

# ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW

1912.

No. 59.



SEPTEMBER, 1913.

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

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LONDON, SEPTEMBER 1ST, 1913.

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## THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE POSITION.

### A COMPETITION.

THE need for a concise statement of the Anti-Suffrage position is often felt. Below we publish a statement compiled for the Introductory Studies to the woman's movement for the Student Christian Movement Reading Circle. Other brief statements of a similar nature may commend themselves to our readers, and we invite contributions on this subject. For the statement that seems best to answer the requirements of brevity, lucidity, and comprehensiveness, we offer a Prize of Half-a-Guinea.

Contributions, which should not exceed 250 words, will be received up to October 15th, and the result of the competition will be announced in the November issue of the "Review." Envelopes should be addressed to The Editor, THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW, 515, Caxton House, Westminster.

### THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE POSITION.

1. Woman's physiological difference from man indicates a difference of mentality as well as of function. Progress involves specialization rather than duplication.

2. Woman's special contribution to be found in personal care of the individual and detailed work, marked by spontaneity, emotion, ebb and flow. This contribution (indispensable in the home) is most useful to the state in social, educational or local government work (i.e., mainly administration).

3. Legislation (which is work of Imperial Parliament) involves a responsibility which women cannot share with

men. Defence, foreign policy, government of subject races, maintenance of law and order, commercial relations—all these are outside women's special experience and beyond her control. Her best way to secure that her influence will be felt in questions where she has special knowledge or interest is to cultivate her power of shaping public opinion, particularly in training the young and through spiritual force. Working through men she secures the masculine driving power and stability without risking the distinctive feminine qualities which thrive best in a non-public sphere.

## FORTHCOMING MEETINGS.

- SEPTEMBER 11TH, HEREFORD.—Mrs. Gladstone Solomon.
- " 16TH, LEICESTER.—Garden Party. Mrs. Gladstone Solomon.
- " 30TH, SOUTHAMPTON.—Shaftesbury Hall. Anti-Suffrage Meeting on the occasion of the Church Congress.
- " 30TH, DULWICH.—Anti-Suffrage Dance, St. Barnabas Parish Room.
- OCTOBER 8TH, GUILDFORD.—Mrs. Greatbatch.
- " 9TH, HULL.
- " 9TH, BEACONSFIELD.—Debate. Mrs. Greatbatch.
- " 10TH, BARNET.—Town Hall. Debate. Miss Pott.
- " 14TH, PURLEY.—Debate. Purley Congregational Debating Society.
- " 27TH, BRONDESBURY.—Debate. St. George's Literary Society. Miss Mabel Smith.
- " 28TH, BELMONT.—Debate. Belmont Literary Society. Mrs. Gladstone Solomon.
- " 29TH, BRIXTON.—Debate. Brixton Literary Society. Mrs. Gladstone Solomon.

## THEORY AND PRACTICE.

SUFFRAGISTS and Anti-Suffragists are agreed that there is much that is unsatisfactory in the conditions of modern life, and they are at one in desiring to see these conditions remedied or removed. It is in regard to the methods to be adopted to bring about the improvements that the two schools of thought part company. To the Suffragists the parliamentary vote for women is not only to be the panacea for a variety of present-day ills, but is an indispensable preliminary to any genuine attempt at remedying what is admitted to be defective. As the ills complained of are invariably bound up with the complexities of our social development, Anti-Suffragists deny that the parliamentary vote has any direct bearing on the problems in question, and see in the enfranchisement of women a serious handicap to the nation's real progress. Certain remedies can only be introduced by legislation. If, for example, the country showed any desire for "easy divorce," effect would have to be given to its wishes by alteration of the existing laws; but it is not to be supposed that this question will ever become an issue for a general election, to enable the electors to record by their votes their personal opinions. The great bulk of the reforms that Suffragists express a wish to see introduced relate to our social conditions; they are problems the solution of which offers scope for women's co-operation, but it cannot for a moment be admitted that such co-operation could be secured by the instrumentality of the vote. Against such a contention it is sufficient to point out that in regard to not a single one of these problems is the country standing still. Progress has been made in the past, and is being made more rapidly at the present time. It is being achieved without the grant of votes to women, and the very fact that women are largely responsible for the progress made serves to emphasize the hollowness of this cry for the vote advanced by a few of their sex.

Within the last few weeks several object lessons have been given of good work being done in a variety of directions, while Suffragists are crying out for the vote to enable them to do the work in question. One argument for the parliamentary franchise rarely omitted from a Suffragist platform is that women must be enabled by means of the vote to reduce the infant death-rate. The subject may be presented in different ways. At the hands of some speakers it is boldly affirmed that the low infant mortality of New Zealand, Australia, and Norway is attributable to Woman Suffrage; others are content to point out that "the voting women are the most skilful mothers in existence." Any reference to the subject as an argument for Woman Suffrage argues complete ignorance of the problem of infant mortality. During the first week of August an English-speaking Conference on Infant Mortality was held in London. It was followed by the issue of a report on the same subject by the Local Government Board. The widest aspects of infant mortality were touched upon both at the special conference and at the International Medical Conference which took place a few days later. But with the exception of the reference to the payment of maternity benefits under the Insurance Act, no hint was given of the need of any legislation on which the ordinary voter, whether male or female, would be in a position to pass judgment. Doctors in conference press for certain legislation, and if, as seems probable, their representations bear fruit, it will be because they speak with authority on a subject of

public urgency and not because they are parliamentary electors. But it is in the Local Government Board's Report that we find the most striking refutation of the indefinite claims made by Suffragists. From the brief summary of this report that we give elsewhere in this issue it will be seen that the Medical Officer of the Board never once looks beyond individual effort and the local authorities to bring about the reduction in infant mortality that is admitted to be easy of accomplishment. Beside this careful analysis of causes and remedies, the vague assertions of Suffragist speakers regarding the efficacy of the vote sound worse than ridiculous. For we may be certain that if they knew anything of the subject they could never put forward their claim, and their ignorance implies that, in spite of their professed desire to promote the well-being of the country, they have failed to perform a task that lies close to hand for every woman. In regard to New Zealand it is claimed that much of the good work accomplished in the reduction of the infant death-rate has been due to the effort of the Society for the Health of Women and Children—an organization founded by a man, and carried out without reference to the parliamentary enfranchisement of its women members. Legislation in Great Britain has already outstripped the administrative machinery in dealing with infant mortality. If Suffragists are sincere in their desire to cope with the evil they must offer, not their votes, but their personal service.

From under yet another Suffragist contention has the ground been cut away by the stern logic of facts. Votes are demanded for the protection of women workers; but on every hand we are being reminded of what has already been done in this direction and of the fact that application of the laws and not fresh legislation is required. In the *Daily Citizen*, a champion of Woman Suffrage and the women workers' cause, we read that "Laws for the protection of the workers are passed and factory inspectors are appointed to see them carried into effect; but the workers, busied with their toil, often know nothing of the relief to which they are entitled from some at least of the evils inherent in modern systems of industry. Often they suffer in silence, and factory inspectors, even if they would, cannot be everywhere or see all that goes on. Moreover, the law becomes daily more complicated as industry grows more complex, and those engaged in work among and for the people find it difficult to keep pace with the details of the measures passed." These words are an introduction to a tribute paid to the work of the Industrial Law Committee, which, in enforcing respect for a single clause of a single law in a single instance, can claim to have done more good than the combined activities of all Suffrage societies with an expenditure of over fifty thousand pounds a year. Another organization, the National Federation of Women Workers, has given its adherence to the Suffrage movement, but it cannot help bearing testimony to what has already been accomplished without the vote towards the attainment of the goal that it has in view. At its annual conference last month the President, Miss Ruth Tuckwell, stated that the Federation's work was largely taken up in trying to see that women's labour got a more adequate return. The Trade Boards, she said, had been one of the strongest powers in that direction. She wished to see them extended, but at the same time she urged women workers to go in for trade unionism. Miss Tuckwell is a Suffragist, and on a Suffragist platform will no doubt maintain that women's votes are necessary

for the welfare of women workers. But when she comes to talk practical politics to the women workers themselves, there is no place in her address for this supposititious panacea. She eulogises the good effects of Trade Boards, which have been introduced without women's votes for the benefit of women workers, and she counsels trade unionism. If the vote can do all that Suffragists claim for it, neither men nor women workers would need trade unionism. The complexities of social development, brought about in part by the increase in the population, have outgrown the nation's ability to cope with the altered conditions. Public enlightenment has lagged behind, while science has forged ahead. The progress of the latter serves to emphasize the shortcomings of the former, and the central problem of the day has become the acceleration of public enlightenment. Suffragists claim to have found a short cut in the parliamentary vote in the hands of women. But the signs of the times show clearly that the vote is not a means to the end in view, and that at a moment when women are showing more interest and a greater sense of responsibility in matters connected with the social and political enlightenment of the nation it would be suicidal folly to deflect their activities into the mechanism of government, for which they have no particular aptitude.

## NOTES AND NEWS.

### The Country and Woman Suffrage.

SUFFRAGISTS are very full of a discovery which they have recently made, that, in order to obtain what they want, it is necessary to win over the nation to Woman Suffrage. It may be remarked in passing that for five years Anti-Suffragists have been preaching this doctrine to them. They would, however, have none of it. With delightful inconsequence they argued that the people who possessed the all-important vote were of no importance; that as the vote might be won by cajoling or bullying a certain number of members of Parliament into supporting a given measure, the electors might safely be ignored. This attitude did not reflect much credit upon the political intelligence of Suffragists; but so wedded had they become to their policy that a score of years were spent in trying to give effect to it. Two or three successive defeats in the House of Commons succeeded, when arguments had failed, in convincing them of the folly of their ways. The "Pilgrimage" of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies has done the rest; for, strange to say—strange, that is, from the Suffragist point of view—the great demonstration which was to prove that the country supported the Suffrage movement has had the effect of confirming their former suspicions that the country has still to be converted. "The appeal," said the Suffragist *Daily News* in summing up "the lesson of the Pilgrimage," "is no longer to Parliament, but to the public." No one has to appeal to the converted. Another Suffragist organ is even more naïve. The *Westminster Gazette* stated that the task of working "until they can show that they have a majority of the people with them" involves for Suffragists "a great deal of hard and discouraging spade-work." What then becomes of the Suffragists' boast that the country is with them. If the country had been in favour of Woman

Suffrage, votes would have been given to women before now. It is monstrous that Suffragists in and out of Parliament should have intrigued to force Woman Suffrage on the country when a majority of the people are so far from being in favour of it that "a great deal of hard and discouraging spade-work" is still necessary to convert them.

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### "The Judgment of the People."

ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS have nothing to regret in the discovery that an appeal has now to be made to the country. "If," said the Prime Minister to the deputation of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, "you can convince the judgment and conscience of the people that Woman Suffrage is a beneficent change, there is no combination in the world which can prevent your success." It is a challenge that must be allowed to cut both ways. During the short period that has elapsed since Woman Suffrage entered the domain of serious politics, Anti-Suffragists have had to work hard to prevent a fortuitous "combination" from registering a success against the judgment and conscience of the people. They ask only that the will of the nation should be allowed to prevail, and not the mere whim of a talkative minority. But because the Suffragists have drawn off their forces from the flanks, it does not mean that a fair and square frontal attack will inevitably be delivered. If they had been willing to risk a trial of strength, which Anti-Suffragists are only too anxious to have, they would have accepted with alacrity Mr. Asquith's tentative reference to the Referendum. The suggestion, as we know, was at once brushed aside. It was enough that a parliamentary orator had made the Referendum the subject of an epigram; its merits and its peculiar applicability to the question of Woman Suffrage were coldly ignored. If ever there has to be a frontal attack the Suffragists are resolved that it must be carefully masked. Anti-Suffragists, therefore, have more to do than merely stand their ground. The attacking forces must be continually harried, and their plans checked before they have time to materialize.

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### Woman Suffrage in America.

THE Suffrage cause has recently made some headway on paper in America. Three States conceded votes to women in 1912, and this year the Illinois legislature passed a measure according the municipal franchise to women, together with the right to vote for the State's presidential electors. A certain amount of obscurity veils this move on the part of Illinois, so that even the people of the State themselves do not appear to know yet how they stand. It is stated that the Governor refused to sign the Act, and has referred it to the Supreme Court for judgment as to its validity. On the other hand, we have seen a photograph purporting to represent the Governor signing the Act in the presence of prospective women voters. In these circumstances it would appear to be wise to suspend judgment on the situation in Illinois. But if we do not know actually what has happened in that State, we can at least be sure of certain things that have not happened. The *Common Cause* gives prominence to the statement of a correspondent in the daily Press to the effect that Woman Suffrage "has given the

ten States of the Union a tremendous advantage over States where only the men can vote. The presidential vote has been increased by three or four millions, which practically means that the Suffrage States can swing the next presidential election. . . . It is hardly to be expected that New York and Pennsylvania will do nothing while Illinois doubles her effective vote." Regarding this statement, the following facts may be pointed out: (1) There is no direct popular vote for the election of the President of the United States. (2) The 48 States elect 531 presidential electors, who are allotted between them on a basis of population. (3) The ten Suffrage States (including for the moment Illinois) elect between them 84 of the 531 members of the electoral college. (4) This number does not vary, whether the States give votes to women or withhold them. (5) New York and Pennsylvania are represented in the electoral college by 83 electors, again without reference to the enfranchisement or non-enfranchisement of women within their own borders or in Illinois. What effect Woman Suffrage may have in shaping the attitude of this or that State to the Republicans or the Democrats we do not pretend to know; but it is evident that Woman Suffrage cannot make a State a whit more or less powerful in the electoral college that elects the President. Thus bursts one more Suffragist bubble.

