

# ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW.

1912.

No. 54.

APRIL, 1913.



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# THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW.

The ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW is published by the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage, and can be obtained through any bookseller or news-agent. Annual Subscription, 1/6, post free.

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

No. 54.

LONDON, APRIL 1ST, 1913.

PRICE 1d.

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### APRIL MEETINGS.

- APRIL 1ST, RAMSGATE.—Mrs. Murray Smith's Drawing Room Meeting, 3 p.m. Miss Helen Page.
- APRIL 2ND, BEACONSFIELD.—Public Meeting, 8 p.m. The Hon. Lady Hulse and Miss Gladys Pott.
- BURNHAM.—The Hon. Mrs. Rogers' Drawing Room Meeting, 3 p.m. Mrs. Greatbatch.
- SUTTON.—Debate, Adult School, 8 p.m. Mrs. Wentworth Stanley v. Miss Geraldine Cooke.
- APRIL 3RD, MANCHESTER.—Miss Gladys Pott.
- BRISTOL (BISHOPSTON).—Mrs. Greatbatch.
- APRIL 6TH, ANERLEY.—Congregational Church M.O.M., 3 p.m. Miss Mabel Smith.
- APRIL 8TH, WALWORTH.—Debate, St. Stephen's Parish Hall, 3 p.m. Miss Mabel Smith.
- APRIL 9TH, CROYDON.—Debate, 8 p.m. Mrs. Wentworth Stanley v. Lady Selborne.
- APRIL 16TH, SOUTHAMPTON.—Mrs. Simkins' Drawing Room Meeting. Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun.
- APRIL 17TH, SALISBURY.—Public Meeting, Church House, 5.30 p.m. The Hon. Lady Hulse and Mrs. Greatbatch.
- FARINGDON.—Public Meeting, 8 p.m., the Corn Exchange. Sir Alexander Henderson in the chair.
- SOUTHAMPTON.—Debating Society, 7.45 p.m. Mrs. Colquhoun.
- APRIL 18TH, PURLEY.—Public Debate, Lecture Hall, 8 p.m. Mrs. Greatbatch.
- APRIL 22ND, NEW CROSS.—St. Michael's Hall, Men's Social and Debating Society Debate, 8.15. Mr. H. G. Williams.
- APRIL 25TH, SEVENOAKS.—Public Meeting, 8.15. Mrs. Colquhoun and the Hon. C. T. Mills, M.P.

### NEW BRANCH.

The following new Branch has been opened during March:—

Marlow.

Hon. Treasurer: Mr. Alfred Davis.  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Lindell, The Glade, Marlow.

### THE BRANCH SECRETARIES AND WORKERS' COMMITTEE.

The next Meeting of this Committee will be held (by kind permission of Mrs. GEORGE MACMILLAN) on Wednesday, April 16th, at 27, Queen's Gate Gardens, S.W., at 11.30 a.m. These Meetings are open to all Presidents, Secretaries, Treasurers, and Workers of the League, and this notice constitutes the invitation to the Meeting. It is hoped that all who are able to do so will attend them.

Hon. Secretary: Miss Manisty,  
33, Hornton Street,  
Kensington, W.

Chairman: Miss Gladys Pott.

In order to reduce the postage on the "Review," the list of Branches of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage will in future be published every third month (April, July, October, January), and not monthly as hitherto. In the case of subscribers who have paid one shilling for a year's postage, the subscriptions will be allowed to run on for a period corresponding with the amount saved on the postage of the unexpired portion of their subscriptions. The postage on this number is 1d.

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## THE SUFFRAGE OUTLOOK

ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS have no reason to be dissatisfied with the course of events connected with the Woman Suffrage movement. The agitation has lost its novelty, and the public is finding time to examine its merits more carefully. No new arguments can be adduced by Suffragists, and the knowledge that the old assertions will not hold water is spreading. Many recruits were attracted by the belief that the vote would raise wages, but now that that statement has been shown by Labour leaders and others to be false, little enthusiasm is aroused by tirades against the divorce laws or by representing all married women as slaves. It is true that Suffragists find cause for elation in the accession to their ranks of a thousand members a month, but such figures in their proper perspective imply that the movement is losing ground. If the population stood still, they would require, at this rate of growth, nearly forty years before they could claim half-a-million adherents, and five centuries before they had converted half the women of the United Kingdom. But the population is not standing still, and it only needs determination on the part of those who are opposed to Woman Suffrage to cause Suffragists to remain for all time a negligible section of the community. The clamour for Woman Suffrage is not a product of the present age. It was raised after the French Revolution, and the standard of militancy then set is far from having been reached by English imitators. If France could outlive the phase, it should not prove difficult for Great Britain to do the same. It is Suffragists who are making the noise, and mainly Suffragists who are calling attention to it. Only in an unguarded moment could the nation surrender to the intimidation of a few misguided people within its own borders. If Woman Suffrage were to be granted now, it would be because the country had been scared into it by a body of mildly anarchical women. The nation as a whole remains as remote from or as hostile to the movement as ever, and it is only Suffragists who seek to magnify the importance of the agitation that must soon be on the wane, if Anti-Suffragists are true to themselves.

Viewed as a whole the Suffrage movement stands to-day in almost the same position as it was six years ago. Militancy then brought it into prominence, and militancy is still keeping it before the notice of the public. Six years ago the so-called constitutionalists had not succeeded in making the least impression on the country; to-day they have as signally failed to make any real headway apart from the militants. Stripped of all externals, what aspect does the Woman Suffrage movement wear to-day? A conglomeration of contradictions indiscriminately thrown together in the hope that anyone who finds in the mass something to his liking will be persuaded to accept the whole. While Suffragists have no ground in common amongst themselves, it is impossible that their agitation should be able to show a single point for which it could be commended to the country as a whole for its acceptance.

Hence the anxiety to evade the reference of the subject to the nation at large. Parliament, whose jurisdiction is challenged because in the eyes of Suffragists it does not represent the nation, is to be forced to decide without reference to the nation a question that concerns the nation more vitally than any other. Invited to submit to Parliament the measure that they desire, Suffragists have to admit that they cannot agree upon one. One section to which the views of the electorate on other matters has given numerical preponderance is accordingly allowed to draft its proposals, and at once it invalidates the whole Suffragist claim for equality by insisting upon inequality in the age qualification. If women are entitled to the Parliamentary vote as an inherent right, they must be entitled to exercise it when men are. But one contradiction the more does not trouble Suffragists. While their representatives in Parliament are busy in their attempt to square the circle, the leaders outside cry discordantly for the moon, in the form of a Government measure to be introduced by a Cabinet that is sharply divided on the subject. As an inducement to the Government to commit political suicide on their behalf, Suffragists have pledged themselves to be the political executioners of its members individually and collectively.

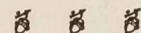
A campaign of these Gilbertian parts ought to have no terrors for anyone. True it is humiliating for the nation to be associated in the eyes of the world with a movement that has accomplished nothing but the degradation of a number of English women; but when the agitation has passed—it has probably reached its zenith already—this aspect, we may hope, will be found to have had no lasting results. On the part of Anti-Suffragists, however, there can be no relaxation of effort to combat the agitation, for it is only necessary to hear or to read the statements that pass muster as arguments for Woman Suffrage to realise how dangerously near to a national disaster indifference on the subject might bring the country. Good service can be rendered by calling constant attention in the Press and at Suffrage meetings to the inaccuracies that form the stock-in-trade of the movement, and it becomes the duty of every Anti-Suffragist to master the chief points of the controversy in order to counteract, as far as possible, the subtle poison that is distilled into the unthinking section of the population.

## NOTES AND NEWS.

### The Socialist Trend.

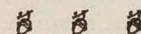
ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS were inclined to regret the withdrawal of the Franchise Bill, as they felt robbed of an opportunity of dealing the Woman Suffrage movement its *coup de grâce* as far as Parliament for many years to come was concerned. But the course of events in the House of Commons has had the advantage of forcing the hand of Suffrage societies and of giving the nation a much

clearer insight into the workings of the Suffragist mind and into the general trend of the movement. In the first place, non-militants have abandoned their attempt at a separate policy and have fallen into line behind the militants in a demand for a Government measure. The impracticability of a Government Bill on a subject on which the Cabinet is divided, to which the Prime Minister is hostile, and which has behind it no demand from the country at large, does not affect the Suffragist attitude, and we are at once given a foretaste of what would happen if ever the parliamentary vote were given to the people who are now demanding it. Of more interest still is the definite incorporation of the premier Suffrage Society under the Socialist banner. The only distinction that can be drawn between Labour and Socialism in regard to Woman Suffrage is that the latter represents the "whole-hogger" in the matter of opposition to the Government so long as it refuses to bring in a Government measure; while the shrewder heads of the Labour party prefer to trim their sails to the passing breeze. Nominally, the alliance is between the Labour party and the Suffragist; but, in effect, it is the Socialists who have absorbed the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, and Socialists will benefit from Suffrage funds. In this respect history is repeating itself. In every country the grant of Woman Suffrage plays sooner or later into Socialist hands, and it may be counted Great Britain's good fortune that this trend of the Suffrage movement has been so unmistakably revealed before it is too late.



### The Allies.

As an indication that what has been said above of the Socialist trend of the Suffrage movement is in no way exaggerated, we may quote an advertisement in *The Common Cause* of March 21st. A great joint Woman Suffrage Demonstration, runs the notice, will be held in Manchester on Easter Sunday by the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies and the Independent Labour Party. The latter organisation is, of course, purely Socialist, and Mr. Keir Hardie, M.P., appears on the platform of the joint demonstration. To label this advertisement with the Union's motto, "Non-party, non-militant," was too severe a strain even for the Suffragist conscience, and only the legend "Non-militant" appears. The Union, however, still claims to be "non-party" on all its literature, and from the accuracy of that designation may be gauged the value of the term "non-militant" applied to a society which works hand-in-hand on every possible occasion with the militants.



### The Alliance.

If the alliance between Suffragists and the Labour Party is useful as a proof of the real significance of the Suffrage agitation, it is no less valuable to the Anti-Suffrage cause in Parliament. As a result of the party's present policy, all Labour candidates have to enter for a by-election sprint as though it were a three-legged race. The number of their defeats, not unnaturally, increases steadily; but the Suffragists are always ready to point out how gloriously successful each reverse has been, and together they console themselves with the truth of the

adage that union makes for strength. Now and then mutterings are heard in the Labour camp, and it is possible that someone less purblind than his confrères will suddenly discover that the contest they are engaged in is a race and not a tug-of-war. Mr. G. N. Barnes, M.P., has come very near to having the Suffrage scales removed from his Labour eyes by daring to suggest in the columns of *The Daily Citizen* that Labour "ought to paddle its own canoe and let the women do the same." He argues with no little reason that militants and non-militants "are but two wings of the same army . . . the one section seeks to dominate by fear, the other by money," and he does not believe in either as being a means of finally getting votes.

"The women" (presumably Mr. Barnes refers to his Suffragist allies) "have had considerable success already in the counsels of Labour . . . the advantage is now being pushed home. . . . The fact is that there is no logical halting-place. If the Labour Party is to become a part of this new 'great national Progressive force' we can't stop at Franchise Bills or Plural Voting Bills, but we must make war for women on all Bills. . . . I started out to help, in my small way, to get economic reform. I thought that was in the main what the Labour Party was out for. I have always thought that Labour was to take a great stride forward in that direction when Home Rule was out of the way. Instead, now that there is a prospect of getting Home Rule out of the way, we are going to get Woman Suffrage in its place. And we are to do it at the beck and call of rich dilettanti, many of them disgruntled politicians, who have fallen out with their own folk, and some of them anti-Home Rule, anti-Socialist and anti-everything except votes for women."

If Mr. Barnes were a Greek he could hardly think more unkindly of a Bulgarian than he does to-day of his Suffragist allies. His letter conjures up visions of the day when the Labour Party as a whole will have tired of its Suffrage flirtation even as Liberals have done. Mrs. Fawcett, Mrs. Pankhurst, Lady Selborne and Mrs. Despard will then have to put their heads together and decide whether Suffrage funds shall go to the Single-Taxers or to the Anti-Vaccinationists.



