

# ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW

1912.

No. 70.



AUGUST, 1914.

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- All the above Leaflets, Pamphlets, and Books are on sale at the offices of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage, 515, Caxton House, Tothill Street, Westminster.
- The speech made by Lady Tullibardine at Edinburgh on Nov. 21st, 1913, has been published in pamphlet form, and may be had on application at the Head Office.
- Mrs. A. Colquhoun's "The Vocation of Women." Price 4s. 6d.; Lord Charnwood's Pamphlet, "Legislation for the Protection of Women," price 2d.; Mr. Harold Owen's book, "Woman Adrift," price 2s. net; and "The House of the Suffragette," by Nita Simmonds, price 6d., may be obtained on application to these offices.

# THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW.

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

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

No. 70.

LONDON, AUGUST, 1914.

PRICE 1d.

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## FORTHCOMING MEETINGS.

- AUG. 1ST, various meetings in the ISLE OF WIGHT.—Mr. Samuels.  
" 5TH, EAST GRINSTEAD.—Mrs. Gladstone Solomon at Garden Party at Lady Musgrave's. 3.30 p.m.  
" 10TH, CHRISTCHURCH.  
" 10TH, BRIGHTON.  
" 11TH, BOURNEMOUTH.  
" 11TH, BRIGHTON.  
" 12TH, POOLE.  
" 12TH, WORTHING.  
" 13TH, WYEMOUTH.  
" 13TH, LITTLEHAMPTON.  
" 14TH, BRIDPORT.  
" 14TH, BOGNOR.  
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" 18TH, ST. LEONARDS.  
" 18TH, SOUTHSEA.  
" 19TH, EASTBOURNE.  
" 19TH, GOSPORT.  
" 20TH, EASTBOURNE.  
" 20TH, SOUTHAMPTON.  
" 21ST, SEAFORD.  
" 21ST, SOUTHAMPTON.  
" 22ND, NEWHAVEN.  
" 22ND, LYMINGTON.  
" 27TH, EXMOUTH.  
" 27TH, SALTASH.  
" 28TH, DIDCOT.—Mrs. Gladstone Solomon and Mr. A. Maconachie, M.A.  
" 28TH, FOWEY.  
" 28TH, DAWLISH.  
" 29TH, ST. AUSTELL.  
" 29TH, TEIGNMOUTH.  
" 31ST, TRURO.  
" 31ST, DAWLISH.  
SEPT. 1ST, PENRYN.  
" 1ST, TEIGNMOUTH.  
" 2ND, FALMOUTH.  
" 2ND, TORQUAY.  
" 3RD, HELSTON.  
" 3RD, BRIXHAM.  
" 4TH, PENZANCE.  
" 4TH, DARTMOUTH.

- SEPT. 5TH, PENZANCE.  
" 5TH, DARTMOUTH.  
" 7TH, ST. IVES.  
" 7TH, PLYMOUTH.  
" 8TH, ST. IVES.  
" 8TH, PLYMOUTH.  
" 9TH, CAMBORNE.  
" 9TH, PLYMOUTH.  
" 10TH, TRURO.

AUG. 17TH TO SEPT. 5TH, EAST COAST DISTRICT, comprising Cromer, Felixstowe, Lowestoft, Mundesley, Sheringham, Southwold, and Yarmouth; and subsequently at Scarborough, Whitby, Filey, Bridlington, and Harrogate.

N.B.—As we go to press long in advance of the dates of these meetings, many of them must be regarded as only approximate; full information regarding them will be given on application to the Organisation Department, N.L.O.W.S., Caxton House, at any time. The speakers who have kindly promised assistance at these meetings, amongst others, are: Mrs. Harold Norris, Mrs. Gladstone Solomon, Mrs. Ord, Mrs. Stocks, Mr. A. Maconachie, M.A., Mr. Poyntz, Mr. P. Cohen, and Mr. Samuels.

## THE READING ROOM.

A READING ROOM AND INFORMATION BUREAU has been opened at Portman House, 415, Oxford Street (second floor), the entrance to which is in Duke Street (opposite Selfridge's). The room will be opened daily from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m., and on Saturdays from 10 a.m. to 1 p.m.

A Reference and Lending Library is being formed. Contributions will be welcomed, and a list of books required will be sent to anyone who wishes to assist.

Debates, Lectures, Canvassing Classes, etc. will be organised in connection with the Reading Room, and the room may be hired by Branches for the purpose of meetings.

Shopping Department.—The services of an experienced lady are at the disposal of members of the N.L.O.W.S., who may wish to have shopping orders executed for them. All commissions should be accompanied by sufficient money to cover the cost of purchase, with a small margin for postage and out-of-pocket expenses.

Donations may be sent to Miss BLENKINSOP, 35, St. George's Square, S.W. For further particulars regarding the Reading Room apply to The Secretary, Anti-Suffrage Reading Room, 415, Oxford Street, W.

The Reading Room and Bureau will be closed from August 15th to September 12th inclusive.

## ANTI-SUFFRAGISM.

The suffrage movement in its purest form is, as its name implies, a movement having for its ostensible object, the granting of the Parliamentary vote to women, and in support of their movement suffragists set forth a number of reasons why they think it is right that women should have votes and what they expect woman suffrage to accomplish. As often happens, one school of political thought is confronted by another school holding the contrary opinion. Anti-suffragists oppose the grant of the Parliamentary vote to women on the strength of convictions which negative the suffragist contentions. They deny that there can be any inherent "right" to a vote which has hitherto been withheld by the nation, and they maintain that, while woman suffrage would not accomplish what suffragists expect of it, it would exercise an injurious effect upon the body politic. The controversy, it is obvious, turns on the effect of the vote. No new reform is advanced by suffragists, but they hold that certain reforms or certain modifications of existing laws would be carried out more rapidly and more thoroughly if women had the vote. Anti-suffragists, on the other hand, declare that the addition of women's votes to the electorate will have no material result in the matter of expediting such reforms, and they claim that certain injurious effects are bound to follow from the irruption of all the women of this country into the political arena. Outside this clearly defined area of controversy, as in all political questions, there is a sphere for more detailed argument. As suffragists are the challengers of the *status quo*, they must be prepared to have their movement subjected to the more critical examination. One wing of their army, as we know, has evolved militancy; the main body has entered very vigorously into party politics, making an alliance with one political party, declaring war on another, which holds the reins of government, and offering to make a political bargain with a third party with a view to advancing its own ends. Suffragists' arguments, moreover, have been critically analysed, and mis-statements have been pointed out and refutations have been put forward. From the other side the fears of Anti-Suffragists have been derided, while individual statements have been challenged.

Within such limits the Woman Suffrage controversy has pursued a normal course. The country is admittedly divided on the subject, with a large proportion of the population indifferent. In both Houses of Parliament Suffragists and Anti-Suffragists are to be found. From the Anti-Suffragists' side, however mistaken they may hold the views of their opponents to be, it has never been insinuated that Suffragists are acting from grossly unworthy motives. Militants may be charged with a craze for notoriety without aspersions on their moral character; even the methods employed by individuals can be challenged without the motives of the Woman Suffrage campaign being impugned. But it has been left to the official organ of the chief Suffragist Society, the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, to sound a depth in political controversy hitherto unplumbed in the worst phases of male politics. In *The Common Cause* of July 3rd, 1914, appear the following sentences:—

"There remains another cause of prostitution of which less notice is taken, but which is not a whit less important, and that is Anti-Suffragism. The whole basis and principle of Anti-Suffragism rests on the deliberate despising, contempt, and therefore degradation, of womanhood. Just as the Anti-Suffragists call on their

fellow-citizens to despise their wives, mothers, sisters and daughters, and to refuse them all political rights on the ground of their degraded inferiority, just so surely does that contempt breed degradation and ultimately immorality."

These remarks appear over the name of Sir Victor Horsley, whose Suffrage obsession has led to political disappointment and consequent embitterment. Nothing that he says or writes would call for comment, were it not for the fact that in the present instance *The Common Cause* states that it inserts "with great pleasure" this amazing contribution, which it terms "valuable." If Sir Victor Horsley's statement were true, the civilised world would have expected to find any reputable organ publishing it with infinite regret, but under a sense of duty. Not *The Common Cause*, the official organ of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, whose leaders are represented as revelling in the contemplation of the great bulk of their fellow-countrymen and countrywomen (*qua* Anti-Suffragists) pledged to "the degradation of womanhood." No Suffragist denies that the United Kingdom and its inhabitants are as much Anti-Suffragist as any Suffragist State can be termed Suffragist. *The Common Cause*, in its publication and endorsement of Sir Victor Horsley's remarks does not recognise any classification of Anti-Suffragists. We are familiar with the scientific mind which, after making allowances for the normal type outside the scope of its analysis, seeks to classify the abnormal in different categories. But for Anti-Suffragists, according to the pleasant argument of our opponents, there are no saving clauses. "*The whole basis and principle of Anti-Suffragism rests on the deliberate despising, contempt and therefore degradation of womanhood.*" The Anti-Suffragist which excites *The Common Cause's* antipathy can only be one of two things. It is either the organisation formed to give effect to the contrary political belief to that for which Suffragists stand, or it is the spirit which has actuated the world from the dawn of creation until now, throughout which time women have remained unenfranchised. If it is the latter, we need only note that the "non-enfranchisement" of women has been characteristic of Christianity, the only force making for the respect and reverence of womanhood, from the earliest days right through the pages of Church history. If, as seems more probable, *The Common Cause* and Sir Victor Horsley are more directly concerned with the organisation which has thwarted them in their efforts to rush the country unthinkingly into Woman Suffrage, we may commend the line of argument which attributes to a movement of recent growth responsibility for an evil as old as mankind itself.

It is well that Suffragists and others should read the statement to which *The Common Cause* gives its approval. That organ represents the considered judgment of the Suffragist movement, and we are left to reflect upon the fact that those who are responsible for the movement can only discover in the political thought of their day a conscious effort to encourage the social evil. The statement endorsed by *The Common Cause* has only to be set out to enable its crudity to be appreciated. It is on a par with the intelligence underlying the whole agitation. The vote is acclaimed as the symbol of citizenship and as an infallible instrument, in woman's hands, of social reform. Yet it is not the symbol of citizenship, for the reason that it has always been and will continue to be hedged with restrictions which in no way contest the status of citizenship. As for social reform we may gauge the probable effect of Suffragists' efforts in this direction by their theories regarding

the way in which it is to be promoted. No question calls for more careful, more scientific handling. In the opinion of Suffragists, the Bishop of London included, social reform is to be carried through by the mere impetus of a few million women's votes. There is to be no preliminary investigation, no attempt to ascertain the real nature of the evils to be eradicated; no scientific testing of proposed remedies, with full consideration of their possible effects. It is not difficult to foresee the chaos to which legislation passed on these lines would swiftly lead the country. The unthinking infatuation of Suffragists which prompts them to regard opposition as prompted by the resolve to support the forces of immorality is just as much at fault in regard to the significance and effect of the vote. Why, then, should the country accept these blind leaders as its advisers on a subject of critical importance? There is scope in other directions than the vote for the awakening of women to a sense of public duty, and there is no need why this awakening should be stultified, as it is being stultified, by the Suffragist obsession. No movement which produces the narrowness of vision which is peculiarly the Suffragists' can be in the interests of the State. Anti-Suffragists oppose the enfranchisement of women because they wish to see social reform proceed on sound lines, and not be prejudiced by the application of worthless remedies at the behest of every chance quack. "Behind any law, to be effective," wrote Lady Lubbock in the *Daily Graphic* of July 11th, "must be sanction of public opinion, and it is in forming this on a true and stable basis that the great work of women in the future lies. The despised 'Antis' have one ideal and one faith. We believe that men and women have different functions; that equality is not the same as identity, but that in the State, as in the home, man and woman should work on equal terms, without confining their activities, and above all, without contest of will. We believe that whatever legislation is necessary for improving the position of women can be carried in Parliament when public opinion is ripe for it, without endangering the already tottering British Constitution by granting female franchise."

