

Men's League for Women's Suffrage

No. 35.

Office: 136, ST. STEPHEN'S HOUSE,
WESTMINSTER, S.W.
Telephone: 4276 VICTORIA.
Hon. Sec: Dr. C. V. DRYSDALE.
Assistant Sec: SIDNEY WILLIAMS.

Monthly Paper.

President: THE RT. HON. THE EARL OF LYTTON.
Chairman: HERBERT JACOBS.
Hon. Treas.: REGD. H. POTT.
Hon. Political Sec.: J. M. MITCHELL.
Assistant Organiser: R. de MARIA.
Aug., 1912

EDITORIAL NOTES.

WOMEN AND HOME RULE.

Three months will elapse before the House of Commons can decide whether the Irish Parliament is to rest on the vote of one sex alone. But already a passionate and prejudiced leading article in the *Freeman's Journal* has revealed the attitude of the Irish Party. The proposal to enfranchise Irish women from the outset in the Home Rule Bill it traces to the machinations of Mrs. Fawcett, whom it quaintly describes as "the Liberal-Unionist agitator," and the whole movement assumes for it the appearance of an elaborate Unionist plot. This is mere mythology, but it may not be amiss to trace the history of this proposal and to face the real issue which it raises.

The author of the suggestion which Mr. Philip Snowden has embodied in an amendment to Clause IX. of the Home Rule Bill is no less a person than Mr. Birrell himself. It dates from the Irish Council Bill, which he introduced in 1907 as a half-way house to Home Rule. That Bill proposed to establish a Representative Council for Ireland, and very unobtrusively women were included among its electors. Mr. Birrell's own reference to the matter when he explained the Bill to the House was as follows:—

The elective members of the Council will be elected by the local government electors in the constituencies set out in a schedule to the Bill. That is the same as the Parliamentary franchise, except that it includes peers and women. I should be sorry if women were not allowed to take part in any good work which may be within reach of anyone in their country.

Had this Bill become law there could have been no question about the status of women in Ireland to-day. When the moment arrived for the evolution of this Irish Council into an Irish Parliament no Irish Secretary could have contemplated the disenfranchisement of Irish women. As electors for the Council they would inevitably have become electors in due course for the Parliament. Unluckily the Liberal Ministry of 1907 is not the Ministry of 1912. Mr. Birrell is still Irish Secretary, but the Premiership has passed from the Suffragist "C.B." to the anti-Suffragist Mr. Asquith. On the other hand, the Suffragist movement, which in 1907 hardly existed in Ireland, is a growing force to-day. Women have begun to organise themselves in earnest, and the assent of Irish opinion has been voiced by the city councils of Dublin, Cork, and Limerick and the county councils of Dublin and Galway, which petitioned in favour of the "Conciliation" Bill. The Cabinet is no longer willing to do for Irish women in 1912 what it did for them in 1907, but an appeal lies from the Cabinet to the House.

MR. SNOWDEN'S AMENDMENT.

The Home Rule Bill proposes that the electors of the Irish House of Commons shall be the same as the electors of the Imperial Parliament. Mr. Snowden, reviving the phraseology of the Irish Council Bill, proposes that they shall be the "local government electors," which happens in Ireland to mean the same men *plus* women and peers. It is not probable that this amendment will be seriously opposed upon its merits. No Suffragist can find an argument against it, and even anti-Suffragists have assured us that their opposition to women's franchise is based on their objection to the meddling of women in Imperial and foreign affairs. But home was always supposed to be their place, and this Irish Parliament will be busied exclusively with domestic affairs. The only argument which can be used against the amendment is that it ought to be left to the Irish Parliament itself to enfranchise Irish women or to perpetuate their subjection, as it may see fit. That is a fitting argument for those to use who regard women as the property of men. To the anti-Suffragist Irish women are "the belongings" of Irishmen, to be handed over to an Irish Legislature to deal with, together with the railways, harbours, and congested estates. But no Suffragist can take that ground. It lies with us to insist that no Chamber can be representative which rests on the vote of one sex alone. To us the due representation of women is at least as vital as the fair representation of the Protestant minority. If the Home Rule Bill had made no change at all in the Irish representative machinery, there would be a stronger case than, in fact, there is for delaying the settlement of the women's question. But the Bill alters the existing electoral areas, merges certain towns in their counties, qualifies peers to sit in either Chamber of the Irish Parliament, and retains the University representation, which is to be abolished for the Imperial Parliament. Furthermore, an effort is being made to introduce proportional representation by way of amendment, and to this suggestion the Government has so far observed a benevolent neutrality. If that experiment may be tried in Ireland, so also may women's suffrage. Mr. Snowden's amendment is no more a hostile proposal than that of the group of Liberal members who propose to graft proportionalism on to the Home Rule Bill.

