

THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW.

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THE NATIONAL LEAGUE FOR OPPOSING WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

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PROMINENT ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS. THE COUNTESS OF ILCHESTER.



THE PORTRAIT of Lady Ilchester, which we reproduce on this page, will be a very interesting one to our readers, for Lady Ilchester was one of the pioneers in forming the Women's National Anti-Suffrage League. Her first move in the direction of Anti-Suffragism was to sign the original appeal against Women's Suffrage which appeared in the press; and thenceforward she became enthusiastic in our cause, being one of the band of leading men and women in London who organised the meeting in the Westminster Palace Hotel in July, 1908, where the W.N.A.S. League was inaugurated.

Lady Ilchester was asked to act on the Executive of the newly-formed League, but as she was much away from London, and not at the time able to undertake further public work, she was prevented from accept-

ing this invitation. But the Kensington Branch — the first Branch of the W.N.A.S. League to be established in London, and now a powerful and important one — had Lady Ilchester as its President, and one of its founders. President she has remained ever since, presiding and speaking at as many Anti-Suffrage meetings as possible.

Lady Ilchester has been President of the Women's Unionist and Tariff Reform League from the moment of its creation, and has worked hard to further its principles.

As a hostess Lady Ilchester is, of course, very well known, and exceedingly popular.

We are glad to record that in the midst of her many social and public engagements, she is seldom too busy to speak or work for the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage.

Mary Ilchester

L. V. M.

LORD SELBORNE'S FALLACIES.

AT the meeting of the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association on the 9th of March, at the Hotel Cecil, Lord Selborne used some curious arguments for granting the suffrage to women. His ingenuity in ignoring the patent facts of everyday existence contrasted strangely with his opening declaration that "he would not approach the question from the standpoint of theory, but would simply apply to it the test of whether the giving of the franchise to women would be for the advantage of the country." He began by formulating a fallacy, entirely inapplicable to the situation, that where any conflict of interest occurs between class and class, "it is inevitable in a democratic system that the unrepresented class does not get its fair share of consideration." This is no doubt true of men, for they are not as a sex singled out for special protection. To be a man and to be unrepresented may well be to go to the wall. But it is certainly not true of women. Our society is based on the conception that there must be no conflict of interest between men as a class and women as a class, and women are therefore protected by custom and by law on the express understanding that the franchise is closed to them. The fact is not altered by ignoring this fundamental condition, and speaking as though an unrepresented woman were in the same position as an unrepresented man. Nor is it altered by the unwillingness of a minority of women to be protected. One of the most distressing symptoms of the present suffrage movement is the anger excited by new attempts to provide protection for women and children. Suffragists evidently prefer to have a grievance; they prefer at one and the same time to reject offers of protection, and to blame man for providing inadequate protection. Women, however, who retain all their sanity in discussing these exciting matters, perceive that to exact equality with men and to require a continuance of protection and deference, is to ask for two mutually contradictory things. They, for example, see the very distressing

side of Miss Cicely Hamilton's heroic defiance: "We demand for woman the right to work as long and as hard as she pleases."

After developing the theory that women, as an unrepresented class, do not get their fair share of consideration, Lord Selborne laid down the principle that directly a class is plainly excluded from its rights by a clash of interests with other classes, the wronged class must be given the power to help itself by a grant of the franchise. "For that reason," he said, "it has been our practice to add to our electorate class after class." Therefore, in his view, women must now be added. What Lord Selborne ignored is the fact that no class of men ever deprecated the grant of the franchise. But a vast majority of women do deprecate the proposal to enfranchise them. This is a thing unprecedented in our history; and every argument is invalidated which ignores such a significant symptom. The fact is, that most women prefer the protection and deference they get—imperfect, we admit, but continually progressing—and would not exchange for it the burdens and sorrows of a political struggle with men on equal terms. Stranger even than his first argument was Lord Selborne's remark that "the burden of proof rests upon those"—the majority in this case not only of men, but of women!—"who answer an inexorable 'No'" to the demand for woman suffrage. One regrets that Lord Selborne omitted to indicate the process of reasoning by which he arrived at so original a conclusion. It is certainly an addition to the established principles of jurisprudence, and if put into force should be fertile in consequences.

The most specious of all Lord Selborne's pleas—the keystone, in fact, of his position—was the maxim that all government rests ultimately on consent. But the use he made of this unquestioned axiom was the merest casuistry in its refusal to recognise the means by which consent is ultimately exacted. "Mr. Winston Churchill," he said, "is as Home Secretary charged with the constitutional duty

of seeing that the law is made effective. Does the effectiveness of the law depend upon the physical stature of Mr. Churchill?" It is surely unnecessary to insist on the indispensable function discharged by the physical stature of Police Constable X—if not of the Scots Guards—in making that law effective; to do so, indeed, would almost amount to the rubbing of salt into those open wounds of which we have lately heard so much. This being so, it is unfortunate that Lord Selborne produced no reasons for his sweeping statement that "the argument about the inability of women in the last resort to enforce" is "elemental rubbish." He dismissed as "a fine, crusted old Tory argument" the statement that women do not want the vote. It is unfortunate, perhaps, that facts should sometimes be "Tory," but they remain facts none the less. In his belief that there would never be a purely sex division of voters under women franchise, we agree with him; but it is certain that a majority would often be a majority only by virtue of women's votes. If Lord Selborne thinks that under adult suffrage for both sexes—which would be the inevitable culmination of a limited measure of woman suffrage—a minority which was conscious of superior physical strength would rest quiet under unpopular legislation, he must have different notions from ours of what makes for the stability and tranquility of a State. In such circumstances the men of the minority would feel that they were subject to women. It is arguable that they would be wrong to resent it. But that they would resent it is certain, and one does not care to contemplate the consequences.

NOTES AND NEWS.

LAST month we published a correspondence between Lord Cromer and Lady Chance on "Infant Mortality" in the manufacturing towns of Lancashire and Yorkshire. Challenging the natural inference drawn by Lord Cromer from statistics, Lady Chance in effect put forward the opinion,

frequently expressed by Suffragists, that any attempt to restrain women from working in factories just before and after confinement, is simply an instance of "man-made" tyranny to be resisted at all costs—a contention entirely characteristic of the Suffragist party in its subordination of every issue to the one *idée fixe*. Recapitulating this correspondence on the 4th of March, the "Textile Mercury"—a paper published in Manchester, and written by men on the spot with every opportunity for obtaining first-hand information—agreed with Lord Cromer's statement that the employment of married women in mills is a contributory cause of the high death-rate of infants, and added that "ample evidence might easily be produced" to prove it.

"Mostly factory mothers send their children out to be nursed; and infrequently the nursing is inefficient, and in all such cases, of course, the child is deprived of the sustenance of mother's milk. . . . Wherein we lack is in having no organised means of assisting factory mothers to tide over the period of child-bearing. Most Continental countries are ahead of us in that respect, especially Germany and France."

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HERE, if anywhere, is a province for the legitimate activity of women, and it might have been expected that the desire to ensure such reforms would provide one of the strongest arguments for the advocates of women's enfranchisement. The Suffragists, however, will have nothing to do with it, and in their extreme "anti-man" attitude angrily disclaim all expedients for the protection of their sex. In order to achieve some show of reason and consistency, they therefore find themselves forced to maintain the absurd and inhuman paradox that factory work has no effect whatsoever on the maternal functions. They have accused Mr. John Burns of attempting to rob women of their work and wages. He might have replied by charging them with a conspiracy to rob the nation of its young. The "Textile Mercury" balances the evidence on several points, but the words we have quoted above are absolute, and do not admit of qualification. If Suffragists coerce statistics into proving what they wish to believe, they are asking us almost to accept the principle that the less a child sees of its mother the better. But we believe that even statistics cannot be shaped to their purpose. We print elsewhere in this issue some facts which seem to us quite to dispose of Lady Chance's contention.

MISS VIDA GOLDSTEIN, who has come from Australia to help the Suffragists, and appears to have associated herself with the militant group, is president of the Women's Political Association in Victoria. A writer in "Votes for Women" describes this as "a very influential body, its policy being legislation, not personalities or parties." One observes in these words the usual implication that men do not aim at legislation, and that the existence of political parties is not a means of arriving at legislation, but a symptom of men's perversity, incompetence, or levity. Really one sometimes almost wishes that women could govern the country for a few weeks to find out that legislation is not achieved by the use of attractive phrases. We learn further from "Votes for Women" that at the last State election in Victoria 83 per cent. of the women voted, as against 63 per cent. at the previous election. This result is attributed to the fact that women are being "silently drilled in the use of the vote." We can quite believe in this drilling. But it does not square with the disarming assurance of some diplomatic suffragists that if women got the vote most of them would not use it after all, and that therefore it would make very little difference. The article goes on:—

"What the people of Victoria think of Miss Goldstein is best shown by the numbers of those who voted for her at the two elections for the Federal Senate for which she has stood. In 1903 Miss Goldstein polled 51,497; in 1910 she was the only independent candidate, the fight being between the Labour and Anti-Labour. She polled 53,583. She has already announced her intention of contesting the elections again in 1912, and a very large poll is anticipated."

We commend these words, and also the enthusiasm created among Suffragists by the appearance of the first woman member in the Norwegian Storting, to the attention of those who think that the grant of Woman Suffrage in Great Britain would not be followed by a demand to sit in Parliament.

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WE hear so often that if women had the vote their moral influence would cleanse our social life and greatly abate the evils of drink, that it is always interesting to watch the manner in which women act in such matters when power happens to come into their hands. In Manchester lately there was a discussion in the Town Council whether Miss Horniman, who conducts the Gaiety Theatre—a most

intelligently managed theatre, which has done an intellectual service to the drama and has produced a series of plays of extraordinary interest—should be granted a drink licence. Miss Horniman asked for one, and in spite of some opposition got it. In previous seasons her theatre had no licence. We have little doubt that the theatre will be as well conducted with the licence as without it; but so many women have fallen into the habit of assuming that women are superior to all the ordinary economical motives or considerations of expediency which govern men that it has been a shock to them to discover that the enlightened Miss Horniman demands a drink licence like any other manager. In a letter to the "Manchester Guardian," of March 7th, Miss Janet Smith wrote of what she thinks will be the changed conditions at the Gaiety Theatre now that a licence has been granted:—

"What would our forefathers have said had they seen a theatre where women and girls (of whom the audiences at the Gaiety Theatre largely consist) could pass in and out and meet their friends as freely as in their own homes? It is not one woman who is now penalised, but hundreds, for there is not one of Miss Horniman's supporters who does not know in his or her heart that a theatre with a bar, however good the management, is a less desirable place of resort for women of all ages than a theatre without one. It is a woman who has thus hurt us, and of the only two of our sex in Manchester who could have helped us in a practical way, the one voted for the Excise licence, the other (possibly through utter inability) was either not present when the matter was discussed at the meeting of the City Council or did not vote. We may well pause to readjust our ideas on Women's Suffrage and on women's influence in public life generally. Our thanks are due to the men on the City Council whose wider vision enabled them to see beyond Miss Horniman."

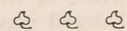
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WE may add as a pendant to the incident of the Gaiety Theatre at Manchester the remarks of the "Common Cause," of March 16th, on women's superior morality. In an article entitled "Vicarious Virtue," it is said that some man, who admitted the rightness of the demand for women suffrage, cynically objected to it because, as he said, "You women would screw up the pitch altogether beyond what we could bear." After giving other similar examples the writer goes on:—

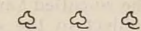
"These men were honest. Mistaken or not, such thoughts as these are really at the bottom of all the so-called 'arguments.' Men who strongly object to the enfranchisement of women are convinced that women would make the world a less comfortable place for men, that women don't understand men's 'temptations'; that they would demand of

men a pitch of virtue to which it is impossible to attain, and that, if they could, they would abolish all the 'joy of life.'

We try to avoid using harsh terms of the opinions of our opponents, whose sincerity in general we fully recognise; but we should not do justice to the fact if we did not say that such an argument as this is both morbid and distorted. To explain all the objections brought against woman suffrage in such a way is to surrender argument altogether. Incidentally the explanation requires one to believe that all women Anti-Suffragists are Anti-Suffragists not because they fear an injury to their sex, but because they are base and feeble-minded enough to be willing to indulge the selfishness of men.



THE melancholy irony of the "Common Cause" finds a congenial opportunity for exercising itself on the article which we published last month by Lady Simon on the Branch work of our League. The "Common Cause" professes to be amused at "those delightful people the Anti-Suffragists," who are inclined, in Lady Simon's words, to prefer one good meeting "with the speakers all on our side" to "any amount of debates with Suffragists." To a reader who consents to the expedient of detaching words from their context, and who does not know the inner history of any of the debates between Suffragists and Anti-Suffragists, this irony, if familiar, might seem sufficiently well-directed. But what facts does it disguise? Over and over again our Branches have agreed to organise, or take part in, debates, only to find that a special audience had been whipped up, which, though it was unquestionably efficient at voting and interrupting, did not in any way represent the feeling of the district in which the debate was held. Sometimes part of the audience had been imported from a distance. We can honestly pay a tribute to the ingenuity and zeal of the Suffragists' tactics. But when we are asked to organise debates, with the full consciousness that they will be the vehicle for these highly developed accomplishments, we must think twice even at the risk of being considered "delightful."



THE Hon. Secretary of the Bristol Branch of the League has sent a copy

of the following letter to every member of the Bristol Town Council:—

March 13th, 1911.

"DEAR SIR,—I am informed that an attempt is being made by some advocates of Women's Suffrage to induce the Bristol Town Council to express its approval of the Conciliation Bill now before Parliament.

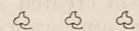
"An extensive canvass of 7,615 of the women ratepayers of this city was taken last autumn by the local branch of the National League which is opposing the extension of the Parliamentary suffrage to women. The results of this canvass, and those already taken in other constituencies, I enclose with this letter, and you will see that the views of the women who would be enfranchised by the Conciliation Bill are in the main against any such measure.

"I am therefore writing on behalf of the local Committee of the National League to express their hope that, if this question is brought before the City Council, you will both speak and vote against any resolution in support of a Bill of which so large a majority of women municipal voters in this city have shown their disapproval.

"Believe me, yours faithfully,

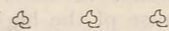
E. LONG FOX."

We hope that all Branches in towns where the Municipal Councils show signs of going outside their proper functions and discussing the Parliamentary suffrage for women, will send to the councillors some such letter as this, or make similar representations. We understand that the Bristol Council has been urged by Suffragists to pass a Woman Suffrage resolution. It is not characteristic of those who depend for their position on votes to refuse a plea from a considerable number of voters, particularly when the resolutions they are invited to pass can cost them nothing. The only way to procure the failure of this simple process is to let the Councillors know that a still larger number of voters will be seriously affronted if they do pass a suffrage resolution.