## NOTES AND NEWS.

## "Real Facts."

Elsewhere in this issue is published some correspondence between the Assistant Secretary of the N.L.O.W.S. and the Bishop of London relating to certain statistics quoted by the latter in a debate in the House of Lords. The Bishop of London purported to give the actual percentage of women voting at certain municipal elections in 1912, and claimed the figures as "evidence" that women are "hardly, if at all, behind the men" in recording their municipal votes, and that they no longer failed "to realize their responsibilities" at municipal elections. For the figures to have the value attached to them by the Bishop of London it was necessary that they should be authentic and that they should be applicable to the country as a whole. Investigation proves: (1) That the figures are in no sense official; (2) That in one case a percentage of 58.2 in the unofficial figures given was quoted by the Bishop of London as 76.26 per cent; (3) That the instances cited were picked wards in exceptional elections (as women candidates were standing) and were not representative of the country as a whole. In these circumstances it might have been thought that, when the Bishop

of London's attention was called to the misleading nature of his statements, he would have admitted having fallen into an involuntary error through ignorance of the facts. Not so the "convert" to suffragism, and it is not without interest to examine Dr. Winnington-Ingram's attitude towards this question of ethics. As they stand, his statements in the House of Lords are shown to be inaccurate and misleading. The Bishop of London retorts in effect that if his figures were inaccurate, someone else is responsible, and that if his statements were misleading, the same must be said of someone's else statements. We do not suppose for one moment that the Bishop of London would defend the line he takes up, if the point at issue had been a private matter or concerned any other question than Woman Suffrage. But such is the obsession of the suffrage agitation even on well-balanced minds that we have a high dignitary of the Church in the first place exposing himself to the dissemination of misleading statements, and secondly standing by such statements with wonderful obstinacy. This experience is typical of the havoc made of the mental balance of so many Suffragists by the votes-for-women agitation, which in the case of some produces militancy, in the case of others moral obliquity.

\* \* \*

## The Church League and Militancy.

The Church League has evidently been exercised in mind by the notoriety attaching to its leanings towards the practice of militancy. It will be remembered that there were recently some important secessions from its ranks on account of the League's equivocal attitude on this subject. The Executive Committee has now felt called upon to re-issue the following statement:—

"The only methods employed by the League are those of prayer and education. Necessarily, therefore, the League dissociates itself from the distinctive methods, violent or otherwise, of all suffrage societies founded upon a political rather than a religious basis; and all such statements to the contrary as have been sedulously published in the Press and elsewhere, are either founded on a misconception of fact or are intentionally misleading."

This ingenuous utterance does credit to its compilers. The Executive Committee of the Church League for Women's Suffrage, according to its last annual report, consists of ten persons. No less than five of these appear as subscribers to Mrs. Pankhurst's society, while two other subscribers to the militants' funds have the same name as the Honorary Treasurer and the wife of the Honorary Secretary of the Church League. As far as we are aware, no one has accused the Church League of anything to which its members do not plead guilty with much pride and unction. It was Canon Peter Green, of Salford, a very prominent member, who at a meeting of the Church League, said that "he entirely refused to condemn the militants. If militancy was bad policy, by all means let them not practise it; but he refused absolutely to condemn it on moral grounds." At another meeting of the League the Rev. R. E. Adderley said, "In their League they did not condemn or justify militant tactics," and this fact was emphasized when the Central Office refused to allow the Liverpool Branch of the League to insert among its local rules one "definitely excluding from the local branch any person known to be engaged in militant tactics." Such is the official attitude of the Church League towards the most degrading feature in our political life, while individual members of its Executive Committee support the movement with funds.

### Counsels of Perfection.

Those who follow Suffragist discussions in the Press will have noticed the attempts made by several adherents of the movement will persuade their fellow-Suffragists to close down their agitation with a view to putting an end to militancy. The subject is naturally of interest to Anti-Suffragists, for if this advice had been acted upon a year or two ago it is easy to see what a strong position the Suffrage movement would have held in the country to-day. Militancy would have ceased altogether, for not even the militant mind would be proof against such an overwhelming boycott. Constitutional Suffragists could have used their organizations for practical measures of social reform and would have established a very strong claim on the popular goodwill. We confess to some uneasiness when the suggestion was put forward even at this late hour of the day. The present *impasse* in the Suffragist movement, the state of affairs in politics, the excesses of militancy, and many things combine to commend a policy of inaction, which could not leave the cause in a worse plight than it is at present. But the leaders of the Suffrage movement have come to the rescue, and the proposal has been peremptorily rejected. Lady Robert Cecil, speaking at Cuckfield on July 21st, stated that "those of them who were really Suffragists at heart rejected that suggestion with scorn." Dr. Scott Lidgett expressed the same sentiments, and indirectly they have the support of *The Common Cause*. So all is well.

### Civic Life for Women.

In a speech on "Women as Members of the Metropolitan Borough Councils," Mrs. St. Clair Stobart maintained that women should take an interest in civic life for their own sakes and for the good of the State. Since the work of the home has been revolutionized by machinery and factories, she continued, while there is still plenty to do for the wife and mother, the growing daughters, aunts and cousins have to find occupation in fatuous and foolish social functions, as they have no practical outlet for their activities. Such women can now occupy themselves with civic work. Mrs. Stobart gave a long catalogue of public services which women could usefully undertake, and in regard to which she considered women's influence indispensable. It included inspection of bakehouses, inquiries into food adulteration, supervision of baths and wash-houses, regulation of canal boats, care of cemeteries and parks, infant milk provision, dairy inspection, looking after workshops, labour bureaux and housing. The list is formidable enough to dispel the Suffragist creed of anyone who has been led to believe that there is nothing for women to do until they have the parliamentary vote, and that when they get the vote all these things enumerated by Mrs. Stobart will look after themselves.

### Infant Mortality.

Reference has already been made in these columns to a paper on "Infancy and Health" read by Dr. David Forsyth before the Victoria League Imperial Health Conference. But in view of the assertions that are made on this subject from Suffragist platforms, the opinions of experts cannot be too widely circulated or repeated too often. In the course of his paper, Dr. Forsyth entered into the practical details of the problem presented by infant mortality. "It will be agreed," he said, "that an

infant encounters the earliest and most of the greatest dangers to his life within the four walls of his home. . . . At the same time it is not to be assumed that modern housing, up-to-date drainage, and enlightened town planning will do all that is needed. They will effect a very great deal, but there still remains another factor hardly less important than all these put together. The mother is a mighty influence for good or evil. If she is enlightened she can turn these advantages to her children's benefit; but she can also fail to make the best use of them, and, worse still, she can neglect them until they actually grow to the danger of her children's health. A dirty living room, personal uncleanness, improper food, and feeding utensils exposed to domestic contamination can soon destroy the health of a child even in a model house in a garden city. Therefore it is to the mother, her well-being, care and education, that we must look if her children are to be kept healthy." Dr. Forsyth went on to recommend teaching adolescent girls the rules and methods of infant rearing, and in order to have "the educational supply of live babies," urged that the infants of mothers who are engaged at work should be collected in special day nurseries under the care of a staff of trained workers. "Schools of Infant Hygiene, Day Nurseries, and Medical Inspection centres for both mothers and children are the chief items in the task now immediately ahead of us." When it is remembered that the questions of housing, drainage, etc., are all matters of local government, while the other reforms held necessary depend on personal service in each separate locality, the hollowness of the Suffragist cry for votes for women in order that infant mortality may be adequately coped with will be appreciated. Woman Suffrage would not bring about the improvement in social conditions that Suffragists claim for it. At the same time the agitation is causing a distinct harm to the nation by distracting the attention of those who have the means and leisure from the useful work open to women, as set forth by Mrs. St. Clair Stobart (above) and Dr. Forsyth.

### Schools for Mothers.

The fact that practical steps for dealing with the problem of infant mortality are being taken all the time by those responsible is proved by the following question and answer from the report of the proceedings in the House of Commons on July 20th:—

Mr. Ramsay Macdonald (Leicester, Lab.) asked the Prime Minister if it had now been decided what Departments were to be responsible for the administration of grants to baby clinics and schools for mothers; and what the arrangement was.

Mr. Asquith (Fife, E.): Any funds available for grants to institutions of the nature of baby clinics and infant dispensaries whose primary object is to provide medical and surgical advice and treatment for infants and little children will be administered by the Local Government Board. Grants to institutions of the nature of schools for mothers, the object of which is primarily educational, which provide training and instruction for mothers in the care and management of infants and little children and which may include systematic classes, or home visiting, or infant consultations (the provision of specific medical and surgical treatment, if any, being only incidental), will be administered by the Board of Education. Any cases of doubt or difficulty will be investigated by a Joint Committee of officers of the two Boards, which will include women medical officers.

### In Support of Militancy.

One of the latest champions of the militants among so-called constitutional Suffragists is Lady Selborne. Writ-

ing to the *Church Family Newspaper* in June, the President of the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association states that militants "are only doing what men have done over and over again, what Frenchmen did when they pulled down the Bastille, what Englishmen did when they burnt Nottingham Castle, what Fenians did in Ireland, what Dr. Jameson and his men did in '96." The Suffrage movement has been responsible for much muddleheadedness, and perhaps it ought not to be a matter for surprise that Lady Selborne should once more display crookedness of vision. But each fresh encouragement of militancy is a matter for regret, the more so when it pretends to rest on an historical basis. Quite apart from the morality of encouraging militancy by insisting that precedent exists for it, it may be pointed out that in pre-Suffrage days Lady Selborne would have realized that what the militants are doing bears no more relation to the French Revolution or to the Jameson Raid than the tactics of the average purse-snatcher do to the genius of Nelson. The essence of militancy is that it should be secret in its action, if possible, that it should perpetrate a callous outrage in a calculating manner. There is nothing about it that resembles even the excesses of uncontrollable mobs, which Lady Selborne and others hold up as a model in guiding principles. Militancy works with such material as the youth Garratt who figured in a recent trial, and stated that he was a member of the Men's Political Union and the Women's Social and Political Union. It rests on a monetary basis and is sordid. Lady Selborne, since embracing Suffragism, has travelled far, both in misreading history and in her moral outlook, when she is able to adduce justification for militancy.

### The Mecca of Suffragism.

Lady Selborne and other Conservative Suffragists who seek to impress their audiences with the fact that the Australian Parliament has expressed its entire satisfaction with Woman Suffrage and its results will find their argument considerably strengthened by yet another resolution of the same Parliament. The Commonwealth Senate has again passed a resolution in favour of Home Rule for Ireland. If the principle advocated by the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association is to hold good, the Mother Country has merely to "tremble and obey," and the Irish question is settled once and for all. But possibly the attitude of the Senate on the Home Rule problem, in common with other awkward facts regarding Australia, will simply be suppressed by Suffragist speakers. If everything that the Commonwealth does in regard to the treatment of women as exemplary as Suffragists wish to make out, it must seem strange to many that in the matter of local government in every single State of Australia women are "classed" with undischarged bankrupts and persons attainted of treason or convicted of felony in being excluded from the privilege of membership of Municipal Councils. If this fact were to be subjected to the kind of analysis which Suffragists bring to bear on home politics, we should be obliged to hold that the Australian attitude is as follows:—"We do not mind women recording their vote for a male Member of Parliament, but we cannot allow them any say in the practical matters of everyday life." As this attitude has either been adopted or confirmed since the grant of votes for women, it has to be inferred that the people of Australia find themselves justified by experience. The subject is one on which

Suffragist speakers, whether hailing from Australia or strangers to that continent, are silent. Again, in regard to another question which figures prominently in Suffragist speeches, it would seem as if some ignorance of the facts prevailed in this country. From the *Melbourne Age* of June 10th we learn that the Executive Committee of the Women's Political Association had determined to renew its demand for the appointment of a State White Slave Commission. Hardly a Suffragist speaker touches this subject without assuring her audience that Woman Suffrage in Australia has entirely put an end to the evil.