TACTICS AND PRINCIPLE.

This amendment has already served as the occasion for a debate on tactics among different schools of Suffragists. For my part, if I may express an individual opinion, which is shared, I believe, by Mr. Snowden and by the Conciliation Committee, on whose behalf he acted in giving notice of his amendment, there ought to be no question of withdrawing this amendment under any circumstances. We do not wish to avoid the issue in the division lobbies; on the contrary,

it will be fought out there if the case is boldly argued under very favourable conditions. The issue is not the same as that which will arise later on the Reform Bill. The case for the enfranchisement of women as electors for a body concerned solely with local legislation is stronger in the present state of public opinion than the case for their full recognition as voters for the Imperial Parliament. Two typical anti-Suffragist members of Parliament, one of them a Liberal and the other a Unionist, have already publicly declared that they will support the claim of women to the national, but not to the Imperial vote. Lord Haldane, in a speech which he delivered at Aberdeen (October 9, 1911), has put this special case strongly and well:—

Suppose devolution takes place; suppose Imperial affairs are left to the Imperial Parliament, and local matters affecting Scotland, England, and Wales are to be left to local Parliaments, are you to exclude women from these local Parliaments, which are not concerned with the Imperial Army and Navy? Are you to shut out women from these Parliaments? You cannot do it consistently after what you have done about local government and education.

Assuredly women cannot consistently be "shut out from these Parliaments." But how shall their place on the register be secured? Must there be a weary and dragging fight, engaged with varying fortunes now in Ireland, then in Scotland, and again in England and Wales? Are women to face in each of these countries separately all the hazards and delays that have beset them in their fight for the Imperial vote? Shall we see them denied here because of divisions in a Scottish Cabinet, there because of a demand for an Irish Referendum, in Wales because they have burned no castles, and in England (it may be) because they have burned too many? There is only one way to provide against this dismal prospect. It is to make a precedent. It is to insist at the first challenge and at the first opportunity that in the first of these new electorates women shall be included. The making of a new Parliament out of nothing is a chance which comes rarely enough in the world's experience. Its constitution should be a clear expression of the enlightenment and ideals of our generation. If women are omitted from the electorate, it will be a Parliament which might have done credit to ages of Grattan or O'Connell. But it will be a misprint in the history of the twentieth century, and a stain upon the records of modern Liberalism.

H. N. BRAILSFORD.

REMOVAL OF OFFICES.

By the time this paper reaches the hands of our readers, our Offices will have been removed (to suit the convenience of the landlord) from No. 159, on the fourth floor, to No. 136, on the third floor of St. Stephen's House. Will our readers kindly note the change of number.

THE HYDE PARK DEMONSTRATION.

If unanswerable argument, amazing devotion, and heroic perseverance were enough to win a victory in modern politics, British democracy would have been a reality long ago. If a generation, blind to these things, could yet be stirred to a higher sense by the symbolism of splendid pageantry, and the spectacular expression of an invincible determination, then women's suffrage would have swept to victory from the thronged assemblies of the Albert Hall and the triumphant platforms of Hyde Park.

As one gazed round the great circle of meetings in the Park on July 14, inured as one is to the blind indifference and the mole-like selfishness of politicians, one could not help feeling that the hour of victory is at hand. Many societies were present, differing widely in their constituents and in their method of attack, yet all bound into a solid whole in an emphatic protest against the preposterous Reform Bill which seeks to engrave

yet deeper on the national records the shameful, nay, the suicidal, degradation of British womanhood.