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#### Suffragists and "Hooliganism."

In ordinary circumstances the vague charges of political opponents can be ignored, but in connection with the Suffrage agitation, which has introduced a new code of political morality, it is sometimes advisable for Anti-Suffragists to place themselves on the same plane of mentality as Suffragists. The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies believes, or affects to believe, that the rowdyism encountered at about twenty-five per cent. of their Pilgrimage meetings was "organized" by Anti-Suffragists. A specific charge is not brought against the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage, but no doubt is allowed to remain that the "organizers" of the rowdyism are associated in the Suffragist mind with this League. Mrs. Fawcett, indeed, went so far as to say in a deputation to Mr. Ramsay MacDonald that "such opposition as was encountered was due to the action of Anti-Suffragists who preceded the Pilgrims and represented that they were really militants." There is no truth in this statement, and to many people it will come as something of a shock and disappointment to find Mrs. Fawcett among the crowd of Suffragist speakers who display not the slightest regard for accuracy in their public utterances. It is only necessary to point out that the rowdyism began at Camborne, where no branch of this League exists, and where no Anti-Suffrage meeting was held. It occurred, among other towns, at Looe, Sandy, Cirencester, Wells, Wisbech, Sandwich, Farnham, Cheltenham and Swindon. At none of these towns was any Anti-Suffrage meeting held or any attempt made to prejudice public opinion against the "Pilgrims." To argue the matter on the Suffrage plane of morality and to limit ourselves to the question of expediency, does the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies imagine that the forcible breaking up of a Suffrage meeting, which naturally engenders sympathy for the victims, is more advantageous from the Anti-Suffragist point of view than the chilling aloofness that the majority of

audiences maintain towards Suffragist speakers? It is significant of the very narrow line which separates the so-called non-militants from the belief in the efficacy of militancy as a means to their end that they should be ready to suppose their opponents desirous of organizing rowdyism. We can assure Mrs. Fawcett and her followers that this League, even if it could bring itself to imitate the methods of its opponents, has no intention of playing into Suffragists' hands by helping them to obtain spurious sympathy as the victims of unseemly behaviour, when they insist on rushing into the rough and tumble of our political life.

\* \* \*

#### Militants and Non-Militants.

FROM the Suffragist point of view, no doubt, it is legitimate to say, as Mrs. Fawcett says, that Anti-Suffragists represent that the law-abiding Suffragists are "really militants." Now it would be foolish to pretend that a person who has not set fire to a house or indulged in feminine riots has actually done these things. Anti-Suffragists do not make these statements, but what they do hold and insist upon is that Mrs. Fawcett and the Suffragists associated with her incur moral responsibility for militant excesses by having sympathized with and encouraged the first stages of militancy. The public memory is short, and probably many members of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies are ignorant of the part played by their Union in launching militancy upon the British Public. It may be well, therefore, to recall the events of a few years ago.

\* \* \*

#### The Genesis of Militancy.

ON April 20th, 1906, a preconcerted interruption of a debate in the House of Commons took place from the Ladies' Gallery. Some weeks later at Northampton Mr. Asquith was subjected to gross indignity at the hands of a band of women, headed by Miss Billington, brandishing a horsewhip. Public outrages of various kinds now became frequent, and the ringleaders were arrested, ordered to pay fines, and in default were committed to prison.

In December, 1906, Mrs. Fawcett presided at a banquet at the Savoy Hotel given in honour of seven women culprits on their release from prison. The House of Commons outrage she described in the course of her address as "merely a breach of an obscure rule of etiquette," and proceeded to congratulate the guests of the evening on "having rendered a great service to the cause by fanning the spark of idealism, and having infused a new spirit into their ranks in consequence of the example they had set." (The "ranks" referred to by Mrs. Fawcett were the undivided Suffragist ranks to which she and the ex-prisoners belonged.)

From that day militancy flourished with increased vigour. But ultimately its excesses aroused public indignation, and Mrs. Fawcett's Society hastened to repudiate militancy. A year or so later the repudiation was forgotten, and the two camps of Suffragists were again regarded as one. On June 10th, 1910, Mrs. Fawcett said on a public platform, "Neither persecution, imprisonment, nor any other form of suffering will deter us Suffragists from going on till we win. If enfranchisement come by conciliation it will be well; but if politicians miss the opportunity, we shall resort to harsher and

cruder methods, and will not be deterred because the path is unpleasant." Thus only three years ago, after militancy had been practised for four years, we find Mrs. Fawcett identifying herself with the militants. "Persecution, imprisonment"—these are not meted out to Suffragists *qua* Suffragists any more than to Tariff Reformers or Home Rulers for their political opinions. But breaches of the criminal law have to be punished, and no one who is not suffering from moral obliquity would raise a finger or utter a word against the law in such circumstances being allowed to take its course.

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#### Mrs. Fawcett and Militancy.

EVEN to this day Mrs. Fawcett finds it difficult to cut herself adrift from her militant friends and allies, whose first lapses from constitutionalism she was as such pains to fête in 1906. Speaking on behalf of the deputation of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies to Mr. Asquith she said:

The Government is now meeting the demand of women for free institutions with coercion, and nothing but coercion.

As a rule the so-called constitutional law-abiding Suffragists ask us to believe that they have nothing to do with the militants; but here we have Mrs. Fawcett in a fit of unusual candour subordinating her own following to the militants—as the less important to the more important—and informing the Government that Suffragist demands are being met "with coercion and nothing but coercion." We had always supposed that this coercion, by which we conclude Mrs. Fawcett means imprisonment, was applied merely to a few people who broke the criminal law of the land, and were dealt with in the ordinary course of justice. Mrs. Fawcett holds other views. Militant criminals, she declares, must not be distinguished from other suffragists, and anything done to the former in the name of the law is really Government spite against the Suffrage movement as a whole. Identification with militancy could hardly go farther.

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#### "A Lying Spirit."

A BIBLICAL quotation must be allowed in any attempt to deal with the deputation of clergymen that sought to wait upon the Prime Minister on August 7th. The memorial left for Mr. Asquith's benefit on that occasion dealt largely with the so-called "Cat and Mouse" Act, and contained the following statements, actually made or implied:—

(1) That by the provisions of the Act "our fellow citizens may be incarcerated, let out of prison, and re-incarcerated, at the will of the Home Secretary." (2) That the Act brings to the verge of death those who come under its operations. (3) That prosecutions take place "under this Act."

It need hardly be stated that these three assertions are wholly contrary to fact. And yet the Bishop of Lincoln writes to *The Times*, "The memorandum addressed by the clergy to the Prime Minister I cheerfully signed, for I agreed with every word of it." In the case of the rank and file of the signatories, obsessed for the most part with Socialist doctrines, it may not be surprising that a number could be found to concoct misrepresentations of the Act in question, and that others would readily subscribe to them. But from a Bishop of the Church of England the men and women of this country have a right

to expect more regard for the truth. Such, however, is the demoralizing influence of the Suffrage movement, based and nourished upon the crudest misrepresentations that even a Church League for Woman Suffrage supports militancy, and its President, the Bishop of Lincoln, "cheerfully" endorses a number of statements which the Prime Minister charitably dismisses as "inaccuracies."

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#### The Church League.

IN view of the exhibition of manners and good taste given by the clerical Suffragists in their correspondence with the Prime Minister, there is no need to be surprised at the behaviour of a certain number of lay Suffragists who interrupted divine service at St. Paul's Cathedral on August 3rd. Inasmuch as the Church League for Woman Suffrage, under the presidency of the Bishop of Lincoln, has thrown its cloak around these militants and enrolls as many as it can in its ranks, we have to infer that sacrilege is also regarded by the Church League as a praiseworthy means to a righteous end. The incident at St. Paul's Cathedral is not the first occasion of its kind. After all, if church buildings are not held sacred by the members, actual or potential, of the Church League for Woman Suffrage, there is no reason why the religious observances that take place within them should be. Thanks to the encouragement given to the "cause" by at least one of the Canons of St. Paul's, the desecration of this Cathedral is now a feature of the Suffrage movement. Both non-militants and militants have used it or its precincts for purposes of political demonstration. It is, however, not so much their action as the connivance and co-operation of clergymen that causes dismay.

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#### "Equal Work."

THE Select Committee appointed to inquire into the wages and conditions of employment of Post Office servants has issued its report. Among the subjects dealt with was the claim of women employees for equal pay for equal work. On behalf of the Postal Telegraph Clerks' Association it was urged that "women do precisely the same work as men, except that they do not do night work. They do not do the same overtime, not because they are not liable, but because they do not volunteer for overtime. The average result of women's service is not less valuable because a number retire for marriage, and in the case of early retirement the low pay of youth is not compensated by the higher pay of old age." Other representatives of the employees claimed that female officers should be paid the same scale as male officers, but should rise to lower maxima. These took into consideration the fact that female officers must retire on marriage, and that "both inside the Service and outside female officers had less responsibility."

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#### The Employer's View.

ON behalf of the Post Office it was urged that the scale of payment in vogue, fixed by the *Hobhouse Committee*, took cognisance of the number of women resigning during the earlier years of service, and the disparity between the scales was smaller in these years. That an equal scale for men and women even with different maxima could not be justified by the practice in outside employment, and especially not in the Post Office Service. That

the services of women were not as valuable as a whole to the Post Office, because they cannot perform work dealing with heavy weights, and that they are not as useful in times of pressure and cannot do night work. That, further, the employment of women generally makes the hours of duty of the male staff worse, and renders it necessary to give higher pay to the male staff. That the employment of women necessitates special accommodation which involves expense, and also the training of a great number of new entrants owing to some leaving on marriage; that women have more sick leave, and that, therefore, if the same wages were paid to the male as to female officers, on financial ground preference would be given to male officers. At a later stage in the inquiry the Post Office stated that the duties of women clerks are not so important as those of the Second Division or Supplementary Male Clerks, and that work is not allotted in any department to men and women indifferently. It was stated that men were preferred for all-round duty, though women do telephone work and monotonous day-to-day work better and more contentedly than men. The Committee recommended revised scales of payment, but fixed the salaries of women employees at a slightly lower rate than those of the male employees.

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#### "Allies."

EXPERIENCE teaches that the introduction of Woman Suffrage into any country leads sooner or later to the triumph of Socialism. Our own Suffragists may not succeed in obtaining the vote, but they are determined to do their best for their Socialist allies. In the *Labour Leader* of August 7th we read:

Members and organisers of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, in accordance with their policy of supporting Labour candidates, are now hard at work in many constituencies where Labour candidates are to be run, assisting in organisation and registration. In the Durham district, especially, systematic work is in progress, campaigns of joint meetings being arranged in every district and joint committees carrying out the registration work. Miss St. John and Miss Dring are both devoting their whole time to work in this area, and I.L.P., as well as N.U. branches, seem to spring up under their footsteps.

The Independent Labour Party is, of course, Socialist, and it is of interest to note from the above paragraph in the *Labour Leader* that the activities of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies are as effective for Socialist as for Suffrage propaganda. Into the harmony of this co-operation of the Suffragist and Socialist allies it is sad to find a jarring note intruding—the more so as the discord is due entirely to the Socialists, whereas the Suffragists cheerfully subordinate all their principles and predilections in order to further the cause of Socialism. The trouble arose over the payment of the maternity benefit under the Insurance Act. In the process of amending the Act the Grand Committee of the House of Commons resolved that payment of the maternity benefit should be made to the mother. The Suffrage societies had, of course, set their heart on this amendment, as the shortcomings of the Insurance Act provided magnificent arguments in support of the disabilities under which women without the vote labour. (Doctors with the vote have something to say on this subject, but as they happen to be mostly men, they do not count, according to the Suffragists' opinion, and certainly cannot be allowed to detract from the merit of the Suffragist argument). But as soon as the Insurance Act Amendment Bill reached the report stage, this verdict of the Grand Committee is

most unkindly reversed by the one political Party that has accorded its support to Woman Suffrage. In other words Mrs. Fawcett's own particular Socialist allies, whose suffragism is (in Mrs. Fawcett's society's eyes) above suspicion, move as an amendment that the husband's receipt for the maternity benefit shall be as valid a discharge as the wife's. The amendment was carried by nine votes, owing to a misunderstanding, it is said, on the part of the Nationalists. An attempt was made by Lord Robert Cecil to undo the effect of the amendment as far as possible by moving that the husband's receipt could only be given on the authorization of the wife, and with Anti-Suffragist help his amendment was carried against the votes of Mrs. Fawcett's Socialist friends. If the Suffrage movement were not so all-important and all-engrossing, we could imagine some Suffragists who in private life admit to subscribing to Liberal or Conservative principles pausing to wonder whether, after all, the great affection that Socialists have for Woman Suffrage is not based on the advantages likely to accrue to Socialism rather than on any overwhelming desire to befriend women as a whole. Such a step, however, on the part of Suffragists would be dangerous, for only a few Suffrage societies would survive it.