### LADY CHANCE'S THEORY OF FREEDOM.

"Women do not admit the right of any human beings to set limits to the possibilities of development of any other human beings" wrote Lady Chance in the *Daily Graphic* of June 25th last. And therefore, she argues, she herself and some other women demand the Parliamentary vote. For what purpose? The vote is a means of bringing pressure to bear upon legislation, and what is the aim of legislation except to set limits to the possibilities of the development of human beings in given directions? Lady Chance and her confederates are constantly telling us that they desire to bring about certain changes in the laws. No matter what these changes may be—unless all laws are abolished—limitations would be set by means of these ladies upon the development of the tendencies of other individuals. According to Lady Chance's theory, no one has the right to limit the development of another's lungs or vocal chords, and therefore, if I, as a means towards such development, select Lady Chance's garden as the spot I find best for the purpose, and practise my development at 1 a.m. under her window, she has no right to object. If an athletically inclined young man decides to develop his activity by swinging Indian clubs in Lady Chance's drawing-room, clearly he has a right to do so. Or if I find Lady Chance an obstacle to the development of my conception of mental freedom, I have the right to take immediate measures towards the removal of the incubus in my path. Probably Lady Chance's reply to my flinging vitriol into her face would be that by so doing I am setting limits to her individual freedom. I agree, but I am assured by her at the same time that she has no right to limit my development. How then can she object? "The aim of all government is to enable the individual to realise himself, and the claims of women Suffragists represent the freedom of women in self-realisation," I heard a Bishop assert from a Suffrage platform. If my self-realisation clashes with that Bishop's self-realisation, what is to happen? Neither he nor Lady Chance attempts to tell us. What right has anyone, according to such a theory, to oblige me to give way either to the Bishop or to Lady Chance?—and if I do not give way, and they do not give way, no alternative remains except to cease development, or to "fight" it out. But if I cease developing against my will, it will have been owing to the actions of Lady Chance and the Bishop, and they tell me no one has a right so to limit my development. Therefore we are left to the other solution, "to fight it out," which is the course that a recent Suffragist manifesto has declared contrary to Suffragist principles. We find ourselves then, by the gospel according to Lady Chance, reduced to

complete inaction unless we transgress her own principles and stated theory. The possession of the vote by Lady Chance or any one of her Suffragist confederates interferes grossly with my self-development, therefore, according to her ladyship's gospel they must not have the vote. And yet she is claiming it. Clearly Lady Chance's arguments disprove such claim.

G. S. POTT.

### WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN AUSTRALIA.

On July 7th Mrs. Henry Wilson was "at home" to a number of members of the N.L.O.W.S., when an interesting address was given by Mrs. Vickery on Woman Suffrage in Australia. Mrs. Vickery has done yeoman work in the cause of social reform in New South Wales, and was in Europe in order to attend the International Congress of Women. After the address, there was a short discussion, in which the Marchioness of Tullibardine, Mrs. Dorman Warren of Toronto, Miss Pott, and many others joined.

Mrs. Vickery spoke to the following effect:—

I am not against Woman Suffrage in principle, but I wish to tell you how little it has done in New South Wales. My experience there is that the educated women as a whole think very little about the vote, and ignore their responsibilities in connection with it. In spite of all the efforts that are made to arouse women's interest in politics, the greater portion of the female clerks and professional girls will not take the trouble to go to the poll. In cases when a holiday has been given them on polling days in order to induce them to register their vote, less than a quarter of those who were thus enabled to vote cared to go to the poll, the others all going off on excursions. Not once since women got the vote have they combined for the furtherance of legislation for women and children. The vast majority that vote at all cling to the Labour Party as a party, and simply vote as party tools; and the Labour Party will not let them initiate any legislation which is not of a strict party character. Woman's Suffrage has simply forwarded the most socialistic form of legislation. Socialism is the only gainer.

#### THE EFFECT ON SOCIAL REFORM.

It is commonly said here in England that woman's vote helps the temperance cause. That is not my experience in New South Wales. The Licensing Bill that many of us worked hard for was opposed by the Labour Party, and as the greater number of women voters vote for Labour, it shows they did not bring any pressure to bear in favour of the measure. Local option is in the hands of municipal authorities, not Parliament. It is quite astounding to us Australians to hear and see the women who are put up here to talk about the result of Woman Suffrage in Australia. Not one of them really knows anything about social work; they have never done any. They like to talk and stump the country and boast about women; they never take the trouble really to do anything for social reform. I hear women say that the possession of the vote would make women act up to their responsibilities. I say that has not happened in Australia; they ignore their duties. Then I hear that Woman Suffrage will purify politics. That is not my experience. Women will not bother themselves about it at all. At the last election in which I took part the register rolls were falsified, and names forged, and not a woman

raised her voice in protest. I have known an official elected who had been in gaol for bearing false witness, and he got his post through the women's votes. I have worked for temperance and social reform for years and years, but have not received any more help from women since they voted than before. I hear English Suffragists say that women's vote put an end to sweating and helped the moral question. It is not true. We never had and never could have sweating as you know it here, but such under-payment as existed was put an end to through the private voluntary exertions of Miss Rose Scott—it had nothing whatever to do with women's votes. The age of consent was raised, and how? By many of us going on deputations to the officials, and they told us we must get up petitions, and we got them; we slaved ourselves to get signatures, and when we had got enough we sent them in, agitated, and made the officials see that the public were on our side, and they raised the age. They were not against us, they only wanted the public to express themselves. No vote helped us; it was all private work.

#### THE POSITION IN ENGLAND.

What appals me now is to see the condition of your young girls here. Not those from low surroundings with coarse natures, but well-educated and nice girls. They are all gone crazy. What are they doing, and what are English women thinking of to let them do these things? They are neglecting their home duties, leaving their plain duties undone, thinking nothing of the calls of parentage and children, but are making chaos of the world, doing wicked immoral things, running after cruel excitement. I have asked them "How can you do such wickedness?" They say, "Oh, it is all for the Cause. Mrs. Pankhurst tells us to do it, and she is a saint." But, I say, "No, she is doing the Devil's work." She and all her followers are hypocrites and pagans. The women of England ought to forget all differences of opinion, and sink other questions, and band together to crush these demons of females, and rescue the young girls who to-day are being tarnished and spoiled. I have come back after some years, and now I ask women, What are you doing for temperance or social reform, or whatever they say their interest is? And they all say, "Oh, we are working for the Suffrage." If they only knew what I know, and had experienced what I have experienced they would know what a sham it all is. They are leaving the real work for an empty cry. Women's votes don't bring about reforms; it is women's endeavours and hard struggles against evils. Government listens to women far more when they have not got the vote, because it knows there is no party to think about. Women do not do away with the excesses of party; their votes make it worse.

HAMPSTEAD has experienced a clash between the Suffragist moral code and the one to which it usually subscribes. As a result of the Borough Council's decision not to grant the use of the Town Hall for Suffrage meetings, the local Suffrage Societies sent a deputation to a meeting of the Council. As deputations have to be introduced by a member of the Council, the Suffragists approached Mr. Robert Cust with the request to introduce them. The latter agreed on condition that they spoke as citizens only, and did not enter into the Suffrage question. These terms were agreed to, and the deputation was introduced by Mr. Cust. Its spokeswoman, Miss Woods, Vice-Chairman of the Hampstead Branch of the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association, at once delivered a long oration on Woman Suffrage. Mr. Cust's position on the Council and as a prominent Anti-Suffragist was apt to be somewhat compromised by this incident until he was able to explain how his confidence and goodwill had been abused.

### THE NEEDLE.

#### "ENGLISH NEEDLEWORK HISTORY."

English needlework history is my favourite study. In skilled hands, working with a true knowledge of each period and reign, the needlewoman of to-day can work good examples of the past from needlework "monuments" produced by the needle, to hand down as educational examples to future generations. The same Old English spirit inherent in all English women will be breathed and wrought into each piece of needlework, and again will history be repeated as in days of old, when fair women with trained and skilful fingers loved to portray the history of each period and reign with quaint fancies, when with their needle they gave us wonderful flowers, birds, trees and branches, worked out in old-world stitches and rich and vivid colourings, handing them down to posterity as "English Needlework History."

We who are privileged to work from the wonderful examples still carefully kept and preserved in our National Museums, Royal Castles, and English halls and homes, can in our turn also take our share in their revival, and work in the more modern thoughts and fancies of the reign we live in, to hand down to future generations.

First, the Bayeux tapestry can be seen and studied from coloured illustrations in the books written by authorities, or the original itself can be seen in the Bayeux Museum, three hours' journey from Cherbourg, in sight of the beautiful old Cathedral of Bayeux. This tapestry was worked from 1066 to 1087, it is supposed by Matilda, wife of William the Conqueror; but probably she superintended its execution by her maidens, while the heavy parts were done by men embroiderers. In this piece, rudely drawn by the artist and worked upon canvas in coarse worsteds in only four colours, the needle depicts and gives us the first history of England, the Invasion, the death of Harold, and the Norman Conquest. The designs and series of figures and pictures and the principal actors in each event depicted are now carefully preserved in a glass case, and shown upon rollers, so that each scene can be studied.

After the Conquest embroidery was an expression of religion and history, and worked by ladies of rank and wealth, but more especially by the nuns in convents. It was also a means of livelihood to those who were artists, whose long training, skill and refinement qualified them for success. After the Reformation the prestige of English embroidery declined. Valuable examples were stolen or put to common use. No wonder that art, beauty and reverence, once the daily companion of the English people, died in the middle of the 16th century. Fortunately many pieces were saved, and still exist. There is the Syon Cope in the Victoria and Albert Museum, a truly wonderful specimen of the Mediæval period. This is supposed to have been worked in the 13th century by nuns. Another valuable piece, worked in the 15th century, is still preserved at Oscott College, near Birmingham. These and the renowned Fishmongers' Pall, of probably the 14th century, give us the history of Mediæval embroidery. That period has departed, never to return.

In my next article I hope to prove that, although, as one authority states, "Fashion is the history of the amateur worker," time is the historian of the profes-

sional, and decided the designs and materials used, which made English needlework renowned in other countries. From the examples preserved we can take lessons from the past to help keep up the national character and prestige of English needlework for future needlewomen. Time and space fail me to enumerate all the monuments raised and deeds of prowess wrought by the true Knight of all Needlewomen, which remain as lessons of the past, and are shown in Mediæval embroideries as "English Needlework History."

E. CLIFFORD.

#### ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

ALICIA (Cheshire).—Worked stools are always acceptable wedding presents, if you do not feel obliged to give an expensive one. I like those of the Chippendale period, in old mahogany. Your design is quite graceful. I will with pleasure help you with a scheme of colouring.

JACOBÆAN (Sussex).—Crewel work cushion. The stitch you want is the rope stitch so much used in working stems, and often inside leaves. I will send you the stitch commenced, with full instructions—but why not take lessons? If you like my Needle Articles, you can read all each month by taking THE REVIEW, and I see there is a good Branch in your county. Order from your newspaper agent.

JOAN (S.Wales).—I am delighted to hear from so young a correspondent that you love needlework, and that your mother thinks you will become quite a good needlewoman. I can only say the better the teacher the better the work. The keynote is training. With a clever architect father (Elizabethan period) you cannot go far wrong in design and colouring.

BESS OF HARDWICK (Cheltenham).—Cleaning work on upholstered chair without removing it. I have no faith in amateur cleaning, and can send an address of a man who cleans crewel work quite perfectly. *Jacobean Designs*, traced for working. I send list by post of some good and valuable ones, traced on Messrs. Harris and Son's grey linen, a perfect background for crewel work of that period.

### THE BISHOP OF LONDON'S "FACTS."

In the course of the debate in the House of Lords on Lord Selborne's Bill for the Enfranchisement of Women, Lord Curzon, speaking generally of the attitude of women towards the municipal franchise, said that "throughout the whole of the country, in municipal local elections, not much more than 25 per cent. (of the women electors) voted."

In connexion with this statement the Bishop of London said: "I want to deal one by one with many of the arguments he [Lord Curzon] used. First of all, he told us that women have not made full use of the opportunities which they have had. I know of no argument more freely used by anti-suffragists. Now, what are the real facts? Women were given the municipal vote some thirty years ago. At first, and no doubt for a considerable time, it must be admitted that they made little use of it. . . . Nevertheless, though I frankly admit it did not happen at once, women had now learned, and were increasingly learning, both the rights and duties of municipal electors. Your lordships are aware that municipal contests do not arouse among men as much interest as they should, certainly nothing like so great an interest as a political contest. The figures, however, show that the women are, at any rate, hardly, if at all, behind the men. . . . I have figures here even more striking as to the voting at three municipal elections in November of 1912. In Huddersfield, in the North Central Ward, 74.79 per cent. of the men and 77.47 per cent. of the women voted. In Wolverhampton, in Graislely Ward, 79 per cent. of the men and 76.26 per cent. of the women voted. In the elections for the London Borough Councils 48.6 per cent. of the men and 48.5 per cent. of the women voted. Therefore, I hold that the argument addressed to us in the able speech of Lord Curzon, that women do not take an interest in municipal elections, should be modified in the light of the evidence I have adduced."

