrage inconsistencies. Mrs. Fux and Miss Page also spoke briefly, and votes of thanks were proposed by Mrs. H. Stacpole and seconded by Mrs. W. King.

The next day, June 5th, a public meeting was held in the Kelvedon Hall, Kelvedon Road. Mrs. Richard Harrison was in the chair, and read the annual report, describing the year's work of the Branch.

Mrs. H. Norris referred, in an able speech, to the "tremendous experiment of enfranchising ten and a half million of women."

A vote of thanks was proposed by Captain Wickham, and seconded by Mr. Harrison. At both these meetings the Albert Hall Resolution was passed unanimously.

Gloucester.—The Gloucester Branch held its annual business meeting at the Northgate Mansions, on June 5th, Mrs. R. I. Tidswell presiding. Mrs. Naylor, secretary, read the report for the past year, which showed a large increase in membership, and a great deal of work accomplished. The Treasurer's report also showed a satisfactory balance in hand. The officials for the ensuing year were

elected, and the meeting concluded with the passing of a vote of thanks to the President and officers for their work, on the motion of Dr. Waddy, seconded by Mr. Franklin Higgs.

The officials elected to serve were Mrs. R. I. Tidswell, President, Mrs. Langley-Smith, Mrs. Nigel Haines, Mrs. Grimke-Drayton, Vice-Presidents, Mr. W. P. Cullis, Treasurer, Mrs. Naylor, Secretary.

Hampton and District.—The annual meeting of the Hampton and District Branch was held on June 5th at Cranham House, Hampton, by kind permission of Mr. and Mrs. Hicks Beach, Mr. Ellis Hicks Beach being in the chair.

The joint Hon. Secretaries, Mrs. Ellis Hicks Beach and Miss Goodrich, submitted reports of the work done by the Branch during the year, and the report of the Hon. Treasurer, Mr. H. O. Mills, was also read, both reports showing very satisfactory progress.

Miss Page gave a most interesting account of the general work of the League, and also gave some gratifying particulars of the success of the Anti-Suffrage House in "Shakespeare's England." Earl's Court Exhibition. The information that in three weeks at the house 400 members had joined and upwards of 6,000 signatures had been obtained to the Anti-Suffrage petition was received with much applause by those present.

Hemel Hempstead (West Herts.)—Miserable weather marred the success of what would otherwise have been a most delightful garden meeting on June 12th, at Churchhill, the residence of Mr. and Mrs. E. A. Mitchell-Innes, who had most hospitably put their grounds at the disposal of the Hemel Hempstead Branch for the occasion. A small, but very enthusiastic audience assembled instead in the Boxmoor Hall. Mr. E. A. Mitchell-Innes, K.C., Mayor of Hemel Hempstead, presided, and the speakers were Mrs. A. Colquhoun and Mr. A. MacCallum Scott, M.P.

Mrs. Colquhoun proposed the resolution in opposition to the granting of the franchise to women, and in the course of a lively and characteristic speech, said the N.L.O.W.S. League had done a lot of spade work, but they had yet two great drawbacks in the persons who said of the vote: "It is sure to come" and "It is sure not to come." Unless Anti-Suffragists were prepared to put forward, and stand by, their opinions, and consistently act up to them, they could not be sure that people who held contrary opinions might not be able to make them prevail. But they had fought the first round of the battle, and had been successful. What they wanted was that the question should be decided by the will of the people themselves, and should not be made the subject of a catch or snap division in the House of Commons. The great weapon which women possessed could not be put in to the ballot box, for it was the weapon of spiritual influence.

Mr. A. MacCallum Scott, M.P., in seconding the resolution, said he had tried hard to find out what really was "the fundamental idea" that was behind the claim for the suffrage and so far as he was able to judge it came down to one idea—that the vote was a fundamental "human" right! The only staple basis of Government was one which secured that the balance of political power should be in the same hands as that of physical force, and a government must have the power to enforce laws and decrees over

any possible combination of forces against it. Inconsistent Suffragists said, "Don't you think we ought to try and base the State on moral force rather than physical force?" How were they going to do it by giving votes to the women? They were as likely to be wrong as men, and any majority might bring injustice and inequity.

The resolution was carried with but one hand held up in opposition, and the meeting concluded with votes of thanks to the speakers and chairman.

