

THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW.

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THE NATIONAL LEAGUE FOR OPPOSING WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

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PROMINENT ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS. THE RIGHT HON. JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN, M.P.



J. Chamberlain

We are able this month not only to number Mr. Joseph Chamberlain among the prominent Anti-Suffragists whose portraits have appeared on this page, but to publish a letter from him, welcoming the work of our League, and stating that he is "wholly opposed to Women's Suffrage," a pronouncement which from a statesman of such great and practical experience cannot fail to carry great weight.

Of Mr. Chamberlain's career it is not necessary to write. He has for many years been the best-known of our public men, and, if we may coin a phrase, the best-followed. No other man in recent history has been as able as he to back a line of policy with a force of personality. His entry into politics was comparatively late. He was forty when, in 1876, he was first returned as one of the members for Birmingham. He came into Parliament with the reputation of having given to civic life in Birmingham a vigour, a distinction, and an organised strength such as no other town in the country could equal; and it was natural that his first offices in a Ministry should be the

Board of Trade and the Local Government Board.

But a time was to come when politicians discovered that the man who had always had the reputation of a great man of business was paradoxically a greater dreamer than any of them. From the day in 1895 when he took the Colonial Office in Lord Salisbury's Government, may be dated an entire revolution in the official attitude towards the Colonies. Mr. Chamberlain first began to treat them as nations, and to conceive schemes of Imperial Councils which, if they are still unaccomplished, are alive in thousands of minds to-day.

No man is more likely than Mr. Chamberlain to be able to see the legitimate and the illegitimate spheres of women's votes. A man, too, who for a period of eight years, which included a prolonged tour and the inclusion of new territories in British dominions, controlled our internal affairs as an Empire, is likely to be under no delusions as to women's votes in Imperial politics. We rejoice to have Mr. Chamberlain's support and encouragement.

WHAT IS A MAJORITY?

Just as we were going to press last month a meeting took place which was of the greatest importance in connection with the Conciliation Bill. The group of Liberal members in favour of Woman Suffrage met at the House of Commons, and the statement made after the meeting was that "marked differences of opinion were manifested." Supporters of the Conciliation Bill were, of course, present in such a group; but a resolution was proposed in favour of introducing a democratic measure next Session, and balloting for it. In the event of failure in the ballot the resolution proposed that an attempt should be made to introduce democratic amendments in any limited Bill. The meeting broke up without coming to any decision on the resolution, but not before Mr. Lloyd George had spoken and declared himself in favour of a measure more democratic than the Conciliation Bill, and had urged that if the latter secured the best place in the ballot, its scope should be widened. For this action Mr. Lloyd George has again fallen horribly under the ban of Suffragists, who cry out upon his "treachery" once more.

Now, this meeting of Liberal members, much as it has angered Suffragists up and down the country, was no surprise to any who have followed Suffragist opinion in the House. The important point about it is that it justifies us in demanding to know what the Suffragists call a majority for their Conciliation Bill. They bandy the word readily enough in connection with all other proposals. Members are being urged not to propose any amendment widening the Conciliation Bill, because there would be "no majority" for such proposals. Members in favour of Adult Suffrage are adjured to hold their hands, because they have "no majority." What, we should like to ask, is the true majority for the limited Bill? We have maintained all along that the majority for Sir George Kemp's Bill last May was not much more real than the old majorities which used to pass perfectly academic second readings of Suffrage Bills, by

votes given in secure assurance that the matter would go no further. The meeting of the Liberal group confirms us in this opinion. It is impossible to say exactly how many of the 170 Liberals who voted for the Bill are really in favour of it, but it is to be noted that Mr. Philip Snowden goes no further than to say that "a good number" are opposed to Adult Suffrage. Let us give him 100, which is a very good number out of 170. That leaves 70 Liberals out of the majority who do not like the Bill. Then it is known that the Labour members do not like it. Mr. Snowden and others may persuade them to pretend that they do, but the public knows better. That removes 31 others from the majority. Of the Nationalists only one or two are Conciliation Bill men, and of the 31 of that party who voted for the Bill, probably 25 are not genuinely for it. We have thus 126 votes which in honesty should be turned over; and where is the Conciliation Bill's majority then? We have taken no account of the 78 Unionist votes for the Bill, but they were given for a Bill capable of amendment, and we doubt very much if they would be solid for the Bill as it stands.

Out of the Suffragists' own mouths we judge them. This, that, and the other widening proposal is to be put aside as not commanding a majority. Does their own honestly command one? If not, by what right do they look for special facilities for their Bill? Since the statement by Mr. Lloyd George in the House of Commons on Wednesday, August 16th, about the Conciliation Bill, the outcry of disappointed and apparently surprised Suffragists against him has risen to a note of fury which, in all his career of unrequited affection for the Suffragists' cause, he has not previously experienced. We reproduce elsewhere for reference the statement which Mr. Lloyd George made as well as the letters which Mr. Asquith wrote to Lord Lytton on the subject of "facilities." Our readers will probably agree with us that Mr. Lloyd George was within his rights in holding that the promise of facilities was meant to refer to any

Bill which satisfied the conditions of being open to full discussion and amendment. For it seems to us that Mr. Asquith's earlier letter to Lord Lytton is not very precisely worded and might or might not be taken to mean that Mr. Asquith promised facilities for the Conciliation Bill alone. Only a fatal prepossession could exclude the possibility that Mr. Asquith intended his words to refer to any Woman Suffrage Bill. What happened, we believe, was this. When Mr. Asquith wrote to Lord Lytton the Conciliation Bill held the field (as it still does and will continue to do till it is replaced by a wider Bill), and Mr. Asquith wrote as though in all human probability the facilities he offered could not be applied to any other Bill. But that he did not at first shut out the possibility of another Bill enjoying facilities is suggested by his concluding words in which he confirmed the promise he made before the last general election. When that promise was made Sir George Kemp's Bill (the revised form of the original Conciliation Bill) was not in existence.

"Votes for Women"—the last number we have seen before going to press—has provisionally declared war again on the Government on the strength of Mr. Lloyd George's statement. But, of course, that statement has been superseded by Mr. Asquith's letter of August 26th, which we print elsewhere. This last letter is not perfectly precise in language either, though it may be taken as giving the supporters of the Conciliation Bill the assurances they require. If not, the prospect before us is described as follows by "Votes for Women":—

"There can be no continuance of the present truce from militancy if such are the conditions under which the Government expect us to work. The Women's Social and Political Union would not for one moment have refrained from militancy if the latest statement on behalf of the Government had been made in the first instance. Again we say that we hope for some authoritative statement which will dispel the impression created by Mr. Lloyd George's reply. Unless it should prove that the bad news just to hand is false news we must inevitably revert to a state of war."

If the friends of the Conciliation Bill are appeased—as, on the whole, we imagine they will be—by Mr. Asquith's

latest words, it will be the turn of the Suffragists who are planning an alternative Suffrage Bill to have a grievance. Very likely the so-called majority for the Conciliation Bill will be exposed as a delusion even before the Bill is reintroduced in the House of Commons.

NOTES AND NEWS.

WE greatly regret to record the death, on Friday, August 18th, of Lord James of Hereford who was vice-President of our Epsom Branch, a vice-President of our League, and a most generous supporter of our cause. Henry James, having made his way at the Bar, entered Parliament as a Liberal in 1869. His great speech in the Galway Election Petition in 1872 is still a cherished tradition in the House of Commons. After that his position as one of the foremost parliamentarians was secure. But before that he had made a great reputation for himself as a sincere and courageous speaker. In 1871 he spoke on Mr. Jacob Bright's "Women's Disabilities Bill." He said:—

"For my part I would wish and would be well content to let the question be discussed on this one simple issue—Do women possess the fitness and capacity to fulfill the duties of the suffrage they claim? Now, I know how difficult it is to define what this fitness and capacity mean. I am well aware that in quickness of apprehension, in other powers too, such as that of acquiring languages, women are equal, perhaps superior, to men. But if you ask me whether they possess an equal political capacity, I reply emphatically that they do not. If I thought that the majority of Englishwomen desired this measure to become law, I should hesitate before I combated their wishes; but I say emphatically they do not. A few restless, clever ladies—My Lady A here and Miss B there—pass from town to town delivering their oft-repeated and well-learned speeches."

It will be seen that James went to the heart of the matter, brushing aside all the smaller issues as they appeared to him. And this was characteristic of him in all his work, and not least in his legal work. He was not an extremely learned lawyer, he had not "a good voice," and he was not an orator; but for clearness of reasoning, for power of penetration to the essential point (as, for instance, in the Parnell Commission) his method was consummate. His supreme honesty was most vividly proved when he conscientiously differed from Gladstone on Home Rule, and left the Liberal Party, though he would unquestionably have been made Lord

Chancellor. He was raised to the peerage in 1895. From 1895-1900 he was Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. Latterly, he did most useful work as an arbitrator—a task in which his freedom from all prejudice was invaluable. We cannot do better than commend to those who are open to reason on the question of Woman Suffrage the warnings of this moderate, clear, and cautious thinker.

WE are interested to notice the effect of our canvass of women municipal electors on an impartial observer who writes his opinions in a Cheltenham newspaper. We understand that he is unknown to our Cheltenham Branch. Describing the incidents of the recent meeting at Cheltenham, he tells how he bought a copy of THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW, and was immediately supplied with a Suffragist tract as an "antidote to this poison." He discusses the character of the canvass, and says that "if some of the Suffragists' statements are correct," the canvass has not always been conducted as carefully as it might have been, but that no frank person can deny that the figures furnish evidence of an important kind. He then goes on:—

"In the first place it is absurd to say as the Suffragists do, that this canvass has been undertaken in 'a few selected districts.' The list occupies two pages of the 'Anti-Suffrage Review' and more than 80 districts are enumerated. A large proportion of the districts are, it is true, of the residential type, but there are also included a fair sprinkling of industrial districts, besides cities like Gloucester, Southampton, and Bristol, in which the social elements are as mixed as could be desired for the purpose. The conclusion is that while, of course, a very large proportion of the women who would be affected by the Bill are profoundly indifferent, those who have a definite opinion are three to one against the vote, or nearly so. For the Suffragists to attempt to explain away the significance of this canvass on the ground that here and there the paid canvassers were negligent in their duty, is simply idle."

We fancy that any one who takes the trouble to study our figures will be compelled to admit that the Suffragists' argument that they are worthless is quite disingenuous. The Suffragists' only logical position is based on the belief that it is right to give the vote to a large number of women because a few demand it. They know that that would not look well as a plea, and so all but a small band of candid persons try to disguise the facts by denying them, and refusing to put them to the test when they are invited to do so.

It is a pleasure to acknowledge a generous tribute in the "Common Cause," for August 3rd, to the value of the letter on the Insurance Bill which some members of our League sent to the Prime Minister. The "Common Cause" says:—

"The Anti-Suffragists have sent an admirable memorial to the Prime Minister protesting against the treatment of women in the Bill. It will be interesting to note, if really the Bill is pushed through this year, how many of their recommendations will be followed. They say the Bill would 'in effect compel the unmarried to insure the married against the loss of their husbands, upon whom no part of the cost would fall.' This is a witty and trenchant statement which it would be hard to beat. They suggest that annuities would be better than some of the benefits proposed; 'it would be preferable to substitute the insurance which is needed for that which is not needed.' The Anti-Suffragists claim that they are at least as interested in the needs of women as Suffragists are, and we willingly concede this to the signatories of this letter. The pity of it is that they cannot see that lack of direct representation encourages in many women inertia and torpidity, whereas the suffrage propaganda has awakened thousands of women to a patriotic sense of their responsibilities."

The last sentence we have quoted is of course a complete *non sequitur*. The "Common Cause" assumes that the few Suffragists who have written about the Insurance Bill have a "patriotic sense of responsibility," and a great array of newly-awakened consciences behind them, while the members of our League represent "inertia and torpidity." This is a travesty of the truth. We reprint elsewhere the letter to Mr. Asquith.

THE "Common Cause" for August 10th triumphantly summed-up the recent crop of by-elections as having returned in nine new members only one professed Anti-Suffragist, and it asks us to be interested in this fact. We are certainly interested in the fact that only four of the nine promised to support the Conciliation Bill, which is therefore in a minority of one on this batch. But "The Common Cause" mistakes our real interest in the matter. We are less concerned with the personal views of these members than with the fact that not one of them mentioned Woman Suffrage in his election address.