In view of the Bishop of London's designation of his statistics as "real facts" to be accepted as "evidence," a letter was addressed to his lordship by the Assistant Secretary of the

N.L.O.W.S., asking for the authority for the figures given. In reply the Bishop of London referred Miss Page to the secretary of the National Union of Women Suffrage Societies, who, in turn, sheltered herself behind the Women's Local Government Society.

THE WOMEN'S LOCAL GOVERNMENT SOCIETY. 19, Tothill Street, Westminster, S.W., June 30th, 1914.

With reference to your telephone enquiry of yesterday, I enclose you the figures sent to us by the candidates for the South Central Ward of the Huddersfield Council and for the Graislely Ward of the Wolverhampton Council in November, 1912.

I also enclose the note sent to Mons. Buisson by this Society on the subject.

Yours faithfully, MARION BERRY, Secretary.

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS, NOVEMBER, 1912.

From Mrs. Henry Glaisyer, Carr End, Dalton, Huddersfield (South Ward).

Men voters who voted, 74.79 per cent.

Women voters who voted, 77.47 per cent.

From Miss Pearson, Woden, Tettenhill Road, Wolverhampton. (Graislely Ward).

Total number of voters in Ward, 1,765.

Total number of women voters, 206.

Women who polled, 120.

Men who polled, 1,232.

Answer sent to Mons. Buisson by the Women's Local Government Society on September 23rd, 1913:—

Quelle est la proportion moyenne des votants parmi les hommes et parmi les femmes?

No scientific reply can be given. For, even in respect to the vote of the whole electorate irrespective of sex, no facts have been collected by the authorities.

The Bishop of London's attention was then called in the following correspondence to the value of the figures quoted by him:—

1st July, 1914.

The Rt. Rev. The Lord Bishop of London.

MY LORD BISHOP,—In reply to my letter of June 6th asking for information with regard to the voting at certain municipal elections in November, 1912, quoted by your lordship in the House of Lords, you were good enough to refer me to the secretary of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.

It would be within the recollection of your lordship that in your speech in the House of Lords you gave these statistics the full weight of your personal authority, and you requested Lord Curzon to modify his opinion in the light of the "evidence" you

adduced. The very material caveat insisted upon by the Women's Local Government Society that figures could not be regarded as reliable or in any way authentic was omitted by your lordship.

Since that speech these figures have been very largely quoted on your lordship's authority as proof conclusive of the percentage of women voting at municipal elections.

I am, your lordship's obedient servant, HELEN PAGE, Assistant Secretary.

Fulham Palace, S.W., July 8th, 1914.

MADAM,—In your letter of the 1st inst., you complain that the figures quoted by me with regard to women municipal voters were not "official." This is, of course, true.

Your further suggestion that these figures are "not reliable or in any sense authentic," because they were supplied in some cases by ladies standing for election, and in others by political agents, is a very serious reflection on the honour of people whose bona-fides cannot be called in question.

You appear to be under the impression that these figures with respect to municipal elections can only be obtained by some violation of the Ballot Act.

I must confess that your difficulty on this point surprises me, as it is clear that the President of your own Society could have given you much more information than I am able to do.

Yours faithfully, A. F. LONDON.

July 13th, 1914.

MY LORD BISHOP,—I have to thank your lordship for the courtesy of your letter of July 8th.

I fear that your lordship has misunderstood my point, which was that so much weight is attached by the public to any pronouncement made by you that it is a matter of regret that figures which are misleading should have been quoted by your lordship.

I venture to submit that it is no reflection on the honour of anyone to say that statistics which depend on a chance watcher of polls or the courtesy of an election agent can have no weight, and ought not to be cited as "real facts" or even "evidence."

How great that margin for error is your lordship will appreciate when I point out that in their short journey from the Women's

Local Government Society to the House of Lords the figures "improved" some 30 per cent. As issued by the Society, with the caveat referred to in my former letter, the figures for the Graislely Ward of Wolverhampton were as follows:—

Total number of women voters ..... 206 Women who polled ..... 120

Now, if these had been official statistics, 120 would have had to be regarded as 58.2 per cent. of 206. But as the 120 relied upon the courtesy of election agents and of others whose assistance appears to have been sought, your lordship was able to call it 76.26 per cent., a figure which naturally impressed the House of Lords much more than 58.2 per cent. would have done.

With regard to the Women's Local Government Society, I think it is fair to state that the figures in question are not "circulated" by it, but are only given out to inquirers with a caveat.

No scientific reply can be given. For, even in respect to the vote of the whole electorate irrespective of sex, no facts have been collected by the authorities.

I am, your lordship's obedient servant, HELEN PAGE, Assistant Secretary.

The Rt. Rev. The Lord Bishop of London, Fulham Palace, S.W.

Fulham Palace, S.W., July 10th, 1914.

MADAM,—I must once more point out to you that the objections you have to make to the figures quoted by me in the House of Lords apply with at least equal force to those quoted on the same occasion on your own side of the controversy.

I do not understand your reference on page 2 of your letter to "improved" figures. Mine were quoted exactly as they were supplied to me.

Yours faithfully, A. F. LONDON.

LAWS IN SUFFRAGE STATES.

A COMPARISON WITH BRITISH LAWS.

In a supplement to The Common Cause of December 12th, 1913, appeared a list of laws passed in various Suffrage States in America.

In our April issue we compared the legislation of California with that already in existence in the United Kingdom, where women do not have votes, where Parliament is concerned with the affairs of an Empire, and not merely with the affairs of a State of two and a half million inhabitants.

In this issue we continue from our June number the examination of the laws of Colorado, as set forth in The Common Cause.

COLORADO.

The laws passed since 1893, as set out in the supplement of The Common Cause, are given in italics. (Those dealing with children appeared in the June issue of THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW.)

WOMEN.

(1) Eight hours' maximum labour during any 24 hour period in manufacturing, mechanical, or mercantile establishments, laundries, hotels, and restaurants.

A woman may not be employed in a textile factory or workshop between 9 p.m. and 6 a.m., or for more than 58 hours in the week (excluding meal times).

The limit per day is 10 hours for women, except on Saturday, which must be a half day.

In non-textile factories the employment may be for 12 hours with 1 1/2 hours interval, which makes 5 1/2 hours, and 8 hours on Saturday, in all 6 1/2 hours.

(2) State Wage Board, composed of one representative of labour, one woman, and one employer, to determine minimum wage for women and minors in mercantile and manufacturing establishments, laundries, hotels, restaurants, telegraph, and telephone offices.

Trade Boards Act, 1909, enables the Board to fix a minimum in such industries as the House of Commons schedules.

(3) Minimum wage for teachers of not less than \$50 for month. Teacher's pension provided for. Teachers' Certification Bill.

Teachers' certification provided for under Education Acts. Certificated teachers earn a pension. (Act 1908.)

(4) No female of any age to be employed in coal mine or coke office, except in clerical capacity.

No girl or woman may be employed in any mine below ground.

Women and young children were excluded from mining underground by Lord Ashby's Bill of 1842.

Employers' Liability Law. Assumption of risk abolished except where remedying defect is employee's principal duty.

Workmen's Compensation Acts passed: 1880, Employers' Liability Act; 1906, Workmen's Compensation Act.

Trades Unions have been the subject of continual legislation here since the 17th century. The Trades Disputes Act of 1906 placed Trades Unions in an advantageous position as regards the confiscation of their funds.

(6) Free employment bureau established. Private agencies regulated.

By the L.C.C. General Powers Act, 1910, the Council registers all employment agencies, and no such agency may be set up without a licence from the Council Labour Exchanges.

(7) Unlawful to black-list, picket, boycott, or intimidate.

"Intimidation" was prohibited by Act of 1875 and former Acts; but the Trades Disputes Act of 1906 allows "peaceful picketing."



parties crosswise, and therefore cannot possibly be voted on, for or against, in any real or satisfactory sense at a General Election.

Then what method is left for officially ascertaining the will of the people save a Referendum? I have never heard of any, and should be glad to know of one, if objectors to the Referendum can name it. If they cannot, I submit that the Referendum should be—and must be—applied.

The precise mode and conditions of its application are an important but essentially subordinate and comparatively unimportant affair. The vital thing is that, in one way or another, the will of the people shall be ascertained as a condition precedent to the passage into law of so grave, so colossal a change in our constitution.

That the Referendum is not yet part of our constitution is, I suggest, immaterial. The whole situation has been changed by the Parliament Act. While that remains in force the electors, as we all know, are absolutely defenceless against the House of Commons of the day. There is nothing to prevent that House running Woman Suffrage through in three sessions, if it wanted to, whether the country approved or not. Therefore, as the constitution at present provides no protection, it is high time that such protection be found and added to the constitution. Though a novelty, it would only be a novelty introduced in order to cure a worse novelty, and, for a question like Woman Suffrage, would be infinitely the lesser of two evils.

Again, it is urged against the Referendum that it should be brought into play only in the event of a difference of view between the two Houses of Parliament. In the name of all that is democratic, why? If it is wrong for the will of the people to be ignored or defined, or left unascertained on a matter so important by one chamber, the crime is not less heinous because there are two perpetrators instead of one. There ought to be a safeguard against the tyranny of a whole Parliament as well as of a half. The Referendum alone (failing a General Election) can supply this.

There is, however, much to be said for not applying the Referendum before the introduction of the Bill to Parliament, the natural fountain head and genesis of legislation. The essential thing is that it shall not go through Parliament, when there is serious reason to doubt whether the country would approve, before sanction obtained at the ballot box.

To whom should the Referendum be made? As in other countries, to the existing electorate, the present trustees of the Government of the country. That, I take it, is the sound and strict constitutional position. But, of course, it would be intensely interesting and profitable for all sound purposes, if a preliminary Referendum of the women of the country were taken just to settle the question officially as to "woman's point of view" on Woman Suffrage. The result should not be of itself a decisive fact, but it would rightly be an important fact for the parliamentary electors to take into consideration before they cast their pebbles.

Two points only remain:—

(1) What should be the question put? Simply the Bill before Parliament. "Yes or No. Do you vote for or against the Bill as a whole?" That, I understand, is how the Referendum elsewhere generally is used. It seems the simplest way and the only one of value.

(2) Would the Suffragists accept the result of the Referendum if adverse to their demand? That is their affair. Probably they would not. Neither would they accept the similar verdict of a General Election. They would "accept" nothing but the Suffrage. But what matter? The object of a Referendum is not in the least to find what Suffragists want (we know that already), but what the country wants, i.e., how the country ought to be governed in respect of this issue. If the country declared for Suffrage, Anti-Suffragists would accept the finding and do their best, as the late Lord Goschen once said he would do, to "falsify their own predictions." If the country declared against the Suffrage (as I am absolutely certain it would, and in tones of thunder), the Government of the day would feel itself immensely strengthened in the task of coping with the fire-fiends and the public generally would give short shrift for many a long day to any attempts to rush the Suffrage through Parliament against the will of the people. As applied to Woman Suffrage under our existing constitutional and parliamentary conditions, the idea of the Referendum has, I venture to think, come to stay.—Yours faithfully,

A. MACONACHIE.

#### FEMINISM.

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

SIR,—Bernard Shaw, the most intellectual of feminists, condensed the issue thus: "The sum of the matter is that unless woman re-

pudiates her womanliness, her duty to her husband, to her children, to society, to the law, and to everyone but herself, she cannot emancipate herself."

This is the cold logic of the proposition concisely stated by one of its ablest and most consistent supporters. When we have thoroughly grasped this doctrine, the course of the movement becomes easily understood. Feminism shows itself as a direct attack on the home, and the purpose of the attack is made clear. The movement has so far consisted in just what Mr. Shaw says it must—in the repudiation of womanliness and duty to husbands, children, society, law, and "to everyone but herself."