Manchester.—June has been a very successful month for this Branch. The last indoor meeting of the season was held on May 22nd, and since then there has been a series of open-air meetings.

These meetings have been held:—May 31st, at Crowcroft Park, Levenshulme, arranged by the Secretary of the Levenshulme and Burnage Branch; on June 4th, in Raby Street, arranged by the South Manchester Branch, and in Chatham Street. The speakers at these meetings have been Mrs. P. W. Craven, M.Sc., Miss Cordelia Moir and Mrs. Watson Harrison; Messrs. W. M. C. Martin, Thomas Mcpherson, A. E. Salmon, H. W. Barber, Jennings, T. E. Chorlton, and Paley.

An open-air meeting was held in Regent Square, Salford, on June 6th, under the chairmanship of Mr. Jennings, and the speakers were Miss Moir and Mr. W. M. C. Martin. The sympathies of the exceptionally large audience of men and women were entirely Anti-Suffragist, and at the close of the meeting a large number of those present signed the membership cards of the N.L.O.W.S.

At a meeting held on May 22nd, in St. Paul's School, Brunswick Street, East Manchester, the Anti-Suffrage resolution was carried by a majority of at least ten to one. The speakers were Miss Moir and Mr. W. M. C. Martin, Mr. John Bury being in the chair.

Open-air meetings are found to be most effective in this district. In every instance the speakers are listened to with interest, and in many cases great enthusiasm is shown. At one open-air meeting, consisting entirely of working class people, 67 membership cards of the N.L.O.W.S. were signed. The sale of THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW is also usually satisfactory, sometimes between three and four dozen copies being bought. There are two enthusiastic committees of working men and women in North and North-East Manchester, where the population is entirely of the working class. These Committees have arranged open-air meetings, the Manchester Office providing the speakers, and the Committees making all other arrangements, including the systematic canvassing of streets.

On June 18th a deputation from Manchester, consisting of the Secretary and Mr. T. Mcpherson, waited upon the Executive Committee of South Manchester Liberal Federation. There was a crowded and enthusiastic audience, who listened to the remarks of the two speakers with great interest. The deputation rules of the Federation did not permit of a resolution being put, although the speakers and some members of the Federation were most anxious that this should be done. There is no doubt that if a resolution had been put there would have been a large majority for the Anti-Suffragists. About three dozen numbers of the REVIEW were sold, and a number of the members of the Executive promised to join our League.

Scottish National Anti-Suffrage League. Scottish League Deputation.

Fort Augustus (Inverness).—Steps are being taken to form a branch of the Scottish National Anti-Suffrage League at Fort Augustus. On June 15th, Lady Griselda Cheape gave an interesting lecture to a large audience of Fort Augustus residents and explained the objects of the movement against Woman Suffrage.

Mr. R. M. Campbell was in the chair, and at the conclusion of Lady Griselda's address proposed a vote of thanks which was heartily carried.

Glasgow.—A deputation of the Scottish National Anti-Suffrage League had an interview in the rooms of the Glasgow Branch with Sir Archibald M'Innes Shaw, prospective Unionist candidate for Dumfries Burghs. Mrs. John M. MacLeod presided.

Lady Christison and Mrs. David Blair laid the case for Anti-Suffragism before Sir Archibald, in brief speeches. Mr. A. W. Ferguson moved a resolution earnestly appealing to him if he were returned to Parliament, not to support any measure for the enfranchisement of women until the question had been brought before the country as a main issue. Mr. W. C. Hector seconded, and the resolution was adopted.

Sir Archibald M'Innes Shaw, in reply, said that he was not in favour of a great measure of this description being passed without the approval of the country. He considered that the resolution was quite reasonable.

The announcement that Mrs. MacLeod has, through ill-health, found it necessary to give up all public work for the present will be received with regret by members of the Scottish National Anti-Suffrage League. As Founder of the League, Mrs. MacLeod has worked from the beginning to organise the opposition to Woman Suffrage in the North, and only those who have been in close touch with the work of the League since its inception can realise how much it owes to the energy and tact of its first President. The hope that a short period of rest will restore Mrs. MacLeod to health and strength will be felt by all, and we look forward to a time when she will be able again to take her place in the counsels of the League for which she has already done so much.

