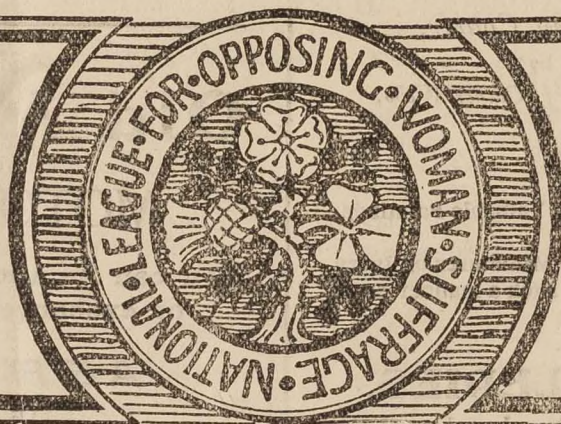


ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW

1912.

No. 64.



FEBRUARY, 1914.

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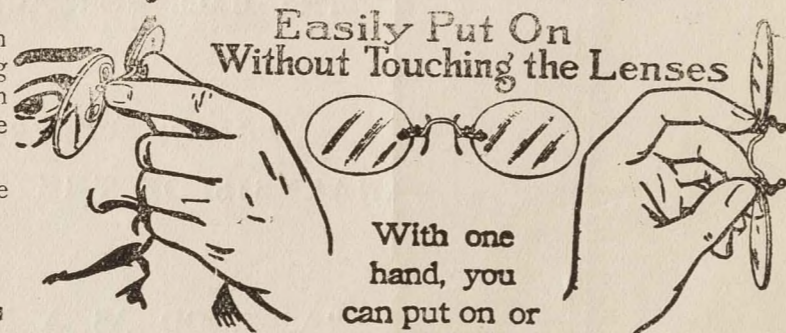
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Members of Council, £1 1s.; Members of the League, 5s.; Associates, 1s. (Branches can arrange for the collection of
smaller subscriptions.)

FORTHCOMING MEETINGS.

FEBRUARY 2ND, WINCHESTER.—Corn Exchange, 8 p.m. Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun.

" 2ND, SWANSEA.—Castle Buildings, 8 p.m. Debate. Miss Gladys Pott.

" 2ND, PANCRAS ROAD, N.W.—Aldenhurst Institute, Goldington Crescent, 8.15 p.m. Mr. M. G. Liverman.

" 3RD, ALRESFORD, HANTS.—Town Hall, 8 p.m. Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun. Chairman, Lord Charnwood.

" 3RD, LEYTONSTONE.—St. Andrew's Hall, Poppleton Road, 3.30 p.m. Miss Mabel Smith.

" 7TH, HEATON MOOR.—League of Young Liberals. Mr. Thomas Macpherson.

" 9TH, 10TH, AND 11TH, GLASGOW.—Miss Gladys Pott.

" 10TH, ST. ALBANS.—Dear's Hotel, London Road, 8. Debate, Miss Mabel Smith v. Miss Nina Boyle (Suffragist).

" 11TH, TEDDINGTON.—County Council School, 8.30. Miss Mabel Smith.

" 11TH, BICKLEY.—Branch annual meeting, 3.30 p.m. Mrs. Harold Norris.

" 12TH, AMERSHAM.—Town Hall. Mrs. Gladstone Solomon and Mr. A. Maconachie, M.A.

" 12TH, HANOVER SQUARE.—Liberal Association Rooms, 26, Moreton Street, Vauxhall Bridge Road, 8.15 p.m. Debate. Miss Mabel Smith.

" 13TH, EDINBURGH.—The Protestant Literary Association. Mrs. Harold Norris.

" 14TH, STOKE NEWINGTON.—Debate. Mr. M. G. Liverman.

" 16TH, CASTLE DOUGLAS.—Town Hall. Debate. Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun v. Lady Frances Balfour (Suffragist).

" 16TH, BIRKENHEAD.—Association Hall, Grange Road, 8 p.m. Miss Pott and Mr. A. Maconachie.

" 16TH, UPPER TOOTING.—St. Peter's Hall, Beechcroft Road, 8 p.m. Mrs. Gladstone Solomon.

" 17TH, HACKNEY.—Reform Club. Mr. M. G. Liverman.

" 17TH, AYR.—Mrs. Harold Norris.

" 18TH, DUMFRIES.—St. Mary's Hall. Mrs. A. Colquhoun.

" 18TH, EDINBURGH.—Annual Branch meeting, in the Oddfellows' Hall. Mrs. A. Colquhoun.

" 19TH, GLASGOW.—Carmyle United Free Church Literary Society. Mrs. H. Norris.

" 20TH, BOURNEMOUTH.—Debate. Miss Gladys Pott v. Lady Frances Balfour.

" 20TH, KILMARNOCK.—Oddfellows' Hall. Mrs. A. Colquhoun.

FEBRUARY 20TH, DUNBLANE.—Victoria Hall. Mrs. Harold Norris.

" 23RD, GLASGOW.—Junior Imperialist Association, Central Division. Mrs. Harold Norris.

" 24TH, CAMBERWELL GREEN.—Debating Society, Wren Road. Debate. Miss Mabel Smith v. Miss Dorothy Pethick (Suffragist).

" 24TH, EXMOUTH.—Temperance Hall, 8 p.m. Mrs. Gladstone Solomon.

" 24TH, CAMBRIDGE.—Girton College, 8 p.m. Debate. Miss Pott v. Mrs. Rackham (Suffragist).

" 26TH, HOXTON.—130, Hoxton Street, 8.30 p.m. Debate. Miss Mabel Smith v. Miss Goddard (Suffragist).

AN ANTI-SUFFRAGE READING ROOM.

A READING ROOM AND INFORMATION BUREAU has been opened at Portman House, 415, Oxford Street (second floor), the entrance to which is in Duke Street (opposite Selfridge's). The room will be opened daily from 11.30 a.m. to 4 p.m., and will be in the charge of Mrs. Thayer.

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

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

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

For further particulars regarding the Reading Room apply to The Secretary, Anti-Suffrage Reading Room, 415, Oxford Street, W.

THE BRANCH SECRETARIES' AND WORKERS' COMMITTEE.

The next Meeting of this Committee will be held (by kind permission of Mrs. GEORGE MACMILLAN) on Friday, February 13th, at 27, Queen's Gate Gardens, S.W., at 11.30 a.m. These meetings are open to all Presidents, Secretaries, Treasurers, and Workers of the League, and this notice constitutes the invitation to the meeting. It is hoped that all who are able to do so will attend them.