THE "Nineteenth Century" for March contained an article under the title of "Cassandra on 'Votes for Women,'" in which Miss Edith Sellers, professing merely "to report, not weigh in the balance; to chronicle, not criticise," puts so forcibly the views of her "friend" Cassandra, that one is tempted to infer the identity of the two ladies. Cassandra is described as "a woman whose life was being made a burden to her because she would not even profess to think that other women ought to have votes." Weary, however, of her pessimistic intuitions, she would have been only too thankful to feel certain that the passing of a Woman's Franchise Bill would result in genuine national prosperity, and

not, as her misgivings suggested, in disaster. She meets a clergyman who congratulates her on what he considers the women's imminent victory, and is immensely surprised at her answer that she neither wishes nor approves of the vote. To his question, "Why not?" she replies: "Because I do not wish every curate in the land to have a dozen votes, and every popular rector at least a hundred;" and this is the proposition which the article develops. The rector smiled a protest, but admitted that women, when in doubt, would be well advised to consult their parish priest, and passed on his way.



SHORTLY afterwards, Cassandra met an eminent doctor, who proved even more enthusiastic a champion of female suffrage. A Radical himself, he took it for granted that all women shared at heart his zeal for sweeping reforms, and Cassandra's prophecy of clerical supremacy was met with an indignant denial of the possibility of such folly among Englishwomen—the reason being, as Cassandra points out later, that like most of the men who are in favour of women's suffrage, the doctor was an "intellectual," and the fact is that such men do not know the average provincial middle-class widow or spinster. They have no idea how narrow she is—how ignorant of what is going on in the world—how completely she is in the hands of her spiritual adviser." In the end, by analysing the predominant female population of many health resorts and Cathedral cities, Cassandra builds up reluctantly a prospect of a definitely clerical group under woman suffrage. It is not suggested whether such a group or party would be like the clerical parties abroad—whether clericalism would become here as in France, "the enemy," as Gambetta called it—but Cassandra's words are perhaps worth bearing in mind.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE: A NATIONAL PERIL.

By WILLIAM KNIGHT, Emeritus Professor of Philosophy in the University of St. Andrews.

I.

THE wish of the Suffragist, more especially that of the militant type—whether consciously avowed or unconsciously pursued—is really to alter and readjust the whole social fabric of the British Empire.

It is a stupendous interference with our existing family life, because it assumes and affirms a non-existent equality between the sexes, tempting women to enter into an arena in which they will assuredly imperil their own future. Mr. Frederic Harrison has wisely written, "The true function of men and of women is to be the complement each to the other. The effort to assimilate them is a step towards barbarism."

So much has recently been said, and said so ably, on this subject, that it is difficult to add to it anything that is new; and I make no attempt to discuss the subject from fresh view-points, or to deal with it exhaustively. It is enough to outline the old position in a few detached sentences. But the gravity of the proposed change in the whole framework of British society and in our national habits and tendencies, is so stupendous that we ought to look with a clear and steady eye to the results which are certain to follow if the project is carried out. As has been so often said, Woman Suffrage involves—and carries with it—Adult Suffrage; and that is universal suffrage within an area in which women preponderate. It follows that, in a very short time, the British Empire would be governed, not by men, but by women. It is true that some of the advocates of Women's Suffrage do not desire the admission of their sex to Parliament; but, it is as certain as anything of the kind can be, that if the suffrage is given to them, they will claim to enter Parliament. The vote by women will carry with it a vote for women; and if women are to be allowed to sit in the House of Commons, why should they be debarred from entering the Parliament's Cabinet? Do its advocates forget what Mr. Gladstone said, and emphasised, in 1892? He said: "The woman's vote carries with it the woman's seat in Parliament. Capacity to sit in the House of Commons legally and practically draws in its train capacity to fill every office in the State." But this would be, as someone has said, "a revolution more radical and momentous than any which has been recorded by history." It would certainly be much worse for Britain than Single Chamber government by men.

Then it must be noted that to grant the Parliamentary vote to women would be fundamentally to alter the nature and character of the electorate. At present, the suffrage is limited to men, because with men rests the physical power to see that the laws which are enacted are carried out, that they are enforced and obeyed. Might is not always right; but right must always

have might behind it, to realise it if need be. If women voted, their votes would be equal in value to those of men; but women could not enforce them as men can. The possession of the suffrage would not, therefore, give them *power to rule* and be obeyed; and so the nature of the vote would differ in the two sexes.

But let us judge of this modern wish in the light of ancient history. Is it wise to abandon the whole custom of the past, to leave behind us its best lessons, and begin to do what the wisest of the ancients—of the Greeks and Romans—did not venture to do?—to embark on an experiment which would amount to a Revolution, while we have within our great Empire an India to govern and guide, with its varied populations and races, to whom the idea is absolutely abhorrent; and with subject States and Colonies—integral elements of the Empire—in which the experiment has not been tried? But there is more than this.

I have said that the inevitable end would be the enthronement of women as the predominant element in the State; but what of the intermediate steps leading up to that end? What of the disturbing and demoralising "streams of tendency" when our women are rushing to the front in polemical politics, and clamouring for careers in all the pathways and professions now open to men, jostling with them and against them in every avenue of effort except that of the home, in which they have hitherto had the strongest, the most sacred, the most benign, and gracious power? It needs little insight to see that there would be a widespread deterioration of character; and chivalry towards them would go down if they themselves came to prefer and practice the ethics of the Stock Exchange to those which our ancestral women have revered and practised.

That there would be a hardness, an angularity, and a pugnacious spirit abroad is undoubted. The noisy, boisterous, controversial, militant era for woman would set in, and it would come to stay. But this is evidently realised by some who write in support of the change. Can it be credited that in an introduction to "the case for Women's Suffrage" it is stated that an "electric spark was needed which would turn woman the suppliant into woman the rebel"! And is it difficult to realise the scenes that would be witnessed, the strife that would take place, within a heterogeneous Parliament of men and women for ever struggling for supremacy? Besides the realisation of an adequate and just equality between men and

women in Parliament is a Utopian dream. It would never have a chance of actual realisation. The best women—the most educated, talented, and refined, the most clear-sighted—would be shut out, or rather would never be shut in by election. The noisy and the clamorous would monopolise the seats of power. Imagine a Laura Bassi of Bologna, an English Countess of Pembroke, or even a Florence Nightingale, as a member of Parliament! The supposition is grotesque beyond words.

It is said, most erroneously, that the interests of men and women are identical, and that therefore they should have equal voting power. They are not identical. They differ in as many ways as women differ from men; and women do not suffer because of that difference. On the contrary, their welfare is increased, and their interests are enlarged. No injury is done to their legitimate advancement, and permanent well-being, by any legislation inaugurated and carried out by men. They have no "grievances" that are not easily, cordially, and chivalrously redressed by men. They are not "mis-governed," but are helped in a thousand ways to advance, and uplift themselves. Their "position" is not one of "inferiority" to that of men; but, in many ways, and multitudinous directions, it is superior.

But, *per contra*, they are more open to bias, to erratic impulse, and instability of purpose. It is not only admitted, it is gloried in, that they are often far more heroic in their devotion to duty than most men are; certainly far more patient under suffering, and more helpful to others of either sex in manifold ways. The corollary of this is not that they should be encouraged to step out of their glorious sanctuary of service, but that they should be safeguarded against absorption in partisanship, and those imbroglios which are so often the inanities of political life.

Another thing may be mentioned in this connection. Almost all the upholders of the higher education of women, and the advocates of their right of entrance into the new spheres of activity in which they can do so much for the welfare of their race and the advantage of themselves, are opposed to their claim for the Parliamentary suffrage. That is an unquestionable fact, and the explanation of it is easy. The very eagerness to break down barriers in the way of their higher education, and their admission to new arenas of work and of service for which that education fits them, leads men to try to safeguard women from the distractions that are prejudicial to it, to extend and

develop powers along those channels in which they can accomplish most, and which their talents and their sex make indubitably their own.

The possession of the suffrage would not, as some of them affirm, "extend their range of vision." It would narrow, and injure their character. So long as there are organic differences which separate the sexes, as truly as there are resemblances which unite them, their spheres of action must differ. It does not follow that because they can sit on school boards, and work with men in charity organisation, they should be allowed to enter the House of Commons, or engage in diplomatic service.

A remarkable article on "Women Suffrage and its Advocates," appeared in "The Times" of March 17th, suggested by the new "plan of campaign" advocated by their Social and Political Union to upset the census which is about to be taken in our country. This militant effort of theirs to try to obtain the suffrage by overthrowing the constitutional machinery of the country, by preventing an accurate census of its population being returned, is perhaps the most serious menace to national well-being proposed. No more disastrous, reckless, and almost criminal act has yet been suggested by the advocates of the suffrage. They propose to make the national census inaccurate, and therefore useless, by themselves "escaping from enumeration, and inducing others to do the same." But, as the writer of the article points out, "The census is the basis of all effective statistics. The health of the people, the causes of death, and the prevalence of disease; their condition as to age, sex, and marriage; the birth-rate, infantile mortality, the occupations of the people, their poverty, their thrift—on all these and a hundred more subjects, the accuracy and utility of our knowledge depends on the census, because everything in such statistics is relative to the number of persons. If the census were seriously wrong, then serious mistakes would be made affecting every field of national activity. Persons who contemplate so great a public injury prove themselves totally unfit for any sort of public responsibility." These are wise words, and I believe that the mere proposal to make our national census nugatory by such tactics will turn tens of thousands away from sympathy with the woman's vote.

It should be noted, however, that while the action of the Women's Social and Political Union for the purpose of cheating the takers of the census deserves the severest reprobation, the Edinburgh National Society for Women's Suffrage

does not look with favour on what the London Union hopes to do; and that the President of that society, Miss Mair, writes to the "Scotsman" of March 20th: "We, of the National Union, consider that any muddling of the statistics can only leave a legacy of inaccuracies, such as will retard beneficial work for both men and women for many years after we women have obtained full citizenship." One is glad to find such moderation in the claim advanced in certain quarters.

Is it too late to urge women to read, re-read, and ponder Tennyson's "Princess," and to recall the deep underlying truth of his teaching about

The parasitic forms

That seem to keep her up, but drag her down,
Now leave her space to burgeon out of all
Within her, let her make herself her own
To give or keep, to live and learn and be
All that not harms distinctive womanhood.
For woman is not undeveloped man,
But diverse: could we make her as the man,
Sweet love were slain: his dearest bond is this,
Not like to like, but like in difference,
Self-reverent each, and reverencing each,
Distinct in individualities.
Then comes the stater Eden back to man.

WOMEN'S WORK AND INFANT MORTALITY.

In our last issue we promised to deal further with the subject matter of the correspondence which we published then between Lady Chance and Lord Cromer—the influence of the industrial employment of women on infantile mortality.

A careful study of the latest Local Government Board Report on the subject* has furnished us with much valuable and interesting evidence. The facts and statements quoted below are all taken from this Report, and they will speak for themselves.†

No reasonable person will maintain that the extra-domestic employment of married women and mothers is the chief cause of infant mortality, but, on the other hand, the evidence of medical officers all over the country goes overwhelmingly to show that it is one of the chief causes. If any one evil *par excellence* can be picked

* Supplement to the Report of the Board's Medical Officer, containing a Report by the Medical Officer on Infant and Child Mortality, 1909-10. Wyman and Sons, London, 1910.
† The number of the page is given in each case for reference, and the italics are ours.

out as the chief cause of a high infant death-rate in any district, it is, of course, bad sanitation and neglect of all proper sanitary precautions. This evil is present to by far the greatest extent in the mining and colliery towns and villages and factory towns, both large and small, of the North and North-West, the Northern Midlands, and South Wales.

"The industry which is associated with the highest infant mortality is mining; next come the industries of the pottery districts; and then the textile industries of Lancashire and Yorkshire. The heaviest infant mortality occurs in those counties in which a high proportion of the population is engaged in the various forms of metallic working, as well as in mining.—(p. 59.)

The pages of this Report contain abundant evidence of a terrible state of things still prevailing in these great centres of population. We would advise those of our readers who are not so far particularly sympathetic with the constructive part of our League's policy, to read and lay them to heart, and judge for themselves whether a large addition of educated and intelligent women to the ranks of Urban and Rural District Councillors all over the country is not in the highest degree imperative. But this is by the way.

According to the Report the fourteen Administrative Counties with the highest infant mortality in England and Wales are the counties of Glamorgan, Durham, Northumberland, Monmouth, Carmarthen, Stafford, Yorks (West Riding), Lancashire, Denbigh, Cumberland, Carnarvon, Derby, Nottingham, and Yorks (North Riding). These include the counties where sanitary conditions are the worst in England and Wales, but they also embrace just those counties where the textile, pottery, and other industries that draw women into factories are most extensively carried on.

The following extracts from the Report will arrest the attention of all those interested in this subject. Those who read the Report without prejudice will acknowledge the conscientious and judicial weighing of the many different causes of this great national evil in the minds of most of the medical officers whose views are represented, and will be grateful for it. These doctors have no axe to grind, no special "cause" to plead. Their business simply is to get at the truth as to the causes of infantile mortality in this country. The causes are many, and they are both direct and indirect. But amongst them no one who has studied for an hour such a careful analysis as is given in the

Local Government Board Report on which this article is based, can possibly doubt that the industrial employment of women is one of the principal factors, and can fail to agree with Dr. Robertson's words in his 1908 lecture:—"Working-men ought to insist that married women's labour should be restricted gradually, until it is finally abolished."

Lady Chance, in her letter of February 16th, rightly described Dr. Robertson as putting forward the view in his most recent Report (1910) that possibly great poverty had, in Birmingham, more influence in increasing infant mortality than industrial employment, and she based much of her argument on his opinion. But the very Government Report which summarises Dr. Robertson's views, and the figures which he gives, goes on to say:—

"It would be folly to infer from this that the industrial occupation of mothers is not a most injurious element in our social life. . . . The most that can be inferred from the above figures is that the industrial employment of married and widowed women cannot be regarded as, in itself, the chief cause of infant mortality.—(pp. 57, 58.)

"It" (*i.e.*, the industrial employment of women) "must be regarded as an auxiliary cause of excessive infant mortality in the textile counties; for it cannot be conceived that the absence of mothers from home for a large part of each day can be free from danger to their infants, besides being injurious to their older children, who are deprived of maternal care, and are insufficiently or improperly fed, as the result of the mother's absence.—(p. 59.)

In an Appendix to the Report are given various extracts from Medical Officers of Health in various counties, of which the following bear strong testimony to the harm done by the industrial employment of women:—

Dr. Partington, Tunstall (p. 102), writes:—

"FACTORY EMPLOYMENT OF MOTHERS.—In commenting upon the causes productive of excessive mortality, it has to be borne in mind that female factory labour is very much in evidence in Tunstall, and although much has been and is being done to lessen the injurious influences of such upon the constitutions of young women adopting factory work, it cannot be denied that these injurious influences are too often reflected upon the offspring of such as become mothers. The neglect of home life involved in the system must also be conceded as a baneful factor in the production of excessive infant mortality. Improvement in the conditions surrounding factory labour can only be done by legislation, so that our efforts must be chiefly

directed to improve the home surroundings of the child."