Mrs. MacLeod's resignation leaves the Scottish Council, the Executive, and the Committee of the Glasgow Branch without a Chairman. For the present Mrs. Boyd Stirling will take the chair at meetings of the Scottish Council, and Mrs. Blair will act as Chairman of the Executive Committee. The Glasgow Branch will be under Mrs. Blair's leadership until a new President is elected. For some time there has been a feeling amongst Anti-Suffragists in Scotland that something should be done to demonstrate the force of the opposition to Woman Suffrage in North Britain. It has now been decided to hold a mass meeting in Glasgow in the Autumn, and the arrangements have been taken in hand by a Committee.

St. Andrew's.—Lady Griselda Cheape gave an interesting address to the members of the Women Workers' Anti-Suffrage League, St. Andrew's, on May 28th, at the Christian Institute. Lady Griselda explained the objects of the Society, which meets once a month—"to do some philanthropic work and to bring brightness into the lives of all."

Miss Cowie suggested that the Society might combine with the local branch of the N.L.O.W.S., but Lady Griselda explained that the two societies were different, though in no wise conflicting. The motto of both was "for God, Chivalry and the Sacredness of Womanhood," and she hoped all the women of St. Andrew's would enroll in one or the other. The Workers' League has greatly increased its membership in the past year, and the St. Andrew's Branch of the N.L.O.W.S. is also growing rapidly. Lady Griselda is President of both.

Shottermill and Haslemere.—The Annual Meeting of the Shottermill and Haslemere Branch was held on May 22nd in the Co-operative Hall, Haslemere. Mr. Cecil Wray, in the chair, reported a very satisfactory growth of the Branch during the past year with a large increase in membership.

Mrs. A. Colquhoun gave an exceedingly interesting address, and Mrs. Beveridge proposed a resolution asking for such changes in the criminal law as should bring about the successful combating of the evil known as the "White Slave Traffic." Mrs. Steer, President of the Woman's Co-operative Guild, seconded in a very able speech, and the resolution was passed.

Southsea.—There was a large and enthusiastic audience at a drawing-room meeting held on May 23rd at 7, Portland Terrace, Southsea, at the kind invitation of Miss Kinipple. The object of the meeting was to reconstruct the Portsmouth and Southsea Branch, which, through the lamented death of the late President and the illness of the Hon. Secretary, has not been able to do much work lately. Mrs. Lindsay was in the chair, and an instructive address was given by Mrs. Lane. At the close a vote of thanks was proposed by Mrs. Robertson and seconded by Mrs. Gillum-Webb. The Branch has now been re-formed, with Mrs. Gillum-Webb as President, Mrs. Robertson as Vice-President, Miss Kinipple and Miss Buckle-phelps as Hon. Secretaries, and Admiral Pollard as Treasurer. Twenty new members joined the Branch at the close of the meeting.

Southwold.—A Branch has just been started at Southwold, and the inaugural meeting was held on June 15th, in the Parish Room. The audience of about 100 was composed of ladies, and Mrs. A. Colquhoun gave an excellent address on the aims and principles of the N.L.O.W.S. A Committee is now in course of formation, and Miss C. Coley has kindly consented to act as Hon. Secretary, and Mrs. Heape, President.

Stanmore.—A very pleasantly conducted debate took place between Miss Cicely Corbett (Suffrage) and Mrs. H. Norris (Anti-Suffrage) at Stanmore on May 17th, before a very large audience. The debate was arranged by the local Suffragists, who presented each speaker with a beautiful bouquet tied with ribbons of their respective colours. The Suffrage resolution was lost without the necessity for a count.

Stratford-on-Avon.—Mrs. Field, Talton House, near Stratford-on-Avon, kindly gave a drawing room meeting on May 24th, to help on the work of the Branch just formed there. It was very well attended, many people having come long distances in order to be present.

Mrs. Maggs was the speaker, and in explaining the present situation urged the great need for earnest work at this juncture. A number of unusually interesting questions were asked by the audience and very ably

answered by Mrs. Maggs. As a result of the meeting a number of new members were enrolled, as well as some new subscribers to the REVIEW. Miss Field has now kindly undertaken the work of Joint Hon. Secretary for the Branch.

