

# ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW.

1912.

No. 55.

MAY, 1913.



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By the Rev. HENRY W. CLARK.

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## FACE POWDERS: A CANDID WORD THEREON.

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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.

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No. 55.

LONDON, MAY 1ST, 1913.

PRICE 1d.

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### MAY MEETINGS.

MAY 1ST, WATFORD.—Outdoor Meeting. Mrs. Stocks.

MAY 2ND, WATFORD.—Miss Gladys Pott, 3.30 p.m.

NORTHWOOD.—Mount Vernon Hospital, 8.30. Mrs. Greatbatch.

MAY 3RD, PORTSMOUTH.—Debating Society, 3 p.m. Mr. A. Maconachie.

MAY 7TH, BOURNEMOUTH.—Annual Meeting, 3.15 p.m. Mrs. Dering White.

KEW.—Public Meeting. Mrs. Greatbatch.

MAY 8TH, NEWPORT (ISLE OF WIGHT).—Debate, 3 p.m. Miss Gladys Pott v. Mrs. Russell Cooke.

STOURBRIDGE.—Public Meeting, afternoon. Mrs. Greatbatch.

MAY 14TH, FLEET.—Public Meeting, 3 p.m. Mrs. Dering White and Mr. Maconachie.

EWELL.—Public Meeting, Lecture Hall, 8.30. Miss Page. Chairman: Dr. Reichardt.

MAY 20TH, HAMPTON.—The Schoolroom, 8 p.m. Debate. Mrs. Greatbatch.

MAY 21ST, RADSTOCK.—Debate (Member of the Bristol Branch).

MAY 23RD, MARYLEBONE.—Portman Rooms, 8 p.m. Debate.

MAY 27TH, DUBLIN.—Annual Meeting in the afternoon. Mrs. Greatbatch. The Countess Dowager of Desart in the Chair. Public Meeting in the evening.

MAY 28TH, BURNHAM.—Debate. Mrs. Gladstone Solomon.

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### THE BRANCH SECRETARIES AND WORKERS' COMMITTEE.

The next Meeting of this Committee will be held (by kind permission of MRS. GEORGE MACMILLAN) on Wednesday, May 7th, 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, Horton Street,

Kensington, W.

Chairman: Miss Gladys Pott.

#### Mayfair and St. George's Branch.

Miss Blenkinsop will not be at 1, Chester Terrace, Eaton Square, on Mondays during May.

### A DEMORALISING MOVEMENT.

PUBLIC appreciation of the fact that not only has the Woman Suffrage movement allied itself with Socialism, but that from the experience of other countries it has to be regarded ultimately as synonymous with Socialism, has called forth attempts at explanation on the part of Suffragists. In justifying their alliance with Socialists, they adopt a mingled attitude of apology and defiance. They are not responsible, they say, for a man's views on other matters than the suffrage question; then they add, in any case the Labour-Socialist Party is the only one that is solid for female enfranchisement, and for this reason has to receive their unqualified support. But they are careful to leave the impression that, when once votes have been granted to women, Suffragists will duly return to the normal state of their political mind. To-day, Mr. Lansbury is given £200 by the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies to help him to win a seat in Parliament in order to vote for Woman Suffrage. But if he should be fortunate enough to obtain for Suffragists their hearts' desire, they will promptly use the vote to drive their champion out of Parliament again. At least, this is what Suffragists say in effect to those who are troubled with old-fashioned ideas of consistency and political honesty. They boldly advance the doctrine of means justifying the ends. Most people find it difficult to reconcile this double-faced attitude with a movement that is supposed to purify politics. To the ordinary observer who is prepared to admit that there is room for improvement in our politics, it is not apparent how a movement that persistently lowers the standard to which men normally conform is going to have a purifying effect. Similarly, in the social sphere, it is not easy to see how the women who are being encouraged financially or otherwise on their downward career from street-brawling to arson and worse are going to be morally uplifted themselves or help to uplift other women. Few people who attend meetings at which Suffragists are present can fail to be struck by the demoralising effect that active participation in the Suffrage movement has exercised upon the female character. If it has not produced militant habits, it has led to complete indifference to truthfulness and accuracy. Hardly a single Suffragist speech which purports to adduce any arguments in favour of the movement can now be listened to that does not contain a series of assertions entirely devoid of foundation. The speakers would repudiate with indignation the suggestion that they were habitually untruthful in ordinary life, but they do not hesitate on a Suffragist platform to base a whole speech on misstatements. It is not a question of difference in the point of view from which a given subject is examined; assertions are made contrary to fact, and facts are misrepresented. This aspect of the movement has not been lost upon Suffragists themselves, for one of

their organs has inserted a serious appeal to Suffragist speakers to try to be accurate in what they say.

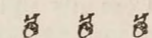
As it stands to-day, the Woman Suffrage movement rests on militancy and misrepresentation. But for these powerful aids, it would have remained where it was for forty years before the present tactics were introduced—outside the arena of practical politics. Apart from the few idealists who cling to the belief that the influence of individual women in social life must needs be the influence of women in the bulk when forced into the world of politics, such support as the suffrage agitation has obtained is due largely to its appeal to base motives. Among political parties, even when the struggle for office is particularly keen, and any fresh source of support stands a chance of being welcomed, it has only been able to secure the support of the Party conspicuous for the narrowest views and for class prejudice. The alliance between this Party and the Suffragists is something more than a chance political move. There is a strong link between Suffragist leaders and the Labour-Socialist party in their common adherence to the one doctrine that prompts their political activity. As far as Suffragists are concerned, the point is well brought out in their literature. One of the leaflets issued by the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, of which Mrs. Fawcett is the President, is entitled "Why do women want a vote? Well, why do men have a vote?" It preaches unashamedly the doctrine of self-interest. "If any classes of men want laws made to suit their interests," we read, "they . . . can, by voting together, send a Member to Parliament, who will try to get the law they want made." Mrs. Fawcett's society appears to think, or to wish the electorate to think, that constitutional government means that lawyers, doctors and carpenters are sent to Parliament to push the interests of the legal profession, the medical profession, and the artisan classes respectively. Such views are not going to uplift politics. Hitherto it has been taken for granted that the value of constitutional government lies in the fact that national interests are looked at from every point of view, and that self-interest is subordinated to the good of the nation as a whole. The Suffragists, if they are allowed to have their own way, will change all that. As their demand for votes in the interests of women as a whole is repudiated by the majority of women, they can only want them for their own interests, and in order to enlist support for their campaign, they preach the gospel of self-interest to all and sundry. By such means politics cannot be purified. The Woman Suffrage movement masquerades under the known advantages of the influence of women individually. This influence does not bear translation into politics. Where the movement is forced to show itself in its practical effects, it stands stripped of its false glory—an unlovely creature, demoralised and demoralising.

### NOTES AND NEWS.

#### An Anti-Suffrage Reading Room.

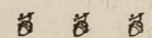
AT a special meeting of the London and Suburban Branches held on March 27th it was decided that steps should be taken with a view to establishing a reading room in some central position in London for the use of all members of the League. It was proposed that the room, which will be in charge of a secretary, should be available for meetings, lectures or debates; but its primary purpose would be for the supply of information on the Suffrage question. At a later meeting the project was confirmed, and subscriptions, from £1 to £10, were promised from Branches whose representatives were present and from individual members.

The attention of Branches is called to this new scheme, and it is hoped that a generous response will be made to the Guarantee Fund. The Information Bureau and Reading Room should not only prove of considerable use to country Branches, but, by being established in a central position in London, should arouse among the public still more interest and enthusiasm in the Anti-Suffrage cause.



#### The Shilling Collection Fund.

MEMBERS of the League do not need to be reminded that our activities are proportionate to the length of the League's purse. In the course of four years the organisation has made splendid headway, as the existence of 200 Branches and an increasing membership amply testify. But there are many Suffrage Societies in the field; they are well supplied with funds, and everyone can bear witness to their activities. Unremitting effort is called for on the part of Anti-Suffragists, and the need for more and more funds becomes daily apparent. It is an axiom that we have with us the great bulk of public opinion, but it is equally obvious that the majority of people are inclined to adopt the attitude that, as they do not want the Suffrage, it will not come, and therefore there is no need to worry about the matter. This is a most short-sighted policy, and with a view to enabling those who are not members of this League to help in the work of preventing the grant of Woman Suffrage, it has been decided to start a shilling collection fund. Every member of the League is urged to obtain from the Honorary Secretary of the local Branch—or in the case of subscribers to the Head Office from the Assistant Secretary of the League—a collecting card. These cards (which are numbered and will be signed by the Secretary who issues them) contain spaces for the names of twenty donors of a shilling each. The shillings should be collected from *non-members of the League*. Every member of the League who sends in one or more of these cards filled up, with the money collected, will have the satisfaction of knowing that not only has personal service been rendered, but also that they have been the means of aiding materially the effectiveness of the League. Applications should be made at once for cards, and they should be returned by May 31st.



#### Mr. Dickinson's Bill.

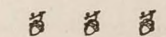
MR. W. H. DICKINSON'S Woman Suffrage Bill has now been presented to the House of Commons. Its text is as follows:—

#### A BILL TO CONFER THE PARLIAMENTARY FRANCHISE UPON WOMEN.

Be it enacted, &c.

1. Every woman who
  - (a) If she were a man would be entitled to be registered as a Parliamentary elector in respect of a household qualification within the meaning of the Representation of the People Act, 1884, or
  - (b) Is the wife of a man entitled to be registered in respect of a household qualification, and has resided in the qualifying premises during the period required by law to enable a person to be so registered,
 shall be entitled to be registered, and when registered to vote as a Parliamentary elector in the constituency wherein the qualifying premises are situate.
2. A woman shall not be entitled to be registered unless she has attained the age of 25 years.
3. A woman shall not be disqualified by reason of marriage from being registered and voting.
4. This Act may be cited as the Representation of the People (Women) Act, 1913.

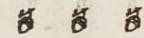
The Bill is backed by Mr. T. Burt, Lord H. Cavendish-Bentinck, Mr. H. G. Chancellor, Mr. C. Fenwick, Mr. Leif Jones, Mr. A. Henderson, Mr. Henry McLaren, Sir C. Nicholson, Mr. Walter Rea, Sir J. Rolleston, and Mr. P. Snowden. It will be seen that two Unionists have given their support to the Bill, but there is at present no reason to suppose that Unionist Suffragists as a whole will vote for the measure. The fact that Sir John Rolleston has definitely associated himself with the militants may account for his independent action in regard to Mr. Dickinson's Bill. In 1911 he figured among the speakers of the W.S.P.U.; at the meeting of that society held at the Albert Hall on April 10th his name was included in the list of those "who had accepted invitations to be present."



#### The Foundling.

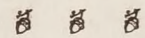
THE Dickinson Bill occupies an anomalous position in the Suffrage movement. It purports to voice the demands of the advocates of votes for women, who have received from the Prime Minister a promise of special facilities in Parliament for their Suffrage measure. But it is exclusively the offspring of the Liberal Suffragists in the House of Commons. All Suffrage societies, with the possible exception of the exiguous Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association, are united in denouncing the measure, and pouring ridicule upon it. The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies states that it has never been consulted in regard to the Bill; the militants are still more hostile. As far as the sponsors of the measure seem to have some leanings towards militancy. Mr. Dickinson has spoken at a meeting of the Women's Freedom League—the society which, in common with the W.S.P.U., exists to make war on law; Sir John Rolleston and Mr. Philip Snowden have spoken for the W.S.P.U. But although the Bill may be ridiculed by Suffragists outside Parliament, it is no reason why a special effort should not be made to secure its overwhelming defeat in the House. Anti-Suffragists have a great opportunity of putting an end to the agitation in Parliament for many years to come. Let the Dickinson Bill be rejected by a decisive majority, and the subject will drop out of the category of practical political measures. Outside Parliament Suffragists will continue to clamour for a Government measure; but as the different sections will at the same time be indulging in mutual recriminations over the kind of moon they are

craving for and the best method of obtaining it, the country will be content to leave them to their domestic pre-occupations.



### The Suffragist Following.

THERE is a tendency among the officials of various Suffrage societies to dispute the contention that an overwhelming majority of the women of Great Britain is hostile to the proposed extension to them of the Parliamentary franchise. They ask for lists of names and balance sheets, in order to shut out the evidence supplied by their ordinary intelligence. The more candid of their friends, however, are pulling down the house of cards these officials would try to erect. "The trouble is," said Mr. Keir Hardie to Suffragists at the Independent Labour Party's Conference at Manchester, "that you are up against the same thing as we are. You have not the women of the nation behind you any more than we have the workmen behind us." Again, the *Daily Herald*, a Suffragist organ, says, in its issue of April 15th, no less emphatically, although its grammar may be weaker than Mr. Keir Hardie's: "The adult women who clamour for the vote are only a very small proportion of the country, and the electorate who were intended to conciliate or intimidate by militancy remain stubbornly indifferent."



### Rival Claimants.

WOMAN Suffrage will shortly have to look to its laurels, if it does not wish to be overtaken in its struggle for popular support. Its rival in the field is Anarchism. At a public meeting held recently at Liverpool the doctrines of anarchy were expounded, and the published reports bear a most striking resemblance to the claims of Suffragists. A Mr. Woollen, we read, said that:—

The mass of people generally were being converted to the anarchist position, and this had followed the lack of confidence now being felt in theological, industrial and political leaders. Anarchism would solve the problems of poverty and give freedom to humanity.