Premature Births and Industrial Conditions.—Dr. Clements, Batley (p. 106), remarks that the large number of deaths from premature birth:—

"Are probably an expression of the conditions under which the expectant mother lives. If the expectant mother is not properly nourished, or if she has to go out to work in the mill during the few months that precede or follow her confinement, it will certainly be reflected in the vitality of her offspring and in the occurrence of premature birth.

"That work in the factory both before and after childbirth is a factor of considerable importance in causing our high infantile rate there can be little doubt; at the 1901 census no less than 21.4 per cent. of the married women went out to work in the mills, and this figure probably underestimates the proportion of married women at child-bearing ages who go out to work."

Dr. Barker, Clitheroe (p. 108), remarks:—

"Beyond question, employment up to a late period in the mills spells liability to premature labour. . . . When work and wages are good, women are tempted to stay up to the last possible moment in the factories, and the result is a considerable percentage of premature births. During 1909 these births in Clitheroe numbered only two per cent., against seven in 1908, and nine in 1907.

"Again, when trade is good, mothers are anxious to get back to work shortly after confinement, and the infants are put out to nurse. This, of course, entails artificial feeding, with its inevitable train of deaths from diarrhoeal diseases, the danger being considerably enhanced during hot, dry weather, and possibly, too, when artificial food is prepared by someone other than the actual mother of the child. In 1909 the infantile deaths from diarrhoeal diseases numbered only four per cent., against an average of seven for the previous four years.

"It may come as a somewhat revolutionary suggestion, but I believe that the operative classes of Lancashire would be better off in the truest sense of the word if the employment in the factories of married women with children were prohibited, nor do I think that they would suffer much financially from such prohibition."

Dr. Marsh, Macclesfield (pp. 113, 114), writes as follows:—

"We ought to enquire into the conditions of motherhood. . . . The employment of women at mills and factories during the latter months of pregnancy is, I am con-

vinced, responsible for some of this loss of child-life."

In the same report Dr. Marsh gives the following table, to which has been added the column of infant death-rates, and makes the remarks which follow:—

"The following table, taken from the Census Report, showing the number of married women engaged in occupations, is of interest:—

| Total | Females over ten in Occupation. Married or Widowed. | Proportion per cent. of Married or Widowed in Occupation. | Infant Mortality per 1,000 | |
|--------------|---|---|----------------------------|-----|
| Crewe | 2,994 | 468 | 15.6 | 103 |
| Dukinfield | 3,421 | 833 | 27.2 | 214 |
| Congleton | 2,196 | 582 | 26.8 | 129 |
| Stalybridge | 6,087 | 1,777 | 29.1 | 219 |
| Hyde | 7,005 | 2,150 | 30.6 | 169 |
| Macclesfield | 8,398 | 2,629 | 31.3 | 127 |

"I showed last year that we had the highest death-rate from prematurity of any of the non-county boroughs in Cheshire, and I think the deduction is quite justified and sound, that there is a causal connection between the two, the high employment rate accounting to a large extent for the high death-rate from prematurity."

"If women must work in mills and factories, it does seem that the community which requires female labour should take every possible means to ensure the pregnant woman receiving adequate food and rest during her pregnancy, and for some period thereafter."

With regard to Burnley (Lancs.), the original point of dispute between Lady Chance and Lord Cromer, the Report says (p. 108):—

"The county borough of Burnley in 1908 had an infant mortality of 201 per 1,000 births, the average rate for 1898-1907 having been 206. Dr. Holt, commenting on this high death-rate, says:—

"This state of affairs is in large measure due to the fact that so many of the mothers are occupied in work outside their own home (as) is well shown in looking over the paragraphs relating to the special diseases from which the children have died. . . . Again, 97 mothers of the 155 children" (who died in 1908) "were working at the time of the child's illness."

Finally, no testimony to the disastrous effect of the factory employment of married women on the rate of infant mortality could be more convincing than that given as recently as March 20th, in a letter to "The Times," by Miss Walker,

the Head of the Women's Settlement in Dundee:—

"The number of married women and mothers of young children working in the mills and factories is very great, and has a distinct bearing on the rate of infant mortality; Dundee holds the unenviable position of heading the list of Scottish towns in this matter. The estimate furnished by the Factory Department in evidence before the Physical Deterioration Committee gave one quarter of the women employed in Dundee jute and flax mills as married. This estimate has been confirmed by an inquiry carried out for the Home Office two years ago. In the selected district it was found that 61 per cent. of the mothers of young infants were working, as against 57 per cent. five years ago, showing a slight increase. The mortality rate among the infants of these working mothers was 208, among the infants of non-workers living under the same conditions 150; and the general rate for the town was 144."

MILITANT SUFFRAGISTS AND THE POLICE.

We summarised last month Mr. Churchill's answer to the demand of the Conciliation Committee that an inquiry should be held into the conduct of the Metropolitan Police on the occasion of the last "Suffragette" deputation to the House of Commons. The question has been raised again several times in the House of Commons, notably on March 10th, by Lord Henry Bentinck. It will be seen from Mr. Churchill's reply that the police will not refrain in future from making arrests when there is "lawful occasion." We are sure that this is the right course. To delay making arrests which are clearly provoked is only to prolong painful scenes:—

Lord Henry Bentinck asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he would give the exact wording of the instruction to make as few arrests as practicable, under which the Metropolitan Police were acting in dealing with the women's deputations on November 18th and 22nd last; whether this order was issued in writing; and whether he had made any inquiry to ascertain by what means it was conveyed to the men and in what form it reached them.

Mr. Churchill replied:—No fresh instructions, verbal or written, were issued to the police on or before November 18th. The noble lord will, no doubt, appreciate the peculiar difficulties of the police and other authorities in dealing with disorderly demonstrations of Women Suffragists. If a body of four or five hundred men were to endeavour to force their way into the House of Commons, they would, after being duly warned, be dispersed by charges of police. Many would, no doubt, receive blows from police truncheons, the rest would take to their heels, and very few arrests would be made. In regard to women, and because they are women, no such course is conceivable. Two alternatives alone remain, each attended by its own disadvantages. First, the police may show great patience and defer making arrests until the conduct of individual women has become so outrageous that their arrest is imperative. This course involves comparatively

few arrests, and is confined to persons who have committed serious offences, but has the great disadvantage of allowing the disorder to continue for a long time, during which the women work themselves into a high state of hysteria, expose themselves to rough horse-play at the hands of an unsympathetic crowd, and finally collapse from the exhaustion of their own exertions. The second course is that the police should arrest disorderly women as soon as there is lawful occasion, with a view to conveying them as speedily as may be to a place removed from the disorders they have themselves provoked. In this case, a large number of arrests must be contemplated, many of them for offences which in the case of men would have been dealt with by the summary methods of a police charge, and would never have become the subject of prosecution in the Courts.

It was my intention from the beginning of my tenure of the Home Office to proceed by the second method and not by the first, to have these women removed from the scene of disorder as soon as was lawfully possible, and then to press the prosecution only of those who had committed personal assaults on the police or other serious offences. The directions which I gave were not fully understood or carried out on November 18th; first, because of the difficulties of making precise rules to guide the constables in the exercise of what is and must remain their lawful discretion—namely, to decide when the facts justify an arrest; and, secondly, because it had been enjoined upon the police in the days of my predecessor to avoid as far as practicable arresting women for merely technical obstruction. The constables on November 18th continued to act on old instructions, and the very fact that the superintendent in charge addressed them on parade before posting them, and exhorting them to behave with the greatest restraint and moderation, as they would be dealing with women, may in many cases have been construed by individual officers to mean that they should not take them into custody if they could avoid it.

I have given explicit instructions that in the future, with a view to the avoidance of disagreeable scenes, for which no one is responsible but the disorderly women themselves, police officers shall be told to make arrest as soon as there is lawful occasion. The degree of emergency, the numbers involved, and the exercise of their discretion by individual constables must, however, be governing facts in any such proceedings.

I have given the noble lord a full answer on the subject of his question, but I cannot conclude it without reaffirming my conviction that the Metropolitan Police behaved on November 18th with the forbearance and humanity for which they have always been distinguished, and again repudiating the unsupported allegations which have issued from that copious fountain of mendacity, the Women's Social and Political Union.

SPEAKERS' INSTRUCTION CLASSES.

MISS POTT has kindly consented to hold a course of instruction classes for speakers on the Anti-Suffrage question. These classes are being held on Mondays at 3 o'clock at

22, PARK CRESCENT,
PORTLAND PLACE,

by kind permission of Mrs. Moberly Bell.
Fee 5s. for the Course of Five Lessons.

AT 4.30 A DEBATING CLASS

for those students who have attended Mrs. Colquhoun's classes, or are professional speakers of the League, will be held on the same days at the same address by Miss Pott.

Fee 5s. for the Course of Five Classes.

Those wishing to join one or both of these classes must send in their application to

THE SECRETARY, N.L.O.W.S.,
Caxton House, Tothill Street,
WESTMINSTER, S.W.

The classes began on Monday, March 20.

SYLLABUS OF LECTURES.

The first two lectures dealt with:—Reason of Anti-Suffrage movement; History of Suffrage movement; Meaning of Politics and "the Vote"; Claims of Suffragists; History of the Franchise; Definition of terms; Conciliation Bill; Meaning of Government and Legislation; Difference between Legislation and Administration; Vote in other Countries; Duties of Imperial Parliament; Meaning of Imperial as opposed to National; Women's Chief Characteristics.

THIRD LECTURE.

Argument as to Rate- and Tax-payers and Women of Property; Legal Guardianship of Children; Married Women under the Law; Physical Force argument.

FOURTH LECTURE.

Question of Women's Wages; Women in the Labour Market; Restriction of Women's Labour.

FIFTH LECTURE.

Women's "Point of View"; Women in Local Government.

It is proposed after the first lecture to begin each succeeding one with replies to any questions that may be sent previously to Miss Pott. And after each lecture opportunity will be given for verbal questions to be asked.

This course will be followed immediately after Easter by a further series, for which intending students should send in their names.

Miss Potts wishes to thank those experienced speakers and workers who, by attending the meetings, have so generously assisted her.

The following books and leaflets recommended to students at these lectures:—

Democracy and Liberty. By Lecky.
Method and Results. Vol. I. of T. H. Huxley's Collected Essays.
Political Economy for Beginners. Mrs. Fawcett.
Letters to a Friend on Votes for Women. Dicey.
The Man's Case against a Million Votes for Women.
Votes for Women. Mrs. Ivor Maxse.
The Legal Subjection of Men. Belfort Bax.
Women and the Suffrage. Octavia Hill.
The Woman M.P. A. C. Gronno.
Leaflets 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 13, 18, 15, 20.

All except the first two on the list can be obtained at the Anti-Suffrage Office.

Other authorities, Parliamentary papers, and books of reference will be recommended from time to time.

A CANVASS OF WOMEN MUNICIPAL ELECTORS. ASTONISHING RESULTS.

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

| District. | Electorate. | Anti. | Pro. | Neutral. | No Reply.* |
|-------------------------|-------------|-------|-------|----------|------------|
| Liverpool (4 constis.) | 8,182 | 2,189 | 1,218 | — | 4,775 |
| Bristol | 7,615 | 3,399 | 915 | 2,004 | 1,297 |
| S. Kensington | 4,728 | 1,183 | 671 | 33 | 2,841 |
| Croydon | 4,080 | 1,575 | 606 | 30 | 1,869 |
| North Paddington | 3,700 | 1,090 | 407 | 98 | 2,105 |
| Birkenhead | 3,338 | 1,154 | 861 | — | 1,323 |
| Hampstead | 3,084 | 1,288 | 405 | 233 | 1,158 |
| Hastings | 2,610 | 921 | 425 | 20 | 1,244 |
| S. Paddington | 2,500 | 1,161 | 334 | 335 | 670 |
| East Berks | 2,355 | 603 | 264 | 415 | 1,073 |
| Southampton | 2,243 | 1,361 | 147 | 229 | 496 |
| N. Kensington | 2,160 | 472 | 211 | 2 | 1,485 |
| Bath | 2,153 | 1,026 | 230 | 21 | 876 |
| Oxford | 2,145 | 571 | 353 | 22 | 1,199 |
| Scarborough | 2,106 | 683 | 513 | 412 | 508 |
| Cambridge | 2,098 | 1,168 | 570 | 271 | 89 |
| Westminster | 1,979 | 1,036 | 221 | 136 | 586 |
| Reading | 1,700 | 1,133 | 166 | 31 | 370 |
| Torquay | 1,640 | 467 | 210 | 13 | 950 |
| S.-W. Manchester | 1,473 | 441 | 416 | 122 | 494 |
| Mid Bucks | 1,389 | 248 | 222 | 47 | 872 |
| N.-W. Manchester | 1,374 | 246 | 198 | — | 930 |
| South Berks | 1,368 | 655 | 217 | 289 | 207 |
| North Berks | 1,291 | 1,085 | 75 | 63 | 68 |
| Central Finsbury | 1,216 | 535 | 128 | 257 | 296 |
| Isle of Thanet | 1,082 | 231 | 180 | 314 | 357 |
| Weston-super-Mare | 935 | 380 | 235 | 69 | 251 |
| Reigate | 906 | 338 | 199 | 23 | 346 |
| Guildford | 776 | 428 | 67 | 72 | 209 |
| Whitechapel | 758 | 293 | 110 | 34 | 321 |
| Penrith | 508 | 251 | 126 | — | 131 |
| Sutton | 471 | 133 | 41 | 226 | 71 |
| St. Georges-in-the-East | 457 | 123 | 81 | 2 | 251 |
| Keswick | 405 | 196 | 87 | — | 122 |
| Epsom | 349 | 183 | 35 | 69 | 62 |
| Hampton | 277 | 92 | 39 | 14 | 132 |
| Basingstoke | 273 | 77 | 71 | 6 | 119 |
| Camberley & Frimley | 271 | 119 | 38 | 21 | 93 |
| Wigton, Cumberland | 224 | 203 | 13 | 2 | 6 |
| Woodbridge | 212 | 118 | 11 | 29 | 54 |
| Thames Ditton | 187 | 134 | 10 | 8 | 35 |
| Long Ditton | 187 | 134 | 10 | 8 | 35 |
| Kew | 155 | 96 | 21 | 23 | 15 |
| Ashbourne | 153 | 107 | 5 | 2 | 39 |
| Cockermouth, | | | | | |
| Cumberland | 143 | 74 | 49 | 1 | 9 |
| Haslemere | 138 | 59 | 34 | 28 | 17 |

(Continued on next page.)