Particular impressions were necessarily few; it was the aggregate of listening thousands that filled the mind. The struggle has been keen and continuous; it has been waged at a pace unexampled in modern politics and at a cost to the country which no one can yet pretend to calculate. Yet the dominating note of the afternoon was joy and triumph; the whole assembly pulsed with strength, and the speeches were marked by the cheery resolution of the strong man when he runs a race.

The strange thing is that Parliament appears to think that because the Suffragist is *not* the unsexed absurdity at whom—along with the airship—"Punch" used to laugh years ago, her aspirations may be treated with indifference. Because she is well-dressed and debonnaire, our "Liberal" leader is satisfied to hear her movement condemned by cheap party rhetoricians as a Tory dodge. Because her demonstrations are aesthetically good, and instinct with a feeling for line and colour—because, being keen on political things, and qualified by study and trained sympathy to take her share in the solution of modern economic problems, she is yet alive to her special function as the originator of beauty and grace—for these most perverse of all reasons she is to be put off with hypocritical promises, and made the catpaw of political and economic selfishness.

Some such feeling clearly underlay the speeches made at our platform. Mr. Kennedy, as chairman, was at his best in a restrained and withal vigorous statement of the position. Whenever Mr. Kennedy speaks we feel that here we have the true Liberalism, which Mr. Asquith reduces to a petrified formula, and Mr. McKenna, by the aid of an antiquated mortar, pounds up into an unpalatable quack medicine with the soulless pestle of a country apothecary. It was good to hear his definition of the anti-Suffragist Liberal as a person whom "the Constitutionalists condemn and despise and the Militants hate and defy."

Mr. Housman and Mr. Gugenheim—both of whom should have been reported verbatim—were convincing in their different manners, while Dr. Drysdale, following the chairman's example, reached the high-water mark which his hearers have been expecting through a series of carefully prepared analyses of the fundamental facts of labour as they affect women and men under present-day conditions. We were very glad to welcome a speech by Mr. Futtvoye, as representing the newly formed Men's Federation (hon. sec., Mr. Victor Prout), whose platform had unaccountably been overlooked by the organisers. Mr. Mitchell wound up the meeting, which closed with an almost unanimous vote for a particularly emphatic resolution.

When we subsequently returned to hold our regular six o'clock meeting the hardly-used lawn of the park was still dotted with knots of people eagerly discussing the meeting. As I rose to open the meeting I saw our old friend Dr. Macpherson in the centre of some fifty men and women, with whom he was holding an animated "conversation."

Among members of the League whose services were in request at other platforms were Mr. H. W. Nevinson, Mr. John Simpson, Rev. Claud Hinscliff, Mr. E. Duval, and Mr. V. Duval. We were also very glad to see many other friends in the crowd, including Mr. F. W. Rogers (Bristol Branch), Mr. Fry, Mr. Aaron Keys, Mr. M. Wimpfheimer, our new assistant secretary (Mr. S. Williams), and also the following, who very kindly assisted in holding the banners: Mr. Silvester Sparrow, Messrs. H. Vickers, E. C. Aylwin, Hy. F. L. Fry, H. White-man, and A. H. Barley.

J. MALCOLM MITCHELL.

THE MEN'S LEAGUE IN OXFORD.

On Friday July 26, a Men's League meeting was held at the Martyrs' Memorial, in St. Giles's, Oxford. The speakers were Mrs. Lindsay, wife of Mr. A. D. Lindsay, Fellow of Balliol, and Mr. J. M. Mitchell. Rain fell for most of the time, but a fair audience, mainly men, assembled and remained for about an hour.

PROPAGANDA BY LITERATURE.

DR. C. V. DRYSDALE'S NEW PAMPHLET.

"WHY MEN SHOULD WORK FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE."

The above pamphlet is now ready for action, and, if adequately distributed, will do great execution among thinking men; and we know that every voter is a thinking man.

Men's League for Women's Suffrage.

159, ST. STEPHEN'S HOUSE,

WESTMINSTER, S.W.

August 12th, 1912.

NOTICE OF REMOVAL.

Dear Sir,

We are this day removing our office to Room No. 136 on the 3rd Floor in this building. Kindly note our change of number and oblige.

Yours truly,

SIDNEY WILLIAMS,

Assistant Secretary.

N.B.—Telephone No. as before, 4276 Victoria.

A CORRECTION.