Streatham.—A drawing room meeting of the recently inaugurated Streatham Branch was held by the kind invitation of Mr. and Mrs. E. Lunge at "South Hill," Streatham Common North, on June 6th. Mr. August Cohn and Mr. A. Maconachie were the speakers, and at the conclusion of their addresses the hostess kindly entertained all those present to tea.

Surbiton.—Mr. Ellis Hicks Beach was the chairman at a meeting held under the auspices of the Surbiton Branch in the Surbiton Assembly Rooms on May 31st.

Mrs. Greatbatch, in an earnest speech, appealed to women to make better use of the great opportunities they had now without the vote, and to "steadfastly set their faces against being robbed of the characteristics associated with the supreme idea of womanhood."

Mr. A. Maconachie seconded the resolution against Woman Suffrage put by Mrs. Greatbatch, and it was carried by a large majority.

Weston-super-Mare.—A well-attended public meeting was held in the Town Hall, Weston-super-Mare, on May 29th, Mr. H. Ward, J.P., in the chair. A short concert, organised by Mrs. G. E. Alford, preceded the meeting. Mrs. H. Norris and Mr. A. Maconachie both gave interesting and convincing addresses, but were interrupted rather freely by some noisy Suffragists at the rear of the Hall.

A rather absurd situation was created by the Suffragists, who when the Chairman declared the Anti-Suffrage resolution "well carried," demanded a recount, in a very excited manner. The Chairman complied with their request, and then announced the fact, previously quite obvious, that the resolution was carried in the proportion of two votes to one!

Whitby.—There was a large audience in the Silver Street Lecture Hall, Whitby, on June 7th. Mrs. A. Colquhoun spoke. Mrs. Weigall presided and was supported by officials and members of the local Branch.

Mrs. Colquhoun presented the case for Anti-Suffragism in a logical and clearly reasoned address, which was received by the audience with great interest. A number of questions were put to her at the close of her speech by Suffragists present, and Mrs. Colquhoun answered in a convincing and satisfactory way. Mrs. Weigall proposed the Anti-Suffrage resolution, which was carried by a good majority. Votes of thanks were accorded to Mrs. Colquhoun and Mrs. Weigall on the motion of Mrs. de Wend and Mrs. A. Solomons, seconded by Mrs. Priestley and Miss Wiseman.

Wimbledon.—The second meeting in connection with the summer campaign on Wimbledon Common was held on Sunday, June 2nd, when a debate took place between Mr. Herbert Williams, Anti-Suffragist, and Mr. Ralph Pond, Suffragist. A crowded and sympathetic audience welcomed the speakers. Mr. Pond dealt with many generalities, but candidly admitted that he was unable to advance any definite reason why women should have the vote. He even maintained that there is no object to be gained in founding the argument on reason, an

innate conviction that the extension of the franchise to women is right being, in his conviction, quite sufficient ground for the alteration of our electoral system. This manner of dealing with the problem caused some amusement. Mr. Williams based his arguments upon a strong appeal to reason and common sense. He dealt largely with the effect produced by Woman Franchise where this privilege had been accorded already, and pointed out that resultant "repressive legislation" had undoubtedly led to many evils. Wimbledon audiences show themselves to be deeply interested in the Anti-Suffrage question, and many intelligent questions are asked.

Winsford (Cheshire).—This Branch held its first annual public meeting in the Winsford Schools on June 3rd. Mr. J. H. Cooke was in the chair. An excellent address from Mrs. H. Norris was very much appreciated, and some questions by a few Suffragists present were ably answered.

Since public interest has been awakened in the work of the N.L.O.W.S. in Winsford, the membership of this Branch is growing slowly but surely.

The Girls' Anti-Suffrage League.

The Annual General Meeting of the Girls' Anti-Suffrage League took place on June 13th, at 68, Cornwall Gardens, S.W., by kind permission of Miss Husey. The new Executive Committee was elected, and the annual report read and approved. Copies of the report will be sent on application to the Secretary.

PARLIAMENT.

REFORM BILL, 1912.

THE new Reform Bill introduced by the Government on Monday, June 17th, has cast a bombshell into the camp of the Suffragists, for through it the Suffrage cause is losing many adherents, not only in the country, but in the House of Commons itself.