### THE EXTRAORDINARY MOUSE.

#### A FABLE FOR THE TIMES.

ONCE there was a colony of field mice who lived near a pleasant field where the grain fell ripe from the wheat ears every harvest time, and the mice lived happily all the time because they were fond of the grain which they found so easily. And they were never hungry, because when the grain fell between the yellow stalks they would seek it out and eat it, and store much away in their cool granaries in the sweet earth against the time that harvest should not be, and the snow should lie cold upon the sleeping earth. And they were very happy, and the birds flew over them from tree to tree hunting for flies and insects in the sun when there were no berries on the trees and bushes (for birds are not quite like mice—but nearly). And the birds liked the berries when they could get them, just as the mice liked the grain; and this was pleasant, the old Dame Earth having made it so, because she loved the mice and the birds, and not one more than another.

Then there was a mouse who thought himself greater than the other mice because his black eyes stood out a little farther from his head than was usual among his kind. And he said one day, "My dear mice, you know I can see more things than you can because I am made more perfectly, and my protruding eyes see the things of the sky as easily as those of the earth, and I have seen the birds and studied them. And do you know that when the berries on the hedge in the low field grow from green to red, the birds eat them and enjoy them as we do the grain!" Then a very ordinary mouse said, "I, too, have seen the birds eat the berries, and my eyes are only small, and I think it is no particular advantage to have one's eyes standing out, for the more likely are they then to become blind eyes—because," he said, for he was afraid that the other mouse would not understand him, "because the less able is one to protect them." Here a tremor ran through the whiskers of the mice,

partly with suppressed laughter and partly with fear, for some of the mice had begun to wonder if the mouse who thought he was great was really great. And some of the timid ones said protruding eyes were best, and the bolder ones said that small eyes were no worse, and sometimes even better. "And further," proceeded the ordinary mouse, "I do not envy the birds eating berries, for I am not sure that mice like berries, and I am sure that grain is good for us and pleasant."

Then the extraordinary mouse lost his temper, being angry that an ordinary mouse should seem to know quite naturally the things that he had spent much time in studying, and he said, "Envy, indeed! Who spoke of envy, I should like to know. You have prejudiced me out of your wicked imagination, if indeed you have not been looking over my notes! For how could you know such things if you had not?" And he looked rather silly when he was vexed because his eyes bulged a little further, but he could not see so well then. And he ignored the ordinary mouse and turned to the others. "Why should we not eat the berries that the birds have?" he said, "they are prettier than grain, and bigger." "But we are not sure that we want them," said some of the mice, "and we do not know that we should like them, even if we wanted them." "That is my point," said the extraordinary mouse. "To tell the truth, I am not sure that I want them really myself, but I think it is our duty to want them, for there they are hanging now, and the birds choosing them. We have failed in our duty to ourselves as a species, and we ought to learn to want them and to like them." "It is high time we learned," said some. "Yes, you learn," said others, "for we who are left shall then have the more grain." And others said, "No. Berries are not good for mice." And the mice were divided. And those who were favourable to the extraordinary mouse soon learned to want the berries. Then they said, "But here is a difficulty, for now we have learned to want them very much, we cannot get them, for they are away up there where we cannot reach." "Wait until the birds shake them ripe from the boughs," said an old mouse, "they are best then." "Preposterous," said the others, "they are so long in dropping, and the birds get the best of them." "We must aspire, and work to get them," said the extraordinary mouse. "We must work," echoed the others.

And they tried to climb the bushes and trees, but their feet were not made for climbing; and they built mounds of earth to try and reach the berries, but the mounds were not high enough; and they practised jumping, but they only hurt themselves. And the birds laughed to see mice do such strange things, and some were sorry for the mice. Then the extraordinary mouse said, "The birds are laughing at us. We will teach them to laugh at worthy aspiration! We will harass them until they give us the berries." So the mice nibbled at the trunks of the trees on which the berries grew, but it is too hard for mice to bite tough wood, and the birds did not notice them. And the berries did not come. Then the mice tied themselves with straw to the trailers of the brambles, but the birds came and released them because the birds were sorry for the mice. And some of the mice died, because the birds were sometimes too busy to be looking for tied-up mice. Then the mice squeaked and said, "Oh, oh! The birds have killed us rather than give us the berries which are ours by right." And still the

berries did not come. Next, the mice raided a big bird's nest they found by the brook-side, and destroyed it, and ran back to catch the berries; but they did not come. And the birds and the mice were angry. At last, after many months, the extraordinary mouse bribed a distant relation of his, an old squirrel, to gnaw the boughs away, and the boughs with their berries at last fell to the earth.

And the mice rejoiced and ate the berries, but in a short time began to be sick because the berries were green; but they persevered, saying, "The berries that are good for birds must be good for mice," until they became used to berries, and lost all their taste for the grain. And after a while they felt little lumps developing on their shoulders, and they laughed and said, "Hurrah! We are going to have wings, and shall fly like the birds." And the little lumps after a long time grew into webby wings, and the mice grew into bats. And when they were bats they lost their taste for the berries, and began to eat moths and insects. And bats are all right, of course, but they are not mice; neither are they birds.

H. H.

### INFANT MORTALITY.

A VALUABLE contribution to the subject of infant mortality is made in a Report (Cd. 6,909) issued by the Local Government Board, and compiled by Dr. Arthur Newsholme, Medical Officer of the Board. The report deals with the variations in infant and child mortality and with the associated conditions found in 241 urban areas, whose populations vary between 20,000 and three quarters of a million, and whose aggregate population comprises nearly three-fifths of the total population of the country. A large portion of the report consists of summaries of existing circumstances in each of the 241 urban areas in regard to death-rates, sanitary conditions, and child-welfare work, while not the least interesting part is devoted to a discussion of the close inter-relationship between defective sanitation, poverty and intemperance, and excessive mortality.

In this brief reference to the report space can only be found for recording a number of facts, deductions and opinions expressed by Dr. Newsholme. A great quantity of loose talk is indulged in on the subject of infant mortality. Numbers of people who have given neither study nor thought to the problem are vaguely of opinion that, if women could only vote for members of Parliament, infant mortality would be reduced to vanishing point. It is important, therefore, that in the first place there should be clear thinking on the subject, and that in the second place the conscience of the nation should be aroused to deal with a serious evil, but one susceptible to remedy. Suffragists, who allow their obsession to override all other considerations, cannot be relied upon to move a finger in this matter, for the contention that the vote has the least connection with or possible bearing upon infant mortality shows their inability to grasp even the rudiments of the problem. Elsewhere we try to piece together the moral of this official report, but in the following summary we shall allow Dr. Newsholme to speak for himself.

#### PROGRESS.

A great saving of child life has been effected in the last few years; and a large portion of this decline has occurred in the towns dealt with in the report. In view

of the experience in 1911, it is clear that this saving of life cannot be attributed merely to favourable climatic conditions. It can be claimed, with high probability, to be the result of improved sanitary and housing conditions, of more efficient municipal and domestic cleanliness, of education in hygiene, of increased sobriety of the population, and of the widespread awakening to the national importance of child mortality, with concentration on efforts of child welfare work such as had never previously occurred.

Prior to 1901 there was no clear indication that the average rate of infant mortality had declined. The rates per thousand births for the last twenty-two years were as follows:—

1891 ...	149	1902 ...	133
1892 ...	148	1903 ...	132
1893 ...	159	1904 ...	145
1894 ...	137	1905 ...	128
1895 ...	161	1906 ...	132
1896 ...	148	1907 ...	118
1897 ...	150	1908 ...	120
1898 ...	160	1909 ...	109
1899 ...	163	1910 ...	105
1900 ...	154	1911 ...	130
1901 ...	151	1912 ...	95

The amount of saving of life that has been secured may be judged by the following illustration. In the seven years, 1906-12, 736,682 infants under one died in England and Wales, the average annual death-rate being 115 per 1,000 births. Had the infantile death-rate been 144 per 1,000 births, the average rate for the seven years 1899-1905, then 922,454 infants would have died in the seven years 1906-12. The improved conditions have implied a saving of 185,772 lives of infants during these seven years.

#### CERTAIN FACTS ESTABLISHED.

1. Infant mortality is higher in urban than in rural areas.
2. There is an evident coincidence between the areas of high infant mortality and the chief centres of industry in large tracts of the Midlands, of the North of England, and of South Wales.
3. Towns within the same county, sometimes within a few miles of each other, show widely divergent infant mortality rates.
4. Equally marked differences in infant mortality rates occur between constituent wards or districts of a large number of towns, these differences not being confined to towns having a high total infant mortality.
5. Size of town has no definite relationship to excessive infant mortality, this occurring irregularly in towns having a population over and under 50,000.
6. The infant mortality rates at different ages and from different causes occur irregularly among the different towns; some towns which have a high total infant mortality showing a low death-rate for certain causes and at certain parts of infancy.

A dispassionate review of all the circumstances, writes Dr. Newsholme, makes it highly probable that the decline in infant mortality has been in large measure brought about by the improved sanitary circumstances of urban populations, by the increased attention to municipal and domestic cleanliness, by the education of mothers in personal hygiene, especially in regard to food and the care

of infants, and by elevation of the standard of conduct and moral responsibility.

He adds, "A consideration of the facts . . . leads to the conclusion that high rates of infant mortality must depend very largely upon certain local conditions, which may be, and probably are, different for various towns, and even for parts of the same town. The facts set forth evidently call for further intensive inquiry on the part of local medical officers of health and of the medical staff of the Local Government Board."

#### CONDITIONS ASSOCIATED WITH HIGH MORTALITY.

The conditions associated with and assisting in varying degree in the production of excessive infant mortality are partly social and partly sanitary. . . . It is believed (by Dr. Newsholme) that the greatest immediate saving of life can be secured by the adoption of preventive measures by those local authorities who are fully alive to their responsibilities and powers.

The widespread ignorance among women as to satisfactory methods of rearing children under the adverse conditions of town life is an important factor in producing excessive infant mortality in the more densely populated urban areas. Instruction in the matter of feeding, clothing, and general hygiene is badly needed; and the results obtained where the modern methods of child welfare work have been adopted show that such instruction has marked influence in improving the health of infants.

Although the industrial employment of married women must be regarded as inimical to the health and welfare of their children, it will be noted that the Lancashire and Yorkshire towns most affected by this condition share their high infant mortality with towns in Staffordshire, and still more in Glamorgan and Durham, in which the industrial employment of women is exceptional. The inference from this comparison is not that the industrial employment of married women is without effect on child life, but rather that other detrimental influences of greater gravity in their total effect prevail to a greater extent in the centres of mining industry than in the textile centres.

In successive chapters the report deals with defective sanitation, poverty and intemperance in relation to infant mortality. Sanitary systems are discussed, and their bearing on the health of the population shown. It is shown how intimate is the association between excessive child mortality and bad housing, defective sanitation, and particularly the presence and accumulation of decomposable refuse in and about the house. The responsibility for these evils must be shared by sanitary authorities, by the owners of houses, and by the tenants themselves, and only co-operative effort will secure effective reform in the conditions underlying excessive child mortality and enable the more direct measures enumerated in the report to become completely effective.

In regard to poverty, it is shown that it is a direct cause of infant mortality where it induces malnutrition of mother or infant, or where it implies that the mother cannot give adequate care to the infant. Poverty is also an important indirect cause of infant mortality. Its influence is exercised in the following, among other ways: (a) Poverty is not infrequently associated with ignorance and carelessness; (b) with these are commonly associated overcrowding and uncleanness; (c) alcoholic habits frequently result from living under conditions of poverty, the converse also being true. Poverty, uncleanness, overcrowding, alcoholic indulgence and disease are closely

inter-related in vicious circles, the starting point leading to excessive infant mortality not always being the same.

The importance of the personal factor in the prevention of infant mortality, Dr. Newsholme insists, is very great, and in the abandonment of the natural method of rearing infants he finds "a most important factor of excessive infant mortality."

#### CHILD WELFARE WORK.

In another chapter Dr. Newsholme outlines the chief considerations which must receive attention in any satisfactory scheme for child welfare work.

One of the chief impediments to reform, he says, is ignorance. Quotations given in other parts of the report show that municipal efforts, accompanied by the provision by landlords of more satisfactory conditions, have often been rendered useless by careless and ignorant tenants. Instruction in elementary hygiene and in the elements of housewifery are needed if the dangers to young children associated especially with urban life are to be avoided.

The object of child welfare work is to ensure that each parent has within reach accurate counsel as to the hygiene of childhood, and as to the general and domestic conditions necessary for ensuring its maintenance.