### A "New" Policy.

THE result of the annual meeting of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies was the elaboration of a new policy. Expressed in the language of the Union's official organ its effect will be as follows: In parliamentary elections to give paramount weight to the views of the party to which a candidate belongs rather than merely to his *personal* views. In other words, as explained subsequently by its spokesmen, the Union will in future support the Labour Party and oppose Liberals. Labour-Socialist candidates may thus be financed by Suffragist funds, while the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies will continue to call itself "non-party." From an Anti-Suffragist point of view the development is as satisfactory as it is interesting. It is impossible to conceive that people of principle who are conscientiously opposed to Socialist doctrine could under any provocation deliberately seek to increase the parliamentary representation of Socialists. Mr. Keir Hardie, one of the leaders of the Labour Party, it will be remembered, has publicly stated that he regards the existence of the King as a sign of lunacy in the people. Mrs. Fawcett and her fellow-Suffragists declare that this is the kind of man whom they will work to have elected as one of the nation's representatives. And when they have returned their Socialist champions, and supposing Woman Suffrage is



granted, what then? Are we to have the spectacle of Philip sober trying to undo the work of Philip drunk and denouncing Socialism? If so, the nation will be better advised to pay no attention to Philip in any mood.

§ § §

#### Arson.

THE firing of a country house, the property of a woman and a widow of a distinguished soldier, is the last incident in the Suffrage movement. Lady White, so far as is known, is in no way connected with the question of votes for women; but the house stood empty, and some advocates of the enfranchisement of women saw it; they found that they could probably set it on fire without being detected, and they did so. The outrage is a perfectly normal development of the Suffrage agitation, which can no longer be regarded as other than a single undivided movement. Suffragists may attempt to class themselves as "constitutional" and "unconstitutional," but the distinction is a mere quibble. Both sections have taken up arms against their country; the one hopes to attain the end in view by defying its laws, the other by defying its Constitution. Mrs. Fawcett would now have herself regarded as poles asunder from Mrs. Pankhurst; but it is not the case. They are so near together that there is hardly room for the Bishop of Lincoln between them. The so-called Church League for Women's Suffrage differs only from the National Union of Women's Societies in so far as it is more honest in one particular. It says that the Suffrage movement would be non-existent without the militants, and so it refuses to condemn them. Mrs. Fawcett's society, with a different standard of honour, condemns the militants and makes common cause with them. Neither Mrs. Pankhurst nor Mrs. Fawcett nor the Bishop of Lincoln is likely to try to set fire to an empty house; but they are joint leaders of one and the same agitation, in furthering which their followers, not unnaturally, refuse to regard war on individuals as a crime, when told to consider as legitimate war on the State waged by the help of a section of the population that is prepared to sacrifice the country for its own interests. Measured by the degree of injury inflicted upon the well-being of the State, the burning down of an empty house is far less heinous than leading a number of people to believe that the vote is meant to be used for the purpose of raising their wages.

§ § §

#### The Trades Boards Act.

THE Trades Boards Act of 1909, which created boards with power to fix legal minimum wages for four industries in which "sweated" work largely prevailed, viz., cardboard box-making, dollied and hammered chain-making, wholesale and bespoke tailoring, and lace finishing, is shortly to be extended to five other sweated industries—shirt-making, linen embroidery, sheet steel and iron hollow-ware, and the sugar, confectionery, and fruit-preserving industries. The linen embroidery trade is one that has long been spoken of as one of the worst paid, especially in Ireland, where much home-work is performed.

The women workers in the hollow-ware industry struck against their low wages at the beginning of this winter, and that strike, no doubt, has assisted to bring about the present action with regard to their trade. The confectionery and fruit-preserving industries are amongst those

frequently mentioned by Miss Constance Smith and Miss MacArthur as embracing a large proportion of young and unskilled girls who have hitherto failed to learn to combine. Those who have helped to bring about and have served upon the already existing trade boards have frankly spoken of the movement as "experimental," but they mostly agree that the result is justifying the experiment. Mr. Buxton tells us that some 200,000 workers have already been dealt with, and Miss MacArthur and others have stated that in many instances wages have been raised 50 per cent. to 100 per cent.

§ § §

#### Without the Vote.

THE extension of the Trades Boards Act to five more industries cuts more ground from under the feet of the Suffragists; although it is not to be supposed that their speakers will modify their misrepresentations on the subject for that reason. It is frequently stated on Suffragist platforms that women need the vote in order to have the benefits of this class of legislation applied to them as it is to men. But the Fair Wage Clause applies equally to women and men, and there are more women than men in the four industries already covered by the Trades Boards Act. If it were not for the urgent necessity of discovering arguments to support Woman Suffrage, Suffragists would not only make fewer misstatements, but might be able to render service to the women whose cause they prejudice by their agitation.

§ § §

#### Signs of the Times.

THERE are two items in the Suffrage organ *Votes for Women*, of March 21st, which are extremely suggestive. First there is a comment on the referendum conducted by the *Era* among actresses. The result of this was a vote of 244 in favour of Woman Suffrage, 326 against and 845 "indifferent." The secretary of the Actresses Franchise League declares that these figures cannot be correct, inasmuch as her League has "some 750 women members." The A.F.L. is well known in the profession as a useful medium for the young actress who desires opportunities of being seen by London managers. The replies received by the *Era* to its enquiry seem to show that the convictions of the members of the A.F.L. do not go much deeper than this. Secondly there is an announcement that the committee of the Women Writers' Franchise League has decided to admit to their League's ranks "sympathisers who are not writers." Altogether it does not look as if the professional self-dependent woman is as keen on the vote as her professed champions might wish.

#### CAMPAIGN NOTES.

It is not always expedient to set out in print the activities of political campaigning, be they party or non-party. The war of the Balkans has brought out a more rigorous press censorship than has been known before in the realm of war between nationalities, and if the necessity is pronounced in that direction, it is no less desirable to

keep the plans of the campaign under lock and key for the time being, so far as the fight for opposing Woman Suffrage is concerned.

Let it not be assumed that the fight is slackening on our side; there probably never was greater need for vigorous concerted action, and there certainly never was more attention given at headquarters to every aspect of the fight.

Perhaps it will suffice to set forth here the fact that during the past few weeks much of the energy of our organisers has been expended in the direction of by-elections. Often by-elections are short and sharp, but at Houghton-le-Spring the patience of nearly everybody was exhausted by the long-drawn-out struggle. Our headquarters were at 12, Vine Place, Sunderland, and from the time of the death of Mr. Cameron, the late member, a vigorous campaign was conducted until the close of the poll. Unlike some of our opponents we have not attempted to seek the return of any particular candidate, but everywhere we have urged the electors to press upon their own champions the policy for which we stand. A large measure of success was accorded us, both at Houghton-le-Spring and at Kendal, in this connection; and hundreds of electors of all parties, and of none, signed postcards to be sent to the candidates, and petitions to be presented to Parliament. Many thousands of leaflets were distributed, and a house-to-house canvass testified to the repugnance the ordinary electors have to Woman Suffrage. A great many meetings were held, and the fortitude of our out-door speakers in face of terrible weather was generally commented upon.

Amongst those who were conspicuous on our behalf at the recent by-elections were Mr. Wrench Lee, Mrs. Bray, Mrs. Stocks, Miss Mabel Smith, Mr. Samuels, and Mr. Moffing, all of whom did excellent work.

#### THE ENFRANCHISEMENT OF WOMEN: ON THE NEGATIVE SIDE.

By the Rev. HENRY W. CLARK.

(Continued.)

THE sphere of women, in our supposed primitive society, would be equally clearly defined. Just as in the case of men their nature and capabilities would automatically draw the line for them, so in the case of women it would be. Obviously, it is in the home, the nursery of the individual and of character (her task being thus contrasted with man's in that it is not on the individual, but on the community as a whole, that man's glance is bent), that she would find her work lying ready to her hand. Over and above that, of course, she would find many opportunities of setting the pattern for, of giving true tone and spirit to, private relationships beyond the home itself—that is, of carrying into such relations between individuals as law did not regulate, the qualities under whose dominance and inspiration the home is built up. Thus she would set going—primarily through her own immediate home circle, but also through wider ranges—those influences, more sweetening than man's because more humanly direct, more powerful (one may truly say) because it is from a single person they emerge and upon a single person they impinge, under which

individuality, as distinct from collective society, is cultivated, softened, elevated and refined. In fact, the true statement of the difference between man's work and woman's, as our imaginary community would consciously or unconsciously conceive it, is that while man makes the community, woman makes the individual; and that statement (if we may pass from the imaginary community for a moment) holds good for all time. The statement that the proper sphere of woman is the home—true as it is fundamentally, inasmuch as the home is the chief manufactory of the individual—is only seen in all its truth when it is put against the background of the more general statement just given. And, let it be noticed, to propound that general statement is really to say that the work of man is done in order that the work of woman may be rendered possible; for the making of individuals is, of course, the ultimate end of all life as men and women jointly live it. Man, with his construction, government, and defence of the society as a whole, is but putting up the platform whereon woman may play her part. Necessarily, there is a reverse process too. It is by individual men that man's task has to be put through. But then, the making of individuals is for the most part under woman's control. And thus woman's work, properly done, moralises man's, infuses into it a touch of regard for the individual which, directed upon the whole as it is, it might not otherwise possess, and introduces into the State-ideal and into man's efforts at realising it elements—carried over from those personal relationships which are woman's chief concern and in which men and women have met—not otherwise able, perhaps, to win or keep a place. In this way, indeed, woman takes a real if indirect share even in the construction of the State as a whole. But all this, necessarily, only on condition that the distinction between man's work and woman's is preserved. This is by way of parenthesis. Coming back to the conditions we are presuming, the natural and self-suggesting reading of the matter under these conditions would be that while man is to make the State as a whole, the influences which make the individual lie chiefly in woman's hands. And it is in using these last at their fullest and highest stretch that woman would find her sphere and her call.

Clearly, the division of function which would thus obtain would imply no sort of inferiority on woman's part. So far as any comparison as to superiority or inferiority could be made at all, it is, in fact, on woman's side that the advantage would lie, since everything done by man would have woman's more successful performing of her part for its ultimate end, and woman would thus be openly declared as occupying the more exalted place. But, in reality, no such comparison would emerge. To begin upon it would appear like instituting a comparison between two things having no common terms. And to question the obvious wisdom of the division of function would in everybody's eyes be simply to quarrel with the natural order. All that the division would be taken to imply, as between man and woman, is the possession of special and distinctive qualities by each. Also, it should be added, that the ordering of things on the suggested plan would make place and demand for chivalry on the part of men, because the fact that constructive and defensive labours are coterminous with manhood, being written clearly in the nature of things, would be chivalry's perpetual call; and, further, that it would be an ordering



of things suited to the working out of moral ends, because the equally clear fact that woman's work is directed upon the individual, and that all else done within the compass of the society's circle is contributory to this, would set moral ideals, ideals of character, in the supreme place. Which things are worth bearing in mind in view of some of the contentions of to-day.

#### LAW MAKING AND LAW ENFORCEMENT.

So far the matter is comparatively simple; and it is difficult to see how up to this point any dispute could arise. It is as our supposed community reaches more advanced stages of development that the possibility of confusion—with a consequent opportunity of raising false issues—appears. With the community's enlargement, with the multiplication of its interests, with the growing complexity of its industries, the fundamental principle that construction, government, law making and law enforcement, are coterminous with manhood, while in the nature of things binding still, has to be worked out in changed ways. On the side of construction, the requirements of the new situation are met by simple division of labour; each man performs the particular constructive task for which he has greatest fitness, and the *whole* of manhood accomplishes the *whole* work of State construction because *each man* does his own special part. But on the side of government the thing cannot be so arranged. It is not possible to split up government's various operations into sections, allotting one section to the oversight of a first body of men, another to a second, and so on, till every man has a distinct share. Hence the *representative* method comes in. The State's manhood delegates its power of law making to chosen men who act in entire manhood's name. But, further, the State's manhood must deal with another difficulty to which the more complicated situation has given rise—the difficulty that it is not possible, not even advisable or necessary, for all men to be *en permanence* soldiers and police, though all men must remain *potentially* both of these—and, therefore, sets up the necessary establishments for the enforcement of law and the defence of the State against enemies within and without. Obviously, also, it must do this (and the point is important) through the representative Government which it has itself set up. Superficially, now, the situation has greatly changed, for manhood performs its law-making office at one remove, its law-enforcing function at two. And it is precisely this change in the situation—though it be no more than superficial when rightly understood—that clouds over for some the fundamental principles on which, spite of superficial change, it still rests.

