

THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW.

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It is a fact well worth noting that the majority of men and women whose thoughts are largely occupied with foreign affairs, and with the affairs of the British Dominions and dependencies, are convinced anti-Suffragists. It is unnecessary to mention the names of other statesmen besides Lord Curzon, but it may be remarked that perhaps the two most notable women travellers—ethnologists, scholars, and archaeologists—of our time are numbered among anti-Suffragists. We mean the late Miss Mary Kingsley and Miss Gertrude Lowthian Bell. The scenes of Lord Curzon's foreign explorations comprised Afghanistan, the Pamirs, Siam, Indo-China, Korea and Persia. In 1883, when he was 24, he won the Lothian Essay Prize. His books since then include "Russia in Central Asia" (1889), "Persia and the Persian Question," and "Problems of the Far East."

In 1885, Mr. G. N. Curzon became private secretary to the late Lord Salisbury—an auspicious and fruitful employment for one whose brain busied itself untiringly with Imperial affairs from his undergradu-

PROMINENT ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS. EARL CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E



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James Curzon

ate days. In 1891 he became Under-Secretary for India. From 1895-98 he was Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs and the extraordinary wide range of his knowledge which enabled him to answer off-hand questions of which any other Under-Secretary would have required notice, is still one of the legends of the House of Commons. In 1899 he was appointed Viceroy of India and created a Viscount. His administration, as everyone knows, was brilliant and memorable.

At the Coronation of King George, Lord Curzon was created an Earl. He has had various honorary degrees conferred on him for his services to education, including the D.C.L. of Oxford and the LL.D. of Cambridge. He was awarded the gold medal of the Royal Geographical Society, and he has been Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports.

Our League, of the Executive Committee of which he is a member, is deeply indebted to him for invaluable support and for an admirable leaflet "Fifteen Good Reasons Against the Grant of Female Suffrage."

L. V. M.

SUFFRAGISTS AND THE INSURANCE BILL.

WE are glad to see that, so far, the interests of women under the Insurance Bill are not being damaged in the House of Commons by the unfortunate determination of the Suffragists to treat the Bill simply as an opportunity for making capital for their cause. The line they have taken might well have endangered the success of all the criticism that has rightly been directed against the undoubted flaws in the Bill's treatment of women. Those flaws have been generally recognised from the first, and the movement for remedying them has been general. The attempt to turn it into an engine for promoting the suffrage agitation is a selfish and ill-considered action.

It is, to begin with, false to argue that the lack of votes placed women at a disadvantage in the construction of the Bill. There are faults enough in the provision for men, and the crowd of amendments to the Bill show at least as many complaints from the masculine as from the feminine side. It is nonsense to suppose that in the drafting of a Bill like this a Minister feels that a vast proportion of the community can be treated lightly because it has no votes. The interests of the industrial community are not cut in half, as Suffragists would have us believe; and does anyone suppose that the workman is going to be blind to any unfair refusal of benefits to the household, whichever member of it is concerned? In the second place, this burking of the issue, by dragging in the suffrage, gives less than no help to those who wish to improve the position of women under the Bill. The case of the married woman is a serious and difficult one. The point at which an unmarried woman working in a factory is thrown back upon insurance benefit is, roughly speaking, definable. The point at which a married woman must fall back from her house-work is far more intangible, and the problem of giving her benefits needs the best brains that can be given to it. How lamentable that so many good brains should be taking the barren line that if women had votes

the problem would have been settled! Again, the provision under the Bill by which a woman left a widow, who returns to outside work, comes automatically under the Bill again without any question of arrears was well-meant. Probably, the proportion of widows who return in that way is small. Why do not such organisations as the Women Workers provide proved statistics, instead of joining the Suffragist bodies in treating the question as a platform argument for the vote? Or take, for yet another instance, the case of domestic servants. Obviously, that is a matter concerning the head of every servant-employed household in the kingdom. The interest in it would not be one whit more wide-spread if women had votes.

Fortunately, as we have said, the general sense of the community has not been misled by the Suffragist narrowness of view. "The Spectator," for example, has from the first taken a strong line on the position of women under the Bill. Thus, on May 27th it wrote: "The difficulty [of bringing married women under the Bill] does not justify the infliction of a wholesale injustice upon a much larger part of the female sex." On June 17th it drew further attention to points in which the Bill was "cruelly unfair" to women. We note the same spirit in the House of Commons. Among those whom the Suffragists themselves acknowledge to have been active on the women's behalf is Mr. Austen Chamberlain, who is a firm opponent of woman suffrage, and in the debates generally we have seen no inclination to follow the Suffragist invitation to put the Bill back into that atmosphere of merely political controversy from which both parties agreed in excluding it at its first presentation. We would draw attention to the letter to Mr. Asquith which we print elsewhere. It is inspired by such a practical and useful desire to get things done without grinding private axes as was described in a very sensible letter to the "Manchester Guardian," of July 14th, by Mr. J. Wise. He said: "Granted, that all the defects enumerated exist in the Bill in its present shape, what prevents the women—ad-

mirable organisers as they are, to say nothing of their oratorical powers—laying the case for women before the Chancellor of the Exchequer? Is it quite the fair thing to keep on reiterating 'Here, too, the treatment of the voter is in marked contrast to that of the voteless women?'"

NOTES AND NEWS.

At a meeting of Liberal members, who are in favour of Woman Suffrage, held at the House of Commons on Thursday, July 20th, there was an apparently irreconcilable division of opinion between those who wish to amend the Conciliation Bill and those who do not. The Parliamentary correspondent of the "Times" says:—

"A resolution was proposed in favour of introducing a democratic measure of women's suffrage next session and of balloting for it in order that it might get the benefit of the Prime Minister's pledge for facilities, and suggesting that if a high place was not secured in the ballot, an attempt should be made to introduce democratic amendments in any more limited Bill which might be introduced. While the debate was proceeding a deputation from the Women's Liberal Federation arrived and presented a resolution of their Executive Committee, asking Liberal members to concentrate on a democratic measure. Subsequently the Chancellor of the Exchequer arrived, having been prevented from being present at the beginning of the meeting. He immediately addressed the members at some length on the position of the woman suffrage movement. He declared himself personally in favour of a more democratic measure, but his advice was that if first place was secured next session for the Conciliation Bill Liberals should adopt it, and endeavour to widen its scope. The meeting broke up without any definite decision having been arrived at on the resolution."

Everyone who remembers that the Women's Social and Political Union, and the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies demand the Conciliation Bill, pure and simple, as the only means of advancing their cause will appreciate the peculiar significance of the meeting at the House of Commons.

SINCE the Government have gone so far in their promises of facilities for the Conciliation Bill, and Mr. Lloyd George has spoken of it as a measure of the very greatest magnitude, it is interesting to see the actual part the suffrage played in the by-elections of last month. The opponents of Woman Suffrage among the candidates came out, we are glad to note, much more straightforwardly than the more or less professed Suffragists. Mr. Wild

North West Ham, Mr. Hickman in South Bedfordshire, Col. Mark Sykes in Central Hull, all declared themselves definitely against the Suffrage. Its supporters, on the other hand, performed some curious antics. Thus Baron de Forest, the Liberal candidate in North West Ham, in answer to the request of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies to declare himself in his election address in favour of the Conciliation Bill, said that the address was already printed, "otherwise it should have been done"—an answer which the National Union apparently took quite seriously. The fact is, of course, that the Suffrage agitation did not succeed in getting the question mentioned in any address at the by-elections. But the really funny answer to the Suffragist inquiries was given by Mr. Cecil Harmsworth, the Liberal candidate in South Bedfordshire. He said that he would "study the Conciliation Bill, and if convinced that its passage into law would in no way jeopardise this as a Liberal seat, he would support it!" ("Common Cause," July 6th.)

It seems that at a dinner given by Suffragists in honour of Mrs. Chapman Catt, at the Coronation Exhibition, some of the speakers were disturbed by the noise of fireworks outside. Dr. Anna Shaw, with terrible austerity, announced: "When we have won freedom for women we will have no more fireworks, only a soul-stirring desire to benefit humanity by working for the well-being of the home." We should like to have a glimpse of one or two homes which were forbidden fireworks on the proper occasions and admonished to consider themselves, thereby, in a state of well-being. No doubt, Dr. Shaw would be equal to taking even that situation in hand, as we learn from the "Common Cause" that she urged other right to preach in the State Church in Norway. To do this it was necessary to write down St. Paul as out of date. "For some time," she said, "the newspapers were divided between the newspapers and St. Paul, and I had rather the George has spoken of it as a measure of advantage as St. Paul wasn't there."

Some Suffragists, suffering from their obsession about the equality and interchangeability of the sexes, do not appear, in the least, to shrink from the prospect of women becoming regular ministers of religion. No doubt they are logical, but of what lamentable premisses is their logic the outcome?

In a letter to the "Morning Leader," Mr. H. B. Samuels gives the following figures of the excess of men over women in Australia:—

"At the end of last year there were 232,936 more men than women there. In New South Wales alone there were 102,834 more men than women. In Western Australia, in a total population of 277,000, there are 44,000 more men than women. In the State of Queensland, in a population of 560,000, there are 47,000 more men than women."

Mr. Samuels argues very rightly that the comparatively high rate of wages women can command is determined by the scarcity of women, that is by an economic reason and not by the influence of the vote. The scarcity of women is, of course, one of the notorious problems of Australia, as it is one of the urgent needs of the Empire that the balance should be adjusted and that women should go to Australia prepared to co-operate with men by marrying them and keeping their homes for them. Faced by this problem, Miss Cicely Hamilton, who, in the cause of Votes for Women, offers an extraordinary amount of bad advice to her countrywomen, writes as follows of the outlook for young women emigrants to the dominions in the "Empire Magazine" for July:—

"Offer to such a woman, young and adventurous, the chance of a livelihood on her own account, an honest independence and the chance of success and competence, and you will get her fast enough; suggest to her that she should go where she can easily pick up a husband, and she will take the suggestion as an insult. . . . There are plenty, of course, who will not take it as an insult; but they are not the sort that any land requires for its good and the good of its sons."

THE "Common Cause" and "Votes for Women" have pressed very hard, in defamation of men as a sex, the case of Mrs. Napolitano, an Italian emigrant to Canada, who murdered her husband. The murdered man had suggested to his wife that she should earn her living in an immoral manner. She refused with admirable spirit and he then subjected her to a martyrdom of ill-treatment which she ended by murdering him. At her trial she was condemned to death and the authorities of Ontario rejected the first recommendations to mercy. After a short time, however, she was respited, as most people supposed she would be, and condemned to penal servitude. It is characteristic of the Suffragist papers that they should have spoken of the sentence as though it were an example of ferocious brutality practised by men on the weaker sex. We shall all be

agreed that the provocation from which the unhappy woman suffered was intense. One cannot imagine a distracted woman being executed for such a crime in Great Britain; and although Canada has next door to her, in the United States, the dangerous example of an "unwritten law," it appears that the same feelings about such a murder exist among her public men. Mrs. Napolitano, nevertheless, took the law into her own hands and in effect executed her husband. He was a vile criminal of course, but her right to override the law of the land and take his life was less than none. To override the law which provides remedies for suffering wives is to introduce Lynch law, which is no law—a state of affairs which no country can contemplate as tolerable; and the principle of law must be asserted as such, however great the provocation of the guilty person may have been, or however just and natural it may be to temper justice with mercy subsequently. One is simply amazed at the confusion of thought which induces Suffragists here to demand equal treatment for men and women with one breath, and to speak of the administration of the law as an illustration of the bullying and victimising of women by men with the next breath. One does not wonder, at what is asserted to be a fact, that few women can be found to say that they would care to submit themselves to the incalculable verdicts of a jury of their own sex.