Hon. Secretary (pro tem.): Mrs. L. Prendergast Walsh,

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Chairman: Miss Gladys Pott.

THE CALL FOR ACTION.

Trouble in the Suffragist ranks is growing apace. Apart from the division into two main camps, militant and non-militant—a division which the non-militants have not yet ceased to try to bridge over by refusing to cut themselves adrift from the militants—the multiplication of particularist suffrage societies is a significant phenomenon. It is contrary to all sound canons, political or military, and the adoption of the system by the Suffragists argues both lack of political acumen and domestic differences of opinion. Just as the existence side by side of the Women's Freedom League, the Women's Social and Political Union, and the cave of Adullam provisioned by Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence bears witness to two distinct "splits" in the militant camp, so the score or more organizations associated with the non-militant camp point to the desire among Suffragists to have as much latitude as possible in labelling their particular aspect of suffragism. All has gone well while vague generalities have been the order of the day. The term "Woman Suffrage" covers a variety of views, and so long as Suffragists are not forced to think out or to declare what precisely they imply by the term, co-operation is not difficult. Sooner or later it becomes necessary to get to closer quarters with the subject. While action was confined to Parliament, responsibility for the complexion of the Bill introduced rested with the Members concerned, and Suffragists outside could vaguely support all efforts made in the House of Commons to grant women the franchise. Thus the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association, though nominally committed to Woman Suffrage only on Conciliation Bill terms, gave its blessing to the wide measure introduced by Mr. W. H. Dickinson. Now, however, the defeat of Woman Suffrage in Parliament has thrown Suffragists on to their own resources. They have to make their intentions more or less clear to the electorate, or, still worse, there is time for the electorate to find out their intentions and for Suffragists themselves to learn how much what they want differs from what other Suffragists want.

The inherent weakness of the Suffrage cause is the desire or determination to force the nation into a line of action of which it has not yet approved. In military language, before the ground was reconnoitred, or even the enemy's position located, Suffragists launched a vague attack by throwing out a feeble line of skirmishers in the form of militants. While these were being driven back in disorder a general advance was made on no definite scheme, and against no definite objective. The enemy has repulsed the attack with its artillery alone, without being engaged in any general action. Suffragists have now either to rally their forces or withdraw from the field. Naturally they are concentrating on the first of these alternatives, and hence the feverish haste with which the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies has forced on an alliance with the Labour Party. It is this alliance which bids fair to be the rock on which the suffrage ship is going to be wrecked. In the first place an organization which has styled itself as non-party, and has enrolled members on that understanding, cannot with any sense of political morality make overtures to any party. To secure the passage of a measure through the House of Commons it becomes necessary to have a majority of members in favour of it. A political organization will naturally approach the party towards which it feels drawn, and rely on its support to have a Bill passed into law.

An organization, labelled non-party, is *ipso facto* debarred from this procedure, and can only hope to gain its end by appealing to Messrs. A. B. C., etc., as individual Members of Parliament. The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, being superior to the ordinary dictates of public morality, calls itself "non-party," and allies itself to a single party; it supports individual candidates for Parliament *qua* members of that party, and it opposes candidates or Members of Parliament, who may be staunch Suffragists, simply because they belong to another party. Political immorality, like treason, might find justification in success; but the Suffragist rank and file find it hard to forgive political senselessness. If the National Union had allied itself to the party containing a majority in Parliament, the contradiction with its professions would have been overlooked. But ostensibly to promote the cause of Woman Suffrage in the House of Commons, it has chosen to ally itself with the one party which has no chance at present of having even a strong following. To complete the tale of amazing shortsightedness, it has only to be pointed out that the great bulk of members of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies are either Liberal or Conservative; but the Union stands pledged to support the party to whose aspirations in the electoral field both Liberals and Conservatives are opposed.

Anti-Suffragists, however, must make no mistake. Disillusion in the Suffragist ranks will come slowly, for the people who swell those ranks have clearly shown that they are possessed of no real political principle and a very small amount of political intelligence. The alliance of the Suffragists with the Labour Party consistently returns the Labour man at the bottom of the poll, and as consistently Suffragist organs express satisfaction with the result. The spectacle is hardly flattering to the acumen of those who maintain that the Suffragists are particularly fitted to direct public policy or that their incursion into politics will raise the tone of political life. It proves also that Suffragists will be as slow to realize the weakness of their position, as they are to realize the weakness of many of their arguments. They will, therefore, continue their efforts to steal a march on the nation, trusting to the indifference of the majority that has always helped the introduction of Woman Suffrage in other countries. For this reason Anti-Suffragists must only regard the trouble brewing in the Suffrage ranks as an incentive to more definite action on their part. It is just at the moment when the doomed building or tree is seen to be tottering that the decisive push must be given.

ELECTORS AND GOVERNMENT.

One of the difficulties that suffragists, when seeking to be logical, have to overcome, is to strike a balance between the power of the vote and its limitations. On the one hand the vote is to accomplish everything; on the other hand there will be no danger to the country in placing the supreme power in the hands of women, because, in the phrase used by Lady Selborne in every speech or debate, "Electors do not govern." But as in the case of all suffrage arguments, a refutation is supplied by a fellow-suffragist. In Lady Selborne's case we have not far to go for the answer to her contention that "Electors do not govern." Lord Selborne, in an article in the *Oxford and Cambridge Review* (July, 1911), wrote:—

"We may or may not like it, but the electors are in the long run supreme. . . . I believe the wisest and safest course for us to follow is to use this principle of democracy to solve our present difficulties, and to make the electors the ultimate custodians of the Constitution, and final arbiters when their servants, the two Houses of Parliament, quarrel."

NOTES AND NEWS.

Two Bills.

In a letter to *The Times*, Sir Richard Cooper, Unionist Member for Walsall, outlines a Bill which he hopes to introduce in the coming Session, dealing with the question of the living wage. He proposes that every local authority (excluding the county councils) should be placed under the statutory obligation of deciding what is a living wage in its area, the result of its decision to be published in its area. Following on this the Bill proposes that every local authority should keep a register (open to public inspection) of every employer who pays any of his workpeople less than the minimum determined by the local authority. The Bill does not propose to place any penalty on an employer whose wages do not come up to the minimum, but Sir R. A. Cooper claims that the effect of the publicity given to the register will have several valuable results, among them that the mere necessity of registering will determine many thousands of employers to bring their wages up to at least the standard, and that the different parts of the country where low wages prevail will be located. A national minimum wage is provisionally inserted in the Bill: 20s. 3d. a week for men, and 13s. 6d. for women in rural districts. The difficulties of a statutory minimum wage at once become apparent when one considers the case of women workers. It would be a great hardship if its enforcement prevented the temporary employment of women who could help the family purse to the extent of 9s. or 10s. a week during a period of stress.