A CANVASS OF WOMEN MUNICIPAL ELECTORS

(continued).

| District. | Electorate. | Anti. | Pro. | Neutral. | No Reply.* |
|-----------------------|-------------|-------|------|----------|------------|
| East Molesey ... | 136 | 93 | 14 | 20 | 9 |
| Hersham ... | 105 | 49 | 4 | 20 | 32 |
| Banstead and Tadworth | 96 | 22 | 5 | 9 | 60 |
| Hawkhurst ... | 95 | 70 | 11 | 0 | 14 |
| Cobham ... | 88 | 61 | 4 | 15 | 8 |
| Cranbrook ... | 88 | 52 | 7 | — | 29 |
| Worcester Park ... | 87 | 34 | 7 | 2 | 44 |
| Esher ... | 75 | 52 | 9 | 8 | 6 |
| Midhurst ... | 73 | 27 | 15 | 20 | 11 |
| Cheam ... | 69 | 43 | 11 | 10 | 5 |
| Ashted ... | 67 | 25 | 7 | 21 | 14 |
| Bramshott ... | 63 | 37 | 9 | 7 | 10 |
| Oatlands Park ... | 56 | 21 | 1 | 5 | 29 |
| Melton ... | 42 | 38 | 1 | 3 | — |
| Shottermill ... | 37 | 16 | 8 | 7 | 6 |
| Walton-on-Hill ... | 33 | 19 | 3 | 6 | 5 |
| Fernhurst ... | 29 | 13 | 3 | 3 | 10 |
| Hindhead ... | 28 | 10 | 11 | 3 | 4 |
| Grayshott ... | 21 | 4 | 5 | 4 | 8 |
| Lynchmere ... | 19 | 7 | 3 | 5 | 4 |
| Rogate ... | 18 | 13 | 1 | 2 | 2 |

Thus, of those who have answered the questions put to them, out of a total electorate of 78,583 the great number of 30,931 are opposed to Votes for Women, and only 11,574 are in favour of them. But that is not all. Out of those canvassed 30731, have not answered. It is reasonable to suppose that these mostly—probably almost entirely—are unfavourable to Woman Suffrage. It is not to be supposed that many Woman Suffragists would fail to declare the faith that is in them, well knowing that the results of the Canvass might be used against their cause. We do not pretend, of course, to estimate the exact majority against Woman Suffrage, but it is certain that it is very large, and it is probable that it is enormous.

* No replies include deceased, removed, and ill.

THE CANVASS OF WOMEN MUNICIPAL ELECTORS AND MISREPRESENTATION.

It is natural that the results of the canvass of women municipal electors which we have published in recent numbers of the "Review" should cause alarm in the Suffragists' camp, for they show clearly enough that opinion sets strongly against Woman Suffrage even in the class which might be expected to be most favourably disposed towards it. The Suffragists consequently have tried ever since we began to publish the figures of the canvass, to prove that these figures are of no value; they insinuate that they are fictitious, or that declarations of opposition to Woman Suffrage have been extorted by some kind of social or intellectual pressure. Now, the fact is that we have never attributed more than a rough value to these figures. They undoubtedly indicate the existence of a strong feeling against Woman Suffrage, and it is extremely important to know that such a feeling exists. We do not say more than that. We do not pretend to estimate by means of these figures the exact size of the hostile majority. In most cases the questions have been put to women electors by postcard. In other cases, however, the electors have been personally canvassed. It is obvious that if canvassers are moved by

a strong desire to get particular answers to their questions the results will respond to a certain extent to that desire—persuasion will be used, and as even women municipal electors share the common indifference of women to politics, some of them may be talked over. On the other hand, it is clear that a woman who can be talked over in a few moments, or won to our side by reading a leaflet, is not a very ardent supporter of Woman Suffrage. There are two ways of looking at the use of persuasion.

But we admit, as we have always admitted, that answers given to simple questions without the use of any argument whatever, are of greater value than answers obtained otherwise. In some towns the Branches of our League have put the questions to women electors by means of paid canvassers. Is it pretended that hirelings will display a quite unbiblical enthusiasm in herding doubting women into the Anti-Suffrage fold? It seems to us that the employment of professional agents—not members of our League or declared Anti-Suffragists—ensures the use of a minimum of persuasion. Of course, there is the possibility of answers being wrongly tabulated through negligence, but we suspect that the errors are even smaller than we are ready to admit. The ideal canvass is undoubtedly of that sort which was conducted at Hawkhurst in Kent, where the Suffragists and Anti-Suffragists combined to audit the figures. It will be remem-

bered that these figures exactly resembled in character the figures which we have been publishing from other towns, and they confirm us in the belief that none of the results we have published have been in the least misleading as to the feeling about Woman Suffrage throughout the country. It may be imagined how hard Suffragists are put to it to dispute the general indications of our canvass when they resort to such devices as pretending that the canvass in some particular town is invalidated because agents have been employed to ask the questions when the Suffragists had made up their minds that they ought to have been asked by postcard. The argument runs something like this: "We have heard a great deal of your canvass by postcard, but when we come to look into the matter in this town we find that not a single postcard has been sent. What a revelation! Evidently your figures are quite worthless." This kind of irrelevant argument often ends with the assertion that some personal canvasser—nearly always a personal canvasser, be it remarked, for the Suffragists who are allowed these luxuries by divine right—has proved in the same town that the women electors are strongly in favour of the Parliamentary franchise for women.

It is quite impossible for us to answer all the instances of misrepresentation. Let us take one from the "Common Cause" of February 23rd, 1911. Mrs. Ward, the Hon. Sec. of the Cambridge Woman Suffrage Society, quotes the

figures of our canvass at Cambridge, and continues:—

"Feeling, from previous knowledge and experience, some surprise at these statistics, a few members of the committee of the Cambridge Suffrage Association have made during the last three days some inquiry into the conduct of the canvass—and with truly astonishing results. They have learned, in the first place, that the canvass was not made, as stated, by means of the cold, impartial 'reply-paid postcard.' Not a single postcard was employed. The canvassing was done by a paid messenger—of what education or reliability we know not—who obtained no signatures from the householders, but merely recorded in his book his own view of their views. The precise questions he asked, the actual people addressed, the replies received, are all things for which there is nothing but this employé's word to vouch. And in more than one instance we have been told that the question asked related to approval of 'militancy' or 'Suffragette' tactics. To such a question nearly all the members of our 'National Union' Society would, of course, have replied 'No.'"

"In the second place, in every neighbourhood in which, so far, it has been possible to make any inquiry, numbers of women voters have been found who were never canvassed at all. Yet Cambridge is singled out by the Anti-Suffragists as being a place in which their canvass was singularly complete!

In the third place, a systematic canvass of municipal voters which a member of our Suffrage Committee has recently been making privately in the district in which she lives has yielded, it turns out, a majority for the Suffrage of seventy per cent.!"

The "Common Cause" for March 9th contained the following answer from Mrs. Bidwell, the Hon. Sec. of the Cambridge Branch of our League:—

"I notice in your issue of February 23rd a statement from the honorary secretary of the Cambridge W.S.S. on the subject of the recent canvass of women householders conducted in Cambridge.

"I have already explained personally to Mrs. Ward that the results were obtained not by means of reply-paid postcards, but by personal canvass, and any statement to the contrary which may have been made was without the knowledge or authority of our League.

"The poll was taken by paid assistants, who were instructed to ask the question, 'Are you or are you not in favour of women having the Parliamentary vote?'"

"Since our results have been challenged we have cross-examined the persons employed, and they state that they are prepared to substantiate the lists sent in.

"Our president, Mrs. Austen-Leigh, has already written to the local papers offering the lists in question for inspection by any member of the local executive committee of the W.S.S., but at present no advantage has been taken of this offer.

"We do not claim that a poll taken in this way is or can be completely reliable, and we consider that such returns are only of use as an indication of the general consensus of opinion."

To this perfectly frank and satisfactory explanation the Editor of the "Common Cause" appended the following characteristic footnote:—

"Mrs. Ward wrote in our issue of February 23rd that the figures were published in several local papers with the statement that the canvass was by postcard. It would be interesting to discover on what authority the papers made this statement if it was not on the authority of the Anti-Suffrage League. Since there appears to have been no printed question to which signatures were appended, but merely a verbal question asked by a paid employé, who entered the names, we are of opinion not only that the poll taken is not 'completely reliable,' but that it is totally worthless, and that Lord Cromer discredited himself and his cause in stooping to quote such figures."

Our readers will be able to form their own opinion of such a correspondence as this. It is perhaps waste of words to ask whether the repeated attempts to impugn the significance of our canvass by attacking it for not being something that it does not profess to be are creditable; but we should have thought that from the point of view of Suffragists it was undesirable to deceive themselves. For our part, we certainly do not wish to be deceived. We want to know the state of feeling in the country, and if the Suffragists can see their way to accept the offer made to them at Cambridge, and prove that our figures are misleading, we would much rather be set right than live in a fool's paradise.

LORD CROMER AT CAMBRIDGE.

A VERY successful public meeting, promoted by the local branches, was held in the Cambridge Guildhall on March 3rd. Mr. A. J. Pell presided, and the speakers were Lord Cromer and Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun. There were a good many suffragists present; but, as Lord Cromer himself said, the demeanour of the audience compared very favourably with that shown at some meetings which he had addressed.

LORD CROMER'S SPEECH.

It seems to be my fate whenever I address an audience in a University town, that I should be obliged to discuss one of those questions to which the epithet of "burning" is usually applied. The last time I spoke at Cambridge I had to plead the cause of Medical Research, with the result that I evoked a good deal of not very terrifying sheet-lightning from Mr. Stephen Coleridge and the members of the Anti-Visisection Society. I now have to fear the more formidable thunderbolts of Mrs. Pankhurst and the man-opposing amazons who are marshalled under her command. I fear that neither I nor anyone else can say anything very new on this subject, but we can repeat and insist on arguments which have lost none of their force from being old. The main argument which bears on this question is one which I have often stated before, and which I now repeat. It is that the attempt to drag women into the whirlpool of politics flies in the face of Nature, which has clearly indicated the spheres of action respectively assigned to the two sexes. I have been taken to task by a very accomplished lady, Mrs.

Steel, in the pages of a monthly review, for making this statement. Mrs. Steel thinks that it is a mere assumption, unsupported by argument, and incapable of proof, and she then goes on to ask the rather terrifying question—(laughter)—What is sex? I do not think that most people would find much difficulty in giving a fairly correct answer to that question, but it appears to puzzle Mrs. Steel a good deal, for if I understand her rightly she holds that at all events in what she calls secondary characteristics, whatever they may be, there is after all no great difference between the two sexes. She attempts to prove her case by advancing an argument in favour of female suffrage which certainly has the merit of being original. It is that some ladies are obliged to shave twice a week! I was not aware of that fact, but I take it from Mrs. Steel that such is the case, only, I would remark, that the occurrence of an untoward necessity of this sort scarcely puts women on the same footing as men, even on a shaving basis, for most men, unless they let their beards grow, have to shave no less than seven times a week.

MATHEMATICAL DEMONSTRATION.

Seriously, however, I know what Mrs. Steel and those who agree with her want. They want that every argument on our side should be proved with mathematical precision. I fully admit that this is impossible, not only in respect of Female Suffrage, but also in respect to almost every other question of a political character. I may perhaps be allowed to remind a Cambridge audience that even Euclid had to assume the truth of his postulates. When in respect to any political issue the facts on either side have been marshalled, the conclusion to be drawn from them must always be a matter of opinion. Now in this instance, the question which the electorate of this country—that is to say, the male electorate—will ultimately have to decide is this: Is it in the interests—not of the men considered separately or of the women considered separately—for I wholly decline to differentiate between the two sexes—but of the community in general, that women should vote for Parliament, that they should, as a natural consequence, ultimately sit in Parliament, and that they should be capable of filling the highest Ministerial appointments? I have no hesitation in answering this question with a decided negative, and although I do not pretend to prove my case with mathematical precision, I defy my opponents to be more precise, and, moreover, I assert that in support of my case I can advance some incontrovertible facts of far greater cogency than the vague and undemonstrable speculations which are brought in evidence against me.

NATURAL DISTINCTIONS.

When I say that men, though in no way superior, are different from women, I am no more called upon to prove my case than I am when I assert that black is black and white white. When I say that women cannot be soldiers, or sailors, or navvies, or colliers, or engineers, or engage in any other profession in which physical strength is required, am I called upon to prove my case? I think not. I may remark incidentally that but a few years ago I should have excluded colliers from this list, but the abomination of allowing women and children to work in

mines has now been removed by man-made law. When I say that women, though in no way intellectually inferior, are generally more emotional, more uncompromising, more prone to jump at conclusions, and to be carried away by sentiment, more apt to allow their opinions to be guided by instinct and intuition, and less open to argument than men, am I called upon to prove my case? Certainly not. I am merely advancing an argument, with which every fair-minded man and—I venture to add—every fair-minded woman, will concur. When I say that if women are allowed to vote, the electorate will be divided into two distinct categories, one of which will, and the other will not, have the power of enforcing their decisions, am I not stating an incontrovertible fact? When I say that, both physically and morally, the whole of woman's existence hinges on the sacred and all-important function of maternity, that when a man marries, there is not, and that when a woman marries there necessarily is, a break of continuity in their work, am I not asserting a fact which is based on the immutable laws of Nature—laws which cannot be modified by the utterances of the politicians of either sex? When I point to the existence in this country of 1,300,000 more women than there are men, and when I state that in view of the absurdity of enfranchising the unmarried and disfranchising the married women, it will be necessary to give the vote to all women or none, am I not in the one case stating a positive fact, and in the other drawing a conclusion which must force itself on the mind of anyone who possesses the logical faculty of reasoning from facts to consequences?

The final conclusion must, I readily admit, be a matter of opinion, but I have now given a few amongst many facts and arguments which may be adduced, and which appear to me very relevant to the process of forming an opinion. And to these let me add one other. It is that the advance of civilisation, far from obliterating sex distinctions, as we are sometimes invited to believe, on the contrary, accentuates those differences by the refinement which it brings in its train. There is much more difference, both physically and morally, between an educated European man and woman than there is between a negro and a negress belonging to some savage Central African tribe.

THE ASSUMPTIONS OF SUFFRAGISTS.

Now let me draw your attention to another aspect of this question. The case of the Suffragists rests very largely on the contention that the grievances of women cannot be remedied unless they have votes. Indeed, there is a manifest disposition to go further than this, and to hold that even man-made law, passed on behalf of women, must necessarily be unjust, one-sided, and selfish, because it is enacted by men. Now, if there

were anything in this argument, I should become an even stronger anti-Suffragist than I am at present, for it is one that starts from the assumption that the whole of one sex has so absolutely taken leave of its senses as not to see that its most vital interests are inextricably bound up with those of the other sex. If this assumption be correct, then the counter proposition must be true—that is to say, that laws affecting men, made by a community where the predominant voting power

right—for which they clamour. The advocates of Female Suffrage always assume that if women were enfranchised they would use their powers in such a manner as would benefit their own sex. But will this be so? Surely this is a point in respect to which I am justified in bringing Mrs. Steel's argument to bear against herself. It is a point which ought not only to be capable of proof, but which ought also to be fully proved, for it really lies at the root of the whole matter.