Miss Bessie Ward, another speaker, said that in their ideal State of the future there would be no misery, and she went on to describe that State in terms which make Suffragist anxieties about such minor problems as slums and infant mortality look ridiculous. In other respects the two speakers might have been standing on the platform of a Suffragist meeting, save for the *lapsus linguae* that made them substitute the word Anarchism for Woman Suffrage. Even the apologist for militancy was not wanting, for a third speaker said that it was a mistake to suppose that the anarchist was necessarily a bomb-thrower. Government, he added (and here, we fear, he was not a good Suffragist), was based on force, which might be referred to as scientific bomb-throwing, and anarchists occasionally adopted the same plan. According to Suffragist doctrines, the present Government ought to bring in a measure to give Miss Bessie Ward and Mr. Woollen what they want. Both anarchists and Suffragists base their claims exclusively on their imagination, and there can be little doubt as to which of the two parties offers the more attractive picture.

## THE PRESENT CRISIS.

By MRS. FREDERIC HARRISON.

ALL readers of the ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW, all students of the political situation, must realise that we are faced by an abnormal and most complicated situation. The vagaries of the Suffragists of all sections have cut across party lines and played havoc with their own creeds; so that we have Conservative women sending subsidies to a party which is riding full tilt against their deepest convictions, whilst another section singles out for annoyance and attack the men who are their most sincere supporters. It would make a good libretto for a comic opera. Thoughtful men and women, however, are everywhere asking themselves whether such a spirit of mischievous folly can be dowered with a vote, and whether the more reasonable Suffragists could guide the woman's vote were it given to them.

One thing is quite plain. The Anti-Suffragists have a great part to play—a truly democratic part, for it is theirs to show that the large majority of women do not wish to be thrust into politics; a conservative part also, in insisting that the woman's influence is spiritual not material, and that the loss to civilisation will be irreparable if she forsakes the higher for the lower platform.

We may congratulate ourselves upon the great increase of our Branches. Their number might be spread almost indefinitely; but organisation involves cost, and there are elections to be fought, and many public calls which must be met, if we are to carry our campaign to a successful issue.

### THE WORK OF BRANCHES.

I have often been asked how a Branch may be started and on what financial basis. I will try to show how this can be done. I take a country district or large village. The woman who after some thought and study has convinced herself of the true function of woman in the body politic calls a meeting at her house, and puts the case tentatively before her friends, asking them to support her in trying to form a committee. She will probably be surprised at the result and the support she will receive. The next step is to have a second meeting, of working women if possible. A committee is easily formed. A secretary is the great question, because so much depends upon her skill and perseverance. The question of funds arises very quickly, for there must be correspondence, stamped paper and postage. The leader of the movement may say that she sends one guinea to the Central, and other members of committee will probably wish to do the same. The working women will eagerly subscribe sum from 3d. to 1s. They will buy cards at 1d. each. The guinea subscriber generally contributes 5s. to the local fund. A good treasurer is the next necessity, and women are found to be excellent treasurers. The whole movement works up to a public meeting, the chief outlay of the year. There are smaller meetings with debates; an annual meeting with printed report. I have founded, or helped to found, some five or six Branches. We started with the premiss that our function was educational, but that we must feed the Central organisation, and this has been done in all the cases I have had to do with. Naturally, much tact and forbearance is necessary; it is most important to avoid harsh judgments; rather is it well to establish friendly relations with Suffragists, that there

may be debates, and all boycotting of the other side must be rigorously forbidden. We may leave that to the Suffrage ladies. It comes to this: we have over 200 Branches, and if each of those Branches sent £10 yearly to the Central, we should be assured of a substantial income, and our war chest would be well filled. That means sending up all guinea subscriptions, paying for speakers and their expenses, for literature and REVIEWS, with a 10 per cent. levy on all the smaller subscriptions.

It has been found that many women are fairly puzzled and overwhelmed by the noisy cries of the Suffragists, and are much helped by a meeting of women in which difficulties can be stated and answered. They then discover that not all the intelligent, well-educated women are on the Suffrage side. They may come to discover also that the balance of good work lies with the women who do not seek to usurp man's duties. I shall be very pleased to answer the questions of any lady who may be anxious to start a Branch.

ETHEL HARRISON.

10, Royal Crescent,  
Bath.

## ANTI-SUFFRAGE FUNDS.

THE following letter has been sent to the Press:—

SIR,—There appears in the current number of the *Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Review* article by Lady Chance, entitled, "Organisation and Finance of the Anti-Suffrage League." It follows the lines of a statement on the same subject issued by Mrs. Fawcett in last January, and is founded upon the analysis of a document sent out by Lord Cromer together with a letter asking for subscriptions in 1910, shortly before the formation of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage. That letter was marked "Private." The document which it enclosed—a list of subscribers—was marked "Strictly private and confidential." The letter and list fell into the hands of Suffragists, who, Lady Chance tells us, "naturally did not feel themselves bound to secrecy." (N.B.—The italics are mine.) Why "naturally?" But Lady Chance must, I suppose, be taken to know her own friends best.

The gravamen of Lady Chance's attack upon the N.L.O.W.S. is that it is financed and controlled by a few rich men, and is in no sense representative of women's opinions.

First, with regard to finance. For the purpose to which Lady Chance puts it, namely, that of disclosing the sources of the financial support given to the N.L.O.W.S. to-day, Lord Cromer's list is valueless. All the money that Lord Cromer and Lord Curzon collected in 1910 is spent, with the exception of £8,000, which is invested as a capital reserve. As to the position to-day, these are the facts: There are 3,380 subscribing members to the Central Office of the N.L.O.W.S., of whom 1,005 are men and 2,375 are women. Out of 270 Branches, only 145 have sent returns shewing the sexes separately. Those 145 Branches exhibit a total of 18,978 subscribing members, of whom 16,148 are women and 2,830 are men. These figures do not seem to support Lady Chance's allegations of purely masculine support.

Then, as to organisation. Our Campaign Committee no longer exists, but it is true that half of our elected Executive Committee are men; that our Parliamentary Committee is composed entirely of Members of Parliament, and, therefore, perforce consists of men, and that the head of our Organisation Department is a man. It is also true that our Secretary and Assistant Secretary are both women, and that many of our most capable speakers and workers are women also. In other words, it is true that the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage, like the whole Anti-Suffrage movement, is founded on and works through the co-operation of men and women, and does not seek its inspiration from a gospel of sex antagonism. That, apparently, is a serious defect in Lady Chance's eyes, and robs the N.L.O.W.S. of its representative character. Could better evidence be supplied of the feminism which, consciously and unconsciously, plays so large and disastrous a part in the Woman Suffrage movement? It is only an illustration of that fundamental difference of view by which Anti-Suffragists are distinguished, and are well content to be distinguished from their opponents.

Quite apart, however, from these meticulous criticisms of the domestic affairs of the Anti-Suffrage League, how can it be denied that that organisation stands for principles and opinions which are held by the vast majority of the nation and of the women of this country? The evidence is all one way. Suffragists are careful, doubtless for excellent reasons, to avoid, as far as possible, trials of strength in the open with their opponents; but when those trials of strength take place, whether they be contests in the constituencies or canvasses of male and female opinion, the result is always the same—an overwhelming majority against the Suffrage proposals.

It would be fruitless to follow Lady Chance into her other hostile statements which she herself describes as "inference" which "must inevitably be drawn," and "matter of common knowledge"—inference which is inevitable and knowledge which is common only to those who share Lady Chance's opinions.

Yours faithfully,

EDWARD A. MITCHELL-INNES,

(Chairman of the Executive Committee of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage).

April, 1913.

## CAMPAIGN WORK.

The Organiser's report for the past month is as follows:—

THE two by-elections which have been engaging the attention of our Organising Staff since our last issue have been ideal, in that all the four candidates were avowed opponents of Woman Suffrage. Whilst this feature added to the zeal and enthusiasm of our own workers, the message has gone the round of the public Press that the Suffragettes were not "satisfied" with the views of the candidates, and that they regretted their inability to find a candidate to run as the feminist champion. In these auspicious circumstances, it would appear to be almost superfluous to have an "Anti" campaign in the constituencies affected, but the results go to prove the advantage of emphasising our views on every occasion.

At Shrewsbury, for instance, the enthusiasm was so great that there was a demand, which could not be ignored, for our election premises in the High Street to be kept open for nearly a week after the election. The officers and members of the local Branch of the N.L.O.W.S. gave most valuable and hearty assistance, and, inasmuch as our permanent staff had to be recalled for Whitechapel immediately after the polling at Shrewsbury, the entire charge of the office devolved upon local supporters for the continuance of the campaign; and no campaign could have been more vigorously conducted or could have had more successful results. The Shrewsbury and County friends added to Head Office indebtedness to them by making a very substantial monetary contribution to the cost of the campaign, an example which might very well be followed by other Branches similarly situated, for the huge dimensions of the cost of the national campaign against Woman Suffrage can only be surmised by those outside Head Office. Any such voluntary assistance in the future from other Branches will be greatly appreciated.

The signatures appended to the Parliamentary petition against Woman Suffrage at Shrewsbury numbered 1,600 between four o'clock on Wednesday afternoon and 11 p.m. on Saturday, this number increasing to 2,000 eventually. At least a thousand of the League's badges were sold, and up to the time of writing over 200 new members joined the League.

The open-air meetings in the Market Square and at Abbey Foregate were splendid, and it is estimated that at least 5,000 people listened to the speeches of Miss Mabel Smith, Mrs. Gladstone Solomon, Mr. Wrench Lee, and Mr. A. J. Lofting, the only dissentients ever being in evidence numbering two.

The help given by the Shrewsbury Branch was under the direction of Miss Parson-Smith, who had the assistance of Mrs. Carter, late Hon. Sec. of the Guildford Branch; Mrs. Evans, Mrs. Birrell, Mrs. Fielden (President of the County Branch), and Mrs. Bather.

In addition to these voluntary workers and the speakers named above, Mrs. Bray was present from Head Office. The campaign generally was under the direction of Mr. Wrench Lee, who has since gone to the Newmarket by-election.

At Whitechapel the campaign was, of course, of a very different character, but the success was no whit less. Mrs. Wentworth Stanley gave valuable aid. Mr. H. B. Samuels, from Head Office, addressed a large number of outdoor gatherings, and received valuable assistance from Mr. Liverman, the Hon. Sec. of the Hackney Branch, whilst our speakers and organisers drafted into the constituency from Shrewsbury included Mrs. Gladstone Solomon, Miss Mabel Smith, and Mrs. Bray. One feature of the contest is the large number of aliens who are voteless who are resident in the constituency, the register therefore being exceedingly small for so large and thickly populated an area. There are many Jews upon the register, and this has led to the production of a leaflet in Yiddish, written by Mr. Samuels, setting forth succinctly the views for which the League stands. There has been a great demand for this leaflet. The signatures to the Parliamentary petition would bear comparison even with Shrewsbury, and it is difficult to see how those who oppose us on this question can think that the bulk of the women of the constituencies actually want the vote—all the indications, in fact, seem to be in the opposite direction.

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

By the Rev. HENRY W. CLARK.

(Concluded.)

The claim of women to the franchise (to fill the last-named statement with definite content) wins whatever plausibility it possesses only as the fundamental considerations we have recapitulated are obscured. But plausible for the moment it can be made to appear. There is no natural disability upon women in respect of all the election for the making of law *seems* to imply. "Why should we be debarred from taking part therein?" is a question which under the circumstances may with seeming reasonableness be put. The process by which manhood separates itself into actual and potential enforcers of law and establishes the needful machinery for law enforcement, is obviously one that concerns manhood alone. Trace back the line from the business of law enforcement to its beginning, and you come to a starting point, a basis, which must be manhood and nothing else. But the line from law making by representative methods—if you stand upon this last matter exclusively as you take your view—does not, when traced back, necessarily lead to the same starting point or basis. Law making by representative methods does not, *in itself*, suggest anything more limited than a *human* basis irrespective of sex. "Why, therefore, should not women participate in the initial elective act?" Again, the question appears reasonable. But, in the light which "disciplined imagination" sees coming from the past, the answer is that when we stand at the point of representative law making, we are really at an *intermediate* point in a line which runs *forward* to the point of law enforcement and *backward* to a basis out of which law enforcement as well as representative law making can be drawn; and none must, as it were, "project themselves" up the line as far as representative law making, unless they are prepared to go further and "project themselves" up to the point of law enforcement too. The elective act is a symbol not of law making alone. It is a symbol and, therefore, also a contingent promise, of law enforcement too. This is really what is behind the statement often made—a statement which, spite of crudeness, has essential truth in it—that because women cannot fight, their claim to vote cannot stand. It is substantially true; but the thing may be better put by saying that in exercising the franchise women would be doing symbolically what under no circumstances could they do actually and directly, and would be making a contingent promise which they could not honour or fulfil.