For the principle that law making and law enforcement are but varying aspects of one and the same act, and must, consequently, be in the same hands, is no longer obviously suggested. In adopting the representative method of law making, the manhood of our supposed community has had no intention of abandoning the principle; it was merely that, when it committed the making of the laws to those it chose from itself, the community's manhood necessarily began to perform *through* those thus chosen the process of dividing itself into actual and potential enforcers of the law (the potential, of course, to become actual in case of need), and of carrying all the consequent arrangements through. But this last-named process, according to the original conception, was still to be a continuation of the first—the line of it produced—a

telescopic drawing out of what the first contained; so that to take part in the first process was really to accept a share in the second. In the very act of choosing, the *whole* of the choosing constituency presented *itself* for purposes of law enforcement (potential or actual) in and through the chosen ones and through whatever arrangements they might make; and, conversely, in the making of those arrangements, the chosen representatives had and must have the *whole* of the choosing constituency, for purposes of law enforcement, at their beck and call—the actual for immediate use, the potential against the critical hour. It is possible, however, under these conditions, to argue—or, rather, to assume, for it cannot really be argued—inasmuch as we have *two separate* processes, election by the constituency and law enforcement not *directly* by the constituency, that the second is not merely a continuation of the first, but something quite distinct, and that participation in the first involves no responsibility for the second. Because the State's manhood does not *patently* devote itself to the service of law enforcement in the same act whereby it commits to its representatives the business of law making, it is easily forgotten that it *really* does so; and thus the line which ends in the making of law may be plausibly viewed as not necessarily running back to the same starting point as that which ends in the enforcement of law—which is to say, that the starting point in the former case need not be manhood at all. That the act of election for law making has at least a potential act of law enforcement implicit within it—that law enforcement must accordingly have the entire electing constituency at its command—these facts, grounded in the nature of things though they be, die out of view. And, hence, unjustifiable claims to take part in the electing process obtain their chance.

(To be concluded.)

### RUNNING A WOMAN CANDIDATE FOR THE L.C.C. IN HOXTON.

In September and October last the Local Government Advancement Committee circularised every one of the Political Associations in London—Progressive and Municipal Reform—urging on both parties the necessity of adopting a larger number of well-qualified women candidates at the approaching Borough and London County Council elections, and offering towards that end all the help our infant organisation could give. In response to 101 letters sent, only 36 replies were received, the vast majority of which showed not the slightest keenness on the part of any association to start out and look for a woman candidate. In only two or three instances was it mentioned that a woman had already been officially adopted. Nothing daunted by this somewhat chilling response on the part of the local secretaries, we put ourselves in communication with the two head organisations—the London Municipal Society and the London Reform Union—and our secretary kept in touch with them all the winter, while we were at the same time looking out diligently for suitable candidates. These two societies professed great friendliness to our aims and ideas, but it was throughout a perfectly negative friendliness—if we would produce the candidates they would do their best to persuade local associations to adopt them—but never did they seem inclined to step into the arena themselves and help us find the candidates; never did they see fit to use their great prestige in appealing themselves to women to come forward. Meanwhile, the prejudice against women in public work seemed to grow visibly around us; many of the admirable women whom we approached—women trained through long years of philanthropic or semi-public work—were not on the register, and so not qualified—oh, for the passing of that poor, patient measure, the Women's Qualification Bill! Many, even if qualified, were not unnaturally averse to the strain of an election at this

time of storm and stress in all that concerns women's work; and, of course, the fact that our committee could only support candidates of Anti-Suffrage opinions restricted our choice. At last we submitted the name of an excellently qualified woman to the London Municipal Society, and after a good deal more delay and suspense, the *only* seat that offered itself turned out to be Poplar, where it would have meant running against another woman! As it is no part of our policy to run one woman against others, and the circumstances would have to be most exceptional to warrant our doing so, we decided—within a few hours of hearing that our candidate would probably be adopted—to withdraw her. It was a great disappointment, but we felt it was only right. No other official candidature was in sight, and it was by now three weeks and two days to the election. In spite of all difficulties our committee decided to make an independent fight, as a protest against the attitude of both political associations in not adopting more women candidates on their official lists. The lady who thus pluckily agreed to throw down the glove at the last moment was Miss Alice Willoughby, sister of Sir John Willoughby—a strong Conservative and Anti-Suffragist. The constituency we chose was Hoxton, for the double reason that Miss Willoughby had worked there for some years in connection with the Children's Happy Evenings' Association, and that the Progressive majority there was generally considered to be so safe that to make an *independent* Municipal Reform fight, as we were doing, could not seriously affect the chances of the official Municipal Reform candidates. Naturally our Conservative Election Sub-Committee into whose hands the conduct of the campaign had been given by the Executive, did not wish to do anything to harm the party, only to demonstrate in action that unless in future our Committee were reckoned with by the local associations, we might cause one or other party considerable annoyance by running independent candidates in constituencies where the majority was a narrow one. This we consider was amply proved by the result. When March 6th, came, Miss Willoughby only polled 158 votes, which was a hundred more than the official Moderates prophesied, and eight more than we prophesied ourselves! but, as Mrs. Ward pointed out in the *Standard* of March 10th, one has only to examine the results of this election "to see in how many constituencies the appearance of an Independent candidate in the last weeks of the election, polling anything from 100 to 300 votes, would entirely upset the calculations of both parties. In another day or two Miss Willoughby's candidature in Hoxton might either—through the extra effort made to reach the women voters—have put in the strongest Moderate candidate, who was only defeated by 290, instead of 1,600 as last time, or, by splitting the Moderate vote more effectively, we might ourselves have been responsible for the Moderate defeat. And in other districts 100 votes subtracted from one side or the other would have been enough to upset the apple-cart in four constituencies on Thursday last, and 200 votes would have been enough in five more."

Do not, however, let anyone imagine that to get even 158 votes is an easy matter! Even that small result meant extremely hard work for some of us for the bare three weeks that we had to give to the campaign—indeed, only two weeks and three days from the day when we opened our Committee rooms. We knew not a soul in the neighbourhood; there was no local committee to back us; we were thrown entirely on our own resources. Our young barrister-agent, Mr. Casswall, and Miss Peard, our Committee's organiser, and lent by them for the campaign, threw themselves into the fray with an ardour that never flagged, and worked overtime most cheerfully and devotedly day by day. We collected hurriedly a band of voluntary workers, and the first few days were spent in getting out the election address to the 11,000 electors. Meanwhile, our posters invaded the hoardings and windows of Hoxton, and the population gradually woke up to the fact of our existence. We held one public meeting, not at all badly attended, at which Mrs. Ward presided and Miss Willoughby spoke, well supported by Mr. Raymond, Unionist candidate for Carlisle, and Mr. Seymour Fort. Our friend, the Progressive heckler, was very much on the spot, but both Chairman and speakers gave him such a good time that at the end he and his friends got up and proposed a vote of thanks themselves and remarked that they'd had a very "pleasant conversation"! By the time we were ready to start the canvass, there were only 11 days left! Naturally, we devoted our energies mainly to the women voters, of whom there were 930, and systematically visited them all—though, of course, there was no time to follow up removals. Besides these we could only visit three or four hundred men electors. Our experiences in canvassing were very varied—pathetic, amusing often—and always instructive. In the streets we canvassers were habitually greeted as "Suffragettes," and the women who talked to us on their doorstep generally looked in-

different or, rather, contemptuously hostile, until we explained that we had "nothing to do with the Suffragettes." Speaking for myself, in the course of about 360 calls, when I must have seen actually about 220 women for little talks, I met exactly *four* who were in favour of the parliamentary vote for women. All my colleagues reported the same unpopularity of the Suffrage cause on their rounds. But on the ground of the need for women's peculiar experience, knowledge, and natural qualities, in helping to carry out the laws as they affect women and children; on that ground putting the arguments as simply and forcibly as possible and giving instances whenever we could, we found we could generally arouse the electors' interest and sympathy.

The idea of a woman standing outside the party machinery was very new to people and, of course, needed a great deal of explaining. But we put the protest argument forward and generally found it understood. There was, however, not nearly enough time to translate the just-awakened sympathy with a woman's candidature in Hoxton into the definite action of voting for a lady unknown in the district (except for one small corner) and not backed by the party organisation.

On the other hand we were constantly told that if Miss Willoughby would only stand again and with the party she would probably be elected.

Oh, the poverty! the degraded and degrading poverty of some of those streets, those little courts and alleys in which Hoxton abounds! The dirt, the miserable condition of some even of the big blocks of dwellings; the swarming masses of children. Never, from personal observation and inquiry, have I been filled with a more burning sense of the crying need for women's work in the "enlarged housekeeping" of this great city in all matters pertaining to public health and housing, to the schools, and the supervision of playgrounds and open spaces, than I was during this campaign of ours in Hoxton. And though this need is only just dawning on the minds of working men and women, yet it *is* dawning, and our Committee has a strenuous future before it of showing people the need and of helping them to satisfy it.

DOROTHY WARD,

Assistant (Hon.) Sec., Local Government Advancement Committee (Anti-Suffrage).

### DUBLIN NOTES.

(From our Correspondent.)

#### THE ANTI-GOVERNMENT POLICY.

Last month I outlined the chaotic conditions of the Suffrage movement in Ireland and its supporters' frenzied search for a policy after the Franchise Bill fiasco. Since then a measure of cohesion has been reached. In the first place, Irish militants and non-militants have agreed to compose their differences, on the surface at least, and there will be no further exchange of amenities at public meetings. That decision is something of a loss to the gaiety of Irish life, but I do not imagine that it will have any more serious effect. Certainly it will not in reality reconcile the irreconcilables of the hostile Suffragist camps or unite them sufficiently to give such strength to the movement as to make it less inconsiderable than it is. In the next place, after much discussion, Irish Suffragists have decided that the Government offer of facilities for a private Member's Bill cannot be deemed of the smallest value, and that nothing less than a Government measure will suffice. So far the position was clear enough, and, possibly, satisfactory enough to the Suffragists. But the further question, What was to be done to secure a Government measure, produced the interesting symposium of opinion to which I referred last month. As a result of it, the search for a policy is at last over. With much heart-searching, and to their own extreme regret, Irish Suffragists have been forced to recognise that they cannot dispense altogether with the laws of logic. Once the demand for a Government measure is agreed on, it follows logically that the Government must be opposed until it grants the demand. That dreary conclusion has been reached by the Irish Women's Franchise League, the Irish Women's Suffrage Society, the Irish Women's Suffrage Federation, and the Irish Branch of the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association. It has been ratified by the official organ of the movement in Ireland, and the policy of Irish Suffragists is now definitely "agin the Government." I have called it a dreary conclusion, and from the Suffragist point of view the outlook which



it creates is almost indescribably dreary. It means a great deal more in this country than the decision of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies to adopt an anti-Government policy means in Great Britain. It does not matter at all in Great Britain that the Government against which the Suffragists have set their hands is a Home Rule Government; but it matters a great deal in Ireland. The Suffragists' attitude towards the Government is also extended against the Government's political allies—the Irish Nationalist Party.

In this country we are unable to appreciate fine shades of party feeling or to accept the current English idea that the Woman Suffrage issue may legitimately rest without parties. Here we are Home Rulers, or we are Unionists; that is all that our practical politics amounts to, and we allow neither position to be compromised by irrelevancies. The anti-Government and anti-Nationalist policy of the Irish Suffragists can have only one result. A small minority of the Nationalist Parliamentary Party are supporters of Female Suffrage, but the Nationalist Press has never concealed its doubt that the Suffrage question might compromise the Home Rule issue. The Suffragist attitude is bound to be interpreted as—and, in fact, it is—opposition to Home Rule, and it must alienate finally from the Suffragist movement the great bulk of the people of Ireland, who are Home Rulers. In other words, throughout the greater part of Ireland, and particularly of rural Ireland, the Suffragist movement, so far from being likely to spread, is preparing to commit deliberate suicide. It will provoke the hostility of the whole Nationalist organisation, and it cannot live when the Nationalist "machine" is bent upon its destruction, as it will be. If this policy is carried out, "the cause" will be opposed in Parliament by every official Nationalist Member, whatever his individual opinions may be. In this country Suffragists will no longer have to face disinterestedness, but active and bitter opposition—and there is no opposition more bitter than that of the Irish Home Ruler who finds his political faith unnecessarily challenged. In a word, the new policy of Irish Suffragism will practically destroy the movement. It is the irony of the situation that this self-destruction was inevitable. In the present state of Irish politics, even if there were any real demand for the vote, there is no room for the Woman Suffrage question. Irish Suffragists had either to subordinate their claims to the Home Rule campaign, which would mean a slow death to the movement by creeping paralysis, or to advertise themselves by intervening to the detriment of the Home Rule cause. The result is the same either way. Our chief interest in the new development of Irish Suffragist policy is not that the movement will make a more spectacular finish, but that its end will be both surer and swifter under the new conditions.