Into the details of child welfare work as outlined by this report we need not enter here. They bear out what Dr. Newsholme has already insisted upon, the importance of the personal factor in the reduction of infant mortality. It is not a question of women's rights nor a question of participation in the machinery of government. A number of women know how to rear infants, a number of others do not. Public spirit and a sense of their responsibility must prompt the former class to help the latter before the infant death-rate of this country has been reduced to a minimum. Much has been done already, and still more good work is being done; but the need for more enlightenment is everywhere. Women who complain on public platform and at street corners that they are thwarted in their efforts to promote the well-being of the State have ever at hand in child-welfare work as much as they are likely to be able to cope with. The task can be performed without any flourish of trumpets, without elaborate organization. Personal service alone is needed.

#### THE BEEHIVE.

A meeting of the Beehive, at which there was a good attendance, was held at Strathyrum, St. Andrew's, on August 16th. Lady Griselda Cheape opened with prayer, and gave a short address on the Anti-Suffrage position. She urged all those who were opposed to the enfranchisement of women to join the League without delay, as the present alone belonged to them. Lady Griselda Cheape then introduced Captain Spencer, of the Church Army, who said that these two Societies were in harmony in that they were both working on Christian lines. He gave an interesting account of the work done by the Church Army, and the need of civilisation amongst all people, making a special reference to gypsies, the work in workhouses, prisons, etc., and mentioned the splendid work performed by ladies in connection with these objects. He invited all those who would be so kind to get a sack and fill it with old clothes, as donations of this kind were very helpful in their work.

At the close of the meeting many cards were taken and subscriptions promised, and 15 new members were enrolled. Reviews were also sold.

A stall with articles given by the Bees made a sum of over £6. Tea was served on the lawn, and the meeting terminated.

#### VOTES AND WAGES.

Suffragists are constantly stating that the vote is necessary to women for economic reasons, and that if the vote be granted to women, their wages will rise relatively to men's wages. They also contend that under the present system in the United Kingdom women are displacing men, and therefore men's wages suffer as a consequence, and they imply that if the vote is only given to women the reverse will take place.

As a matter of fact, so far as industrial occupations are concerned all the information at present available indicates that in the United Kingdom the proportion of women to men is decreasing.

The recently published 1912 issue of the New Zealand Official Year Book supplies some very useful information on this subject. Women have had votes since 1893 in New Zealand, and therefore the effects ought now to be clearly discernible.

Censuses dealing with the outputs of manufactories and works and with the wages and numbers of persons employed have been taken for the years 1901, 1906, and 1911, and from pp. 644-657 of the 1912, and pp. 201-215 of the 1911 issue, we obtain the following information:—

	1901		1906		1911	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
Persons Employed ...	36,292	10,555	44,916	11,413	42,267	13,967
Average Earnings ...	£ s. d. 81 17 11	£ s. d. 31 6 2	£ s. d. 88 10 11	£ s. d. 41 17 8	£ s. d. 115 2 3	£ s. d. 50 12 2
Rates of average earnings of males to females, ...	2.61		2.11		2.27	

The results of the 1906 census, compared with those of the 1901 census, seemed to show that there might possibly be some slight justification for the contention of the suffragists, but the results of the 1911 census shows an entirely different state of affairs; the number of women in the factories has increased 22 per cent., while the number of men has decreased nearly 4.

On the other hand, the men's wages have increased 30 per cent., the women's have only increased 21 per cent.; and the men's wages now average 2½ times the women's wages, so apparently the equal work equal pay idea does not work under woman suffrage so well as it does without it. Of course, in both cases the rates of wages are high compared with this country, but that has nothing to do with woman suffrage, because the same conditions prevail in Canada, where women do not have votes.

In the teaching profession, where there is possibly greater identity of the work of men and women than in any other occupation, one would expect to find in New Zealand a greater equality of pay than in this country, if the suffragists' arguments were true; but the following figures (pp. 232-3) (the only ones on the subject in the Year Book), relating to teachers in secondary schools, certainly show greater disparity than exists in the United Kingdom:—

	Number of Teachers.	Aggregate Salaries.	Average Salaries.
Males	148	£41,441	£280 0s. od.
Females	111	£19,641	£176 19s. od.

In this case the men are paid 58 per cent. more than the women.

HERBERT G. WILLIAMS,  
A.M.I.C.E., M.Sc., M.Eng.

## ANTI-SUFFRAGE IN INDIA.

THE attempt to introduce the agitation for Woman Suffrage into India has had the effect of galvanizing into life the latent hostility to the movement that exists among all those who have the interests of our Indian Empire at heart. On July 8th a preliminary meeting attended by 340 people was held at Mussoorie, and gave evidence of the widespread support that an Anti-Suffrage movement would command in India. The best means of voicing the opposition to any attempt to add to the causes of unrest in the country were discussed, and it was resolved to form a branch of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage. At a second meeting, held on July 29th, the All India Federation of this League was accordingly inaugurated, with the formation of a Mussoorie Branch, under the auspices of a number of well-known residents of Mussoorie. The officers of the new branch are as follow:—

President: Mrs. Ellys Walton.

Vice-President: Mrs. Johnson.

Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. A. Priestley.

Hon. Secretary: Miss. De Gruyther.

Committee: Mrs. Milward Griffin, Miss Holland, Mrs. Vincent Mackinnon, Mrs. Gerald Milne, Mrs. Walter, Mr. Oakden, I.C.S., Colonel Rennie, Captain Leslie Thuillier.

Nearly two hundred members were enrolled at once—within three weeks of the movement having been first mooted—and donations and subscriptions have helped to give the branch a satisfactory start.

## CHESTERFIELD BY-ELECTION.

We have been so used at the last few by-elections to find every candidate, of whatever shade of politics, opposed to Woman Suffrage, that it has been somewhat of a change to work in a less favourable atmosphere at Chesterfield. If, however, the prospects were not quite so good as we have been accustomed to, our vigorous campaign had its effect upon the two candidates who counted for anything; though Mr. Scurr, who stood in the interest of Woman's Suffrage as much as for anything, was quite uninfluenced by our electioneering, and was left at the bottom of the poll with 583 votes out of a total poll of 13,847 votes. We were fortunate enough to secure the active assistance, on the platform and in the committee room, of Miss Violet Markham, who was a tower of strength to us in Liberal circles, and who was publicly identified with the cause of the successful candidate. Though the new member did not declare himself, we have reason to think that, though personally a believer in Votes for Women, he will not vote for any measure until he has an opportunity of consulting his constituents in some way or other. The Unionist candidate was frankly in favour of something on Conciliation Bill lines, but he stated that he would be in favour of the matter being settled by referendum, or some such direct appeal. On the whole, with a somewhat discouraging outlook, we were very gratified at the advance we made.

Our committee room was at 19, Cavendish Street. Miss Cameron was in charge, and Mr. H. B. Samuels and Mr. A. J. Lofting took a prominent part in the campaign.

A large demonstration was held in the Market Place on the 17th, and meetings were held every day in various parts of the division, particularly successful gatherings being held at Brimington, Heath, Scarcliffe, Brampton, Hasland, Clay Cross, and Tupton; whilst at Shirebrook, on the eve of the poll, our speakers had a very good reception from a crowd of miners and their wives.

Over 1,000 signatures were added during the brief campaign to our Parliamentary petition, and numbers of cards were signed by electors for dispatch to the successful candidate.

At the present time all our speakers and workers are engaged in work round the seaside coast—north, south, east, and west—and excellent reports are being received as to the progress of the campaign.

ORGANISATION DEPARTMENT.

## THE SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT.

## SPEECH BY MRS. HUMPHRY WARD.

The following speech was made by Mrs. Humphry Ward at a reception given by the Women Writers' Suffrage League on July 2nd, when, as a guest of the League, she was invited to speak on the Anti-Suffrage side:—

## BASES OF THE MOVEMENT.

In my belief the English Suffrage movement rests upon (a) a wholly mistaken and exaggerated estimate of the value of the Parliamentary vote as an instrument of social reform; (b) on a failure to consider the special circumstances of such a European and Imperial power as England in comparison with such political entities as Denmark or Norway or Finland—as any English colony, or any State in the American Union; and (c) on a refusal to recognise that in the physiological differences of structure and function between men and women, leading as they do to endless differences of private life and habit, there are strong indications that the public life also of men and women ought to find different channels and take different shapes.

With regard to (a), I have felt for many years that the movement for increasing the public powers of women in England—in itself, to my mind, a perfectly legitimate and inevitable one—would never have taken the course it has, but for the extraordinary and exaggerated importance attributed by its founders—John Stuart Mill in particular—to the political machinery of democracy, to the mere process of voting. I have ventured to call the whole Suffrage movement a belated survival of mid-Victorian politics, and it seems to me that one finds its origin in such ideas as Mill expresses, for instance, on the actual process of an election. He talks, for instance, of the way in which a general election "elevates the individual as a moral, spiritual, and social being." The household vote in this country was then a year or two old.

Now, after half a century, how few political observers would take such a view, or would use such a tone! Open Mr. Graham Wallas's "Human Nature and Politics," and read his reflections—the reflections of a convinced Liberal and Democrat—on a general election—the forces at work in it, the confusion, the violence, the party spirit, the waste and ineffectiveness, and then compare his book with such a passage as I have quoted from Mill. The modern political thinker accepts democracy because he must, because he sees in it the only means, under modern conditions, of keeping order among vast bodies of men, by transmuting the physical force of men, which otherwise would express itself by physical methods, into the peaceful results of the ballot-box; which are peaceful just because they are the symbol of the physical strength of the majority, and are respected because, in the long run, they have that physical strength behind them. On the other hand, as a means of registering and enforcing moral and social reform, I should have thought it was now universally confessed that the vote, popular election, is an extremely rough and imperfect instrument. Otherwise, the enormous grievances under which so many thousands of men labour, after eighty years of voting, would not exist. At the same time, as a means of government—of measuring the strength of one body of men against another—it has become increasingly important with the equalisation of modern conditions; and the most anxious care of politicians at the present moment is to keep democracy to the use of the vote, and to save it from resort to those physical forces which lie behind the vote, and are constantly tending to express themselves, now in war and now in civil violence.

## THE VOTE AND REFORM.

As to reform—the betterment of life—that has always originated in the conscience of the few, men and women; and we see—now that we are eighty years from the first Reform Bill—that it has only an accidental connection with the process of voting, or with the possession of a vote by the persons in need of reform. It has no necessary connection whatever with such things. Otherwise, our huge code of industrial law, built up on behalf of persons, children, and young persons without a vote, could not exist; nor the enormous advances in women's education; nor, indeed, the whole system of primary education. The greatest and most potent things in the world—alterations in moral and spiritual ideals—alterations in the range and pressure of economic forces—are the things which are never voted on. A few years ago a woman on the London County Council instituted a thing called a Care Committee in connection with each elementary school. I can hardly believe that even Miss Freer herself realised the full importance of the move. There are now 7,000 members of Care Committees in London, and it looks as though the whole efficiency of our system of popular education—the fitting of it into life—would soon depend upon them. What have votes to do with such liberating movements as we see going

on in the East? What had votes, or any form of political machinery, to do with the rise of the Christian Church?

The work of reform nowadays is done through a hundred agencies, of which the vote is only one. Public opinion, the Press, act directly upon Parliament, directly upon law-making—we have seen it again and again during the last few years. The demand for reform arises in that world of thought and effort, which our political organisations most imperfectly expresses. In that world men and women are equal. The only test is an intellectual and moral test, and the means of bringing its forces to bear on the political and legislative machine have enormously widened of late years.

## PARLIAMENT AND PHYSICAL FORCE.

That there is a public life of women which may justly express itself through voting, and to which voting and elections are necessary—I agree. I will come back to that presently. My present contention is simply that the Parliamentary and Imperial vote in such a country as England is mainly important as an indication of the physical strength of the majority; that its connection with reform, though frequent, is not necessary, and that the nation is perpetually using other means for getting reforms, means of which women are in full command, or might at any time, did women really desire it, be in full command.

But when you have said that, you have only said half. You have got to add that the Parliamentary vote in a country like England is of enormous importance—and quite as much so to non-voters as to voters—because it does indicate the physical force of the majority, because it does show what the Government of the country has behind it, and because government was never so important to civilised States as it has now become. The complexity of life, the growth of all the means and instruments of life involving a perpetual increasing conflict of interests, both within the State and without the State—the measure of these things in any State is the measure of the vote's importance, as an indication of male strength. From this point of view it has infinitely less importance in New Zealand, or Victoria, or Colorado, than it has in the United Kingdom, whose Parliament governs not only these islands, with all their long history, their ancient network of institutions, their modern clash of interests, but the British Empire. In such States, for women to claim a vote, the physical responsibilities of which they cannot in the last resort discharge—and who knows when the last resort may come for any modern State?—has always seemed to me a mere confusion of political thought; an injustice and an embarrassment to men, above all to the men—the governments of men—whom such States must put forward as their instruments in the great struggle for life, and thereby a weakness and a danger to women also.