Miss Gertrude Vaughan writes to say that two slight misprints occurred in the notice of her book in the last issue. The correct title is "The Woman with the Pack," and its publisher Mr. Ham Smith. Its price is 1s. 6d. net.

GARDEN PARTY.

Representatives of the Labour Party and of various Suffrage societies were entertained on July 13 by Dr. G. B. Clark and Mrs. Clark at a garden party in their beautiful grounds at Fryerne, Caterham. Suffragists do not often find themselves in such delightful surroundings, and it is safe to say that every

reasure the memory of that sunny afternoon as one of the pleasantest experiences.

Members of different societies eagerly exchanged opinions, for it is very seldom that so many of those who are interested in the cause find opportunities for discursive conversation. Towards the end of the afternoon Mrs. Clark presided on the lawn, when Miss Sydney Keith recited "This and Woman That" and "The Anti-Suffragist," speeches were delivered by Miss Marshall, Mr. Keir, Mr. Despard, Mr. J. M. Mitchell, and Mrs. Nevin-Mitchell reminded the audience that Dr. Clark had been a member of the Executive of the Men's League, where his political experience was much appreciated.

BRANCH NOTES.

A successful open-air meeting was held at Rotherfield, Saturday, July 6, under the auspices of the Tax League, when some silver belonging to Miss Roll was returned for tax resistance. The speakers were Mrs. Kington, Dr. Drysdale, and the interest taken by the large audience was very great. At the close of the meeting several expressed their desire to join the Sussex Men's League.

A meeting held in the Walworth Road on July 31, by the London Society for Women's Suffrage, Miss Drysdale spoke, and the enthusiasm was such that the close steps were taken to form a branch of the League.

The next Session of Parliament will be a momentous one, and secretaries of all the branches are earnestly urged to arrange to hold meetings as soon after the holiday as possible. Will they please write to me for any further information required, and I shall also be glad to arrange for any other services ever required. We are glad to know that several branches have already made the necessary arrangements and that leading speakers have been booked.

F. N. SARGEANT.

JULY SPEAKERS' LIST.

159, St. Stephen's House, S.W.	A. B. Mace
159, St. Stephen's House, S.W.	L. W. Phillips
159, St. Stephen's House, S.W.	Walter Hogg
159, St. Stephen's House, S.W.	Rev. Claude Hinscliff
159, St. Stephen's House, S.W.	Rev. Canon Everett
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159, St. Stephen's House, S.W.	Walter Hogg
159, St. Stephen's House, S.W.	A. MacKinlay
159, St. Stephen's House, S.W.	A. MacKinlay
159, St. Stephen's House, S.W.	Lord Lytton
159, St. Stephen's House, S.W.	A. B. Mace
159, St. Stephen's House, S.W.	Rev. F. M. Green
159, St. Stephen's House, S.W.	A. MacKinlay
159, St. Stephen's House, S.W.	Laurence Housman
159, St. Stephen's House, S.W.	Joseph Clayton
159, St. Stephen's House, S.W.	Wilfrid Hammond
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Suppose devolution takes place; suppose Imperial Parliaments are left to the Imperial Parliament, and local Parliaments affecting Scotland, England, and Wales are to be left to local Parliaments, are you to exclude women from local Parliaments, which are not concerned with the Imperial Army and Navy? Are you to shut out women from these Parliaments? You cannot do it consistently unless you have done about local government and

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Every member must make a point of taking a certain number to distribute among friends and working men.

It consists of 32 pages, with four diagrams and Appendices. Its price is 2d., including postage; 1s. 8d. per dozen, and 10s. 6d. per hundred, including carriage.

This is undoubtedly the most masterly and exhaustive pamphlet on the important question of the effect of the employment of women on men's employment and wages; and on the effect of the vote in other countries in equalising women's wages.

It is a strong appeal to the good sense and feeling of the thoughtful, and with its wealth of diagrammatic illustration and its Appendices forms a solid basis for argument with opponents. Every point is explained with crystal clearness.

The question, "Will raising women's wages lower those of men," is very fairly discussed, and although its effect in this country may be hypothetical, sound conclusions are drawn from its working in other countries.

THE POSTCARD.