### THE INEVITABLE EFFECTS.

From "disciplined imagination's" backward look, then, this is the conclusion that comes forth. And with that conclusion established, it is not difficult to say what "disciplined imagination" perceives as possible or certain, as it looks forward to a time when women's claim to participation in the making of law shall have won its case. Few words will suffice for the saying; for nothing more is necessary than an outline easily to be filled up. Of course, to put things at their lowest, the initial and elementary fact is that qualities eminently suitable for one sphere—for that sphere of making and influencing the individual

wherein woman from the beginning finds her place—would be transferred to another, for which they are far less suited; and, obviously, the carrying over into the business of law making of qualities pre-eminently fitted for the regulating of individual relationships could only result, if those qualities became dominant (as they would), in the perpetrating of injustices on the large scale for the sake of swifter good on the small, in injury to individuals further away from the immediate field and from immediate contact in order that benefit might be secured for individuals nearer by. But this need not be dwelt on. It proceeds on the supposition that the qualities proposed for transference will survive when the transference is made, which in all probability they will not do. The real order of events will be regulated by the fact that women have placed themselves in a false position, that they will be doing symbolically what under no circumstances could they do actually and directly, making a promise which they cannot fulfil, and that the voice of the nature of things, both in men and in women themselves, will proclaim that this is so. Hence must press the need for self-justification on women's part against the criticism which that voice offers—and this means, in brief, a sex war, whatever may be the weapons by which it is carried on. Men and women must perforce be ranged against one another, must be mutually hostile, because the first will resent the hollowness of the pretension and the promise which the very act of law making on women's part will imply, and the second will resent the first's resentment, as human beings always do resent criticism which in their hearts they know to be just. And from that ceaseless antagonism confusion must result in many ways. Of course, anything like the cooperation which is possible only when men and women pursue each their own course will disappear; and equally certainly, the chivalry with which manhood has throughout regarded womanhood will have lost its *raison d'être*, and be known no more. Even such small courtesies as that of the taking off of the hat by men to women could no more be consistently rendered, and every detail of treatment based upon the idea that women are a class apart, with special functions entitling them to special honour and care, must go. Of course, "emancipated womanhood," or womanhood which wants to be "emancipated," will laugh at prognostications like these. But the reality may be less pleasant than is foreseen. Nor is it without seriousness that the reverence for womanhood, whereof all these external courtesies and services are the sign, will no more be engrained in youth's character from early years—that motherhood itself can no more be what it has been or mean what it has meant. It is not upon women alone, when they have sold their birthright for a mess of pottage, that the punishment and loss will fall. Assuredly nothing of chivalry or of its accompaniments or its demonstrations will remain. Why should it? The entire situation on which it was grounded will have been swept away. Women, asserting in practice (however absurdly and however they may pretend that their practice does not really imply the assertion) that law enforcement falls to their share as it falls to man's, will have repudiated the lowest ground—that of physical inferiority—on which it rests. And its higher ground—the ground that the work originally committed to woman's charge in the making of the individual life and character is the world's *ultimate* work, the work in order to make which possible all other work is done—will similarly have gone when that work is abandoned

and its special sacredness denied by the very ones whom it used to call. Indeed, women engaged in the franchise crusade seem incapable of realising that one of the strongest objections men feel in connection with the matter springs from this—that the crusade proves men's idols, at any rate so far as those working it are concerned, to have been of clay. And if those working the crusade are really representative of their sex, then all men's worship has been a blind delusion. For women as they have understood them—holding them to belong as it were to the holy place at the quiet centre of the world—men have toiled, fought, and if need be, died—and now they ask for a vote. What wonder that to men the whole movement, militancy quite apart, is about the meanest movement that has appeared in politics for many a long year! Yet the majority still refuse to believe that those engineering it speak for the sex as a whole. Time will show. But whatever the showing turn out to be, women must take the consequences of putting another line of activity above that which has been their own. They can no longer be treated as in any way the special priestesses of the service they wholly or partially give up—not without something of a sneer. Besides, how could men preserve chivalrous feeling for those whose newly-adopted activities implied a lie? Whether the world can be the better for all this—whether any community wherein these things obtain will remain a community suited for the working out of moral ends—are questions not difficult to answer. Nor does this exhaust the prophecy which "disciplined imagination" may, without losing any of its disciplined sanity of view, propound. Under the new conditions so much hoped for by some, you will have (to repeat) women doing symbolically, and in the way of promise, what they can never actually perform. They will, in short, be making laws (with an entirely preponderant power before long, if the women's vote principle be once admitted) which they cannot enforce. Yet these laws—precisely by reason of the false position wherein the law makers will stand—must in many cases represent the woman's exclusive point of view. Are the men, in the last resort the sole possessors of enforcing power, to enforce them? They may quite conceivably refuse. You will have passive resistance, at least, to laws which have obtained the majority's sanction—passive resistance with the sex line for the line of cleavage—and accordingly refusal on the part of those whose normal duty it is to see that law is honoured and carried out. That the whole community would thus be made to look foolish is perhaps the least evil of a condition of things such as this. But "You will never have the sex line for the line of cleavage!" "There will always be a proportion of those possessing the power of law enforcement who will take the law makers' side, even though it be by women's votes the law has been made!" So much the worse. Instead of passive resistance, then, you will have civil war. Nor must this suggestion be dismissed as a mere extravagance of prophecy. The possibility seems remote enough now, granted. But it seems remote only because the greatness of the proposed change is not realised, nor its implications gauged. The possibility seems remote only because it is not understood that the proposed change involves the taking up on woman's part of a false position, against which the voice of nature in both men and women will ceaselessly cry. Out of that anything may come. Once this is understood, then the suggested possibility is discerned to be precisely as near

as the change itself—no more, no less. In fact, the essential point of the whole position (once again) is that after women's enfranchisement women will be doing symbolically what they can under no circumstances do directly, and making a promise which they can under no circumstances fulfil. That is the fact which comes home upon "disciplined imagination" as it looks back, and the fact, accordingly, in whose light it reads the possibilities of what may be.

Nothing of all this, of course, will appeal to or convince those who have already abandoned themselves to the women's enfranchisement crusade. To get down to fundamental principles—to dig them out from the past and apply them prophetically to the future—is the last thing one could expect them to do. The catch words, the false and easily settled issues these catch words seem to raise, the plausible alternatives implied in high-sounding phrases, all come too trippingly off the tongue to be lightly given up. But fundamental principle is worth considering none the less—at any rate by those for whom the case is not yet quite closed. To "look before and after" is after all a wise thing. And, looking before and after, one finds that to be "modern" in the sense of the Woman Suffrage movement may turn out to be so "barbarian" as to put oneself back at a point before the progress of civilisation began, and to reckon all the years between that point and this of no account—above all, to put oneself in opposition to the "nature of things," which has been instinctively, if not deliberately, followed by the builders of the world.

## DUBLIN NOTES.

(From our Correspondent.)

### POLICIES AND PLOTS.

THE Anti-Government and Anti-Nationalist policy which Irish Suffragists have officially decided to adopt continues to be fiercely criticised by the longer-sighted members of the movement, and promises to provoke a split in the Suffragist ranks before the policy is definitely inaugurated. A prominent supporter—one of the few male supporters—of the movement in Ireland has publicly condemned the new policy in the strongest possible words. He believes that it will be certain to injure "the cause of justice to Irishwomen." His argument is based on facts which are scarcely open to denial by any reasonable mind. The whole grievance of the Suffragists against the Nationalist Party is the alleged fact that the party pledge forces some of its members to act against their convictions; yet they propose to establish new fetters which will be far more oppressive than the old. It is most unlikely that the Suffragists will succeed to any appreciable extent in depriving men of women's help at election times, because in this country women, when they enter politics at all, are as convinced as men in their opposition to, or support of, Home Rule. But if one supposes, for argument's sake, that this part of the new policy will be successful, it cannot affect the issue in more than, at the most, three Irish constituencies, because there are only three seats which have ever transferred, or can ever transfer, their allegiance from one party to the other. If one assumes, then, that sufficient people in these constituencies care enough about Woman Suffrage to let their votes be controlled by that question alone, the maximum gain to the Suffragists will be to put in Suffragist Unionists (or Anti-Suffragist Unionists; that vital consideration does not seem to matter so long as the Suffragists can be "agin the Government") in place of Home Rulers. On the other hand, the minimum loss to the Suffragists must be that of estranging some of their best friends among the Nationalists, and of enormously increasing the difficulties of their educational work throughout Nationalist Ireland.

### THE PENALTY OF MILITANCY.

THE educational work of the Irish Suffragists, by the way, has enough difficulties to contend against already. The Northern Committee of the Irish Women's Suffrage Federation has been sending some of its members to try to work up societies in the smaller towns of Antrim and Down. They found—they admit the fact themselves—that no one would even give them a hearing anywhere until they disclaimed all connection with militancy (the Suffrage Federation is a "constitutional" society). The orgy of Suffragist violence on your side of the Channel has made a profound impression in Ireland. There has been no new outbreak here, except for the burning of the golf club at Killarney, which is attributed to the Suffragists because the proceeding is so senseless that it could not be anyone else's work; but the renewed militancy in Great Britain has reacted very unfavourably, as this incident in Antrim and Down shows, upon the fortunes of "the cause" in Ireland. If Irish Suffragists choose to superimpose on these difficulties new ones, by setting any Nationalist audience definitely against their propaganda in advance, it is entirely their own affair, but their opponents may legitimately find satisfaction in such an apotheosis of ineptitude.

### A NEW SCHEME.

Meanwhile the "constitutionalists" are giving earnest consideration to a scheme, of which I imagine a good deal more is going to be heard, in connection with Home Rule and Woman Suffrage. Mr. Munro-Ferguson, the Scottish Liberal M.P., writes to the Irish Suffragist organ to elaborate a suggestion which was made in the course of the unfinished debate on the Grey amendment to the Franchise Bill last January. He indicates a sort of compromise between Suffragists and Anti-Suffragists. The suggestion is that there should be Manhood Suffrage for the Imperial Parliament, and Adult Suffrage for domestic legislatures in different parts of the United Kingdom. By retaining a male control over the Imperial Parliament, it is contended, the more controversial element in the dispute as regards female franchise would be eliminated, while, from the point of view of those who support Woman Suffrage, devolution would bring those matters in which women are specially interested under the control of local legislatures. Mr. Munro-Ferguson argues that "it is the urgency for devolution which renders the solution of the franchise difficulty on the lines suggested a practical one." But is it a practical one? In the first place, are Anti-Suffragists prepared to compromise away their principles to this extent? Waiving that dominant question, we may consider the idea from the Suffragists' point of view. If we grant to devolution all the urgency that Mr. Munro-Ferguson desiderates, the fact remains that the only definite step towards it lies in the subordinate Parliament which the Home Rule Bill proposes to establish, and that no further steps are in sight. So far as the suggestion is practical politics at all, it simply means that in the matter of Woman Suffrage Ireland should be placed in a privileged position, while English, Scottish and Welsh Suffragists "wait and see." It is not likely to help the relations, always the reverse of cordial, between English and Irish Suffragists, and the Nationalist Party views it with supreme dislike. Suffragists, however, do appear to regard the scheme as practical politics, and I learn that among non-party Irishmen who desire a settlement of the Irish question and would value the help of Suffragists in Parliament, without holding their opinions, it is being extensively canvassed, as it is among Suffragists to whom the help of the devolutionists might be useful. Remote as the scheme may appear to be from the immediate facts of politics, it is worth watching in view of certain possible contingencies.

Irish Suffragists have been attempting to make capital out of the death of Miss Marjorie Hasler, a prominent member of the Irishwomen's Franchise League. The fact that Miss Hasler was generally popular in Dublin, and that her death is widely regretted, increases the public disgust to find the occasion turned into an advertisement for Suffragism, in which Miss Hasler is proclaimed as "the first Irish martyr for the cause." Miss Hasler went on a deputation to Westminster in the autumn of 1910, and last year served a four months' sentence after a militant "protest" in Dublin. Irish Suffragists allege that she was ill-treated at Westminster and in prison, and that this ill-treatment is directly responsible for her death. The statement is, of course, an entire fabrication. The fact is that Miss Hasler was always delicate, and died naturally of heart failure following an attack of measles. In the circumstances her friends and the public generally deeply resent the Irish Suffragists' violation of the ordinary canons of decency and respect on such occasions.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### SUFFRAGIST ACCURACY.

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

SIR,—You may have noticed that the American Suffragists claimed support from Cardinal Gibbon, stating that he called them the Joans of Arc of modern times. His message to the *New York Tribune*, over his own name, flatly contradicts this statement. It recalls a like mis-statement with regard to the Suffragists' visit to the Governor of Canada during his stay in London. His reply and the comments of Canadian papers disclaimed sympathy with their movement and methods as emphatically as Cardinal Gibbon.

I am, &c.,

TRUTH.

Cardinal Gibbon's statement as reported in the *New York Tribune* was as follows:—

"I am not in favour of Suffrage now, nor was I when I received the Suffragists. I did not say on any occasion that they reminded me of Joan of Arc, nor did I compare their sacrifice with that of the noble woman of France.

"It seems that they have let it be understood that I urged Congress to hear their plea. I said nothing of the kind."

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

SIR,—In your notes appended to my letter you accuse Suffragists of "making no attempts to verify their statements, and, as a consequence, making statements which are either half truths or wholly untrue."

Unfortunately, you yourselves have made two very great mistakes. You definitely stated in your January number that the figures of the last census were 4,660,000, and when I pointed out to you that the figures were 5,309,960, then you calmly state that your figures were those of an "estimated maximum number of women workers" (of course over 16) "in the United Kingdom who would be included in the insurance scheme on May 1st, 1912." Rather a different thing!

Possibly it would be more correct to speak of female workers instead of women; but that is a word that is not popular, whereas the word "women" is much more suitable, and surely if the law recognises them as marriageable women at the age of 12, it is not such a great mistake after all, and everyone knows what is meant.

Your second mistake is a very grave one. You ask me to deduct 1,670,770 (or 30 per cent.) of females between the ages of 10 and 14. Surely you have made no attempt to verify your statement, or you would have found that those figures refer to the total female population in England and Wales between the ages of 10 and 14.

The correct figures are: Employed females, 200,534; unemployed, 1,470,236. In other words, 12 per cent., not 30, as you state.

If you deduct 200,534 from 5,309,960, it still leaves over five million female workers. Even if you add in the Irish figures of 2,465 employed females under 20 years of age, and the Scotch figures of 6,652 of the ages between 10 and 14; for all these put together only amount to 209,651, and deducting this from 5,309,960, you still have 5,100,309 female workers over the age of 14 in the United Kingdom.

Trusting you will insert this correction in your next issue.

I am, &c.,

E. W. K.

[With regard to the number of women workers—4,660,000—the expression used in the January issue of this REVIEW was "according to the last census." The expression ought to have been "based on the last census," the last census for these purposes being still that of 1901. We regret the mistake, but it could hardly have misled our correspondent into stating that the figures applied "to England and Wales only."