It is therefore perfectly consistent that feminists should support any or all of the following ideas: Easier divorce, free love, State nurseries, wages for wives, co-operative housekeeping, economic independence after marriage, trial marriages, equal pay, militancy and socialism. They are equally consistent when they assert that "honour" and "charity" are becoming obsolete, that duty and patriotism are obstacles to progress, and that maternal love and marital fidelity are the virtues of "Bondwomen." The movement therefore can be justly called a war on "womanliness." Believe that the feminists do not go. They have agreed on no constructive plan as to what shall happen once they have destroyed woman's present relation to society. Their answer to a question of this sort is vague in the extreme, and by no means uniform. Each feminist pictures the millennium according to her particular temperament. Suffice it to say that the movement at present has not passed the iconoclastic stage. It is purely destructive.

The militants, therefore, are the only consistent and united feminists, for the militants have had the intelligence to recognise that the war is against the established order, beginning with the home and ascending to the Government. The militants alone have been ready to sacrifice their families and their characters in order to carry out their belief that the home and the family must go, so that the "Free Woman" may evolve. The militant movement attempted to produce these results in the only way possible—by force. *It has been completely unsuccessful.*

The success of the feminist movement now depends, therefore, not only on the feminists themselves coming to an agreement on a constructive policy, but on their ability to persuade a sane majority of both sexes that the sacrifice by woman of her character, her husband, her children, and her country, is not too high a price to pay for emancipation. When this is accomplished, the "Free Woman" will triumph, and wife and mother will cease to exert an influence in men's lives. This condition prevailed in Egypt, Greece, and Rome at the period of their decadence. This is Feminism.—I am, etc.,

J. T. WATERMAN (MRS. KINGSBURY WATERMAN).

Riaut Chateau,  
Territet.

#### OUR ANTI-SUFFRAGE WOMEN SPEAKERS.

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

SIR,—I was glad to see that at the annual meeting of the Council a tribute of gratitude and appreciation was paid to the splendid and gifted women who during the past year have upheld our cause so ably and eloquently on the platform, indoors and outdoors, in all parts of the country, and often under no small difficulties of weather, travel and fatigue. I never see them at work—and I see them often—without feeling, as a mere man looking on, what a noble band they are, for, after all, it is they who, out in the trenches, are doing most of the actual hard fighting in this controversy. The work of our excellent office consists largely in arranging and selecting the battlefields on which they fight, and supplying them with ammunition and commissariat, but it is our little corps of speakers and organizers who pull the labouring oar, and do the bulk of the most onerous and responsible work, for they it is who come daily face to face with the public and with their opponents, and have to maintain our cause, in spite of interruption and occasional, though rare, rudeness, especially when (crowning misfortune) they are at first mistaken for Suffragettes! That the general public are almost invariably sympathetic and responsive gives immense encouragement, and atones for much in the way of hardship or inconvenience. But at the best it is for women a nerve-racking and arduous task, and I say all honour to them for the magnificent services which they render to their country and their sex.

It was, no doubt, owing to an accidental omission on the part of someone or other who, at the annual meeting, supplied the list of ladies to be specified for "honourable mention" that it did not include the names of Mrs. Gladstone Solomon and Miss Mabel Smith. With your leave, Sir, I should like to supply the omission. With an intimate and first-hand knowledge of the facts, I

can say with confidence that the former is second to none of her comrades for efficiency on the platform or for self-sacrificing devotion and drudgery for the cause, while I shall long retain a vivid recollection of the latter holding an open-air audience of nearly two thousand people at Guildford for an hour on end. I feel it is only right that, when any are specified at all, these ladies should not be left out.—Yours very faithfully.

OBSERVER.

#### THOUGHTS FOR THINKERS.

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

SIR,—I hope you may be able to find room for the enclosed "Thoughts."

I am, etc.,

Gloucester. CONSERVATIVE-RADICAL.  
(84 years of age.)

#### THOUGHTS FOR THINKERS.

Man's, and Woman's, Sphere and Orbit.

The natural law in the spiritual world, and the spiritual law in the natural world.

All planets are in the same sphere, but have to work in different orbits. If anyone left its own orbit there would soon be a collision; and if many did so there would come chaos in the heavenly region.

So it is with man and woman. They occupy the same sphere and are of equal importance in nature, but must work in different orbits or the order of nature would be upset. Nature shows that the male is made to provide, impart and protect; the female to receive, develop, and utilise. The male to find means, the female to show results.

Man's orbit is therefore the outer world from which the necessities of life must be drawn. Woman's the home where the necessities have to be refined, distributed, and utilised; and if either invades the other's province, it will be a crime against nature, which nature itself will punish. That there can be no mistake about this is shown in the very constitution of woman. If the Creator had intended her for public life, he would certainly have given her a judicial mind, a platform voice, and a body as strong, and as little liable to disability as the body of man. Woman is the intuitive, emotional, sympathetic side of man—all elements to brighten home, but likely to lose something of their tenderness, attraction, and utility if brought into the rough and tumble of political life.

There is wisdom in the warning, "They that pursue lying vanities forsake their own mercies."

To put woman on the franchise roll would be to make her and her nation "drink of the bitter waters of Meribah."

Women who resort to violence in hope of terrifying the Government into giving them votes, and when they are punished for their evil deeds, attempt to commit suicide by starving themselves, should not be treated harshly, but pitifully, for they are really monomaniacs, with mental eyes deflected, short-sighted, and colour blind.

Poor creatures! They cannot see straight, nor deep, and are unable to distinguish between right and wrong.

They have no sense of decorum, no appreciation of law and order, no respect for the property of others, and no reverence for life—even their own.

Having developed destructive and suicidal tendencies, they should be looked after. They need the eye-salve of ethical truth, and the surgery of the flaming sword of conscience, which "turns every way to keep the tree of life."

An asylum should be provided where they could be restrained from maniacal deeds, and fed with instruction good for the mind. At present their poor demented minds enable them to glorify themselves, and imagine their suicide will be exalted into martyrdom.

A knowledge of ethics would show them that their idea is only self-degradation and murder for vain glory.

HINC SOLON.

A Quotation from Marie Corelli.

"It is because they are not sufficiently educated to understand their own privileges that women complain of limitations. I claim that the woman who thinks, who gives her intelligence fair play, who is physically sound and morally pure, who devoutly studies the noblest side of life, and tries to bring herself into unison with the Divine intention of human progress towards the highest good, she, as wife and mother, is the Angel of the world."

"She is the world! She makes it, she rejuvenates it, she gives it strength. Love is her weapon; one true touch of that, and the wildest heart that ever beat in man's breast is tamed."

#### THE POISONING OF YOUNG MINDS.

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

SIR,—Possibly your attention may not have been already called to the following extracts:—

- (1) *Suffragette*, July 17th, 1914, page 236, under "Contributions to the £250,000 Fund," "A Schoolgirl Militant," is.
- (2) *Woman's Dreadnought*, July 18th, 1914, page 71—"The Junior Suffragettes for Girls from 14 to 18, meet at the Women's Hall, every Wednesday, at 8 p.m."

Yours faithfully,

M. S.

#### DUTY AND DISCIPLINE.

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

DEAR SIR,—May I bring before your readers a most excellent and helpful Society? I refer to the "Duty and Discipline Society," which deals with the root of evils of many of our social and political troubles. Its aims are:—

(1) To combat indiscipline in the national life, especially in the home and school; and

(2) To give reasonable support to all legitimate authority.

Lord Meath, who started the movement, has spared neither time, money, nor energy. The last little book issued by the Society, "Anarchy or Order," is quite excellent, and would be useful to mothers and teachers, as it shows that if you desire to rule, you must first learn to govern yourself.

The Hon. Secretary is Miss Isabel D. Marris, 117, Victoria Street, London.

I am, etc.,

GRISELDA CHEAPE.

#### PERSONAL.

At this year's Council meeting of the League, Clause 7 of the Constitution was so altered as to empower the Executive Committee to appoint as Honorary Vice-Presidents any who, having served on the Committee, have for various reasons found it impossible to continue regular service. We are glad to be able to state that Lord Cromer has accepted the first nomination as Honorary Vice-President under this Clause.

\* \* \*

THE thanks of the League are due to Mrs. Alexander Scott for her kindness and generosity in connection with the Sale of Work held on July 1st. Not only is a gathering of this nature useful in bringing members of the League together, but in the present instance it served to add a substantial sum to the League's exchequer.

\* \* \*

THE Committee of the Bristol Branch much regret that they are losing the services of their valued Secretary, Miss Long Fox, and their Assistant Secretary, Miss S. F. Allen. Miss Long Fox has had the care of the Branch from its establishment, and by her energy, ability and devotion has raised it to the position it now holds. Miss Allen has been associated with Miss Long Fox for the last five years, during which time she has spared no effort in forwarding the cause. The Committee have been fortunate in securing the services as Secretary of Mrs. Archbold, who has been a member of the General Committee, and she will begin her duties on October 1st. In the meantime the work will be carried on at the temporary offices, 12, Aberdeen Road, Redland, Bristol, where all communications should be addressed until October 1st.

\* \* \*

REGRET for the loss of the services of Miss Long Fox will not be confined to the Bristol Branch. Miss Long Fox has set an excellent example of what can be accomplished in Branch work by means of hard work and enthusiasm.

\* \* \*

*The Lady's Realm* is publishing in the August number the first instalment of Mrs. Humphry Ward's new serial, "Delia Blanchflower." This powerful story throws the reader at once into the controversy which exercises most minds to-day.

A FEATHER boa was found in the Central Hall, Westminster, after the Council Meeting on June 26th. The owner may have it on application to 515, Caxton House.



## THE RECORD OF MILITANCY.

The funds which the Women's Social and Political Union claim to have received during the years ending February 28th, 1913, and February 28th, 1914, amounted respectively to £28,157 and £30,535. There may be some mistake in regard to these sums, inasmuch as the publicity given to the names of contributors has elicited certain denials. Thus a "Lady Byron" is credited with having given £50 in 1912 and £10 in 1913; a "Lady Wolseley" with having given £15 in 1913; but the ladies usually implied under these names write to the Press that they have never been sympathisers with or subscribers to the Militant Society. Again, a "Guthrie" family figures in the W.S.P.U. reports as regular subscribers to that Union, but the public utterances of some of the members leave it to be inferred that they are not active supporters of militancy. The public, therefore, is left in doubt in regard to the accuracy attaching to the printed statements of the W.S.P.U. funds; but there can be no uncertainty regarding the use to which Mrs. Pankhurst's Society has put whatever funds have passed under its control.

Between April, 1913, and May, 1914, the record of militant outrages includes the following:—

- 19 churches destroyed or damaged by fire.
- 100 houses, buildings, race stands, and timber yards burnt.
- 13 stations burnt.
- 6 trains fired.
- 11 golf links or bowling greens damaged.
- 27 bombs found.
- 29 cases of attempted arson.

This list is not necessarily exhaustive. During 1913 the losses entailed by 33 fires, where the damage done exceeded £1,000 in each case, amounted to £237,650. If minor outbreaks caused by Suffragettes are included, it is estimated that the total losses amounted to £250,000.

The above list makes no reference to the destruction of letters and pillar boxes. In considering the sum total of the annoyance caused to the public by Militant Suffragists we must include brawling in churches, the interruption of public meetings, and the personal assaults on Ministers and others.

No such formidable record of outrages could have been possible without large contributions to the Militants' war chest. To the sums annually handled by the W.S.P.U. about 10,000 people are said to contribute; but much of the money is received in big subscriptions. Thus, in 1912, three people contributed £3,000, while 31 people contributed £10,000 out of a total of £28,000. In 1913 five people gave between them £5,878, while 41 people in all subscribed £12,000 out of a total of £36,000.

That any of these subscribers should be in ignorance of the purpose to which their money was to be put is impossible in view of the record of the W.S.P.U. In 1913 £30,000 out of the total income for the year of £36,000 was collected, promised, or announced at two meetings. At one of these meetings in the Albert Hall, in appealing for funds, Miss Brackenbury said: "Substantial support is a sign that those who believe are ready to sacrifice for their belief." At that moment Militant outrages were rampant. Five or six railway stations were burnt within the month. The people who poured their money into the coffers of the W.S.P.U. not only believed in Militancy, but paid their money for the purpose of enabling the outrages to continue.