THE bias against men which has unhappily become inseparable from the Suffragist movement, peeps out at every corner. Suffragist writers appear to be quite unable to control their prejudice. Thus, the "Common Cause" says:—

"Well, well. The 'Coronation meeting for men only,' of which the 'Spectator' had such great and touching hopes that it might make women think more kindly of men, has come and gone. There has not been very much about it in the Press, but 'the outcome' of the meeting, we are told, is . . . 'to form a club in the West End with social, athletic, and residential advantages, to serve as a centre for the promotion of social service by laymen!'"

The contemptuous notes of exclamation are bestowed upon an admirable determination among several men, chiefly of the leisured class, that they would signalise the Coronation by banding themselves together to give up more time and thought to public service. Great Britain is distinguished above all countries in the world by the

willingness of men who can afford idleness and frivolity to become servants of the State. Every Englishman who knows other countries than his own recognises this fact and is grateful for it. It may be that the plan for extending voluntary public service, proposed by the Duke of Devonshire and others, is not the best conceivable. We do not pretend to say. At all events, the resolution to found a kind of missionary club is obviously sincere. Only a rather shrewish spirit would dream of ridiculing any honestly meant endeavour of this kind. We cannot help saying that the notes of exclamation which are meant to be contemptuous are rather contemptible. We do not wonder that women suffragists have lately been protesting against their cause being turned into an anti-man movement. It passes our understanding how it can be supposed that any good will come to the nation by replacing co-operation between men and women by injurious recrimination.

THE "Nation" of July 1st published a pungent criticism of the Conciliation Bill in a letter from Mr. Gerald Cabor who appears to be theoretically in favour of woman suffrage. He mentions the obvious fact that the Bill will enfranchise very few married women unless it disfranchises their husbands, and goes on:—

"I cannot conceive any course more likely to bring about something like a sex war than to bestow on the unmarried women of the nation the position of protectors of these interests of married women; their position would be exactly that of the traditional mother-in-law—a position of interference without responsibility.

"Women have no special knowledge of the matters mentioned as such, but only as wives and mothers; their knowledge is gained from individual experience, not from sex instinct, or doctrinaire reasoning. The economic interests of unmarried women are in many ways opposed to those of the men with whom they compete in the labour market, while the economic interests of married women are in precisely these ways identical with those of their husbands, and, therefore, opposed to those of unmarried women.

"A principle of democracy is the abolition of class distinction, and this principle is equally offended against whether the line which divides into classes is drawn across a mass so as to divide the rich from the poor and confer privileges on the rich, or whether it is drawn (as proposed) so as to divide married from unmarried, and confer privileges on the unmarried."

The democratic objections to the Bill could scarcely be better stated.

THE democratic objections to the Conciliation Bill are again excellently ex-

pressed in a letter to the "Nation" of July 8th by another Liberal, Mr. Holford Knight. He says that Suffragists appear to suppose that it is quite enough to claim the suffrage; they do not admit or perceive that any duty rests upon the existing electorate to form a considered judgment as to whether Woman Suffrage would be for the common good. "This is a view of the situation," he says, "which no genuine Liberal can entertain." Mr. Knight turns to the common Suffragist argument that women cannot be expected, as a sex, to cultivate politics until the possession of the vote has whetted their appetite—that they want the vote to practise on. "I presume," he says, ironically, "womenfolk send dress material to dressmakers irrespective of the fact, whether or not, they are competent to make it up." It would certainly be the greatest political scandal of our time, the greatest repudiation of democratic principle, if a vast fundamental change in our constitutional and social practise, like Woman Suffrage, were permitted to pass into law before the electorate has been fairly and squarely consulted. It is farcical to pretend that the electorate has yet been consulted. So far as the question has been put to the test at all the electorate has displayed a marked indifference to Woman Suffrage, or else a strong dislike for it—generally the latter.

LORD WEARDALE, who made a vigorous speech against his party in the House of Lords on July 5th, pointed out that when the Parliament Bill was passed "the flood gates would be open." There would be two years during which legislation could be passed gaily over the heads of the Lords.

"The various factions—the Home Rule faction, the Welsh Church and plural voting factions, and, last but not least, the woman franchise group—would all come and say, Now is your opportunity, and insist that the Government should take advantage of those precious first two years in order to pass into law without any reference to the people measures on which the people so far had expressed no judgment."

We are grateful to Lord Weardale for his "last but not least." Women Suffragists, as Mr. Knight says, think that the mere claim to the franchise is enough, but they are hoping that if the electors disagree with this cool opinion, the electors will still be deprived of all opportunity to prevent what they disapprove of. We should think that the electors have only to recognise the

danger clearly enough to express their feelings pretty strongly.

THE letter written by Colonel Mark Sykes, M.P., in answer to a Suffragist enquiry during the by-election last month in Central Hull, seems to have been quite too much for Suffragists to answer. Colonel Sykes wrote that he was firmly of the opinion that the differences between the sexes in their nature and functions were such that "to grant women the franchise on the same grounds as it is granted to men is unreasonable." He continued:—

"My own suggestion is that women might well be granted the franchise if they expressed by means of a referendum a desire to have that franchise, but that the qualifications of a woman's vote should be different from those at present obtaining for men. I suggest that they should be (a) efficient and legitimate maternity, viz., every woman who has borne in wedlock and reared beyond the first year four children; (b) intellectual capacity—any unmarried woman who has qualified as a doctor, a surgeon, barrister, engine-driver, or other masculine trade or profession and earns a competence by working therein. These two classes should, I suggest, not vote at the present Parliamentary elections, but should be divided into separate constituencies returning their own members, and just as at present the Trades Unions are fairly represented in the House of Commons by a certain number of Labour members, so should women be represented by what we may call a feminist section."

THE absurd masculinism of the Suffragist has reached a point at which such a suggestion as this produces from "The Common Cause" no better or more sensible answer than that it is "foolishness." It was instructive and interesting to see how completely that paper avoided the point of the letter. Colonel Sykes had, as a mere passing illustration, remarked that you cannot speak of equality or inequality between two entities having a different basis, any more than you can speak of the equality or inequality of H.M.S. "Dreadnought" and York Minster. Instead of answering the point of the letter, "The Common Cause" and other Suffragist organs satisfied their readers by dreary jokes about Dreadnoughts and Ministers. A Miss Bateson, a Suffragist, in commenting on the letter, wrote:—

"Colonel Sykes may have heard that parallel lines never join, but Shakespeare knew more of human nature, and remarked that journeys had a knack of ending in 'lovers meeting.'"

This sort of sentimentalism crops up from time to time in Suffragist arguments. What it means we do not know, unless the implication is that

women will, in the end, wheedle votes out of men. That is not a very stalwart brand of Suffragism.

MRS. FAWCETT'S article on "Women's Suffrage," which opened the June number of "The Englishwoman," proceeded throughout on the usual Suffragist assumption that the second-reading majorities for suffrage bills in the House of Commons justify the forcing through the House of any particular measure that women Suffragists may, for the moment, have agreed upon. Again, in arguing that the Government had a mandate at the last Election for Woman Suffrage, she writes: "Every one knows that Women's Suffrage has been actively and prominently before the country now for several years past." This is a very loose argument. Mrs. Fawcett is referring to meetings called by more or less private people; she wishes her readers to understand that the question has been fought at elections. In how many election addresses either in 1906 or at the two elections in 1910 was the subject so much as mentioned? There has been an unusually large batch of by-elections since the debate on the Conciliation Bill, which was supposed to mark so important a turning-point. Was there one single address at these elections which mentioned the subject? Mrs. Fawcett adopts the usual Suffragist talk about the "shuffling and delay with which this great question is treated by successive governments."

It would be more honest to recognise that all the Suffragist agitation has not yet succeeded in raising the question out of the category of private members' bills. While it remains there it is bound to fall between two stools. It is too large a demand to go forward on a private member's responsibility; and it is too little desired by the country to be forced upon the Government. There has been no Parliament in which the private member has had more success in controlling the Government in matters on which the feeling of constituents was strong. Everyone who was at all behind the scenes in the Veto Bill preliminaries of the early months of 1910 knows that. If the Suffragist demand were really backed in the country, the rank and file of Liberal members would have made it a Government measure by now.

"THE ENGLISHWOMAN" is publishing instalments of the lectures given

in London lately by M. Bouvier, entitled "La Femme." The lectures are so strongly "feminist" in tone that some of their statements become important admissions. Thus, he says, in speaking of women and the labour market: "If women actually compete with men, this is due largely to the rise of machines. Work having become mechanical, muscular force is, so to say, superfluous, as also is quickness of invention and rapidity and sureness of individual decision, qualities all more characteristic of men than of women. What is more needed now is patience, dexterity, manual agility, docility, and endurance—qualities essentially feminine." In face of this distinction, drawn, he it noted, by a feminist, Anti-Suffragists may fairly ask whether docility and endurance are qualifications for a vote. Again, M. Bouvier says: "Our legal code must be modified, but this gigantic work will not fall to women—at least, not yet. Men will have to begin it by instituting universal suffrage. . . . And universal suffrage is inevitable, despite all possible objections." Despite even the Suffragists who mock at those who shrink from the prospect of a female vote larger than the male vote.

A CONVERSATION OVERHEARD.

FIRST WORKMAN: What's this 'ere feminism they talk so much about?

SECOND WORKMAN: It's what them Suffragettes go in for. It means being more like the men, so far as I can see.

FIRST WORKMAN: Ah, I spose it's one of them foreign words—means manliness, or something like that, I expect.

SECOND WORKMAN: That's about it, I guess.

THE "FAIR WAGES CLAUSE."

MANY advocates of Woman Suffrage speak and write of the "Fair Wages Clause," as though by its provisions men employed under Government contractors have obtained a minimum wage, which these same provisions withhold from women. The writer has heard Suffragists on more than one occasion make distinct assertions to this effect, but the assumption is more commonly implied than definitely stated. Such allegations lead one to doubt whether the speakers and writers have ever taken the trouble to read the wording of the "Fair Wages" Resolution or to study the speeches made in the House of Commons

at the time of its amendment in March, 1909.

Far from laying down the principle of a minimum wage for men, the resolution provides that "the contractor shall pay rates of wages and observe hours of labour not less favourable than those commonly recognised by employers and trade societies (or in the absence of such recognised wages and hours, those which in practice prevail amongst good employers) in the trade in the district where the work is carried on." An employé, then, working on a Government contract has a right to receive a wage equal to that prevalent in the district in which he is working. There is no stipulation as to the amount of this wage, nor that it shall not fall below a given sum, but merely that those persons labouring on behalf of the Government shall not be less advantageously treated than their neighbours who are working for other employers. In many trades the customary wage will vary considerably in different districts; for example, a boot and shoe operative will earn a different wage for a week's work in Leicester from what he would earn if employed in London. How, then, is the amount of the wage received by a Government contractor's employé determined? The resolution answers the question: by trade societies in districts where such exist, and, in their absence, by the custom of the "good employers" wherever the work is being carried out. In either case the ultimate responsibility for the prevailing rate rests not with the Fair Wages Clause or any Act of Parliament, but with the masters and workers, in whose hands lies the creation of a customary wage.

The error contained in the statement that by this resolution men have been granted a minimum wage, is only equalled by that underlying the idea that women are excluded from its provisions. It rests with women workers just as with men to create the "custom" of the district in which they work. Women working under Government contractors can claim precisely the same rights of the Fair Wages Clause as men. In order to satisfy those who appeared to disbelieve this undoubted fact, a letter was recently sent to the Secretary of the Board of Trade, asking for information upon the point, to which a reply has been received which states that "in cases where there is in a given district a recognised rate of wages for women's work the Fair Wages Resolution would enjoin the payment of that rate to women employed in the district in the execution of a Government contract." Clearly, then, the reasons for difference between the wages of men and women working on Government contracts must be sought elsewhere than in the Fair Wages Resolution.

GLADYS S. POTT,

A CANVASS OF WOMEN MUNICIPAL ELECTORS IN 93 DISTRICTS.