Our correspondent is quite correct in stating that the figures 1,670,770 apply to the total female population in England and Wales between the ages of 10 and 14, and it was an error on our part—which we much regret—to quote it as the number engaged in occupation. The mistake, fortunately, does not nullify our challenge of the accuracy of Suffragist figures used to support the movement. Our correspondent sought to put the number of women workers in 1901 at 5,309,960—which figure appears in the census—and to explain the discrepancy between that number and the official estimate for 1912 of 4,660,000, we pointed out that children under 16 years of age had been included. The number of these latter is not 1,670,770, as stated by us (*i.e.*, the total female population in England and Wales), but considerably less. The fact remains that, as far as women workers are concerned, the only figures available

to-day are the 4,666,000 of the Actuarial Report for the Insurance Commission; and of these 4,666,000 women workers over 2,000,000 are domestic servants, who are not concerned with the points raised by Suffragists.—ED.]

### THE LEWISHAM TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION.

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

SIR,—The present issue of THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW informs us that the Suffrage resolution passed by the Lewisham Teachers' Association at a general meeting was rescinded by a plebiscite, 174 voting in favour of rescission and 33 against. This information taken by itself gives a false impression of the attitude of the Lewisham teachers. It should be noted that out of 336 members, only 207 acknowledged the plebiscite issued by the Committee in defiance of the decision of a general meeting against such a plebiscite. As a protest against the unconstitutional action, 41 members petitioned Sir James Yoxall to the effect that they would leave the Union, and 45 petitioned the local secretary that they would withdraw from the Lewisham Association should the Committee's order for a plebiscite be carried out.

It is not surprising to find it stated in the Annual Report of the Association recently issued that "the future is not without anxiety."

I am, &c.,

EMILY GREEN.

### LORD AMPHILL ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

THE following letter from Lord Amphill was read at the meeting held at Bedford for the purpose of forming a local Branch of the N.L.O.W.S.:

"I firmly believe that an overwhelming majority both of men and women are opposed to Female Suffrage, but nevertheless I am equally convinced that if the majority does not bestir itself it may some day be overwhelmed just as untrained levies can be routed by a disciplined force far inferior in numbers.

"I agree with the Prime Minister in thinking that if that should happen it would be disastrous to the nation, and what amounts to the same thing, disastrous to our womanhood. I would just as soon vote for the 'scrapping' of the Fleet and the disbandment of the Army as I would for Female Suffrage, for I believe that the latter would not be any less disastrous than disarmament."

"My objections are best explained in the words which are generally used by any working man who takes a common-sense view of the subject, namely, that 'men are men and women are women, and that no laws can possibly make them otherwise.' No man who has not had his mind vitiated by the decadent political spirit of the times can for one moment admit that 'petticoat rule' would be tolerable either in the home or in the nation."

"The man must be master of the home for reasons which are fairly obvious to those who do not always wear political spectacles, and for similar reasons men must be masters of the nation. I do not think that even a Suffragette would deny that it is the duty of men to protect women, and, if that be admitted, it follows to any logical mind that men must make the laws for that protection which they alone have the power to enforce. To give women the vote would be to give them responsibility without power, for no legislation can possibly endow women with that physical force upon which all law and order depends. It is surely not necessary to argue that to have responsibility without power is to be in a ridiculous and dangerous position. There is another point of view which affects me strongly: I believe in that great and good influence which women have always exercised in the past, and I should regard it as sacrilege to impair it. I dare say that my view is old-fashioned, but I would no more like to see women struggling with men in the political arena than I would like to see them struggling with men in the football field. I should use a different metaphor if we had recognised as a nation that the first duty of every man, worthy of the name, is to bear arms for the defence of the country, but, unfortunately, the metaphor from national defence would not appeal to everybody in England. If we thought as other nations do in this matter, the feminist movement would be as impossible in this country as it is on the Continent."

"There is yet another side to the question of which we are all aware, but of which we prefer not to speak. A movement which has produced 'Suffragettes' cannot be a purely political movement, as politics have hitherto been understood, but it must surely be an unhealthy movement. Yet the 'militancy' of the Suffragettes so far impresses some worthy but unthinking folk that it leads them to remark: 'Female Suffrage must come sooner or later.' Could anything be more weak-minded and fatuous? Just as

well might we say that anarchists or criminals must have their way because their outrages recur, or that our children must be allowed to do what they please when they persist in naughtiness! I hope that you will have no difficulty in rallying all those who still believe in having manly men, womanly women, and healthy common-sense in all things. It is only thus that we can hope to have continued prosperity as a nation.

"It is deplorable that women who remain feminine should be dragged into political activity in order to maintain their present rights and justly-privileged position, against those who would drag them down and impose upon them some of the duties which belong to men."

#### LANCASHIRE AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

A LETTER from Mr. H. T. Cawley, M.P. for the Heywood Division of Lancashire, announcing his intention to vote against the Dickinson Bill owing to his disgust at the outrages of the militants, has caused a flutter in the local Suffragist dovecoats. There can be no doubt, however, that Mr. Cawley's opposition to the Bill will represent more accurately the views of his constituency than his former attitude on this subject.

In this connection the following letter, sent by Miss Moir, Secretary of the Manchester Branch, to Sir Frederick Cawley, Bart., M.P. for the Prestwich Division of Lancashire, is of interest. The letter reads:—

"April 14th, 1913.

"SIR FREDERICK CAWLEY, Bart., M.P.,  
House of Commons, Westminster.

"DEAR SIR,—I beg to bring to your notice the fact that a very successful meeting of the above-named League was held in your constituency on Friday evening, April 11th.

"The meeting was held in the Blackley Institute. The Hall was full to overflowing—nearly 600 people were present—for, after all seats were filled, late comers stood at the back and outside the door as far as the staircase. This is evidence of popular enthusiasm for our cause, as we have done no canvassing in your division, and the meeting was advertised by handbills and posters only.

"Mr. J. R. Lancashire was in the chair. The speakers were Nurse Gertrude (of Altrincham), Father Hayes, Mr. A. C. Gronno, Mr. George Harrop, and myself. I enclose a handbill showing further list of supporters. Each of our speakers was loudly applauded, and when the following resolution was put, 'That it would be contrary to the best interests of women and the country to grant any measure of the Parliamentary Suffrage to Women,' it was carried with enthusiasm, only about 20 hands being held up against it. The proportion of the sexes present was about equal."

#### THE NATIONAL UNION OF TEACHERS.

THIS year's Annual Conference of the National Union of Teachers, held at Weston-super-Mare, saw the question of Woman Suffrage once more on the agenda paper. The first trial of strength between Suffragists and their opponents took place over an amendment to a motion affirming a standard scale of salaries for assistant teachers in the provinces and London respectively. Miss Dawson (East London) moved for an equal scale of salaries for men and women.

The amendment was opposed by Mr. Evan Davies, of South Wales. He said he was anxious to improve the salaries of the women, but the amendment would not improve the salaries of the women. On the other hand, it would reduce those of the men. He reminded the Conference of the result of the plebiscite of the London Teachers' Association on this question. Mr. A. E. Cook (North-West London) also opposed the amendment, asking whether they were there to express pious opinions or to transact business. He declared that it was impossible to get the scale of salaries Miss Dawson wanted. He produced figures from New York designed to prove that there, where the teachers had demanded equal pay, the effect had been not to improve the women's salaries, but to bring down those of the men. After some further discussion the closure was moved and a division was taken. The result of the division was made known the next morning. It was as follows:—

For equal pay	...	...	...	9,184
Against	...	...	...	42,972
Majority against	...	...	...	33,788

The Suffrage debate was opened by Miss Cleghorn, who moved: "That this Conference expresses its sympathy with those members of the National Union of Teachers who desire to exercise the Parliamentary franchise, but, because they are women, and for that reason alone, are by law debarred from it."

Mr. A. E. Cook moved an amendment declaring that the subject was outside the scope of the objects of the Union, and instructing the Executive to refrain from supporting all motions bearing on the subject. He wanted, he said, to turn this subject lock, stock and barrel out of the Union debates.

Mrs. Burgwin seconded the amendment in a forceful speech. After further discussion, Miss Cleghorn replied and the amendment was put. It was carried on a show of hands by an overwhelming majority, and thus became the substantive motion.

Mr. G. D. Bell (East London) moved the previous question. It now became obvious that the object of the advocates of the Suffragists was either to talk the matter out or to prevent a vote being taken which would pass what was now the substantive motion. Mr. H. Smith (Leyton) seconded the amendment. He admitted that the vote was heavily against them. He said, however, that while he was prepared to be defeated, if necessary, for 10 years, he was not prepared to be prevented from discussing the matter, which was what Mr. Cook was aiming at. The closure was carried. It was now only five minutes to the time at which only unopposed business could be taken. The previous question was put to the meeting and heavily lost on a show of hands. A division was claimed, and before the division could be counted by the scrutineers, the session was at an end. The result was that Mr. Cook's resolution could not be put as the substantive motion. The result of the division was announced later in the day to the Press as follows:—For the previous question, 20,499; against, 42,150; majority, 21,651. This is a good deal worse than last year for the cause of Woman Suffrage. The voting on that occasion was 36,225 and 22,284, majority 13,941.

#### A CHECK ON MILITANCY.

The following letter was sent to the *Daily Mail* by the Marquis of Linlithgow:—

Hopetoun House,  
"South Queensferry,  
7th April, 1913.

"DEAR SIR,—To stop the ruthless destruction of property at present being carried on by the militant section of the Suffragettes would be a magnificent achievement; even for the *Daily Mail*.

"If, through the agency of your paper, you could persuade the owners of property, whether private individuals or public companies, to promise to hand over to the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage a donation representing, say, 5 per cent. of any insurance claims paid upon property damaged or destroyed by Suffragettes, you would kill the movement in a week.

"The scheme itself should be well advertised, but the list of those who have signed the agreement should remain a secret document.

"With this accomplished, any Suffragette firing a building, or otherwise destroying property, would risk making a handsome donation to the enemies of her cause.

"Yours faithfully,  
" (Signed) LINLITHGOW."

#### AMONG THE PROPHETS.

MR. A. M. S. METHUEN, of the Haslemere Liberal Association who is a Suffragist, thus sums up the present position of the Suffrage movement:—

"What is the position? A tremendous electoral revolution is proposed. It is almost certain that Woman Suffrage would be rejected if a poll of the male population were taken. It is possible that it would be rejected if the women only were polled. The question is a comparatively new one. As an academic question, it may have interested a few advanced minds for 30 or 40 years, but it is only during the last seven years that the public generally has regarded it as within the range of practical politics. It bristles with difficulties, not only of politics, but of sex. It actually divides both the Ministry and the Opposition. It cannot be made a party question to be forced through by party discipline, and, therefore, its success depends on delicate handling and on the goodwill of the average Member of Parliament and of the average elector."

#### "WOMAN ADRIFT."

WE are glad to learn that a popular and unabridged edition of Mr. Harold Owen's valuable book has now been published. The price is 2s. net. Copies may be had at the Head Office of the League.

#### FAIR WAGES CLAUSE.

THIS Clause applies to women equally with men, though the Suffragists continually state that this is not so. A letter from the Secretary of the Board of Trade, dated July 10th, 1911, written to Miss Pott, confirms the fact that the rule of the Fair Wages Clause affects women working under Government contracts. A further proof that this is so is afforded by the debate in the House of Commons on March 4th, 1912, when questions were raised connected with the women working in hosiery and tailoring, and Mr. Tennant, M.P., as representing a Government Department, quoted a definite instance of a complaint being made in connection with girls working on Government clothing contracts and not receiving wages in accordance with the Fair Wages Clause, and of an official enquiry being made into the case (See *Hansard*, Monday, March 4th, 1912.)

#### QUO VADIS, FEMINA?

UNDER the above heading there appeared in the March issue of the *Nineteenth Century* a striking, closely-reasoned article from the pen of Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun. The article is not restricted to the Suffrage question, but ranges over the whole feminist movement. Mrs. Colquhoun points out in conclusion:—

"In every department it is the child-free woman who is vocal, who fills the public eye with her activity. If the Suffrage was granted to women, it is this type whose voice would prevail, whose point of view would be insistent. Already she sets the fashion for the young and the pace for others. Her social activity, her cleverness, her glibness, are amazing, and, withal, she is the interpreter of man to woman and of woman to herself, so that she is fashioning the philosophy of the sexes anew. I have tried to indicate the trend of that philosophy, and I repeat that it threatens woman with a worse enslavement than any she suffered before when it offers her 'equality' with man."

#### WHY?

HINDU opinion on Woman Suffrage is summed up in the following letter from a native reader published by the *Times of India*:—

"Two or 3 things happen at Victory Garden. There was many English womans, and when mans are sitting on the bench and womans come, man stand, and give their sit to woman. This happen 2 of 3 time, and I question you why?"

"Mans and womans are similar in this world and then why mens honors woman. If they honours old old woman, one thing, but they honours young young lady."

"My purpose to write this to inform the Englis Sahebblaks that when they do this they spoil their feminine lady and then this lady get proud and walk like pcock and then ask vote and then spoil Ken Garden and throw bomb on Loid Gorg, put bursting powder in envelope and post, and create other mischief. Therefore I say to my Englis, please don't spoil Englis womans."