## A New Edition of the ANTI-SUFFRAGE HANDBOOK

is now ready, and may be had on application  
to the Head Office.

Price 1/-; by post 1/2.

## "THE VOTE MUST COME

AT ONCE.

*The Editor,**The Nottingham Guardian.*

SIR,—I beg to inform your readers, through your columns, that I have recently altered my will, leaving the whole of my property to my female legatees unless some form of Parliamentary franchise for women is carried before my decease. I may add that I am not the only woman who is doing this.—I am, Sir, etc.,

MARGARET STOCKMAN.

. . . . . IF NOT SOONER."

"A Bill has been introduced in the Uruguayan Chamber to give Uruguayan women the same political rights as men."

## SUFFRAGIST VIEWS OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

"It is plain that the agitation itself has created a state of opinion which renders the last remedy [to give the suffrage] impossible for the moment."—Leading article in *The Westminster Gazette*, June 12th, 1914.

Speaking at a meeting of the Christian Commonwealth Fellowship at King's Weigh House on June 14th, Mr. Philip Snowden, M.P., said: "I say now that, through the action of a certain class, the suffrage question is as dead as Queen Anne."—(*Morning Post*, June 15th.)

"We sometimes hear it said that the way to settle militancy is to give women the vote. It is difficult to imagine a more foolish suggestion than that; because the implication is that the vote is to be given to stop the women from doing these criminal acts and not because the vote should be given by right and reason. To give the vote because of such terrorism would be a base surrender to criminality and violence, which would inflict irreparable injury on civilisation, and would be an encouragement to every anti-social and criminally-disposed person to demand by similar methods what could not be justified by reason."—Mr. Philip Snowden, M.P., in *The Daily Chronicle*, June 18th, 1914.

## PERSONS MISSING.

The problem of women and girls reported missing is one of the many questions that is to find an easy solution when women have votes, but on which Suffragists refuse to throw any light until Woman Suffrage is granted. In the meantime it is as well that the real facts in relation to the problem should be known in preference to the mere assertions or insinuations of Suffragist speakers. In reply to a question in the House of Commons on June 22nd, Mr. McKenna gave the following answer:—"During the year ended December 31st, 1913, 1,083 girls under 16 and 3,017 women were reported to the Metropolitan Police as missing. It should be explained, however, that many of these were reported missing from homes in the country, information being circulated in London in case they should find their way here. The whole of the 1,083 girls were traced, and also 2,942 of the women. As regard the 75 cases not found, debt, family quarrels, uncomfortable situations, and similar reasons play an important part in the disappearances. The number of cases in which the disappearance was believed to be connected with irregular relations with men is about ten. In only one of these cases was there the slightest suspicion that the woman had been decoyed. The police made the closest inquiry, but were not able to find proof of the suspicion."

An article in *The Evening News* of June 18th by Lord Wolmer gives a very misleading picture. The problem is by no means one to be ignored, but it will not benefit by being made a peg on which to hang the mythical advantages of Woman Suffrage.

A NEW Branch has been formed at Henley-on-Thames. The President is Lady Hambleton; the Hon. Treasurer Mr. G. F. Gibbs; and the Hon. Assistant Secretary Mrs. A. E. Hobbs, 28, Hart Street, Henley-on-Thames.

THE League's stall at the Anglo-American Exhibition is being kept very busy these weeks. Mrs. Bray, who is in charge, has had the assistance of Miss Cameron, but the help of any members of the London Branches who will offer their services would be much appreciated.

## CHARLES KINGSLEY AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

A CORRESPONDENT calls attention to the letter written in 1870 by Charles Kingsley to John Stuart Mill, pointing out how much of what Kingsley writes is applicable to the present time.

In "Charles Kingsley: His Letters and Memories of His Life," edited by his wife, the author introduces the letter with the following explanatory remarks:—

The following letter on "Woman's Rights" to Mr. John Stuart Mill, who, hearing that he had withdrawn from the movement, wrote to ask his reasons, gives Mr. Kingsley's latest views on this question. The proceedings of some of its advocates were so distasteful to him that he refused to attend their meetings; and the only branch of the subject which had his entire sympathy and support was the medical education of women. This he had held for years before the question of "Women's Suffrage" was mooted to be one of deep importance.

"My Dear Mr. Mill,—As you have done me the unexpected honour of asking my opinion on an important matter, I can only answer you with that frankness which is inspired by confidence and respect. . . . There exists, in all ranks in England, and in none more than in the highest rank, women brave, prudent, pure, wise, tried by experience and sorrow, highly cultivated and thoughtful, too, whose influence is immense, and is always exercised for good, as far as they see their way. And unless we can get these, of all ranks, and in each rank, down to the very lowest, to be 'the leaders of fashion' for good, instead of evil, we shall not succeed. I am pained, in a very large acquaintance of all ranks, to find the better rather than the worst women against us, while foolish women, of no sound or coherent opinions, and of often questionable morals . . . are inclined to patronise us in the most noisy and demonstrative way. I am aware of the physical and psychological significance of this fact. I know, and have long foreseen that what our new idea has to beware of, lest it should be swamped thereby, is hysteria, male and female.

Christianity was swamped by it from at least the third to the sixteenth century, and if we wish to save ourselves from the same terrible abyss, and to—I quote my dear friend Huxley's words, with full agreement, though giving them a broader sense than he would as yet—'to reconstruct society according to science,' we must steer clear of the hysterical element, which I define as the fancy and emotions unduly excited by suppressed sexual excitement. It is all the more necessary to do this, if we intend to attack 'social evils,' i.e., sexual questions, by the help of woman raised to her proper place. That you mean to do so I take for granted. That I do, I hope you take for granted. If not, I should be glad some day to have the honour of talking over with you this whole matter, on which I have long thought, and on which I have arrived at conclusions which I keep to myself as yet, and only utter as Greek *φωσφάντα συνεροῖσι*, the principle of which is, that there will never be a good world for woman till the last monk, and therewith the last remnant of the monastic idea of and legislation for woman, i.e., the canon law, is civilised off the earth.

"Meanwhile, all the most pure and high-minded women in England and in Europe have been brought up under the shadow of the canon law, have accepted it, with their usual divine self-sacrifice, as their destiny by law of God and nature, and consider their own womanhood outraged when it, their tyrant, is meddled with. It is to them, therefore, if we wish (as I do) for a social revolution, that we must address ourselves mildly, privately, modestly, rationally. Public meetings drive them away, for their experiences, difficulties, wrongs are too sacred to be detailed even before women of whom they are not sure, much more before men, most of all before a press which will report, and next morning cynically comment on, the secrets of their hearts. A free press, with all its innumerable advantages, is the great barrier (I say it to you deliberately) to the moving in this matter of that great mass of matrons for whom, in the long run, the movement is set on foot, and by whom alone it can be carried out. At least, so it seems to me, who fight not for the maiden so much as for the matron, because if the mother be benefited, the child is benefited in her. And therefore I deprecate the interference in this movement of unmarried women. . . . But I see with pain this movement backed up by men and women who, unknown themselves to the English nation, and knowing nothing of it and its actual opinions and habits for good and evil, in a word, sectarians (whether they

know it or not), seem ready to scramble back into a society which they have in some cases forfeited, by mixing themselves up with questions which it is not for such as they to speak of, either in the study or the forum. I object, also, to the question of woman's right to vote or to labour, and, above all, to woman's right to practise as physicians and surgeons, being mixed up with social, i.e., sexual questions. Of woman's right to be a medical practitioner, I hold that it is perhaps the most important social question hanging over us. I believe that if once women can be allowed to practise as freely as men the whole question as to the relation of the sexes, according to natural laws, and therefore according to what I believe to be the will and mind of God, the author of nature, will be made clear. . . . But for inat very reason I am more anxious that women should not meddle with these sexual questions—first, before they have acquired a sound, and also a general, scientific physiological training, which shall free them from sentiment, and confine them to physical laws and facts on these matters; second, before they have so accustomed the public to their ministrations as to show them that they are the equals of men in scientific knowledge and practical ability (as they are); and more, that they know, as women, a hundred women's secrets which no one but a woman can know truly, and which it is a disgrace to modern civilisation that a man should have the right of trying to interpret. Therefore, I deprecate, most earnestly, all the meddling, however pure-minded, humane, etc., which women have brought to bear on certain questions during the last six months. I do not say that they are wrong. Heaven forbid! But I do say that by so doing they are retarding, it may be for generations, the cause which they are trying to serve. And I do say, for I have seen it, that they are thereby mixing themselves up with the fanatical of both sexes, with the vain and ambitious, and, worst of all, with the prurient. Prurience, sir, by which I mean lust, which, unable to satisfy itself in act, satisfies itself by contemplation, usually of a negative and seemingly virtuous and Pharisaic character, vilifying, like St. Jerome in his cell at Bethlehem, that which he dare not do, and which is, after all, only another form of hysteria—that is the evil which we have to guard against, and we shall not do so unless we keep about this whole movement a tone of modesty, delicacy, lofty purity, which (whatever it knows, and perhaps it knows all) will not, and dare not, talk aloud about it. That tone will not be kept if we allow the matrons, and after them the maidens (by whom I mean women still under the influence of their fathers and mothers) or women having by their own property a recognised social position, to be turned out of sight in this movement by 'emancipated' women.

"I know that the line is very difficult to draw. I see how we must be tempted to include, nay, to welcome as our best advocates, women who are smarting under social wrongs, who can speak on behalf of freedom with an earnestness like that of the escaped slave. But I feel that we must resist that temptation; that our strength lies not in the abnormal, but in the normal type of womanhood. And I must say that any sound reformation of the relations between woman and man must proceed from women who have fulfilled well their relations as they now exist, imperfect and unjust as they are—that only those who have worked well in harness will be able to work well out of harness, and that only those that have been (as tens of thousands of women are every day) rulers over a few things, will be fit to be rulers over many things; and I hold this—in justice to myself I must say it—not merely on grounds 'theological' so-called, but on grounds without which the 'theological' weigh with me very little—grounds material and physiological—on that *voluntatem Dei in rebus revelatam*, to which I try, humbly, though confusedly, to submit all my conclusions.

"Meanwhile I shall do that which I have been doing for years past—try to teach a noble freedom to those whom I see most willing, faithful, conscientious in their slavery through the path of self-sacrifice, and to influence their masters likewise to see in that self-sacrifice something far more divine than their own self-assertion—to show them that wherever man and wife are really happy together, it is by ignoring and despising, not by asserting, the subordination of woman to man, which they hold in theory—to set forth in every book I write (as I have done for twenty-five years) woman as the teacher, the natural and therefore divine guide, purifier, inspirer of the man. And so, perhaps, I may be as useful to the cause of chivalry, dear equally to you and me, as if I attended many meetings and spoke, or caused to be spoken, many speeches."

## THE SONG OF THE SUFFRAGETTE.

I come from haunts of loot and coin  
To make the wide world wonder,  
Through town and vale I leave my trail  
Of pillage and of plunder.

Through thirty streets I hurry down,  
Or slip between the sentries—  
By twenty wiles—in sacred piles,  
To make explosive entries.

Till last in England's hall I stand,  
Where kings are crowned in glory,  
And with a firebrand in my hand,  
Besmirch its ancient story.

I chatter through thorny ways  
Of votes to hostile hearers,  
I bubble o'er with frenzy sore,  
I babble on to jeerers.

And many a fire aflame I set  
In many a church and structure,  
With minds beset, the clerics fret,  
They fear my further fracture.

I shatter, shatter, as I go  
To plan some fresh disaster,  
For while men wait and hesitate  
I hack a grand "Old Master."

I sneak about, and in and out,  
With here a hammer nailing,  
And here and there I seat a chair,  
Or chain myself to railing.

And here and there a "buster" bomb,  
Upon me as I travel,  
And in my wake I windows break  
With gusto—also gravel.

I shriek and shout and kick about,  
I bite a badgered "bobby";  
I clout and spout at royal route  
To ride my little hobby.