Mr. J. A. Pease, who introduced the Bill, said that if an amendment were passed to extend the Bill to women, it would add 10,500,000 women electors to the Register, or over one million more than there would be male electors. There are in this country 12,032,000 male and 13,352,000 female persons over 21 years of age. As far as can be seen, the only time when the introduction of female electors can be dealt with in this Bill will be when it comes up for Committee stage, and then early in the discussion, when it has to be decided whether the word "adults" shall include women as well as men. It will be very interesting to learn whether the Speaker will rule such an amendment out of order on account of the matter having been already discussed in this Session, although in a somewhat milder form. When asked a few days ago what he would do, he gave a very evasive reply. In any case it is difficult to see how Conservative Suffragists can hope to introduce an amendment on Conciliation Bill terms.

BY-ELECTIONS.

HOLMFIRTH.

OUR League carried on a fairly extensive campaign round Holmfirth in the Yorkshire dales. Open-air meetings were held at

Holmfirth, Penistone, Scholes, Uppertong, Netherthong, Hinchcliffe Mill, and other places, and our speakers were listened to most attentively.

The Suffragettes were all over the Division supporting the Labour candidate, but in spite of their alliance with the Socialists, it was interesting to note that most of the heckling they received came from the labouring classes, and the result of many of their answers to questions brought more recruits to the Anti-Suffrage side.

Copies of the REVIEW were sold, and many members joined the League, whilst thousands of leaflets were distributed. Our latest postcard was eagerly snapped up and became quite the feature of the election, and the "Suffragette's Home" and other posters were to be seen all over the hoardings.

Mr. H. J. Wilson, the late Liberal member, was an ardent Suffragist, but the successful Liberal candidate and new member, Mr. Sydney Arnold, only supports the Suffrage by saying that he thinks "the time has now arrived to make a commencement with Female Suffrage." He will not vote against the Manhood Suffrage Bill if women are left out of it, and therefore was opposed in the election by the different Suffrage societies. Mr. Geoffrey Ellis is an Anti-Suffragist, and refuses to listen to the Suffragettes until "the women know how to behave themselves."

ILKESTON.

Colonel Seely, who seeks re-election, is one of the most prominent Anti-Suffragists in the Government, and therefore is receiving the opposition of all Suffragette organisations. Mr. Freeman, the Conservative candidate, is also an Anti-Suffragist.

Miss Mabel Smith, Mr. H. B. Samuels, and Mr. Goodwin have held numerous open-air meetings in the different centres of the division, and have caused the Suffragettes no little uneasiness.

The "Typical Suffragette" postcard was much sought after by the miners and their wives.

The by-elections since January 1st have resulted as follows:—

LATE MEMBERS:

Anti	5
Suffrage	11
Neutral	1

NEW MEMBERS:

Anti	10
Suffrage	6
Neutral	1

We have, therefore, gained 10 votes on a division—a very gratifying result.

OUR LEAFLETS.

2. Woman's Suffrage and After. Price 3s. per 1,000.
3. Mrs. Humphry Ward's Speech. 1d. each.
4. Queen Victoria and Woman Suffrage. Price 3s. per 1,000.
6. Nature's Reason against Woman Suffrage. Price 5s. per 1,000.
7. What Woman Suffrage Means. Price 3s. per 1,000.
9. Is the Parliamentary Suffrage the best way? Price 10s. per 1,000.
13. Women's Position under Laws made by Man. Price 5s. per 1,000.
15. (1) Woman's Suffrage and Women's Wages. Price 5s. per 1,000.