THE following paragraph is from the *Westminster Gazette*, which cannot be accused of strong Anti-Suffrage leanings:—

"In reply to a question asked yesterday (April 16th) in the House of Commons it appears that on the last Friday in 1912 the number of persons in receipt of old-age pensions was:—

Women	...	...	...	603,380
Men	...	...	...	362,628

The enormous difference between these two totals is very remarkable. It is more difficult to rear a boy than a girl, with the result that at the age when the boy becomes a man and the girl a woman, there are more women than men; but the difference at this stage is (as is obvious) nothing comparable to the difference revealed by the pension figures. These show at least two things—(1) that 'fragile' woman is, as a matter of fact, uncommonly tough, and (2) that woman's work (whether in the home or outside it) is far less destructive of life than man's. Industry takes toll of the life of those who take part in it, and for every woman prematurely killed there are a dozen or a score of men who perish. And may we add that in this matter of pensions there is clearly no 'injustice to women.'"

#### "POEMS."

By HART DUMARTIN, Lausanne.

WE are indebted to the author for this collection of brief poems, which breathe a welcome catholicity of sympathy and a healthful patriotism. The author is "a strong opponent of Woman Suffrage," and two poems deal with this subject. His verse expresses his thoughts simply, briefly and pleasingly.

THE "Beehive," which under the leadership of Lady Griselda Cheape, does good work for the Anti-Suffrage cause in Scotland and south of the Tweed, held a meeting on April 17th in the Council Chamber, St. Andrews. Temperance was the main subject of the addresses given. Two new Anti-Suffrage members were enrolled.

At a meeting of the National Liberal Club held on April 14th, a resolution: "That it is not desirable in the best interests of the Empire to grant the Suffrage to women while the present disorder continues" was carried by 52 votes to 34.

A DEBATE took place at Walworth on April 8th, under the auspices of the London Society for Woman Suffrage, the speakers being Miss Fielden and Miss Mabel Smith. Miss Fielden set forth the disadvantages under which, she said, women labour for lack of the Parliamentary vote. Miss Mabel Smith contended that any such disabilities result from Nature's handicap rather than from laws made by man.

THE Hon. A. J. Davey is the unsuccessful Liberal candidate for the South-west Division of Surrey who has espoused the cause of Woman Suffrage. At a Suffragist meeting held at Guildford on April 2nd, Mr. Davey adduced as an argument in favour of giving votes to women the great assistance that he had himself received from women in his unsuccessful candidature. His line of reasoning does not appear to have commended itself to the Liberals of his constituency, for at the annual meeting of the Central Liberal Association for the Guildford Division, a Woman Suffrage amendment was defeated by 28 votes to 18. Mr. Davey himself was present, and the Suffragists included the Chairman and several well-known local people.

#### BRANCH NEWS.

**Barnet and Hadley.**—A most successful drawing-room meeting was held on April 15th at Hadley Bourne, the residence of Mrs. Weber, for the purpose of inaugurating a Branch of the N.L.O.W.S. for Barnet and the district. In the regrettable absence of Mrs. Weber through illness, the chair was taken by Mrs. Cyril Smithett. The speaker was Miss Helen Page, who gave a practical and telling address. The resolution to form a Branch was carried unanimously, and a Committee was then elected. The Chairman mentioned the names of eight ladies, well known in the neighbourhood, who had consented to act as Vice-Presidents. Mrs. Cyril Smithett also made a short financial statement giving the subscriptions up to date as £9 15s., and appealing for more members, especially men. After votes of thanks to the speaker, Mrs. Weber, and the Chairman, the meeting was closed with general discussion.

The Branch already numbers 80 members, and great interest has been aroused in the district. Application for membership may be made to the Hon. Secretary and Treasurer, Mrs. Cyril Smithett, Romsdal, New Barnet.

**Beaconsfield.**—A well-attended meeting was held on April 2nd, under the auspices of the local Branch, at Beaconsfield, Buckinghamshire. Lady Hulse presided, and the speaker was Miss Gladys Pott. After her speech half an hour was devoted to questions from the audience. At the end of the meeting, Lady Hulse, as President of the newly-formed Branch, announced that though the organisation was only formed last February, they already had 87 members. The resolution opposing the grant of Woman Suffrage was carried with only 10 dissentients.

**Bedford.**—At a meeting held in St. Peter's Hall, Bedford, on March 31st, it was decided to form a Bedfordshire Branch of the N.L.O.W.S. Mr. S. Howard Whitbread was in the chair, and the speakers were Mrs. Wentworth Stanley and Mrs. Wherry. Invitations had been sent out in the name of Mrs. J. Harold Howard, and the hall was filled.

In his opening speech, the Chairman stated that at the conclusion of the meeting he should submit a resolution confirming the action of Mrs. Harold Howard in inviting certain ladies and gentlemen to become President and Vice-Presidents. He had a characteristic letter from Lord Amptill, who had consented to become President. Their Vice-Presidents would include Lady

Amphill, Sir Frederick Howard, whose name was a tower of strength to any cause, and who had sent £5 to the funds, Mr. Samuel Whitbread and Lady Isabella Whitbread, and Mrs. Howard Whitbread, with whom he was happy to say he was in complete concord in this matter. The provisional committee would include Lord St. John, the Hon. Alice St. John, Mrs. Bowen, Mrs. Chaundler, Mrs. Dymock, Miss Dymock and Mr. Walter Harter.

The Chairman then read the letter from Lord Amphill which appears on another page of this issue. After speeches from Mrs. Wentworth Stanley and Mrs. Wherry, the resolution was put to the meeting and carried. The Branch starts with 50 members and a satisfactory exchequer. The Honorary Treasurer is Mrs. Howard, and the Honorary Secretary Mrs. Bull, of Hughenden, Bedford, who has already set to work hard and enthusiastically.

**Bristol.**—The total membership of this Branch at the end of March was 3,221, representing a gain of 136 members during the month.

Among the activities of the Branch during March and April may be mentioned the following:—**MARCH 12TH:** A debate took place at the Constitutional Club, Knowle, between Miss Helen Sturge (Suffragist) and Miss Price (Anti-Suffragist), who kindly took the place of Mrs. Gladstone Solomon, who was detained at home by illness. The Suffragists won the debate by a majority of two votes.

**MARCH 19TH:** A meeting of the Young People's League was held at 15, Royal York Crescent. The proceedings began with a short speech from their local President, Miss Long Fox, showing the object of the League, followed by a discussion about plans for spring and summer work. A large number of members attended.

**MARCH 26TH:** A subscription dance, organised by Mr. and Mrs. Walter Smith, was held at Shepherd's Hall, Old Market Street. Thirty-two new members joined the League, and twelve badges were sold.

**MARCH 28TH:** A meeting of the Debating Society was held at 15, Royal York Crescent. There was a good attendance, and much interest was shown in the discussion in which every member took part.

**MARCH 31ST:** By the kind invitation of Miss Long Fox, a most enjoyable evening was spent this week at Hebron Schoolroom, Barrow Road, under the auspices of the Bristol East Branch for Opposing Woman Suffrage. Mr. W. Cooper, who presided, briefly stated the objects of the League.

Miss Long Fox gave reason why the Parliamentary franchise should not be extended to women. The resolution read as follows:—

"That this meeting thanks the Right Hon. C. E. Hobhouse, M.P., for his support to the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage in the past, and trusts that he will maintain the same attitude, despite appeals from other sources, until it has been approved by a majority of the electors of this country."

Mr. Wallis Smith, in seconding, gave a few sound logical reasons as to the undesirability of extending the franchise to women. The resolution, on being put to the meeting, was carried with acclamation.

Twenty-five new members joined. **APRIL 2ND:** A debate took place on the evening of April 2nd at the Bethesda School, under the auspices of the local St. George's West Liberal Association. Mr. J. Coole presided. Mr. W. C. H. Cross opened the case for Woman Suffrage. He was opposed by Mr. A. Langlands, and a discussion followed. At this meeting 17 new members joined the Branch.

**BISHOPSTON.**—**APRIL 3RD:** A meeting was held under the auspices of the Branch on April 3rd, at the Lesser Parish Hall, Bishopston. Mr. Arthur L. Adams presided over a large attendance, which included Mrs. Sewell, Mrs. Criffin, Mrs. Adams, Mrs. Raselle, Mrs. Cartledge, Miss Long Fox, and Mrs. Price. Mrs. Greatbatch was the speaker of the evening. The Chairman announced that the object of the meeting was, in the first place, to endeavour to form a Sub-Branch at Bishopston of the Bristol Branch of the League. It would be of interest to them to know that the Bristol Branch was in a very healthy state. Frequent meetings had been held in all parts of the division, and they could boast of 800 members, with over 3,000 subscribing members.

Sub-Branches had been formed at Wells, Burnham, Clevedon, Thornbury and in other places. Mrs. Greatbatch, in the course of her address, said that Somerset stood out very prominently as a stronghold of Anti-Suffragists. She referred to the Suffrage tactics at the recent Conference at Weston-super-Mare of the National Union of Teachers. The resolution, she said, had been lost three years in succession, and this year the defeat was more marked than ever, with an additional 10,000 votes against it. Passing to the subject of militancy and the sentence passed that day on Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Greatbatch said these violent actions proved up to the very hilt what they had all along contended, that large bodies of women, when they took a thing in hand, became so intent upon that one thing that they left out of sight all other considerations, and acted as though the end justified the means. That, to

her mind, was rather significant of what women would do if they had Parliamentary votes. As women they had one main duty in the world, and that was to be women, and to do women's work. Their reason for resisting this Suffrage movement was largely because it would take them away from what was best—the real women's work they ought to be doing in the world, and which was being done so very badly in many cases to-day. They felt it was necessary to come out into the open, and let it be seen that in this matter women Suffragists spoke only for themselves. The work of the world would get on better if each sex minded its own business. Higher education for women had started with the best of intentions, but, she considered, had developed somewhat upon the wrong track. It had fostered the idea that educational ability sufficed for government, and therefore a woman was as good as a man for governing. The Suffragettes were asking for a position which would be absolutely artificial. She said it in no disparagement of women, but it was a fact that women never had been and never could be as well-informed on political matters as men.

If women set themselves to work, there was no single reform which they could not bring about if only they made up their minds, because reforms were brought about, not by changes in the law, but in the habits and beliefs of the people, and here women's influence was of more importance than men's influence. If women were working for reforms, the less they had to do with party politics the better; let them work unitedly for reforms pure and simple, and then they would get things done. After questions had been asked, the resolution: "That this meeting is opposed to granting Parliamentary votes to women" was adopted with only three dissentients. Seventeen new members joined the League after the meeting.

**APRIL 16TH:** At an interesting debate, held at the St. Philip's South Ward Liberal Club (in Mr. C. Hobhouse's constituency), the resolution, "That the Parliamentary franchise be granted to women," was proposed by Mrs. Biretti (of the Bristol Branch of the N.U.W.S.S.), and opposed by Mrs. Greatbatch (N.L.O.W.S.). On the resolution in favour of Woman Suffrage being put to the meeting, the Chairman announced that it had been lost, the figures being 14 for and 71 against.

**Cirencester.**—A public meeting was held at Cirencester on March 27th under the auspices of the local Branch. Colonel the Hon. A. B. Bathurst, M.P., presided, and was supported by the Rt. Hon. Earl Bathurst, C.M.G., the Hon. Mrs. B. Bathurst, Lady Muriel Bathurst, Mrs. Gordon Dugdale, Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun, and Mr. Clements.

The Chairman said in presiding at that meeting he must say a few words as to the exact reason why he had undertaken to take the chair. Some of his friends had asked him the question why he mixed up himself with those who sympathised with or those who opposed Woman Suffrage. He thought it was absolutely right that one who represented a vast constituency in Parliament should not hesitate to say "Yes" or "No" to every question put before him. On the question of Woman Suffrage his answer was "No, I oppose it most strongly." A good many people in the House of Commons and out of it laboured under a great mistake on this question. The Suffragists said there was a majority in the House of Commons in their favour. He believed that statement was very misleading and wrong. Hitherto the question of granting the Parliamentary franchise had been supported and voted for in the confidence that it would go no further. At the present moment the franchise question was a supreme one, and of great importance; and it was best to say from the beginning that he was opposed to it. That had been his attitude, was his attitude now, and would be his attitude as long as he was in the House of Commons.

Mrs. Colquhoun, after a brilliant speech that was greatly appreciated by the audience, proposed the resolution, "That the granting of the Parliamentary franchise to women would not be in the interest of either the State or women." Mr. Clement seconded the resolution. Several questions from the audience having been answered by the speaker, the Chairman submitted the resolution, which was carried with four dissentients.

With the assistance of Mrs. Gladstone Solomon the Branch has also been responsible for a successful Anti-Suffrage campaign in the town and district, extending over two or three weeks.

On March 28th Mrs. Gladstone Solomon addressed a large meeting of workmen during their dinner hour. The men were exceedingly interested, and passed the resolution against Woman Suffrage unanimously. Forty-six of the men became subscribers to the League.

On April 1st Mrs. Gladstone Solomon addressed some laundry women. Again our resolution was passed unanimously, and over thirty joined the League.

On April 3rd a meeting was held at some large motor works. The resolution was passed by about 55 votes to 3, and several of the men joined the League.

In a tailor's workshop some sympathy with Suffragists was found, several of the men being Socialists. Even the Suffragists nearly all voted for putting the question of Woman Suffrage to the country before it was settled.

Altogether over a hundred new subscribers have joined the N.L.O.W.S. in Cirencester itself, and about another hundred in neighbouring villages.

On April 16th a public meeting was held at South Cerney. The chair was taken by Mr. Slack, headmaster of the Cerney school, and Mrs. Gladstone Solomon made a speech. The resolution was passed unanimously, and many of those present joined the League.

On April 15th a public meeting was held at Fairford. The chair was taken by Mr. Reade. Mrs. Gladstone Solomon, the speaker, was supported by Mrs. Turner and Mrs. Dugdale. The resolution was passed with three dissentients, and 26 new members joined the League.