And that this is so—and is felt to be so by the great modern nations—is shown, I think, by the present distribution of the Suffrage movement. My own belief is that, if the carrying of it by some Parliamentary *coup de main* for a casual party advantage can be staved off in this country, as I now begin to believe it can, we shall see the mind of England, women no less than men, setting steadily against it. In the 'seventies, an English Liberal Cabinet Minister said to me *à propos* of some of the successes of the early suffrage propaganda, "We shall go on playing with it, we shall go to the very brink—and then we shall draw back." I believe that is quite possible—and that if it comes, it will be due, not to the opposition of the men of the country, but to the slowly-formed conviction of the women that the Parliamentary vote, in this country, is a predominant male business, in which women ought not to claim more than an advisory share; a share, which is indeed of immense importance, often of great effect, as we saw in the Tariff Reform controversy, but which does not involve direct political responsibility.

## THE "RIGHT" TO A VOTE.

Perhaps you will murmur the word "right." "Political equality is our right," say many women, and they are possessed with a sense of injustice because it is denied them. But let me refer you to a very eminent authority, Sir George Cornewall Lewis, for a discussion of this word "right." He points out that people who use the word really mean by it "that in their opinion, the claim which they call a natural right ought to be made a legal right," since the only real source of right in a civilised State is law. "It is the duty," says Sir George Cornewall Lewis, "of such persons to show that sound policy requires what they require."

That is to say, it is the duty of the suffragists to show that sound policy—the interests of the State as a whole—require the concession of the vote. "But"—I quote again—"as this would require a process of reasoning, and as reasoning is both hard to invent and to understand, many people prefer begging the question at issue by employing the high-sounding phrase of 'natural right.'" There is no such thing as a natural right to vote. A nation gives

its political rights to whom it will. A nation's first concern is for its own existence and strength; and it distributes its political rights according to its own view of what makes for that strength and existence; for that safety of the State, which is the supreme law.

The argument drawn then from the enormous complexity of the affairs, internal and external, especially external, with which the Parliament and Government of the United Kingdom have to deal, affairs which rest for their decision in the long run on the balance of male strength, cannot be set aside by the mere plea of natural right. Woman Suffrage still remains for any nation a question of expediency, and circumstances alter cases. In a nation, for instance, like our own, with adult suffrage in sight, and a million and a quarter more women than men in the country, the expediency of Woman Suffrage has to be much more anxiously considered than in countries like our Colonies, or the Suffrage States of the Union, where women are largely outnumbered by men, who, after all, have had to do the business of government from the beginning of history till now, and therefore must have something of an inherited aptitude. Or in a nation like England, with our unwritten and delicately-balanced Constitution, where the decisions which involve the displacement of one male government by another, of one national policy by another, lie often upon a razor's edge, where a few thousand votes in a few towns where women residents predominate might easily compel—unless the things were mended by revolution—a great majority of men to submit to a policy they resent and disapprove—in such a nation the risks of Woman Suffrage are greater than they are in the United States, with the American written Constitution, the checks and counter checks in which it abounds, and the variety insured by the State system. In our country I have always thought that Woman Suffrage offers a maximum of political danger, with a minimum of practical advantage. Because we have another way out! And now let me go to that.

## LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

For when we have said all that I have tried to say, there remains a totally different question—have not women, in some shape or another, an equal claim to men to a public life as well as a private one? Is it to be supposed that after the great development of women's education, after the great changes which we all know have taken place in the position and powers of women in civil society, that women will be content, or should be content, without a public life of their own, through which they may influence the State without interfering with the responsibilities of men? No, I reply, it is not at all likely—nor is it desirable. The new powers must find the new outlets and instruments.

But why insist upon making them identical with those of men? Is it not the scientific presumption that they ought to be different from those of men? And fortunately, it seems to me, we have in our institutions, the germs, the foundations of a system of public powers for women which might, as I believe, solve the whole problem. We have these foundations in our great local government organisation which every year is becoming of more importance to England, and which is destined, in the opinion of many shrewd observers, to wide extension and development. Devolution is in the air, and devolution in the English State means the strengthening and grouping of local authorities, and the concession of legislative powers in social and domestic matters to the bodies so created. As Imperial organisation proceeds, and makes fresh claims on the Imperial Parliament, this local growth and change is bound to go forward, and ultimately surely to transform much of our social and industrial life. In these grouped and strengthened local bodies of the future will be found, one dares to hope, the solution of many of the problems which now figure largely in the Suffrage controversy. Wages Boards, for instance, will be local, representing the industries in a district, and inspectors—men and women—will be locally appointed. The powers of local authorities in varying and applying the housing laws, in making new housing laws of their own, will be largely extended. All matters of public health and public morality will come under them. They will have much wider powers of educational and social experiment. Every important Act now contains large permission and optional powers, which practically mean law-making on the part of the local bodies. We shall see these powers extended, and the steady growth of a local legislative function, regulated by the Imperial Parliament, no doubt, but within its sphere independent. And in this field women will come to their own. I see them in the future, with an immensely extended municipal franchise, delivering men, by the force of their own practical sense, from the tyranny of Imperial politics in local affairs, enjoying over the whole field a complete equality of right and opportunity with men, and gradually establishing within it a certain customary division of the work, which will be to the advantage of both.

And this development, these powers, are even now within our grasp. If women during the next few years can be led by slow and painful effort to retrace a mistaken way, and to turn themselves to that field where their true future lies, how full of promise might that future be! "Enbehren sollst du—sollst enbehren!" said Goethe. To know what to give up—what not to claim; that surely is for all of us the highest wisdom. Goethe, one of the wisest of the immortals, would surely have seen what was really at issue in this Suffrage struggle; a true or a false development, a true or a false progress—on the lines of natural function, or against them; a co-operation or a rivalry with men; the strengthening or the weakening of our country. To me the notion that it is a matter of superiority or inferiority has always been absurd. In the purely political field, indeed, I hold that we always shall be inferior to men for perfectly sufficient natural reasons; and that the Suffrage movement, should it succeed, would merely stereotype that political inferiority by providing men with a subordinate political material which they will soon learn to manipulate. But if we develop the alternative and co-ordinate powers of which I have spoken, leaving men to their proper tasks and responsibilities, and claiming our own, then indeed it seems to me we shall be serving the honour and dignity of women—laying down something that will have power "to live and move and serve the future hour" when our brief lives have passed away.

### THE CLERGY AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

In a letter to the *Church Times* of August 8th, Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun deals with the growing tendency among clergymen to coquet with the Woman Suffrage movement without troubling to consider the essence of the agitation and its ultimate goal, if successful.

Mrs. Colquhoun writes:—  
SIR,—In your issue of August 1 you describe the closing scene of the "Suffragist pilgrimage" in St. Paul's Cathedral. You will have to record in your next issue the sequel to that scene in the successful attempt of the militant Suffragists to outdo their colleagues in advertisement. Such sequels are the inevitable result of using the sacred building for purposes of political propaganda. No one denies the right to anyone to worship there, and to pray for whatever cause they have at heart, but some of us feel very bitterly when such an organ as yours sets the seal of approval on a political procession to a church, the wearing of political badges, the announcement of the procession in the papers, and the subsequent acclamation of a political leader within the very precincts of the Cathedral. If the Suffragists really desired spiritual help they could have attended the service in the ordinary way. Their purpose was advertisement; you have helped them to achieve it, and their militant sisters naturally do not wish to be outdone in a department (advertisement) in which they are recognised experts. Your correspondent dwells on the obvious spiritual and devotional side of the "pilgrimage." No one denies that there are good and religious women among all ranks of Suffragists, but to some of us, who are behind the scenes in what is called "the woman movement," it is tragic to find the Church lending her aid to a propaganda which is rooted in individualism.

One can understand very well the desire of some well-intentioned people that Suffragists who are strong Churchwomen should not be alienated by a lack of sympathy with their aspirations, and so far as those aspirations are merely for the general uplift of womanhood the Church must support them. But when we come down to definite points of propaganda, I humbly submit, the case is different. Opinion among Churchpeople is divided as to whether the parliamentary vote is necessary or not for the uplift of womanhood; it is a controversial question. It is absolutely no indication of "spirituality" to demand it, and indeed my own view has always been that concentration on a material issue, like the vote, has weakened spirituality among women. Is it a sign of desire for spiritual guidance to go to church in a body decorated with political badges? If so, then the Bible is wrong in recommending one's own chamber and one's own heart instead of the house-top.

But if clergymen who lend churches for suffragist meetings knew the feminist propaganda which is behind the demand for the vote they would, perhaps, pause before setting the seal of their approval on any part of the "Woman Movement." It has its roots in the discontent and unrest among educated women due to the fact that they have lost touch both with reality and with spirituality, and the basis of their demands is an "equality" of the sexes which goes far deeper than the mere vote. The conditions of work among the poorer women, and all the vast range of questions we know as social reform, are used as stalking horses, but the persons who talk

most about them do not trouble to master either the facts of their own case or the A B C of political economy. We do not want more votes or more sentiment, but more scientific analysis and expert opinion in dealing with these questions. But the question which makes more Suffragists than many others, and keeps up their fervour, is that of sex-relations. Of the unhealthy prominence given to so difficult a subject I will say nothing, except that in this, as in other matters, familiarity breeds contempt. There may be some medium between ignorance and precosity or cynicism, but our young women are not finding it under their present guidance. How can they? After the Suffragist pilgrimage which your correspondent found so full of spirituality, there was a meeting in Hyde Park, and one of the speakers who, by her youth and eloquence, attracted most attention, was the author of "The Woman Socialist," in which it is clearly stated that the Church marriage "ought to be abolished." Marriage as a sacrament finds no place in feminist schemes, which are aimed at loosening those moral and conventional fetters which restrict the individual in the interests of the race.

A brief account of modern feminism is to be found in the *Quarterly Review* for July, and although there are Suffragists who are not feminists, and feminists who try to reconcile their views with Church membership (we are not a logical sex), yet, as one who has been in close touch with the "woman movement" (so-called) for the last five years, I am convinced that the driving power behind every part of it is a demand for bodily and not for spiritual freedom, which indeed no man can take from us.

### CORRESPONDENCE.

#### "A BREACH OF CONFIDENCE."

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

SIR,—In reply to your correspondent, Noeline Baker, may I say that in my opinion there is a sensible difference between a letter written by a private individual to another private individual and one written by a person in the capacity of a moneylender wishing to trade with his correspondent. If I, in writing to a firm of tradesmen, mark "Private" on the letter, I do not intend or expect that no one but the addressee should see that letter, but that it should be seen by a principal and not only by a clerk. But if I mark "Private" on a letter to a private individual, I do mean that the contents are for the eye of the recipient alone, and trust to the honour of my correspondent to respect that intimation. No doubt such respect of confidence is a matter of tradition and personal feeling—it may not appeal to some persons, but hitherto it has been regarded as appertaining to the majority of educated persons in England. With regard to the Michigan letter referred to by Miss Baker, not being acquainted with the details of the circumstances quoted, I am not even aware whether that letter was marked "Private and confidential." But, again, it does not appear to have been one written by a private individual to another private correspondent. I, therefore, find no analogy in these instances to the abuse of confidence referred to in my former letter.

Yours obediently,

GERTRUDE JOHNSON.

Guildford, August 4th, 1913.

### THE CHURCH CONGRESS.

We are glad to see that the Bishop of Winchester's decision to allow the Church Congress to be used for the purpose of Woman Suffrage propaganda has evoked protests on all sides. Consideration of space prevent us from reprinting some of the letters written to the Press on the subject. A long letter to the *Globe* by Miss Mary C. Horne, among others, has had the effect of extracting a reply from the Secretary to the Congress, who has to plead (1) that the Congress will not commit itself to Woman Suffrage because no resolution will be put (sincere Churchpeople object to a political controversy, pure and simple, being allowed to be discussed at a Church Congress), and (2) that Miss Maude Royden is speaking "outside" the Congress. With regard to the latter point, it is, perhaps, only necessary to quote from Miss M. C. Horne's letter. Are not the Suffragists, she asks, "openly rejoicing in the prospect of 'a successful campaign'?" Have they not got one of their 'special pleaders,' Miss Maude Royden, to present their case? Is not her skill well known? To those who do not know, I would commend her pamphlet, 'Votes and Wages,' and the reply to it, 'Wages and Votes,' by Miss Gladys Pott. The gist of the reply, it may be pointed out, is that Miss Pott takes a number of Miss Royden's statements *seriatim*, and shows that they are not true.

BIRTH.—On July 29th, 1913, at Ryffel House, Chiswick, to Mr. and Mrs. Harold Norris, a son.

When all is said, Woman Suffrage was not a living issue at the last General Election.—*The Daily Chronicle*.

When you hear Suffragettes talking about sweated labour, you would really think there is no such thing as a sweated man, and that the whole country is out to sweat women.—*Mrs. Stocks*.

The current number of the *Quarterly Review* contains a searching article from the pen of Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun on the Feminist movement. It should be read by all interested in this question. We understand that Mrs. Colquhoun is shortly elaborating her subject in book form.