In "The Englishwoman" for August, Mrs. Minturn Scott summarises the results of an inquiry made by Miss Helen Sumner, on behalf of the New

York Equal Suffrage Societies, into the results of Woman Suffrage in Colorado, where it has been in operation for some eighteen years. It appears that improvement in the economic position of women, which has been so steadily dangled as a bait at Suffrage meetings here to catch the woman worker, has certainly not followed the suffrage in Colorado. Mrs. Scott writes:—

"In public positions such as clerks, stenographers, and teachers, they (women) now receive, it is true, equal pay for equal work; but the positions are graded and men still hold most of the highly-paid posts, so that the average wages, even of women teachers, are lower than the average wages of men. In private industry their situation does not seem to have been affected by the Suffrage. . . . It does not appear that the position of women in organised labour is any better in Colorado than in any other State. Few women's unions are organised, and of these the greater number have a short life, and women are, as a rule, not very active members in the mixed unions to which they are eligible."

Mrs. Scott seems to think this a comparatively unimportant matter, but we regard such negative points as being far more significant than the not very impressive positive results in legislation which Miss Sumner's report produces. Two measures certainly are of some moment, one establishing the right of both parents to inherit equally from a child dying intestate, and the other constituting both parents joint guardians of their children, with equal interests. But on such a matter as the employment of children, women's votes in Colorado seem to be supine. The working of children in industrial occupations is still limited only by the compulsory education law, as it was before women had votes. Other measures enumerated in the report, such as the protection of children and animals, pure food laws, juvenile courts, and State labour bureaus, there seems to be no special reason for attributing to the women's vote. Mere men have attended to such matters here. But that women in Colorado should still be bad at organising themselves in labour, and ready to leave the work of mixed unions to men, is a bad blow to the Suffragists who tell us that, if women are not now politically minded, we must give them the vote, because that will make them so.

We have received the following copy of a letter which a Member of Parliament wrote to one of his constituents

who had expressed Anti-Suffrage views in a letter:—

"DEAR SIR,—I was very glad to receive your letter of June 26th, setting forth your views upon the question of Woman's Suffrage, and you will be surprised to learn that it is only the second which I have received from constituents holding your views, whereas I must have received several hundreds from the opposite camp. It so happens that this disproportion does not affect my mind at all, but I wish I could persuade the Anti-Suffrage people that it has a very considerable effect upon the minds of many Members of Parliament who are anxious to please what appears to be the majority of their constituents; and if the Suffrage movement is to be defeated it can only be done by a far more forcible declaration of opinion on the part of Anti-Suffragists than has hitherto been given to the world.—Yours faithfully,
..... M.P."

There is no doubt whatever as to the excellence and urgency of the advice here offered. If ever a Woman Suffrage Bill were passed it would be by default—through the apathy of those who instinctively and radically dislike the idea of Woman Suffrage, but do not take the trouble to counteract the insistent and skilfully organised clamour of a relatively few persons. It would be impossible to have a better illustration of this apathy than the fact that the writer of the letter quoted above received only two protests against Woman Suffrage, as against hundreds of appeals in its favour. Suffragists would no doubt say that this proves that Woman Suffrage is demanded by the majority. But we happen to know that the exact reverse is true. The writer of the letter is member for a division in which our canvass revealed an overwhelming majority against votes for women. It is not much trouble to answer a post-card; but it is apparently too much trouble to petition a member. We beg individual members of our Branches to take this matter seriously to heart.

The Court of Appeal on July 27th nominally put an end to what is known as the "latch-key vote." It decided that "complete control" over rooms does not entitle to a vote unless the voter is separately rated. There are two exceptions, however, which are well known: first, when the landlord compounds for all the rates on a house let out separately in rooms; and secondly, when the house is divided into distinct tenements or flats. The "latch-key vote" has, in fact, been claimed only in houses in which the landlords live themselves, while letting out some of their rooms. Such votes

have been fairly common in Devonport among many workers in the dockyards, and in many places they have been almost unknown. The latch-key voter was first heard of in the case of "Kent v. Fittall" in 1905. It is only since 1907 that he has had a recognised existence. The chief interest of the question for Anti-Suffragists, is whether the decision of the Court of Appeal will have any effect on the figures upon which the Conciliation Bill is based. The "Common Cause" says that the figures on which Suffragists rely were drawn up, with few exceptions, before 1907. The exceptions refer to Bangor, Carnarvon, and Dundee. On the whole, it seems to us that the decision is of little moment one way or the other. Those Suffragists who argue that the Conciliation Bill is a democratic measure, which would enfranchise chiefly working women, may have slightly to modify their argument. The decision, in any case, tells against our opponents, not against us. But revising barristers had lately been disallowing claims to latch-key votes in anticipation of the judgment in the Court of Appeal. Most "latch-key voters," if they take the trouble to do so, will be able to get themselves rated separately. But we imagine that few women, even if the Conciliation Bill passed, would take the trouble to do that.

The "Common Cause," of August 3rd, published an article by Dr. Bussell, Vice-President of Brasenose College, Oxford, on the political justice of the demand for women's votes. It is an extremely academic presentation of the theory, which has been so blandly used as axiomatic by the Suffragists, that taxation gives a right to representation. Dr. Bussell admits no other right to a vote than payment of taxes; and therefore admits no disqualification on any other ground. "Parliaments met," writes Dr. Bussell, going back to the Middle Ages, "that the several orders, peers, clergy, burgesses, might help the King's Government with subsidies. Other classes paid nothing directly to the State," and therefore were not voters. Obviously that basis of qualification was abandoned in the extensions of the franchise last century. An enormous number of voters now pay nothing directly to the State. The payment of direct taxation has ceased to be a qualification for men; and the Suffragists' enthusiasm for the Con-

ciliation Bill shows that it is readily abandoned by women who used to make so much of it. If their estimate that 80 per cent. of the women enfranchised under the Bill would be working women be true, their indignation about Taxation without Representation has been remarkably hollow.

A CORRESPONDENT sends us a copy of a letter which a Mrs. Waterman wrote to the New York "Sun," in answer to a Suffragist's letter. Mrs. Waterman says:—

"Women were undoubtedly laboring under certain disabilities in our grandmothers' days. They still do labour under a few, very few, but what they have got they have had for the asking, and what more they want they can get in the same way. Who passed the married woman's property act? Was it women? Who founded all the juvenile courts? Except in Colorado they were founded by men, but in Colorado the women talk as though the whole thing was their work. Why, my sisters, the very fact that juvenile courts have to exist is a shame to us women and mothers. There ought not to be any waifs and strays if women did their duty. We haven't succeeded one bit better than the men, in many cases not so well, and the wisdom of humility is not ours. I don't want the vote. I protest against having it forced upon me by a lot of irresponsible and theoretical women. I think it is a delusion and a snare."

Mrs. Waterman adds, "I was a Suffragette myself for a good many years. . . . Since then my vision has grown clearer." It would be most interesting if one could find out what percentage of Suffragists abandon their cause after some experience of it, like the writer of this letter, Mrs. Billington Greig, and others less distinguished. We fear the figures would be difficult to arrive at, though we dare say they would be wonderfully instructive. We could hardly expect Suffragists to give us any information on the subject.

DR. LEE DE FOREST, the American inventor of the well-known system of wireless telegraphy, has taken proceedings for divorce against his wife, on the ground of her Suffragist opinions. Preposterous as Dr. Lee de Forest's action is, it is unfortunately hardly more preposterous than many of the excuses for divorce employed by both men and women in the United States. The case has been a useful opportunity, however, for the Women Suffragists to attack the other sex. The New York correspondent of the "Daily Express" sends the following extracts from a statement, made by Mrs. Woolsey, a

leading Suffragist, and author of a book called "Republics versus Women":—

"Dr. de Forest is the first man to cry out against a condition which is rapidly changing man's position in the world. Suffrage is only one of the powerful agencies which are hurrying in the advent of the superwoman. With a complete civilisation, such as women are now forcing upon us, man will be as helpless and as much out of place in it as women have been in the coarse, brutal conditions which have suited his ideas and nature. Men will have difficulty in existing in the rarefied atmosphere of this new refinement. Women will rise like a rocket, and man will find the magic of his age-long spell has been dissipated for ever. Our women are not only growing larger physically, but in every field of mental activity they are catching up with the men. Woman is rapidly coming into her rights, and I firmly believe woman will eventually rule the world, and I believe also that it will be a much pleasanter world to live in. Man is rapidly eliminating himself. It is Nature's law—the survival of the fittest. Women are the species; men are only incidents."

SUFFRAGIST LOGIC.

(Vide the Suffragist Press *passim*.)

The Suffragist Bill for which Mr. Asquith promised facilities is a Bill "so framed as to be open to amendment."

The Conciliation Bill is open to amendment.

Therefore every Suffragist who tries to amend it is a traitor to the cause, and, if the truth were known, probably an Anti-Suffragist in disguise.

RECENT ARTICLES AND BOOKS.

In addition to the books, articles, and letters in the current magazines and journals which we have mentioned elsewhere, our readers will no doubt be interested in the following:—A short story in the July "National Review," "A Suffragette's Conversion," by Mrs. Miln; "The Vice of Women's Work," a series of articles by Frances Low in the "Daily Chronicle" of August 1st and the following days; Miss Cicely Hamilton's answer, "Women who want Money" in the "Daily Chronicle" of August 9th; "Does a Man Support his Wife?" leader and controversy in the "Daily News" of July 21st and following days; "Money and Marriage," in the "Financial News" of July 17th; "The Adult Suffrage Bill," an article in the "Worthing Mercury" of July 15th, by E. Crawshay-Williams, M.P.; "Where Women have Failed," by Miss Harrop, in the "Manchester City News" July 15th; "The Insurance Bill under Criticism," by Mrs. Margaret Heitland, in "The Queen," July 29th.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

A LETTER TO OUR LEAGUE.

THE Secretary of our League has received the following letter from Mr. Chamberlain:—

Highbury, Moor Green,
Birmingham,
August 9th, 1911.

DEAR MADAM,—I shall be glad if you will accept my assurance that I welcome the National League for Opposing Women Suffrage. I am wholly opposed to Women's Suffrage, which I think is an entire mistake.—Yours truly,

(Signed) J. CHAMBERLAIN.

Miss L. Terry Lewis,
Secretary of the National League
for Opposing Woman Suffrage.

WOMEN AND THE INSURANCE BILL.

If ever any measure laid before the men and women of this country cried out for a very thorough and dispassionate examination it is the National Insurance Bill, introduced by the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the 4th of May. To begin with, it is something quite new; even in an age of new ideas that fact stands out; it is the outcome of a newly-found social consciousness—a visible, concrete embodiment of the new spirit of a new century—and it is in that spirit that we want to meet it. We were told when it appeared that we were going to leave the old lines the well-worn party rut; that just for once we were not going to approach this measure as Liberals, or Unionists, or Socialists, not as Suffragists, or Anti-Suffragists, or anything else, but that for this one time only we were going to take a Bill on its merits, and on its merits alone.

It is, of course, perfectly true that after saying this and after all uniting to bless the Bill in principle, we are now equally unanimous in dissecting it in detail; but, on the face of it, a big undigested scheme of this sort was as much bound to merit criticism as to need co-operation, and its author has frankly invited both. But when that scheme is going to touch, one way or other, directly or indirectly, the lives and homes of the majority of men and women of this country it is not too much to ask that the criticism should be fair

and helpful and the co-operation cordial, and that is just where we join issue with the Suffragists. From the very first they have adopted a "parti pris" with regard to this Bill; they are doing splendid service in many cases in exposing its bad points, but why ignore its good ones for the sake of dragging in the inevitable King Charles's head? They are doing no good to the sifting process, so absolutely essential to sound legislation by this wholesale denunciation, or by the assertion so constantly made that women are refused political justice because they have no political rights.

Now we are not concerned to make out a case for the Bill, or any part of it; we hold no brief, either one way or another; but as women, we are keenly anxious to know how it is going to affect us and our fellow-women, and whether there is any truth in the statement that we have fared worse than the men because we have no vote. One thing we must notice here, and it is a thing that will be noticed in the future when the history of this measure comes to be written; it is the amount of time and attention that have been devoted to women. Take any average debate on the Bill and notice the number of questions that are asked and amendments moved in connection with women, their needs, and their interests. From every quarter of the House those questions rattle, from men differing in class and creed, and of every shade of political thought; Suffragist and Anti-Suffragist, alike, they have all been fighting our cause through these long, hot nights of debate. We have no vote; we cannot in honour say that we have no representatives.