#### THEORY AND PRACTICE.

Irish Suffragists have been so busy making this doubtful choice that they have thrown away an opportunity of doing real civic service and commending themselves to the public. Dublin was startled recently by some particularly unsavoury cases in connection with the White Slave Traffic Act. The Dublin Press, with public opinion undoubtedly behind it, pointed the moral of the open prevalence of vice in the Dublin streets at night, and called particular attention to the extreme youth of many of the girls who make their living there. It was suggested that a conference of social bodies should be held in Dublin to deal with this latter point. It was not a sentimental demand for fundamentally impossible reform, but simply for the organisation of public opinion in order to secure the proper administration of the existing law in relation to the legal age of consent. In Dublin this matter is a notorious and clamorous civic scandal. There was a practical suggestion that something should be done to deal with it, as something could easily be done if a social organisation gave the public a lead. This subject is one of the great planks of Suffragist policy. At Suffragist meetings in Dublin, particularly, one is nauseated by the repetition of the statement that, once women get the vote, prostitution will, in some mysterious way, disappear altogether. Here was a solid opportunity of turning their ideals into practice within definite and reasonable limits. Not a single Woman Suffrage society in Dublin has made any effort whatever to turn this practical suggestion into effect. I do not think that the fact requires comment.

### WOMAN SUFFRAGE AND THE SOCIAL EVIL.

THE persistency with which Suffragists repeat statements that have been proved to be inaccurate or misleading shows no signs of abatement. Lady Selborne still upholds Woman Suffrage in Australia and New Zealand as an example of what Woman

Suffrage can achieve, regardless of the fact that the conditions in these lands and in the Mother country are entirely dissimilar, and of the fact that if women, being in a minority, had voted against every single piece of legislation introduced since the grant of Woman Suffrage, their opposition would not have had any effect. Mr. Cameron Grant, the Suffragist authority (sic) on economics, still talks of the near approach of the time when women will form 90 per cent. of industrial workers, regardless of the fact that official statistics prove that the proportion of women to men in industry is decreasing and stands to-day at less than 50 per cent. Lesser lights repeat and adorn these misstatements until the so-called educational movement resolves itself into an organised campaign of misrepresentation. Among the latest offenders in disseminating exploded generalisations may be mentioned Canon Scott Holland, whose position and influence ought to have safeguarded his audience from the methods adopted by him to win recruits for Woman Suffrage at a meeting held at Oxford last month. Canon Scott Holland's speech was subsequently challenged in a letter to the *Oxford Chronicle*, the salient points of which we reproduce below. They have appeared already at one time or another in these columns, but they are valuable in their present form. We would urge our readers to keep this letter by them for reference, in order that whenever statements similar to those made by Canon Scott Holland are repeated, a refutation may be made in public or sent subsequently to the Press.

"Observer" wrote from Oxford on March 10th, as follows:—  
"What I ask your permission to do is to quote from acknowledged authorities in politics, in social problems, and in practical 'rescue' work the decided opinion that the 'vote' will not raise wages, and will not affect the social evil, there being no substantial connection between the two.

"Mr. Arthur Balfour, a Suffragist, speaking in the House of Commons on July 12th, 1910, said: 'I am one of those who do not believe that the enfranchisement of women will have any important effect upon their material welfare. I cannot honestly say that I believe it will raise their wages, or that it would cause schemes of social reform to take a different complexion or be cast in a different shape. I am extremely sceptical about the effect of conferring the franchise on women upon social reform.'

"Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, another Suffragist, speaking in Leicester on November 12th, 1912, after explaining that the common Suffragist argument (used by Canon Scott Holland), 'no taxation without representation,' was a fallacy, because it could not be applied to individuals but only to a State, added: 'It was equally fallacious also to say that, if women were enfranchised, their wages would rise. Men's wages had never risen because they were enfranchised.'

"Mr. W. H. Dickinson, likewise a well-known Parliamentary champion of Woman Suffrage, told a deputation on October 3rd, 1912, that 'he had a profound contempt for the argument that the vote would raise the wages of women; there was nothing in it.'

"So much for the wages argument. Now for its alleged relation to the social evil.

"Mr. W. J. Taylor, the Secretary of the London Female Preventive and Reformatory Institution (with which is connected the Midnight Meeting Movement), 'has been the guiding spirit of the institution for nearly forty-five years; and, since the work was begun in 1857, no less than 45,000 women of the class under review have been dealt with through its various agencies.' Speaking of the employers who pay low wages, he says: 'I should not feel justified in placing upon their shoulders the terrible burden of complicity in the degradation of women through prostitution. . . . On the question of low wages as an inducement to immorality, I have found no proof of the accuracy of this assumption.'

"Mr. W. A. Coote, the Secretary of the National Vigilance Association, says: 'It is a common opinion that women are driven upon the streets by economic pressure; but it is not true. I am amazed that men who affect to defend women against their oppressors should give countenance to so foul a slander.'

"Commissioner Adelaide Cox, who has recently been placed in supreme command of the women's social wing of the Salvation Army, after twenty-three years' association in the work with Mrs. Bramwell Booth, says: 'I am unable to agree to the general proposition that white slaves are largely recruited from the sweated industries, or that the economic question enters to any extent into the problem of prostitution. . . . I cannot say from experience that any of the girls I have come across—and they have been very numerous, unfortunately—have deliberately embraced the horrible calling in order to improve their income.' . . . The roots of the evil do not take their sustenance from this source, but from the wayward and undisciplined hearts and minds of men and women.'

"The *Westminster Gazette*, to whose investigations I am indebted for the last three testimonies, sums up the results of its inquiries in these words: 'Men and women who have spent their lives in the interests of fallen women, are unanimous in declaring that it is a gross libel on the women of the poorly paid industries to assume that they are driven on the streets to augment their incomes.'

"May we hope that Canon Scott Holland will now give up an argument which is a mere inference, and is contrary to the experience of those best able to state the facts?"

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### SUFFRAGIST ACCURACY.

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

SIR,—In your January number you quote the "misleading and inaccurate statements of Suffragist speakers" in regard to the 5,000,000 women workers.

According to the Census of 1901 (I have not the figures of 1911 by me), the figures for the United Kingdom are 5,309,960.

May I point out that it is you who are misleading, as you quote the total as 4,660,000; yet these figures only apply to England and Wales?

You find fault with the Rev. F. Lewis Donaldson, who distinctly says (as quoted by you) in the *United Kingdom* towards 5,000,000 women and girls are employed. I am sorry to find you, in your anxiety to correct Suffragist speakers, falling into quite as great an error. I consider the United Kingdom should always be taken as a whole in statistics like this.

I am, &c.,

E. W. K.

March 7th, 1913.

[Our original contention was that the vast majority of Suffragists make use of statements that are either half-truths or wholly untrue. They make no attempt to verify their statements, and only infer that they are approximately accurate, because other equally careless Suffragists have used them before. Our correspondent's letter illustrates this Suffragist weakness.

1. The Census of 1901 does not give 5,309,960 as the number of women workers. This is the number of female workers, and includes 1,670,770 girls (30 per cent. of the total) between the ages of 10 and 14 years. The number of female workers of 15 years and upwards was, therefore, 3,639,190. Suffragists will hardly dare to admit that their arguments for giving votes to women are based on the low wages of girls between the ages of 10 and 14 years.

2. Our correspondent states that we are misleading, as the number, 4,660,000, of women workers, applies "only to England and Wales." The number in question is "the estimated maximum number" of women workers in the *United Kingdom* who would be included in the Insurance Scheme on May 1st, 1912. Our correspondent has, clearly, never met with this number before, which, naturally, does not figure in the Census of 1901, but she nevertheless makes the positive statement that "these figures only apply to England and Wales." The statement is not only untrue, but lacks entirely any foundation whatsoever.

3. The Rev. F. L. Donaldson, whose remarks we quoted, had said, quite correctly, that the number of "women and girls over 10 years of age was towards 5,000,000." This statement was not challenged, as the expression "towards 5,000,000" was regarded as a welcome striving after accuracy; but we did challenge Mr. Donaldson's subsequent statement that "most of" these "towards 5,000,000" were employed "under shameful conditions of overwork and underpay." Just half the number are in domestic service and professions, and of the remainder barely half-a-million are engaged in work which is not State-inspected. Mr. Donaldson's "most of the 5,000,000," therefore, resolves itself into 500,000.]

### [WOMEN AT THE UNIVERSITIES.

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

DEAR SIR,—We should regard it as a favour if you would find space to print this short letter in the next number of your REVIEW, and so counteract any false impressions that may have been left by the article entitled "Women at the Universities" in your February number.

Surely C. M. K. does not seriously think that there is only one type at a woman's college, and that any one varying from it "either finds herself at a disadvantage or is requested on some plea or other to go down"? We can confidently state that there are as many types of women students as of male undergraduates, and that no student

at a woman's college would ever be asked to go down except she were guilty of some flagrant breach of order, or had failed to pass some indispensable examination. No mere inability to conform to an imaginary type would possibly serve as an excuse for dismissal by the authorities.

C. M. K. has drawn a pathetic figure of the shy and awkward "lady of learning" when plunged into the unfamiliar atmosphere of the drawing-room. It must be remembered that the woman student is in residence only six months out of the year, during which time the social manner is daily required of her upon college societies and in college entertainments. Moreover, the statement that a girl is regarded as "fast" because she has friends among the undergraduates is without foundation in fact. She is allowed not only to accept a reasonable number of invitations, but also to return hospitality to friends, even though they be undergraduates. A woman's college is not a nunnery, nor is the woman student a tyrannical recluse. For the remaining six months of the year the woman student leads the normal life of the English girl, with the usual round of drawing-room teas, dances and tennis parties. Does C. M. K. imagine that university education runs exclusively in certain families, precluding the college girl from ever rubbing shoulders with her purely social sister? It cannot be too strongly stated that the average woman student is neither a stranger to, nor a gauche member of, society, knowing of it only through the pages of a novel, as C. M. K. asserts. The blue-stocking, like the Dodo, is an extinct type.

We must protest against the assertion that the woman student devotes herself "with misplaced zeal to the over-cultivation of her brain." Are we to say that the possibilities offered by the universities of England to her sons and daughters lead not to higher education, but to over-cultivation?

Finally, we find ourselves unable to follow C. M. K. in dividing "the womanhood of the world of to-day" into the two types of the woman student and the social butterfly. We must put in a plea for the recognition of the uncertificated woman worker as well as for many other distinct types. But even were such a division comprehensive, surely it is hardly fair of C. M. K. to leave the onerous task of bridging this enormous gulf between the two types to the unaided efforts of the woman's college?

Thanking you in anticipation of your kindness in permitting us thus to encroach upon your space.

We are, &c.,

A SUFFRAGE, and

AN ANTI-SUFFRAGE

WOMAN STUDENT.

### ST. GEORGE'S DAY.

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

DEAR SIR,—May I take the liberty through your columns of reminding English sister Anti-Suffragists to wear a red or a white rose on April 23rd (St. George's Day) to show that we are proud of our Motherland and would see her continue to hold her head high among the nations. I make this appeal to you on behalf of the rising generation, a generation sadly pleasure-loving and unpatriotic, but yet the generation in whose hands lies the future of our Empire. Since it is the Anti-Suffragists who are ready and willing to forswear the vote because they consider it is for the country's good, I write to your paper to urge your readers to wear the rose on England's day as a reminder to the youngsters that England needs all the love and service that her sons and daughters can give her, in order that she may retain the love and respect of Britons beyond the seas. Those Britons faithfully keep St. George's Day, so let us do likewise and wear the rose on April 23rd for England and Empire.

Bournemouth.

Yours very truly,

G. L. MEDWIN.

### SUFFRAGIST ARGUMENTS.

SUFFRAGIST leaders may be interested to see how their "arguments" look with the i's dotted and t's crossed by the ordinary Suffragist hand. A circular sent through the post contains the following sentence:—

"Every hour that this right (the right to vote) is withheld, more women are being ruined physically, mentally and morally in sweating dens and on the streets. Every week of delay adds its toll of degenerate children born and neglected children dead."

As the Suffrage agitation continues, fresh glimpses are occasionally afforded of the purifying influence that Suffragists will bring to bear with the vote upon our politics.



## THE PRESS.

A TRENCHANT series of articles by Mr. Harold Owen has appeared in the *Standard*. Under the heading "Liberalism and Lawlessness," Mr. Owen has summed up frankly and fully the situation produced by the Suffrage movement and the measure of support given it in quarters where every principle has been subordinated to the obsession, votes for women. We regret that pressure upon our space prevents a fuller summary of Mr. Owen's articles.