A second measure to strive for a hearing in Parliament's Lord Willoughby de Broke's Military Service Bill, which is to be associated with another Bill "to base the franchise on military service." In regard to the latter proposal, Lord Willoughby de Broke must have become estranged from his suffragist principles, or does the equality he advocates from the Suffrage platforms admit of certain modifications in practice?

* * *

Recent By-Elections.

The by-elections have provided material for some interesting correspondence in the columns of many daily and weekly newspapers during the past two months, and the Suffragists do not appear to have found much comfort in the comparative figures. The controversy began, of course, with Mr. Lloyd George's remarks to a Suffrage deputation at Oxford, when he said that "unless he was mistaken, the majority of candidates on both sides at recent elections had pledged themselves to vote for the suffrage, if returned." The implied challenge was promptly taken up in a letter to the Press by Mr. E. A. Mitchell Innes, K.C., on behalf of the N.L.O.W.S. Mr. Mitchell Innes claimed that in the course of 65 by-elections Anti-Suffragists had scored a net gain of 10 votes, but that taking only the last twelve months 12 Anti-Suffragists had been returned out of 19 seats, as against 7 only for those seats at the General Election. The Suffragist "Parliamentary Secretary" retorted, in effect, that the 65 by-elections were not a proper criterion, that there had been 83 by-elections (prior to Wick Burghs), that our figures were incorrect, and suggested that Mr. Mitchell Innes had counted "as Anti-Suffragists Members who are in favour of the principle of the removal of sex disability, but who have voted against a par-

ticular form of suffrage which they dislike." The N.L.O.W.S. replied by giving the particulars of the five Anti-Suffragist gains claimed, whereupon the Suffragists adversely analysed the classification, adding the saving clause "so far as we know." It is sufficient for us now to add that it is obvious that "so far as we know" provides our opponents with an easy method of climbing down; the very definite information in the archives of the N.L.O.W.S. cannot also be in the possession of the Suffragists, or they would not have disputed the claim to the five members whose names were given. Quite incidentally it may be remarked that when put on her defence, the Suffragist correspondent admitted that there had only been 81 by-elections instead of 83 (as a fact there were only 80!), and promptly and accommodatingly re-arranged her gains and losses, whilst her understudies in some of the London weeklies and provincial papers found themselves in a veritable tangle in following her uncertain lead.

WOMEN AND POLITICS.

In the following letter addressed to the Press, Miss Edith Milner states her reasons for withdrawing from public life. Many women, though not occupying the prominent position that Miss Milner has won for herself, share her views. They experience a sense of shame as they watch the Suffrage campaign, and to this feeling not only the militants contribute, but also the so-called non-militants, who, by stooping to political jobbery, misrepresentation, and the dissemination of objectionable literature, have lowered the esteem in which the women of Great Britain have always been held.

SIR,—I have been asked by a friend to state publicly what I wrote to her concerning the effect the Woman Suffrage movement has had upon me after 30 years of active political work, as the head of the Milner Habitation, York City, of the Primrose League, for 26 years, after speaking frequently in all parts of the country, and helping to found more Habitations than I can number. The action and conduct of Suffragettes, militant and non-militant, has decided me to withdraw entirely from public life. A few years ago I resigned my post of Ruling Councillor of the Milner Habitation, and this year I have withdrawn my subscriptions. It was a thorough woman's instinct that drew me into public political life, my devotion to my brother, Sir Frederick Milner, which brought me into the arena when he stood for York City, and won the seat in 1883. One of my dearest and most honoured friends and relatives, the late Right Hon. Edward Stanhope, induced me to take up the Primrose League, and I was often privileged to speak for him in his constituency. I always endeavoured to lead under masculine direction, only advocating woman's supremacy in the home. I know that many worthy of the glorious name of woman—not degenerate females—of both political parties agree in my action, and, I have reason to believe, are taking the same course. So I now claim of your courtesy my last word on this subject.

Yours, etc.,
EDITH MILNER.

Heworth Moor House, York, January 6, 1914.

LIGHT ON THE SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT.

The *Common Cause* (January 16th, p. 763), referring to Mrs. Edith Milner's letter to the Press, states that the following question is "of the deepest interest to all Suffragists":—"How has she contrived (as she declares she has) to 'reserve her woman's prestige of absolute supremacy in the home,' seeing that the law has reserved this absolute supremacy for man? He is, in law, the head of the household, the sole parent of the children, and the proprietor of his wife's person. He alone (again by law) decides where his family shall live, how they shall be educated, and with what religious views they shall be imbued. How, then, has Mrs. Milner reserved to herself all these rights? We cannot guess, but we shall await with the most earnest attention her explanation."

Which, we wonder, is the more pathetic aspect of this naïve confession on the part of the *Common Cause*—the confirmation it contains of the fact, long since suspected, that domestic misery is at the root of the whole Suffrage movement, or the touching confidence that prompted the Editor, when in doubt, to attribute a married status to anyone who proclaims herself Anti-Suffragist?

THE 1911 CENSUS.

ENGLAND AND WALES.

Much interesting matter can be culled from Volume X (Occupations and Industries) of the Census of England and Wales, 1911. For the last five or six years during which the question of Woman Suffrage has been violently agitated, speakers and publicists have been forced to rely upon the facts of the 1901 census. There was a general consensus of opinion that the figures of ten years ago were unsatisfactory data, but in the absence of more reliable statistics they had to do duty, except where they were "improved upon" according to the fancy of the controversialist. As Volume X of the 1911 census gives us reliable data regarding the number of men and women in occupations, it is of considerable value to a proper appreciation of the circumstances on which Suffragists base most of their arguments.

WOMEN IN OCCUPATION.

The number of women in occupation in England and Wales above the age of 10 years was 4,830,734. Of these 336,000 were 15 years old or under, so that for all practical questions of wages the number of "women," i.e., over 16 years of age, earning their own living, was just under four and a half millions.

The total number of females (to adopt the census term) over 10 years of age was 14,857,113; so that 32.5 per cent. worked for their living. This figure shows a slight increase on the proportion for 1901, but is less than the proportion for 1891 and 1881, as will be seen from the following table:—

Females over 10 years in England and Wales.

	Total.	Occupied.	Percentage Occupied.
1911 ..	14,857,113	4,830,734	32.5
1901 ..	13,189,585	4,171,751	31.6
1891 ..	11,461,890	3,945,580	34.4
1881 ..	9,992,513	3,402,809	34.0

The figures for males were as follows:—

Males over 10 years.