But to return to the vote. Recently a letter appeared in some of the newspapers over the signature of names that must everywhere command respectful attention and ensure the letter a wide audience; it is on that account that we should like to offer a few suggestions in connection with it. The letter states that should the National Insurance Bill become law in its present shape it will prove a conclusive answer to the contention of us Anti-Suffragists that the real grievances of women cannot be remedied by the vote. Various specific cases of injustice are cited of which the alleged cause is the unenfranchised condition of women. Very well. We are first given the hard case of the domestic servant who marries after pay-

ing compulsory premiums for years, from which she may have derived scarcely any benefit. Unless she works for wages after her marriage, she is not permitted to continue her insurance, and if she predeceases her husband, all her contributions are lost to her. We have no hesitation in saying now what we have been urging all along, that these arrangements are in most ways unfortunate and in many ways conspicuously unjust, but as Anti-Suffragists we are more anxious to alter their effect than to imagine their cause.

The acceptance by the Chancellor of the Exchequer of Mr. Bridgeman's amendment of July 18th has done something towards remedying the grave injustice towards the domestic servant, but still the broad fact remains that she, in common with the governess and the shop assistant, will have to pay heavily for what she does not want, while getting nothing towards what she does. The average servant, when ill, at the present time not only continues to receive board, lodging, and wages from her employer, but, in perhaps the majority of cases gets medical attendance and drugs free of charge. Why, then, compel her, under the Bill, to pay 3d. a week for this when the money is so much more needed for her provision when she is past work? How long the servant who does not marry can remain in service will, and must, vary with varying circumstances; only this one thing is certain, that there must be a terrible gap to be bridged between the time when she leaves off work and the time of her qualifying for an old age pension. Mr. Lloyd George has promised that something shall be done to meet this need; we hope that our friends, both in and out of the House, will see that it is not forgotten. We have been speaking here of the girl who does not marry, and that brings us to a point whose inwardness is not always, perhaps, fully appreciated. Of all the types of young working-class womanhood, the domestic servant is the one probably best fitted, physically, mentally, and morally to be the maker of the English home and the mother of the coming race. Her training is the least valuable part of her; in addition to that, she brings with her a higher standard of comfort and refinement than usually obtains in her class; she brings to her husband and children the finer instincts, the little ways, the nice habits of the more cultured home which she has left. And it is just because of these things that she does not want to leave it. She knows too much to have room for romance; she probably remembers from her own home what a helpless, hopeless sort of drag goes to make up the life of the ordinary working-class wife and mother. And she does not want to face it. From a material point of

view she fully realises that she is much better off where she is, and modern thought does not encourage the love that alone would make the mill at all tolerable. So when love comes to her tentatively in the pleasant spoken shape of the baker's young man, she turns away.

They walk and talk on Sunday afternoon, but they get no further. She remains single—at any rate, till much later in life; it is the factory girl who marries. This is only a tendency, but it will be distinctly increased if the domestic servant realises that, on marriage, she is to lose the premiums accumulated during years of hard service, and that widowhood may find her practically stranded. We are not forgetting, what so many Suffragists seem to ignore, that, for the widow who can go to work and is below the age limit, the provision in the Bill, is on the whole, very good. At her husband's death she can take up her own insurance from where she left it off on the day of her marriage. There are no arrears. If she is ill, she is entitled to claim sickness benefit at once, nor will she be asked to start her contributions again for the first month of her loss. Though middle-aged, she starts again at the rate of a young woman, and if disabled she can draw 5s. a week for the rest of her life simply in virtue of the payments of her girlhood. But it is the widow with young children who is the problem. If she takes care of the children herself and tries to keep the home together by the letting of lodgings or odd jobs of sewing or washing, she can only hope to enter the scheme at all under Clause 5 at the practically prohibitive contribution of 1s. to 1s. 6d. a week. This would be more than she could possibly afford. And the only alternative is the going out charring, with the sick feeling at her heart all day that baby is crying for her, or the wonder if the little seven-year-old mother of the party has remembered to put the guard on the fire. Or, perhaps, out of her scant earnings she has to pay some other woman to "mind the children"—a rather vague performance—not infrequently as inadequate as it is unloving. If only these premiums might be allowed to help even the first year or two of widowhood. We note with satisfaction that there has recently been a promise of extension to widows who, before marriage were "employed" under the meaning of the Bill, but what about those who were not? What of the girls who have done unpaid work before marriage and helped their parents in the shop or on the farm? Their need when widowed does not differ from those who have had a different occupation, and should not, in common justice, receive different treatment.

And now another point. We have been reminded that the domestic servant who

marries and predeceases her husband loses all her previous contributions, and we are asked to compare this with the treatment accorded to the man of over sixty who is entitled to receive repayment of the amount by which his contributions have exceeded the unemployed benefit received by him. We do not discuss here the merits of this particular arrangement; what we do say is that it cannot be necessarily taken as a piece of sex discrimination that the same treatment is not given to two entirely different things. The woman has subscribed for a medical and sickness benefit, and neither to men or women are the contributions for such benefits returned; the unemployment scheme is purely tentative and confined to certain trades; should it, on its extension, prove to discriminate unfairly between men and women, we Anti-Suffragists will not be slow in taking up the cudgels on behalf of our sex. But to return to the domestic servant and her loss of premiums, about which we have two things to notice.

First, the loss of the individual woman is the gain of her sex, and goes to swell their benefits. The key of the whole position as regards men and women is that their funds are kept strictly apart; the Women's Fund alone receives the women's contributions.

So far, so good, but we come to our second point. The lost contribution in question represented the earnings of a woman before her marriage, and should be devoted to the help of unmarried women. That is just precisely what it is not doing. The great strain upon the Women's Fund will be the re-entry in later life of widows whose insurance has lapsed during years of marriage, and all this will have to be borne by the unmarried women.

Now, our contention is that the unmarried women are their own concern, but that the widows should be the concern of the men, and we feel sure that the men will see it in that light.

We notice that the Bill draws a sharp distinction between the woman and the wife. Unless the married woman can do the difficult and often undesirable thing of qualifying as a separate wage-earner, she is shut out from all individual insurance benefits. Actuarially she is merged in her husband. But why, then, should she be thrown back on the other women as an expensive widow? And we must remember that we are hoping that the number of widows eligible for re-entry will be largely increased, and that will mean a proportionate increase of expense.

After all, the woman has given the best years of her life, her health, her strength, her chance of proficiency in a trade—she has given all this to the task of building up the world which she and the man have undertaken together. It is not too much to ask, then, that if the husband can make

no provision for her (and it is very difficult to see how he can), that the women's funds should receive some compensation for her re-entry on the lines of the friendly societies and the old lives under Clause 40.

Lastly, to come to the married woman. It is on the face of it most unsatisfactory that the wife who goes off to the factory should receive benefits from which the wife who stays at home to mind the house should be shut out. We should all like to see something done for the ordinary working-class wife and mother. There is, perhaps, no member of the community who deserves more or gets less. But we are talking of an Insurance Bill, not a Sunday School prize. The experience of the friendly societies warns us that with non-wage-earning married women it is almost impossible to check malingering. There is not, of course, that useful safeguard of the benefit being two-thirds of the wages which we are so glad to see that Mr. Lloyd George has had the courage to maintain. We frankly confess that to accuse them of malingering, seems rather a libel on our hard-working mothers, and we were glad to see one medical man in the House of Commons standing up to champion them in that respect. Still, almost without exception, the doctors are against any proposal of this sort, and as they have already been strained nearly to breaking point, it would be suicidal to press them further; but it is a case for real sympathy, and we shall all live in hopes that something may emerge in the future. We shall probably be told that if women had the vote, they would evolve something in the present. But are the women the only members of the community whom the Bill has provided with a grievance? We should have said that the line of discontent scored by this much-debated measure is strictly diagonal. It appears to cut through sex and party with an impartiality that is almost sublime.

We spoke just now of the doctors; they appear equipped with a pretty considerable grievance, and yet they are a formidable body of voters, and their profession is well represented in the House. And what about the landlord and Clause 51? The man who has invested his small savings in a little bit of house property, who, perhaps in virtue of that very property, has qualified for the vote, will suffer equally with the voteless woman at his side. But supposing the Franchise Bill of last May were now law—supposing that women were now entitled to vote, how is that going to help the grievances and problems which we have been discussing? We have been dealing with the wrongs of domestic servants and

married women, and there would hardly have been a vote amongst them.

E. M. MOORE.

THE LAW AND SEX PRIVILEGE.

ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS often point out that Nature has made women a privileged sex, both when they riot in the streets and when they are arraigned in the law-courts, and that, consequently, they cannot justly claim a share in making laws which they cannot be properly punished for disobeying. The only answer of the Suffragists is to pooh-pooh and ignore. Of course, we can only supply them with facts and arguments; we cannot supply them with penetration or fair-mindedness. But here is another instance, which would give ordinary people food for reflection.

On Sunday evening, August 6th, a Miss Moloney and the Countess Markevitz reported themselves at a Socialist meeting in Beresford Place, Dublin, and were subsequently charged in the Northern Police-court, before Mr. MacLerney, K.C., Miss Moloney with having used language which might have led to a breach of the peace, and which was disrespectful to the King, and the Countess with having assaulted a policeman. The magistrate held the charge to be proved. What Miss Moloney had said was that "the King was not only a descendant of a scoundrel, but was himself one of the worst scoundrels in Europe." What the Countess had done was to kick one policeman in the chest from the platform and to throw gravel in the face of another.

In pronouncing judgment, this is what Mr. MacLerney said, as reported in the "Times" of August 14th:—"While in the ordinary course he should feel bound to impose the sentence which the defendant (Miss Moloney) wanted, he refrained from doing so *in consideration of her sex*, and of her disclaimer of any intention to refer to the King personally! But his chief reason was that he was unwilling to add a painful element to the pleasant recollections and affectionate remembrances associated with the King's visit to Dublin. Therefore, though he found the charge proved, he did not impose any punishment. The two charges against the Countess Markievicz he also held to have been proved, but, as the assaults were trifling, and as *the defendant was a woman*, he would not impose punishment on this occasion. He dismissed a charge of assault brought by the Countess against a policeman."

J. MASSIE.

A CANVASS OF WOMEN MUNICIPAL ELECTORS IN 93 DISTRICTS.

Electorate. Anti. Pro. Neutral. No Reply.
125,384 44,242 19,545 8,695 (Include deceased, removed and ill.)
51,180

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

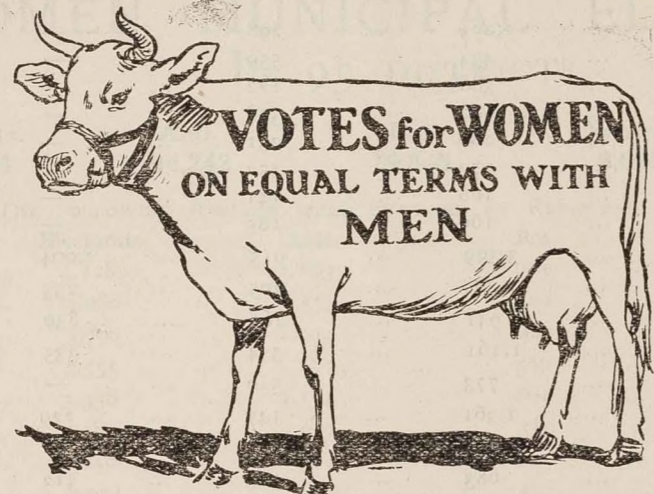
District.	Electorate.	Anti.	Pro.	Neutral.	No Reply.
S. Kensington ...	4,728	1,183	671	33	2,841
Croydon ...	4,080	1,575	606	30	1,869
N. Paddington ...	3,700	1,090	407	98	2,105
Chelsea ...	3,355	617	566	36	2,136
Birkenhead ...	3,338	1,154	861	—	1,323
Bournemouth ...	3,281	977	589	—	1,715
Hastings ...	2,610	921	425	20	1,244
N. Hackney ...	2,044	962	453	9	620
East Berks ...	2,355	603	264	415	1,073
Mayfair ...	2217	1,118	447	13	639
East Toxteth (Liver- pool Division)	2,188	316	239	—	1,633
N. Kensington ...	2,160	472	211	2	1,475
Oxford ...	2,145	571	353	22	1,199
Brixton ...	1,826	741	267	8	810
Ealing ...	1,749	461	229	35	1,024
Birmingham Central Division ...	1,739	359	230	228	922
Torquay ...	1,640	467	210	13	950
North Hants ...	1,496	426	417	25	628
Mid Bucks ...	1,389	248	222	47	872
N.-W. Manchester	1,374	246	198	—	930
Gloucester ...	1,221	413	185	2	621
Richmond ...	1,098	413	98	150	437
Chiswick ...	1,078	240	141	18	679
Watford ...	934	302	178	7	447
Reigate ...	906	338	199	23	346
Hereford (part personal)	792	279	143	40	330
St. Andrews ...	598	142	96	47	313
St. George's-in-the-East	457	123	81	2	251
Boxmoor and Hemel Hempsted ...	450	131	35	3	281
Shottermill Centre and Haslemere Group	336	145	74	58	59
Hampton ...	277	92	39	14	132
Berkhamstead ...	265	88	36	1	140
Tonbridge ...	189	66	33	—	90
Kew ...	155	96	21	23	15
Aldeburgh ...	114	36	18	—	60
Total	58,284	17,411	9,242	1,422	30,209