Remember the very weighty words which Mr. Asquith used to a Women's Deputation: "You may be sure," he said, "that any change of this kind will not commend itself to the general opinion and intelligence of the nation unless you can satisfy them that you can carry it through without permanent injury to the best interests of women themselves." Now, what evidence is there that women will use their voting or legislative power, if it is conferred on them, in the true interests of their own sex? Absolutely none. There is a good deal of vague and rhetorical declamation, but that does not amount to proof. Indeed, I will go further and say that the experience of the past points to a diametrically opposite conclusion. It points to the great probability that, in pursuit of the will-o-the-wisp of equality of the sexes, women will be driven to propose measures highly injurious to the best interests of their own sex. The advocates of women's rights ask for freedom—freedom to be employed in all trades and professions, equally with men. The history of the world records many instances of the misuse of that sacred word freedom, but none where it was more misplaced than this, for the freedom for which these doctrinaire female politicians ask is freedom for their poor ignorant sisters to ruin their health, not infrequently to commit what practically amounts to suicide, and certainly to sacrifice the lives of their helpless children.

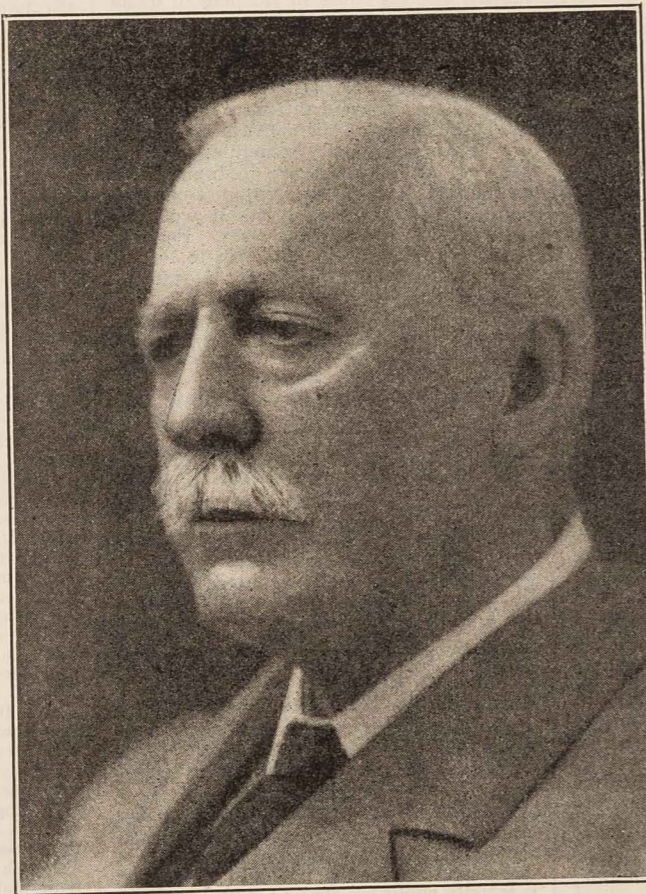
PROBABLE INJURIES TO WOMEN.

The whole history of the Suffragist campaign is one continuous record of opposition to measures, prepared by men and supported by womanly women, to benefit women and children, the last instance being that brought forward by that courageous reformer, Mr. John Burns, to prevent women from working in factories for a short period before and after child-birth. Let me give you a few figures. The

average number of infant deaths in England is about 130,000 a year, and it is stated on high medical authority that the large majority of these poor children die from preventable causes. Those causes are numerous, but it cannot be doubted that one of them is that the mother who is engaged all day at a factory cannot pay due attention to her children. More especially she cannot nurse them. It has been proved by unimpeachable statistics that the mortality

is in the hands of women, must necessarily be unjust to the male sex, and to this result I venture, as a mere man, to demur. But the truth is that the argument involves a complete fallacy. When any self-governing community is asked to extend the electoral franchise to a certain class, it would be madness on their part if they did not endeavour to form some idea of the manner in which that class would be likely to exercise the privilege—for the vote is a privilege, not a

LORD CROMER, PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL LEAGUE FOR OPPOSING WOMAN SUFFRAGE.



Cromer

amongst children artificially fed is nearly thirty times greater than amongst those who are brought up on the sustenance provided for them by nature. Is it not a striking fact that during the American cotton famine some fifty years ago, although there was great distress in Lancashire, and the death-rate amongst the adult population rose, the infant mortality sank from 182 to 168 per thousand? Is it not remarkable that during the Siege of Paris forty years ago, although the general mortality was doubled, that of infants was reduced by 40 per cent.? Does not the fact that when there is a strike, which obliged mothers to stay at home, an immediate reduction in the mortality of infants occurs speak for itself? The infant mortality in country districts is generally from 90 to 100 per thousand. The difference is without doubt partly due to the relatively insanitary conditions of town life, but it is also certainly to a considerable extent due to the occupations of the mothers, which necessitates habitual and prolonged daily absence from their homes. Yet, in the face of these terrible facts, the advocates of Female Suffrage, in their ardent pursuit of the unattainable ideal of political equality, ask that no special control should be exercised over the employment of women. I say most advisedly that, in the interests of the women themselves, of their children, and of the race generally, some reasonable control is indispensable, and that the suicidal freedom for which the Suffragists clamour should be denied to them. I altogether deny to them the right to be either the exclusive or even the most fitting judges of the true interests of their sex and I claim that right on behalf of those men and women who, recognising the principal functions of women, bow down before the sacred altar of maternity, and who can, in the words of a great religious teacher, albeit he was not a Christian, say from the bottom of their hearts: "Paradise lies at the feet of mothers."

WOMEN DO NOT WANT VOTES.

Now there is yet a further point about which I should like to make some observations. Do the majority of women want votes? That is an important point, although I do not personally think that it should be allowed to be the predominating factor in coming to a conclusion on this question. Even if I were convinced that the majority of women wanted the vote, I should still hold that the main question was whether it was in the general interest of the community that their wishes should be met. However, as many high authorities, including Mr. Arthur Balfour, attach great importance to this point, let us see what evidence can be adduced to help us in forming an opinion upon it. In the first place, we know that petitions to Parliament have been signed by thousands of women both for and against the vote. I do not want to attach too much importance to these petitions, for I know that they can be got up on almost any subject. Then an attempt has been made, in some districts, to arrive at the opinions held by those women who already have municipal votes. The result which the Association of which I am the president has so far obtained is as follows—I give the figures in round numbers: Canvasses have been made in 68 districts. The total number of women voters in these districts is about 59,000. Of these, 8,000

have voted in favour of Female Suffrage, 24,000 against it; 6,000 have stated that they are indifferent, and 20,000 have sent no replies. Now I have no wish to make any unfair use of these figures, or to push the conclusion to be drawn too far. It may be, in spite of all the care that has been taken, that some minor errors have crept into the returns. At the same time, I think it has been clearly shown, in the first place, that in every district there are a large number of anti-Suffragists, and that there are also a large number of women who take no interest whatever in the matter. It is not unfair to class the greater number of these latter as anti-Suffragists, for we may feel pretty sure that all the ardent Suffragists will record their votes on every possible occasion. I think that that is substantially

PRESIDENT OF THE CAMBRIDGE BRANCH.



Florence Austendeigh

about all the evidence we have as regards the opinions of the women themselves. Let me, in connection with this point, again draw your attention to some weighty words of Mr. Asquith. Repeating the argument used by one of his most illustrious predecessors, Mr. Gladstone, he said: "There is no one case in our history in which a constitutional change of this kind has been effected without the clearest possible proof that it was desired, and indeed demanded, by the vast majority of those in whose interest it was made." Is the proof clear in this case? Is the change desired and demanded, not by a vast majority, but by any majority of the women themselves? To both of these questions the answer must be a distinct negative. Not only is there no proof forthcoming that the

majority of women are Suffragists, but it may be stated with confidence that the evidence so far obtained points to a diametrically opposite conclusion—that is to say, that the Suffragists constitute a noisy minority.

MEN'S VIEWS.

And how about the views of the men, with whom, remember, the decision rests? What evidence is there that they demand this revolutionary change? Absolutely none which can carry conviction to the mind of anyone who considers the facts impartially. At the recent election two special Suffragist candidates presented themselves for election—one in St. Pancras and the other at Glasgow, both popular constituencies. Together they only succeeded in securing some sixty or seventy votes. That does not indicate any very wild enthusiasm in favour of the cause. However, I do not wish to attach undue importance to this brace of Suffragist fiascoes. One of the defeated candidates has pointed out, with, I daresay, a certain amount of reason, that these pitiful numbers cannot be considered as representative of the total number of Suffragists who took part in these two elections. But I do attach importance to the fact that it is the almost universal testimony of those who took part in the recent election that the mass of the electors, if not distinctly hostile, were wholly apathetic on the subject of granting votes to women. I believe that the country is with us, and not with our opponents on this subject; and, further, I hold that any Government which attempted to force this measure on to the statute book without a distinct mandate from the people, would be committing a gross breach of trust, even although it was supported by a majority in a Parliament elected upon a wholly different issue. It is one to which the method of Referendum is eminently adapted, and of the result of the Referendum I have very little doubt.

THE FATAL SLIDE.

Do not let us, however, on this account be lulled into a false sense of security. Remember the pledges which have been extracted—often, I fancy, very reluctantly extracted—from individual members of Parliament, many of whom appear to be still under the strange delusion that they can cry halt when once a temporary makeshift, such as Mr. Shackleton's so-called Conciliation Bill, has been passed into law. They will not be able to do so. If once Parliament begins to slide, it cannot arrest its course until it falls into the abyss of universal suffrage for both men and women. Hence the necessity of organisations like that which has, with excellent results, been created at Cambridge. I trust that such organisations will be multiplied, and that in each constituency it will be brought home to Parliamentary representatives that the majority of the people of this country, both men and women, are determined that in the future, as in the past, the British Empire is to be governed by that sex which alone is capable of defending it—that is to say, by British men.

Mrs. Colquhoun, who made a thoroughly interesting speech, said that the very newest and most promising form of feminism, in this and other countries, took the line that the vote was a downward path, and that it was

in the truest interest of the upward progress of women not to follow the false leaders who led them aside. She pointed out that women could in many ways influence the making of laws, but it was only commonsense that the last word in making them should rest with men, who not only paid the greater part of the cost of legislation, but had to see that the legislation was carried out. Written questions having been invited, a good many were handed up and answered by Lord Cromer or Mrs. Colquhoun. A vote of thanks to the speakers was moved by Mr. C. Copland Perry, and seconded by Mrs. C. Wentworth Stanley. Lord Cromer, in replying, moved that the chairman be thanked for presiding, and both votes were carried with enthusiasm.

THE METHODS OF SUFFRAGISTS.

"The Times" of March 11th and the subsequent days, published the following correspondence:—

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

Sir,—I have received the enclosed letter from Lady Constance Lytton. It seems to me that there is a certain amount of truth in what she says, so I should be much obliged if you will insert it in "The Times."

Yours very truly,
MAUD SELBORNE.
6, York-terrace, Regent's Park.

Dear Lady Selborne,—You have often pointed out to me the undesirability of militant methods for the propagation of our reasons for demanding the vote, and now I think I may very fairly retort upon you the futility of what you call reasonable ways of expressing your ideas.

You hold a crowded meeting in the centre of London, with an ex-Cabinet Minister as chief speaker, and you get a short paragraph on a back sheet in most of the papers, and are not even mentioned in the "Daily Mail." Now, if I threw a stone at the Prime Minister's carriage I should get a column on the front page, and perforce people's attention is directed to our cause.

I cannot help thinking that my method is far more effective than yours.

I am yours, &c.,
CONSTANCE LYTTON.
Homewood, Knebworth.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

Sir,—Lady Selborne places your readers under an obligation by publishing in your columns the characteristic missive from Lady Constance Lytton as to the "effectiveness" of suffragist methods.

The test of effectiveness, it appears from Lady Constance Lytton, is the amount of space you may obtain in the public Press. By throwing a stone at the Prime Minister's carriage, we are told, quite a good notice would be gained, and "perforce people's attention is directed to our cause." The late "Dr." Crippen attracted quite a respectable amount of attention to his "cause," but I never understood that was a measure of the

public's sympathy. The public eye is naturally attracted by outrageous conduct, and the public mind dismisses the propaganda which is supposed to be furthered by such conduct. The main fallacy of the "suffragettes" stands revealed. You may so attract attention as to defeat your cause. This has obviously been accomplished.

Yours, &c.,
HOLFORD KNIGHT.
Reform Club, Pall-mall, S.W., March 11.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

Sir,—With reference to Mr. Knight's letter in to-day's issue of "The Times," I must first confess that Lady Constance Lytton did not write the letter I enclosed to you, so she cannot be held responsible for the sentiments therein expressed. I borrowed her name for the moment, as I wanted to make your readers understand how hard it is for women like myself, who have no inclination to adopt militant methods, to get our views reasonably set forth before our fellow-countrymen.

I cannot help contrasting the report you give my husband when he speaks on woman suffrage with the report you give him when he speaks on any other subject; and yet his opinion is as well worth hearing on one as the other.

When the Australian Commonwealth Parliament passed a resolution declaring the benefits they believed Australia had received from the extension of the franchise to women no London paper mentioned it. The Albert Hall meeting last November, at which £9,000 was subscribed to the Women's Social and Political Union, had hardly five lines in small print devoted to it. Yet these are facts which, in connection with any other subject, would certainly receive due attention. Trusting that in justice to Lady Constance you will insert this explanation and apology for the unceremonious way in which I have made use of her name,

I am, yours very truly,
MAUD SELBORNE.
Blackmoor, Liss, Hants, March 13.

[** Lady Selborne does not appear to see that she owes an apology not only to Lady Constance Lytton, but to "The Times" and its readers.]

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

Sir,—In view of the general attention attracted by Lady Selborne's amazing disclosure in "The Times," I desire to tender, in as public a manner as possible, my sincere apologies to Lady Constance Lytton for ascribing the incriminating letter by Lady Selborne to herself. Lady Constance Lytton will appreciate that the mistake was due to an incident not of my seeking.

May I add that it now appears that but for my timely letter an admitted fabrication would have been foisted upon a public not disinclined to be too respectful to distinguished names? This is, in my opinion, the culminating incident, which shows in an unexpectedly striking fashion, the debasement of public controversy engendered in the heated atmosphere of suffragist circles.