Electorate. 125,384 Anti. 44,241 Pro. 19,545 Neutral. 8,695 No Reply. 51,181

THE FOLLOWING RESULTS WERE OBTAINED BY REPLY-PAID POSTCARDS:—

Table with 6 columns: District, Electorate, Anti, Pro, Neutral, No Reply.*. Lists 93 districts and their respective canvass results.

* No Reply include deceased, removed, and ill.

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

Table with 6 columns: District, Electorate, Anti, Pro, Neutral, No Reply.*. Lists various districts and their canvass results.

* No Reply include deceased, removed, and ill.

OUR CANVASS IN LIVERPOOL.

THE following letters concern our canvass of certain wards in Liverpool. The first is from Miss Rathbone, of the Liverpool Society for Women's Suffrage, to Colonel Chaloner, M.P. for the Abercromby Division of Liverpool.

NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES.

Liverpool Society for Woman's Suffrage, April 28th, 1911.

DEAR COLONEL CHALONER,—I am sending you at the House of Commons a petition from the women ratepayers of the Abercromby Ward of your Division, in favour of the Bill for the enfranchisement of women householders, which is to come up for second reading on May 5th.

My Committee has collected this petition as a means of testing the opinion of women ratepayers in certain selected typical wards of Liverpool and Bootle. The work has been done by responsible and experienced lady workers and very careful particulars noted of the views of all the women seen: the results being scrutinised and checked. In Abercromby Ward the figures are as follows:

Table with 2 columns: Description and Count. Includes rows for 'No. on Register', 'Not seen (removed, ill, dead, or out at repeated visits)', 'Seen', 'Signed', 'Refused', and 'Percentage of those seen who signed'.

For the total eight wards worked (viz., Granby, Prince's Park, Dingle, Abercromby, West Derby, Netherfield, Derby, Bootle and Stanley, Bootle), the figures are as follows:—

Table with 2 columns: Description and Count. Includes rows for 'No. on Register', 'Not seen (removed, ill, dead, or out at repeated visits)', 'Seen', 'Signed', 'Refused', and 'Percentage of those seen who signed'.

We are aware that the Anti-Suffrage League has carried out a canvass in certain portions of Liverpool, and that they profess to have ascertained that the majority of those canvassed are opposed to Women's Suffrage. As you are, I believe, an honorary officer of the League, will you allow me to bring before you the following facts as to the way in which the canvass was conducted? In East Toxteth, reply-paid postcards were sent to women voters, asking them to put their cross to one or other of the alternative statements,

"I desire the Parliamentary vote, and so, I believe, do the majority of women in the country."

"I do not desire the Parliamentary vote, nor, I believe, do the majority of women in the country."

The absurdity of asking the average woman ratepayer to put her cross to either of these two sweeping generalisations is, I think, obvious. In the other portions of Liverpool canvassed, the question put was simpler; but the canvass was conducted, not through the post, but by unemployed men of the working class, who collect signatures and also small sums of money "to print literature against the Suffragettes." One voter, describing the canvasser's visit to me, said: "I would not put a cross for him, but I gave him a penny to go away." These men, of course, knew the views of their employers, and may probably have thought that their chances of continued employment depended upon whether the results of the canvass were satisfactory to the Anti-Suffrage Society. In any case, it is significant that in those portions of Liverpool canvassed in this way, the proportion of Anti-Suffrage signatures to Suffrage signatures was three to one, whereas the proportion where the work was done by post was about four to three. With regard to all parts canvassed, I have received a great many complaints that many voters had received no cards, or that the cards were not called for, they having told the canvasser at his first visit that they were in favour of votes for women. Thus, one lady, a member of my Committee, gives me the names of four voters in one street in Abercromby, including herself, whose cards were not called for, and mentions several other ladies in Abercromby, well known to be Suffragists, who made the same complaint.

It may be said that all inquiries and petitions on a large scale are liable to some mistakes, and also that in both Suffrage and Anti-Suffrage canvasses the results are influenced to a considerable extent by the way in which the question is put and by the arguments of the investigator. We fully admit this, but, on our part, we never commit such work to any but educated lady workers whom we know to be thoroughly reliable, and we do complain that publicity should be given to statistics obtained in any way so obviously open to abuse as the one employed by the Anti-Suffrage organiser in Liverpool. We complain, also, that the canvass should be invariably described as "a postcard plébiscite," "postcards sent out at our expense," as this is obviously intended to imply that the cards have been sent through the post.

Should you be unable or prefer not to present the petition we are sending, perhaps you would be kind enough to ask one of the other members for Liverpool to do so.—I am, Yours, faithfully,

(Signed) ELEANOR F. RATHBONE.

The following is Miss Terry Lewis's comment on this letter:—

National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage, Caxton House.

May 12th, 1911.

DEAR SIR,—I am sorry to have left your letter of May 3rd so long unanswered, but the delay is due to my wishing to verify facts.

I enclose you the figures of the only four wards canvassed by us in Liverpool—East Toxteth, Kirkdale, Walton, West Derby. Throughout all our canvasses conducted from this office, the question asked has never been other than:—

"Do you wish women to have the Parliamentary vote?"

Or "Do you not wish women to have the Parliamentary vote?"

and we have requested an answer to one or other of the questions with the signature of the elector. Questions asked by our Branches we, at the Central, have not always been responsible for. We have sent a specimen of the card used by ourselves, but local Committees have, in many instances, preferred a different wording. Miss Rathbone's statement, therefore, as to the wording on the cards used in East Toxteth may be correct, but on page three of her letter she tells of voters in Abercromby whose cards were not called for, &c. This, in itself, throws a certain amount of discredit on her other statements, as Abercromby was not one of the districts canvassed by us at all. Therefore Suffragists and Anti-Suffragists alike would be perfectly right in saying that they had not been canvassed. They are incorrect in implying that they received cards which were not called for. In one sentence, Miss Rathbone states that "the results are influenced to a considerable extent by the way in which the question is put, and by the arguments of the investigator," and then, having previously complained that we employed "unemployed men of the working class," she admits in the very same letter:—

(1) "The work (that of the Suffragists) has been done by responsible and experienced lady workers."

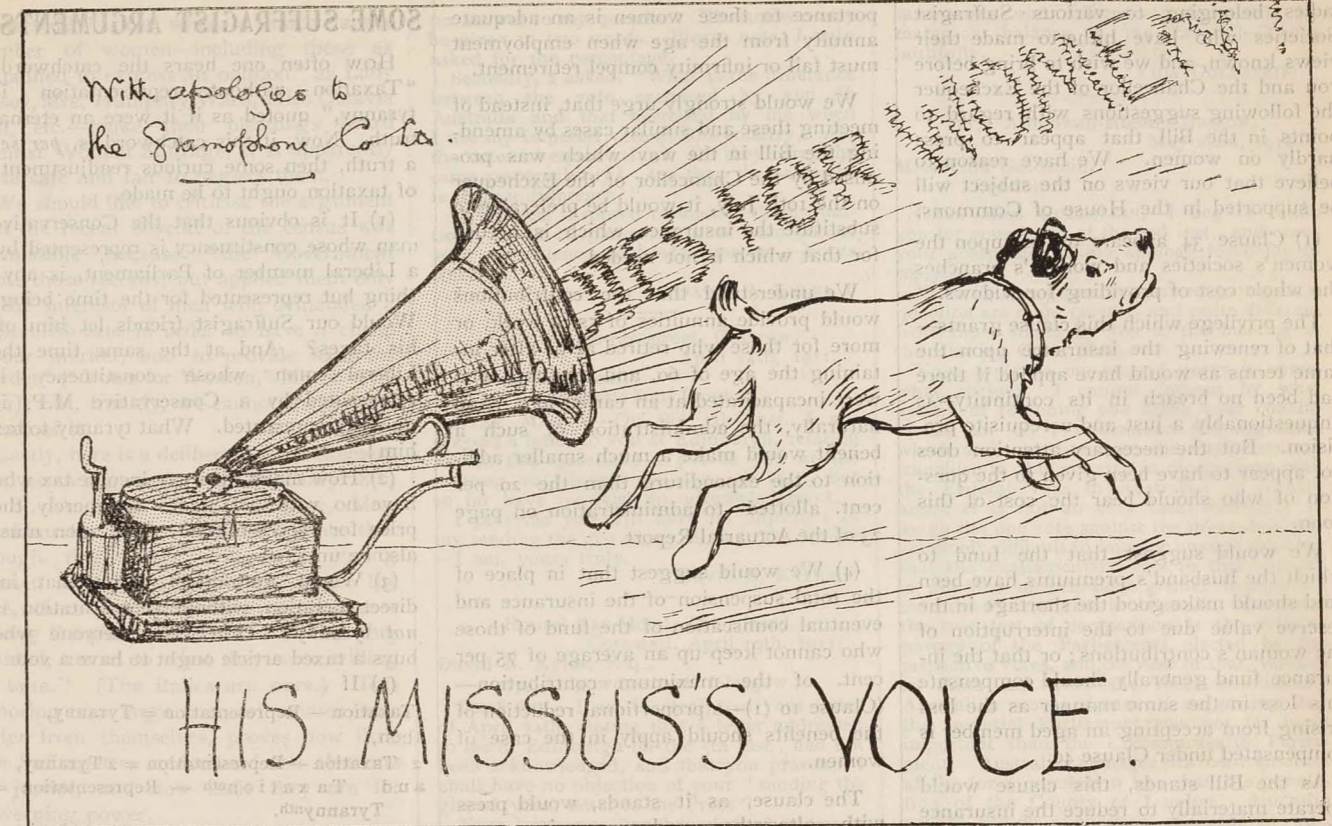
(2) "We never commit such work to any but educated lady workers."

Surely if "results are influenced to a considerable extent by the arguments of the investigator," the "reliable ladies" employed by the Suffragists on their own showing should be more persuasive than 'unemployed working men.'—Yours very truly,

(Signed) L. TERRY LEWIS, Secretary.

INTERESTING ARTICLES IN THE MAGAZINES.

BESIDES the articles and letters in the magazines and journals which we have mentioned elsewhere, our readers may be interested in the following:—A Symposium in "T.P.'s Magazine" for June, entitled "Emancipation and the Marriage Tie"; "Some Scottish Homes," in the June "National Review"; an article by Miss Cicely Hamilton in the "Empire Magazine," on "Husband Hunting Overseas"; and "Women, Ancient and Modern: A Farce in Three Acts," in the July "Contemporary Review."



PARLIAMENTARY VOTERS' POLL IN THE PARISH OF HASLEMERE.

MRS. BEVERIDGE, the Hon. Secretary of the Shottermill and Haslemere Branch of our League, writes:—The following are the results of the latest poll of the Parliamentary voters and voters' wives of Haslemere. It has been made on the current register with a (net) electorate of 556. It was attested (upon its written vouchers) on July 13th by Mr. Cecil Wray, Hill View, Grayshott, and Commander A. R. A. Stock, Kingswood Chase, Shottermill. The count of the votes was further checked by Mr. A. M. Molyneux, Downleaze, Grayshott.

It brings the total of Parliamentary voters polled by our branch to 978; of voters' wives declaring opinions to 550; and the total polled of widowers, bachelors, husbands, and wives to 1,528. All Anti-Suffragists have given written vouchers; in an earlier poll a few Suffragists were counted in on the voucher of their publicly-known action. A considerable number of those polled, but, excluded from the classes of declared opinion, gave verbal replies only, the large majority

being Anti-Suffragists in trade or employment unwilling to sign any paper; the minority were Suffragists who, although informing us they had signed Suffragist at the General Election, refused to take a twice, and, in some cases, thrice-repeated opportunity, given to them to sign again. An attempt was made, with scant success, to reduce the residuum of "No replies" by advertisement in two local papers, asking voters who had not done so and who might wish to do so, to let us know their opinions before the poll was closed.

The percentage of Suffragist opinions to those of the 1,528 men and women included in the poll is approximately 8 per cent. This was also the approximate percentage of the Hawkhurst and Cranbrook-polls of the same kind.