**Croydon.**—An interesting debate on the question of Woman Suffrage was held at Croydon on April 9th at Le Chateau, Chatsworth Road, by kind permission of Dr. and Madame Vecsey. The Countess of Selborne, President of the C.U.W.F.A., opened, and Mrs. Wentworth Stanley of the N.L.O.W.S. opposed, the resolution being: "That this meeting records its emphatic condemnation of the conduct of the Government with regard to extending the Suffrage to women, and calls upon the Conservative Party to press forward the moderate measure of enfranchising those women who pay rates and taxes." Major Roper was in the chair, and a large audience followed the debate with keen interest.

The first part of Lady Selborne's opening speech was devoted to criticism of the Government. She passed on to the statement that the time was ripe for the admission of women to the great work of choosing representatives for Parliament. She quoted the examples of New Zealand, Australia and America as an indication that all over the world women were being trusted with this power by their own men. She did not think that under any system of Woman Suffrage women were likely to govern the country. There was no sign of women showing any disposition to do anything other than elect the men. Men, she admitted, did represent the interests of women as it was, but sometimes the interests of the two sexes diverged. She did not think her proposition was the thin end of the wedge to giving the vote to all women.

Mrs. Wentworth Stanley in opposing the resolution said that she did not think for a single moment that if they enfranchised a few women they would ever be able to go back. She criticised various Suffrage proposals which tended to show that Suffragists were not sure of their own ground, and pointed out what the Suffrage proposal ultimately meant with 12½ million voters against 11 million men voters—an unthinkable position for an enormous Empire like ours. One woman on the London County Council was administering for a community equal in numbers to five New Zealands. Mrs. Wentworth Stanley then criticised the activities of Suffragists in connection with their claim to purify politics, and instanced highly undesirable literature for which they were responsible.

In her reply, Lady Selborne took up the cudgels on behalf of the Suffragists with regard to America. She pointed out that the woman voter not only voted for her own State Parliament, but for the President of the United States, which was as responsible a vote as any in the world. It was said that in the future they were bound to have manhood suffrage and then universal suffrage, but both these events were very far apart. She added that both in New Zealand and Australia, moderate suffrage measures were brought in, but were defeated by the reactionary party (sic), with the result that the whole force of the movement was thrown in with the extremists and adult suffrage was the result. What she wished the Conservative Party to do was to identify themselves with moderate suffrage.

Mrs. Wentworth Stanley stated that she had lived in Australia and could assure her audience that the women did not work for the vote there. It was simply put in and passed. In New Zealand it was passed by a snap division and went through by one vote.

A number of questions were put to both speakers. Lady Selborne admitted that she did not believe that the vote had any effect on the wages either of men or women, but that wages were governed by economic considerations.

Mrs. Wentworth Stanley declared that there were just as many Anti-Suffrage women working at social problems as there were pro-Suffrage women. Women had done magnificent work in the world, but they had done it without the vote.

On the Suffrage resolution being put it was lost by 114 votes to 87.

**Dulwich.**—The annual meeting of the Dulwich Branch was held on April 21st at 1, Woodlawn, Dulwich Village, by kind permission of Mr. and Mrs. Parish. Mr. J. G. Dalzell, President of the Branch, was in the chair, and in his opening speech referred in eulogistic terms to the amount of work done by the League during the year. He congratulated the Branch on its financial position.

Miss Helen Page gave an interesting and entertaining address. Her earnest appeal for yet more work for the benefit of the Empire aroused great enthusiasm.

The thanks of the Dulwich Branch are due to Mrs. Parish for her kind hospitality on this occasion.

**Ewell.**—A drawing-room meeting was held at Parkside, Ewell, on March 29th, at which Mr. A. Vaughan Pott took the chair. The speakers were Mr. Clements, Miss Gladys Pott and Miss Dormer Maunder. After the speeches the Chairman invited the audience to vote upon the resolution that a Branch of the League be formed in the neighbourhood. This was carried without a dissentient. The question of a public meeting to follow the formation of the Branch has been under discussion.

**Isle of Thanet.**—A well-attended drawing-room meeting was held at Ramsgate, by invitation of Mrs. Murray Smith, the President of the Isle of Thanet Branch, who took the chair. After reading the annual report of the Branch, Mrs. Murray Smith mentioned the need of assistant secretaries for the neighbouring towns, and urged upon all present the necessity of working to increase the Branch and general interest in the League. Miss Helen Page, Assistant Secretary of the League, also spoke.

**Manchester.**—A most successful drawing-room meeting was held at Orleton House, Whalley-range, on March 19th, when Mrs. Welsh kindly lent her rooms and provided tea. Miss Moir addressed the meeting, and several ladies subsequently gave most able five minutes speeches. After the meeting a number of ladies handed in their names as subscribing members.

Our Secretary put the case against Woman Suffrage before the Harpurhey Ladies' Conservative League on March 27th, when the resolution was carried with great enthusiasm. The audience was a particularly large one and there were only three or four dissentients. The President of the Association, Mr. Hubert Wilson, Conservative candidate for the Division, was present, and Mrs. Wilson was in the chair. At the conclusion of the meeting both Mr. and Mrs. Wilson joined our League, and several other ladies and gentlemen.

Our annual general meeting was held at the Memorial Hall, Albert Square, on the evening of April 3rd. Lady Sheffield presided over a good attendance. The Chairman of Committee, Mr. G. C. Hamilton, read the annual report, which shows that our cause has progressed enormously during the last twelve months, Anti-Suffrage resolutions being carried everywhere, and the voting in debates almost invariably showing an Anti-Suffrage majority.

The President, Lady Sheffield, accepted an invitation to continue her office, and by so doing has earned the gratitude of all our members. Mr. Russell Allen proposed the re-election of the other officers; the motion was seconded by Mr. Oswald Carver and carried unanimously. The re-election of the Executive Committee was proposed by Mr. George Hamilton, seconded by Mr. A. E. Salmon and carried unanimously. The following ladies and gentlemen were also proposed as new members of the Executive Committee and nominated: Mrs. Seel, Messrs. Jarrett and H. H. Gibson.

This concluded the business of the meeting, and the members present then had the pleasure of listening to an admirable address given by Miss Pott, London, whose humour and logic were no less appreciated than was the encouragement to be derived from her inspiring address.

On April 12th a meeting was held under the auspices of the Branch at the Blackley Institute, North Manchester. Mr. J. R. Lancashire presided. After introductory remarks from the chair, Miss Cordelia Moir proposed the resolution:—"That it would be contrary to the best interests of the women of the nation to grant any measure of Parliamentary franchise to women." Mr. G. Harrop seconded. The Rev. Father Hayes said that what was at the bottom of the Suffragist movement was an attack on the sacredness of the marriage tie. It was Christianity that had raised the position of women, and it was the absence of super-naturalism and of Christianity in the lives of men and women to-day that was responsible for the present agitation.

The resolution was passed, the proportion of persons voting against it being about one in 20.

**New Cross.**—A very well-attended debate took place on April 23rd at the St. Michael's, Hatcham, Men's Social and Debating Society, between Mrs. K. Tanner (Women's Freedom League) and



Mr. Maurice G. Liverman, N.L.O.W.S. The Rev. Percy Baker presided. Mrs. Tanner claimed the vote mainly on the ground of the great influence that she declared it would have on matters of social reform, and Mr. Liverman contended that legislation of to-day protected women as much as men, and that social progress would be retarded by the addition of a female electorate.

At the close of the meeting, Mrs. Tanner moved her resolution: "That the extension of the franchise to women would benefit the whole community," and on a vote being taken by means of a ballot paper, this was declared to be defeated by a majority of 21. The majority of the large audience were women.

**Newport.**—There was a fairly large gathering at St. Stephen's Schoolroom, Alexandra Road, Newport, on Tuesday evening, April 8th, when a public meeting was held under the auspices of the N.L.O.W.S. The chair was occupied by Colonel C. T. Wallis, and the speaker was Mrs. Gladstone Solomon.

On the motion of Mr. J. S. Davies, seconded by Captain Harding, a resolution was put to the meeting and carried with two dissentients, to the effect that in the interests of the Empire women ought not to be given the vote. The meeting closed with votes of thanks to the Chairman and the speaker.

Twenty-three new members came forward and enrolled themselves.

**North Berkshire.**—A large public meeting in connection with the North Berkshire Branch of the N.L.O.W.S. was held at Faringdon on April 17th. Sir Alexander Henderson took the chair, and read a letter from Major Henderson, M.P., declaring his sympathy with the Anti-Suffrage cause. Sir Henry Craik, M.P., and Miss Gladys Pott, addressed the meeting, and the following resolution was passed without a dissentient:—"That this meeting declares its hostility to the granting of the Parliamentary franchise to women, and prays Major Henderson, M.P., to use all means in his power to prevent any measure of Woman Suffrage being passed into law." Amongst those on the platform were Lady Wantage, Lady Henderson, Lady Craik, Lady Harcourt-Smith and Miss Elliot.

It will be remembered that at a Suffragist meeting held at Faringdon on February 28th the Suffragists refused to submit a resolution to the meeting.

**Oxford.**—The annual report of the Oxford Branch for 1912 has been published. The statement of revenue and expenditure balances at £111, with the sum of £28 carried forward. Seventeen new members were enrolled, and the Branch now numbers 231 members and 344 associates, a total of 575. "A certain number of men," the report mentions, appear among the associates. The Girls' Sub-Branch has rendered valuable assistance to the Branch in its various activities during the year.

A meeting to discuss Woman Suffrage was held at St. Aldate's Debating Society. It was an open night, and there was an unusually large number of visitors. Mr. C. Simpson moved: "That this House is in favour of the principle of Woman Suffrage." Mrs. John Massie opposed the motion. Mrs. Coppard, Miss Crook, Mrs. Brabant, Mr. Wiginton, and Mr. Coppard supported it, and Mr. A'Bear and other gentlemen spoke against it. On a division the resolution was carried by 59 votes to 41.

**Salisbury and South Wilts.**—A well-attended meeting arranged by the Salisbury and South Wilts Branch was held at the Church House, Salisbury, on April 17th. The Countess of Radnor presided, and the chief speaker was Mrs. Greatbatch. Others present included the Hon. Lady Hulse, Mrs. Locker Lampson (wife of the City member), Miss Olivier and Mrs. Richardson (Hon. Secretaries) and many others.

The Countess of Radnor, in opening the meeting, alluded to the death of the Earl of Pembroke, and said she knew that Lady Muriel Herbert had the sympathy of all those with whom she had worked in connection with that Branch in the great sorrow that had come into her life. Regarding that meeting Lady Radnor said she understood there had been a mild feeling of repugnance among certain people in Salisbury at their holding in any sense a political meeting at the Church House. If that feeling did exist, she felt it was a little unreasonable, because their friends of the other side had already held three meetings or more within the last six months. They had been granted the same privilege as the Suffragists who had held meetings in that room.

As to the position of the Member for Salisbury on this question, she believed that his interest and sympathy had been claimed by the opposite party. But the fact was that he held a position not of indifference but of impartiality.

Mrs. Greatbatch moved the following resolution: "That the extension of the Parliamentary franchise to women would be hostile to their own welfare and the welfare of the State, and that a change so momentous and so incalculable in its effects, both socially and

politically, ought not to be entertained except upon a clear and deliberately expressed demand by the electorate."

In the course of her speech she said Anti-Suffragists were spoken of as traitors to their sex, but they yielded to none in their appreciation of the special gifts and abilities of women, or in their desire for the advancement of women or for reform. They held that a matter which could not win its way to public acceptance by argument and by peaceable methods had already pronounced on itself its own sentence of death. Anti-Suffragists approached the question from the point of view of its bearings on the Empire and the State as a whole, and not from a sex or individualistic standpoint. Mrs. Greatbatch went on to say that until the Suffragists had shown that women as a sex were as fully equipped for the discharge of responsible political functions as men they had not made out their case, and there could be no injustice whatever in excluding them from those functions. The speaker showed that the normal woman already had her hands full and claimed that the work of the State would be better done if each sex minds its own business.

The resolution was seconded by Lady Hulse and carried with one dissentient. Some questions were then asked and replied to by Mrs. Greatbatch. A vote of thanks to Lady Radnor and the speaker was passed on the proposition of Mrs. Locker Lampson.

**Sheffield.**—A meeting under the auspices of the Sheffield Branch was held in the Institute, Hathersage, on March 28th, when the speaker was Miss Cordelia Moir (Secretary of the Manchester Branch). Mrs. C. A. Winder presided over a good attendance, which included Mrs. Edward Bramley (Hon. Secretary of the Sheffield Branch).

Miss Cordelia Moir, in the course of an able address, said it should be remembered that the Suffragist movement was not a demand that any one section of women should be enfranchised. It was not a question of giving a few particular women votes; it was a question of removing altogether the sex disqualification which at present obtained in this country. The citizenship of women was something quite different from the citizenship of men, and the Suffragists' arguments, which were based on the idea that the vote was a national right which the women must have because they were citizens, when examined from the point of view of reason and logic, fell to the ground. Let it be remembered that in the hands of men were all the great business concerns, financial affairs, and the great industries of shipbuilding, mining, and engineering. Therefore, it was evident that men as a sex, contrasted with women as a sex, were in quite a different relationship to the State. Thus the citizenship of men must be something quite different from the citizenship of women.

On the motion of Mrs. Lloyd-Jones, seconded by Mrs. L. Munns, a cordial vote of thanks was passed to Miss Moir for her address.

Mrs. Shuttleworth proposed, and Mrs. Drury seconded, a vote of thanks to Mrs. Winder for occupying the chair, and the meeting terminated.

**Slough.**—With the object of forming a Branch of the N.L.O.W.S. at Slough, a meeting was held at the Leopold Institute on April 10th. The chair was taken by Mr. Grasset, and a lucid and able address was given by Miss Gladys Pott.