I yell, I screech, I tumble down  
Like some unloosened fury,  
With scorn and frown my sentence drown,  
And heed not judge nor jury.

And wreck things all along and go  
To make the whole world shiver,  
For though men hate, they hesitate,  
So I go on for ever.

BERTHA HUDSON.

## THE CONSTRUCTIVE WORK OF SUFFRAGISM.

Apart from militancy the only practical work done by Suffragists is to support the Labour Party, and to strive to increase its representation in Parliament. In view of this action on the part of Suffragists it is of interest to learn the objects of the Labour Party, for which Conservative Suffragists and others are thus working. Speaking at Burton-on-Trent on June 27th, 1914, Mr. Keir Hardie said (*The Observer*, June 28th): "The Labour Party stood to bring about the time when the working classes of England would be free and independent, when there would be no House of Lords, no Royal Shows, no Landlords, and no Employers."

Mrs. Fawcett and those who subscribe to the funds which she passes on to the Labour Party have the satisfaction of knowing that although they may not obtain Woman Suffrage, they are helping Mr. Keir Hardie towards the attainment of his ideal.

The Peterborough Branch of the National Union of Suffrage Societies, which includes amongst its members Mrs. Page (wife of the Dean) and Mrs. Clayton (wife of Bishop Clayton) has decided to withdraw from connection with headquarters "in consequence of the action of the latter with regard to party politics."—*Nottingham Guardian*, May 30th, 1914.

## BRANCH NEWS.

Secretaries of Branches and others to whom flags or banners are sent for use at meetings are asked to return them as soon as possible after the meeting to the headquarters of the League.

**Amersham.**—By the kind invitation of Mrs. Sandford Freeman, a most successful meeting was held in the garden of High Wood, Chesham Bois. Lady Susan Truman, the President of the Amersham Branch of the Anti-Suffrage League, presided, and made a charming little speech, introducing Miss Page to the audience, who welcomed her very kindly, having much enjoyed hearing her speak on a previous visit to the neighbourhood.

Miss Page then gave an eloquent address, impressing on her hearers the necessity for all to show the worth of their convictions, and not merely to say they were opposed to Woman Suffrage, but to prove it by joining the League and persuading others to do so. A vote of thanks to Miss Page was proposed by Mr. Yates, and seconded by Mr. Sandford Freeman.

**Bristol.**—A well attended garden meeting, arranged by the Bristol Branch of the N.L.O.W.S., took place on June 25th, at Holmwood, Westbury-on-Trym, by the kind invitation of Mrs. Stanley Badcock. Mrs. H. C. Trapnell took the chair, and made a few remarks on the importance of the Anti-Suffrage cause, impressing on the audience the necessity of giving the matter very serious consideration, as it was a question which must come before the electorate at the next General Election. She urged women to use their influence with men to prevent any measure of Woman Suffrage being brought forward.

Miss Price then addressed the meeting, dwelling on the constructive policy of the League, and emphasising the importance of Anti-Suffragists keeping "up-to-date" in public matters, and considering what they can do for the welfare of the community. She also drew attention to the curious fact that as men are beginning to be dissatisfied with the vote, finding that it has not done as much for them as they expected, some women are starting to clamour for it.

An interesting account of work in the North of England was given by Mrs. Halbot, the Hon. Secretary of the Leeds Branch, and the following resolution, proposed by Mrs. H. C. Trapnell, and seconded by Mrs. Stanley Badcock, was carried unanimously:—"That this meeting urges the Government not to pass any Bill for the enfranchisement of women, on the ground that any partial measure would be unjust to the non-enfranchised women, and to give the vote to all women would be bad for women and disastrous to the country."

The meeting closed with a vote of thanks to Mrs. Stanley Badcock.

On June 30th, a drawing-room meeting was held at 2, Christina Terrace, Hotwells, by the kind invitation of Mrs. Court. Mrs. H. C. Trapnell gave a most interesting and convincing address pointing out how much women could do to help in the administration of the laws, especially those affecting women and children. The following resolution was unanimously carried:—

"That this meeting is of the opinion that it is not desirable to grant votes to women until the matter has been brought before the country as a main issue at a General Election, or until a Referendum on the subject has been taken."

**Guildford.**—Mr. R. M. Pearce, M.A., of Ripley, presided over an open-air Anti-Suffrage meeting which was held in North Street, Guildford, on July 17th. The speaker was Miss Mabel Smith, who, dealing with the question of Woman Suffrage from the point of view of grievances and expectations, contended that the case for the vote had not been proved. A vote against the extension of the Franchise to women was carried by a large majority, and the chairman and speaker were thanked on the motion of the Rev. N. Peers Adams.

**Manchester.**—On Wednesday, July 15th, by kind invitation of Mrs. Boutflower, the first of a series of "American Teas" was held at her house, Stenecourt, Kersal. Owing to the precarious condition of the weather the "American Tea" was held indoors, not in the garden as anticipated. A most enjoyable and pleasant afternoon was spent by the large number of ladies present. The "American Tea" proved to be a success in every way, and substantially added to the funds of the Manchester Branch.

Very grateful thanks are due to Mrs. Boutflower for all her kindness, and to the following ladies whose assistance was most effectual: Mrs. Battersby, Miss Smithies, and Miss Elsie G. Croggon.

**Marylebone.**—On Wednesday, July 1st, a very successful sale of work was held in Mrs. Alexander Scott's beautiful garden, at 34, Upper Hamilton Terrace, N.W. Under the large marquee were ranged the attractive stalls, the most important of which was the Irish linen stall, presided over by the hostess. Refreshments were served at small tables on the lawn. It was much to be regretted that more members did not attend, for those who came had a most enjoyable afternoon, and especially admired the rose garden, where the roses were in full bloom. The proceeds of the sale were most satisfactory, and as the result the committee were able to send a substantial donation to the funds of the League.

**Newcastle.**—Under the auspices of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage, a meeting was held in the Lovaine Hall, St. Mary's Place, Newcastle, on the 17th July, which was addressed by Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun. Mr. H. S. Mundahl presided.

Referring to militancy, in the course of his opening words, Mr. Mundahl said that those who performed these actions were really "assins or vermin"—creatures who destroyed that which they could never create. They sneaked into churches and places where there was no one about. Then they set fire to edifices and left bombs, and then tried to sneak away. If they were caught and sent to prison they endeavoured to escape their due punishment by hunger-striking—thus trading once more on the chivalry of men.

Mrs. Colquhoun said that there was no doubt whatever that the vast majority of women in the country were apathetic on the question of the vote, and did not want it. The matter had not been placed before the electors, and there had been no election fought successfully on the question. The speaker affirmed that women did not need a vote to take part in important reforms of social character. Women wanted a vote to take a share in the control of the country's affairs. What did they know about commerce? They could not hope to decide questions of trade and commerce, which were essentially matters for men. Nor could women take any part in the defence of the country. Women, she declared, stripped of the attributes with which civilised men had clothed her, would be, as she was in past ages, a beast of burden, and the property of any male stronger than herself.

In conclusion, Mrs. Colquhoun dealt with the question of militancy from a woman's point of view; and said that if people wanted an argument against granting the vote to women, they had only to look at the length to which these women were prepared to go on account of an idea with which they were obsessed.

**Purley.**—A well-attended meeting and garden party, arranged by the Purley and Sanderstead Branch of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage, was held at "Rednal," Purley Oaks Road (by the kind invitation of Mrs. Wenham and Mrs. Smiles), on June 26th. Mrs. Harold Norris presided, and the speaker was Mrs. Austin, who well sustained the interest of her audience, and made a powerful plea for all those who were opposed to the enfranchisement of women to come forward and join the League. The Chairman thought that everyone was blaming the Government for its inaction, but she said that if women would only come in their thousands and join the Anti-Suffrage movement it would wonderfully strengthen the Government's hands. A vote of thanks was proposed by Mrs. Grigg and carried. During the course of the afternoon tea was served, and various competitions had been arranged to take place, but, owing to a sudden storm, these contests had to be abandoned.

**Richmond.**—A very successful garden party was given by Mrs. V. Dumergue, the President of the Richmond Branch of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage, to members and friends, on July 8th, at 5, Mount Ararat Road, Richmond. During the afternoon, tea and refreshments were served, and a concert was given in the garden.

After tea, Mrs. Harold Norris, of Chiswick, gave a forceful address dealing with the underlying danger of the Suffragist demands, and the hopeful position which was at present occupied by the Anti-Suffrage League.

At the conclusion, the Chairman, Mr. E. Jesty, proposed a vote of thanks to the speaker, which was seconded by Lady Wylie, and carried. Several new members were enrolled, and Mrs. Dumergue was warmly thanked for her kind hospitality.

On June 29th the Richmond Branch organised an open-air meeting at the Gasworks Bridge, Lower Mortlake Road. Mr. Samuels, from Caxton House headquarters, gave a spirited and forcible address to a large audience, chiefly composed of working men and women, and the resolution against Woman Suffrage, on being put to the meeting, was carried with only one dissident. Much

literature was distributed, and several new members joined the local Branch.

**Shepperton.**—A meeting of the Weybridge and District Branch of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage was held at "The Hoo," Shepperton, by kind permission of Mrs. Hunter, on June 25th. Mr. Lovett Cameron presided, and a letter was read from the Hon. C. T. Mills, M.P., expressing regret that his party duties prevented him from being present. Miss Gladys Pott gave a very closely-reasoned address, arguing that the exercise of the Suffrage was part of the man's function in the State, that the difference of function was a mark of advancing civilisation, and a confounding of function a retrograde movement in racial history. Incidentally, she defined the home as that place in which the care of the individual is paramount. Mr. Algernon Moreing moved a vote of thanks to Miss Pott for her address, and Mrs. Gore Browne expressed the thanks of the meeting to Mrs. Hunter for her hospitality.

**Stocksfield.**—On the 16th July, in the Institute at Stocksfield, a meeting was held under the auspices of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage. Mr. C. O. E. Gibson occupied the chair, and an interesting address was given by Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun, of London.

Mrs. Colquhoun, in the course of her speech, said that the time had now arrived when it was possible to hear arguments on both sides of the Woman Suffrage question, which sooner or later would have to be decided; and advanced proofs to show that the women of this country did not want votes. She pointed out the anomalies that would occur if women were given votes, and thus were enabled to put forward legislation which men alone could enforce. In speaking of militancy, Mrs. Colquhoun said that the development of women upon political lines was exemplified by the Suffragettes, who were simply defying the law for their own ends.

At the conclusion of her address Mrs. Colquhoun answered most effectively questions put to her by members of the audience, and it was announced that she would speak the next night in the Lovaine Hall, Newcastle.

**Windsor.**—A very successful and largely attended garden meeting was held on June 25th, under the auspices of the Windsor and Eton Branch of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage, in the grounds of Abbey House, Windsor (by kind permission of Miss Hunter).

The Chairman, Mr. G. H. Peters, in the course of his opening remarks, spoke of the special loss to Windsor caused by the militants; and referred to the indignant feeling aroused among the general public by the desecration of churches.

Mrs. Harold Norris proposed the Anti-Suffrage resolution, and made an eloquent and most convincing speech on the chief features of the Suffrage question. She dwelt much on the danger of Suffragist teachers in all classes of schools, and the consequent hardship entailed on parents who are obliged to send their children to schools where such doctrines are taught. She was carefully listened to, and her speech was very much appreciated by the audience, many of whom were of the working class.

Mr. A. A. Somerville, of Eton College, seconded the resolution in an excellent speech. Although written questions were invited, none were forthcoming, and the resolution was put to the meeting and carried without opposition.

A vote of thanks, proposed by Dr. Crouch, ended the meeting. A large number of badges were sold and many new members were enrolled, the numbers of the Branch having now reached 320, in addition to many sympathisers.

**The Beehive.**—A successful meeting was held at Strathtyrum on July 11th, at 3.30. It was a lovely afternoon. The visitors were received in the flower garden by Lady Griselda Cheape. After opening with prayer, Lady Griselda Cheape gave each visitor a rose, and in the course of an address pointed out how roses had thorns—the trials of life—but the bloom was like pure womanhood, fragrant and pure. Women should try to be like flowers. Tea was served on the lawn. There was a goodly throng, 22 members joining. The guests then wandered about under the trees. A hearty vote of thanks to Lady Griselda ended a very pleasant afternoon.