In a letter to the Press Mr. Harold Owen gave further telling arguments against the attitude of some Liberals to Woman Suffrage. He wrote *inter alia* :—

"If votes for women can be obtained by violence, then votes for anybody will cease to have any value whatever, and violence will have ousted the vote as an instrument of Government."

"He (Mr. McCurdy, M.P.) believes that the claim of women to have votes because some women pay taxes is just and sane and logical, although he knows that the demand of the militants is that women shall have the vote, on the same terms as it is or may be conceded to men, and he knows quite well that the vote is not conceded to men, because they pay taxes or in proportion to the taxes they pay."

## PURIFYING POLITICS.

THE new policy of Mrs. Fawcett's Society, the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, was outlined in a speech made by Mrs. H. M. Swanwick at the Kensington Town Hall on March 7th. In the course of her remarks, Mrs. Swanwick said :—

"We now join all the other Suffrage Societies in demanding that the Cabinet shall be united. That may be a difficult job. It is, but the getting the vote is difficult. We have already split the Cabinet on this question and caused a very considerable amount of ructions in it. They will find, as times go on, that these things will get no better, but much worse . . ."

"We have used some strong language, but it is not going to be as strong as our action in the country. . . ."

In the same speech, Mr. Asquith is referred to as a "gambler" and a "welsheer." The speaker announced that they were going "to put the fear of the National Union into the Whips' Office"; the Government had been the enemy, and they must fight the Government.

A CORRESPONDENT quotes in the *Daily Telegraph* two instances to show that the aspect of the Suffrage agitation that took the form of pillar-box outrages was not as harmless a series of escapades as Suffragists often endeavour to represent. A son, who had left home two years previously, is ill in Paris, and writes to his mother for reconciliation, and asking her to come, if he got worse. The letter in reply never reached him, as the address was rendered undecipherable in a pillar-box, and the letter was only returned to the mother after his death. The second case was that of a woman in reduced circumstances in Dulwich, with bailiffs in the house and her husband ill. She wrote for help to a well-to-do connection and the necessary money was sent. But the envelope in which it was sent was destroyed, and the contents were returned to the sender ten days later. In the meantime the woman's goods had been sold, she herself had disappeared, the husband went to hospital and the children to the workhouse.

The Bishop of Lincoln urges his audiences not to condemn militancy, and other Suffragists refer to the purity of motive and courage of militants.

## WOMEN AND THE LAW.

IN the course of a letter to the *Daily Graphic*, Mr. John Massie writes :—

"Women, simply because they are women, cannot be punished like men when they break the law. Therefore, not being equivalently punishable as law-breakers, they cannot with propriety claim equality with men as law-makers; the responsibilities of the two sexes are unequal, and their political position must therefore be unequal also.

"Similarly, the responsibility of law-making involves the responsibility of law-enforcing. But force is characteristically male, and the responsibility of enforcing law is solely male. If, then, women were legislators they would be in the position of making laws while escaping the responsibility of enforcing them. And the sex, which, as a sex, cannot be an equal partner in enforcing law or in undergoing punishment for breaking law has no right to be an

equal partner in making law. This, I take it, is 'logically unanswerable' because it is founded in the ineradicable difference of sex; that is, in the nature of things.—I am, sir, &c.,

"JOHN MASSIE.

"Old Headington, Oxford, February 21st."

## OUR BRANCH-NEWS LETTER.

It is particularly requested that all banners and decorations sent from headquarters for the purposes of meetings should be returned with the least possible delay.

**Amersham.**—There was a good attendance at the Town Hall on February 27th on the occasion of a meeting of the Amersham Branch of the N.L.O.W.S. Mr. G. H. Weller presided, and the speakers were Miss Helen Page and Mr. A. Maconachie.

Miss Page congratulated the Branch upon the fact that its membership in six weeks had risen to 200. Now was the time when the question of Woman Suffrage should be treated seriously and not with indifference. The vote was not a privilege, but a responsibility, and judging from municipal elections, women seldom took the trouble to record their vote. The Suffragists said that women's wages would increase when they had a voice in the government of the country; but this statement was untrue, because the question of wages rested upon the economic law of supply and demand, as was exemplified in the case of domestic servants. There were two classes of Suffragists—militants and non-militants; but the two had often worked together, as, for example, in Bow and Bromley, where militant and non-militant speakers addressed meetings from the same platform in favour of Mr. Lansbury. The speaker urged all those present to do their best to defeat a movement which threatened to become a national danger.

Mr. Maconachie said that the questions of National Service and Woman Suffrage were the two most important before the country to-day. Votes for women meant that the electorate would be chiefly composed of female voters, and that would make the country ridiculous in the eyes of all mankind, and would increase the roll of incapable electors.

Lady Susan Trueman moved the Anti-Suffrage resolution, which was carried by 250 votes to 7.

**Bangor.**—A public debate, arranged by the local Branches of the Women's Suffrage and Anti-Suffrage Societies, was held on March 13th at the Penrhyn Hall. Considerable interest was shown, and there was a large audience presided over by the Mayor of Bangor (Mr. T. J. Williams). The speakers were Miss Cordelia Moir (N.L.O.W.S.) and Miss Muriel Matters (N.U.W.S.S.).

Miss Moir spoke first, and said that the women's claim for a vote did not represent one-hundredth part of the spirit behind the movement; and such a change should not be brought about without a thorough knowledge of the question on the part of the electors. Anti-Suffragists agreed in believing that women often had to contend against unfavourable conditions, but they did not think that the vote would remedy them. They had to consider what would be best for the country as a whole, and not what would be best for women. The vote did not require an intellectual standard, and no indignity was reflected on the status of womanhood because she had not got it. The final responsibility of legislation rested with the men, and therefore they had the power of voting.

Miss Matters replied that the movement was certainly part of a great spiritual evolution of the civilised world, hence women should have the vote as one of the first steps towards social reform. It was a struggle for freedom on the part of the women, and if the majority were opposed to it, it did not prove that the cause was wrong. Christianity had once suffered in the same way. The speaker then traced the growth of the whole movement, and said that women had a valuable contribution to offer to the body politic, because they represented the other half of man. It was impossible to draw a boundary line between the duties of men and the duties of women, and say it was thus ordained by nature; there was no end to the movement for freedom and development.

Miss Moir replied and was answered by Miss Matters. Finally the motion was put before the house, and was declared to be in favour of the Anti-Suffragists.

**Birmingham.**—We have received the annual report of the Birmingham Branch of the N.L.O.W.S. Since the last annual meeting, twenty new members have joined the League, besides the much larger numbers that have joined the sub-Branches of the District Branch, and the total number is now 140. During the year deputations were sent to the Members of Parliament for

South Birmingham and North Warwickshire to lay before them the views of many of their constituents. A canvass was also taken of the Northern Division of Birmingham, and the results showed that the majority of working women are quite indifferent to the subject of Woman Suffrage, as out of an electorate of 1,603, 1,314 gave no reply.

New Branches have been formed at Sutton Coldfield, Stourbridge, Walsall, and Wednesbury, and meetings held in all four places. The Wednesbury Branch has since become affiliated with the Birmingham and District Branch.

During the year a small committee drew up a scheme for the federation and organisation of Birmingham and the neighbouring Parliamentary constituencies, which was approved by the Central Office, and which, it is hoped, will be carried into effect when sufficient funds are procured.

The League has taken part in smaller meetings at Wall, Stourbridge and Willenhall, and the Birmingham Branch was well represented at the Albert Hall meeting on February 28th and at the General Council meeting.

The position of the Branch as affiliated with the National Union of Women Workers has become a subject of some difficulty in consequence of the Suffrage resolution passed by the latter. The Branch may have to resign from the National Union, but at present no definite step has been taken.

**Bradford.**—A meeting was held at the Mechanics' Institute on March 1st, under the auspices of the N.L.O.W.S. The speaker was Mr. T. Samuel, and the chair was taken by Mr. T. I. Clough. The chairman spoke first, and was interrupted several times during his speech; but the heckling was more constant during Mr. Samuel's address, so that it was not always possible to hear what he said. During his speech he denied the Suffragist assertion that the vote was a right: men have votes because they are men; women, in return for their taxes, get protection for their lives and property. Women in every class were represented by the men of the same class, and the idea that the vote would raise wages was absurd. If women were so anxious for power, they would make more use of the municipal vote.

Before the end of the speech disorder broke out again, so that the chairman had to appeal for quietness. Several questions were asked, some of which were ruled out of order.

A meeting organised by the local Branch of the N.L.O.W.S. was held at the Church Institute on February 19th. Sir William Priestley presided, and read a letter from Lady Priestley, President of the Branch, urging the importance of the Woman Suffrage question.

Mrs. Gladstone Solomon then spoke. She said that if justice was what the Suffragists demanded, the first thing was to consult the women as to whether they wanted the vote, for it was impossible to give it to a limited number and not to all. It was not a case of the inferiority of one sex, but the question was one of the division of labour; women were not capable of performing their own duties and those which belonged to men. She went on to refer to the militant methods and deprecated them most strongly as the most degraded form of cowardice.

The Anti-Suffrage resolution was carried with only a few dissentients.

**Cambridge.**—A very well-attended meeting was held in the Guildhall on March 3rd, by the University Branch of the N.L.O.W.S. The Rev. A. Boughey took the chair, and the logical speech of Mrs. Gladstone Solomon and the clever reasoning of Mrs. Wentworth Stanley were much appreciated by the audience. Many questions were asked, and the meeting was a memorable one, as it called forth two excellent addresses from Mrs. Wherry (her maiden speech) and Mr. H. F. Rogers-Tillstone. The Anti-Suffrage resolution was carried and the membership largely increased.

Other meetings have been held in the district: at Fen Ditton, when Professor Ridgeway took the chair; at Newnham Croft, Chesterton; in St. Paul's Institute and St. Giles's Institute; and at Ickleton.

Drawing-room meetings were held at Kingscote, by invitation of Mrs. Austen Leigh; and at Penns, by invitation of Mrs. Hicks. At all these meetings the same resolution was put and carried by large majorities, and many new members joined the League.

A debate on Woman Suffrage was held at Girton College. Mrs. Wentworth Stanley (N.L.O.W.S.) dealt with the question from the colonial side, and said that the enfranchisement of women meant the disintegration of the Empire.

Mrs. Bethune Baker repudiated this statement, and said that the natives of India had accepted the rule of the "Great White Queen," and were hardly aware that she was not an absolute ruler. The Anti-Suffrage resolution was lost by 102 votes to 4.

**Cheltenham.**—A very largely attended debate was held at the Town Hall, Cheltenham, when Miss Helen Fraser took the positive and Mrs. Wentworth Stanley took the negative side on the question of "Votes for Women."

Miss Fraser claimed the vote on the grounds of justice to women. Mrs. Wentworth Stanley, speaking as an Australian, did not consider that the vote had been of value to women there. She mentioned the case of women clerks who, in Melbourne, had an average wage of 19s. 11d. per week. The Wages Board, at the request of the clerks, imposed a minimum wage of £2 5s., with the result that many female clerks who were not very young or who were not able to work as quickly as some lost their posts and their places were filled by men.

Mrs. Wentworth Stanley also spoke of the literature which had been published by various Suffrage societies and, as a mother, claimed that great care should be taken that such literature should not be allowed to come into the hands of young girls.

No vote was taken at the conclusion of the debate, but the tone of the meeting seemed to be in favour of Anti-Suffrage.

**Dollar.**—Under the auspices of the Scottish League for Opposing Woman Suffrage, Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun, addressed a meeting in the Drill Hall, Dollar, on March 4th. Mrs. W. H. Dobie, of Dollarbeg, presided. Mrs. Colquhoun asserted that women, while they might be as clever as men, were in many ways unfitted by nature for taking part in the government of the country; the sphere of women was undoubtedly the home.

**Dulwich.**—Under the auspices of the N.L.O.W.S., a public debate was held on March 13th, in the Emmanuel Hall, presided over by Mr. Loudoun-Shand.

Mr. H. Jacob, Chairman of the Men's League for Promoting Woman Suffrage, moved that, in view of modern conditions, the Parliamentary franchise should be extended to some women. He admitted that "some" might or might not mean "all," but contended that what the public should do was to agree to the principle of Woman Suffrage and leave it to the politicians to find a reasonable basis on which to grant it.