15. (2) Woman's Suffrage and Women's Wages. Price 3s. per 1,000.
15. (3) Votes and Wages. Price 5s. per 1,000.
15. (4) Women's Wages and the Vote. Price 6s. per 1,000.
16. Look Ahead. Price 4s. per 1,000.
18. Married Women and the Factory Law. Price 5s. per 1,000.
21. Votes for Women (from Mr. F. Harrison's book). Price 10s. per 1,000.
24. Reasons against Woman Suffrage. Price 4s. per 1,000.
25. Women and the Franchise. Price 5s. per 1,000.
26. Woman Suffrage and India. Price 3s. per 1,000.
27. The Constitutional Myth. 3s. per 1,000.
29. Mrs. Arthur Somervell's Speech at Queen's Hall. Price 5s. per 1,000.
- Women and the Suffrage. Miss Octavia Hill. Price 4s. per 1,000.
30. On Suffragettes. By G. K. Chesterton. Price 3s. per 1,000.
31. Silence Gives Consent. (Membership form attached.) Price 7s. per 1,000.
32. Taxes and Votes. Should Women have Votes because they pay Taxes? Price 4s. per 1,000.
34. Woman Suffrage. From the Imperialistic Point of View. Price 5s. per 1,000.
35. Women in Local Government. A Call for Service. By Violet Markham. Price 7s. per 1,000.
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: A Plea for Conscientious Objectors. Price 5s. per 1,000.
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.
47. Most Women do not desire a Vote. Price 3s. 6d. per 1,000.
48. Some Words of Wisdom. Price 3s. 6d. per 1,000.
49. Mrs. Humphry Ward's Speech at Oxford. Price 1d.
50. The Real Issue of Woman Suffrage. 2s. 6d. per 1,000.
51. Suffragist Fallacies. A Mandate (?). Price 3s. 6d. per 1,000.

PAMPHLETS AND BOOKS.

- A. Freedom of Women. Mrs. Harrison. 6d.
- B. Woman or Suffragette. Marie Corelli. 3d.
- C. Positive Principles. Price 1d.
- D. Sociological Reasons. Price 1d.
- E. Case against Woman Suffrage. Price 1d.
- F. Woman in relation to the State. Price 6d.
- G. Mixed Herbs. M. E. S. Price 2s. net.
- H. "Votes for Women." Mrs. Ivor Maxse. 3d.
- I. Letters to a Friend on Votes for Women. Professor Dicey. 1s.

- J. Woman Suffrage—A National Danger. Heber Hart, LL.D. Price 1s.
- K. Points in Professor Dicey's "Letter" on Votes for Women. Price 1d.
- L. An Englishwoman's Home. M. E. S. 1s.
- M. Woman's Suffrage from an Anti-Suffrage Point of View. Isabella M. Tindall. 2d.
- N. "The Woman M.P." A. C. Gronno. Price 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 Suffs," or "Clement's Inn Carols," by I. Arthur Pott. 3d. each.
- T. "Feminist Claims and Mr. Galsworthy," by J. Arthur Pott. 1d. each.
- The Physical Force Argument against Woman Suffrage. By A. MacCallum Scott, M.P. Price 1d.
- Deputation to Mr. Asquith on Woman Suffrage. 1d.
- 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.
8. Woman Suffrage and the Factory Acts. 1s. per 100.
- The Legal Subjection of Men: A Reply to the Suffragettes, by E. Belfort Bax. 6d.
- Ladies' Logic: A Dialogue between a Suffragette and a Mere Man, by Oswald St. Clair. 1s.
- 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, 515, Caxton House, Tothill Street, Westminster.

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

"THE REVIEW."

WHENEVER any difficulty is experienced in obtaining copies of THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW it is asked that a notification should be sent to the Secretary, N.L.O.W.S., 515, Caxton House, Westminster.

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 W. J. Appleyard, 108, Shoe Lane, E.C.
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 St. Bride's Publishing Co., 96, Fleet Street, E.C.
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 H. Marshall, Monument Station Buildings, King William Street, E.C.
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(Continued on page 175.)

THE SECRET OF DAINTY FROCKS.

MUCH of a woman's charm depends upon the daintiness of her dress. Of course, with an unlimited purse at one's command it is comparatively easy to maintain this daintiness, but the woman of moderate means must have the gift of knowing how and where to economise if she is to keep up her appearance. A frock which looks "a perfect dream" on its arrival from the *modiste's* will lose its freshness in a very short time unless care is taken. It may get soiled so slightly and gradually that its owner scarcely notices it, but critics will not be wanting in her circle of friends who will see what, owing to daily familiarity, has escaped her own observation. It is a good plan, then, to examine one's wardrobe periodically—to scrutinise the dresses which are not being worn, because spots and stains upon a dress are frequently invisible to the wearer. So soon as one finds the original spruceness disappearing no time should be lost in enlisting the aid of a reliable firm of dry-cleaners. The cost of cleaning is slight indeed when one remembers the new lease of life which it gives to a dress which might otherwise be unwearable or at least dowdy in appearance. In selecting the cleaners it is necessary to make sure that they are a firm who can be trusted to do the work thoroughly without harming the fabric. Ordinary dry-cleaning will have no effect upon spots or stains caused by anything but grease. All other marks require special treatment, such as that adopted by Messrs. Achille Serre, Ltd., of Oxford Street. This treatment is so thorough that it removes stains and marks of every description, restores the shape and appearance of the garments, and by means of a special "finish," keeps them clean longer than is usual when cleaned by ordinary methods. The prices charged by this firm are exceptionally moderate, and the time taken to renovate a soiled gown or costume is only four days. All interested in dress economy should write for the little book "The Achille Serre Way." It gives prices, addresses of branches throughout the country, and much information of great value to the woman who would dress well on a limited allowance. All inquiries sent to Achille Serre, Ltd., 263, Oxford Street, W., receive immediate attention.