	Total.	Occupied.	Percentage Occupied.
1911 ..	13,662,200	11,453,665	83.8
1901 ..	12,134,259	10,156,976	83.7
1891 ..	10,591,967	8,806,415	83.1
1881 ..	9,313,666	7,758,907	83.2

Thus while the proportion of men at work has remained steady during the last 30 or 40 years, that of women has shown a slight decrease. Any variation, therefore, in the proportion between men and women occupied has favoured a decrease in the right direction, as follows:— 2.2 men to women in 1881; 2.2 in 1891; 2.4 in 1901; 2.3 in 1911.

This is an important fact, for it disposes once and for all of the Suffragist claim that "more and more women are being driven out into the labour market." Numerically there may be more; but relatively to the increase in the population there are less over periods of twenty and thirty years, with only a slight increase in the last decade.

How ignorant the average Suffragist is of the movement of the population is exemplified by the pamphlet entitled "Man, Woman and the Machine," by Mr. John Cameron Grant, who poses as an economic authority among Suffragists. In this pamphlet, which embodies

the substance of scores of speeches which Mr. Grant and others make up and down the country to Suffragist audiences, it is stated of the proportion of men and women employed in industry that "To-day it stands at the proportion of about 50 to 50. If things go on as they are going at present, and women do not get the vote, it will stand at about 75 women to 25 men." As a matter of fact the proportion of men to women working side by side is 61.7 to 38.3. Ten years ago it stood at 63.6 men to 36.4 women.

These figures, be it noted, exclude the industries in which men may be said to specialize, i.e., mining, railways, building, and navy work. They refer to the industries common to men and women. If we reckon only those actually engaged in making goods, whether in factory or workshop, excluding dealers (i.e., shopkeepers, etc.), we have the following figures for workers over 10 years of age:—

	Men.	Women.
1911 ..	2,754,459 (61.7%)	1,706,229 (38.3%)
1901 ..	2,689,021 (63.6%)	1,536,244 (36.4%)

The industries included in this computation are as follows:—

Iron, steel manufacture.
General engineering, machine making.
Electrical apparatus.
Tools, dies, metal trades.
Ships, boats.
Vehicles.
Precious metals, watches, instruments
Wood, furniture.
Brick, cement.
Chemicals.
Skin, leather.
Paper, books.
Textiles.
Bleaching, dyeing.
Dress-workers: Tailors, milliners, etc.

The details of the census are full of interest, and not altogether devoid of surprises. Among the latter must be mentioned the figures for *textile manufactures*. The numbers of males over 15 employed in 1911 were 428,044, and in 1901 360,532—an increase of 67,512, or 18.7 per cent. The corresponding figures for females over 15 were 596,132 and 532,869—an increase of 63,263, or 11.8 per cent. Actually more men than women were taken on as workers in textile industries during the decade 1901-1911, and this in the one industry, next to domestic service and dress-making, in which women have specialised. We take in this instance the number of those over 15 years of age, in order to place on record the figures that are of practical value in any discussions on the subject.

During the same decade the number of women employed in *Government or Local Government Offices* has become nearly doubled; the figures for the last four censuses being: 1911, 50,975; 1901, 26,500; 1891, 15,040; 1881, 7,370.

Teachers have an interesting record in the last thirty years:—

	1911	1901	1891	1881
Males	76,428	58,675	50,628	46,074
Females	184,283	171,670	144,393	122,846

The percentage increase is as follows:—

Decade.	Males.	Females.
1881-1891	9.8	17.5
1891-1901	15.8	11.9
1901-1911	30.2	9.0

The figures are for all teachers over 10 years of age. Within the last decade the numbers of female teachers under 15 years of age have suffered a diminution from 4,006 in 1901 to 369 in 1911. (We trust that Suffragists will not find in this circumstance a further argument in favour of the Parliamentary vote). If we eliminate these juveniles, the percentage increase in women teachers in the last decade will be 11.4 instead of 9. It must be mentioned that the censuses of 1901, 1891 and 1881 have a second category, "Others concerned in Teaching"—men, 3,224, 3,592, 1,762 respectively, and women, 1,203, 1,982 and 1,149. The inclusion of these figures would alter slightly the percentages, but would not affect the upward and downward trend in the male and female percentages respectively.

Domestic Servants.—In 1911 there were 1,232,577 women over 15 in indoor domestic service, compared with 1,221,277 in 1901—an actual increase of 11,300, which is not proportionate to the 12.6 per cent. increase in the female population over 10. Domestic servants over 15 in hotels, etc., during the same period increased from 44,704 in 1901 to 62,500 in 1911—an increase of 17,796.

For the division of the census entitled *Domestic Offices or Services* the total figures for the four censuses (1911-1881) were:—1,734,040; 1,690,686; 1,715,236; 1,518,770. Changes have been made in the classification, and may affect certain comparisons. Thus Day Girls and Day Servants are a new entry in the 1911 census; it is not apparent under what heading they were included in previous censuses. The only class that has shown a falling-off in numbers is *Laundry Workers* (women): 167,052 in 1911 and 196,141 in 1901; men workers in the same period have increased from 8,874 in 1901 to 12,464 in 1911.

Women Clerks (outside Government employment) increased by 61,273 in the ten years 1901-1911; only 52,589 additional men clerks were engaged during this period. The figures at the last four censuses were:—

	1911	1901	1891	1881
Men Clerks	360,478	307,889	229,370	175,468
Women Clerks	117,057	55,784	17,859	5,989

The largest increase in any one class of the census is that of Class XX, dealing with Food, Tobacco, Drink, and Lodging. Makers of and dealers in food—a category that includes butchers, bakers, and ginger-beer makers—have increased by 88,481 in the decade 1901-1911, from 147,733 to 236,214, or 59.8 per cent. Other increases in this class have been:—

	1911	1901	Increase per cent.
Eating, Lodging, and Boarding-house keepers	91,352	50,770	72.9
Inn and Hotel Keepers	56,043	23,705	136.4
Waitresses	38,994	21,106	84.7

Barmaids alone have decreased in numbers. For purposes of their argument, Miss Maude Royden and the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies declare in pamphlet and on platform that there are 100,000 barmaids in the country. In 1901 there were (in England and Wales) 27,707 barmaids, and in 1911 only 22,259.

We may close this analysis of the Census returns with a table giving the chief classes of occupation. It will be noted that more than half of the additional number of women in occupation since 1901 are accounted for by the increase in non-industrial occupations.

WOMEN IN OCCUPATION.