Table with 4 columns: Location, Par. voters, Wives, and No reply. Includes rows for Haslemere Par., Shottermill & Grayshott, and Totals.

THE INSURANCE BILL.

A LETTER TO MR. ASQUITH.

The following letter has been addressed to the Prime Minister:—

25, Grosvenor Place, S.W.

July 21st, 1911.

DEAR SIR,—The various difficulties which have arisen with regard to the interests of women under the Insurance Bill have been dealt with largely, so far, by women who are convinced that only the Parliamentary vote can effectively safeguard these interests, and who point to what they conceive to be the injustices of the Bill, as a proof that women need the protection of the vote.

We, on the other hand, the signatories of this letter, believe that just as instructed opinion has remedied the grievances of women in the past, so it will do now, and in the future; and that the claims of women, if firmly and wisely pressed, have quite as much chance of being listened to as the claims of doctors or members of friendly societies.

These claims have been no less anxiously considered by us than by those

ladies belonging to various Suffragist Societies who have hitherto made their views known, and we wish to bring before you and the Chancellor of the Exchequer the following suggestions with regard to points in the Bill that appear to press hardly on women. We have reason to believe that our views on the subject will be supported in the House of Commons.

(1) Clause 34 appears to cast upon the women's societies and women's branches the whole cost of providing for widows.

The privilege which this clause grants—that of renewing the insurance upon the same terms as would have applied if there had been no breach in its continuity—is unquestionably a just and a requisite provision. But the necessary attention does not appear to have been given to the question of who should bear the cost of this boon.

We would suggest that the fund to which the husband's premiums have been paid should make good the shortage in the reserve value due to the interruption of the woman's contributions; or that the insurance fund generally should compensate this loss in the same manner as the loss arising from accepting an aged member is compensated under Clause 40.

As the Bill stands, this clause would operate materially to reduce the insurance of every woman member, and, in effect, would compel the unmarried to insure the married against the loss of their husbands, upon whom no part of the cost would fall.

The extension of the insurance to those widows who maintain themselves or their children by other than "employed" work, which the Chancellor of the Exchequer has promised, appears therefore to be an empty boon to women generally unless the sum necessary to cover the cost is transferred to the women's fund.

(2) As the Bill stands, the insurance of a woman, who leaves a situation in order to keep house for a widowed brother or to look after infirm parents, would be reduced and in a few years cancelled.

We would suggest that she should not suffer for her devotion, but that the privilege of a re-entry without arrears should be extended to her, and that the cost should be covered in the manner suggested above.

(3) To the domestic servants, hospital nurses, governesses, and many other groups of women workers, possibly half of the total number, the sickness, medical, and maternity benefits which constitute just three-quarters of the insurance, appear to be almost, if not entirely, inappropriate. The one benefit which is of primary im-

portance to these women is an adequate annuity from the age when employment must fail or infirmity compel retirement.

We would strongly urge that, instead of meeting these and similar cases by amending the Bill in the way which was promised by the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the 10th July, it would be preferable to substitute the insurance which is needed for that which is not needed.

We understand that the contributions would provide annuities of 5s. a week, or more for those who retired at or after attaining the age of 60, and for those who were incapacitated at an earlier age. And naturally, the administration of such a benefit would make a much smaller addition to the expenditure than the 20 per cent. allotted to administration on page 23 of the Actuarial Report.

(4) We would suggest that in place of the total suspension of the insurance and eventual confiscation of the fund of those who cannot keep up an average of 75 per cent. of the maximum contribution—(Clause 10 (1))—a proportional reduction of the benefits should apply in the case of women.

The clause, as it stands, would press with altogether undue severity upon women, for in late life their employment is apt to become irregular or fail altogether, and lapse would mean the loss of the deferred annuity which for so many of them is the whole soul of the insurance.

In conclusion, we desire heartily to support those amendments which have been already set down by Mr. Dickinson, Sir Gilbert Parker, Mr. Hills, and others, with a view to securing the presence of women on the Insurance Commissions, Advisory Committees, and Local Health Committees who are to administer the Bill. We are convinced that such was always the intention of the Government, but it seems to us imperative that express provision should be made to this end in the Bill before it becomes law.

We are sending a copy of this letter to the Press.

We remain,
Yours obediently,

Ethel Moberley Bell.	M. E. Jersey.
Gertrude Lowthian Bell.	Mary A. Pellet, M.B.
E. M. Burgwin.	E. L. Somervell.
Mary E. Greatbatch.	Mary E. Talbot.
Ethel B. Harrison.	H. S. Wantage.
	Mary A. Ward.

The Rt. Hon. H. H. Asquith, M.P.

SOME SUFFRAGIST ARGUMENTS.

How often one hears the catchword, "Taxation without representation is tyranny," quoted as if it were an eternal truth. Now, if this catchword is, *per se*, a truth, then some curious readjustments of taxation ought to be made.

(1) It is obvious that the Conservative man whose constituency is represented by a Liberal member of Parliament, is anything but represented for the time being. Would our Suffragist friends let him off his taxes? And at the same time the Liberal man whose constituency is represented by a Conservative M.P. is quite unrepresented. What tyranny to tax him!

(2) How many men pay income tax who have no vote? If taxes are merely the price for representation, these men must also be untaxed.

(3) Would Suffragists admit that indirect taxation without representation is *not* tyranny? Otherwise, everyone who buys a taxed article ought to have a vote.

(4) If
Taxation — Representation = Tyranny,
then,
2 Taxation — Representation = 2 Tyranny,
and Taxation — Representation = Tyranny^{nth}.

But at least half the nation has decided that the most just arrangement is "One man, one vote."

Therefore, "taxation without representation" is not, *per se*, an eternal truth, but merely a doubtful opinion.

Again, most Suffragists claim equal wages for men and women who do the same work. Now, at present, the law is that a man is to provide for his family out of his wages or income. A woman can do just what she likes with hers—unless her husband is in the workhouse, when she may be asked to contribute a small sum for his keep. But if the law is going to insist on equal wages for men and women, it is quite obvious that it must, in common justice, also insist on equal responsibility towards the family. That is, either the law making a man responsible for the maintenance of his family must be repealed, or a woman must be made equally responsible. In both these cases the woman would suffer.

Again, Lord Selborne said, on March 9th, in the course of a speech in favour of Woman Suffrage: "And are the women who have made their opinions heard so few, so unqualified to express an opinion, that their pleadings may be safely or fairly

neglected?" Yet when a much larger number of women—including those as "qualified to express an opinion" as Lady Jersey, Mrs. Humphry Ward, Miss Octavia Hill, etc.—make their pleadings heard against Woman Suffrage, it is apparently quite safe and fair to neglect them.

We should like to criticise the argument that the recent boycott of the census was permissible because "the Government made those records, but applied them only to the interests of men who demanded a high birth-rate in order to have a cheap labour market, and to provide food for powder" ("Votes for Women," March 17th, 1911); but, frankly, we cannot make head or tail of it.

Lastly, here is a deliberate mis-statement used as an argument. On February 28th, at St. Andrew's Hall, Glasgow, Mrs. Pankhurst said it was "remarkable that though there were differences among women as to how they were to get the vote, there was absolutely no difference among them as to what kind of vote they wanted, nor as to what they were willing to take." (The italics are ours.) This ignoring of a large party of women who differ from themselves, proves how little the Suffragettes understand the elements of justice, and how unfit they are for governing power.

GWLADYS GLADSTONE SOLOMON.

MISS VIDA GOLDSTEIN AND THE AUSTRALIAN WOMEN'S VOTE.

We have received the following correspondence for publication. We recognise the courtesy with which Miss Goldstein has conducted the correspondence, but, nevertheless, our readers would do well to mark the extraordinary opinion she expresses. In Miss Goldstein's judgment a woman's vote used to protect life and liberty (which, obviously, are not in need of protection) and in the "pursuit of happiness" is of "infinitely greater value" than a man's imperial vote. Presumably, this opinion is sincerely held, but those who feel the enormous and sobering responsibilities of managing an Empire on democratic lines will scarcely be able to acquit Miss Goldstein of something like levity.

117, Ardgowan-street, Glasgow,
April 5th, 1911.

Miss Vida Goldstein,
8, Melville-place, Edinburgh.

DEAR MADAM,—At the meeting in Charing Cross Hall last night I put two questions to you, neither of which you seemed quite to understand. First, I asked, "What was the percentage of women who voted in the last Federal Election in Australia?" In reply, you gave a long list of figures which was

no answer to my question. The answer may be given in two words. Please note, I only asked for the percentage.

Secondly, I asked, "What is the difference between the vote exercised by you in Australia and that exercised by me when I use my Imperial vote in this country? Are the votes of equal value? Do they carry the same responsibility? Are they the same, or is there a difference?"

If you feel disposed to answer these questions, I will be pleased to hear from you at your convenience, and meantime am,—Yours truly,
DAVID B. KYLES.

117, Ardgowan-street, Glasgow,
April 14th, 1911.

Miss Vida Goldstein,
4, Clement's Inn, London.

DEAR MADAM,—On the 5th inst. I addressed a letter to you at Edinburgh, relating to the two questions I put to you at the meeting in Glasgow on the 4th inst., but so far have received no acknowledgment.

I presume you will have no objection to my sending the gist of my letter to the Press?—I am, yours truly,

DAVID B. KYLES.

House Bay Hotel, The Lizard,
Cornwall, April 19th, 1911.

David B. Kyles, Esq.,
117, Ardgowan-street, Glasgow.

DEAR SIR,—I am in receipt of your letter of April 14th, stating that a letter addressed to me at Edinburgh on the 5th inst., had not been acknowledged, and that you presume I shall have no objection of your "sending the gist of (your) letter to the Press."

Your letter was unacknowledged owing to my being quite unable to cope with a heavy correspondence while moving rapidly from town to town to fulfil speaking engagements. On my arrival in this remote spot I found I had unfortunately left your letter in London and as I could not remember your name and address I was compelled to leave the matter until my return next week.

I have no objection to your sending to the Press exact copies of any correspondence that may pass between us.—Yours faithfully,
VIDA GOLDSTEIN.

4, Clement's Inn, Strand,
London, W.C.,
May 3rd, 1911.

David B. Kyles Esq.,
117, Ardgowan Street, Glasgow.

DEAR MR. KYLES,—At last I am able to reply to your letter of April 1st. You ask me "What was the percentage of women who voted in the last Federal Election in Australia?" The percentage was 56.17, which represented an increase of 12.86 per cent. as against an increase in the men's vote of 8.98 per cent. since the election of 1906.

You ask also "What is the difference between the vote exercised by you in Australia, and that exercised by me when I use my Imperial vote in this country? Are the votes of equal value? Do they carry the same responsibility? Are they the same, or is there a difference?" The vote exercised by me is to defend my right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Your vote represents your cash value to the nation. My vote is of infinitely greater value than yours, though the responsibility is the same, even in time of war. Adding, dividing, subtracting the

same asness and differences, there still remains a balance in my favour!—Yours faithfully,

VIDA GOLDSTEIN.

117, Ardgowan-street, Glasgow,
May 22nd, 1911.

Miss Vida Goldstein,
London.

DEAR MISS GOLDSTEIN,—I beg to thank you for your letter of the 3rd inst., and crave your acceptance of my apology for delay in replying.

Your figures given in answer to my first question are more correct, and quite different from those stated by you at the meeting in the Charing Cross Hall.

Your reply to my second query is somewhat curious. I cannot fathom by what system of reasoning you reach your conclusions, nor do I understand the argument which seeks to disparage the Parliamentary franchise in this country in comparison with the Federal vote in Australia. I frankly admit it is not an easy task accurately to weigh the one vote against the other, but it is extremely difficult to imagine anyone thinking that the Parliamentary vote in this country is not one of infinitely greater importance than the Federal vote in Australia. I suggest the true test of comparison is the relative powers of the Parliaments elected by the respective votes, and, in view of that, venture to think not even the most enthusiastic Australian would dream of suggesting that the Imperial Parliament was not far more important than the Commonwealth Parliament. Australia manages its own internal affairs for a population less than the population of the County of London. Australia cannot decide a question of peace or war, and has no India dependent upon it with a population of three hundred millions. The ministers who are responsible to the British House of Commons govern a world-wide Empire, for the maintenance of which they are responsible.—I am, yours most truly,

DAVID B. KYLES.