The prime mover in the deputation of clergy that failed to see Mr. Asquith was the Rev. F. Lewis Donaldson. Of this clergyman we read in *The Daily Citizen*: "His heretical politics have closed the doors of clerical preferment, but the loss to the Church in its larger administration has been the gain of Leicester's poor and of the Socialist movement." Socialism crops up at every turn in the Suffrage movement, but Suffragists, Conservatives as well as Liberals, refuse to give a thought to the ultimate goal of their agitation.

Our attention has been called to a work entitled "The Woman's Book," edited by Florence Jack and published in 1911 by Messrs. T. C. and E. C. Jack. In most respects it is an excellent compendium of household management, recipes, and general domestic knowledge, and we understand that it is largely distributed as a suitable prize for girls. Towards the end of the bulky volume, however, is a section headed "Women in Politics." As between Liberals and Conservatives the author is strictly impartial, merely giving general hints for canvassers, speakers, and organisers, and in a subsequent list of Women's Societies Liberal and Unionist Associations find place. But a long description of the Suffrage movement is given with all the arguments possible to be advanced in its favour, together with the names and addresses of six Suffrage Societies and the names of several others, while the Anti-Suffrage organisation is not so much as mentioned. As all this does not occur till pp. 697, 698, it would be more than possible for the keenest Anti-Suffragist to give the book to a susceptible girl without ever finding it out. Partiality in a work of this description seems hardly "playing fair." In any case it is at least well that those who buy the book for presentation should have their attention drawn to this section.

### TACT.

Speaking at one of the weekly meetings of the London Society for Woman Suffrage, Miss Maude Royden expressed the opinion that the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies "went to work in the best possible way to win a great right." It approached an opponent and said: "You understand what is meant by justice, but sometimes you are extraordinarily stupid; you must let us explain to you what is just." This mode of address is susceptible of variation. A suitable opening for a Suffragist speech to a highly educated audience would, of course, be: "You blocks, you stones, you worse than senseless things."

### THE NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN WORKERS.

Last November the Executive Committee of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage decided that, in view of the resolution regarding Woman Suffrage passed at the Council Meeting of the National Union of Women Workers, this League should withdraw its affiliation with that society. It will be remembered that protests were raised against the Council's resolution on the ground (among other reasons) that at the meeting at which the resolution was passed Branches of the N.U.W.W. were not represented in their numerical strength. Suffragists, moreover, as well as Anti-Suffragists, were opposed to the Council's decision. We understand now that at the Annual Conference of the N.U.W.W. to be held in Hull in October a motion will be submitted to the effect that at Council Meetings, while any subject of public importance may be proposed for debate, there should in future be no resolutions proposed and no votes taken. If the N.U.W.W. is not to promote the disunion of women workers, it would seem advisable that some such resolution should be adopted.

### THE DUNMOW FLITCH.

The last word on the subject of Woman Suffrage has been said by the *Daily Citizen*. "It would make for the happiness of the home by recognising the equal responsibility and equal interest of both husband and wife."

### AT EARL'S COURT.

The Anti-Suffrage stall at the Earl's Court Exhibition is kept continually busy. Signatures to the total of 28,868 have been received for the Anti-Suffrage petition, and 753 members have been enrolled in the twelve weeks. The stall is in the charge of Mrs. Bray, who has been in constant attendance since the opening day, May 31st. The secretary invites members of the London Branches to volunteer their services at the stall during September.

### A NEW BRANCH.

A new branch of the N.L.O.W.S. has been formed at Ipswich, with Lady Cuninghame as President, and Miss Cuninghame as honorary Secretary. Reference is made in the Branch News to the approaching Festival of Woman's Work and Welfare (September 30th—October 11th), and members of the League are invited to assist by contributions to the Anti-Suffrage stall, which will be under the supervision of the new branch.

### AMONG THE PROPHETS.

Speaking at Chesterfield on August 15th, Lord Robert Cecil said: "I wish the people to have the final word in matters of great importance." But for many years Lord Robert Cecil has been working to prevent the people from having the final or any other word on Woman Suffrage. Is this subject, therefore, not of great importance, or has Lord Robert Cecil convinced himself of the immorality of the attempt to pass Woman Suffrage through Parliament before the question has been submitted to the electorate?

### AN AUSTRALIAN CRITIC.

The existence of Woman Suffrage in Australia has not convinced the Press of that country that votes for women ought to be the paramount aim and object of all States. *The Sydney Morning Herald* is emphatic on the point that there are good and bad ways of obtaining the franchise. Unlike the constitutional Suffragists of this country, it condemns militancy uncompromisingly, and adds: "If the women of England desire to obtain the franchise, they can only secure it by the votes of men in Parliament who are dependent upon the support of their constituents. . . . Meanwhile, the Government must deal with these enemies of Society with the utmost vigour." Our so-called constitutional Suffragists seem to think that the Government ought to deal very tenderly with the militants for fear the ranks of Woman Suffrage agitators should be unduly thinned.

### "THE SECOND FALL OF MAN."

The following is from *The Sunday Times*:—"It is generally admitted that the reign of Man is over. He is a dog that has had its day, and the world's interest is now being directed, with the assistance of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, to 'The Woman of the Future.' But the extent to which Woman has arrived and Man has been put in his lowly place in the scheme of things is not, perhaps, as fully realised on this side of the Atlantic as on the other. For example, in a New York Police Court the other day a married man was charged on the complaint of his wife, not with desertion, neglect, or violence, but with interrupting her speeches at the street corners on the Suffrage question. In the midst of her best period, the complainant deposed, the accused shouted, 'Here is a woman who won't cook my supper and won't put the children to bed, because she wants to agitate for votes for women!' The aggrieved orator accordingly gave her husband into custody, and the magistrate, after severely reprimanding the culprit, released him under a suspended sentence. Thus it will be seen, as Mr. Asquith said, that 'we are getting on.' A husband must not only endure all things but must not even venture to complain. His motto must be that expressed in the worst line that Matthew Arnold ever wrote, 'The will to neither strive nor cry,' or he may find himself given into custody. And yet people are found asking why the modern man shirks matrimony. But there is nothing like doing things thoroughly, and the lesson in humility which New York teaches the once superior sex is a valuable one. After all, the magistrate's sentence was perhaps merciful. He did not condemn the husband to listen to the speeches which he had interrupted."

## BRANCH NEWS.

## The Branch Secretaries' and Workers' Committees.

*There will be no Meetings of this Committee during September.*

**Ascot.**—Members and supporters of the Ascot Sub-Branch spent an enjoyable and profitable afternoon at "Shepherd's Corner" on July 19th, when a garden party was given by Mrs. Crouch and Mrs. Donner. Tea was served in a marquee early in the afternoon, and popular music was played at intervals by the Ascot Brass Band. A little later excellent addresses on the "anti" movement were given by Mrs. Greatbatch and Mrs. Wentworth Stanley, and had Sir Edward Clarke been able to attend as he had arranged, there would have been a third speaker.

Lady Haversham (President of the East Berks Branch), who presided, was supported by Lord Haversham, Sir Charles and Lady Ryan, Miss Ryan, Lady Alexander Kennedy, Lady Mary Needham, Mr. and Mrs. Benyon, Mr., Mrs. and the Misses Tydd, Mrs. Oldham, the Hon. Nevil Gordon, Mr. and Mrs. Peters, the Misses Liddell, Mrs. Elliott, Mr. and Mrs. Donner, Mrs. Moun-teney Jephson, Colonel Collier, Miss Sparkes, Mrs. Burdekin, Lady Cecilia Webbe, Dr. Collings, and many others.

Lady Haversham briefly introduced the speakers and called upon Mrs. Greatbatch to address the assembly.

Mrs. Greatbatch opened her speech by referring to the growth of public opinion in favour of the Anti-Suffragists, and gave some of the reasons which prompted this feeling amongst the men and women of this country. She went on to ask whether the electorate would be improved by the addition of women. She did not think that women had the same opportunities for studying politics as men, and that women could not embark upon a political career and do their home work at the same time.

Mrs. Wentworth Stanley devoted the time at her disposal to refuting printed Suffragist statistics as to infant mortality, wages, etc., in Australia and New Zealand, where women had the vote, and also in showing that the Suffragist movement appealed chiefly to hysterical girls and women whose knowledge of the world was very limited.

At the conclusion of Mrs. Wentworth Stanley's address a vote of thanks to both speakers was moved by Lady Haversham, seconded by Sir Charles Ryan, supported by Mr. Peters and carried unanimously, and with this the proceedings came to an end.

**Croydon.**—Under the auspices of the N.L.O.W.S. an open-air meeting was held at Croydon on August 1st for the purpose of placing before the "man in the street" reasons for opposing Woman Suffrage. The speakers were Mrs. P. W. Craven, M.Sc., and Mr. A. Maconachie, and the arguments advanced were of an interesting and convincing character. Mrs. Craven maintained that the stability of laws depended upon the balance of physical force being vested in an electorate who could enforce law and maintain order. An electorate consisting mainly of women would have a contrary effect and would introduce a new element of weakness into our national life. Mr. Maconachie, in a forcible speech, dealt with a whole range of arguments, which are part of this subject, and answered many questions put him to the evident satisfaction of the audience, which numbered about 500. A resolution against Woman Suffrage was carried with about six dissentients.

**Dorking.**—A most successful meeting was held on July 15th at The Old House, Westcott, by kind invitation of Dr. and Mrs. Maw. In spite of torrents of rain over 120 members were present and listened with great interest and pleasure to an excellent speech from Miss Mabel Smith.

Questions were invited, and a few were quickly disposed of. Several new members were enrolled after the meeting. Tea and a charming little concert followed.

## Bristol.

**Durdham Downs.**—An outdoor meeting was held on Durdham Downs on July 12th. Mrs. Gladstone Solomon was the speaker, and had a large and interested audience of several thousand people. The resolution against Woman Suffrage was carried with only four dissentient votes. Many new members joined the League, and it was satisfactory to note that several Suffragists declared themselves converted at the end of the meeting.

**Clifton.**—A very successful garden fête was held at Pen Avon, Clifton Down, on July 16th, in aid of the funds of the Branch. 86 new members have joined the League since the 20th of last month.

**East Berks.**—A large number of the members of the East Berks Branch were entertained by Lord and Lady Haversham at South Hill Park on August 20th. More than 200 arrived from Wokingham, Bracknell, Ascot, Twyford, and the neighbourhood, and tea was served in a large marquee on the lawn. After viewing the gardens the guests assembled in the large hall and gallery to listen to speeches. Lady Haversham presided, and Mrs. Gladstone Solomon was the chief speaker. She pointed out that the question of women's wages was in no way affected by the vote, and that the claim to vote was certain to be followed by the demand for seats in Parliament. She urged that women were physically incapable of serving in the Army, Navy, or Police, and ought not to join in the administration of these forces, while there were many subjects coming before an Imperial Parliament, such as foreign policy, commercial matters and finance, of which the large majority of women had no knowledge at all, and with which they had no familiarity. She concluded by moving: "That this meeting desires to make an emphatic protest against the grant of votes for women, regarding such a measure as in the highest degree injurious to the political and social well-being of the community."

Dr. Crouch seconded, and the resolution was carried unanimously with applause.

Lord Haversham proposed a vote of thanks to the speakers and mentioned that he had received lately two essays by Miss Christabel Pankhurst, which he strongly condemned, and called upon all mothers to protect their daughters from such writings.

The officers of the Branch were duly elected, Lady Haversham as President and Lady Ryan as Treasurer, together with the Executive Committee.

A hearty vote of thanks to Lord and Lady Haversham was proposed by Mr. Wilson Noble, and carried unanimously.

**East Grinstead.**—A large gathering assembled at Hurst-an-Clays, East Grinstead, at the invitation of Lady Musgrave on the afternoon of August 6th, the occasion being a garden meeting in support of the local Branch of the N.L.O.W.S. Tea was first served on the charming lawns, and afterwards Colonel E. Lloyd Williams took the chair at the meeting, being supported by Lady Musgrave, Dr. E. Stewart, J.P., Miss Stewart, and Miss Mabel Smith.

The chairman made a few opening remarks, and then called upon Miss Mabel Smith to address the meeting.

The speaker put the case for the Anti-Suffragists in a convincing speech, at the close of which Miss Smith was accorded a vote of thanks by Dr. Stewart, which was heartily carried. Lady Musgrave was also warmly thanked on the proposition of the chairman.

Lady Musgrave, in reply, said the reason she tried to help that movement was because she thought it would be better for themselves, better for their children, and better for the country, and they asked that that additional burden should not be put upon them. This terminated the proceedings.

**Hampton and District.**—The annual meeting of the Hampton and District Branch of this League was held at the Green, Hampton Court, recently, by kind permission of Dr. and Mrs. Valerie, one of the joint Hon. Secretaries. Miss Goodrich read a report of the work done by the Branch during the year, and was able to announce that their numbers had greatly increased, 191 members and associates having joined in the last year. A large proportion of these came from Teddington, which now forms part of the Branch.