Chief Occupations.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.
Government and Local Government	50,975	26,500	15,040	7,370
Professional Teachers, etc.	347,043	294,642	242,703	187,641
Domestic Offices, Servants, Laundry	1,734,040	1,690,686	1,715,236	1,518,770
Clerks	117,057	55,784	17,859	5,989
Agriculture	90,128	57,600	51,045	64,216
Metals, Machines, etc.	99,934	61,233	44,978	37,820
Bricks, Cement, Pottery, Glass	39,124	33,148	29,067	24,274
Chemicals, Oils, Explosives	36,870	26,702	14,394	7,695
Skins, Leather	30,208	25,270	19,050	15,538
Paper, Stationery, Books	121,309	90,900	63,316	41,780
Textile Manufactures, Dyeing, Bleaching and Drapers	642,041	620,825	613,595	568,316
Dress - Workers and Dealers	104,113	42,397	45,947	44,226
Food, Tobacco, Drink, Lodging	720,726	711,786	685,814	606,492
	474,683	299,518	259,051	161,089

"AS GOOD AS A MAN."

By J. MASSIE.

It is amusing to watch the perspiring efforts which Suffragist newspaper writers, without a sense of humour, are making in these days to emblazon anything that seems to lend sanction to the claim of restless women to equality with men. The *Daily Chronicle* appears to have told off one of its subordinates to spy out any little tit-bit that will furnish a head-line in the service of this subsidiary glorification of the advancing sex. We all know well that, in the hunting field, in Alpine climbing, and in other sporting pursuits, women of nerve are found as well as men. Why, then, should these newspaper writers make themselves ridiculous by the instances they pounce upon? It is impossible to recall all the absurdities which the *Daily Chronicle* and its gushing companions have recently displayed in large print, but here are two of them. Only the other day we had staring us in the face in the early morning, "Woman loops the loop at Hendon." And in a minute or so you discovered that it was not the woman who looped the loop, but M. Gustave Hamel who had taken her aboard as a passenger. In the same paper, on January 5th, we were sensationally informed, "Woman proclaims martial law." "Miss Ferar Hobbs, of Oregon, performed a great exploit. A woman alone, she alighted at Copperfield—which had defied the State liquor law—put the town under martial law, disarmed the citizens who had come to meet her with revolvers, and closed the saloons. But" (even the *Daily Chronicle* was fain to add) "be it noted that her womanly weapon was a mandate from the Governor." This, however, is not the whole story. The realities of the Copperfield case of martial law we read in a longer paragraph. Why did the Governor send his lady secretary? "In order not to cause alarm, as it was known that the liquor interests of the town would fight any coercion." So the wily Governor tried strategy. He sent an emissary who would attract a crowd and could be treated as a joke. "The

town officials laughed at Miss Hobbs. . . . But while their attention was being diverted" to the amiable and futile lady, and "what they considered her peaceful mission, a train load of militia"—men, you will observe—"arrived, and quietly took possession of the town. The Governor's edict was then carried out, and the military"—men, you will again observe—"remained on guard," Miss Hobbs probably returning to her secretarial duties by the next available train. "The mayor and several of the town council have been arrested, and are at present lodged in gaol." But the true inwardness of Miss Hobbs' "great exploit"—"a woman alone, alighting at Copperfield, and disarming the citizens," with their "revolvers"—is revealed in the closing sentence of the report, "The bulk of the citizens of Copperfield are with the Governor in this matter."

Finally, my curiosity has led me to search the indexes of two of the biggest "World Atlases" that I know, one English and the other German. There is one Copperfield in both. It is the same Copperfield. But it is not in Oregon; it is in Queensland. I fear, therefore, that the Copperfield of Oregon—if it exists—could not be spoken of, like Tarsus, as "no mean city."

THE VOTE IN AUSTRALIA.

In "The Unexpurgated Case Against Woman Suffrage" Sir Almroth Wright states that "the woman voter in the colonies is only a pawn in the game of politics, and of the opportunist politicians who have enfranchised her." This statement, it is announced in *Jus Suffragii*, "was quoted and warmly repudiated by the members of the Australian House of Representatives on October 9th, who declared it an insult and undesired stigma on the electors, and on the eminent statesmen who enfranchised women." It might be thought from the wording of this sentence that the absence of Imperial pre-occupations allows the Australian House of Representatives time to criticise every published statement regarding the Commonwealth and to occupy themselves so often with the merits of Woman Suffrage, but as a matter of fact, only two members of the House referred to the subject. Their attention, however, should also be directed to the book, "Australia, From a Woman's Point of View," written by a prominent Suffragist, Miss Jessie Ackermann. On the point raised by Sir Almroth Wright Miss Ackermann has the following remarks to make:—

"The women electors are divided into two classes: those who want to vote and use it, and those who regard citizenship as a joke, and a very unpleasant one at that.

"It is a statement of fact to declare that the individual is so party-ridden as to be anti-everything and everything that is not clearly and plainly branded with the party earmark.

"There are but two political parties, and, each being so criminally 'anti,' the women are at a great disadvantage in exercising the vote. The many who 'detest it' foolishly imagine they have nothing either to gain or lose by the use of it. The other class is composed largely of the wives of working men.

"It would be unfair to other women to say that the Labour women vote because they are burdened with a sense of responsibility they dare not shirk. It is not true. They vote largely from party instinct.

(The polling of the Labour women) "is due to the unrelenting, ever-acting agencies of organisation. In many parts of Australia a leader among the working women knows where to put her hand on her forces at any hour. Not only so, but she is able to marshal them into line in quick time. They are in small companies ready

to take up marching orders at the first call to action. Upon election days they swarm to party rescue from every quarter."

From these quotations it will be seen that Sir Almroth Wright has only expressed in political language what Miss Ackermann describes in terms of the barrack-room. Women who are "marshalled into line in quick time" and "take up marching orders" are obviously "pawns in the game of politics." Miss Ackermann agrees, for she adds (p. 223), "The point is not how or why they vote, but that they vote."

Finally, in regard to the expression used by Sir A. Wright, "the opportunist politicians who have enfranchised her," a striking confirmation of the accuracy of the description is given by Miss Ackermann. On page 222 it is recorded that in Western Australia "a society of women" passed the following resolution and "appointed a committee to wait upon the Government, requesting them to bring in a Bill" on the lines indicated (the italics do not appear in the original):—

"Whereas: *The ballot was thrust upon the women of this state to meet a political and party emergency*, before public sentiment was ripe for it, and no effort has been made to educate them up to the duties and responsibilities of citizenship. Resolved: That the Government be called upon to enforce voting by all men and women duly qualified, under penalty of a fine of five pounds for the first offence, and a month's imprisonment for the second."