Mr. A. Maconachie, in reply, said the politicians would probably say, "Thank you, very kindly. How many other circles will you ask us to square?" It was childish to vote for an abstract notion without examining where it would take you. After further speeches from Mr. Jacob and Mr. Maconachie, and a number of questions from members of the audience, Mr. Jacob's resolution was put and was declared lost.

**Dundee.**—An At Home was held in Foresters' Hall, under the auspices of the N.L.O.W.S., on March 3rd, over which Mr. D. Moodie presided. Mrs. A. Colquhoun gave an address, in which she said that the primary work of governments was to see to the defence of the country, and as this duty fell to the men and not to the women, it would be unjust to give women an equal share in the government. She urged women to seek development on different lines from those of men, and spoke of the wide sphere of public influence that they already possessed. It was by this alone that reforms had been brought about in the past, and through the same influence the legal inequalities between men and women would be remedied in the future.

Many questions were asked and ably answered. After tea an enjoyable programme of music followed, and the proceedings closed with a vote of thanks to the speaker.

**Edinburgh.**—The Executive Committee of the Edinburgh Branch of the S.L.O.W.S. held an At Home in the Society of Arts Hall on February 28th, when an address was given by Mrs. Colquhoun. Lady Christison took the chair.

Mrs. Colquhoun said that the "no taxation with representation" cry was no good, nor was the assertion that with the granting of the franchise wages would increase. In Great Britain women had raised their wages enormously during the past thirty and forty years in the textile industries in the north of England and south of Scotland; and Mr. Shackleton, when he first introduced his Women's Suffrage Bill, laid stress on the fact that the Bill would not raise women's wages. The speaker then referred to militant tactics, and pointed out that the sufferers were not the Government, but the public—in most cases women.

Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun addressed a crowded drawing-room, kindly arranged by Mrs. Glassford Bell, 1, Douglas Crescent, on the afternoon of Friday, February 28th. The address was most interesting, and presented the subject of Woman Suffrage in quite a new way to some of her audience, who all expressed themselves delighted with the address.

**Epsom.**—A most successful public meeting, under the auspices of the N.L.O.W.S., was held in the Public Hall, on March 12th.



Mr. C. S. Gordon Clark presided over an audience of more than 300, in the place of Mr. Henry Keswick, M.P., who was announced to take the chair but was prevented. Mr. Keswick, however, sent a message of strong sympathy with the movement.

The speakers were Mrs. Greatbatch and Mr. Maconachie, and the eloquence and sound reasoning in the speeches attracted many new members to the League. When the Anti-Suffrage resolution was put to the meeting, it was carried by a very large majority, the dissentients being less than twelve.

**Finchley.**—A successful meeting was held under the auspices of the Finchley Branch of the N.L.O.W.S. on March 4th at the Redbourne Hall. Lord George Hamilton presided, and addresses were given by Mr. Murray Carson and Miss Helen Page. The audience listened attentively to the convincing speeches, and a bouquet of violets and lilies (representing the Suffragette colours!) was presented to Miss Page. There were a few interruptions from Suffragists, but at the close a resolution opposing the granting of the Parliamentary franchise to women was carried by a very large majority.

**Glasgow.**—On February 20th a debate on Woman Suffrage was held, under the auspices of the Clyde Bank Debating Association. Miss MacLean took the affirmative and Mr. Sutherland and Mr. Cumming spoke on the negative side. The meeting was poorly attended, and resulted in a majority of ten votes for the affirmative.

On February 26th a debate was held in the Liberal Club. Mr. Laughland opened the discussion, and proposed the Anti-Suffrage resolution. This was supported in a brilliant speech from Mrs. A. Colquhoun. The speakers on behalf of Woman Suffrage were Mrs. Crosthwaite and Mr. Mactaggart. No vote was taken; but it was evident that the majority of those present were in favour of the resolution.

Under the auspices of the Glasgow Association for Woman's Suffrage a debate was held in the Partick Burgh Hall on March 6th. Dr. Elsie Inglis supported the Suffrage resolution, and Mr. R. Cumming opposed it. Many speakers took part afterwards, and a majority were in favour of the vote, though the actual numbers were not taken.

**Kilmacolm (Sub-Branch).**—On the afternoon of February 27th Mrs. A. D. Ferguson (Hon. Secretary) gave an At Home in the Public Hall. About fifty-two people were present, and Mr. A. D. Ferguson presided. Mrs. Colquhoun addressed the meeting, and as a result there has been a good increase of members to the Sub-Branch.

**Godalming.**—A very successful drawing-room meeting was held on February 28th at Stone House, kindly lent for the occasion by Mrs. Percy Cox. Over fifty people had accepted invitations to the meeting, which was addressed by Mrs. Harold Norris, who gave a most eloquent and clearly reasoned speech. Several members of the audience expressed their intention of joining the League, and a vote of thanks terminated the proceedings.

**Golders Green.**—A public meeting was held on March 17th at St. Alban's Hall. Mr. Maconachie was in the chair, and made a most interesting speech, which was followed with close attention by the audience, who also much appreciated the clever and witty speech which followed from Mrs. Gladstone Solomon. Two male Suffragists caused a good deal of disturbance during the early part of the meeting, and, as they refused to listen to reason, were ejected. The very small party of Suffragettes present left together towards the end of the meeting, their exit being greeted with loud applause by the rest of the audience, and the Anti-Suffrage resolution was carried unanimously.

**Grundsburgh.**—On March 6th a meeting was held in the Parish Room, when Miss Mabel Smith (N.L.O.W.S.) gave an address. She was listened to with great attention, and when she invited those in favour of Woman Suffrage to put up their hands, there was not a single response. The Rector, the Rev. E. Wilton South, was in the chair.

By the kindness of the Rev. F. W. and Mrs. Wait, a drawing-room meeting for women was held at Hasketon Rectory on March 5th, when Miss Mabel Smith again spoke. A unanimous show of hands against giving votes to women concluded the meeting.

**Guildford.**—A large meeting, organised by the N.L.O.W.S., was held on March 10th, with Lieut-General Sir Edmond Ellis in the chair. He was supported by a large and representative gathering, and the chief speaker was Miss Gladys Pott.

Miss Pott dealt with the subject from various points of view. She said that what was most needed by voters was business experience, and nature singled out the man for this duty because he was physically the stronger and more capable. A woman's duty was a more private one, because she was the mother of the race, and if she lost this mother instinct, the progress of the nation would

cease. The Suffragists had still to prove that the vote would remedy economic evils; legislation during the past 40 years had improved the status of women, and this was either the outcome of women's influence, or the chivalry of men. Granting the Suffrage to women in the Colonies was very different from granting it to the women of England, simply because England was an Empire responsible for the welfare of her Colonies.

Several questions were asked and ably answered; then Admiral Tudor moved the Anti-Suffrage resolution, which was seconded by Lady Martindale, and carried by a large majority.

**Hackney.**—A meeting of the Hackney Branch of the N.L.O.W.S. and their friends was held in the Library Small Hall, Church Street, on March 10th. Mr. M. G. Liverman presided and read a letter from Mr. Walter Long, who wished the meeting every success. He also announced the results of a post-card referendum of that district, which said that out of 2,044 women electors, 457 were in favour of the Suffrage, 962 against, 9 were neutral, and 620 had never replied.

Mr. A. J. Brough, Vice-President of the Branch, then moved the Anti-Suffrage resolution, and discussed the theory of the vote raising women's wages. He advocated trade unionism as the best means to bring this about, and said that women ought to devote their energies to this.

Miss Helen Page seconded the resolution and said that votes for women meant the downfall of the Empire. Women would never be content until they were in Parliament and had the majority of power in their hands.

The resolution was carried unanimously, and a vote of thanks to the speakers terminated the meeting.

Many new members have since been enrolled.

**Hatcham.**—A debate was held in the Hatcham Liberal Club on February 23rd between Mrs. Gladstone Solomon (N.L.O.W.S.) and Mrs. Swanwick, M.A. (London S.W.S.). Each speaker was allowed twenty-five minutes, with a further opportunity of speaking after an interval for questions. Mr. C. W. Bowerman, M.P., presided.

The audience showed great interest, and various arguments were loudly applauded. The question: "Should women have the Vote," was put to the meeting, and though the voting was close, the chairman decided that the motion was certainly lost.

**Hendon.**—A debate on Woman Suffrage was held on February 27th, in the Council Chamber, between Dr. Letitia Fairfield and Mrs. Gladstone Solomon. The meeting was arranged by the Hendon Branch of the Church League for Woman Suffrage, and was presided over by Dr. Frank Andrew.

Dr. Fairfield moved the resolution: "That the extension of the Parliamentary franchise to women is desirable," and proceeded to outline the constitutional history of the English Parliament and to show how granting the vote to women was the only logical outcome. The laws affected women vitally, whether they were married or single, and, therefore, they should have some share in the making of them; it was impossible to separate municipal and Parliamentary work, and the vote should not be possible for the one without the other.

Mrs. Solomon replied, and said that it was impossible for women to make the laws for men. It would mean that while the men supplied the Navy, the women would decide how many ships the nation was to have; men would go down into the mines, and the women would settle their mining disputes. This would happen because there are in England a million and a quarter more women than men, and once a few women had the vote it would be impossible to exclude others.

Taking the question of wages, it was unreasonable to ask for equal pay for men and women, as a man's wage was expected to maintain five people, while a woman's wage was for herself. Such things as housing and education could be regulated by the municipal vote, and while women were apathetic with regard to the exercise of that, it was unwise to think of extending it.

Other people spoke, and the resolution was put to the vote and lost by a large majority.

**Hereford.**—A meeting was held under the auspices of the N.L.O.W.S. at "The Crozen," Hereford, by kind permission of Mrs. F. E. Gladstone. Mr. J. Arthur Pott, of Ross, said that at the back of the Suffragist movement were the combined forces of the Socialist and Labour organisations, and he claimed that any such revolutionary measure for the emancipation of women as that proposed would mean the first steps down the steep slope to Socialism.

**Hexham.**—A meeting was held in the Town Hall, on March 5th, under the auspices of the N.L.O.W.S. Miss Noble, President of the local Branch, was in the chair, and Mr. H. S. Mundahl spoke

against the extension of the Suffrage to women. At the close he was asked several questions, and the meeting ended with a vote of thanks to the speaker.

**High Wycombe.**—A debate on Woman Suffrage took place in the Guildhall in connection with the local branch of the N.U.W.S.S. The Rev. T. Rushby Smith took the chair, and the speakers were Miss K. Raleigh and Mrs. Macdonald, who took the place of Miss Frances Low.

Miss Raleigh moved the Suffrage resolution, and contended that women would find the vote a great advantage in their home life, as it would serve as a protection against many injustices. Those who paid equal taxes should have equal rights, still more so in a country which aimed at representative government.

Mrs. Macdonald urged that women could exercise their influence in other ways, in local and county affairs and in many social matters. Women had not the faculty of thinking Imperially, and she was sure that women could do many things better without the vote than with it.

The vote was then taken and the resolution carried by 70 votes to 27.

**Hulme.**—A debate on Woman Suffrage was held on February 20th at the Stretford Road Liberal Club between Miss Emily Cox and Miss C. Moir.

Miss Cox urged that as enfranchisement had been so advantageous to men, it would be the same to women. Women suffered from inequalities which could not be rectified until they had a voice in the government and could so regulate the condition of labour.

Miss Moir said that the votes of men represented the nation. Their sex made women stand in a different relationship to active government from that of men, and although their position in the world was equally important, men had the responsibilities and actual duties of government.

**Leicester.**—The annual meeting of the Leicester Branch of the N.L.O.W.S. was held on March 5th at the Wyvern Hotel. The chair was taken by the Hon. Murray-Smith, and a letter was read from Lady Hazelrigg (President) regretting her inability to be present.

Mrs. Harold Norris gave an interesting address, in which she showed that in giving women the power that went with the vote, it was impossible to give them the responsibility which ought to go with that power. She also dealt with the question of the women outnumbering the men, and said that for this reason alone women should be excluded from the franchise.

**Lockerbie.**—A very well attended meeting was held in the Town Hall, Lockerbie, on the afternoon of Tuesday, February 25th. Mrs. Eliot Lockhart, The Heuke, had kindly undertaken all the arrangements, which were excellent. Tea was served at four o'clock. Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun addressed the meeting, and all listened with great interest to what she had to say. At the conclusion a vote of thanks was accorded Mrs. Colquhoun, proposed by Mr. Maitland Heriot. A number of people joined the League.