**North Hants.**—The North Hants Branch of the N.L.O.W.S. have published their Annual Report, which shows that the work of this Branch has been carried on even more actively during the past year than in previous years. The balance-sheet shows increased receipts as well as expenditure. The year's activities include a garden meeting held in July, 1912, at which Miss Gladys Pott and Mr. Maconachie were the speakers; Mrs. Greatbatch addressed a largely-attended fête at Knellwood, Farnborough, in September; and in May, 1913, a public meeting was held in the Pinewood Hall, Fleet, when Mrs. Dering White and Mr. Maconachie spoke. A scheme of meetings were arranged in various parts of the district in October, which were addressed by Mr. H. B. Samuels, who also distributed much literature during the six days that he was working for this Branch. The committee have arranged and paid for the exhibition of the Review poster at Basingstoke Railway Station and at Mr. Parker's Fleet.

**Shottermill Centre and Haslemere.**—A charming village meeting was carried out by friends for Lady Bourdillon, on July 25th, when, at the invitation of Mr. and Mrs. H. S. Barton, 100 guests met at Hewshott House, Liphook, at which Mr. H. B. Dempsey presided, and Mrs. Gladstone Solomon spoke.

The audience, which consisted almost entirely of women, was drawn from the neighbouring villages of Hammer and Lynchmere. It was of one mind in approving a resolution declaring that the political interests of women are safe in the hands of their fathers, husbands, brothers and sons, and that those present desired to leave direct participation in politics to men. The resolution harmonised in its womanly tone with the character of the gathering, as well as with the pleasantness of the surroundings, in garden and park, and of the hospitable welcome.

**Wantage.**—On the kind invitation of Lady Wantage the members of the Wantage Branch spent a very pleasant afternoon in the grounds of Lockinge House on July 24th. A brief meeting was held to which over 180 persons had accepted invitations, and speeches were made by Miss Gladys Pott and Lady Hyde, of Longworth. Tea was served on the terrace, and the remainder of the time was spent by the guests in the beautiful gardens and grounds.

Lady Wantage extended a hearty welcome to the members, and referred to the increased membership of the Branch, which she hoped might continue to increase.

Miss Pott, who spoke first, said the origin of the League was chiefly to be found in the demand made by the Prime Minister to know the wishes of women in regard to the great question of Suffrage. A great many people did not care about belonging to Leagues, but at the same time when this question had to be decided by the community, it was the duty of everyone whom it affected to record their definite opinion, because if it passed into law the community was responsible whether they shirked their duty or not.

Lady Hyde said she felt very deeply on this subject. She considered that women had been dragged into the mire, and the dignity with which they had been accustomed to face the world had been taken from them. Government was made by man for the protection of his family and for no other reason, and she urged the necessity of teaching children the great ideal of motherhood.

Miss Elliott asked whether certain States in America where

women had votes did not possess laws relating to child labour. Miss Pott replied that the question of child labour was prominently brought to their minds by their opponents, but she would point out that in Lancashire, where a question arose as to the desirability of school children working in the mills, women voted in favour of it. And yet votes for women were suggested as a remedy for such evils.

Hearty votes of thanks were accorded to the speakers and to Lady Wantage.

Amongst those present were Lady Henderson, Lady Jane Lindsay, Viscountess Villiers, and Lady Harcourt Smith.

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**Bolton (Sub-Branch)**

Hon. Treasurer: Mr. F. M. Podmore.  
Hon. Secretaries (pro tem.): Miss Podmore, 305, Wigan Road, Deane, Bolton; H. Taylor, Esq., 9, Henry Street, Bolton.

**Didsbury (Sub-Branch)**

Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Henry Simon, Lawnhurst, Didsbury.

**Levenshulme, Burnage, Heaton Chapel, and Heaton Moor (Sub-Branch)**

Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. N. Smith, 9, Roseleigh Avenue, Burnage.  
District Hon. Secretaries:  
Levenshulme and Burnage: Mr. and Mrs. H. W. Barber, 15, Roseleigh Avenue, Burnage.  
Heaton Chapel and Heaton Moor: Miss L. Bennett, "Parkleigh," Elms Road, Heaton Chapel.

**Oldham (Sub-Branch)**

Hon. Treasurer: Leonard Schofield.  
District Secretary (pro tem.): William Schofield, Esq., Waterhead, Oldham.

**St. Anne's and Fyde (Sub-Branch)**

Hon. Treasurer: Miss Norah Waechter.  
Hon. Secretary: W. H. Pickup, Esq., 28, St. Anne's Road West, St. Anne's.

**Urmston (Sub-Branch)**

Hon. Treasurer: Mr. Jackson.  
Hon. Secretary: Miss A. Nall, Brunwood, Urmston.

**LEICESTERSHIRE.****LEICESTER**

President: Lady Hazelrigg.  
Hon. Treasurer: Thomas Butler, Esq.  
Hon. Secretaries: Mrs. Butler, Elmfield Avenue; Miss M. Spencer, 134, Regent Road, Leicester.

**LINCOLNSHIRE.****HORNCASTLE DIVISION**

Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Richardson, Halton House, Spilsby.  
Hon. Treasurer: Dr. Dean.

**Alford (Sub-Branch)**

Hon. Secretary (pro tem.): Miss D. Higgins.

**East Kirby (Sub-Branch)**

Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Robinson, the Manor House.

**Spilsby (Sub-Branch)**

Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Steinmiz, The Vicarage.  
Hon. Treasurer: Dr. Dean.

**LONDON.****CHELSEA**

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

**CROUGH END**

President: Lord Ronaldshay.  
Hon. Treasurer: G. H. Bower, Esq.  
Hon. Secretary: Miss Rigg, 29, Haringey Park, Crouch End.

**DULWICH**

President: J. G. Dalzell, Esq.  
Vice-President: Mrs. Teall.  
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Parish.  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Carr, 5, Carson Road, Dulwich.

**EAST DULWICH**

President: Mrs. Batten.  
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Hawkes, Woodbridge, Eynella Road, Lordship Lane.  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Rubbra, 367, Lordship Lane, East Dulwich. (See Kent).

**FINCHLEY**

President: The Countess of Ronaldshay.  
Hon. Treasurer: A. Savage Cooper, Esq.  
Hon. Secretary: Miss Lucie Alexander, 5, Redbourne Avenue, Church End, Finchley.

**FULHAM**

President: Mrs. Richard Harrison.  
Hon. Treasurer: Miss King.  
Hon. Secretary: Miss Winthrop, 50, Scarsdale Villas, Kensington, W.

**GOLDERS GREEN AND GARDEN SUBURB**

President:  
Hon. Treasurer and Hon. Secretary (pro tem.): Mrs. Russell, 32, Hallswell Road, Golders Green.

**HACKNEY**

President:  
Vice-President: A. J. Brough, Esq.  
Hon. Treasurer: Mr. Percy O. Wittey.  
Hon. Secretary: Mr. Maurice G. Liverman, 23, Bethune Road, Stamford Hill, N.

**HAMPSTEAD**

President: Mrs. Metzler.  
Hon. Treasurer: Miss Squire, 27, Marlborough Hill, N.W.  
Hon. Secretary: Miss M. E. Allsop, 19, Belsize Park, N.W.

**North-West Hampstead (Sub-Branch)**

Assistant Secretary: Miss Gunning, 43, Belsize Park Gardens.  
President:  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Reginald Blomfield, 51, Frogna.

**NORTH-EAST HAMPSTEAD**

Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Van Ingen Winter, M.D., Ph.D., 41, Willoughby Road, Hornsey, N.

**HIGHBURY**

President: The Right Hon. Sir Edward Clarke, K.C.  
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Wagstaff.  
Hon. Secretary: Miss Dorothy Housden, 19, Compton Road, Highbury.

**HIGHGATE**

President and Hon. Secretary: Mrs. J. W. Cowley, 57, Dartmouth Park Hill, N.  
Hon. Treasurer: Colonel J. W. Cowley.

**KENSINGTON**

President: Mary Countess of Ilchester.  
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Mason, 83, Corwall Gardens, S.W.  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun, 25, Bedford Gardens, Campden Hill, W.

**MARYLEBONE**

President: Lady George Hamilton.  
Hon. Treasurer: Miss Luck.  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Jeyes, 11, Grove End Road, St. John's Wood, N.W.

**MAYFAIR AND ST. GEORGE'S**

All communications to be sent to Miss Emily Luck, 31, York Street Chambers, Bryanston Square, W., for the next two months.  
President: The Countess of Cromer.  
Chairman of Committee: The Dowager Countess of Ancaster.  
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Carson Roberts.  
Hon. Secretary (pro tem.): Miss Blenkinsop, 35, St. George's Square, S.W.

**PADDINGTON**

President of Executive: Dowager Lady Dimsdale.  
Deputy President: Lady Hyde.  
Hon. Secretary and Temporary Treasurer: Mrs. Percy Thomas, 52, Coleherne Court, S.W.  
Assistant Hon. Secretary: Miss Hogarth, 175, Westbourne Terrace, W.

**ST. PANCRAS EAST**

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

**STREATHAM AND NORBURY**

Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Winckoski, 31, Hopton Road, Streatham.

**UPPER NORWOOD AND ANERLEY**

President: The Hon. Lady Montgomery Moore.  
Hon. Treasurer: Miss E. H. Tiplie.  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Austin, Sunnyside, Crescent Road, South Norwood.

**WESTMINSTER**

President: The Lady Biddulph of Ledbury.  
Hon. Secretary: Miss L. E. Cotesworth, Caxton House, Tothill Street, S.W.

**WHITECHAPEL**

President: Lady Wynne, St. Thomas' Tower, Tower of London, E.C.

**MIDDLESEX.****EALING AND EALING SOUTH**

President:  
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. L. Prendergast Walsh, Kirkconel, Gunnersbury Avenue, Ealing Common.  
Hon. Secretary: Miss McClellan, 35, Hamilton Road, Ealing.

All communications to be addressed to Mrs. L. Prendergast Walsh for the present.

**EALING DEAN**

Joint Hon. Secretaries: The Misses Turner, 33, Lavington Road, West Ealing.

**CHISWICK**

President: Mrs. Norris.  
Hon. Treasurer and Hon. Secretary: Miss M. Mackenzie, 6, Grange Road, Gunnersbury.

**HAMPTON AND DISTRICT**

Hon. Treasurer: H. Mills, Esq.  
Joint Hon. Secretaries: Mrs. Ellis Hicks Beach and Miss Goodrich, Clarence Lodge, Hampton Court.

**PINNER AND HARROW**

President: Sir J. D. Rees, M.P.  
Hon. Treasurer: Mr. Mayo.  
Joint Hon. Secretaries: Mrs. Gardner Williams, "Inverary," Pinner; Miss K. Parker, "Mayfield," Pinner.

**UXBRIDGE AND HAREFIELD**

Hon. Treasurer: R. Byles, Esq.  
Hon. Secretary: Miss Harland, Harefield Vicarage, Uxbridge.

**MONMOUTHSHIRE.****NEWPORT**

President: Mrs. Bircham of Chepstow.  
Hon. Secretary: Miss Prothero, Malpas Court.  
Assistant Hon. Secretary: Mrs. MacFarlane, Craigmore, Chepstow Road.

**NORTHAMPTONSHIRE****WELLINGBOROUGH**

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

**OUNDE**

President: The Hon. Mrs. Fergusson.  
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Coombs.  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Newman, Bramston House, Oundle.

**NORTHUMBERLAND.****NEWCASTLE AND TYNESIDE**

President: Miss Noble, Jpsmond Dene House, Newcastle-on-Tyne.  
Hon. Treasurer: Arthur G. Ridout, Esq.  
Secretary: Miss Moses, 9, Ridley Place, Newcastle.

**NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.****NOTTINGHAM AND NOTTS**

President: Countess Manvers.  
Hon. Treasurer:  
Hon. Secretary:

**OXFORDSHIRE.****BANBURY**

President: Mrs. Eustace Fiennes.  
Vice-President: The Hon. Mrs. Molyneux.  
Hon. Treasurer: J. Fingland, Esq.  
Hon. Secretary: Miss Gurney, 17, Oxford Road, Banbury.

**BLENHEIM AND WOODSTOCK**

President: Lady Norah Spencer Churchill.  
Hon. Treasurer: W. Poore Clarke, Esq.  
Hon. Secretary: Miss Clarke, Market Street, Woodstock.

**CORING**

Hon. Secretary (pro tem.): Miss Evans, Ropley, Goring-on-Thames.

**HENLEY-ON-THAMES**

President: Lady Esther Smith.  
Hon. Treasurer: G. F. Gibbs, Esq.  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Holt Beaver, Yewden, Henley-on-Thames.

**OXFORD**

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

**Hook Norton (Sub-Branch)**

Hon. Secretary: Miss Dickens.

**THAME**

President: Mrs. Philip Wykeham.  
Hon. Treasurer: W. Ryder, Esq.  
Hon. Secretary:

**SHROPSHIRE.****SHROPSHIRE COUNTY**

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

**CHURCH STRETTON**

President: Mrs. Hanbury Sparrow  
Hon. Treasurer: Dr. McClintock.  
Hon. Secretary: Miss R. Hanbury Sparrow, Hillside.