Yours, &c.,
HOLFORD KNIGHT.
Reform Club, Pall-mall, S.W., March 15.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

Sir,—As the letter of my sister, Lady Constance Lytton, has not silenced the

attacks made on Lady Selborne, and as I think these attacks are founded on a misapprehension of facts, I should like to make these facts more clearly understood, in the hope of stilling this storm in a teacup.

Lady Selborne showed me the letter she proposed to send to "The Times." I saw my sister immediately afterwards. I told her that she was to appear in print the next day, gave her the substance of the letter, and asked her if she objected. She was immensely amused, and made no objection. Had she done so the letter could still have been stopped.

In these circumstances surely the mild and harmless deception involved in Lady Selborne's proceeding scarcely deserves the hard words which have been used about it.

Yours, &c.,
BETTY BALFOUR.
Fishers Hill, Woking, March 16.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

Sir,—With due respect, is your argument of this morning* quite sound? It seems to me to be based on the assumption that a "sense of public responsibility" is to be expected without training; that men have it to start with, and women do not. I put it to you and to your readers that there is, at any rate, an alternative view—namely, that the sense of public responsibility in men is simply the result of their business training from quite early years—a training which women now wish to share. You write of an "inability to recognise the importance of a standard of conduct," and, at the same time, you admit the "difference between private and public affairs." There are thus apparently at least two standards of conduct; and I submit that what you have stigmatised as an inability to recognise the importance of a standard may be merely a confusion between one standard and another due to lack of experience. It is for this experience that women are earnestly asking; and it is, surely, a poor reason for refusing it to them that they do not already possess the benefits resulting from it. In saying which I am, of course, accepting your version of the facts, if the ladies concerned will pardon the momentary assumption.

The view that people can only learn to use the franchise by using it (to put the matter crudely) is, perhaps, repellent, but it is not new. It will be remembered how one great extension of the franchise was the occasion for the utterance, "Now we had better set to work to educate our masters."

I must offer a word of apology for intruding in a domain so far from my own. My excuses are two—first, that an experimental philosopher has more opportunity than others for acquiring a mistrust of preconception, and a faith in practical trial; and, secondly, that I have lately been reading carefully and pondering on the views of my friend, Dr. Archdall Reid. No one can read the chapters on education in his "Laws of Heredity" without setting an enhanced value upon training.

Yours faithfully,
H. H. TURNER.
University Observatory, Oxford, March 17.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

Sir,—Professor Turner has intervened in the interest of woman suffrage to suggest a very startling outcome of "experimental philosophy": no less a thing, in effect, than this—that a lack of "business training" re-

* In a leading article.

sults in deliberately writing what is quite untrue. I am happy to say that I do not commonly experience this result even in the unbusiness-like ladies of my acquaintance.

Will Professor Turner go a step further and affirm that business training results in truthfulness?

I am afraid that we must look for some other origin for the strange ethics of controversy with which suffragism has recently presented us in a livelier form than usual.

I am, sir, &c.,
JOHN MASSIE.
Old Headington, Oxford, March 18.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT SUB-COMMITTEE.

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

Sir,—May I through your columns draw the attention of your readers throughout the country to the work of the Local Government Sub-Committee of the League, which, in pursuance of resolutions passed at various meetings of Council, before and after the amalgamation of the two original Leagues, has been recently called into being.

The object of its members is to promote an active Local Government policy on behalf of the interests of women and children, as the real alternative to the Suffrage policy of our opponents. The first object of this League must always be to "oppose Woman Suffrage." But the Suffrage can be opposed in many ways—directly and indirectly. We have not only to show the risks and perils of the Suffrage; we have also to show to the young, the generous, the public-spirited that all they desire in the way of reform and beneficial change, is already within their power, if they will but use what they possess.

It is true that certain slight changes in the law—which have been for some time under consideration, and are sure to come about before long with general consent—are needed before we can get a full and adequate supply of women in Local Government.

The Sub-Committee has been actively concerned with these changes. But, as things are at present, there is more to be done, and more power open to us, than women are likely to overtake or use for a long time to come.

The object of this letter is to invite correspondence from our branches on this all-important subject of Local Government. We want the views of our country members; we want reports of local conditions, and local candidatures; always remembering that the whole subject represents for us the positive and constructive side of our great main policy—of steady and unalterable opposition to the Parliamentary vote for women, in the interests both of women and the nation.—I am, sir, &c.,

MARY A. WARD
(Chairman, Local Government Sub-Committee).

25, Grosvenor-place, S.W.
March 25th, 1911.

[We welcome Mrs. Humphry Ward's appeal. It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of Local Government work, which engages all the knowledge and energy of women in such matters as health and education; and we shall not fail to find room in

the REVIEW for information on the progress of this work, which we fear has received a serious set-back owing to the diversion of women's attention to the Parliamentary franchise.—ED. A.-S. REVIEW.]

THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE STATES IN AMERICA.

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

SIR,—With your kind permission, I should like to make a few comments on the "reply" from Mr. Richard Barry, of New York, published in your March number.

1. The State of Wyoming was admitted into the Union in the year 1890, with Woman Suffrage included in the written constitution, and the population was known. This was an "even decade," ten years earlier than the commencement of Mr. Barry's "certain facts." In regard to his further remarks upon divorce statistics and the percentage of divorces to the increase of population, these matters are susceptible of much explanation, quite outside any franchise question, but I agree with Mr. Barry that at least a column would be necessary to explain.

2. It is not fair to compare the State of Wyoming with the State of Oregon in the matter of "child illiteracy," and to ascribe any failings to Woman Suffrage. Wyoming has an area of about 97,000 square miles and a population (1910 census) of a little over 150,000. Oregon has an area of about 95,000 square miles and a population of a little over 670,000. The principal town in Wyoming (Cheyenne) has a population of about 12,000, while the principal town in Oregon (Portland) has a population of 207,314 (1910 census). Thus, in Wyoming less than one-twelfth part of the population lives in the principal town, while in Oregon almost one-third of the population lives in Portland.

Wyoming, with a larger area than Oregon, has considerably less than one-quarter the number of inhabitants, scattered widely over the country on vast grazing ranges, where it is difficult to provide schooling for the children. The people of Oregon are grouped closer, in towns and on small fruit farms, and education is a far easier matter to arrange. As I have a brother now living in Portland, who left Wyoming to benefit by the better educational facilities obtainable there in a large town, I write from personal knowledge of the conditions in both States.

3. It is somewhat interesting to hear from Mr. Barry himself that "upwards of three thousand critics" have attacked his article in a similar manner to myself. The only "attack" on Mr. Barry's statements that I have ever come across appeared, curiously enough, in an American paper just received by me, dated at Albany, New York State, February 28th, 1911, and being extracts from a speech by Judge Ben B. Lindsey, of the Juvenile Court of Denver, in the New York Assembly Chamber, on February 25th, 1911, as follows:—

"Judge Lindsey took exception to statements in an article written by Mr. Richard Barry on 'Conditions in Colorado,' a Suffrage State, saying that many of them were falsehoods. Occasionally a woman in politics is found to be corrupt, but where one woman is found crooked there are about one hundred men. The recital of things which have been done, or have not been done, in the Suffrage States, and the advancement of the theory that, as women have not passed certain laws they should be disfranchised,

also might be applied to the State where men alone vote. It would be logical. Another statement has been made that the women of Colorado have not tried to get through the Legislature Bills regarding child labour. This is a deliberate lie. Last year I had seven of these Bills drafted. Three I gave to a woman in the Legislature and the others I distributed among four senators. The woman got the three Bills passed, but the senators could not even get their's out of committee."

In my criticisms I have not attacked the statements of Mr. Barry quite as fiercely as this, but evidently the adverse criticisms are still piling up, as this one appears since I wrote my letter. Judge Lindsey is famous for his humane and clever handling of youthful offenders, and his opinions carry weight in these matters.

In his articles Mr. Barry certainly does appear to attack women generally, and not only the abstract question of female suffrage. He insinuates that their influence, exercised by their votes, has increased the number of divorces, and has exercised a harmful influence upon the education of children and other matters in these Western States, which I, together with the three thousand and one other critics, absolutely deny.

Practical experiences and observations on the spot do not seem to appeal to Mr. Barry, but it has been said that "experientia docet," while he may have been "born and brought up in the West," it hardly seems possible that it could have been in the Far West; and I venture to doubt that he ever lived for long in a Woman Suffrage State. The New Yorker calls everything beyond Buffalo, New York State, "the West."—I am, Sir, &c.,

ARTHUR W. PHILLIPS.
Warren Edge, Southbourne-on-Sea,
Hants.

March 14th, 1911.

[We cannot continue this correspondence. We may remind our readers that Mr. Phillips, though he accepts Woman Suffrage in those States of America which have it, is opposed to it for Great Britain.—ED., A.-S. REVIEW.]

FREEDOM FOR WOMEN.

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

SIR,—In his speech at Cambridge, Lord Cromer spoke of the "suicidal freedom" which women demand to engage in any occupations they think fit, without reference to the effect on the health of their children. His words tempt me to remind your readers of the conversation between Shafiz Ullah Khan and a "free woman" in Mr. Rudyard Kipling's story, "One View of the Question." Shafiz Ullah Khan says:—

"The fools sit among the six hundred, and the women sway their councils. . . . There was a company at meat, and a high-voiced woman spoke to me, in the face of the men, of the affairs of our womankind. It was her ignorance that made each word an edged insult. Remembering this I held my peace till she had spoken a new law as to the control of our zenanas, and all who are behind the curtain.

"Then I—'Hast thou ever felt the life stir under thy heart or laid a little son between thy breasts, O most unhappy?' Thereto she hotly, with a haggard eye—'No; for I am a free woman, and no servant of babes.' Then I, softly—'God deal lightly with thee, my sister, for thou art in heavier bondage than any slave, and the

fuller half of the earth is hidden from thee. The first ten years of the life of a man are his mother's, and from the dusk to the dawn surely the wife may command the husband. Is it a great thing to stand back in the waking hours while the men go abroad unhampered by thy hands on the bridle-rein?"

I am, Sir, &c.,
GITANO.

The Editor desires to state that he does not necessarily accept the opinions expressed in signed articles or correspondence.

OUR BRANCH NEWS-LETTER.

THE greatest activity at present prevails throughout our Branches. An unusual number of successful and well-attended meetings have been held recently, amongst the most important being that addressed by Lord Cromer, on March 3rd, in Cambridge Guildhall. Our President's speech is reported in full elsewhere.

A great loss has been sustained by our League and by the Tunbridge Wells Branch in particular, by the death of Mrs. Mathews, of 5, Calverley Park, Tunbridge Wells. Mrs. Mathews was one of the most enthusiastic and untiring of workers in the anti-Suffrage cause, and practically founded the Tunbridge Wells Branch.

The Branch Secretaries' and Workers' Committee.—The next meeting of this Committee will be held (by kind permission of Mrs. George Macmillan) at 27, Queen's Gate Gardens, S.W., on Friday, April 7th, at 11.30 a.m.—Hon. Sec., Miss Manisty, 33, Hornton Street, Kensington, W.

Bristol.—The Lesser Colston Hall, Bristol, was crowded on February 17th to hear a very keen debate between some experts on the Women's Suffrage question. The gathering was a very influential one, and included representative advocates and representative opponents of the Suffrage.

Dr. Bertram Rogers, the chairman, mentioned that tickets for the meeting had been distributed in equal numbers to both sides.

Mrs. Swanwick, of Manchester, of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies opened the debate from the affirmative point of view.

Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun said that anti-Suffragists were in a position of defence. The onus was on the Suffragists to prove that the change they proposed was not only beneficial to one class, but was going to be for the good of the whole community and of the whole Empire. The great difficulty of the Suffragists' arguments was the enormous disproportion between their aspirations and the practical means by which they proposed to realise those aspirations. The fundamental point of view of the anti-Suffragists was that this movement was not taking women higher, but derailing them from the true line of progress. What we wanted was not more quantity in our electorate, but more quality. If there was one feature more striking than another in the development of political life it was the increase of emotionalism among men—the increase of emotionalism in Parliamentary life and at elections. Women's emo-

tional faculties were more highly developed than those of men. It was a very good asset in its place, but put more of that into our electorate and were we improving the quality of that electorate? The interests of men and women were so bound up together that it was not necessary for women to be armed with a weapon in order to fight for their rights.

Miss Mildred Ransom supported the Suffrage.

Miss Pascoe followed on the anti-Suffrage side.

Professor Barrell (for), Mr. Stanley Gange (against), Professor Skemp (for), and Mr. S. L. Usher (against) dealt with various aspects of the question, and, after replies by the first two speakers, the vote of the meeting was taken, with the result that the Suffrage resolution was carried. A large number refrained from voting.

Another interesting Bristol debate was held on February 23rd at the Baptist Church, Cotham Grove. Miss Mabel Smith and Miss Hobbs spoke for us, and Miss Baretti opposed. On the vote being taken, the Suffrage resolution was defeated.

On March 17th a crowded drawing-room meeting was held at Hambrook Court, by the kind permission of Mrs. Eadon. Mrs. Harold Norris made an excellent speech, and, as a result, several new members were enrolled.

Cheltenham.—Mrs. Hardy, President of the Cheltenham Branch gave an "At Home" at Holland House on February 27th to the members of the Branch. Heavy rain prevented many from attending, but there was a good gathering.

The President said a few words urging the members to loyalty and enthusiasm for the Anti-Suffrage cause, and the Hon. Secretary read the report and balance sheet for 1910, both of which were considered satisfactory. Mrs. Hardy briefly introduced Mrs. Budgett, who had come from Henbury, near Bristol, to speak to the members. Mrs. Budgett's speech was a long and clearly reasoned one in which were cleverly marshalled, and as cleverly dismissed, many of the Suffragists' most popular arguments.

A hearty vote of thanks was accorded to the speaker, to Mrs. Hardy, and the Hon. Secretary, and the guests were then entertained at tea.

Crowborough.—A strong Branch has been formed at Crowborough, and Lady Conan Doyle, the wife of the famous novelist, has accepted the Hon. Treasurership.

By kind permission of Mrs. F. H. Gresson, a drawing-room meeting was held on February 23rd, at The Grange, Crowborough, when Mrs. Arthur Somervell, delivered an address. Mr. St. Quinton presided over a good attendance, and amongst those present was Sir Arthur Conan Doyle. Mrs. Somervell stated the case against the extension of the Parliamentary franchise to women with remarkable lucidity and conciseness. The Chairman, in proposing a vote of thanks to the speaker, said the object of the meeting was to form in Crowborough and the neighbourhood a branch of the League, and asked those present to declare by show of hands whether or not they would become members of the branch. Another meeting is to be held at which the members of the Committee and other officers will be elected. It was also decided to hold a public meeting at the Odd-fellows' Hall.

Croydon.—With a view to establishing a Branch at Purley a meeting was held at Purley on March 9th, Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun being the special speaker, and setting forth some forcible arguments against the Suffrage.