4, Clement's Inn, Strand, W.C.,
May 23rd, 1911.

David Kyles, Esq.,
117, Ardgowan-street, Glasgow.

DEAR MR. KYLES,—I am in receipt of your letter of May 22nd, and note the points you raise about the relative importance of our Commonwealth vote and the Imperial vote; but evidently we should never agree on this subject! I value my vote far more than the Imperial vote, because it is given to me on account of my womanhood, and not for any property reasons. We shall have to leave the matter at that. Thanking you for the courtesy of your letter.—I am, yours truly,
VIDA GOLDSTEIN.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

ADVICE AND INFORMATION.

BRANCHES can obtain advice, information, and pamphlets about Women's Local Government Work by applying to the Secretary of the W.L.G. Sub-committee, which meets at our offices at Caxton House once a month.

OUR THIRD ANNUAL COUNCIL MEETING.

LARGE GATHERING AT THE CRITERION.

THE annual meeting of the Council of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage was held on June 30th at the Grand Hall, Criterion Restaurant, W. Lord Cromer (President of the League) occupied the chair, and amongst those present were, the Countess of Jersey, Lord and Lady Haversham, Sir Hugh Bell and Miss Gertrude Lowthian Bell, Mr. and Mrs. Godfrey Benson, Mrs. Humphry Ward, Mr. Arnold Ward, M.P., Lady Robson, Mr. Massie, Admiral Tudor.

The Chairman announced that letters of regret for non-attendance had been received from the following: Duchess of Montrose, Lord Curzon of Kedleston, Lord Northcote, Mrs. Frederic Harrison, Sir J. D. Rees, Lord Ronaldshay, M.P., Mr. W. R. Campion, M.P., Mr. A. MacCallum Scott, M.P., Mr. W. M. R. Pringle, M.P., Mr. Harold T. Baker, M.P., Sir Maurice Levy, M.P., Mr. H. J. Mackinder, M.P., the Dean of Canterbury, Capt. J. Gilmour, M.P., Viscount Helmsley, M.P., Capt. A. G. Weigall, M.P., Earl of Kerry, M.P., Sir John Barran, M.P., Mr. I. W. M. Kirkwood, M.P., Mr. G. R. Lane Fox, M.P., Mr. Gresham Stewart, M.P., Mr. M. Mason, M.P., and Major Henderson, M.P.

Lord Cromer said: The first subject on the agenda is the proposal to send a loyal address to their Majesties the King and Queen, on the occasion of their Coronation.

TO HIS MAJESTY KING GEORGE V.

May it please Your Majesty,—

We, the Council of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage desire to present to Your Majesty, and to Her Majesty the Queen, the assurance of our loyalty and devotion, and to express our earnest hope that Your Majesties may have a long and happy reign over a loyal, prosperous, and united people.

We have the honour to be Your Majesty's obedient and faithful subjects and servants.

I think, said Lord Cromer, in considering the position which our League occupies today, we have to bear in mind that we are in the presence of a general political situation which I believe is altogether unique. Whether it be that two successive general elections have blunted the interest of the people in public affairs, or whether it is that the Coronation has absorbed everybody's attention, or whether it be that the superior attractions of aviation or of cricket and golf clubs have rendered them insensible to everything else, the fact remains that there is at this moment an apathy with regard to public subjects which, I believe, is unprecedented in the recent history of this country. And yet there was probably never a period in which there was a larger number of subjects meriting public attention. There is the very grave constitutional question, the question of Irish Home Rule, the question of payment of members of Parliament, and, last but by no means least, there is this question of woman suffrage. Whatever are the merits of the different questions, I think we shall all be agreed that, so far as we can judge, the interest displayed in these questions is en-

tirely incommensurate with their gravity and importance.

I think we should make a very great mistake if we failed to recognise that this apathy constitutes a great danger to the cause in which we are interested. The suffragist movement is very artificial, and although the mass of the people of both sexes are really on our side, there is, in the present situation, a very great risk that the Conciliation Bill will be rushed through Parliament, without the people of this country having had sufficient opportunity of expressing their opinions, and that we shall then find ourselves in the presence of an accomplished fact, which we shall have to accept, whether we like it or not. The only way to meet that risk is by the strenuous efforts of our supporters, and I venture to make a most earnest appeal to our supporters of both sexes, and especially to the individual members of this League, that during the forthcoming autumn they will exert their utmost efforts to bring the matter home to the public, and stir up interest in the question. I frequently hear the complaint made that our League is not sufficiently active. I have no doubt whatever that we do not loom so largely in the mind of the public, and we do not make so much noise as our opponents, and I need hardly say any suggestions made for increasing our influence will be welcome. Some of the criticisms heard in this direction have been slightly unjust, though friendly, and do not take real account of the difficulties of the situation. No doctor in the world can do much good for his patient unless the patient responds to treatment, and if our patients—the British public—are so sluggish in temperament that they cannot be stimulated into action, I am afraid we shall not be able to do them much good.

It is impossible to expect, and neither you nor I would wish, that our ladies should adopt methods similar to those of the suffragists. They cannot parade up and down the streets with banners flying and bands playing. I do not think any of us (even if she would consent) would like to see our deputy-president careering down Piccadilly on a charger at the head of a procession of ladies. (Laughter.) Moreover, we cannot expect our ladies to stand as pickets outside Parliament, harrising Members of Parliament with leaflets and pamphlets. I would like you to understand the enormous service the ladies can and have rendered. We hear of cases in which men have very reluctantly supported the suffragist movement, although very often convinced that they were quite wrong. They have often done so on account of the great pressure put upon them by members of their own family. But I heard of a remarkable case which runs in the counter direction. A Member of Parliament who gave his vote in favour of what is called the Conciliation Bill happens to be married to a lady who is a very strong anti-suffragist, and I am told that he is prepared to vote against the Bill on the next occasion it comes on. Obvious considerations of discretion oblige me to refrain from giving the name of this really noble-minded woman, but I sincerely trust there are a great many more like her.

But it is to the men more especially that I wish to appeal. I appeal to the men present, and through the ladies, to many other men, because it is too often forgotten that, however invaluable may be the assistance of the women, and however

important their work, at the same time it is a question which really must be tested through the electorate, who are the men, and by their representatives in Parliament, who are men. I am sure I shall be voicing what must be the opinion of many ladies here present in saying that men are often a great difficulty. In this case the difficulties arise not from their defects, but from their good qualities. I have in the course of the last year or so written innumerable letters to influential men asking for their support, and although I must say that the pecuniary support afforded to the appeal made by Lord Curzon, whose assistance has been perfectly invaluable, and by myself was generous, at the same time, some of the answers which I have latterly received have been most disappointing. The reason is obvious enough. All the men who might render assistance are so much occupied with other things, and have so much work to do, that they cannot find the time to give us the help we most want—organising and speaking. That has been the main difficulty of our Committee, and it is a difficulty which perhaps those who have criticised do not fully understand. I am prepared myself to give what help I can. I have devoted a great deal of my time, which is pretty fully occupied, to the work of the League. I have addressed as many meetings as is consistent with the health and strength of a brisk young septuagenarian. I have been called a liar by a whole chorus of shop girls at the Queen's Hall, and I have faced an audience of young ladies fresh from their examinations at Newnham College, Cambridge, who asked me a number of arithmetical questions which my mathematical knowledge did not enable me to answer. But I want help, and unless I get more help than I get now, I shall not be able to do much.

Let me tell you what the members of the Executive Committee propose to do in the forthcoming autumn. We propose, if possible, to carry out an earnest, vigorous campaign throughout the country to stir up interest in our cause. I will do my best, and the members of the Executive Committee will do their best to ensure this object; but it entirely depends upon the help we shall get. It depends upon the help we shall get from our leading politicians in the first instance. As regards these, we are constantly receiving requests from the branches for speakers. Unfortunately, they all want the same speakers. They ask for Lord Curzon, who appears to be the favourite, Mr. F. E. Smith, and one or two others, but these few cannot be ubiquitous. In the next place we must depend on the assistance we get from sympathisers who will exert their influence to secure local help throughout the country. Let me draw your attention to some of the points where the branches of the League may do good service. I think secretaries might invite each member of their branch to write frequent letters individually to the Member of Parliament in their district, expressing their views. They might also persuade individual members to support our friends in Parliament, to harry as much as possible those who are hostile, and to exert as much pressure as they can upon the army of "wobblers." Postcards might be distributed urging that the question of woman suffrage should be referred to the country. That is a very important point, because so many Members of Parliament who have somewhat reluctantly given a pledge in

favour of what is called the Conciliation Bill, would, I believe, gladly accept a proposition which would enable them to say, "Even if personally we are prepared to vote for the Conciliation Bill, we cannot allow it to pass without the will of the electorate being definitely expressed." The third point is, a form of protest which might be signed both by electors and anti-suffragist women in each constituency, so that when the facilities which Mr. Asquith has promised in Parliament for next year are granted, the document may be sent to the local Members and to the leaders of both parties. That is also a very important point.

The fourth is, meetings might be held, not merely for the Members of our League, but generally for the purpose of specially inducing the electorate to realise that the decision on the women's suffrage question rests with them, and to point out to them the gravity of their responsibility.

I wish to point out that, as far as this meeting is concerned, it is really of comparatively little use calling meetings only of our sympathisers.

What we want to do is to get at the mass of people, the working men especially, who have not expressed their views. I attach much greater value to an open meeting which may be entirely or partly hostile than to a meeting open only to sympathisers. The fifth suggestion I make is: members of branches might be invited to send the names and addresses of known sympathisers in all parts of the country to the Central Office. That also is an important point. It is extremely difficult for the Central Office to lay their fingers upon influential and known sympathisers in every part of England.

In the sixth place, leaflets, which can be supplied by the Central Office might very usefully be distributed in factories, workshops, railway stations, etc.

Lastly, we have not yet used the Press nearly enough, and the only way is to get local sympathisers to write frequent letters to the Press of their district. This is a point to which I attach importance. Let me say in conclusion that the arch-priest of the suffragist movement, Mrs. or Miss Pankhurst, I forget which—at the Albert Hall, recently said the anti-suffragists were dead. It is our business to show our opponents that we are very much alive. I therefore earnestly hope the appeal I am making for help all over the country will not be in vain.

Sir HUGH BELL moved the re-election of the President, Lord Cromer, and the deputy-President, Lady Jersey.

Mrs. HENRY SIMON, of Manchester, said she was glad to second this resolution, because the Manchester branch, which she represented, had been specially indebted to Lord Cromer for the great help he had given during the past year. Manchester had been in a difficulty because it was the place where the most important suffragist societies—certainly the militant societies—started, and the pioneers of the woman-suffrage movement lived and worked—Mrs. Jacob Bright and Lydia Becker. They were not so much discouraged by the opposition they were meeting with as by the apathy of those who called themselves friends and supporters. She believed that this is felt not only in Manchester, but in every branch all over the country, and added "We want our friends to come forward and show their friendship by a little more active sympathy." They were very much helped and very much

cheered by Lord Cromer's two visits to them during the past year. He had put fresh heart into their work.

The resolution was carried by acclamation, and Lord Cromer, thanking the meeting on behalf of Lady Jersey and himself, said they would continue to use their utmost endeavours to make the League a success.

Lady ROBSON moved the re-election of Mr. Massie as Hon. Treasurer, of whose eminent services she said she could not speak too highly. His devotion to the work of the League was whole-hearted, and, although living in Oxford, he was constant in his attendance at meetings of the executive committee and the sub-committees to which he belonged.