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

District.	Electorate.	Anti.	Pro.	Neutral	No Reply.
Nottingham ...	8,398	2,300	1,536	884	3,678
Liverpool (8 Divisions)—					
Walton ...	2,609	1,053	298	—	1,258
West Derby ...	1,844	434	559	—	851
Kirkdale ...	1,541	386	122	—	1,033
*West Toxteth ...	1,138	180	338	—	620
*Abercromby ...	1,090	260	231	—	599
*Everton ...	1,018	173	352	—	493
*Exchange ...	728	168	141	—	419
*Scotland ...	716	160	185	—	371
Bristol ...	7,615	3,399	915	2,004	1,297
Hampstead ...	3,084	1,288	495	233	1,158
Fulham ...	2,971	941	265	830	935
S. Paddington ...	2,500	1,161	334	335	670
York ...	2,297	773	516	—	1,008
Southampton ...	2,243	1,361	147	229	506
Bath ...	2,153	1,026	230	21	876
Scarborough ...	2,116	683	513	412	508
Cambridge ...	2,098	1,168	570	271	89
Westminster ...	1,979	1,036	221	136	586
Mid-Surrey (13 districts)	1,819	869	151	419	380
Reading ...	1,700	1,133	166	31	370
S.-W. Manchester	1,473	441	416	122	494
South Berks ...	1,368	655	217	289	207
North Berks ...	1,291	1,085	75	63	68
Newport (Mon.) ...	1,291	844	113	76	258
Central Finsbury	1,216	535	128	257	296
Isle of Thanet ...	1,082	231	180	314	357
Weston-super-Mare	935	380	235	69	251
Camelshie ...	855	457	110	84	204
Guildford ...	776	428	67	72	209
Whitechapel ...	758	293	110	34	321
Penrith ...	508	251	126	—	131
Keswick ...	495	196	87	—	122
Camberley & Frimley	271	119	38	21	93
Sandown & Lake, I. of W.	270	162	49	8	51
Wigton ...	224	203	13	2	6
Woodbridge ...	212	118	11	29	54
Ashbourne ...	153	107	5	2	39
Crowborough ...	147	100	17	—	30
Cockermouth ...	143	74	49	1	19
Hawkhurst ...	95	70	11	—	14
Cranbrook ...	88	52	7	—	29
Midhurst (part reply postcards) ...	73	27	15	20	11
Melton ...	42	38	1	3	—
Rogate ...	18	13	1	2	2
Total	67,100	26,831	10,303	7,273	20,971

* These five divisions were canvassed after the correspondence between Miss Rathbone and Col. Chaloner, published in our last issue, and the cards bore the simple statements, "I do not want a vote" and "I do want a vote," and the signatory was asked to put a cross to one or other and return the card signed.

The **COW** for which the **SUFFRAGE LEADERS** collected £0,000.



The **PROMISED PROFITS** which drew the **SUBSCRIPTIONS**

MILK MORE WAGES	CREAM MARRIAGE REFORM	BUTTER WAGES FOR WIVES	CHEESE CARE OF CHILDREN	JUNKET HONEST GOVERNMENT	EGGS
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NOTE -
(THESE DO NOT COME FROM COWS BUT THEY WERE PROMISED, SO MUST BE INCLUDED)

The **"COW"** NOW OFFERED BY **SUFFRAGE LEADERS**

This **SPACE** is reserved for the **PROFITS**

The **PROFITS** are reserved for a space



CHORUS OF SUFFRAGISTS.

We know he is only a little **BULL**,
A Bull of low degree,
He's merely a male—and can't give milk
Or cream to you and me.

But see how politely he smiles and roars,
He's perfectly ladylike **NOW**,
And only wants feeding on "**WOSPOLU**"
grass,

To make him turn into a **COW**.

WIVES OF BRITAIN
and other excluded
SUFFRAGE SUBSCRIBERS.

Fill in the **Coupon** opposite and
return it to your favourite **SUFFRAGIST**
LEADER.

COUPON.

"BULL for COW" SWINDLE.

When I subscribed £..... s..... d..... towards a **COW** I was relying on your promise that I should get some of the undermentioned produce. A **BULL** is therefore useless to me, so please

* **MILK,**
CREAM,
BUTTER,
CHEESE,
JUNKET,
EGGS.

RETURN MY SUBSCRIPTION.

(Name).....
Address.....

* Cross out the articles you were not expecting.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN FINLAND.

(By a Finn.)

In Finland we have had adult suffrage since 1906. Then there was a sudden reaction against the lawless régime of a kind of narrow-minded Panslavism. The conditions in Russia itself at that time favoured a return to the constitutional rights granted to Finland by former great Russian emperors.

This far-reaching change in Finnish affairs and politics came so quickly that the new situation was difficult to grasp, and people were not quite prepared to grapple with the new problems proposed. Till then we had had the old-fashioned Diets, consisting of four classes. Now, instead of that we have a one-chamber Diet and adult suffrage—every man and woman, married or unmarried, past twenty-seven years of age, having one vote.

A revolutionary reform like this must inevitably be too radical and too risky an experiment. One result, among others, has been the very low average intelligence of our present Diets. The ignorant voters make up the large majority, and too many comparatively unintelligent M.P.'s are therefore elected. This is a general observation applying to both men and women in our Diet.

But what about our experiences with regard to the women M.P.'s? Of course, opinions differ here widely. There are many good people who are quite satisfied, and think that our present system is excellent, and that we might point to ourselves as good examples to be followed by other greater nations who are less up to date than we are. On the other hand, it has been said that it is too early yet to form any definite opinion about the working of woman suffrage in our land. The well-known senator, L. Mechelin, expressed himself somewhat in this way to an interviewer a couple of years ago. It may not be unwarrantable to draw a conclusion from his answer, viz., that the reform of granting suffrage to women, has been, as yet, unnecessary, not to say more. If some reform was urgently needed, the good effects of the same would have been felt at once, and noticed, at least by those who favoured it, if not by their opponents.

Also, here in Finland, there is a considerable majority of women, and some misgivings were perhaps felt lest the women M.P.'s should be too many. But that has scarcely been the case. The reason is, it seems to me, that the people's common sense and sound instinct are, after all, stronger than the combination of Suffragist theories and dogmas. We have had already five elections; of the 200 members there were in the first Diet nineteen women; once the number went up to twenty-seven or twenty-five, but in the present Diet the number of women M.P.'s is only sixteen. There seemed to be in the beginning a promise of a steady increase, but their number went down again. The difference between twenty-seven and sixteen is quite remarkable.

The last election took place on the first and second of January this year.

One cause, among others, for this decrease in the number of women M.P.'s is probably the very serious crisis we are going through just now, as the Russian reaction is again trying to blot out the liberties our little nation has been enjoying till now. The natural instinct has evidently excluded the weaker element and committed the fighting more to the men. In times like this the dogma of full political equality between the sexes must quietly be put aside, a thing which may sound unpleasant enough in Suffragist ears. It may not be unreasonable to ask whether it can be regarded as wise to give rights and responsibilities to an element which is seen at its best when things in politics are going on smoothly?

I may also point out that our women themselves—including those of the extremist Suffragist type—admit that they still are unripe to deal with most of the larger questions which have to be handled in the Diet. But they comfort themselves with the prospect of becoming qualified some day. This is a somewhat upside-down view of a serious matter. Surely—if I'm not altogether mistaken—people used to qualify for a place first, and then get it when duly qualified. But here some abstract notion of "human rights" has determined the granting of votes and seats in the Diet, the qualifications for this scarcely being asked for. Whether women as a class ever will become politically full-grown is a question by itself. To me it seems to be pretty certain that they never will, because that would prove a thing which no one claims, namely, that women are stronger than men; because political activity would come in addition to that work which they have had hitherto. I am, of course, aware that it used to be argued that to draw a "red line" once every third year or oftener does not necessitate much time and work, so that even the busiest house mother is well able to undertake it. Indeed, if the drawing of that line does not include any serious thinking, any reading and following up of political questions, no listening to speeches and addresses, the argument is quite valid, but not otherwise. And if votes are thus thoughtlessly given, they surely are not of much value, and it is hard to understand why some people are so eagerly demanding them.

Some at least of the women M.P.'s direct their efforts more especially to questions affecting women and children, marriage laws, and such like. Woman's good influence in these matters has never been denied, and was, no doubt more clearly felt while she was without a vote. Woman's good advice has always been considered by sensible men, so that neither votes nor seats in the Parliament are needed for legislation regarding such matters.

But if the programme of at least some of these ladies should become law, conditions would become rather intolerable. Marriage laws may not be perfect here or

in England, but, taking them just as they are, they are no doubt a good deal better, and more suitable to the nature of both men and women than those revolutionary plans the Suffragists are making. Besides, it is almost amusing to notice how unmarried ladies seem to know much more about the grievances of their married sisters than the married ones themselves. The majority of the complainers, and also of our women M.P.'s, are spinsters.

In answer to a common charge, that women are too talkative, and therefore unfit for the Diet, a lady M.P. wrote in a magazine an article showing from the Diet's minutes that the charge does not hold good, and that the women M.P.'s speak a good deal less than the men M.P.'s. That was only what I had expected from experiences on a smaller scale. In such assemblies, and in the presence of men, women shrink from taking any vigorous part in discussions. We do not need any deep thinking to find that this tendency of itself alone is a kind of disqualification for the woman M.P.

The women in our Diet have taken their places in the different parties among the men. There is no special women's party. Their presence or not does not much alter the composition of our Diet. With us, as also in Sweden and England, and probably elsewhere, it has been asked which of the leading parties will gain most from woman suffrage. Conservatives have claimed that the women would mostly strengthen their position, and so have Liberals and Socialists, and therefore men from these different camps have more or less eagerly advocated the granting of votes to women. Who is right? I don't know, but am almost inclined to think that the gain may be greater on the side of Socialism. In our present Diet, with over eighty Socialist members, there are ten women, while only six women are among the remaining members. But this is, of course, not enough to go upon, and it may be more correct to say that no one can tell where any permanent gain will be recorded. Women in politics constitute a too fluctuating element to justify any sure hope of a clear gain to any party. Practically the only difference may be a larger number of votes within the different parties, the proportion between them remaining about the same, whether there be women voters or not.

Of course there are questions where women may vote on the same lines independently of all parties, but even these cases are fewer than many used to think. In the legislation regarding women's work in factories and the necessary restrictions here it is very doubtful whether the Suffragist agitator will get a general support from the working women themselves. On the whole the influence of women in our Diet has been rather insignificant, and probably far from satisfying the hopes of our Suffragists themselves. And because the real benefit of votes for women has been so small, we claim that they should not be granted.

It has been asserted that women would

contribute a good deal of their own views and particular experiences to the general knowledge of the Diet. That may be quite true, though I believe that this contribution amounts to much less than the Suffragists think. But, admitting the thing, I still claim that this gain is *too expensive*, and that it does not by far outweigh the clear loss to the Diet and the nation as a whole. First, the place now occupied by a woman with her special insight is lost to a man with his wider outlook, and—at least in all normal cases—deeper knowledge on general questions. And, secondly, there is, of necessity, an incalculable loss to the woman herself and her sex. In spite of all denials, the participation in active political life, whether as voter or M.P., tends to take away from woman her best adornment, femininity, which is, more or less, displaced, by a kind of unpleasant masculinity, a thing men in general and the majority of women do not appreciate. The thoughts of a good number of women may be the same as those of a certain lady expressed in a private letter, when she wrote regarding one woman candidate for the Diet that she no doubt would be one of our best M.P.'s, but that position would be *bad for herself*. Women, as a class, who think that they have gained immensely by the suffrage, are in reality those who have lost most. Therefore I most heartily wish that the English nation—as now represented by sensible men in the House of Commons—should not, *for the sake of the women themselves*, grant any kind of Parliamentary votes to women.