It is quite true that the "experience" of Australia, if rightly interpreted, has much to teach us regarding the experiment of Woman Suffrage.

THE SOPHISTRIES OF SUFFRAGETTISM.

BY ARCH. GIBBS.

In Mr. Belfort Bax's "Fraud of Feminism" one chapter is devoted to unmasking some of the lies and fallacies upon which the women's movement, as it is miscalled, flourishes like a green bay tree among the credulous and ignorant. However, necessarily, Mr. Bax could only touch the fringe of a subject so vast, and I propose in this article to analyse some of the falsehoods and sophistries which perforce he omitted.

As with the Anarchists whom they so greatly resemble, and in whose *Argot* a thief is euphemistically termed "an expropriator," so the Suffragettes have a jargon which is quite their own, and in which terms bear no kind of relation to their general connotation. Thus, to break a window is said to be "sending a message," a wretch who slashes a man across the face with a dog-whip is stated to have "interviewed" him, while a fiend in human shape who hurls a hatchet into a carriage filled with people is declared to have "symbolically dropped" it.

Their reasoning is exactly on a par. Repeatedly they have declared that they have been "driven" into their present course of criminal lunacy, which, by the way, commenced during the premiership of Mr. Balfour, by the "trickery" and "cajolery" of the Government, who have "perjured" themselves and "broken their express promise to deal with the subject of Woman Suffrage." So far from the Government having been guilty of any "treachery," they have scrupulously redeemed the only promises they have ever made, namely, to allow various debates from time to time, and, as the Dean of Durham recently opined in writing to the *Times*, the only "pro-

vocation" that has ever been given to these Mænads by the Government or the nation has been the unequivocal determination of both to refuse to be hounded into consenting to the enfranchisement of women.

It would be as well to consider what actually is the position of members of the Ministry in regard to this subject. Two of them—Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lewis Harcourt—are so strongly hostile that undoubtedly they would resign rather than be parties to carrying a Woman Suffrage measure. Of the other Anti-Suffragists in the Ministry, Mr. Churchill and Mr. Ellis Griffith are converts, but Mr. McKenna and Mr. Pease are old and convinced opponents. In support of Woman Suffrage unquestionably Mr. Lloyd George, Sir Edward Grey, Mr. Birrell, and Mr. Acland are greatly desirous of conceding the franchise in some form or other to women. On the other hand, I have grave reasons for thinking that both Lord Haldane and Mr. John Burns merely pay a lip-service to the cause, and it is significant that in the vital division last year Mr. Burns was an absentee.

But even if the Ministry were united in supporting Woman Suffrage, what possible mandate have they from the electors? It is true that from time to time candidates have contested elections solely in the Woman Suffrage interest. The first occasion was in January, 1906, when a Suffrage candidate really did remarkably well at Wigan. But there were several reasons for this. Militancy was then in its infancy, and had not disgusted the electorate to any serious extent. Wigan is in what was then the Pankhurst zone, and members of that amiable family and their satellites were able to concentrate their efforts on this constituency. Official Anti-Suffragism was unknown, and there was no sort of Anti-Suffrage propaganda.

How have Suffrage candidates fared since? The Hon. Bertrand Russell, brother of Earl Russell, was hand-somely defeated at Wimbledon, despite the fact that at the eleventh hour he dragged in general political issues to attract the main body of Liberals in the constituency to support him. Mr. Herbert Jacobs, who helped to found the Men's League for Women Suffrage, despite the fact that he had nearly all the Suffragists in London working for him, managed in East St. Pancras at the last General Election only to poll 22 votes, while a Suffrage candidate at Glasgow fared little better with 35 votes. In no constituency was the subject taken seriously at all. In my own the Conservative candidate was asked at a meeting whether in the event of being returned he would support the Women's Bill. "Just at present," he replied amid laughter, "I want the women's Bills to support me." So what possible justification would the Government have for risking their prosperity as a Government by championing Woman Suffrage? Yet we are constantly told that Mr. Asquith is acting like a Russian autocrat and opposing the will of the people in this matter.

After all this talk about "the perfidy of a so-called Liberal Government," the favourite sophistry of Suffragettism is the contention that as women are not directly represented in the House of Commons they are entitled to deny the law's validity as concerns themselves. The absurdity of this assertion can be speedily shown on analysis. Take the case of the oldest parliamentary voter living. Supposing such a person to have voted from the age of one and twenty, he has assisted indirectly in the making of an infinitesimal fraction of the laws by which we are governed. The common or customary law

of the land came into existence centuries back, while even the Malicious Injuries to Property Act, which is the law most frequently set at defiance by Suffragettes, is more than fifty years old. If every person who was not directly represented was entitled to flout law and order, male minors, soldiers and sailors, male shop assistants who live in, unnaturalised foreigners, and all males temporarily disfranchised for whatsoever cause, could logically claim an equal right with females to deny the law's validity as concerns themselves. Which, as Euclid puts it, is absurd. Yet this ridiculous proposition was recently declared by that egregious person, Ethel Smythe, Mus.Doc., who broke Mr. Harcourt's window because he dared to compliment his wife, to be "unanswerably logical."

As if to make the contention more untenable, there is no class of person which so clamorously demands the protection of the civil and criminal law and of the latter's myrmidons as the militant Suffragist. Last summer Mrs. Despard went to Gravesend with the intention of addressing an evening open-air meeting, but so hostile was the attitude of the public that on the advice of the Chief Constable, who could not guarantee to get her a hearing, she decided to wait till the last train to London and leave with her friends without attempting to make a speech. Yet subsequently this woman, who persistently defies the tax-collector, declared in her organ, *The Vote*, that Rochester should have been denuded of police to enable her to get a hearing. At about the same time a Suffragette named Annie Bell, whose window-breaking and other exploits have been numerous and sensational, brought an action against her father for false imprisonment, and one of her witnesses was another notorious Suffragette, named Elsie Duval. Neither of them was able to see any inconsistency in denying the law's validity and setting it in motion at the same time. Recently at Hastings some constitutional Suffragists successfully sued the Hastings Corporation and his Honour's decision was enthusiastically applauded by the militants who were present, and who declare in season and out of season that women are not bound by laws in the making of which they have no part.