Mr. BASIL BRAITHWAITE, of Epsom, said he thought everybody present knew that Mr. Massie had made himself master of all the aspects and details of the question. The question had two sides, and if they probed into the core and root of the matter they would find that one sound and ripe view—their view—would ultimately emerge; that the supreme political power of England at least must remain in the hands of the men of the nation. They did not, at that momentous crisis particularly, wish a more effeminate government, but a more virile one. Mr. Massie had rendered the League most staunch and active support in season and out of season.

The resolution was then carried with acclamation, and Mr. MASSIE said, "I thank you for your confidence. I will try to deserve it."

The names of the newly-elected executive committee were then announced, after which the annual report was read.

ANNUAL REPORT.

The past year has been an eventful one in many ways. Just a year ago Lord Cromer announced the proposed amalgamation of the Women's National Anti-Suffrage League with the Men's League for Opposing Woman Suffrage, and told us how he and Lord Curzon, with the help of others, were making an appeal for funds to enable us to extend our work. You will remember further that in December last a special council meeting was called at the Westminster Palace Hotel, where you were informed that the amalgamation of the two Leagues had been carried out, and were asked to elect a president and vice-president, and to ratify the election of seven men and seven women to form a temporary executive committee until this meeting when you would be entitled to re-elect by ballot the whole of the executive committee.

Following on our council meeting of June last a Local Government Sub-Committee was appointed, with Mrs. Humphry Ward as chairman.

In the autumn our energies were once more concentrated on the formation of fresh branches, and whereas last year we were only able to announce the establishment during the preceding twelve months of 11 branches and 15 sub-branches, we now have the great pleasure of telling you that since we met in June, 1910, we have added 56 new branches and 16 sub-branches, or 72 in all. Our thanks for this excellent result are mainly due to the splendid work of our organisers, Mrs. Maggs, Miss Page, Mrs. Gladstone Solomon, and Mrs. Lane, who have been greatly helped by those among our members who have sent the names and addresses of sympathisers known to them in different

parts of the country to the Central Office—and still more by the ladies who, like Miss Rawlinson, Mrs. Beveridge, and Mrs. Frederic Harrison—to name only a few, have given a very great deal of personal time and trouble to help in forming new branches.

July, 1910, witnessed the introduction of Mr. Shackleton's Bill, which, however, did not proceed beyond its second reading. Since then a second Bill has been submitted to the House, although during the General Election which intervened, this grave constitutional question was not only not a main issue, but was hardly even touched upon as a side issue except in a few cases. The overwhelming defeat of the only two Women Suffrage candidates who stood will long be remembered, Mr. H. Jacobs in East St. Pancras, and Mr. Mirrless at Camlachie—only between them polling 57 votes!

During the election organisers visited different centres where we were then unrepresented to arrange deputations to Members, and much zeal was shown by our members of council who wrote personal letters to their Member and to the Leaders in the House of Commons, and by a large number of our branches who held protest meetings.

The municipal canvass, which the League has been carrying out has gone very far indeed to prove how large a majority of the very women whom Sir George Kemp's Bill sets out to enfranchise are themselves opposed to any such measure. The numbers of women municipal electors already canvassed are 126,960, of these, 45,390 have declared themselves opposed, and only 20,157 in favour of Woman Suffrage. In addition to this, our Glasgow Branch has canvassed 10,820 women in the Camlachie Division, of whom no less than 6,551 are avowed Anti-Suffragists.

As the Woman Suffrage Press has constantly tried to throw discredit on this canvass, it is perhaps well to point out that however this canvass has been conducted—whether by personal canvass, paid canvasser, or the indisputably fair postal canvass—the percentage of replies in our favour has been practically the same.

It is certainly a matter of congratulation for us that out of the enormous number of delegates gathered together for the National Union of Teachers' Conference at Aberystwyth, in April, a majority of 28,000 opposed the suspension of the Standing Orders for the discussion of Woman Suffrage.

It is also worthy of notice that at the crowded Annual Meeting of the Women's National Liberal Association, which consists of Suffragists and Anti-Suffragists—with Mrs. Asquith as President, and Mrs. W. B. Byles as Chairman—the resolution in favour of the Conciliation Bill was defeated by a proportion of three to two, after a discussion in which Mrs. Massie most ably and successfully presented the case against Woman Suffrage in the absence, through sudden illness, of Miss Violent Markham.

We warmly congratulate Miss Ermine Taylor on the success of the Girls' League, and we have to thank its members for all the very valuable help they so willingly give in undertaking extra clerical work, acting as stewards at meetings, and in many other ways.

It is very satisfactory to be able to announce the affiliation of our League with the National Union of Women Workers.

In the able hands of Mr. J. B. Atkins, our Editor, the REVIEW has very greatly improved, and its circulation is increasing

rapidly, thanks to the generous help of branches which has enabled us to advertise on a large number of railway bookstalls.

The two series of Speakers' Classes, one taken by Mrs. Colquhoun, and the other by Miss Gladys Pott, seemed to be greatly appreciated. It is hoped that there will be a demand for further classes in the Autumn.

It is with great regret that we have to record the death during the last twelve months of Mr. S. H. Butcher, M.P., Sir Alfred Lyall, Mr. Moberly Bell, Mrs. White-way, Mrs. Forbes, Mrs. Fitzhugh, Miss Barnard, Mrs. Adams, Mr. E. H. Pember, K.C., and Mr. S. H. Jeyes, all keen supporters of, and workers for, our League.

Before bringing this report to a close, there only remains the very pleasant duty of most warmly thanking all those who so generously contributed to our funds, all hon. branch officials for their continued loyal support, and all our admirable speakers—Miss Pott, Mrs. Greatbatch, Mrs. Colquhoun, Mrs. Somervell, Miss Violet Markham, Mrs. Harold Norris, Miss Stuart, Mrs. Gladstone Solomon, Mr. Maconachie, and many others—for their valuable services to the League.

MISS GERTRUDE LOWTHIAN BELL, in moving the adoption of the annual report, congratulated the League upon the success which had attended their efforts during the past year, and congratulated, particularly, the workers in the central office, and workers and organisers throughout the country and the committees of branches upon which the greater part of the work devolved. Miss Bell proceeded: "But let us bear in mind—very clearly what our President has told us, that this is not the moment to rest upon our oars, but the moment to row very vigorously. I hope the next year's report will show an increase which is to be reckoned not by tens or twenties, but by tens of thousands. We must put forth every effort if this Bill is not going to pass within the next six months. If we are careless the Bill may be carried over our heads."

Admiral TUDOR, of Guildford, seconded, and said: "Speaking as one of the delegates of a provincial branch, I should like to express gratitude for the work done by the officers and the executive committee of the League. The very fact that we are on an 'anti' side is a difficulty in the way of raising enthusiasm. I have little doubt that the majority of the people are on our side, but I regret that the majority of the public are exceedingly apathetic, and very difficult to move. I can only hope that the headquarters will receive much better support in the future. Let us all do our best to induce our people to take a more active interest in the work."

Mr. J. MASSIE, Hon. Treasurer, said: "In submitting my report, first let me remind the League that, according to the arrangement made in the constitution last year, the financial year ends on December 31st. I cannot, therefore, till December 31st, or after that date, present you with a full report of the year's accounts, duly audited, but I think it would interest you if I mention a few financial facts in connection with the time since our last annual meeting."

Having shown the financial position to be a satisfactory one, Mr. Massie continued: "Before I sit down I should like to criticise one point mentioned by Lord Cromer. I think our weak point is not so much in the country as in the

House of Commons. I ventured in the House of Commons to say that a good many members of Parliament pledged themselves to vote for Woman Suffrage, hoping and believing it would be academic for a very long time to come. A trustworthy instance came to my knowledge a few days ago. A friend of a friend of mine had eight votes. Perhaps he had no business to have eight votes, but he had them. He wrote to the eight members by whom he was represented, and they all replied that they were heartily opposed to Woman Suffrage, but they had pledged themselves to vote for the Conciliation Bill. What are you to do with members of that kind? You can only do one thing. We can form branches and get them to exercise influence upon the members which represent the constituencies they are in, to bother them and worry them into voting according to their convictions, or, at any rate, if their convictions are in favour of Woman Suffrage, show them that there is a difference of opinion in the constituencies, and that if they vote for the suffrage they will make some of the constituents very angry. Where this has been done, it has produced a marked effect, and the branches have been able to keep their member away or make him vote on the other side. That shows me that our great work is the formation of branches to influence members of the House of Commons. I always like to respect a member of Parliament, but I cannot understand one who thinks one way, and votes another."

LORD HAYERSHAM, in moving the adoption of the Treasurer's report, said he thought it endorsed everything that had been said regarding forming branches, and could testify to a most excellent instance in his own country. They had there in each division a very active Woman's Anti-Suffrage League, and the consequence was, that although they had "wobblers" amongst them, three members—all three members—voted in the last division against Woman Suffrage. Everything Lord Cromer suggested was the right thing to undertake, and had been attended by remarkable results in their work. He did not think it possible that a great revolution like this could be passed without an appeal to the country, but it was extremely necessary to be on their guard. On the last division in the House, there was a small attendance, and both the leaders were away. Let them work all the coming autumn as hard as they could to construct new branches, strengthen their present branches, and engage in their ranks all the men who could give effective assistance.

Mrs. PERCY THOMAS, of Paddington, seconded the adoption of the Treasurer's report. Miss ERMINE TAYLOR then read the report of the Girls' League. Mrs. HUMPHRY WARD said: I rise to move "that this annual council of the National League for opposing woman suffrage is of opinion that while the first object of the League—namely, opposition to the suffrage—should be steadily prosecuted, it is desirable at the same time for the League to maintain a sympathetic and generous attitude towards the cause of women in local government."

It will not be denied by anybody that this League exists, primarily, and chiefly, to oppose with all its might a change in the English franchise which, we believe, would be disastrous both to women and men.

For that change, as we all hold, there is no real, or, as the economists would put it, no "effective" demand in this country. In the form at present proposed, the Bill before Parliament would inflict an unpardonable slight upon the married women in this country, the women who are really bearing the burden and heat of the day, without affording any advantage to the unmarried women which cannot be gained in other ways.

At the same time it would bring into existence, owing to the present state of our population statistics and to the numbers of our unemployed single women of education, a large class of women politicians, possessing the powers of organisation that many women possess, and voting—and organising the votes of their sex—on men's affairs, without any of the direct responsibility of men, to the detriment of all that is best in women, and worst in politics. It would embarrass our sons and brothers and husbands in their most necessary and vital activities; it would imperil and endanger the safety of the nation while adding nothing to the true happiness or well-being of women.

As to this, we are all united; and the coming year must see us all working shoulder to shoulder in the struggle which can only, I fear, grow more acute until a direct reference to the arbitrament of the nation—if we can only secure it—has given the Suffrage movement what I firmly believe would be its quietus, at least for some years. There is nothing the Suffragists dread so much as this direct appeal to the nation. Once secure this, and our victory is won for a political generation at any rate!—and who can look further? Towards this we must all work; zealously educating the electorate meanwhile.

But even the immediate prospect is not nearly so threatening as it seems. One has only to compare the speeches of Labour Members on the Bill now before the House with the speeches of those topsy-turvy advocates of the change, which, in my humble opinion at least, they must imperfectly understand!—the women who compose the Conservative and Unionist Franchise Association—to see how many are the rocks and pitfalls ahead of the Suffrage Party. If the Bill is not modified in the direction of adult Suffrage, Mr. Henderson has given plain notice that he and his friends will vote against it on the Third Reading. On the other hand, if the Bill is modified in that direction, if it goes beyond the limits at present assigned to it a large number, at any rate, of its present Conservative supporters will desert it. With a Government radically divided on the subject, with free power of amendment, in a House of Commons voting at last under a true sense of responsibility, it will be wonderful indeed if such a Bill survives its Committee stage.

Still, Parliamentary possibilities and combinations are many, and we have, of course, to act during the coming year under a strong sense of urgency—spending all the time, the energy, and the money we can—on the organisation of such an opposition throughout the country as may give Parliament pause, and allow of—nay, compel—that appeal to the nation which, we believe, would be wholly in our favour.