If some think that women's possession of votes and eligibility for Parliament would enhance mutual feelings of respect between the sexes, I should say that that is a great mistake. The opposite is more true. The women on the whole do not entertain more grateful feelings towards the men because they have got votes, and surely the average man does not appreciate the modern Amazons very much, though some Suffragists try to make us believe so.

In our Diet there has been at least one case where both husband and wife have been M.P.'s. If anything that ought to come pretty near to the Suffragist ideal. How the *children* of that lady liked their mother's sitting in the Diet I don't know, and shall not try to guess. The gentleman in question said that in such cases it is necessary that both belong to the same party. That is only quite natural. But does not such a condition also indicate that the standing of one (if not of both) of these cannot be regarded as independent?

Husband and wife should, indeed, have somewhat the same views, which, no doubt, also, is a general rule. Then, when married women have votes, that will practically mean that their husbands are having two votes instead of one, which, again, may be a very good thing in itself, but scarcely quite fair. Of course there are also cases where opinions differ, but one may ask: Would it be nice to exhibit these differences at elections and in Parliament? Would it not be wiser to use a veil till agreement is won?

I agree with many others in thinking that married women possess more insight, and have larger experiences, than unmarried ones, for which reason they, if any women should, be the first entitled to the vote. But their vote has not sufficient independent value, as I have tried to show, so that the suffrage for them would not at all help the cause of the Suffragists. Votes for married women would probably not be any danger in itself, but would seem to be quite unnecessary. If this is admitted, it follows that the rest of the women should not either be placed under those political burdens which follow the cry of "votes for women."

For us here in Finland it is too late to take warning. What is once given cannot be taken back. It is cruel to tempt women away from their higher duties into political struggles. The majority of women would have been, I believe, more glad not to have been drawn into the political life of the day.

It seems to me that women legislators are a sign of deterioration, and that those good men who have granted "votes for women" have acted far from chivalrously, because the real import of this revolutionary change has been the throwing of 50 per cent. of the responsibility they ought to have borne on to the shoulders of the weaker half of humanity. The underlying principle is somewhat the same as that which guides a barbarian or an Oriental when he lets his wife carry his luggage and, perhaps, a child as well, while he himself is walking a free man, with possibly only a stick in his hand.

I seriously believe that it would be an incalculable calamity to Britain if the House of Commons were to yield to the demands for "votes for women." Once a Bill with limited provisions were passed, there would be a still wilder agitation till adult suffrage were granted, with women in Parliament. Now, the Suffragists, as far as I know, are careful not to speak much about those further demands, but they will come, and then it may be too late to repent, and your noble nation would only have to reap the fruits of that little seed, the first humble Bill giving votes to women.

O. ECKLUND.

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 importance 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. Greatbach. Mary E. Talbot.
Ethel B. Harrison. H. S. Wantage.
Mary A. Ward.

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

THE PIT-BROW WOMEN.

SINCE our last issue the Suffragists have found a new illustration of the injustice and selfishness of men. This is the case of the Pit-brow women, who sent a deputation to London to protest against the proposal that they should be prevented from doing their present work. This work consists chiefly of pushing "tubs" of coal along the lines near the shafts of pits in order that it may be sorted. The work is unquestionably very heavy, though it appears to involve less danger than formerly. The "Pit-brow Lassies" are said by some authorities to be equal to the strain put upon them, and the open-air life is naturally suitable to some

women who would pine in a factory. On the other hand, there is strong and sincere feeling behind those who are in favour of prohibition. They say that this is just the kind of work which women should be prevented from doing in the interests of the next generation. We do not pretend to have first hand knowledge of the facts, though we are in sympathy with the attempt to prevent any such work for women as can be proved to have an influence in the wrong direction on our great national scandal of infant mortality. We are perfectly safe in protesting, however, against the ready opportunism which permits women Suffragists lightly to turn such a difficult question to account as a useful argument for their cause. In "Votes for Women," of August 11th, Miss Sylvia Pankhurst actually writes:—"But the chief reason for objecting to the attempt to prohibit the employment of women upon the pit-brow is that the women themselves, who are fully-developed adult human beings, wish to continue the work, and resent this officious and interested tampering with their liberty."

WAD SOME POWER THE GIFTIE GIE US.

A RECENT number of "Votes for Women" appears with an outside page cartoon of "The Nearing Total Eclipse of the Anti-Suffragists." Details of the idea and the drawing are not altogether happy, perhaps—Lord Cromer's features appearing on a sun about to be darkened by a medallion of the Women's Social and Political Union!—but, details apart, the suffrage party might be wiser to allow a little more life to their opponents. It is proverbially difficult, of course, for any of us to see outside the circles we move in, but really organisers of "Votes for Women" seem to have gone one better than anyone else in the art of burying their heads in the sand. From week to week the paper teems with testimonials from enthusiastic buyers and sellers. Such, it might appear, make up the whole tale of persons influenced by the paper's appearance. If this were so, women of our country must be devoid of humour indeed; for many of the items and articles offered are funny with a funniness hardly surpassed.

"Some Royal Academy Impressions" consists almost entirely of a poem over a Mrs. Maltwood's sculpture and a tirade against Mr. Harold Knight's "Sonnet," because the picture represents woman listening to a man reading his work. "No doubt the picture is technically a fine one," the author allows, but are women *really* sitting at the feet of men, waiting to applaud their poems? Are they not rather making their own poems, using their own god-like gifts of creation in many ways? Not as *mothers* only, but as *makers*, women are coming to their own." Not, judging from this one, as art critics apparently. Yet the *point fixe*, amounting to insanity almost, of this contributor's outlook on life is in no way peculiar to herself. Another, accustomed, she says, to reviewing in a certain journal, writes in high dudgeon at her editor's criticism of her review of "Suffragette Sally" as rather too partisan. The lady has written: "The book is full of

incidents with which we are all familiar, and we shrink in horror from the knowledge of what our countrywomen have suffered—things which done to women in Russia would have aroused in England a blaze of indignation" and had gone on to talk of "Sally" as at one with the "martyrs of old."

Another correspondent writes: "I can say truly of *Votes for Women* that it is the only literature that keeps me awake! Over it I never feel sleepy." Does that say least for the lady's intellect or for the paper we wonder? Anyhow, it is one of the things that would have been better expressed rather differently!

The fact is that the number of persons made into Anti-Suffragists by the paper are uncounted. I met one of them lately, a highly educated and open-minded woman. "I have questioned about the matter for some time," she told me, "and — has been sending me *Votes for Women*. If anything can make me an Anti, it will be that." Others of us may have had a similar experience.

M.

MR. LLOYD GEORGE'S STATEMENT ON THE CONCILIATION BILL.

THE following report of questions and answers on the Conciliation Bill in the House of Commons on Wednesday, August 16th, gives the text of Mr. Lloyd George's statement, to which we refer in our leading article. We have added for reference a copy of the letter which Mr. Asquith sent to Lord Lytton last June.

Mr. LEIF JONES (L—Rushcliffe) asked whether the Prime Minister was aware that his promise of facilities for a Women's Suffrage Bill next session was being claimed exclusively on behalf of the bill introduced this session by Sir George Kemp. Would the promised facilities be equally granted to any other Women's Suffrage Bill which secured a second reading and was capable of amendment?

Mr. LLOYD GEORGE (Chancellor of the Exchequer) said the promise referred to was given in regard to the bill introduced by Sir George Kemp and read a second time on May 5th, which appeared to the Government to satisfy the tests they had laid down as the conditions for granting such facilities. One of these tests was that the bill should be so framed as to be capable of free discussion and amendment. The Government clearly could not undertake to give facilities for more than one bill on the same subject, but any bill which, satisfying those tests, secured a second reading would be treated by them as falling within their engagement.

Mr. LEIF JONES: Is it not a fact that the first promise of facilities was made to a deputation of Liberal members, and that it was merely due to the fact that the bill in question, introduced by Sir George Kemp, secured a favourable place in the ballot that it was able to claim the facilities promised by the Prime Minister?

Mr. LLOYD GEORGE: Yes, that is so. Mr. SNOWDEN (Lab.—Blackburn): Is it not a fact that the promise was given in regard to the proposals of the Conciliation Committee? Did not the Prime Minister himself give the promise in a letter he sent to the Chairman of the Committee?

Mr. LLOYD GEORGE: No He undoubtedly gave some promise to Lord Lytton, but that is not the only undertaking he gave. The undertaking of the Prime Minister was not an undertaking in favour of one bill more than another. What he promised to do on behalf of the Government was to give facilities to any bill which will conform to the tests which he laid down—that is, it must be a bill which is capable of amendment.

Mr. KEIR HARDIE (Lab.—Merthyr Tydvil): Did not the pledge of the Government apply only to a bill which obtained the consent of the Conciliation Committee—(cries of "Oh")—and which, therefore, had a chance of becoming law?

Mr. LLOYD GEORGE: That might mean that if that bill did not secure a second reading, no facilities at all would be given.

MR. ASQUITH'S LETTERS TO LORD LYTTON.

June 15th, 1911.

"My dear Lytton,—In reply to your letter on the subject of facilities for the Women's Enfranchisement Bill, I would refer you to some observations recently made in a speech at the National Liberal Club by Sir Edward Grey, which accurately express the intentions of the Cabinet.

"It follows (to answer your specific enquiries) that the 'week' offered will be interpreted with reasonable elasticity, that the Government will oppose no obstacle to a proper use of the closure, and that if, as you suggest, the bill gets through Committee in the time proposed, the extra days required for report and third reading would not be refused.

"The Government, though divided in opinion on the merits of the bill, are unanimous in their determination to give effect not only in the letter but in the spirit to the promise in regard to facilities which I made on their behalf before the last general election.—Believe me, yours sincerely,

(Signed) "H. H. ASQUITH."

May 26th, 1911.

"My dear Lytton,—I have no hesitation in saying that the promises made by and on behalf of the Government in regard to giving facilities for the "Conciliation Bill" will be strictly adhered to both in letter and in spirit.—Yours sincerely,

(Signed) "H. H. ASQUITH."

MRS. BILLINGTON GREIG ON THE REIGN OF CONFUSION.

Mrs. BILLINGTON GREIG, whose recent secession from the Militant Suffragists will be remembered by our readers, has written a series of articles for the "Daily Chronicle." In one of these she describes the extreme intellectual confusion among Suffragists:—

"That there is contradiction and confusion everywhere let Suffragists' speeches testify. One speaker pleads always for complete sex equality, sacrificing nothing to privilege or sentiment; another, equally applauded at the same meeting, loudly demands special protection for women, with special penalties for men. This speaker urges the need for the economic independence of all women; the next advocates the

legalising of the wife's claim upon a fixed proportion of the husband's wages. Here, one claims rights for women because they are human; and there, another makes a sentimental appeal based upon the sacredness of motherhood. One relies upon the vote to compel men by law to do as women think right; another asks for the vote that it may raise the status of women, and so remove the necessity for such compulsion. Marriage reform is vaguely demanded by all—but when particular remedies are suggested there is immediate discord: one section of women want the marriage bond to bind more firmly; the opposing section seeks a loosening of the bond; and another asks for no bond at all.

"By a hundred such examples, women make it clear that they have not made up their minds whether they desire equality or privilege; whether they mean to impose restrictions upon men or to remove the restrictions now imposed upon women; whether they want economic independence or a strengthening of the bonds of dependence; whether they claim liberty as human beings or protection and endowment as mothers; whether they wish to stereotype existing differentiation between men and women by making such differentiation permanent of greater advantage to women, or to establish real sex equality with its burdens as well as its advantages; whether they are going to rely upon legal compulsion to gain their ends or upon the elimination of slave feelings in the woman and tyrant feelings in the man. The gravity of the position is not reduced by the complacent unconsciousness with which the present hubbub of antagonistic advocacy is given utterance."

A LETTER TO MR. ASQUITH ON THE CONCILIATION BILL.

On August 22nd, the following letter, signed by 124 Members of Parliament, was sent to Mr. Asquith:—

"We, the undersigned members of the House of Commons, desire to approach you with the earnest request that the Government may take steps to ascertain the views of the people before there is any imminent prospect of the Women's Enfranchisement Bill being passed into law.

"The great change proposed in this measure has never even been considered, much less approved, by the electors, and we submit that it would be in the highest degree unconstitutional to further the passage of this Bill into law until the principle of the change has been referred to the people and accepted by them.