But it is when they come to talk and write about these laws and their administration that they display their talent for untruth and fallacy at its best. Actually a person writing in the *Sunday Chronicle* a short while back declared that there was a parity between the inalienable legal right of a wife to pledge her husband's credit for necessities and the power of so pledging credit specially conferred for his own benefit by an employer on an employee. So that if Jones sends his office-boy round to Brown's to get on credit some article which Brown sells, the office-boy would be in the same position as Mrs. Jones if she pledged Jones' credit at a solicitor's to sue him for divorce! This is the sort of thing by which street-corner crowds are gulled into thinking woman oppressed by the law. To such poor innocents it appears a terrible circumstance that a wife should not be regarded as the legal parent of her own child. Of course it never occurs to them that the father can be deprived of the parentage, or that after all he is held legally responsible for the child's registration, vaccination, maintenance, and education. With tears in her voice a Suffragette will bewail the fact that a husband can leave his property away from his wife, never troubling to point out that a wife can leave her property away from her husband, and that if the hard-hearted law does give the husband the pro-

perty of a wife who dies intestate, it is because he has been held responsible for her maintenance.

By fallacies and falsehoods, half-truths and deliberate perversions the Suffragette case is built up, and in this short article I have attempted to show how mischievous they are.

FACTS AND FICTION.

There are many earnest-minded Suffragists who are so impressed with what they believe to be the success of Woman Suffrage in other countries that they feel that, if only the people of this country could be made to realise the effects it has had, say, in Australasia and America, the enfranchisement of women would soon be an accomplished fact in Great Britain. These Suffragists would be disillusioned if they would once take the trouble to examine the assertions made regarding the progress of the experiment elsewhere. An excellent instance of what does duty as statements of fact among Suffragists is given in the January issue of *Jus Suffragii*, which is an organ devoted to the record of the affairs of the Woman Suffrage world rather than to propaganda work. In it, therefore, one expects to find statements of fact and reasoned argument in the place of merely the enthusiastic assertion which is at home on the public platform. The longest article in the January number of *Jus Suffragii* is devoted to "The Effect of the Woman's Vote in Australia and New Zealand," by Miss Margaret Hodge, who starts off by parading the value of "an ounce of fact" in contradistinction to a ton of theories. But when the reader of ordinary intelligence examines her article for that ounce of fact he or she finds nothing but the theories that Miss Hodge deprecates. This experience is so true of practically all Suffragist publications that it is worth while to illustrate it from this article in *Jus Suffragii*. We propose, therefore, to examine *seriatim* the assertions made by Miss Hodge, which are clearly intended to be the "ascertained facts, accurate statistics" which Anti-Suffragists so wilfully ignore.

Care will be taken to do no injustice to Miss Hodge by omitting any sentence calculated to tell in her favour.

After a personal explanation Miss Hodge announces, in passing, in regard to New Zealand:

"Both in the North and South Island I witnessed with delight the keen sense of responsibility, the exuberant vitality, the courageous energy of the women who have owned their full citizenship for a score of years."

Possibly this beautiful pen-picture has to rank as an "ascertained fact"; but it would only have any value as an argument for Woman Suffrage, if the author could prove that before 1893 the women of New Zealand had no sense of responsibility, were lugubriously phlegmatic and timorously listless.

The resolutions of the Federal Parliament in favour of Woman Suffrage are then quoted, and without doubt these will carry weight with all seriously-minded people, who would also not fail to be impressed by a resolution passed by a conference of waiters in favour of tipping, or the views of any other Government on one of its own measures.

Coming back to Australia, we read:

"The conscientiousness of women is proverbial, and this quality has been shown in the very large number of women who have enrolled themselves as voters and have registered their votes. In some places the women voters who appeared at the polls showed a higher percentage than the men."

These three statements would doubtless constitute an impressive fact if we only had Miss Hodge's authority for them, or if she had not written any further on the subject. But a few lines later she explains that enrolment is compulsory, and failure to enrol incurs a £2 penalty. Surely the avoidance of a summons and a £2 fine has to be eliminated from the list of Suffragist virtues? Miss Hodge distinctly states that "a very large number of women . . . have registered their votes." We are left to choose between regarding this as an "ascertained fact" or "as accurate statistics." Unfortunately it is neither. On page 954 of the Official Year-Book of the Commonwealth of Australia are given the accurate statistics of the voting of the 1903, 1906 and 1910 elections. In not one of these elections did 57 per cent. of the women registered record their votes, and the Official Year-Book says: "It cannot be said that the electors of the Commonwealth have so far set a high value

on the privilege of the franchise. . . . In every instance the percentage of female voters is very far below that of the males." Miss Hodge, however, informs us that in some instances the percentage of women voting was higher than that of the men, and that the general percentage was high. Her statement, which is entirely contrary to the facts of the first three elections of the Commonwealth, will be accepted by Suffragists, just as it has been accepted by *Jus Suffragii*, and they will continue to lament that the rest of the country does not go into ecstasies over what Woman Suffrage accomplishes in Australia. It is possible that Miss Hodge will claim that she is referring particularly to the 1913 election; but even if the statistics for this election were in Miss Hodge's possession when she wrote the article, this election does not invalidate the record of the previous three.

The woman's vote has raised the whole tone of Parliamentary life is Miss Hodge's next statement. At best this can only be a matter of opinion. On this subject Miss Ackermann, another Suffragist, who has written a critical analysis of Australian affairs from "a woman's point of view," writes: "The best men in the Labour ranks are entirely outside the pale of the political arena, and the strongest men among the Liberal faction consider the very shadow of Parliamentary life defiling." Indeed, every statement made by Miss Hodge is flatly contradicted by Miss Ackermann's book. Between the two "authorities" the average reader will have little difficulty in making a choice in view of the fact that Miss Hodge can bring herself to endorse the dictum of "a distinguished Californian": "Wherever the woman goes she sweeps the place clean." With the record of Utah and Colorado as Suffrage States before them it is obvious that the distinguished Californian and Miss Hodge have a very hazy conception of the distinction between fact and fiction.

"In these lands under the Southern Cross where women are enfranchised great progress has been made towards the securing of economic equality for men and women, and towards the destruction of a dual standard of morality."

Again we can leave a statement of Miss Hodge's, which is demonstrably untrue, to be answered by her fellow Suffragist Miss Ackermann writes: "Although women in Australia enjoy partial equality with men in relation to citizenship, a sense of justice has never extended so far as to include the same standard for the sexes, either in pay for service or a similar code of laws for men and women. . . . I have before me the Federal and State reports concerning salaries and wages paid to Government employees. In no case since women have had the vote has there been an increase in their wages, bringing remuneration up to that of men in any department where both sexes are employed."

It is obviously unnecessary to follow Miss Hodge in detail any further. When a writer can seriously adduce the fact that women workers of all descriptions earn in Australia double the wages that they had obtained in the British Isles as an argument in favour of Woman Suffrage, and can state, as an intelligent contribution to the Woman's Suffrage controversy, that "the large number of occupations open to women (in Australia) prevents the great pressure of competition in any one of them" a reader's patience has become exhausted.