Miss Pott showed that it would not be in the interest of the community and of the Empire that the vote should be extended to women. She said the position of the Anti-Suffrage was completely misunderstood by many people, who seemed to think that they were satisfied with everything as it existed. The point at issue was not whether the world was perfect, but whether giving the Parliamentary vote to woman was likely to remedy the evils. Some people claimed the vote as a right and seemed to regard it as an instrument of self-government only, but everybody who had the Parliamentary vote, whether they exercised it or not, had to take their share in the responsibility for the whole community. Nobody could exercise individual rights as such, because everybody else had precisely the same rights. Rights were placed in the hands of the community to be worked for the good of the community and not for the benefit of the individual. The vote was not a right or privilege, it was a duty and responsibility to be exercised for the good of the community. If they allowed the individual to come before the community they would ruin the Empire. She contended that militant Suffragettes were playing a game of anarchy in order to bring notoriety to their cause. It was not a question of superiority or inferiority of sex at all; both man and woman had their spheres in life. She argued that women would not make good voters and contended that if they substantiated that, then it did not matter twopence whether a woman wanted a vote or not, she ought not to have it. It was said that men did not understand women's views, but if that was so, what was the good of giving votes to

women to send men to Parliament, because that would not alter the position. The remedy would be worse than the disease. Miss Pott contended, despite what might be said to the contrary, that Parliament during the last 50 years had done much to improve the position of women.

**Southampton.**—A very successful "At Home" was given at the Assembly Rooms, Shirley, on April 16th, by Lady Swaythling, President, and Mrs. Sinkins, Chairman of the Southampton Branch of the N.L.O.W.S. The chief speaker was Mrs. Wentworth Stanley. The resolution: "That this meeting is against the granting of the franchise to women, as it considers that it would be detrimental to the interests of the women themselves and to the Empire," was carried with only four dissentients out of an attendance of 190.

On April 17th the question: "Does the feminist movement represent the true interests of women and the State?" was discussed at Southampton by the District Debating Society. Councillor A. J. Cheverton presided, and was supported by Mrs. Wentworth Stanley, representing the N.L.O.W.S., who took the negative view of the question, Councillor Dr. E. H. M. Stancomb, who championed the feminist movement, Mrs. E. Cooper Poole, Councillor H. J. Blakeway, and the Rev. Beaumont James.

**Southwold.**—A largely-attended meeting, organised by the Southwold Branch, was held in the hall of the Constitutional Club at Southwold on March 28th. The chair was taken by the Countess of Stradbroke, and among those present were the Earl of Stradbroke, Mrs. Heape, President of the Branch, and others.

The Countess of Stradbroke said the Anti-Suffragists felt just as strongly on this question as their Suffragist sisters, and believed that the extension of the vote to women was a step in the wrong direction. There was far too much casual voting at the present time, and, although many women knew as much, and more, of politics than the casual male voter, to extend the franchise to women generally would have the effect of extending this casual voting to a most alarming extent. There was a general discontent in this age amongst both men and women, and if women expected to remedy all the evils that existed by obtaining the vote, they would find they were forfeiting much of their womanhood to obtain something which was in reality a shadow. Women often said that woman was treated as the inferior of man, but that was not so. Women, by example, influence, and sentiment, had become a great force in shaping the course of events, and it was in the continuance of these ways that the power of women lay. No man could influence the same as woman, and they must blame the wives and mothers of the past for much of the evil that existed in the present day. To obtain the remedy it was necessary for women to exert their womanly influence.

Mrs. Greatbatch said that the N.L.O.W.S. was making great progress and receiving a far greater amount of support than previously. Highly-gifted women were leading the movement on both sides, but academic education did not fit a person for government, and women were not naturally adapted for the strenuous life of the politician, though their advice and help might be invaluable. The work of men and women was different, and it would be much better if each sex minded its own business. To improve the lot of women combination, and not forcing force, was wanted, and the Government by men could do, and had done, just as much by legislation as any women's Parliament would achieve. The greater tact which was characteristic of the male sex was likely to make legislation of greater effect than the more hasty ways of womankind.

A large number of questions put by Suffragists were answered by Mrs. Greatbatch.

The resolution opposing the granting of votes to women was carried by 104 to 13. After a few humorous and kindly comments from Lady Stradbroke, the usual votes of thanks concluded a most successful meeting.

**Sutton.**—A debate took place at the Adult School on April 2nd, when the case for Woman Suffrage was set forth by Miss Geraldine Cook of the N.U.W.S.S., while Mrs. Wentworth Stanley opposed. The school hall was crowded, and the two chief lady speakers were accorded a most attentive hearing, but in the course of the discussion which followed there was a certain amount of interruption.

Miss Cook took up the line that woman's sphere did not end in the home, but that she was called to do work outside and that, therefore, she ought to have a voice in the making of the laws which affected woman's sphere in the national life. She declared that the present struggle was not sex-antagonism; that women were not fighting against men, but were fighting for women, so that they could also be men's comrades in politics.

Mrs. Wentworth Stanley pointed out that if women were to have a vote all women would have to be enfranchised, and the preponderance of women over men, to the extent of 1,300,000, was an important point in considering the question. The granting of

the vote to women would tend to weaken the country's foreign policy. Mrs. Wentworth Stanley then referred to conditions in Australia, and dealt with the militant aspect of Suffragism.

A discussion followed, but no vote was taken on the subject.

**Tetbury.**—On April 11th a public meeting was held at the Assembly Room, Tetbury. The chair was taken by Colonel Arthur Balfour. After listening with great attention to a speech by Mrs. Gladstone Solomon the audience passed unanimously a resolution against votes for women, and over fifty people joined the League.

On April 14th a drawing-room meeting was held, with Mrs. Arthur Balfour as hostess, at "The Close," Tetbury. The chair was taken by the Hon. Mrs. Ben Bathurst, and the address was given by Mrs. Gladstone Solomon. The resolution against votes for women was passed unanimously; a number of people joined the League, and a flourishing new Branch was started at Tetbury, with Mrs. Arthur Balfour as Hon. Secretary and Treasurer, and an initial membership of nearly seventy.

**Tonbridge.**—There was a large attendance at the Public Hall, Tonbridge, on March 28th, on the occasion of a public debate arranged by the local Branch of the N.U.W.S.S. The Rev. Llewellyn Smith, Hon. Secretary of the local Church League, proposed that the Parliamentary franchise should be extended to women, and he was opposed by Miss Mabel Smith in the absence of Mr. H. G. Williams. Mr. E. C. Goldberg was in the chair.

Mr. Llewellyn Smith took up the line that the extension of the franchise was just and expedient. Upon whatever grounds they gave the vote to men, upon the same grounds they must be prepared to extend it to some women. Thus, on the grounds of taxation, ability, citizenship, they were bound to give the vote to women. He could not admit that women differed from the whole mass of humanity in being guided by emotion and sentiment.

Miss Mabel Smith approached the question from the standpoint of the greatest good for the greatest number. It was preferential treatment that women wanted, not equal treatment. Women assisted already in the making of public opinion, and public opinion was very often stronger than any amount of votes.

Both speakers were allowed to reply, and after the Chairman had summed up, the resolution, on being put to the meeting, was carried by 75 votes to 20.

**Upper Norwood and Anerley.**—A well-attended drawing-room meeting, under the auspices of this Branch, was held at 144, Church Road, Upper Norwood, on April 1st. The speaker was Mrs. Harold Norris, who dealt with various aspects of the case against Woman Suffrage. At the close of the meeting a considerable proportion of the audience joined the league.

Speaking on April 6th at the Congregational Church, Anerley, Miss Mabel Smith took as her subject "Some Criticisms of the Case for Woman Suffrage," and devoted the major part of her lecture to such statements as that "the average wage of the manual woman wage earner is 7s. to 7s. 6d.," that "the laws refuse women admission to technical classes," that "the L.C.C. provides three-years' courses in scientific cookery for boys, while the girls must be content with a course of three months," that "women are invariably paid less than men for equal work here, although in countries where they have been granted the vote they are paid equal," &c. During the lively discussion which followed Miss Smith's speech it was noticeable that nobody attempted to disprove the facts she had advanced against these arguments, her refutations being in every case based upon official documentary evidence.

**Weston-super-Mare.**—During the time of the N.U.T. Conference held at Weston-super-Mare, an Anti-Suffrage "shop" in a prominent position, was opened, and each day filled by those eager to record their views on the Suffrage question.

The petition to Parliament against Woman Suffrage was signed by 1,330 persons and 67 joined the League, also many received literature and had the Anti-Suffrage case explained.

Mrs. Bray's valuable work was much appreciated by the local committee and by all others who helped.

One day in response to a request from a speaker at a W.S.P.U. meeting held on the sands, "to go and hold a meeting of her own instead of asking questions," Mrs. Greatbatch drew a large and appreciative audience. She was afterwards asked to hold another meeting the following morning. This she kindly consented to do and there was an immense crowd present, who listened attentively to her most convincing address. At the close of the meeting she was given an enthusiastic vote of thanks, and the Anti-Suffrage vote was carried by an overwhelming majority, only a very few voting against.

The work done and help received during the time of the Conference has largely increased the membership of the local Branch and also increased interest.

LEAFLETS.

- 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.

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**Hon. Secretary:** Mrs. Leatham, Bagendon, Cirencester.  
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**Bagendon (Sub-Branch)**—  
**Hon. Secretary:** Mrs. Leatham.

**Daglingworth (Sub-Branch)**—  
**Hon. Secretary:** Mrs. Topham, The Rectory.

**CHELTENHAM**—  
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**Hon. Treasurer:** Miss G. Henley, The Knoll, Battle-down.  
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**Vice-Chairmen:** Mrs. Nigel Haines, Mrs. W. Langley-Smith and Mrs. Grimke-Drayton.  
**Hon. Treasurer:** W. P. Cullis, Esq.  
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HAMPSHIRE.

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All communications to be addressed to Miss Fraser.

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**Vice-President:** Lady Arbuthnot.  
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**Vice-President:** Mrs. Berkeley.  
All communications to be addressed to Mrs. Allnut, Hazelhurst, Basingstoke.

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**President:** Mrs. Edward Morant.  
**Chairman:** Hon. Treasurer: Mr. Taylor.  
**Hon. Secretary pro tem:** Mrs. Alexander, The Old Mansion, Boldre, Lymington, Hants.

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**Vice-President:** Mrs. Robertson.  
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**Joint Hon. Secretaries:** Miss Armitage, 3, The Bartens, Hereford; Miss M. Capel, 22, King Street, Hereford.  
District represented on Committee by Mrs. Edward Heygate.

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**President:** The Lady Ebury.  
**Chairman:** Miss Dorothy Ward.  
**Hon. Treasurer:** Miss E. P. Metcalfe.  
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**Hon. Treasurer and Hon. Secretary:** Miss Hyam, The Cottage, Potten End, Berkhamstead.

**Boxmoor and Hemel Hempstead (Sub-Branch)**—  
**President:** E. A. Mitchell James, Esq., K.C., J.P.  
**Chairman of Committee:** Miss Halsey.  
**Hon. Treasurer and Hon. Secretary:** Miss Sale, Mortimer House, Hemel Hempstead.

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ISLE OF WIGHT.

**ISLE OF WIGHT**—  
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**Hon. Secretary:** Mrs. Perrott, Cluntagh, near Ryde, Isle of Wight.

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**Hon. Secretary:** Mrs. Le Grice, Thorpe Lodge, Sandown.

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**Hon. Secretary:** Miss C. Woodhouse (pro tem.), Tealby, St. Paul's Crescent, Shanklin.

KENT.

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**Hon. Secretary:** Mrs. Fischer, Appletreewick, Bickley.

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**Hon. Secretary:** Miss Reay, Langley House, Old Dover Road, Canterbury.

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**Hon. Secretary:** Strangman Hancock, Esq., Kennel Holt, Cranbrook.

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**Hon. Treasurer:** William Matthews, Esq.

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**Hon. Secretary:** Mrs. Morris, Court Lodge, Church Path, Deal.

**Walmer**—  
**Joint Hon. Secretaries:** Miss Lapage, Sheen House Upper Walmer; Miss A. Bowman, Castlemount Castle Road, Walmer.

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**Hon. Secretary (pro tem.):** Miss M. Davies, 64, West Park, Eltham.

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**Hon. Treasurer:** Mrs. Beauchamp Tower.  
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**President:** Mrs. Hickson.  
**Hon. Secretary:** Mrs. Carter, School Cottage, Flimwell.

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**Hon. Secretary:** Miss Baldwin, Tynwold, Hythe, Kent.

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**Hon. Treasurer:** Mrs. Fishwick.  
**Mrs. Boniford** will receive all correspondence pro tem., 39, Grange Road, Ramsgate.

**Horn Bay (Sub-Branch)**—  
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**Hon. Secretary:** Miss Pollock, The Precincts.

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**Hon. Secretary:** Miss I. Stigand, Elmleigh, Saltwood.

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**Hon. Secretary:** Mrs. Crowhurst, 126, Hadlow Road, Tonbridge.

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**Vice-President:** Mrs. E. L. Pontifex.  
**Hon. Treasurer:** E. Weldon, Esq.  
**Hon. Secretary:** Miss M. B. Backhouse, 48, St. James' Road, Tunbridge Wells.

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**Hon. Treasurer:** Mrs. Redmayne.  
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**Hon. Secretary:** Miss C. Gostenhofer, 16, Beresford Road, Birkenhead.

**Birkenhead (Sub-Branch)**—  
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**Blundellsands and Crosby (Su.-Branch)**—  
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**Hon. Treasurer:** Miss Crossfield.  
**Hon. Secretary:** Mrs. R. H. Case, 7, West Albert Road, Sefton Park, Liverpool.