"We desire to point out that the anxiety of the Suffragists to obtain further facilities for their Bill is clearly due to the fact that they are afraid of the people, and desire to use the machinery of the Parliament Act in order to carry Women's Suffrage without reference to the electors.

"Contending, as we do, that the great majority both of men and women in the United Kingdom are opposed to Women's Suffrage, a contention in support of which a large quantity of evidence has already been submitted to the House and the country, we confidently appeal to the Government not to commit themselves to supporting the Women's Enfranchisement Bill."

BOOK REVIEW.

An account of Evidence given on behalf of the Women's Co-operative Guild before the Royal Commission on Divorce. DAVID NUTT.

We are glad to know that we shall find the evidence of the Women's Co-operative Guild in the forthcoming Blue Book of the Divorce Commission. It is a subject of deep interest to us all, and their evidence must command attention. The pamphlet before us gives a series of questions sent out to all branches of the Guild and the answers returned by selected officials and by the ordinary Guild members. As may be expected great divergence of opinion exists. The minority are opposed to divorce altogether, some to re-marriage. Twenty branches are opposed to cheapening divorce; seven are in favour of cheapening it for the very poor only. The majority declare themselves in favour of bringing it within the reach of the workers; it should not be kept as a "luxury" for the rich. They are also of opinion that the grounds for divorce should be "equal" for men and women, and further, that divorce should be cheapened and made easy; nay, one member suggests it should be given "free" by the State, and that women should sit on juries in matrimonial cases.

We have again to insist that divorce is no "luxury," but a radical operation, like the chopping off a limb which cripples the patient ever after; moreover it sets the evildoer free to wreck other lives. There are terrible stories told in this little book; we do not know if they have been carefully tested and verified, but might not the men co-operators bring equal tales of sin and misery! The pamphlet is, we presume, issued by the central authority of the Women's Co-operative Guild, but it is nowhere so stated, nor does the name of the responsible editor appear.

We greatly regret one omission—the omission to deal with the effect of the new separation orders. All are agreed that men and women cannot be condemned, under certain conditions, to continue to live together. A separation order gives them freedom. Mr. C. Chapman suggests that separated couples should be visited by an officer appointed by the Court, say for a period of five years. We suggest further that a more stringent insistence on the payment of maintenance to the separated wife with sharp penalties for neglect, would greatly assist the separation orders as a reformation.

But after all, legislation and votes can do but little to make just and tender husbands and fathers, or loving, self-sacrificing women. For these things we must appeal to higher influences—education and religious training. One thing is certain, divorce is no cure, it is not even a remedy for marriage ills in any class of society; though we admit that so long as it is the law all must be free to use it if they desire.

E. B. HARRISON.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR. THE PAMPHLETS OF THE LEAGUE.

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

SIR,—Will you allow me a few lines to urge our members to make a greater use of the

pamphlets and literature of our League? Some of our most recent pamphlets are admirably adapted for the purpose of expressing our views in a terse and convincing form, and I wish to draw special attention to No. 34, "Woman Suffrage from an Imperialistic Point of View," and to No. 29 A, Miss Octavia Hill's letter to the "Times." It is, perhaps, rather invidious to select out of so much that is good, but these two pamphlets have, to my knowledge, turned the scale with many "wobblers." On the wages question I like best No. 15 (4), on legal grievances No. 13, on the taxpaying question No. 32. Branches can now obtain free grants of literature for distribution by application to the Secretary, and packages of pamphlets will be sent free for any meeting that is being organised. Methods of distribution will readily suggest themselves, and should be actively pursued by members who wish to help the cause.—Yours, &c.,

ETHEL COLQUHOUN.

MR. GRONNO'S PAMPHLET TO THE N.U.T.

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

SIR,—My attention has been called to a pamphlet by Mr. Charles Gronno, addressed to members of the N.U.T. As it bears the imprint of your League I beg you will allow me brief reference to the use he makes of my name. Mr. Gronno writes: "Many feminist leaders, among them Mrs. Swanwick, ask if married men are prepared to give salaries to their wives," and he proceeds to argue as if I had advocated that men should give salaries to their wives. I have never done this. The passage to which Mr. Gronno refers occurred in a letter to the "Manchester Guardian" dated June 1st and criticising the Insurance Bill. The implication made by Mr. Gronno is nothing less than a misrepresentation on the part of one who must have read the letter. It ran, "No one thing will do more to drive women out of the home than this insurance scheme if it passes in its present form (i.e., with all the advantages for wage-earners). No standard of the value of motherhood can be more misleading and demoralising than the 'actuarial' standard which the Chancellor of the Exchequer and his advisers seem willing to sanction. . . . They adjust the world and all its laws and conditions to the lives of men, and then shrug their shoulders and say they are sorry they can't include the women. If insurance is to be based on wage-earning, it is clear that women must be given wages for what they do. Are men prepared to give their wives wages?"

The answer obviously is that they are not prepared and, therefore, a truly national scheme of insurance can not be based on wage-earning, because such a basis would cut out all the home-keeping women.

Let your readers judge of Mr. Gronno's controversial methods!—Yours, &c.,

H. M. SWANWICK.

64, Deansgate Arcade, Manchester.

August 9th, 1911.

[We greatly regret that Mrs. Swanwick should consider herself to have been misrepresented. No one reading her letter to the "Manchester Guardian," from which she quotes, could be under the least misapprehension as to her detestation of the

"actuarial standard" of marriage. But we are bound to say that the letter is plainly capable of the construction which Mr. Gronno put upon it. For Mrs. Swanwick, according to a perfectly natural interpretation of her meaning, argues that if the wage-earning basis of insurance is adopted—as, of course, it will be if the Insurance Bill becomes law—wives ought to be paid wages by their husbands in order that they may be brought into the scheme. Mrs. Swanwick, in other words, points to the payment of wives as a hateful necessity. She tells us that her rhetorical question was meant to imply that such a thing as payment of wives is quite impossible. We can only say that a rhetorical question is sometimes a dangerous vehicle of expression. We admit that Mrs. Swanwick's letter may mean all that she says it means, and we have no doubt that to her mind it means nothing else. But we think she will see on reflection the unfairness and inadvisability of bringing charges of misrepresentation against those who put the most natural construction on her words. As to this our readers will be able to judge as she quite truly says.—ED., A.-S. REVIEW.]

A "POSER."

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

SIR,—Because a Woman's Suffrage Bill ought to become law as soon as possible, I should like to ask Anti-Suffragettes this important question, i.e., Will Anti-Suffragettes use the vote, if they have the opportunity? Some women members, whom I know, belonging to the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage will not deny that they will use theirs as soon as they get it. If they do so, could such an action be consistent with the opinions they now hold? Would it not rather show they were really for the Suffrage?

Therefore, if Anti-Suffragettes use the vote, ought they to oppose us?—Yours faithfully,

A MEMBER OF THE WOMEN'S SOCIAL AND POLITICAL UNION.

July 23rd, 1911.

[If our correspondent will ask herself whether Anti-Suffragist women in possession of a Parliamentary vote would be false to their principles if they voted at an election against a further extension of Woman Suffrage she would probably be in a fair way to making her question seem to her less momentous and paralysing than it seems now.—ED., A.-S. REVIEW.]

A correspondent sends us the following illustration of the results which some women expect from Woman Suffrage: "The wife of a respectable tradesman came to me for a subscription. I asked her what benefits were to result from women getting the Parliamentary vote. She said, 'Well, if you wanted very much to have your baby vaccinated and your husband was dead against it—why having the vote would give you the right to get it done.'"

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

LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

MY EXPERIENCES AS A GUARDIAN

BY A WOMAN GUARDIAN.

II.

IN the workhouse schools, at the time of my election to the Board of Guardians, there were two masters, one Head and one Assistant for the boys, a Mistress for the girls, and one Infants' School Mistress. We felt that the little boys of seven, who left the infants' for the boys' school were still children who needed a woman's care; that it was hard on them to be thrown entirely among the bigger and stronger boys in the playground and out of school, as well as in school, and we persuaded the guardians to engage a married master, whose wife could act as Assistant during school hours and as mother to the boys at other times. This arrangement answered very well, and we were fortunate in our masters and their wives. There is much to be said against workhouse schools; I mean inside the workhouse. But I am bound to say that we have not found much truth in the usual objection that the children will feel the house their home and be more likely to return to it in after life. It is a most uncommon occurrence for the children brought up in a workhouse to find their way there again. And there is one advantage in schools within the workhouse which I have heard urged by our late schoolmaster, now a minister, that by having the boys under his eye not only in school hours but in playtime, and, in fact, through all the day, he became intimately acquainted with their characters and gained an influence over the boys which he could not have had if he had only come in contact with them in school. In fact, we proved over and over again in the case of this master and his wife, and of our excellent girls' mistress, the truth of the principle that it is not the system that matters so much as the people who work the system.

The pauper taint or spirit, of which one hears, is, I think, to be found mostly among the recipients of outrelief. Miss Mary Clifford's definition of it is, "to depend on other people to do our duty." And I think we all know of people, not only among the poor, who have this spirit, who shove their work on to other people's shoulders, who borrow money and make no effort to repay it, etc. Of course, the great object with the children is to bring

them up with a spirit of independence. The Local Government Board have urged Guardians to keep them separate from the workhouse wherever this is possible.

I think you may care to hear just what is being done now for the pauper children. First, we board out in the country, not only round our city but in various country districts, as many children as we are allowed by the law to send out, that is the orphans and children that have been deserted for some time by their parents. The reason for this law is that it is hoped that the foster mothers and fathers may become like real fathers and mothers to the children, which they could not if there were any possibility of the real parents turning up. Then we have what are called headquarters, receiving homes for boys and girls, where they are kept till it can be ascertained that they have no infectious disease, and they can be thoroughly cleaned (which sometimes takes three weeks); also a home for "ins and outs"—such children as those whose parents go into the house for a short time, then out, and soon in again; and one for children who had better not be placed with the others. The latter is, however, now filled with the very young children, almost babies, who come there as they are passed on from the little babies' nursery in the workhouse. There is also a Superintendent's house and a laundry in which the children's clothes from all the homes are washed, and rooms where the stores of all kinds are kept.

In that laundry several of the older girls are employed who have appeared to be slightly feeble-minded, and who could not get on in service. Our Superintendent's wife has such a wonderful way of getting an influence over these girls that she has succeeded in training several of them and getting them out into places where they are doing well. She finds places near at hand for them, where, if there is a difficulty and things come to a deadlock between mistress and maid, the mistress can summon her to come to her aid, and generally she has been able to get over the difficulty, and bring the girl to a better mind. These summonses come sometimes at the most inconvenient times, and it is only one with her whole heart in her work who would sally forth again just, perhaps, when she was hoping for an hour of rest and quiet.

From the receiving homes the children are drafted into the sixteen scattered homes or into the village of homes. The former are in groups of four in different suburbs, *i.e.*, two close together and two

at a little distance. In each there are twelve children of different ages, but all of school age, and the idea is to make it as much as possible like a home where there happens to be a large family. In the workhouse the children see everything provided on a large scale, their dinners have only to be fetched ready-cooked from the large kitchen. In a small house, the supplies mostly come in daily as in any ordinary household, the children have to cook for themselves under the guidance of the foster mother, to do the whole work of the house, and in a small, manageable house they are far more likely to take a pride in their work. They need not have the regular dietary which is necessary in a workhouse, where the slightest change means an expensive alteration in the book-keeping. The mother can vary the dinners every day, teach the children the best way of using up the remnants. There is none of the waste which is unavoidable in a workhouse, where a certain weight of food has to be provided for each person. To see that waste is the worst possible education for children, who should be taught to make the most of every scrap. There the children learn to depend upon themselves, going backwards and forwards to school like other children, they make friends with their schoolfellows and also with ladies who teach them at the Sunday School and are no longer friendless children.

For every group of homes we endeavour to find some ladies of the neighbourhood who will visit them regularly and take an interest in the children. It was curious to see how soon the children placed out in Scattered Homes felt that they were no longer workhouse children and took a pride in belonging to their particular Home.