**LUDLOW**

President: Hon. G. Windsor Clive.  
Hon. Treasurer:  
Hon. Secretary:

**OSWESTRY**

President: Horace Lovett, Esq.  
Hon. Treasurer: Miss Kenyon.  
Hon. Secretary: Miss Corbett, Ashlands, Oswestry.

**SHREWSBURY**

President: Miss Ursula Bridgeman.  
Hon. Treasurer: E. L. Mylius, Esq.  
Hon. Secretary: Miss H. Parson Smith, Abbotsmead, Shrewsbury.

**SOMERSETSHIRE.****BATH**

President: The Countess of Charlemont.  
Vice-President and Treasurer: Mrs. Dominic Watson.  
Hon. Secretary: Miss M. Codrington, 14, Grosvenor, Bath.

**CLEVEDON**

President: A. E. Y. Trestrail, Esq.  
Hon. Secretary: Miss Margaret Donaldson, Deefa, Princess Road, Clevedon.

**TAUNTON**

President: The Hon. Mrs. Portman  
Vice-President: Mrs. Lance.  
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Somerville.  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Birkbeck, Church Square, Taunton.

**WESTON-SUPER-MARE**

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

**WELLS and the CHEDDAR VALLEY**

President: Jeffrey Mawer.  
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Goodall.  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Hippisley, Northam House, Wells.

**STAFFORDSHIRE.****HANDSWORTH**

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

**SUFFOLK.****FELIXSTOWE**

President: Miss Rowley.  
Vice-President: Miss Jervis White Jervis.  
Chairman: Mrs. Jutson.  
Hon. Treasurer:  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Howard, Priory Lodge, Felixstowe.

**IPSWICH**

President: Lady Cuninghame.  
Hon. Secretary: Miss Cuninghame, Edge Hill, Ipswich.

**SOUTHWOLD**

President: The Countess of Stradbroke.  
Chairman: Mrs. Morrison.  
Hon. Treasurer and Hon. Secretary: Miss Coley, 10, Lorne Road, Southwold.

**WOODBIDGE**

Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Brinkley, Cumberland Street, Woodbridge.  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Capel Cure, Overdeben, Woodbridge.

**SURREY.****CAMBERLEY, FRIMLEY, AND MYTCHELL**

President: Mrs. Charles Johnstone, Graitney, Camberley.  
Vice-President: Miss Harris.  
Hon. Secretary and Treasurer: Mrs. Spens, Athalton Grange, Frimley, Surrey.

**CROYDON**

President: W. Cash, Esq., Coombe Wood.  
Hon. Treasurer: Miss B. Jefferys.  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Narraway.  
All communications to be sent to Miss B. Jefferys, Melrose, Park Hill Road, Croydon.

**DORKING**

President: Mrs. Barclay.  
Chairman: Mrs. Wilfrid Ward.  
Hon. Treasurer: Major Hicks, The Nook, Dorking.

Hon. Secretary: Miss Loughborough, Bryn Derwen, Dorking.

**DORMANSLAND**

President: Mrs. Jeddere-Fisher.  
Hon. Treasurer and Secretary: Mrs. Kellie, Merrow, Dormansland.

**EGHAM AND DISTRICT**

Hon. Treasurer: Miss F. Cross, Ivy Cote, Egham.  
Hon. Secretary:  
**Englefield Green (Sub-Branch)**  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Shipley, Manor Cottage, Englefield Green.

**Virginia Water (Sub-Branch)**

Hon. Secretary: Miss Peck, Virginia Water.

**EPSOM DIVISION.**

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

**BANSTEAD**

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

**COBHAM**

President: Mrs. Bowen Buscarlet.  
**Oxshott**  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Lugard, Oxshott.  
**Stoke d'Abernon**  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Nelson, Stoke d'Abernon.

**ESHER**

President:  
**Esher**  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Hervey, Hedgerley, Esher.  
**Long Ditton**  
Hon. Secretary: Miss Agar, 9, St. Philip's Road, Surbiton.

**Thames Ditton**

Hon. Secretary:  
**East and West Molesey**  
Hon. Secretary and Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Garland, "Farrs," East Molesey.

**EWELL**

President:  
Hon. Secretary: Miss Dormer Maunder, "Lansdowne," Worcester Park.  
**Worcester Park**  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Auriol Barker, Barrow Hill, Worcester Park.

**LEATHERHEAD**

President: C. S. Gordon Clark, Esq.  
**Fetcham**  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. C. S. Gordon Clark, Fetcham Lodge, Leatherhead.

**Bookham**

Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Pick, The Nook, Great Bookham.

**SUTTON**

Hon. Treasurer: Col. E. M. Lloyd, Glenhurst, Brighton Road, Sutton.  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Prance, Springhaven, Wickham Road, Sutton.

**GUILDFORD AND DISTRICT**

President: Miss S. H. Onslow.  
Vice-President: Lady Martindale.  
Hon. Treasurer: Admiral Tudor.  
Hon. Secretary: Miss Clifton, Westbury Cottage, Waterden Road, Guildford.

**GODALMING**

President: Mrs. Pedley.  
Hon. Treasurer: Colonel Shute.  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Rice, "Melita," Peperharow Road, Godalming.  
Asst. Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Ford, "Woodside," Peperharow Road, Godalming.

**KEW**

Hon. Secretary: Miss A. Stevenson, 10, Cumberland Road, Kew.

**MORTLAKE AND EAST SHEEN**

President: Mrs. Kelsall.  
Hon. Treasurer: Dr. Cecil Johnson.  
Hon. Secretaries: Miss Franklin, Westhay, East Sheen; John D. Batten, Esq., The Halsteads, East Sheen.

**PURLEY AND SANDERSTEAD**

President: The Right Hon. Henry Chaplin, P.C., M.P.  
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Doughty.  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Atterbury, Trafoi, Russell Hill, Purley.

## WARWICKSHIRE.

BIRMINGHAM—  
(See Birmingham District.)

## RUGBY—

Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. van den Arend.  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Crooks 37, Clifton Road, Rugby.

SOLIHULL—  
(See Birmingham District.)

## STRATFORD-ON-AVON—

President: Lady Ramsay-Fairfax Lucy.  
Hon. Treasurer: R. Carter, Esq.  
Hon. Secretary: Miss Field, Talton House, Stratford-on-Avon.

SUTTON COLDFIELD—  
(See Birmingham District.)

## WARWICK, LEAMINGTON, AND COUNTY—

President: Lord Algernon Percy.  
Hon. Treasurer: Willoughby Makin, Esq.  
Hon. Secretary: C. B. Wrench, Esq., 78, Parade, Leamington.

## WILTSHIRE.

## SALISBURY AND SOUTH WILTS—

President: The Lady Muriel Herbert.  
Hon. Treasurer: Miss Fussell.  
Hon. Secretary for South Wilts: Mrs. Richardson, The Red House, Wilton.  
Hon. Secretary for Salisbury: Miss Olivier, The Close, Salisbury.

## Alderbury (Sub-Branch)—

Vice-President: Mrs. Ralph Macan.  
Hon. Secretary: Miss Hill, Avonturn, Alderbury.

## Chalke Valley (Sub-Branch)—

Vice-President: Miss R. Stephenson, Bodenham House, Salisbury.

Hon. Secretary: Miss Hulbert, Bodenham, Salisbury.

## Wilton (Sub-Branch)—

Vice-President: Mrs. Dubourg, The Mount, Wilton.

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.

## KIDDERMINSTER—

President: Mrs. Eliot Howard.  
Vice-President: Mrs. Kruser.

Hon. Treasurer: J. E. Grosvenor, Esq., Blake-down, Kidderminster.

## MALVERN—

President: Lady Grey.  
Hon. Treasurer: Miss Monckton.

Hon. Secretary: 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.

## BRADFORD—

President: Lady Priestley.  
Vice-Presidents: Mrs. G. Hoffman, W. B. Gordon, Esq., J.P.

Hon. Treasurer: Lady Priestley.  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Halbot, Claremont, Newton Park, Leeds.

District Secretaries: Mrs. S. Midgley, 1071, Leeds Road; Mrs. G. A. Mitchel, Jesmond Cottage, Toller Lane, Bradford.

## 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. Steinthal.  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Newbound, Springsend.

## LEEDS—

President: The Countess of Harewood.  
Chairman: Miss Beatrice Kitson.

Hon. Treasurer: Miss E. M. Lupton.  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Geoffrey Humphrey, Well-garth House, Armley, Leeds.

District Secretaries: Miss H. McLaren, High-field House, Headingley; Miss M. Silcock, Barkston Lodge, Roundhay.

## METHLEY—

President: Mrs. Armstrong Hall.  
Hon. Treasurer: Miss Shepherd.

Hon. Secretary: Miss Armstrong Hall, Methley Rectory, Leeds.

## MIDDLESBROUGH—

President: Mrs. Hedley.  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Giers, Busby Hall, Carlton-in-Cleveland, Northallerton.

## SCARBOROUGH—

President: Mrs. Cooper.  
Hon. Treasurer: James Bayley, Esq.  
Hon. Secretary: Miss Kendall, Oriol Lodge, Scarborough.

## SHEFFIELD—

President: The Duke of Norfolk.  
Vice-Presidents: The Lady Edmund Talbot, Lady Bingham, Miss Alice Watson, Col. Charles Clifford.

Hon. Treasurer: G. A. Wilson, Esq., 32, Kenwood Park Road.

The Hon. Secretary, National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage, 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.

## ABERGYNOLWYN—

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," Barmouth.

## BARMOUTH—

Hon. Treasurer and Hon. Secretary: Mr. Llewellyn Owen, "Llys Llewellyn," Barmouth.

## BANGOR—

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

## BLAENAU FESTINIOG—

Hon. Secretary: Mr. W. Jones, "Bsydir."

## CARDIFF—

President: Lady Hyde.  
Hon. Treasurer: Miss Linda Prieg.  
Hon. Secretary: Austin Harries, Esq., Lynwood, 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," Twithill, Carnarvon.

## GROESION (Sub-Branch)—

Hon. Secretary and Treasurer: Mrs. Roberts, The Vicarage, Upper Llandwrog.

## CORRIS—

Hon. Secretary:

Hon. Treasurer: Miss Kate Evans, Liverpool House.

## CRICCIETH AND LLANYSTUMDWY—

Hon. Treasurer: Mr. H. R. Cruffydd.  
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 Countess Dowager of Desart.  
Hon. Treasurer: Miss Orpin.

Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Albert E. Murray, 2, Clyde Road, Dublin.

Secretary: Mrs. A. E. de C. Potterton, 4, Merriem 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. Wauchope, of Niddrie.

Finance Committee: Sir Hugh Shaw Stewart, Bart.; Professor J. H. Millar; Wm. Laughland, Esq.; C. N. Johnston, Esq., K.C.

Secretary: Miss Gemmell, Central Office, 10, Queensferry Street, Edinburgh.

## BRANCHES.

## BERWICKSHIRE—

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

## CUPAR—

President: Lady Anstruther, Balcaskie.  
Vice-President: Lady Low.

Hon. Treasurer and Hon. Secretary: Mrs. A. Lamond, Southfield, Cupar.

Assistant Secretary: Mrs. D. Wallace, Gowan Park.

## DOLLAR—

President: Mrs. Dobie.  
Hon. Treasurer and Hon. Secretary: Miss Macbeth, Thornbank.

## DUNDEE—

Presidents: The Marchioness of Tullibardine; Mrs. Wedderburn.

Vice-Presidents: Mrs. Moodie and Miss Alice A. Mackenzie.

Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Kinear.  
Hon. Secretary: Miss M. L. S. Craik, Flight Lane, Lochce.

## EDINBURGH—

President: Mrs. Wauchope 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-Chairmen of Committee: Mrs. Hugh Neid and Mr. William Laughland.

Hon. Treasurer: Mr. Andrew Aitken.  
Hon. Secretary: Miss Eleanor M. Deane, 180, Hope Street, Glasgow.

## Garnachie and Dennistoun (Sub-Branch)—

Hon. Secretary: Miss Paterson, 14, Whitevale Street, E. Glasgow.

## Kilmacolm (Sub-Branch)—

Hon. Secretary: Mrs. A. D. Ferguson, Lynden, Kilmacolm.

## NAIRN—

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

## KIRKCALDY—

Vice-Presidents: Miss Oswald and Mrs. Hutchison.  
Hon. Treasurer: Miss A. Killock, Craighur, 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: Miss Jeanette Smith, Littlerait, Largs.

## ST. ANDREWS—

President: Mrs. Grogan.  
Vice-President: Mrs. Harmar.

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, Fishguard; Miss Showell, 56, Jasper Street, Bedminster; Miss Bull, St. Vincent's Lodge, Bristol.

## ISLE OF WIGHT—

Hon. Secretary: Miss Wheatley, The Bays, Hayland, Ryde, Isle of Wight.

## NEWPORT (Mon.)—

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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.

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