**Manchester.**—Miss Cordelia Moir was the chief speaker at an Anti-Suffrage meeting in the Longsight Public Hall on March 4th. She examined the two arguments in favour of Woman Suffrage: first, that women were equal citizens of the Empire with men and should therefore have the same privileges; and, secondly, that women in politics would be advantageous to the national welfare. She denied both these statements, and said that, while one sex outnumbered the other, it could not be good for the nation to give women the vote. Women had already a tremendous influence in politics, and had an equal share in the formation of public opinion.

On February 20th Miss Cordelia Moir debated with Miss Emily Cox, M.A., at a large public meeting arranged by the Whalley Range and Old Trafford Women's Liberal Association. An animated discussion took place, after which the Suffrage resolution was put and carried by 57 votes to 46, a considerable proportion of the audience not voting. Several new members joined the League after this meeting.

On March 1st our cause was ably presented at the Central Y.M.C.A. Literary Society by Mr. T. McPherson. On a vote being taken our cause won by a small majority.

On March 8th Mr. Thomas McPherson debated with Mr. Barnes, of the N.U.W.S.S., at Moss Baptist Church Literary Society, and, although no vote was taken, our views were very well received, and the meeting seemed favourable.

**Marlow.**—After a drawing-room meeting on March 14th, which was addressed by Mrs. Crance, a new Branch was formed at Marlow with already fifty-four members. Lady Frances Legge and Miss Wethered volunteered to help form a committee, and Mrs. Lindell was chosen as Hon. Secretary.

**Marple.**—Mrs. Charles Hughes took the chair, and Miss Cordelia Moir, Secretary of the Manchester Branch of the N.L.O.W.S., gave an address at a meeting held under the auspices of the League at Brabyn's Hall, Marple, on February 26th.

Miss Moir spoke of the necessity for maintaining the dignity and importance of women's domestic duties in the nation. She held that the demands of the leaders of the feminist movement belittled women's special powers and work, and urged all the ladies present to unite in opposing the demand "made by a small section of women in the name of all women." About a hundred ladies were present, and a large number joined the Marple Branch of the League. The proceedings closed with a vote of thanks.

**Marylebone.**—The annual general meeting was held on March 14th, the President, Lady George Hamilton, kindly lending her house for the purpose. The meeting was particularly successful; the President was in the chair, and the Treasurer and Secretary read satisfactory reports of the year, and called attention to the large increase of membership in the Branch. Mrs. Herbert Bennett moved the adoption of the report, and referred to the successful work done at the Anti-Suffrage Shop at Earl's Court, and her experiences there.

Miss Dormer Maunders, of New Zealand, gave an account of the effect of woman's vote in her country, and several questions were asked.

Mr. Edwin Bale passed a vote of thanks to the President, and the meeting terminated with tea.

**Oxford.**—A public debate on Woman Suffrage was held in St. Giles's Parish Room on February 28th, under the auspices of the Oxford Branch of the Junior Imperial League. Mr. L. F. Powell presided. The motion was: "That this house is in favour of the principle of Woman Suffrage," and the speakers for the motion were Mrs. Arthur Gillett and Mrs. Brabant (N.U.W.S.S.); against the motion, Mrs. Greatbatch and Mrs. Clement Webb (N.L.O.W.S.).

Mrs. Gillett opened the debate, and showed how the vote had gradually become more democratic so as to represent the country; but it would never attain complete representation until women had a share in the electorate.

Mrs. Greatbatch argued that the Government must have the power behind it to enforce its measures; hence, legislature had been confined to men. Women were by nature incapable of sharing with men all the responsibilities that government implied; their share in building up the Empire was just as great, only it was more private. In the industrial world the interests of men and women were the same, so that women were represented by the men, and in social legislature affecting women and children the opinions of expert women were always secured.

Mrs. Brabant strongly opposed the "physical force" argument, and said that nowadays government did not rest on brute force.

Mrs. Clement Webb laid stress on the fact that women were not as yet politically educated enough for the vote.

At the close, the motion was put to the house and was rejected by 33 votes to 28.

The annual meeting of the Oxford Branch of the N.L.O.W.S. was held at the New Masonic Hall on March 14th. Mrs. John Massie, in the absence of Mrs. Max Müller, presided, and at the conclusion of the private business Professor Dicey gave an interesting address on the present situation.

He said that he was convinced that the opinions of the majority of men, and also of the women, were against giving the Parliamentary vote to women. Anti-Suffragists could gather this from the way in which the Suffragists were trying to rush a measure through Parliament without consulting the electors in a General Election, and also from the violence that had been shown by the people to the militant Suffragists. Although he was thoroughly in favour of the right of everyone to make his or her opinions heard, yet he did not think that this right implied giving that person a vote. Compromise might be effected by arranging some way for women to express their views without being directly represented in Parliament, but Suffragists would not hear of this.

Professor Dicey concluded his speech by a strong condemnation of militant tactics, especially because of the principle they advocated, that of doing evil that good might come.

**Paisley.**—A public meeting was held in the Kingston Hall on February 27th. Mrs. A. Colquhoun was the speaker, and the chair was taken by Mr. D. B. Kyles. A number of questions were asked and ably answered by Mrs. Colquhoun.

**Reigate.**—The annual meeting of the Redhill and Reigate Branch was held in St. Mark's Lecture Room on March 6th. Mr. Mott presided, and, as treasurer, presented the financial statement, and moved the adoption of the report for 1912. Mr. Rundall



seconded, and in his speech went over the chief events of the year connected with the Woman Suffrage movement. In Reigate, a successful reception had been held in January, in which Mrs. Humphry Ward and Mr. Mitchell-Innes, K.C., had spoken; also their Member, Colonel Rawson, had said that he would vote against any form of Female Suffrage.

The re-election of the committee and officers was proposed by Mr. Leon Little, and seconded by Miss Nutt. A vote of thanks was passed to Major Sharpe and the Chairman, and the latter in his reply made a strong appeal for fresh members and subscriptions.

**St. Anne's.**—Woman Suffrage was the basis of a final debate of the St. Anne's and Lytham Debating Society, presided over by Alderman J. Healey, J.P.

Mr. F. Ashworth proposed the resolution:—"That this House is in favour of granting votes to women on the same terms as men," and Mr. Pickup opposed him, saying that everybody having an inherent right to a vote meant the enfranchisement of paupers and lunatics.

A good deal of discussion followed the speeches; and, on being put to the vote, the resolution was lost, 12 being against Woman Suffrage and 8 for.

**St. Leonards.**—On March 12th drawing-room meetings were held by kind permission of Madame Wolfen in the afternoon and evening, and Mrs. Harold Norris addressed both meetings on "The Reasons for Opposing Woman Suffrage."

She began her speech by observing that the position of women politically was not so favourable now as it had been. There had grown up in the House a strong feeling against the enfranchisement of women which the militants had fostered. There never could be true equality between the sexes, and the vote would not make up for the disabilities of women. It would be dangerous for the Empire to give the vote to a sex which numerically predominated, and it was a noticeable fact in New Zealand and Australia that the men outnumbered the women. A municipal vote was good, because it dealt with domestic affairs, which was a woman's province.

In the evening Mrs. Norris dealt almost entirely with the economic aspect of the question. A vote of thanks was passed to the speaker at both meetings.

**Shrewsbury.**—Mr. E. B. Fielden presided over a large meeting held under the auspices of the N.L.O.W.S. in the Music Hall, Shrewsbury, on February 21st. The speakers were Miss Gladys Pott, Lord Charnwood, and Mr. Rowland Hunt, M.P.

Miss Pott said that the position of Anti-Suffragists was often misunderstood. They were not contented with things as they were, but they did not believe that giving votes to women would be an efficient remedy for the evils they saw around them. The vote was a direct instrument of government, and required that the person who used it should be able to compromise between the apparent good of the individual and the eventual good of the community. In pursuit of their ordinary avocations men had this faculty to a greater extent than women, and for women to cultivate it meant the neglect of their primary duties. She denied that women were ill-used by the law. Suffragists said that women had no control in the guardianship of their children; the law said that the man was responsible for the upbringing of his child, and in such cases there must be one voice to settle the difficulty. Again, if the vote was the remedy for low wages, would men have gone on strike so continually to obtain their desires? To argue that what had been good for New Zealand would be good for England was quite erroneous—the comparison was impossible.

Miss Pott then moved the Anti-Suffrage resolution, which was seconded by Lord Charnwood.

Mr. Rowland Hunt, M.P., spoke, and said it was the first time that he had appeared on an Anti-Suffrage platform. He believed that Votes for Women was an impossible scheme because of the majority of female voters; and said that if women would only put forth their energies towards inducing every man to defend them and their country in time of need, they would do far more good for themselves and for the nation.

The resolution was then carried unanimously.

**Sidmouth.**—A public meeting, arranged by the N.L.O.W.S., was held at the Manor Hall, on February 6th, and was presided over by Mr. G. A. Wright, F.R.C.S.

Forcible addresses were given by Mrs. Harold Norris and Mr. Maconachie, and the Anti-Suffrage resolution was carried with very few dissentients.

**Streatham.**—On February 21st there was a debate on Woman Suffrage at Streatham Hall, arranged by the local parliament, the Speaker being in the chair. The W.S.P.U. representative was Miss Leonora Tyson, with Mrs. Gladstone Solomon from the N.L.O.W.S.

Miss L. Tyson was the first speaker, and proposed the Suffrage resolution. In the course of her speech she said that the whole community suffered when a whole sex is unrepresented; women had no desire to rule men, but to co-operate with them. With regard to women in municipal affairs, Miss Tyson said that it was useless to engage in administrative work without legislative power. The vote in Australia had been very successful and beneficial to the country.

Mrs. G. Solomon declared that the Australian Senate was different from an Imperial Parliament. Votes for one woman will mean votes for all women, and there were 1½ millions more women in England. Suffragettes were old-fashioned because they depended for their success on political power, while reformers like Moses, St. Paul, Luther, Wesley repudiated it.

The resolution was put to the vote and carried by 197 votes to 160. The voting of the Streatham parliament, separately, was 19 for and 31 against.

**Taunton.**—On March 14th, Lady Selborne, a member of the non-militant Woman Suffrage party, and Miss Gladys Pott, of London, an Anti-Suffragist, were opposed in a public debate on the question. The Mayor presided over a crowded audience, and the proceedings were quite orderly. Miss Pott proposed that the granting of the franchise to women was contrary to the interests of the British Empire. Lady Selborne supported the negative. When a vote was taken the Mayor declared the motion lost, the meeting thus deciding for Woman Suffrage.

**Torquay.**—The annual meeting in connection with the local branch of the N.L.O.W.S. was held on March 14th, when Mr. J. Kenney presided. Mrs. Dering White (Bournemouth) proposed a resolution requesting Colonel Burn, M.P., not to vote for any form of Woman Suffrage in the House of Commons until it had been submitted to the electorate. Mrs. E. Brown seconded this, and the resolution was carried.

**Tunbridge Wells.**—The annual meeting of the N.L.O.W.S. was held at Christ Church parish room on March 13th, Mrs. E. L. Pontifex presiding. The report showed that 148 new members had joined the Branch, and they had lost twenty members during the year. The financial statement was read by Mr. Councillor Emson, and showed a balance in hand of £11 9s. 7d. Mrs. Colquhoun gave an able address, in which she referred to the great progress that the League had made, and said it was essentially a patriotic society. A vote of thanks was passed to the speaker and the chairman.

**Walthamstow.**—A debate took place on March 5th between Mrs. Gladstone Solomon (N.L.O.W.S.) and Mrs. Abbott (N.U.W.S.S.) before the Walthamstow Women's Liberal Association. The Suffrage resolution was passed by two or three votes, but several new members were enrolled in the League after the meeting.

**Wilton.**—A successful meeting, arranged by the Wilton Branch of the N.L.O.W.S., was held in the Talbot and Wyvern Hall on Wednesday evening, January 22nd. Lady Muriel Herbert, President of the Salisbury and South Wilts Branch, presided over a representative gathering, and was supported by members of the local committee and by the Mayor and Deputy Mayor of Wilton. In her introductory remarks the Chairman criticised the refusal of the local Suffragists to co-operate in the referendum suggested by Mr. Charles Bathurst, M.P. for South Wilts. She was followed by the two speakers for the evening, Lady Pender and Mr. Chapman-Huston, who, in the course of interesting speeches, dealt with the Imperial aspects of the question and the dangerous tendency of the Suffrage movement to place rights before duties.