**The Beehive** (President, Lady Griselda Cheape; Hon. Secretary, Mrs. Cuthbert, 11, Alexandra Place, St. Andrews) issues a brief report of its activities during the past year. The report shows that the "Bees" worked well. Between May, 1913, and April, 1914, 246 members joined. Collections for philanthropic purposes were made nearly every month, and resulted in useful contributions being sent to various societies and institutions.





Hon. Secretary: Miss Hulbert, Bodenham, Salisbury.  
**Wilton (Sub-Branch)**—  
 Vice-President: Mrs. Dubourg.  
 Hon. Secretary: Miss Q. Carse, The Square, Wilton.

### WORCESTERSHIRE.

**HANLEY SWAN**—  
 President: Mrs. G. F. Chance.  
 Hon. Treasurer: A. Every-Clayton, Esq., S. Mary's, Hanley Swan.  
 Hon. Secretary:

**MALVERN**—  
 President: Lady Grey.  
 Hon. Treasurer: Miss Monckton.  
 Hon. Secretary: R. W. Wright Henderson, Esq., Abbey Terrace, Malvern.

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

**WORCESTER**—  
 President: The Countess of Coventry.  
 Vice-President: Mrs. Charles Coventry.  
 Hon. Treasurer: A. C. Cherry, Esq.  
 Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Ernest Day, "Doria," Worcester.

### YORKSHIRE.

**WEST RIDING FEDERATION**—  
 President: Lady Gunter.  
 Vice-Presidents: Mrs. G. Hoffman, Miss J. E. Kitson, Mrs. F. Steintal.  
 Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Halbot.  
 Organising Secretary: Miss L. Murray Hunter, 50, Victor Road, Manningham, Bradford.

**BRADFORD**—  
 President: Lady Priestley.  
 Vice-Presidents: Mrs. G. Hoffman, W. B. Gordon, Esq., J.P.  
 Hon. Treasurer: Lady Priestley.  
 Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Weitz, 293, Toller Lane, Bradford.  
 District Secretaries: Miss Watson, "Heaton Rise," Bradford; Mrs. S. Midgley, 1071, Leeds Road; Mrs. G. A. Mitchell, Jesmond Cottage, Toller Lane, Bradford.

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

**MKLEY**—  
 President: Mrs. Steintal.  
 Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Newbound, Springsend.

**LEEDS**—  
 President: The Countess of Harewood.  
 Chairman: Miss Beatrice Kitson.  
 Hon. Treasurer: Miss E. M. Lupton.  
 Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Halbot, Claremont, Newton Park, Leeds.  
 District Secretaries: Miss H. McLaren, Highfield House, Headingley; Miss M. Silcock, Barkston Lodge, Roundhay.

**METHLEY**—  
 President: Mrs. Armstrong Hall.  
 Hon. Treasurer: Miss Shepherd.  
 Hon. Secretary: Miss Armstrong Hall, Methley Rectory, Leeds.

**MIDDLESBROUGH**—  
 President: Mrs. Hedley.  
 Hon. Secretary: Miss Lowthian Bell, Rounton Grange, Northallerton.

**SCARBOROUGH**—  
 President: Mrs. Cooper.  
 Hon. Treasurer: James Bayley, Esq.  
 Hon. Secretary: Miss Kendall, Oriel Lodge, Scarborough.

**SHEFFIELD**—  
 President: The Duke of Norfolk.  
 Vice-Presidents: The Lady Edmund Talbot, Lady Bingham, Miss Alice Watson, Col. Charles Clifford.  
 Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. V. Pearson, 37, Clarkehouse Road, Sheffield.  
 Hon. Secretary: Mrs. E. Bramley, 26, Tipton Crescent Road, Sheffield.  
 Asst. Secretary: Arnold Brittain, Esq., Hoole's Chambers, 47, Bank Street, Sheffield.

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

**YORK**—  
 President: Lady Julia Wombwell.  
 Vice-Presidents: Dowager Countess of Liverpool; Lady Deramore.  
 Hon. Secretary and Hon. Treasurer:

### WALES.

**ABERWYNOLWYN**—  
 Hon. Secretary and Treasurer: Miss A. J. Thomas, The Post Office.

**ABERDOVEY**—  
 Hon. Treasurer: Mr. Jones Hughes.  
 Hon. Secretary: Miss S. Williams, "Ardudwy," Aberdovey.  
 Asst. Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Bell, "Môr Awelon."

**BANGOR**—  
 Hon. Treasurer: Miss Williams.  
 Hon. Secretary: Miss Hughes, "Bodnant," Upper Bangor.

**BLAENAU FESTINIOG**—  
 Hon. Treasurer: Mr. W. Jones, "Bryfdir."  
 Hon. Secretary:

**CARDIFF**—  
 President: Lady Hyde.  
 Hon. Treasurer: Miss Linda Price.  
 Hon. Secretary: Austin Harries, Esq., Lywood, Clare Street, Cardiff.  
 Assistant Hon. Secretary: Miss Eveline Hughes, 68, Richards Terrace.

**CARNARVON AND PEN-Y-GROES**—  
 President: Lady Turner.

Hon. Treasurer:  
 Hon. Secretary: Miss R. Lloyd Jones, "Bryn Seiont," Twthill, Carnarvon.

**GROESLON (Sub-Branch)**—  
 Hon. Secretary and Treasurer: Mrs. Roberts, The Vicarage, Upper Llandwrog.

**GORRIS**—  
 Hon. Secretary:  
 Hon. Treasurer: Miss Kate Evans, Liverpool House.

**GRIOCIETH AND LLANYSTUMDWY**—  
 Hon. Treasurer: Mr. H. R. Cruddydd.  
 Hon. Secretary:

**MACHYNLLETH**—  
 Hon. Secretary and Hon. Treasurer (pro tem.): Mr. Alfred Jones, The Square.  
 Assistant Hon. Secretary: Miss Rees, Trinallt.

**NEWTOWN**—  
 Branch formed, but no officials elected as yet.

**NORTH WALES, No. 1**—  
 President: Mrs. Cornwallis West.

**TOWYN**—  
 Hon. Treasurer: Mr. Lawrence Jones.

### IRELAND.

**DUBLIN**—  
 President: The Dowager Countess of Desart.  
 Hon. Secretary and Treasurer: Mrs. Albert E. Murray, 2, Clyde Road, Dublin.  
 Secretary: Mrs. A. E. de C. Potterton, 4, Merrion Row, Dublin.  
 Office hours, 2.30 to 4.30.

### AFFILIATED SOCIETIES. THE SCOTTISH LEAGUE FOR OPPOSING WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

Presidents: The Duchess of Montrose, LL.D.; Mrs. Charles Lyell; Lord Glenconner; Sir John Stirling Maxwell, Bart.  
 Vice-Presidents: Miss Helen Rutherford, M.A.; Mrs. Wauchop, of Niddrie.  
 Finance Committee: Sir Hugh Shaw Stewart, Bart.; Professor J. H. Millar; Wm. Laughland, Esq.; C. N. Johnston, Esq., K.C.  
 Secretary: Miss Gemmill, Central Office, 10, Queensferry Street, Edinburgh.

### BRANCHES.

**AYR**—  
 Hon. Secretary: Miss Vincent, 20, Wellington Square.

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

**BURNTISLAND**—  
 Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Shepherd, Stonybank, Burntisland.  
 Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Arott.

**CUPAR**—  
 President: Lady Anstruther, Balcaskie.  
 Vice-Presidents: Mrs. Sharp; Dr. Douglas.  
 Hon. Treasurer and Hon. Secretary: Mrs. A. Lamond, Southfield, Cupar.  
 Assistant Secretary: Mrs. D. Wallace, Goway Park.

**DOLLAR**—  
 President: Mrs. Dobie.  
 Hon. Treasurer and Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Mitchell, Norwood, Dollar.

**DUNDEE**—  
 Presidents: The Marchioness of Tullibardine; Mrs. Wedderburn.  
 Vice-Presidents: Mrs. Moodie and Miss Alice A. Mackenzie.

Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Kinnear.  
 Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Harben, Beach House, Broughty Ferry.

**EDINBURGH**—  
 President: Mrs. Wauchop of Niddrie.  
 Vice-President: The Lady Marjory Mackenzie.  
 Chairman: Lady Christison.  
 Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. J. M. Howden.  
 Joint Hon. Secretaries: Mrs. Johnston, 19, Walker Street; Miss Kemp; 6, Western Terrace, Murrayfield, Edinburgh.

**GLASGOW**—  
 President: The Countess of Glasgow.  
 Chairman of Committee: The Countess of Glasgow.  
 Vice-Chairman of Committee: Mr. William Laughland.

Hon. Treasurer: Mr. Andrew Aitken.  
 Hon. Secretary: Miss Eleanor M. Deane, 18e, Hope Street, Glasgow.

**Garnloch and Dennistoun (Sub-Branch)**—  
 Hon. Secretary: Miss Paterson, 14, Whitevale Street, E. Glasgow.

**Kilmaolm (Sub-Branch)**—  
 Hon. Secretary: Mrs. A. D. Ferguson, 14, 14, Kilmacolm.

**KIRKCALDY**—  
 Vice-Presidents: Miss Oswald and Mrs. Hutchison.

Hon. Treasurer: Miss A. Killoch, Craigour, Milton Road, Kirkcaldy.  
 Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Pye, Bogie, Kirkcaldy.

**LARGS**—  
 President: The Countess of Glasgow.  
 Vice-President: The Lady Kelvin.  
 Hon. Treasurer: Miss Andrews.

Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Horstmann, Hutton Park, Largs.

**NAIRN**—  
 President: Lady Lovat.  
 Hon. Treasurer and Hon. Secretary: Miss B. Robertson, Constabulary Gardens, Nairn.

**PERTH**—  
 President: Lady Dewar.  
 Vice-President: Lady Georgina Horne Drummond.

Hon. Secretary: Miss Plenderleath, 10, Rose Terrace.

**ST. ANDREWS**—  
 President: Mrs. Grogan.  
 Vice-President: Mrs. G. H. Moncrieff.  
 Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Burnet.  
 Hon. Secretary: Miss Playfair, 18, Queen's Gardens, St. Andrews.

### THE GIRLS' ANTI-SUFFRAGE LEAGUE.

President: Miss Ermine M. K. Taylor.

**LONDON**—  
 Hon. Treasurer and Hon. Secretary: Miss Elsie Hird Morgan, 15, Philbeach Gardens, Earl's Court.

Such Branch Secretaries as desire Members of this League to act as Stewards at Meetings should give notice to the Secretary at least a fortnight prior to the date of Meeting.

**BRISTOL**—  
 President: Miss Long Fox.  
 Hon. Secretaries: Miss Griffiths, 43, Maywood Road, Fishponds; Miss Showell, 56, Jasper Street, Bedminster; Miss Bull, St. Vincent's Lodge, Bristol.

**ISLE OF WIGHT**—  
 Hon. Secretary: Miss Whately, The Bays, Hayland, Ryde, Isle of Wight.

**NEWPORT (Mon.)**—  
 Hon. Secretary: Miss Sealy, 56, Risca Road, Newport.

**OXFORD**—  
 Hon. Treasurer and Hon. Secretary: Miss Jeff, 80, Woodstock Road, Oxford.

### THE ALL-INDIA LEAGUE FOR OPPOSING WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

President:

Vice-President: Mrs. Johnson.  
 Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. A. Priestley.  
 Hon. Secretary: Miss De Gruyther.  
 Secretary: Miss E. Newman, Hazel Dell, Mussoorie.  
 Committee: Mrs. Milward Griffin, Miss Holland, Mrs. Vincent Mackinnon, Mrs. Gerald Milne, Mrs. Walter, Mr. Oakden, I.C.S., Colonel Rennie, Captain Leslie Thuillier.

### THE BEEHIVE.

President: Lady Griselda Cheape, Straththrum, St. Andrews.

Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Cuthbert, 11, Alexander Place, St. Andrews.

Committee: Mrs. Morris, Mrs. Newall, Miss Mathewson, Miss Smith.