The fourteen Village Homes are all within one enclosure, but the children go out to the neighbouring schools. When we were making our scheme for disposing of the children I had been much in favour of cottage or village homes, because in those we had visited near Birmingham and in other places there was a great deal of training in industrial work; the boys remained from fourteen, when they left school, for two years to be trained in various trades, and we saw good work that they had done in carpentering, boot-making, etc. It seemed to me that besides the training, it was a good thing for boys to be under the discipline of a master just at that age, and that it might be useful to bring into the homes some

of the boarded-out boys when they left school, as there is always a difficulty in finding occupation for them which leads to anything in the future, they often do a little gardening or go on a milk round, or, possibly, may find a page boy's place. But my ideas were not carried out, the Guardians who knew most of the conditions of labour said that most things were now made only in factories and not by hand labour, and that it was not fair to let boys be kept until sixteen, when the children of the poor ratepayer had to go out at fourteen. There is always this question of how far it is right to consider the interests of the children, and how far they must be sacrificed to economy. There is no doubt, I think, that in these homes we ought, at least, to secure the best foster mothers possible. Will you just think for a moment what is required in a mother? She must, above all, be a motherly woman with a real liking for children, with a good temper and plenty of patience; then she must be an economical housekeeper. Many of these little ones are heavily handicapped by weakly bodies, and bad tendencies inherited from their parents; they need to be with someone who can raise their standard of right and wrong, control their bad habits and put good wholesome ideas into their minds. Now women who can do all this are not to be found growing on every bush, and if you want all these qualities you must pay for them.

And it must be remembered, when comparing the cost of these children with that of the labourer's children outside, that *he* does not reckon into it so much a week for his and his wife's care of the children, they do not have to be paid for like the foster mothers. Also the Guardians are hemmed in by all sorts of Local Government Board regulations, *e.g.*, every child *must* have so many cubic feet of air in its bedroom and sitting-room. A labourer's child would hardly have so many cubic inches!

Then to every house there must be a double exit in case of fire, not only the staircase which is sufficient for all ordinary houses. You must either have a fire-escape, or, if two houses are together, a heavy iron door between them on the upper landing so that you might escape by the staircase of the second house. All this entails great expense. One of the largest of the houses in the village home enclosure is set aside as a convalescent home for children who are not ill enough to be in the workhouse infirmary, but who would be better for a little nursing

and careful treatment. In this way acute serious illness is often prevented.

Away from the other homes, in the city itself, we have established a little house called the "Service Home." Here live our boys who have no relations who can take them in, and who, when they first go out to work, do not earn enough money to pay for food and lodging. A man and his wife are in charge, and the boys pay a small weekly sum, and the Guardians do the rest.

Responsible for the working of all that I have described, we have a Superintendent and his wife, and I think you will easily believe what a vast amount of work they have to get through: inspection of all the thirty-three homes, sudden visits to see if the children's feet and heads are clean, and if the foster mothers are giving them all the food they are ordered; the keeping and giving out of all stores, superintending the making of clothes, and the working of the laundry, finding places for girls and boys, and to some extent looking after them in those places (though we have our registry for girls), and all this inspection is most thoroughly done, as the lady guardians can testify. Such officers as these are simply invaluable, and ought not to be grudged their salary.

Regarding salaries, I think women of education and of wider knowledge than some of the Guardians can see, perhaps better than they do, the importance of having thoroughly good officers, and, therefore, of paying full market price for them. The salaries seem to some of the Guardians who are in a small way of business, large, in comparison with the profits they are able to make themselves, and they do not appreciate sufficiently the many qualities of brain and character which are needed to make good officers. Nothing is worse for a union than for the employees to be in a state of discontent. If the Relieving Officers are not careful to make every possible inquiry into cases, finding relations who might contribute, they will soon cost the union hundreds of pounds more than the increased salary they desire. There are many possibilities for a Master of a workhouse to increase his salary by practising small dishonesties most difficult of detection, and it is wrong to put this temptation in his way. The lady Guardians can give valuable help when new officers have to be engaged, especially in choosing the foster mother for the village home. If a woman of good manners and smart appearance applies, the men Guardians are apt to

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think that she is the person for the post; it does not occur to them that her elaborately dressed hair would take up the time in which she ought to be attending to the children! References have to be taken up personally if possible, and carefully sifted, and it is well to get independent testimony from residents in the neighbourhood. It is also important to engage the best people possible, and to resist the preference held by some Guardians only to engage residents in their own city.

Another way in which I think the larger outlook of educated women is of use, is in being ready to profit by the teachings of history and the experience of other unions—there is often a strong feeling against this on the Board—also in being willing to attend to the criticisms of Government Inspectors. We often hear the Guardian say, "Oh, the Inspector must say something—that is what he is paid for." They seem to forget that constant familiarity with a place, or with a way of going on, sometimes blinds you to its imperfections, and that a fresh eye may discover things you never saw.

As to work among women in the House, who have babies, I can only tell you that there is a committee consisting of three lady Guardians, the chaplain's wife, and six ladies from outside who befriend and try to influence them for good in every way. I have not space to give details of this side of the work, nor of the infirmary which is now most ably nursed.

The great change in public opinion of which I spoke as to the management of houses has also taken place with regard to out-relief. In the eighties you were considered very retrograde and short-sighted unless you wished gradually to abolish it; now the Local Government Board itself has issued an order which has tended to increase it. This is, however, too large and perplexing a subject to enter on (and also it is not specially connected with women's work), about which I hope I have said enough to convince you that the life of a lady Guardian is rich in homely human interests.

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.

A CORRECTION.

Miss Leigh Browne, Hon. Secretary of the Women's Local Government Society, writes, pointing out, that No. 36 on our "List of Leaflets," "Registration of Women Occupiers," is published by her Society, and was brought out some years ago. We regret that by a printer's error in our August issue, this leaflet was made to appear as one of ours, and had an asterisk indicating "Just Published."

Erratum: In the report of Lady Florence Bourke's speech at the third annual Council Meeting of the League, published in the August number of the "Review," the words demanding the extension of "local privileges to women in Ireland," should have read "privileges in Local Government for women in Ireland."—Ed. A. S. Review.

OUR BRANCH NEWS-LETTER.

OWING to the great pressure on our space last month, we were obliged to give very brief accounts of some of the meetings held during the later days of July, and omit altogether some others. According to our promise given in the August issue, we are giving this month, fuller reports from the branches where most successful meetings were organised.

Bristol.—A meeting took place on the Durdham Downs, Bristol, on August 7th, where a large number of people stood for two hours listening to Mr. H. B. Samuels, who explained the reasons "Why Women's Suffrage is a Danger to the State." Many questions were asked and answered, and a large number of signatures were added to the Anti-Suffrage petition to Parliament.

Cheltenham.—Mr. J. Massie presided at the very successful meeting of the Cheltenham branch on July 20th, when a number of Suffragists suffered defeat in their arguments from Mr. Massie and Mrs. A. Colquhoun, who spoke. To quote from a note in a local newspaper: "The Suffragists trooped in, exuberantly expectant of scalps. They reckoned without their host. A report can hardly convey an adequate impression of the intellectual and moral defeat suffered by the Suffragists from the platform. Between them, Mr. Massie and Mrs. Colquhoun made mincemeat of the opposition, which, indeed, was singularly inept and feeble."

Cirencester.—A Cirencester Branch has been launched with great success. On July 21st a delightful garden party was given by Mrs. Gordon Dugdale in the beautiful garden of "The Abbey" at Cirencester. At four o'clock tea was served in a large marquee, and afterwards the two hundred guests heard a capital address by Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun. The chair was taken by Colonel the Hon. B. Bathurst, M.P.

That afternoon forty-seven people joined the newly-formed branch, and during the next fortnight the number rose to 150.

On August 1st a small meeting of the most

ardent workers met at the Abbey to arrange the work of the branch. The President, Lady Bathurst, took the chair, and was supported by the vice-President, Mrs. Gordon Dugdale. A Committee was formed and Secretaries and Treasurer chosen.

On August 3rd, Mrs. Gordon Dugdale again threw open the Abbey gardens, this time for a free meeting. Although there had only been two days in which to advertise the meeting, it was excellently attended.

An audience of some 300 stood round a motor car and were addressed by Mrs. Gladstone Solomon. A great many of them joined the League. Thanks to Mrs. Gordon Dugdale's indefatigable energy and generosity, an excellent start has been made here. Mrs. Topham and Mrs. Leatham have now formed successful sub-branches in Daglingworth and Baginton respectively.

On August 1st some thirty of the employees of Mr. Boulton, of the Market Place, assembled in one of his show-rooms at 9.30 a.m., and the young girls from the various workrooms seemed much interested in a short address from Mrs. Gladstone Solomon. Twenty of the girls joined the League, and the others expressed a wish to attend further Anti-Suffrage meetings. The heads of the various departments were all on our side, and intend to use their influence against the Suffrage movement.

Delabole (N. Cornwall).—On July 20th Miss Mabel Smith (who was staying in the neighbourhood) addressed a hastily arranged meeting of slate-quarriers at the Unionist Club, Delabole. Mr. H. Spragg, Treasurer of the Club, was an efficient and courteous Chairman. The audience of keenly intelligent working-men showed much appreciation of the case for Anti-Suffragism, and asked a number of varied and sensible questions. At the conclusion of the meeting, many of the audience definitely pronounced against Woman Suffrage.

Guildford.—A debate for working-men between Mr. H. B. Samuels and Mr. Mackinley, of the Men's League for Women's Suffrage, took place on the evening of August 12th in North-street, Guildford, on the subject: "Would Woman Suffrage benefit the nation?" Miss Noeline Baker, Hon. Secretary of the Guildford Women's Suffrage Society, presided. On the resolution: "That the extension of the Parliamentary Franchise to women would not benefit the nation" being moved, there was a count of hands, and the Chairman announced that eleven were for the resolution, and twenty-three against it. This result cannot be taken as representing the attitude of the working-women of Guildford towards Woman Suffrage, for the resolution was defeated chiefly by the members of the Guildford Women's Suffrage Society, reinforced by a contingent from Godalming, none of whom could be considered working people.

Hawkhurst.—By the kind invitation of Major and Mrs. Fothergill, the second annual meeting of the Hawkhurst branch was held at Copt Hall on July 26th. The meeting was presided over by Mrs. Frederic Harrison (Chairman), and supported by Mrs. Beauchamp Tower (Treasurer), Mr. A. Maconachie, and Major Fothergill.

Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals.

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WHAT THE SOCIETY DID LAST YEAR (1910).

6556 offenders were prosecuted and convicted for cruelty to animals.
153 persons were acquitted, but the Society's costs were remitted, which justified the Society's action.
1,073 persons guilty of minor acts of cruelty were admonished in writing.
24,344 persons guilty of minor acts of cruelty were cautioned by Inspectors.
3,243 Sermons were preached on the subject of Mercy to Animals, by Clergymen of the Church of England.
99,133 Essays were written by school children on the subject of Kindness to Animals.

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

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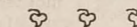
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frage question had not yet been laid before the country by the only means which, at present, we had for obtaining the nation's judgment on any subject; but the Suffragists had got a majority of Members of Parliament to pledge themselves to vote for the Conciliation Bill. Suffragists did not themselves believe in the sincerity of those pledges. They knew the pledges, such as they were, had only been obtained by a minority of people in each constituency because the members feared the minority might be powerful enough to bring influence to defeat them. If the matter was put before the country openly, fully, and honestly, and the majority voted in its favour, he would accept the verdict, as would every true Englishman, and try to work it. But if these rights, which were not right at all, were obtained by acts of dodgery then the time would come when what was gained by a dodge would be taken away by force.

Mr. Massie, seconding the vote of thanks, coupled with it the names of Mrs. Max Müller and Professor Dicey. He referred to the activity which existed among the members of the Oxford branch of the League, and congratulated them upon their work. There were some very extreme and advanced feminists in the House of Commons—women's men they were often called—and some tried to bolster up their cause by remarks as to the overwhelming strength of the case for Women's Suffrage; it was their duty to show how absurd those statements were. Mr. Philip Snowden was one of the feminists; he was out for women's votes in order that he might bring them in to support the Socialist cause, and he had said the other day that there were no grounds for opposing Women's Suffrage except ignorance and prejudice. If Mr. Snowden only studied the question a little he would be bound to admit frankly that there were many other grounds for opposition. When men like the late Mr. Gladstone, the present Prime Minister, not to speak of Professor Dicey and our Ambassador at Washington, Mr. James Bryce, were convinced opponents, it must be clear there were other grounds of opposition besides ignorance and prejudice.

Richmond.—An excellent meeting organised by the Richmond, Kew, Chiswick, and Gunnersbury branches was held in the Central Hall, Richmond, on July 20th. Miss Gladys Pott was in the chair, and very interesting addresses were given by Mrs. H. Norris and Mr. A. Maconachie, with the result that a resolution against the Suffrage was carried by a majority of two to one.