Let me turn aside a moment to warn this meeting of a new argument that will be frequently used against our speakers in the campaign before us, that is being used now in the House of Commons, and in Suffrage circles every-

where. It is the argument of the supposed ill-treatment of women in the Insurance Bill of Mr. Lloyd George. If women had votes, it is said, they must have occupied a better position under the Bill than they do at present; that its provisions, as they stand, show the ignorance of women's lives prevailing among the men who pretend to legislate for them, and the impotence of women without votes to take care of themselves. Whether the facts are so I do not know. I should be very much surprised to hear that any Chancellor of the Exchequer framed such a Bill without much consultation with women. But if the facts are as they are stated to be, and women are badly treated under the Bill, are they the only persons with a grievance under the Bill, and has the possession of votes anything whatever to do with it? I was talking with an admirable country doctor last week—"The Bill," he said, "will sweep away a third of my present income. I shall not be able to go on living in my present house. I doubt if I shall be able to retain my partner. Its provisions show the most complete ignorance of the actual working lives of the great mass of doctors affected by the Bill." My friend may be right or wrong, but at any rate thousands of doctors all over England agree with him, and all these doctors have votes. What is their remedy? Precisely the same as the women's remedy. Agitation, combination, pressure on the Government. We see what the doctors have been doing. And already a joint committee has been formed of women of practical experience and Members of Parliament, whose object is to remedy the injustice to women—if injustice there be—contained in the Bill. In the end, remembering former matters, may we not confidently expect to see—and being women, do we not instinctively claim it, at men's hands?—that women will get not less, but perhaps a little more than justice, as compared with men?

So much for our direct attack on the Suffrage position—for those points in which we are all agreed. But, as this resolution which I am to move indicates, there is, in the opinion, as I venture to believe, of a great majority of the members of the League, another method of attack—of indirect attack—which is scarcely less important, and has not yet been developed as it ought to be, not only upon the M.P.s, but upon the opinion which influences M.P.s. This League when it was first constituted as a Women's League, put forward as its second avowed object—

"To maintain the principle of the representation of women on municipal and other bodies concerned with the domestic and social affairs of the community,"

and when the two Leagues were united last winter, the "maintenance" of the position of women in local government was reaffirmed as part of the short but vital creed of our body.

What is the meaning of this insistence upon the powers of women, and the need for women in the public work of our domestic and local administration?

Simply that as a wise person said long ago, it is not good to allow the devil to have all the best tunes! In other words, it is not wise to allow our opponents even to claim a monopoly of ideas and enthusiasms.

Wrong ideas we believe them to be, and false enthusiasms. But wrong ideas and false enthusiasms have played a great part in history: and they have not only to be argued with and against, but if possible to

be replaced by better ones. We must all do our best to prevent this ill-omened measure from becoming law.

What we have to show the nation, what we have to impress upon women, especially the young women who are growing up, the women now being educated at the Universities, the women of the teaching and medical professions, is, that there already exist in the hands of women powers that have never yet been fully used, that might be made of enormous importance to themselves, their homes and their children, without in any way interfering with their womanliness or with the work of men—I mean, of course, the powers of women in local government. The ignorance that exists even amongst the most intelligent women on the subject is astounding. Every grievance, or almost every grievance, that the Suffragists put forward could be, so far as it exists, dealt with under local government. Local government is delegated administration; that is, the actual working out in practical life of the laws affecting the homes, the education, and the health of the people. Nothing could be more important; nothing could more directly concern women. And more than this, local government is constantly reacting on legislation. Practical experience suggests, perhaps, a local by-law, and if the by-law works well, it becomes the basis, in time, of an Act of Parliament. If women are really zealous for practical reform, here is their sphere; laws are nothing unless they are administered by clean and capable hands; and, under the action of local government, fall the daily home-interests of the vast mass of our population—the education of their children, the care of women in childbirth, the housing of the poor, the tending of the insane, the moral regulation of our towns, the watching over the young lives of children, whether through medical inspection, or through the prevention of excessive strain arising out of premature employment. These things may sound tame and dull to many an ardent and excited Suffragist absorbed in the organising of processions and the harrying of candidates for Parliament. But to those engaged in them, to those women who have the time and the feeling to give to them, they become the most absorbing form of human service; they are steeped in the pathos and the tenderness of human life, they speak to the heart, and they train the mind. Of course, there are many ways in which women can show their sympathy with the idea of women in local government. Yet how few women, comparatively, there are engaged in them; how little has the municipal vote of women, which we have possessed since 1867, counted in the promotion of social reform!

Why is this? Partly, I think, because the Suffrage movement has diverted the best energies of many women to other and, as we believe, barren fields; partly because of certain defects in the law, some of which have been amended, while others still remain, and hamper what should be the just development of women's work in this great sphere. Just look at the facts:—

At present there are about fourteen elected women on County and Borough Councils, about 1,100 women on Boards of Guardians, and rather more than 400 as co-opted members of education committees. Yet on the County Councils of England and Wales alone there are 3,260 seats, to which we have to add the many thousand more included in the London County Council, the Councils of County Boroughs of over 50,000 inhabitants,

and boroughs over 10,000; the Metropolitan Borough Councils, Urban and Rural District Councils, and Boards of Guardians. To these bodies is entrusted the administration of an immense mass of law dealing with the daily health and well-being of the population. Women and children are, equally with men, the subjects of this law; and numbers of women, as teachers, matrons, nurses, sanitary inspectors, health visitors, &c., are employed by these bodies. Women are urgently wanted to assist in the administrative work of these Councils. Yet, as we have seen, on the County and Borough Councils of England and Wales there are but fourteen women.

Now let me remind you that a Woman's Local Government Sub-Committee was formed by our league, after its amalgamation, for the purpose of giving effect to the second object of our whole crusade—namely, the substitution for interference in the Parliamentary and Imperial work of men, of a just insistence upon those powers in the domestic administration of the nation which are rightly shared by women.

Our committee was at once brought up against the present state of the law, and the extreme difficulty of securing a sufficient number of women candidates. Under our guidance two Bills were drafted by the kind help of a most competent barrister, Mr. Naldreth—to whom our committee wish to express their most grateful thanks—for the removal of some of the difficulties that stand in the way of a proper supply of women in local government. I need not dwell upon the details of these Bills. Briefly described—(a) Bill No. 1 would enable married women, properly qualified, to vote throughout the country, outside London, in the election of county and borough councillors, as they now do in London, and thereby to become eligible as councillors.

(b) Bill No. 2 would extend the residential qualification which is at present sufficient for Boards of Guardians, for the Metropolitan Borough Councils, and for Urban and District Councils, to County and Borough Councils generally.

And the result of these two changes in the law would undoubtedly be to increase the supply of women candidates in local government. These draft Bills, which have been introduced into the House of Commons by Mr. J. W. Hills, the member for Durham, have been sent to all the branches, I believe, for their opinion, and the response has been very generally—in fact, overwhelmingly favourable—though, as I hasten to acknowledge, not unanimously so.

What, then, is the position?

I conceive it to be this. Every member of the League—in every branch of the League—who is strongly in sympathy with the second object for which we exist, is free to support and work for it as he or she desires—to advocate these Bills, or not to advocate them. Every branch of the League is free to take any action in a branch that it pleases. We ask the supporters of the League, whether within the League or in the House of Commons—we ask Sir Frederick Banbury in particular—to take note of the very earnest feeling that there is in the League in favour of these changes in the law; to remember that we who are speaking in the country are often aware that our strongest weapon in dealing with the more serious of our suffragist opponents lies in showing—(what masses of people are still ignorant of)—how great are the powers women already possess in local

those which the ordinary, decent, stupid and slightly coarse man generally makes about Suffragettes. They are, in short, the sort of remarks which you, Sir, no doubt make every day.

The problem of my play, as your critic says, is an economic one, not one of sex. But for the information of your readers may I say that it does strike a simple soul like myself as odd that the voteless and unorganised people seem also to be the worst paid. However, that is not my affair. My business is to set down as best I can what I see and what I think. Minnie Allen lives to-day, poor girl, in a state which I should hesitate to name in a journal read by Really Nice People. Mr. Alfred Jordan also exists. I find him a very nice man; but you ladies, Suffragists and Antis alike, would shudder if you heard his views on women. No perfect lady, such as your readers all are, could stand such talk.—I am, Sir, Yours &c.,

ST. JOHN G. ERVINE.
The New Reform Club,
10, Adelphi Terrace, W.C.

THE SUFFRAGISTS' PROCESSION

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

SIR,—I have only to-day had the pleasure of seeing the June number of your REVIEW. As it happens, I have been spending the morning docketing newspaper reports for June. In each of the leading London dailies there is a long and appreciative account of the Suffrage Procession on June 17th. Looking through your paper for some indication of your attitude towards the National Insurance Bill, I find the extraordinary statement that "the last great procession was accorded only a brief paragraph in the London dailies." Your article being undated, we can only presume that the "Great Procession" refers to that of June 17th, 1911.

Can it be that there is some difference between Suffragists and Anti-Suffragists so fundamental that a newspaper report appears to one to occupy at least a column and a-half, to the other is the length of a "brief paragraph"? May I point out the facts as they appear to Suffragists?

"The Times"—1½ columns.

"Daily Telegraph"—1½ columns, three photographs.

"Morning Post"—Two columns.

"Daily News"—Over two columns and photograph.

"Standard"—Three-quarters of a column.

"One man's meat is another man's poison."

There is another point to which I would like to call your attention. In your July number appears the following statement:—

"Another remark made by 'The Times' was that there were very few working women in the procession."

"The Times" for June 10th says: "The National Union's Section of the procession was recruited by hundreds of working women." Comment is unnecessary.

Again you have some withering remarks about the absence of any representative of Queen Victoria in the procession. It grieves me to blunt the point of your eloquence, but Queen Victoria was represented in the historical pageant.—I am, Sir, Yours, &c.,

M. L. MACKENZIE,

Assistant Press Sec., N.U.W.S.S.

July 12th, 1911.

[We print this letter, lest it should be said that we refuse to correct misstatements. We

confess, however, that we do not know what most of it is about. There was no reference to a Suffragist procession in our June number. In our July number we described and praised, for its qualities of effect and organisation, the procession of June 17, naming the date on which it took place. The words quoted by Miss Mackenzie about "the London dailies" do not occur in that article, or anywhere in the REVIEW. If there were only hundreds of working women in a procession of 40,000 women (Suffragist estimate), we think the remark of "The Times," which Miss Mackenzie will still be able to find if she looks for it, was justified. We regret that we overlooked the representation of Queen Victoria. We have received other letters correcting this error. A more uncompromising opponent of what she called "Women's Rights" never existed than Queen Victoria.—ED., A.-S. REVIEW.]

"POINTS OF FACT."

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

SIR,—A copy of your REVIEW having come into my hands, I should be grateful if you would allow me to comment on a few points I have noticed in it—points of fact rather than of opinion.

(1) In your article on the procession of the 17th of June, you "discount" the Suffragist estimates of the numbers taking part, apparently on the authority of "one observer." I was an observer myself, and after "observing" the lines along the whole of their length (from a motor-car) I went to my place and took part in the procession, and I can say, from careful personal "observation," that the estimate of 40,000 was certainly not over the mark; and the amount of "discount" to be deducted for colonials and foreigners is a mere bagatelle compared to this total.

(2) What does the "significant" paragraph regarding "vicarious service" signify? It signifies that those Suffragists who could afford to pay, but were unable to go, paid the fares of other Suffragists who could go but could not afford to pay. Do you seriously think that we "hired" people to walk, as you hired those sandwichmen—those deputy-exponents of the doctrine of physical force—who headed the procession? You speak (page 135) of the militant Suffragists' lack of humour. I wish you could have heard some of the appreciative comments on this very successful "comic relief" provided by the "antis."