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**Chairman:** George Hamilton, Esq.  
**Hon. Treasurer:** Percy Marriott, Esq.  
**Hon. Secretary:** Mrs. Arthur Herbert.  
**Organising Secretary:** Miss C. Moir, 1, Princess Street, Manchester.

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Vice-Presidents: Lady Hopkinson, Dr. Featherstone,  
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Chairman: A. C. Gronno, Esq.  
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. W. S. Barratt.  
District Secretary: A. E. Salmon, Esq., 83, Palmer-  
ston Street, Alexandra Park.  
**Manchester, North-East (Sub-Branch)**—  
District Secretary: Mr. W. Molloy, 26, White Street,  
Ancoats.  
**Manchester, South-West (Sub-Branch)**—  
Chairman: H. H. Gibson, Esq., 48r, Stretford  
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## DISTRICTS.

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Hon. Secretary (*pro tem.*): Mrs. Dale, Rose Lea,  
Alderley Edge.  
**Bolton (Sub-Branch)**—  
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Hon. Secretaries (*pro tem.*): Miss Podmore, 305,  
Wigan Road, Deane, Bolton; H. Taylor, Esq.,  
9, Henry Street, Bolton.  
**Didsbury (Sub-Branch)**—  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Henry Simon, Lawnhurst,  
Didsbury.  
**Levenshulme, Burnage, Heaton Chapel, and Heaton  
Moor (Sub-Branch)**—  
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District Hon. Secretaries:  
Levenshulme and Burnage: Mr. and Mrs. H. W.  
Barber, 15, Roseleigh Avenue, Burnage.  
Heaton Chapel and Heaton Moor: Miss L.  
Bennett, "Parkleigh," Elms Road, Heaton  
Chapel.  
**Oldham (Sub-Branch)**—  
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District Secretaries (*pro tem.*): Mrs. Watson-Harrison,  
200, Manchester Road, Werneth, Oldham; William  
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Hon. Secretary: W. H. Pickup, Esq., 28, St. Anne's  
Road West, St. Anne's.  
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Hon. Secretary: Miss A. Nall, Bruntwood, Urmston.

## LEICESTERSHIRE.

**LEICESTER**—  
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Hon. Treasurer: Thomas Butler, Esq.  
Hon. Secretaries: Mrs. Butler, Elmfield Avenue; Miss  
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Spilsby.  
Hon. Treasurer: Dr. Dean.  
**Alford (Sub-Branch)**—  
Hon. Secretary (*pro tem.*): Miss D. Higgins.  
**Easi Kirkby (Sub-Branch)**—  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Robinson, The Manor House.  
**Spilsby (Sub-Branch)**—  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Steinmitz, The Vicarage.  
Hon. Treasurer: Dr. Dean.

## LONDON.

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Hon. Treasurer: Admiral the Hon. Sir Edmund  
Fremantle, G.C.B.  
Hon. Secretaries: Mrs. Myles, 16, St. Loo Mansions,  
Cheyne Gardens, S.W.; Miss S. Woodgate, 68, South  
Eaton Place, S.W.

**CROUCH END**—  
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Hon. Treasurer: G. H. Bower, Esq.  
Hon. Secretary: Miss Rigg, 29, Harringay Park,  
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Vice-President: Mrs. Teall.  
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Dalzell.  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Carr, 5, Carson Road, Dulwich.

**EAST DULWICH**—  
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Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Hawkes, Woodbridge, Eynella  
Road, Lordship Lane.  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Rubbra, 367, Lordship Lane.

**FINCHLEY**—  
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Hon. Treasurer: A. Savage Cooper, Esq.  
Hon. Secretary: Miss Lucie Alexander, 5, Redbourne  
Avenue, Church End, Finchley.

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Hon. Treasurer: Miss King.  
Hon. Secretary: Miss Winthrop, 4, Cottesmore  
Gardens, Kensington, W.  
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Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Russell.  
Hon. Secretary: Miss Duncan, "Penarth," North End  
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**HACKNEY**—  
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Vice-President: A. J. Brough, Esq.  
Hon. Treasurer: Mr. Percy O. Wittey.  
Hon. Secretary: Mr. Maurice G. Liverman, 23,  
Bethune Road, Stamford Hill, N.

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Hon. Treasurer: Miss Squire, 27, Marlborough Hill,  
N.W.  
Hon. Secretary: Miss M. E. Allsop, 19, Belsize Park,  
N.W.  
Assistant Secretary: Miss Gunning, 43, Belsize Park  
Gardens.

**North-West Hampstead (Sub-Branch)**—  
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Froggnal.

**NORTH-EAST HAMPSTEAD**—  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Van Ingen Winter, M.D., Ph.D.,  
41, Willoughby Road, Hornsey, N.

**HIGHBURY**—  
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Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Wagstaff.  
Hon. Secretary: Miss Dorothy Housden, 19, Compton  
Road, Highbury.

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57, Dartmouth Park Hill, N.  
Hon. Treasurer: Colonel J. W. Cowley.

**KENSINGTON**—  
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Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Mason, 83, Cornwall Gardens,  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun, 25,  
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Hon. Treasurer: Miss Luck.  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Jeyes, 11, Grove End Road,  
St. John's Wood, N.W.

**MAYFAIR AND ST. GEORGE'S**—  
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Chairman of Committee: The Dowager Countess of  
Ancaster.  
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Carson Roberts.  
Hon. Secretary (*pro tem.*): Miss Blenkinsop, 35, St.  
George's Square, S.W.

**PADDINGTON**—  
President of Executive: Lady Dimsdale.  
Deputy President: Lady Hyde.  
Hon. Secretary and Temporary Treasurer: Mrs.  
Percy Thomas, 52, Colchester Court, S.W.  
All communications to be addressed to Miss Hogarth,  
41, Gloucester Gardens, Hyde Park, W.

**ST. PANCRAS EAST**—  
Hon. Treasurer: Miss M. Briggs.  
Hon. Secretary: Miss Sterling, 14, Bartholomew  
Road, N.W.

**STREATHAM AND NORBURY**—  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Winckoski, 31, Hopton Road,  
Streatham.

**UPPER NORWOOD AND ANERLEY**—  
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Hon. Treasurer: Miss E. H. Tiplle.  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Austin, Sunnyside, Crescent  
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President: The Lady Biddulph of Ledbury.  
Hon. Secretary: Miss L. E. Cotesworth, Caxton  
House, Tothill Street, S.W.

**WHITECHAPEL**—  
Hon. Secretary: Lady Wynne, St. Thomas' Tower,  
Tower of London, E.C.

## MIDDLESEX.

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President:  
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. L. Prendergast Walsh, Kirk-  
connel, Gunnersbury Avenue, Ealing Common.  
Hon. Secretary: Miss McClellan, 35, Hamilton Road,  
Ealing.  
All communications to be addressed to Mrs. L.  
Prendergast Walsh for the present.

**EALING DEAN**—  
Joint Hon. Secretaries: The Misses Turner, 33,  
Lavington Road, West Ealing.

**EALING SOUTH**—  
Mrs. Ball.  
All communications to be addressed to Miss McClellan  
as above.

**CHISWICK**—  
President: Mrs. Norris.  
Hon. Treasurer and Hon. Secretary: Miss M. Mac-  
kenzie, 6, Grange Road, Gunnersbury.

**HAMPTON AND DISTRICT**—  
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Joint Hon. Secretaries: Mrs. Ellis Hicks Beach and  
Miss Goodrich, Clarence Lodge, Hampton Court.

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Hon. Treasurer: Mr. Mayo.  
Joint Hon. Secretaries: Mrs. Gardner Williams,  
"Javerary," Pinner; Miss K. Parker, "Mayfield,"  
Pinner.

**UXBRIDGE AND HAREFIELD**—  
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Hon. Secretary: Miss Harland, Harefield Vicarage,  
Uxbridge.

## MONMOUTHSHIRE.

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Hon. Secretary: Miss Prothero, Malpas Court.

## NORFOLK.

**NORFOLK COUNTY BRANCH**—  
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Hon. Secretary: Miss Dorothy Carr, Ditchingham  
Hall, Norfolk.

## NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.

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President:  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Heygate, The Elms, Wellingboro'.

**OUNDLIE**—  
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Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Coombs.  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Newman, Bramston House,  
Oundle.

## NORTHUMBERLAND.

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Hon. Treasurer: Arthur G. Ridout, Esq.  
Secretary: Miss Moses, 9, Ridley Place, Newcastle.

## NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.

**NOTTINGHAM AND NOTTS**—  
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Hon. Treasurer:  
Hon. Secretary: Percy Pine, Esq., Wheeler Gate,  
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## OXFORDSHIRE.

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Hon. Secretary: Miss Gurney, 17, Oxford Road,  
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President:  
Hon. Secretary: Miss Dewar, Cotmore House, Bicester.

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Hon. Treasurer: W. Poore Clarke, Esq.  
Hon. Secretary: Miss Clarke, Market Street, Wood-  
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**GORING**—  
Hon. Secretary (*pro tem.*): Miss Evans, Ropley,  
Goring-on-Thames.

**HENLEY-ON-THAMES**—  
President: Lady Esther Smith.  
Hon. Treasurer: G. F. Gibbs, Esq.  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Holt Beever, Yewden, Henley-  
on-Thames.

**OXFORD**—  
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Vice-Chairman: Mrs. Massie.  
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Gamlen.  
Hon. Secretary: Miss Tawney, 62, Banbury Road,  
Co. Hon. Secretary: Miss Wills-Sandford, 40, St.  
Giles, Oxford.

**Hook Norton (Sub-Branch)**—  
Hon. Secretary: Miss Dickens.

**THAME**—  
President: Mrs. Philip Wykelham.  
Hon. Treasurer: W. Ryder, Esq.  
Hon. Secretary (*pro tem.*): Miss Newcombe, Had-  
denham, Bucks.

## SHROPSHIRE.

**SHROPSHIRE COUNTY**—  
President and Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Fielden,  
(*pro tem.* Mrs. Corbett).  
Secretary: Miss F. Dayus, Longnor, Shrewsbury.

**CHURCH STRETTON**—  
President: Mrs. Hanbury Sparrow.  
Hon. Treasurer: Dr. McClintock.  
Hon. Secretary: Miss R. Hanbury Sparrow, Hillside.

**LUDLOW**—  
President: Hon. G. Windsor Clive.  
Hon. Treasurer:  
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**OSWESTRY**—  
President: Horace Lovett, Esq.  
Hon. Treasurer: Miss Kenyon.  
Hon. Secretary: Miss Corbett, Ashlands, Oswestry.

**SHREWSBURY**—  
President: Miss Ursula Bridgeman.  
Hon. Treasurer: E. L. Mylius, Esq.  
Hon. Secretary: Miss H. Parson Smith, Abbotsmead,  
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Hon. Secretary: Miss M. Codrington, 14, Grosvenor,  
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Hon. Secretary: Miss Margaret Donaldson, Deefa,  
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Vice-President: Mrs. Lance.  
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Somerville.  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Birkbeck, Church Square,  
Taunton.

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Hon. Treasurer: Miss W. Evans.  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. E. M. S. Parker, Welford House,  
Weston-super-Mare.

**WELLS AND THE CHEDDAR VALLEY**—  
President: Jeffrey Mawer.  
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Goodall.  
Hon. Sec.: Mrs. Kippisley, Northam House, Wells.

## STAFFORDSHIRE.

**HANDSWORTH**—  
(See Birmingham District.)

**WALSALL**—  
(See Birmingham District.)

**WEDNESBURY**—  
(See Birmingham District.)

## SUFFOLK.

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Vice-President: Miss Jervis White Jervis.  
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Hon. Treasurer:  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Howard, Priory Lodge, Felix-  
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Hon. Treasurer and Hon. Secretary: Miss Coley,  
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**WOODBIDGE**—  
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Hon. Secretary: Miss Nixon, Priory Gate, Woodbridge.

## SURREY.

**CAMBERLEY, FRIMLEY, AND MYTHELL**—  
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Vice-President: Miss Harris.  
Hon. Secretary and Treasurer: Mrs. Spens, Athallan  
Grange, Frimley, Surrey.

**CROYDON**—  
President: W. Cash, Esq., Coombe Wood.  
Hon. Treasurer: Miss B. Jefferis.  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Narraway, 5, Morland Avenue,  
East Croydon.

**DORKING**—  
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Chairman: Mrs. Wilfrid Ward.  
Hon. Treasurer: Major Hicks, The Nook, Dorking.  
Hon. Secretary: Miss Loughborough, Bryn Derwen,  
Dorking.

**DORMANSLAND**—  
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Hon. Treasurer and Secretary: Mrs. Kellie, Merrow,  
Dormansland.

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Hon. Secretary: Miss Paice, The Limes, Egham.  
**Englefield Green (Sub-Branch)**—  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Shipley, Manor Cottage,  
Englefield Green.

**Virginia Water (Sub-Branch)**—  
Hon. Secretary: Miss Peck, Virginia Water.

## EPSOM DIVISION.

President: The Dowager Countess of Ellesmere.  
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Buller.  
Hon. Sec.: Mrs. Sydney Jackson, Danehurst, Epsom.

**BANSTEAD**—  
President:  
**Banstead**—  
**Tadworth**—  
**Walton-on-the-Hill**—  
**Headley**—  
Hon. Secretary: Miss H. Page, Tadworth.

**COBHAM**—  
President: Mrs. Bowen Buscarlet.  
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Hon. Secretary for Salisbury: Miss Olivier, The Close,  
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Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Newbound, Springsend.  
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Hon. Treasurer: Miss Shepherd.  
Hon. Secretary: Miss Armstrong Hall, Methley  
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Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Giers, Busby Hall, Carlton-in-  
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Assistant Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Bell, "Mor Awelon."  
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Assistant Hon. Secretary: Miss Eveline Hughes,  
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