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Hon. Treasurer:
Hon. Secretary:
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Hon. Secretary: Miss Tawney, 62, Banbury Road,
Co. Hon. Secretary: Miss Wills-Sandford, 49, St.
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Chairman: Mrs. Jutson.
Hon. Treasurer:
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President:
Banstead—
Tadworth—
Walton-on-the-Hill—
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COBHAM—
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Oxshott—
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Lugard, Oxshott.
Stoke d'Abernon—
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Nelson, Stoke d'Abernon.
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Esler—
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Thames Ditton—
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Cheam—
Hon. Secretary: Miss West, Cheam.
Worcester Park—
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Auriol Barker, Barrow Hill,
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Fetcham—
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Bookham—
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Vice-President: Lady Martindale.
Hon. Treasurer: Admiral Tudor.
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Hon. Treasurer: Colonel Shute.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Rice, "Melita," Peperharow
Road, Godalming.
Asst. Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Ford, "Woodside,"
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Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Rice, "Melita," Peperharow
Road, Godalming.
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Hon. Treasurer: Lady Nunburnholme.
Hon. Secretary:

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The Hon. Secretary, National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage, 26, Tapton Crescent Road, Sheffield.
Asst. Secretary: Arnold Brittain, Esq., Hoole's Chambers, 47, Bank Street, Sheffield.

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THE GIRLS' ANTI-SUFFRAGE LEAGUE.

President: Miss Ermine M. K. Taylor.

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Hon. Treasurer and Hon. Secretary: Miss Elsie Hird Morgan, 15, Philbeach Gardens, Earls Court.
Such Branch Secretaries as desire Members of this League to act as Stewards at Meetings should give notice to the Secretary at least a fortnight prior to the date of Meeting.

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NEWPORT (Mon.)—
Hon. Secretary: Miss Sealy, 56, Risca Road, Newport.

OXFORD—
Hon. Treasurer and Hon. Secretary: Miss Jelf, 34, Norhan Road, Oxford.

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Asst. Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Louis Hovenden-Torney.
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SCOTLAND.

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(In affiliation with the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage.)
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Vice-President: Miss Helen Rutherford, M.A.
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Aitken, 8, Mayfield Terrace, Edinburgh.
Hon. Secretary: Miss Gemmill, Central Office, 10, Queensferry Street, Edinburgh.

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Hon. Secretary: Miss M. W. M. Falconer, I.L.A., Elder Bank, Duns, Berwickshire.

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Hon. Secretary: Miss Craik, Flight's Lane, Lochee.

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Chairman: Lady Christison.
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Street: Miss Kemp, 6, Western Terrace, Murrayfield, Edinburgh.

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Hon. Secretary: Miss Eleanor M. Deane, 180, Hope Street, Glasgow.

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Kilmacoll (Sub-Branch)—
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Vice-President: The Lady Kelvin.
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Hon. Secretary: Miss Jeanette Smith, Littlerath, Largs.

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

WALES.

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Hon. Treasurer and Secretary (*pro tem.*): John W. Brown, Esq., Crynllys, Buarth Road, Aberystwyth After June 12th, Ty Hedd, North Road, Aberystwyth.

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Hon. Treasurer: Miss Linda Price.
Hon. Secretary: Austin Harries, Esq., Glantaf, Taff Embankment, Cardiff.
Assistant Hon. Secretary: Miss Eveline Hughes, 68, Richards Terrace.

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Joint Hon. Secretaries: Mrs. Gladstone Jones; Miss Glynn, "Plas Groilyn," Criccieth.

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