The Anti-Suffrage resolution was then put to the meeting, and carried with only five dissentients, and a vote of thanks to the speakers and Chairman was proposed by the Mayor (Mr. E. A. Cooke), and seconded by the Deputy-Mayor (Mr. F. W. Marks). A short programme of music and recitations followed the speeches and was much enjoyed by the audience.

**Woodbridge.**—A meeting in connection with the N.L.O.W.S. was held on February 25th in the Lecture Hall. Admiral Pelham Aldrich presided, and introduced the speaker—Mrs. Greatbatch.

In the course of a fluent speech, Mrs. Greatbatch said that Anti-Suffragists were not opposed to social progress, but they considered that the enfranchisement of women would not benefit the State either socially or politically. A referendum of people's wishes had never been taken; so far, the mandate of the country seemed to decide against the vote.

Questions were asked, and a vote of thanks concluded the meeting.

**Wood Green.**—A keen debate on Woman Suffrage was held by the Liberal Club on February 22nd. At the close the Chairman declared the Suffrage resolution to have been passed by 31 votes to 30.

## LEAFLETS.

3. Gladstone on Woman Suffrage. Price 1s. per 100.
4. Queen Victoria and Women's Rights. Price 2s. 6d. per 1,000.
5. Lord Curzon's Fifteen Good Reasons against the Grant of Female Suffrage. Price 3s. 6d. per 1,000.
6. Is Woman Suffrage a Logical Outcome of Democracy? E. Belfort Bax. Price 1s. per 100.
8. Woman Suffrage and the Factory Acts. Price 1s. per 100.
9. Is the Parliamentary Suffrage the best way? Price 10s. per 1,000.
13. Women's Position under Laws made by Man. Price 5s. per 1,000.
15. (1) Woman's Suffrage and Women's Wages. Price 5s. per 1,000.
15. (2) Woman's Suffrage and Women's Wages. Price 3s. per 1,000.
15. (3) Votes and Wages. Price 5s. per 1,000.
15. (4) Women's Wages and the Vote. Price 6s. per 1,000.
16. Look Ahead. Price 4s. per 1,000.
18. Married Women and the Factory Law. Price 5s. per 1,000.
21. Votes for Women (from Mr. F. Harrison's book). Price 10s. per 1,000.
24. Reasons against Woman Suffrage. Price 4s. per 1,000.
25. Women and the Franchise. Price 5s. per 1,000.
26. Woman Suffrage and India. Price 3s. per 1,000.
27. The Constitutional Myth. 3s. per 1,000.
29. Women and the Suffrage. Miss Octavia Hill. Price 4s. per 1,000.
30. On Suffragettes. By G. K. Chesterton. Price 3s. per 1,000.
31. Silence Gives Consent. (Membership form attached.) Price 7s. per 1,000.
32. Taxes and Votes: Should Women have Votes because they Pay Rates? Price 4s. per 1,000.
34. Woman Suffrage. From the Imperialistic Point of View. Price 5s. per 1,000.
35. Women in Local Government. A Call for Service. By Violet Markham. Price 7s. per 1,000.
36. Registration of Women Occupiers. Price 1s. per 100.
37. Why Women Cannot Rule: Mr. J. R. Tolmie's Reply to Mr. L. Housman's Pamphlet. Price 5s. per 100.
38. Substance and Shadow. By the Honourable Mrs. Evelyn Cecil. Price 5s. per 1,000.
39. Against Votes for Women (Points for Electors). 4s. per 1,000.
40. Woman and Manhood Suffrage. Price 3s. 6d. per 1,000.
41. A Liberal's Standpoint: A Plea for Conscientious Objectors. By Holford Knight. Price 5s. per 1,000.
42. Black Tuesday, November 21st, 1911. Price 5s. per 1,000.
43. Woman Suffrage: The Present Situation. By Mrs. Humphry Ward. Price 3s. 6d. per 1,000.
44. The Lord Chancellor's Speech at Albert Hall. Price 6d. per 100, 5s. per 1,000.
45. Miss Violet Markham's Speech. Price 6d. per 100, 5s. per 1,000.
47. Most Women do not desire a Vote. Price 3s. 6d. per 1,000.
48. Some Words of Wisdom. Price 3s. 6d. per 1,000.
50. The Real Issue of Woman Suffrage. 3s. per 1,000.

51. Suffragist Fallacies. *A Mandate (?)*. Price 3s. 6d. per 1,000.
52. Manifesto. Why the Nation is Opposed. 5s. per 1,000.
53. Power and Responsibility. 3s. 6d. per 1,000.
54. The Danger of Woman Suffrage: Lord Cromer's View. Price 3s. 6d. per 1,000.
55. "Votes for Women" Never! Price 3s. 6d. per 1,000.

## PAMPHLETS AND BOOKS.

- A. Freedom of Women. Mrs. Harrison. 6d.
  - B. Woman or Suffragette, Marie Corelli. 3d.
  - C. Positive Principles. Price 1d.
  - D. Sociological Reasons. Price 1d.
  - E. Case against Woman Suffrage. Price 1d.
  - F. Woman in relation to the State. Price 6d.
  - G. Mixed Herbs. M. E. S. Price 2s. net.
  - H. "Votes for Women." Mrs. Ivor Maxse. 3d.
  - I. Letters to a Friend on Votes for Women. Professor Dicey. 1s.
  - J. Woman Suffrage—A National Danger. Heber Hart, LL.D. Price 1s.
  - K. Points in Professor Dicey's "Letter" on Votes for Women. Price 1d.
  - L. An Englishwoman's Home. M. E. S. 1s.
  - M. Woman's Suffrage from an Anti-Suffrage Point of View. Isabella M. Tindall. 2d.
  - N. "The Woman M.P." A. C. Gronno. Price 3d.
  - O. The Red Book (a complete set of League leaflets in handy form). Price 3d. (Withdrawn for revision.)
  - Q. Why Women should not have the Vote, or the Key to the Whole Situation. 1d.
  - R. The Man's Case Against 1,000,000 Votes for Women. 1s. each.
  - S. "Songs for Suffs" or "Clement's Inn Carols," by I. Arthur Pott. 3d. each.
  - T. "Feminist Claims and Mr. Galsworthy," by J. Arthur Pott. 1d. each.
  - The Physical Force Argument against Woman Suffrage. By A. MacCallum Scott, M.P. Price 1d.
  - Deputation to Mr. Asquith on Woman Suffrage. 1d.
  - U. Equal Pay for Equal Work. A Woman Suffrage Fallacy. Price 1d.
  - V. The Albert Hall Demonstration. Price 2d.
  - W. Suffragette Sing-Song. Price 2d.
  - X. A Memorandum on Woman Suffrage, by Rt. Hon. Sir Joseph Compton-Rickett, M.P. Price 1d.
  - Y. Woman Suffrage: Its Meaning and Effect. By Arthur Page, B.A. Price 1d.
  - Z. Speeches by Lord James of Hereford and Lord Curzon of Kedleston at a Dinner of the Council. 1d.
  - AA. Lecture by Miss Pott. Price 1d.
  - AB. Wages and Votes: A Reply to Miss Maude Royden. By G. S. Pott. Price 2d. each.
  - The Legal Subjection of Men: A Reply to the Suffragettes, by E. Belfort Bax. 6d.
  - Ladies' Logic: A Dialogue between a Suffragette and a Mere Man, by Oswald St. Clair. 1s.
- All the above Leaflets, Pamphlets, and Books are on sale at the offices of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage, 515, Caxton House, Tothill Street, Westminster.
- The speeches made by Lord Curzon and others at the Glasgow Meeting have been published in pamphlet form, and may be had on application at the Head Office.

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Hon. Treasurer and Secretary (pro tem.): Mrs. Campbell, St. Brannocks, Blackwater Road, Eastbourne.

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Assistant Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Olive, "Cliftonville," Salisbury Road, Worthing.



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- RUGBY**—  
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Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Crooks, 37, Clifton Road, Rugby.
- SOLIHULL**—  
(See Birmingham District.)
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Hon. Secretary: Miss Field, Talton House, Stratford-on-Avon.
- SUTTON COLDFIELD**—  
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Hon. Treasurer: Wiloughby Makin, Esq.  
Hon. Secretary: C. W. Wrench, Esq., 78, Parade, Leamington.

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Vice-President: Mrs. Kruser.  
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Hon. Treasurer: Miss Monckton.  
Hon. Secretary: Wright Henderson, Esq., Abbey Terrace, Malvern.
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(See Birmingham District.)
- WORCESTER**—  
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Vice-President: Mrs. Charles Coventry.  
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Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Ernest Day, "Doria," Worcester.

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Vice-Presidents: Mrs. G. Hoffman, W. B. Gordon, Esq., J.P.  
Hon. Treasurer: Lady Priestley.  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Halbot, Claremont, Newton Park, Leeds.  
District Secretaries: Mrs. S. Midgley, 1071, Leeds Road; Mrs. G. A. Mitchel, Jesmond Cottage, Toller Lane, Bradford.
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No branch committee has been formed; Lady Bosville Macdonald of the Isles, Thorpe Hall, Bridlington, is willing to receive subscriptions and give information.
- ILKLEY**—  
President: Mrs. Steintal.  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Newbound, Springsend.
- LEEDS**—  
President: The Countess of Harewood.  
Chairman: Miss Beatrice Kitson.  
Hon. Treasurer: Miss E. M. Lupton.  
District Secretaries: Miss H. McLaren, Highfield House, Headingley; Miss M. Silcock, Barkston Lodge, Roundhay.
- METHLEY**—  
President: Mrs. Armstrong Hall.  
Hon. Treasurer: Miss Shepherd.  
Hon. Secretary: Miss Armstrong Hall, Methley Rectory, Leeds.
- MIDDLESBROUGH**—  
President: Mrs. Hedley.  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Giers, Busby Hall, Carlton-in-Cleveland, Northallerton.

## SCARBOROUGH—

- President: Mrs. Cooper.  
Hon. Treasurer: James Bayley, Esq.  
Hon. Secretary: Miss Kendall, Oriol Lodge, Scarborough.
- SHEFFIELD**—  
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Vice-Presidents: The Lady Edmund Talbot, Lady Bingham, Miss Alice Watson.  
Hon. Treasurer: G. A. Wilson, Esq., 32, Kenwood Park Road.  
The Hon. Secretary, National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage, 26, Tapton Crescent Road, Sheffield.  
Asst. Secretary: Arnold Brittain, Esq., Hoole's Chambers, 47, Bank Street, Sheffield.
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- YORK**—  
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Vice-Presidents: Dowager Countess of Liverpool; Lady Deramore.  
Hon. Secretary and Hon. Treasurer: C. A. Thompson, Esq., 13, St. Paul's Square, York.

## THE GIRLS' ANTI-SUFFRAGE LEAGUE.

- President: Miss Ermine M. K. Taylor.
- LONDON**—  
Hon. Treasurer and Hon. Secretary: Miss Elsie Hird Morgan, 15, Philbeach Gardens, Earl's 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.
- BRISTOL**—  
President: Miss Long Fox.  
Hon. Secretaries: Miss Griffiths, 43, Maywood Road, Fishguard; Miss Showell, 56, Jasper Street, Bedminster; Miss Bull, St. Vincent's Lodge, Bristol.
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Hon. Secretary: Miss Wheatley, The Bays, Hayland, Ryde, Isle of Wight.
- NEWPORT (Mon.)**—  
Hon. Secretary: Miss Sealy, 56, Risca Road, Newport.
- OXFORD**—  
Hon. Treasurer and Hon. Secretary: Miss Jelf, 80, Woodstock Road, Oxford.

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- (In affiliation with the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage.)
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Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Aitken, 8, Mayfield Terrace, Edinburgh.  
Hon. Secretary: Miss Gemmill, Central Office, 10, Queensferry Street, Edinburgh.
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Hon. Secretary: Miss M. W. M. Falconer, I.L.A., Elder Bank, Duns, Berwickshire.
- CUPAR**—  
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Vice-President: Lady Low.  
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Assistant Secretary: Mrs. D. Wallace, Gowan Park.
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Chairman of Committee: The Countess of Glasgow.  
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Hon. Treasurer: Mr. Andrew Aitken.  
Hon. Secretary: Miss Eleanor M. Deane, 180, Hope Street, Glasgow.
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Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Pye, Bogle, Kirkcaldy.
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Secretary: Miss White, 5, South Anne Street, Dublin.

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Hon. Secretary and Hon. Treasurer (*pro tem.*): Mr. Alfred Jones, The Square.  
Assistant Hon. Secretary: Miss Rees, Trinallt.
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Branch formed, but no officials elected as yet.
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