The new postcard for the refusal of subscriptions, issued by the Executive, of which the text appeared in our last issue, has been well applied for, but we still have a stock in hand, of which members and others should hasten to avail themselves.

Prices, including postage, 2d. per dozen; 1s. per hundred.

PAMPHLETS.

To the pamphlets of Mr. Laurence Housman, given in our last issue, we are now able to add the following, by other distinguished writers:—

	Price.
Articles of Faith in the Freedom of Women, by Laurence Housman...	6d.
Lysistrata, a Modern Paraphrase from Aristophanes, by Laurence Housman	6d.
Sex-War and Woman's Suffrage, by Laurence Housman	4d.
The Immoral Effects of Ignorance in Sex Relations, by Laurence Housman	4d.
Alice in Ganderland, a one-act play by Laurence Housman	3d.
The Bawling Brotherhood, by Laurence Housman	1d.
Old Fogey and Old Bogeys, by Israel Zangwill.....	1d.
The Hithertos, by Israel Zangwill.....	1d.
The Sword and the Spirit, by Israel Zangwill.....	1d.
Votes for Women, a play in three acts, by Elizabeth Robins.....	1s.
Woman's Secret, by Elizabeth Robins	6d.
How the Vote was Won, a play, by Cicely Hamilton and Christopher St. John.....	3s.
Votes for Women, by the Earl of Lytton	1d.
The Citizenship of Women, by J. Keir Hardie, M.P.	1d.
Woman under the Insurance Act, by W. G. Earengay, B.A., LL.D. (Lond.)	2d.
Women's Votes and Wages, by F. W. Pethick Lawrence.....	1d.
Women's Vote and Men, by Henry W. Nevins.....	1d.
My Faith in Woman Suffrage, by John Masefield.....	1d.
Colonial Statesmen and Votes for Women, by J. Malcolm Mitchell.....	1d.
Australia's Advice: Debate in the Australian Senate.....	1d.
Woman Suffrage in Australia, by Vida Goldstein	1d.
The Subjection of Women. The famous essay by John Stuart Mill.....	6d.

I wish particularly to draw the attention of members and friends to the fact that they would be doing this department a great service by ordering not only the above pamphlets, but any other Suffrage literature they may require through us.

A small extra sum (½d. on single pamphlets, and 2d. in the shilling on larger amounts) should be sent for postage, of which any surplus will be returned.

SILVESTER SPARROW.

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F. N. SARGEANT.

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July	Speakers	Speakers
1	Old Street S.A.U.	A. B. Mace
2	Peckham W.A.S.	L. W. Phillips
2	Hampstead W.F.L.	Walter Hogg
2	Windsor C.L.W.S.	Rev. Claude Hinscliff
2	" "	Rev. Canon Everett
2	Kilburn S.A.U.	A. B. Mace
3	Windsor L.S.W.S.	Walter Hogg
3	Halifax W.S.P.U.	A. MacKinlay
4	Huddersfield W.S.P.U.	A. MacKinlay
4	Cirencester N.U.W.S.S.	Lord Lytton
4	Clapham Common S.A.U.	A. B. Mace
4	Woodford C.L.W.S.	Rev. F. M. Green
4	Sheffield W.S.P.U.	A. MacKinlay
5	Kensington W.T.R.L.	Laurence Housman
5	Criterion Restaurant A.F.L.	Joseph Clayton
5	Clapham Common W.F.L.	Wilfrid Hammond
6	Cheltenham N.U.W.S.S.	Walter Hogg
6	Grove End Road W.S.P.U.	Laurence Housman
6	Lewisham B.S.P.	A. B. Mace
6	Nottingham W.S.P.U.	A. MacKinlay
6	Rotherfield W.T.R.L.	Dr. Drysdale
7	Hyde Park M.L.W.S.	Theodor Gugenheim