Mrs. Grigg, who presided, said anti-Suffrage women appreciated freedom from the franchise as much as from military service, and if they were only firm and showed plainly that they did not want the vote no Government would dare to force it upon them.

Questions that were asked at the conclusion of Mrs. Colquhoun's speech, were very ably answered by her.

Dublin.—The annual meeting of the Irish Branch was held on the afternoon of February 15th in the Molesworth Hall, Molesworth Street. There was a large attendance presided over by Miss Orpen.

Before reading the report, the Hon. Secretary said she had received a letter from their President, the Duchess of Abercorn, regretting her unavoidable absence.

The report stated that many people were making inquiries as to the work of the League, and in order to answer those inquiries rooms had been taken at 6, South Anne Street where all questions would be answered.

Mrs. Starkie read a paper, "A Forward Policy for the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage." In the course of this she said it was well to recognise that the feminist movement had got a real driving force behind it, and that it had come to stay. Feminine unrest was the logical outcome of the higher education and opening up of professions to women. To look after the young, the old, the infirm, to teach and raise the fallen, was eminently women's work. They wanted more women guardians, women inspectors, both sanitary and educational; they wanted women on educational committees and on municipal councils. It might be asked if they went so far why did they deny to women the Parliamentary franchise. They had two reasons; first, they objected to waste of energy, and, secondly, they had in mind the numerical preponderance of the average woman.

Mrs. Pollock read another paper on the same subject.

Miss Stuart, of London, then delivered an address, in the course of which she said she thought the movement for votes for women was mischievous and unjust. The majority of women did not want the vote.

On the motion of Mr. Edge, seconded by Miss F. B. Ormston, a vote of thanks to the speakers was passed.

Another meeting was held in the evening in the Molesworth Hall. During the previous half-hour tea was provided. Mr. Albert E. Murray, R.H.A., presided.

Miss A. F. Morton, secretary, again read the report, which had also been submitted to the first meeting.

Miss Stuart, of London, who was well received, said that having a vote did not mean political equality. She drew attention to the fact that the law—man-made legislation—was infinitely more tender with women than it was with men. A great many women wanted to eat their cake and have it. Men bore the brunt and the heavy work of life, and guarded women by their laws, and, if necessary, with their lives.

Mrs. A. E. Murray proposed a vote of thanks to Miss Stuart for her speech, which was carried with applause.

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WHAT THE SOCIETY DID LAST YEAR (1910).

6556 offenders were prosecuted and convicted for cruelty to animals.
153 persons were acquitted, but the Society's costs were remitted, which justified the Society's action.

1,073 persons guilty of minor acts of cruelty were admonished in writing.
24,344 persons guilty of minor acts of cruelty were cautioned by Inspectors.
3,243 Sermons were preached on the subject of Mercy to Animals, by Clergymen of the Church of England.
299,133 Essays were written by school children on the subject of Kindness to Animals.

The increased operations of the Society have drawn from the funds an amount vastly exceeding the yearly subscriptions. The Council need much greater assistance, and unless such additional support be extended to them, this most righteous cause of humanity must suffer.

105, JERMYN STREET, LONDON, S.W.

EDWARD G. FAIRHOLME, Secretary.

East Berks.—A meeting was held in the Victoria Hall, Bracknell, on March 8th, under the auspices of the East Berks Branch. At the conclusion of the meeting a resolution protesting against Women's Suffrage was carried by an excellent majority. Lord Haversham, who presided, apologised for the absence of Lady Haversham, who was to have taken the chair, but who was confined to her room with a chill. Lord Cromer, said the speaker, was conducting a more extended campaign throughout the country, and they found that so far from women being united in demanding the franchise, they were more united in refusing it. It was not reform, but revolution. If they broke down the barrier of sex and put women in the same position as men they were doing all they could to bring England under a petticoat government.

Mr. J. W. Hills, M.P., said the one great rallying cry of the suffragists was "Justice for Women." They said because women were human and lived in a civilised state they had a right to the vote. The vote was not a right but a privilege. There was a vast difference between internal and external aspects of a State. The internal was concerned with domestic problems, education, sanitation, etc.; the external with great questions of State of which the basis was power, and from that point of view it would be absolute folly to weaken the voice of England among the countries of the world by giving the vote to women. Another argument was that what the people of the country wanted they ought to have. That was subject to the reservation that it must be what was good for the community. It was often disputed that there was any question which would divide men and women on two sides, but if they gave an equal vote control must follow the majority, and sooner or later women would have the whole control of the State in their hands. The only test that could be applied to the question was, Would it benefit the country? He could find none who could prove that it would increase the efficiency of public service, make the country more prosperous at home, or stronger abroad. Until they had shown that they had not started to prove their case. He believed that Women's Suffrage would be disastrous to the country and to the women of the country. He moved "That this meeting desires to enter an emphatic protest against the adoption of Women's Suffrage, believing that such a measure would be in the highest degree injurious both to the political and social well-being of the community."

Ellen Lady Desart who seconded the resolution, said she wished to lift a voice of protest against the dragging down of woman to a sordid level as though nothing mattered except material loss or gain. They repudiated the methods of the suffragists, their aims and ambitions. They could not afford to treat the actions of the suffragists with contempt. They must fight for the cause of humanity, much as they disliked publicity. If suffragists wanted something to do, let them take up the educational system of to-day. There were women's places on educational committees still unfilled. She appealed to those present to take up the cudgels on behalf of womanhood. What right had they to leave their work undone simply because they were told other people had things which they might share in? If the majority stood silent it would be taken as consent. They must not allow judgment to go by default. They must induce their fellow creatures to realise that women's real power lay in the quiet of daily life.

Mr. A. Maconachie supported the resolution, which was then carried.

East and West Molesey.—A meeting, arranged by the East and West Molesey Branch, was held in the Conservative Hall on March 15th, under the chairmanship of Mr. Ellis Hicks Beach.

Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun, who spoke, much impressed her audience by her clear reasoning, and Miss Norah Peachey also spoke with marked success. Mr. Arthur Page's speech concluded the meeting.

Frimley, Camberley, and Mytchett.—The Frimley, Camberley, and Mytchett Branch of the National League for opposing Woman Suffrage have made a complete canvass of this district amongst all permanently resident women of twenty-one years of age and upwards, and the result shows that out of 1,850 women canvassed the numbers were as follows: For the vote, 197; neutral, 390; against women having the vote, 1,263. The details are as follows:—

ABSTRACT OF DISTRICTS CANVASSED.

| CAMBERLEY PARISH. | | | |
|-------------------|-------|------|----------|
| | Anti. | Pro. | Neutral. |
| Camberley ... | 477 | 62 | 143 |
| Yorktown ... | 205 | 73 | 112 |
| | 682 | 135 | 255 |
| FRIMLEY PARISH. | | | |
| Frimley ... | 101 | 19 | 38 |
| Frimley Green ... | 91 | 1 | 8 |
| Mytchett ... | 71 | 2 | 17 |
| St. Paul's ... | 228 | 40 | 72 |
| | 581 | 62 | 135 |
| Total ... | 1,263 | 197 | 390 |

The result has been forwarded to Mr. Macmaster, M.P., and to the headquarters of the League.—Signed,

J. S. JOHNSTONE, Graitney (President),
BLANCHE M. HARRIS, Collingwood
Tower (Deputy-President),
CONSTANCE CAMPBELL-WALKER,
Newlands, and
EMILY J. SPENS, Athallan Grange
(Hon. Secretaries and Treasurers).

Hampstead.—Much to the regret of the Committee, Lady Harvey has tendered her resignation, owing to her leaving Hampstead; but she will always continue to take a great interest in, and do all she can for, the League, for which she has already done so much.

Hampton.—The annual meeting of the Hampton and District Branch has been held at Clarence Lodge, Hampton Court, by permission of Mrs. Goodrich, who presided. The report and balance sheet were adopted. The canvass of women municipal electors in the district shows a majority of fifty-three against the Parliamentary franchise being granted to women.

Kensington.—The canvass by post of the women occupiers of North and South Kensington is just completed, and the figures will be found elsewhere. In South Kensington, where several old-established Suffrage societies are at work, there is an anti-Suffrage majority of 512 in a total of 1,854 votes, while in North Kensington the proportion of anti-Suffragists is more than two to one. A feature of the canvass, however, is the large percentage of "no replies." It is impossible

to suppose any real demand exists among the women occupiers of such a constituency as South Kensington, when out of 4,728 women voters, only 671 take the trouble to return a stamped and addressed postcard saying they wish to give votes to women.

On March 29th a most successful drawing-room meeting took place at 34, Baron's Court Road, by kind permission of Mrs. Gladstone. Mrs. Richard Harrison took the chair, and the speakers were Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun and Miss Moutray Read. The latter is now engaged in organising a committee for Fulham and West Kensington, and any suggestions or offers of help will be gladly received by her at 14, Avonmore Gardens, W.

North Finchley.—Mrs. Gladstone Solomon and Mr. A. Maconachie were the speakers at a very successful meeting at St. Alban's Hall, North Finchley, on March 13th.

The Rev. Basil Bourchier, M.A., was in the chair, and interrupting Suffragists were very ably answered by Mrs. Gladstone Solomon.

Mr. Bourchier emphasised the necessity of approaching this question seriously. He heartily endorsed the reasons of Lord Curzon, urging that political activity must tend to draw woman away from her proper sphere—the home—and from her highest duty—maternity. There was the fact that the vast majority of women were opposed to the vote, and if the opinion of the country were to be taken, the support in favour of female suffrage would be practically non-existent compared with the opposition. Political franchise had nothing to do with woman's intellectual emancipation, and, above all, the vote would not in any way remove the hardships or disabilities from which women admittedly suffered. He urged all who had the welfare of the country or the individual at heart to offer stout resistance to the Suffrage movement.

Oxford.—The Oxford Branch held its second annual meeting at the Masonic Hall on February 23rd. There was a good attendance of members and associates. In the unavoidable absence of Mrs. Max Müller (chairman of the branch), Mrs. Massie, the vice-chairman, presided. After the report and financial statement had been read by the hon. secretary and hon. treasurer, and adopted by the meeting, the business of electing the officers, the general committee, and the executive committee was proceeded with. Mrs. Massie afterwards made a short speech, and this was followed by an interesting address from Mrs. Norris, the chairman of the Chiswick Branch. Mrs. Norris's speech dealt in a convincing manner with many of the usual suffragist arguments, showing the fallacies and inconsistencies of their statements. On the motion of Mrs. Toynbee, a cordial vote of thanks was passed to Mrs. Norris for her address. The Oxford Branch has made good progress during the year, and is growing rapidly.

Paddington.—Members of the Paddington Branch assembled in considerable numbers at the Portman Rooms, on March 17th, to listen to addresses from Ellen Lady Desart and Lord George Hamilton. Lady Dimsdale, the President, occupied the chair, and was supported amongst others by Lady G. Hamilton, Lady Beachcroft, Mrs. Percy Thomas,

Mrs. Wethered, Mrs. Symes Thompson, Mrs. Horton Smith, Mrs. Paul Taylor, Mrs. W. F. K. Taylor, Miss Gladys Pott, and the Mayoress of Paddington. Speaking to a resolution which declared that the concession of the Parliamentary vote to women was most undesirable in the interests of the Empire, Lady Desart said setting sex against sex was as much to be deprecated as setting class against class.

Lord G. Hamilton asked his hearers to consider what the granting of votes to women would ultimately entail. If given in order that they might record their opinion at Parliamentary elections, it would be impossible to keep them out of the House of Commons. The whole crusade was one against the immutable laws of nature and sex.

Ryde, Isle of Wight.—A meeting for shop-girls and their friends was held at the Odd-fellows' Hall, Ryde, on March 9th; the chair being taken by Mrs. Forsyth. Miss Mabel Smith gave a very interesting address. Mrs. Forsyth then spoke in a very practical way "from the point of view of the Woman of the Home," as she herself expressed it.

A small drawing-room meeting was held at Thorpe Lodge, Sandown, on March 9th, at the invitation of Mrs. Le Grice. Miss Pilkington took the chair, and Miss Mabel Smith gave an address on "The Case against Woman Suffrage."

"It was quite a representative meeting," writes an official of the Ryde Branch, "consisting of residents, tradespeople, school teachers, and shop assistants. Fifteen joined the League at the close of the meeting, and several who came in favour of the vote, went away convinced that it would not be for the good of the country for them to have it."

Sheffield.—Mrs. Henry Coverdale, on behalf of the Executive Committee of the Sheffield Branch, received the guests invited to the "At Home" held at Engcliffe Hall, on February 15th.

Miss Pascoe, of London, was the speaker, and her remarks were in the direction of showing that constitutional history held no precedent for granting the suffrage on a basis of taxation. With regard to legislation affecting women and children, experience had proved, that Bills embodying such legislation received greater attention from the front benches on both sides of the House, because not being a means of influencing votes on one side or the other, they were lifted out of the arena of party politics.

Several questions put to the speaker stimulated discussion before the formal proceedings terminated and tea was served. Miss Pascoe had also addressed a well-attended meeting held in the morning at Shirecliffe Hall on the invitation of Miss Watson.

Shottermill Centre and Haslemere Branch.—Since receiving the following report we have heard, with deep regret, of the sudden death, following influenza, of Mrs. Whiteway, the valued Hon. Treasurer of the Shottermill Branch. In this very successful Branch of our League, Mrs. Whiteway has been associated with all its most enthusiastic work, and her loss will be very keenly felt by all her colleagues.

Two good drawing-room meetings have been held here recently; one on February 23rd, at Mrs. Wray's, Hill View, Grayshott; the second on March 9th, at Whitmore Vale House, Hindhead, the residence of Mrs. Leuchars. Both

have been fruitful in increasing membership. At the first Mrs. Beveridge and Mrs. White-way (Hon. Treasurer) gave information about the amalgamation of the Men's and Women's Leagues, and, by detailing the work done, pressed the point that for those wishing to oppose Woman Suffrage, the League provided the means. At the second and larger meeting, Mrs. Tritton Gurney presided. Mrs. Beveridge recapitulated the work of the League; Mrs. Carter (Hon. Secretary, Guildford Branch) spoke of the work done in Guildford and of the meeting being organised there for March 31st. Mrs. Gladstone Solomon spoke on the general subject so well that her speech called forth much praise. Other speakers were Mr. Cecil Wray, on points of practical help; e.g., membership and taking the REVIEW. Mrs. Bruce Joy moved the votes of thanks to the President and to the hostess, and an excellent meeting closed with words of welcome from Mrs. Leuchars. Other meetings are planned, the next to be held at Mrs. Hulsey's, Nutcombe, Shottermill. The Branch is co-operating with Guildford for the meeting on March 31st; running special conveyances to convey those desiring to attend.