(3) You quote the remark of the *Times* that "there were very few working women in the procession." I imagine that neither the *Times* nor any other "antis" would be considered by an impartial judge as likely to know much about the procession and its component parts, or to give an unbiased account of it if they did. But perhaps you do not count the following occupations as "work." These and many more were represented by hundreds upon hundreds of processionists:

Typists,	Lace-makers,
Bookbinders,	Charwomen,
Clerks,	Teachers of all grades,
Weavers,	

to mention only those few which occur to me, and omitting such types of workers as women doctors, writers, graduates of Universities, and actresses.

(4) You say that this kind of "muster" is not genuinely indicative of what Suffragist ideals really are, because every Suffragist Society in the kingdom shared in

it! This remark shows that you have not the remotest conception of what are Suffragist ideals. This complete and studied ignorance of what we Suffragists really are doing and thinking, as opposed to what you report us to be doing and thinking, is not in the least surprising; it is the price which must be paid if you are to win or keep any support for your views. As an example of the sort of misrepresentation based upon ignorance, I may mention your remark that the reason why the constitutionalists did not have a larger meeting than the militants, though they outnumbered the latter in the procession, was that they must have gone to "swell the militant meeting on the chance of a more exciting time." It is only charitable to suppose that you really did not know that the Constitutionalists, as there was no second hall in London big enough to hold them, tried to arrange for a meeting in Hyde Park, but were refused permission for this.

(5) Do you not think it is time that you gave up the constant iteration of the grossly untrue statement that Suffragists as a body are trying to prevent women from taking part in Local Government and other kindred public work? (page 134). Does it never "reach your ears" that the majority of the women who are already doing this work are Suffragists? I will give only one instance in proof of this assertion. In a district with which I am acquainted the Committee of the Women's Local Government Society consists (or did a few months ago) of eighteen members. Fourteen of these are avowed, and mostly actively-working Suffragists, many of them on the Committee of the local Suffrage Society.

Trusting to your fairness to insert this letter, I am, your obedient servant,
J. C. CHANCE.
Orchards, near Godalming,
July 20th, 1911.

[Lady Chance's letter is composed chiefly of points of opinion rather than of fact. Suffragists are making it a habit to secure the insertion of their opinions, or of merely scolding letters, by challenging the "fairness" of newspapers which are opposed to them. We take this opportunity of saying that we do not propose to submit ourselves to this particular form of tyranny.—ED., A.S. REVIEW.]

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

OUR BRANCH NEWS-LETTER.

OPEN-AIR meetings in London are proving very popular and successful, and the most favoured form of meeting with our Branches has been the garden meeting. We owe thanks to those ladies who have so very kindly lent their gardens and acted as hostesses for several very delightful gatherings during the past month.

Amongst very successful meetings which took place during July, and of which we will give a more detailed account in our next issue, was a Croydon meeting, held on July 12th, at Coignafearn, the residence of Mrs. Secretan. Mrs. A. Colquhoun made a very successful speech. A very satisfactory result of this meeting was a large increase in the membership of the Croydon Branch. Mr. Alfred Barker was in the chair, and short speeches

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leading newspapers in Ireland, drawing attention to the fact that our League had opened an office in Dublin. The posters were also put up. After Christmas we got out the post-cards for the canvass, and later in January we had two very successful drawing-room meetings. In February we held the members' annual meeting and the evening meeting, at both of which Miss Stuart spoke. The chief work in March was taking the names of people who had signed the petition, and writing to them asking them to join as members. In April we held the protest meeting, and sent copies of the resolution to Mr. Asquith and Mr. Balfour, and also to Irish M.P.'s. In May we had the two debates, one at the Molesworth Hall, and the other at the Shelbourne Hotel. Another successful debate was that held at the Y.M.C.A. Hall before a large audience, when the vote went in our favour.

East Crinstead.—DEPUTATION TO MR. H. S. CAUTLEY, M.P.—A deputation of ladies residing in the East Crinstead Parliamentary Division, consisting of Lady Musgrave (President of the East Crinstead Branch), Lady Phillipa Stewart, Mrs. E. M. Crookshank, Mrs. F. A. White, and Mrs. Hillyer, recently waited upon Mr. H. S. Cautley, M.P., in the House of Commons, and were courteously received by him. The ladies expressed their opinion that in view of the prominent demand made by some women for the Parliamentary vote, the time had come when it should be recognised that a very large proportion, and probably the great majority of women, did not claim the franchise, and believed that its extension to them would be prejudicial to the general work and Imperial responsibilities of the House of Commons, and also that it would tend to the destruction of home life, and prevent the fulfilment of the domestic duties of their sex.

Goring.—An influentially attended meeting was held at the Church House, Goring, on the evening of June 28th. The speaker, Miss Gladys Pott, rivetted the attention of her audience for over an hour. Mr. F. Eardley Smith presided, and read a letter from Mr. Valentine Fleming, M.P., emphasising his opposition to the granting of Woman Suffrage.

Hampton and District.—A very successful open-air meeting was held in Red Lion-square, Hampton, on June 15th, F. G. Kemble, Esq., taking the chair. The assemblage, which included a large number of women, listened with much interest to an address by Mr. H. B. Samuels, who spoke for nearly two hours. Questions were asked for, but none were forthcoming, and the audience expressed their appreciation of the arguments against the vote. All the literature which Mr. Samuels had brought with him was bought up at the conclusion of the meeting.

Haslemere.—On Friday, July 14th, an interesting meeting was held at Haslemere, in the garden at Uplands, kindly lent by Mrs. Thomas. Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun was the speaker, introduced by Miss Harrison, of Coombe Cottage. Among others taking part in the meeting were Mrs. Beveridge, Mr. Molyneux, Mrs. Lucey, and Mrs. Stables. Only one Suffragist was present of the many to whom invitations had been sent.

Malvern.—An open-air meeting was held in the grounds of Southbank, Abbey-road, the residence of Mr. and Mrs. Hollins, on June 26th. Mr. A. Gibbs and Mr. G. L. Borrodaile both spoke very well.

Manchester.—As a result of recent meetings held by this Branch, several new members have joined our League in this district, and from them we have had most valuable help. There are encouraging signs that the opposition to the Conciliation Bill is becoming more crystallised in this district. We have had promises of help in various schemes which we are initiating, in order to make our opposition more effective. Until these schemes are in working order, however, we do not feel that it would be wise to discuss them. We have received several requests for speakers to address meetings for next winter—in spite of the Suffragist boast, "we shall get the Bill next session!"—and we have already booked some dates. The Secretary addressed an evening open-air meeting at Queen's Park on July 24th. Miss Cordelia Moir has been appointed Organising Secretary for the Manchester Branch.

Open-Air Meetings.—A number of our speakers have held open-air meetings and made speeches in West Ham during the election, and success attended their campaign, for large crowds were always attracted and attentive hearings obtained. On July 5th Mr. A. Maconachie and Mr. G. L. Borrodaile addressed a large evening meeting in Earham Grove, Forest Gate; on July 6th Mr. Borrodaile spoke to a crowd of some 800 in Sylvan-road. On the night before the poll an open-air meeting was held in Windsor-road, when Mrs. Harold Norris, Mr. A. Maconachie, and Mr. Borrodaile spoke. Open-air meetings in the parks, addressed by Mr. Borrodaile, have been very interesting. On July 8th Messrs. Samuels, Gibbs, and Borrodaile gathered an attentive crowd; and on July 9th Mr. Samuels debated with Miss A. Hicks, of the W.S.P.U., in Battersea Park. A motion in favour of the Conciliation Bill was defeated by a large majority as a result of the debate.

On July 15th, a very large meeting held in Hyde Park, was addressed by Mr. Samuels and Mr. Gibbs.
On July 16th, on Streatham Common, Mr. Borrodaile spoke to a meeting of quite 1,500 people, swelled by the audience which had been listening to the W.S.P.U. meeting. The resolution against Woman Suffrage was carried by an overwhelming majority.

Paddington.—By the kind invitation of Mrs. Hogarth, a very well-attended debate took place at 41, Gloucester Gardens, on Thursday, July 13th. Mr. Wenyon Samuel took the chair, and Miss Gladys Pott proposed the following resolution, "That the granting of the Parliamentary Franchise to women would be unwise in the best interests of the Empire," and used, as her argument, that it was not sufficient for the Suffragists to say that things were wrong; the point was, would the woman's vote put them right? The Anti-Suffragist's position was this:—

- (1) Would the suggested alteration work for the good of the Empire?
- (2) What should be the chief characteristic of a voter? To be imperially-minded, *i.e.*, to be able to look at all questions from the point of view of the community, and not from the point of view of the individual or class.
- (3) The interests of the individual and of the community continually clash, and then the individual must go to the wall, and not the community.
- (4) The chief and best characteristics of women: attention to duty, absorption in one subject, deep devotion, etc., the result of the sex and mothering instinct, all tend to give them more of an individualistic view, and not an imperial; therefore, women would not make good voters.

Miss Pott pointed out that the vote was not right and should be given to those who would use it for the good of the community, and not for their own good only; the Suffragists talk only of women's special questions, and show entire apathy about the Imperial questions. Sir George Kemp's Bill penalised the Married Women of Property, and was, therefore, a contradiction of the basis of the movement which led to the Married Women's Property Acts. Stinted franchises cannot last—no one will be satisfied with Sir George Kemp's Bill.

In the matter of *wages*—there was no proof that the vote directly affected wages. Men's wages did not go up in consequence of the vote.

The difficulty with regard to all labour problems was not to get legislation passed, but to find out what legislation would help the labourers.

Mrs. Cook opposed the resolution, and when the vote was put to the meeting, thirty-nine were for the resolution, and eleven against.

There were sixty-eight people in the room, but some had to leave before the end of the debate.
Miss Gladys Pott's excellent speech was much applauded. Mrs. Cook very kindly came at the last moment, as Dr. Flora Murray was unavoidably prevented keeping her engagement.

Pinner (Middlesex).—An enthusiastic meeting was held on July 17th, by kind permission of Mrs. Parkhouse. The address was given by Mrs. Gladstone Solomon, and at the end of the meeting nearly all those present joined the new branch of the League. The Hon. Sec. and Hon. Treas. of the Pinner branch of the W.S.P.U. were present, and an interesting discussion followed the address. The resolution against Woman Suffrage was passed, and has been forwarded to Mr. Mallaby Deeley, the member for Pinner. The new branch started its life most auspiciously. Mrs. Gardner Williams and Miss K. Parkhouse are acting as joint Hon. Secs.

Tonbridge.—On July 6th, Mrs. Gladstone Solomon addressed the workpeople at the Dowgate printing works, Tonbridge, on the "Conciliation Bill." The meeting was held as the people left the works in the afternoon, and they were much interested, asking the speaker to come in their dinner-hour the next day, when they again gave an attentive hearing. There was an insistent supporter of Woman Suffrage present, whose remark, "You see, Miss, I must support Woman Suffrage because I'm a Socialist and want Adult Suffrage," added strength to our speaker's argument. At the end of the second meeting nearly a hundred of the Protest Post-Cards were taken away for filling in. It was significant that not one in the crowd of women at this meeting raised a voice in favour of the vote. On July 10th Mrs. Solomon also addressed some of the workmen of the "Whitefriars Press," Tonbridge. It seemed quite a new idea to the men that women might look upon the vote and its responsibilities as a burden, and not a privilege. Our thanks are due to Mr. Minton, the manager, who has kindly undertaken the distribution of 300 protest post-cards to the men, and has also given Mrs. Solomon permission to hold a similar meeting again.

LIST OF LEAFLETS.

2. Woman's Suffrage and After. Price 3s. per 1,000.
3. Mrs. Humphry Ward's Speech. 4d. each.
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Hon. Secretary: Austin Harries, Esq., Glantaf Taff Embankment, Cardiff.
Assistant Hon. Secretary: Miss Eveline Hughes, 68, Richards Terrace.

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President: Mrs. Cornwallis West.