July 7	Hyde Park M.L.W.S.	John Simpson
" 7	" "	F. N. Sargeant
" 7	" "	J. M. Mitchell
" 7	" "	Dr. Drysdale
" 9	Cambridge N.U.W.S.S.	E. Vulliamy
" 10	Lewisham L.S.W.S.	F. N. Sargeant
" 10	International Franchise Club	Laurence Housman
" 10	" " "	Herbert Jacobs
" 10	" " "	T. Huws Davies
" 11	Newport (Monmouth) C.L.W.S.	Rev. Claude Hinscliff
" 12	Southwark L.S.W.S.	J. M. Mitchell
" 12	Stamford Hill W.F.L.	Wilfrid Hammond
" 12	Hampstead W.F.L.	Henry Holiday
" 13	Muswell Hill L.S.W.S.	Walter Hogg
" 13	Caterham M.L.W.S.	J. M. Mitchell
" 14	Hyde Park W.F.L.	John Simpson
" 14	" "	J. M. Mitchell
" 14	" C.L.W.S.	Rev. Claude Hinscliff
" 14	" W.S.P.U.	J. M. Mitchell
" 14	" "	Dr. Drysdale
" 14	" "	Laurence Housman
" 14	" "	Theodor Gugenheim
" 14	" "	J. Y. Kennedy
" 14	" M.L.W.S.	J. M. Mitchell
" 14	" "	Dr. Drysdale
" 14	" "	Theodor Gugenheim
" 14	" "	John Simpson
" 14	" W.W.S.L.	J. M. Mitchell
" 14	" "	John Simpson
" 14	" W.T.R.L.	Laurence Housman
" 15	Finsbury Park S.A.U.	A. B. Mace
" 15	Melbourn N.U.W.S.S.	E. Vulliamy
" 15	Bristol (Queen's Road) W.S.P.U.	Reginald Pott
" 15	Bristol (St. George's Park) W.S.P.U.	Reginald Pott
" 15	Hyde Park S.A.U.	A. B. Mace
" 16	Cambridge N.U.W.S.S.	W. M. Mirlees
" 16	Lincoln C.L.W.S.	Right Rev. the Bishop of Lincoln
" 16	Bristol (Waggon Works) W.S.P.U.	Reginald Pott
" 16	Bristol (Durdham Down) W.S.P.U.	Reginald Pott
" 17	Blackheath L.S.W.S.	Dr. Drysdale
" 17	Bedford W.S.P.U.	Rev. F. M. Green
" 17	Avonmouth Dock W.S.P.U.	Reginald Pott
" 17	East Molesey L.S.W.S.	E. G. Clayton
" 17	Regent's Park Road, W.S.P.U.	Laurence Housman
" 18	Harlesden M.L.W.S.	Theodor Gugenheim
" 18	" "	F. N. Sargeant
" 18	Thornton Heath Clock W.F.L.	J. Y. Kennedy
" 19	West Southwark L.S.W.S.	Dr. Drysdale
" 19	" "	A. MacKinlay
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" 20	Woking N.U.W.S.S.	Theodor Gugenheim
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" 20	Cardiff N.U.W.S.S.	R. F. Cholmeley
" 20	Haslemere N.U.W.S.S.	Rev. Claude Hinscliff
" 20	Grayshott C.L.W.S.	Rev. Claude Hinscliff
" 21	Hyde Park M.L.W.S.	J. Y. Kennedy
" 21	" "	Theodor Gugenheim
" 21	" "	H. E. Craufurd
" 21	" "	John Simpson
" 21	" "	Dr. Drysdale
" 21	" "	Victor Prout
" 21	Finsbury Park W.S.P.U.	Rev. Claude Hinscliff
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" 26	Oxford, M.L.W.S.	Victor Prout
" 27	Brixton M.F.W.S.	E. Vulliamy
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" 27	Brixton M.F.W.S.	H. W. Nevinson
" 27	Edinburgh W.S.P.U.	E. G. Clayton
" 27	Ealing, W.S.P.U.	John Simpson
" 28	Hyde Park M.L.W.S.	F. N. Sargeant
" 28	" "	Dr. Drysdale

July 28	Ealing W.S.P.U.	J. Y. Kennedy
" 28	Harlesden W.S.P.U.	A. MacKinlay
" 28	Aberdeen W.S.P.U.	H. W. Nevinson
" 28	" "	Joseph Clayton
" 29	Godstone N.U.W.S.S.	Walter Hogg
" 29	Lowestoft N.U.W.S.S.	W. M. Mirlees
" 29	Southwark L.S.W.S.	Dr. Drysdale
" 31	Gerrard's Cross N.U.W.S.S.	Reginald Pott

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