Shropshire.—A most successful meeting was held on March 17th at Conover Hall, Shropshire, by Mrs. Fielden to inaugurate the County Branch of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage. Mrs. Maggs explained the Imperial policy of the League, and dwelt on the necessity of forming strong Branches all over the country. Several other Branches have recently been formed in Shropshire, and this new centre promises great success.

Southampton.—Colonel Willan presided over a largely attended meeting convened by the local branch, held at the Shaftesbury Hall, Ogle Road, on March 8th.

Mrs. Harold Norris gave a most interesting speech, under a running fire of interruptions from some Suffragists who were present.

Mrs. Cotton, President of the Southampton Branch, also spoke, and votes of thanks were moved by Major Dixon, Mrs. Dixon, and Mrs. Day. The Anti-Suffrage resolution was carried unanimously, the Suffragists present having retired.

St. Anne's and Fylde.—A meeting of the St. Anne's and Fylde Branch was held on February 20th at Miss Hind's Café, Alexandra Drive, St. Anne's. Miss D. Thomson, presided, and there was a good attendance.

Mrs. Banbury, Mr. J. D. Thompson, and Mr. H. A. Pickup were the speakers. This meeting was one of a most interesting series which has been organised by the St. Anne's and Fylde Branch.

Surbiton.—A successful drawing-room meeting for the formation of a local Branch of the League was held on March 7th at "Colroy," Surbiton, by kind invitation of Mrs. Godschall Johnson, who took the chair. The speaker (Mrs. Gladstone Solomon) gave an excellent address, greatly interesting her hearers in her well-reasoned arguments against the admission of women to the Parliamentary franchise, and very clearly proving the fallacy of the idea that the possession of a vote is necessary for the further extension of woman's work and influence for good. A hearty vote of thanks to hostess and

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speaker was proposed by Mrs. Willoughby Dumergne. A very satisfactory number of members was enrolled. Mrs. Dent kindly consented to act as Hon. Secretary of the Branch, and several ladies present to serve on the Committee. At the conclusion of the meeting Mrs. Godschall Johnson entertained all present at tea.

Tunbridge Wells and District.—The annual meeting was held in Christ Church Parish Room on March 6th. In the unavoidable absence of Lady Amherst (President), Mrs. Weldon presided. Increased membership was recorded, and the financial position was described as very good. On March 14th the League held an "At Home" in the same place, which was largely attended, in spite of bad weather. Col. Hunter (a member of the committee) presided, and gave a brief address, the Secretary also speaking, and Miss Duke sang two songs. The room was prettily decorated with the League's colours, and refreshments were served. Signatures were obtained to the Anti-Suffrage Petition, "Reviews" were sold, and several new members enrolled. The next "At Home" is fixed for April 27th, while a large public meeting is to be held in Tonbridge on May 5th.

West Marylebone.—The annual general meeting of this Branch took place at the residence of the President, Lady George Hamilton, 17, Montagu Street, Portman Square, on March 15th. Miss Strong was the speaker, and the reports submitted showed the most satisfactory progress of this important Branch.

Lady George Hamilton, who was in the chair, also briefly addressed the meeting.

THE SCOTTISH LEAGUE.

Miss Gladys Pott, of the Executive Committee of our League, and Mrs. Greatbatch undertook a Scottish tour, which proved highly successful, for the Scottish League. The tour lasted from February 23rd to March 2nd, and the towns visited were Edinburgh, Dundee, Glasgow, Paisley, St. Andrews, Peebles, Galashiels and Gallane, and included a number of public and drawing-room meetings, which were very well attended.

Dundee.—Professor M'Intosh, of St. Andrews, presided at the Dundee meeting on February 23rd, when in addition to Miss Pott and Mrs. Greatbatch, Lady Griselda Cheape, President of the St. Andrew's Branch of the Scottish League, spoke. Some Suffragist heckling was very ably dealt with by the speakers.

Edinburgh.—The Edinburgh meeting on February 23rd took the form of an "At Home," and was held in the Kintore Rooms. Mrs. Stirling Boyd presided, and Miss Pott and Mrs. Greatbatch both spoke, taking especially interesting subjects for the points of their arguments.

Paisley.—On February 27th Mr. M'Laren, of Renfrew, took the chair at a meeting at the Y.M.C.A. Hall, Paisley. Miss Pott and Mrs. Greatbatch both delivered most interesting addresses.

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Peebles.—On March 1st Mrs. Greatbatch and Miss Pott spoke at a very well attended meeting in the Chambers Town Hall, Peebles, and some heckling which was indulged in by a few Suffragists present was very well answered by both speakers.

Glasgow.—A very largely attended drawing-room meeting was held on February 28th at the residence of Mrs. William Sorley, Viewfield House, Jordanhill. Miss Pott was the speaker, and dealt ably with the vexed question of women's wages and the vote.

Mrs. Greatbatch spoke both at Galashiels and Gallane after Miss Pott had to return to London, and altogether the Scottish tour has been of great value to the Anti-Suffrage cause in Scotland.

St. Andrews.—Professor M'Intosh made an excellent speech from the chair at the meeting in St. Andrew's Town Hall on February 24th, and Miss Pott and Mrs. Greatbatch addressed a crowded audience, who gave them a very attentive hearing.

NOTE.—The latest date for receiving reports of meetings, &c., to be included in Branch News is the 20th of each month. Anything reaching the Sub-Editor after that date cannot appear in the ensuing number. It is particularly requested, however, that all Branch news may be sent in as early as possible before the 20th, addressed to the Sub-Editor.—ED.

A DEBATE.

A DEBATE on Woman's Suffrage which should be of great interest has been arranged by the International Suffrage Shop between Miss Cicely Hamilton, author of "Diana of Dobson's" and "Just to Get Married," and Mr. G. K. Chesterton, for Friday, April 7th, 8.30, at the small Queen's Hall. The Resolution which Miss Hamilton will move and Mr. Chesterton oppose, will be "That the demand for Women's Enfranchisement is a symptom of progress." Tickets (reserved, 2s. 6d.) 1s., may be obtained from the Queen's Hall Box Office and the International Suffrage Shop, 31, Bedford Street, Strand. It is hoped that this will be the first of a series of interesting debates.

LIST OF LEAFLETS.

1. Woman's Suffrage and After. Price 3s. per 1,000.
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.
5. Is Woman Suffrage Inevitable? Price 5s. per 1,000.
6. Nature's Reason against Woman Suffrage. Price 5s. per 1,000.
7. What Woman Suffrage means. Price 3s. per 1,000.
8. Is the Parliamentary Suffrage the best way? Price 10s. per 1,000.
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- 16. Look Ahead. Price 4s. per 1,000.
- 18. Married Women and the Factory Law. Price 5s. per 1,000.
- 19. A Suffrage Talk. Price 3s. per 1,000.
- 20. A Word to Working Women. Price 3s. per 1,000.
- 21. Votes for Women (from Mr. F. Harrison's book). Price 10s. per 1,000.
- 22. "Votes for Women?" 3s. per 1,000.
- 24. Reasons against Woman Suffrage. Price 4s. per 1,000.
- 25. Women and the Franchise. Price 5s. per 1,000.
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- 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?
- * 33. The "Conciliation" Bill. Revised Version.
- * 34. Woman Suffrage. From the Imperialistic Point of View.
- * 35. Women in Local Government. A Call for Service. By Violet Markham. 7s. per 1,000.
- * 36. Registration of Women Occupiers. Price 1s. per 100.

PAMPHLETS AND BOOKS.

- A. Freedom of Women. Mrs. Harrison. 6d.
- B. Woman or Suffragette. Marie Corelli. 3d.
- C. Positive Principles. Price 1d.
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- N. "The Woman M.P." A. C. Gronno. Price 3d.
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- Q. Why Women Should Not Have the Vote, or the Key to the Whole Situation. 1d.
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BOOKS AND LEAFLETS.

- 3. Gladstone on Woman Suffrage. 1s. per 100.
- 4. Queen Victoria and Government by Women. 6d. per 100.

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- 5. Lord Curzon's Fifteen Good Reasons Against the Grant of Female Suffrage. 9d. per 100.
- 6. Is Woman Suffrage a Logical Outcome of Democracy? E. Belfort Bax. 1s. per 100.
- 7. Speeches by Lord James of Hereford and Lord Curzon of Kedleston at a Dinner of the Council. 1d.
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- Ladies' Logic: A Dialogue between a Suffragette and a Mere Man, by Oswald St. Clair. 1s.
- The Danger of Woman Suffrage: Lord Cromer's View. 3s. 6d. per 1,000.
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REIGATE AND REDHILL—

Hon. Treasurer: Alfred F. Mott, Esq.
Hon. Secretaries: Reigate—Mrs. Rundall, West View, Reigate; Redhill—Mrs. Frank E. Lemon, Hillcrest, Redhill.

RICHMOND—

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

SHOTTERMILL CENTRE AND HASLEMERE—

Hon. Treasurer:
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. H. Beveridge, Pitfold, Shottomill, Haslemere.

SURBITON—

Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Dent, Chesnut Lodge, Adelaide Road, Surbiton.

WEYBRIDGE AND DISTRICT—

President: Mrs. Charles Churchill.
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Frank Gore-Browne.
Hon. Secretaries: Miss Godden, Kincairney, Walton Road, Miss Heald, Southlands, Weybridge.

WIMBLEDON—

President: Lady Constance Monro.
Vice-President: The Hon. Mrs. Maxwell Scott.
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. T. H. Lloyd.
Hon. Secretary: The Countess von Hahn, 192, Worpole Road, Wimbledon.

WOKING—

President: Susan Countess of Wharnclyffe.
Vice-President: Lady Arundel.
Hon. Treasurer and Hon. Secretary: Miss Peregrine, The Firs, Woking.

SUSSEX.

BRIGHTON AND HOVE—

President:
Hon. Treasurer: F. Page Turner, Esq.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Curtis, "Quex," D'Avigdor Road, Brighton.
Co-Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Shaw, 25c, Albert Road, Brighton.

CROWBOROUGH—

Hon. Treasurer: Lady Conan Doyle.
Hon. Secretary: Miss Rawlinson, Fair View, Crowborough.

EASTBOURNE—

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

EAST GRINSTEAD—

President: Lady Musgrave.

HASTINGS AND DISTRICT—

President: Lady Webster.
Chairman of Committee: Mrs. Pinckney.
Hon. Treasurer: Stephen Spicer, Esq.
Joint Hon. Secretaries: Madam Wolfen, 6, Warrior Square Terrace, St. Leonards-on-Sea; Walter Breeds, Esq., Telham Hill, Battle.

Bexhill (Sub-Branch)—

Local Hon. Secretary: Miss Madeleine Rigg, East Lodge, Dorset Road.

WEST SUSSEX—

President: The Lady Edmund Talbot.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Travers, Tortington House, Arundel, Sussex.
Assistant Hon. Secretary: Miss Rhoda Butt, Wilbury, Littlehampton.

WARWICKSHIRE.

BIRMINGHAM—

President: The Right Hon. J. Austen Chamberlain, M.P.
Vice-Presidents: Maud Lady Calthorpe; Miss Beatrice Chamberlain.
Hon. Treasurer: Murray N. Phelps, Esq., LL.B.
Hon. Secretaries: Mrs. Saundby; Mrs. E. Lakin-Smith.
Secretary: Miss Gertrude Allarton, 109, Colmore Row, Birmingham.

WILTSHIRE.

SALISBURY—

President: Lady Tennant, Wilsford Manor, Salisbury.
Hon. Treasurer:
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Henry Newbolt, Netherhampton House, Salisbury.

WORCESTERSHIRE.

MALVERN—

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

WORCESTER—

President: The Countess of Coventry.
Hon. Treasurer: A. C. Cherry, Esq.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Ernest Day, "Doria," Worcester.

YORKSHIRE.

BRIDLINGTON—

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

HULL—

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

LEDS—

President: The Countess of Harewood.
Chairman: Mrs. Frank Gott.
Hon. Treasurer: Miss E. M. Lupton.
Hon. Secretary: Miss Gabrielle Butler, St. Ann's, Bury, Leeds.
District Secretaries: Miss H. McLaren, 15c, Otley Road, Headingley, Miss M. Silcock, Barkston Lodge, Roundhay.

MIDDLESBORO—

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

SCARBOROUGH—

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

SHEFFIELD—

Vice-Presidents: The Lady Edmund Talbot, Lady Bingham, Miss Alice Watson.
Hon. Treasurer: Miss M. Colley, Newstead, Kenwood Park Road.
Hon. Secretaries: Mrs. Arthur Balfour, "Arcadia," Endcliffe, Sheffield; Mrs. Munns, Mayville, Ranmoor Park Road, Sheffield.

WHITBY—

President: Mrs. George Macmillan.
Hon. Treasurer and Secretary: Miss Priestley, The Mount, Whitby.

YORK—

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

IRELAND.

DUBLIN—

President: The Duchess of Abercorn.
Hon. Treasurer: Miss Orpin.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Albert E. Murray, 2, Clyde Road, Dublin.
Asst. Hon. Secretary: Miss Dickson.
Secretary: Miss A. F. Morton, 5, South Anne Street, Dublin.

SCOTLAND.

THE SCOTTISH NATIONAL ANTI-SUFFRAGE LEAGUE.

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

President: The Duchess of Montrose, LL.D.
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.

BRANCHES:

BERWICKSHIRE—

Vice-President: Mrs. Baxendale.
Hon. Secretary: Miss M. W. Falconer, LL.A., Elder Bank, Duns, Berwickshire.

EDINBURGH—

President: The Marchioness of Tweeddale.
Vice-President: The Countess of Dalkeith.
Chairman: Mrs. Stirling Boyd.
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Paterson.
Joint Hon. Secretaries: Mrs. Johnston, 19, Walker Street; Miss Kemp, 6, Western Terrace, Murrayfield, Edinburgh.

GLASGOW—

President: The Countess of Glasgow.
Chairman of Committee: Mrs. John N. MacLeod.
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. James Campbell.
Hon. Secretary: Miss Eleanor M. Deane, 180, Hope Street, Glasgow.

INVERNESS AND NAIRN—

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

ST. ANDREWS—

President: The Lady Griselda Cheape.
Vice-President: Mrs. Hamar.
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Burnet.
Hon. Secretary: Miss Playfair, 18, Queen's Gardens, St. Andrews.

WALES.

CARDIFF—

President: Lady Hyde.
Hon. Treasurer: Miss Linda Price.
Acting Hon. Secretary: Austin Harries, Esq., Glantaf, Taff Embankment, Cardiff.

NORTH WALES (No. 1)—

President: Mrs. Cornwalls West.

NATIONAL LEAGUE FOR OPPOSING WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

A Meeting will be held on Thursday, April 6th, at 4 p.m., in the GRAND HALL, CRITERION RESTAURANT. Speakers: Mr. H. J. McKinder, M.P., and Ellen, Countess of Desart. Chairman: Dr. Douglas Cowburn. Lady Robson and Lady George Hamilton will act as Hostesses.