St. Andrews.—Lady Griselda Cheape (President) sends a very interesting account of useful work which is being done in connection with this branch. In the course of a recent letter she says, "We are gathering in school mistresses, Sunday-school teachers, shop-girls, servants, wives, spinners—we shall make a very strong band." Amongst the projects which Lady Griselda has in hand is one for founding a home for young girls which will be conducted on similar lines to those adopted by the Girls' Friendly Society. Sales of work for various charitable and philanthropic societies in the district are sometimes held at the conclusion of the branch meetings which take place every month. At these meetings also papers on subjects of national

interest, such as the work of the Red Cross Society, &c., are occasionally read.

The membership of the St. Andrews' Branch is rapidly increasing.

Watford.—Mrs. Humphry Ward gave a very interesting address for the Watford Branch at a meeting held at Sparrow Herne Hall, the residence of Mr. and Mrs. J. Walter Smith, Bushey, on July 17th. Mr. J. Walter Smith occupied the chair, and Miss Gladys Pott and Mr. J. Massie, our Hon. Treasurer, also made very effective speeches. The meeting was organised by the Committee of the West Herts Branch and there was a very crowded attendance.

Mrs. Humphry Ward said she regarded Woman Suffrage as one of the most serious questions before England at the present day. Nothing but a sense of its enormous importance had led her to take a public part in this question; only a sense of the urgency of the case if Woman Suffrage were granted had brought her into the open; all the more perhaps because she did not agree with some of the arguments used against the suffrage for women. She did not think that the question was settled when women were told to go home and look after their domestic duties. In the long run it was true to say that the question of Woman Suffrage turned upon the fundamental fact of maternity, but that was not the aspect of the question which appealed most to herself. They (Anti-Suffragists) were concerned in the battle for women's education which began in the 'sixties and the 'seventies, and never dreamt of confining the activities of educated women when they got out of the nursery and kitchen. They desired them to be doctors of science and follow other professions, to have free access to the old and new universities; they rejoiced in the Local Government vote, supported the movement to make women factory and sanitary inspectors, and to share in the life of the nation. What was wanted was not more politics, but more motherhood. What could political responsibility have to do with those economic questions, what could it do but simply increase the lack of mothering, which led to such an appalling waste of infant life? Under the Conciliation Bill married women were excluded; so that those who had the most knowledge of life were not to have votes at all. Women who had no male adviser were to be given the right to vote on men's affairs.

Questions that concerned women were those of education and poor law, and these were covered by the municipal vote which women already possessed. Although women had this vote in 1867, scarcely any combined or thorough-going use of it had been made. It was not law that was wanted, but a whole-hearted administration of the law. The municipal vote, if properly used by women, could be made to yield them all the public influence they could legitimately ask for, and without interfering with the proper tasks and responsibilities of men. It was now proposed to ask for the Parliamentary vote upon those imperial and masculine affairs which must ultimately be decided by the Parliamentary vote. By giving women the vote they added enormously to the element in elections which made for corruption, and which would increase the danger to the country for both men and women. How could the class of women who would use the vote be independent? They would necessarily be voters at the mercy of organisations on either side, and would add to

the floating vote by the excitement or corruption which made-for danger to all democracies. The vote was to be given to women in the teeth of most determined disapproval.

Statistics gathered by the Anti-Suffrage League were not liked by the Suffragists. Out of 118,000 women municipal voters, 43,000 sent replies to the office of the League pronouncing against the concession of the Parliamentary vote to present holders of the municipal vote; only 18,000 were in favour of the vote, 8,000 were neutral, and 48,000 were so utterly indifferent to the whole matter that they returned no reply at all. The vast majority of married women of the factory class would have no votes under the Conciliation Bill, and there remained only the single women of property and the single women of the educated middle class. Women had increasing power of influencing public life, there was not a single important Bill affecting women that had not been prepared with the co-operation of women, or that had not been subjected in its passage through Parliament to the educated influence of women. She did not insist upon a mechanical likeness to men and an assumption of the mechanical tasks of men, but the co-operation of men and women, in which they had their separate tasks and separate duties.

At the conclusion of the meeting those present were entertained at tea.

Woodford (Essex).—A branch at Woodford was inaugurated very successfully at an "At Home" at Pine Lodge, the residence of Mrs. Houghton, who hospitably entertained a representative gathering of ladies. Mrs. E. North Buxton, President of the new branch, acted as Chairman, and an address was given by Mrs. Lane on branch formation and work. Official and a Committee were subsequently elected. A Committee meeting was held on July 28th at the residence of Mrs. Byworth, and business and future plans were discussed.

GENERAL OPEN-AIR MEETINGS.

Some successful evening open-air meetings were held by Mr. H. B. Samuels at Munster-road, Fulham, on August 10th, and at Hampstead, on August 13th. Mr. Archibald Gibb also spoke.

In Hyde Park on August 5th, a large crowd was addressed by Mr. G. L. Borodale, who also answered a number of questions.

Brixton Branch.—Open-air meetings arranged by the officials of our Brixton branch have been frequent and successful all through July and August. On July 31st and August 3rd large crowds of workmen and women were addressed by Mrs. Agnes Stewart outside the Government Clothing Factory at Pimlico, with most satisfactory results. A good audience assembled at the Obelisk, Lewisham, on the evening of August 2nd to listen to speeches by Mrs. Stewart and Mr. H. B. Samuels, and a good deal of our literature was distributed. On August 4th, Mrs. Stewart and Mr. Archibald Gibb addressed an evening meeting at Rushcroft-road, Brixton, and answered a number of "hecklers" with success.

The same speakers also held a successful meeting in the Broadway, Wimbledon, on the evening of August 5th.

On August 6th, Mrs. Stewart addressed a very good audience on Wimbledon Common, Mr. Williams acting as Chairman.

At most of these outdoor meetings the Anti-Suffrage resolution has been well carried.

At Selincourt's Corner, Pimlico, a big meeting of workmen and work-girls was addressed by Mrs. Stewart, who has also spoken at Rushcroft-road, Brixton, at Leyton-street, Kentish Town, at Manor-street, Clapham, at Peckham Rye, and at Flood-street, Chelsea.

DEBATE AT BURGESS HILL.

We have to correct an error in the report of a debate between Mr. A. Maconachie and Mr. Theodor Gugenheim at Burgess Hill on July 25th. Through the transposition of some words, it read as if Mr. Gugenheim was a member of the League for Opposing Woman Suffrage. Mr. Gugenheim is of the Men's League for Women's Suffrage, and led the argument in favour of the vote.

The debate was arranged by Miss Frances Carey, of the Central Sussex Branch of the N.U.W.S.S., Mr. L. R. Burrows was in the chair.

The motion put by Mr. Gugenheim was defeated by a good majority.

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Northants—
President: Mrs. Laurence Currie.

Northampton—
President: Mrs. Cotton.

Winchester—
President: Mrs. Griffith.

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HEREFORD AND DISTRICT—
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South Herefordshire—
President: The Lady Biddulph of Ledbury.

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President: Lady Ebury.

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Chairman: Lady Fry.

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

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Cheltenham—
President: Mrs. Hardy.

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

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Bekkenham—
Provisional Hon. Secretary: Miss E. Blake.

Bromley and Bickley—
Hon. Secretary: G. F. Fischer, Esq.

Canterbury—
President: Lady Mitchell.

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Hon. Secretary: Miss A. M. Rayner, Brookside, Alderley Edge.

Leicestershire.
LEICESTER—
President: Lady Hazelrigg.

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PADDINGTON

President of Executive: Lady Dimsdale.

St. Pancras, East—
Hon. Treasurer: Miss M. Briggs.

Upper Norwood and Anerley—
Hon. Secretary: Miss E. H. Tipple.

Westminster—
President: The Lady Biddulph of Ledbury.

Chelsea—
President: The Hon. Mrs. Bernard Mallet.

Ealing—
President: Mrs. L. Prendergast Walsh.

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ESHER—
President:
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Hon. Secretary: Miss Agar, 9, St. Phillip's
Road, Surbiton.
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Ewell—
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Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Auriol Barker, Barrow
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Leatherhead—
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Fetcham—
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Bookham—
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Brighton Road, Sutton.
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Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Rundall, West View,
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Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Frank E. Lemon, Hill-
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Hon. Secretary: Mrs. H. Beveridge, Pittfold,
Shottermill, Haslemere.
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Adelaide Road, Surbiton.
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Hon. Secretaries: Miss Godden, Kincairney,
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Vice-President: The Hon. Mrs. Maxwell Scott.
Hon. Treasurer:
Hon. Secretary: The Countess von Hahn, 192,
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Road, Brighton.
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Hon. Secretary: Miss Rawlinson, Fair View,
Crowborough.

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

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President: Lady Musgrave.
Hon. Treasurer: Miss Stewart.
Hon. Secretary: Miss Woodland, Turley
Cottage, East Grinstead.

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Walter Breeds, Esq., Telham Hill, Battle.
Bexhill (Sub-Branch)—
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Hon. Secretary: Lady Shiffner.

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Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Travers, Tortington
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Assistant Hon. Secretary: Miss Rhoda Butt,
Wilbury, Littlehampton.

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Vice-Presidents: Maud Lady Calthorpe; Miss
Beatrice Chamberlain.
Hon. Treasurer: Murray N. Phelps, Esq., LL.B.
Hon. Secretaries: Mrs. Saundby, W. G. W.
Hastings, Esq.
Secretary: Miss Gertrude Allarton, 109, Colmore
Row, Birmingham.
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Hon. Secretary: Miss Maud Pemberton,
Whitacre, Solihull.

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SALISBURY—
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Hon. Treasurer:
Hon. Secretary: Miss Kane, Wilsford.

WORCESTERSHIRE.

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

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

YORKSHIRE.

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

HULL—
Chairman (provisionally): Miss Ferguson.
Hon. Treasurer: H. Buckton, Esq.
Hon. Secretary: Miss Legge-Roe, Pryme Street,
Hull.

ILKLEY—
President: Mrs. Steintal.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Newbound, Springsend.

LEEDS—
President: The Countess of Harewood.
Chairman: Mrs. Frank Gott.
Hon. Treasurer: Miss E. M. Lupton.
Hon. Secretary: Miss E. M. Wall, 3, Woodsley
Terrace, Clarendon Road, Leeds.
District Secretaries: Miss H. McLaren, 151,
Otley Road, Headingley, Miss M. Silcock,
Barkston Lodge, Roundhay.

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

SCARBOROUGH—
President: Mrs. Cooper.
Hon. Treasurer: James Bayley, Esq.
Hon. Secretaries: Clerical, Miss Mackarness,
19, Princess Royal Terrace; General, Miss
Kendell, Oriol Lodge, Scarborough.

SHEFFIELD—
Vice-Presidents: The Lady Edmund Talbot,
Lady Bingham, Miss Alice Watson.
Hon. Treasurer: Miss M. Colley, Newstead,
Kenwood Park Road.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Bramley, Moscar Cottage,
Hollow Meadows, nr. Sheffield.

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

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

THE GIRLS' ANTI-SUFFRAGE LEAGUE.

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

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

IRELAND.

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

SCOTLAND.

**THE SCOTTISH NATIONAL ANTI-
SUFFRAGE LEAGUE.**
(In affiliation with the National League for
Opposing Woman Suffrage.)
President: The Duchess of Montrose, LL.D.
Vice-President: Miss Helen Rutherford, M.A.
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Aitken, 8, Mayfield Ter-
race, Edinburgh.
Hon. Secretary: Miss Gemmill, Central Office,
10, Queensferry Street, Edinburgh.

BRANCHES:

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

DUNDEE—
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Young.
Joint Hon. Secretaries: Mrs. MacGillivray,
23, South Tay Street; Miss Craik.

EDINBURGH—
President: The Marchioness of Tweeddale.
Vice-President: The Countess of Dalkeith.
Chairman: Lady Christison.
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. J. M. Howden.
Joint Hon. Secretaries: Mrs. Johnston, 19,
Walker Street; Miss Kemp, 6, Western Ter-
race, Murrayfield, Edinburgh.

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President: The Countess of Glasgow.
Chairman of Committee: Mrs. John N. MacLeod.
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. James Campbell.
Hon. Secretary: Miss Eleanor M. Deane, 180,
Hope Street, Glasgow.
Camlachie (Sub-Branch)—
Hon. Secretary: Miss Paterson, 32, Belgrave
Street, Camlachie.

INVERNESS AND NAIRN—
President: Lady Lovat.
Hon. Treasurers and Hon. Secretaries: Inver-
ness—Miss Mercer, Woodfield, Inverness;
Nairn—Miss B. Robertson, Constabulary
Gardens, Nairn.

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

WALES.

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

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