The article in question appears in the official organ of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, and reference is made to it in *The Common Cause*, the official organ of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies. That these two publications should hope to advance the Woman Suffrage cause by an article inaccurate in practically every direct statement bearing on its subject is an indication of the hollowness of the Suffrage agitation.

THE League has lost a valued supporter with the death of Sir David Gill, formerly Astronomer at Cape Town. Sir David Gill, who was a member of the Committee of the Kensington Branch, took a keen interest in the Anti-Suffrage movement, and was always ready to further the work by his presence at meetings of the League. Much sympathy will be felt for Lady Gill in her bereavement.

THE death occurred at the beginning of January of Mr. George Barlow, whose poetry has won a place in the history of nineteenth century verse. London and the English countryside supplied him with his favourite themes, but he was also a writer of spirited patriotic verse, and a keen Anti-Suffragist. A small volume of verse, "Songs of England Awakening," published in 1910, dealt with naval and military matters and the question of Woman Suffrage. Mr. George Barlow was a member of the League, and the author of one of our leaflets.

BOOK REVIEWS.

The Dangers of Democracy. By the late Thomas Mackay. Edited, with introduction, by Sir Arthur Clay, Bart. John Murray, 6s. net.

This book is a reprint of articles contributed to the *Quarterly Review* between the years 1894-1909, and while these extracts from the writings of an acute observer and reasoner suffer from not being brought up to date, yet they also possess historic interest, for in reading the earlier ones we may gauge the progress that has been made along various paths since they were written. Mr. Mackay's analysis of what was, in the 'nineties, a new trade unionism, has been more than verified by events, and his articles on the minimum wage, democratic finance, and Municipal Socialism will illustrate, to the average reader, in an almost startling manner, the rapid and yet almost unconscious changes in political thought and theory which have marked the last decade. For readers of THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW the chief interest of this book lies in the unmasking of Socialism, and the fallacies particularly of State Socialism, which it contains. The close connection between Suffragism and Socialism is not sufficiently realised, because the average person is not interested in political theories, but those acquainted with Socialist doctrines, such as the establishment by the State of a universal minimum wage, will recognise the origin of many Suffragist arguments. Mr. Mackay exposes some, albeit not all, of the inherent difficulties of any minimum wage scheme. Finally, many people will agree that the Suffrage controversy has this in common with Socialism, that "It derives its heat not from any reasoned belief in the deliverance promised by Socialism, but in the unsatisfactory condition in which a portion of our population still lingers." (p. 22). E. COLQUHOUN.

Faithfulness in High Places. By the Lady Florence Bourke. Dublin: Hodges, Figgis, and Co., Ltd.

The sub-title of this book, "A Fashionable Romance in Historical Times," reveals the nature of the tale, and the historical times in question are still with us. Setting for the chronicles of a ducal ménage is provided by the South African War and the evolution of a leader of the Unionist Party. Those who are convinced that "high places" batten on intrigue will find confirmation of their theories in these pages, although faithfulness in the end triumphs. Incident rather than analytical disquisition is the predominant note of the romance, which lends itself for that reason to quick and pleasant perusal.

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED.

The Vision Splendid. By D. K. Broster and G. W. Taylor. John Murray.

The Rocks of Valpré. By Ethel M. Dell. T. Fisher Unwin.

Notes on Politics and History. By Viscount Morley. Macmillan and Co.

A version, "amplified and recast," of an address delivered in 1912, by Lord Morley, as Chancellor of the University of Manchester. The author has done well to publish in permanent form a most illuminating contribution to the study of political history. Lord Morley is claimed as a Suffragist, and for this reason we may hope that some of the passages in the address will be studied by the followers of that movement. Here is one: "Ardent spirits have common faults in an expectant age. We know them all. They are so apt to begin where they should end. Pierced by thought of the ills in the world around them, they are overwhelmed by a noble impatience to remove, to lessen, to abate. Before they have set sail, they insist that they already see some new planet swimming into their ken; they already touch the promised land. An abstract *a priori* notion, formed independently of experience, independently of evidence, is straightway clothed with all the sanctity of absolute principle. Generous aspiration, exalted enthusiasm, is made to do duty for reasoned scrutiny. They seize every fact or circumstance that make their way, they are blind to every other. Inflexible preconceptions hold the helm. They exaggerate. Their sense of proportion is bad."

The Suffrage movement in a nutshell.

Modern Parliamentary Eloquence. By Earl Curzon of Kedleston. Macmillan and Co.

This is the full version of the address which Lord Curzon delivered as the Rede Lecture before the University of Cambridge on November 6th, 1913. Few people can have failed to be attracted by the brief reports of the lecture that appeared in the Press at the time, and many will be glad of the opportunity of reading the whole of this fascinating review of modern eloquence by one of the foremost exponents of the art. Lord Curzon's field is wide, and in this respect may disappoint some readers, who would have

preferred that more space should have been allotted to the better-known giants of Parliamentary eloquence. But the author's arrangement has the advantage of making his analysis at once masterly in its incisiveness and comprehensive.

The Balance.

Under this title the Bedford College Society for the Study of Women's Franchise issues a magazine devoted to the question of Woman Suffrage. Six articles are contributed by Suffragists—the Lady Betty Balfour, Mrs. Fawcett, Mrs. Perkin Gilman, Mrs. Zangwill, Mr. L. Housman, and Mr. H. W. Nevinson. The Anti-Suffrage side is represented by the Marchioness of Tullibardine, Mrs. Humphry Ward, Mrs. Colquhoun, Miss G. Pott, and the Right Hon. F. E. Smith, K.C., M.P.

Auf Falschem Wege. By Professor Dr. Langermann, of Kiel. Zillessen, Berlin, Wallstrasse 17.

ANTI-SUFFRAGE ARTICLES IN THE PRESS.

The Nineteenth Century. December, 1913.

"Abdication." By Mrs. Frederic Harrison.

The Nineteenth Century. January, 1914.

"Women and Morality." By Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun.

The Empire Review. December, 1913.

"Female Suffrage." By H. Douglas Gregory.

The Congleton Times.

"Why I Oppose Woman Suffrage." By A. MacCallum Scott, M.P.

On the occasion of a recent visit to Germany Lady Griselda Cheape addressed German audiences in Berlin and Potsdam on the Anti-Suffrage position.

We would call attention to the *matinée* to be given at the Arts Centre, 93, Mortimer Street, W., on Tuesday, February 10th, at 2.45 p.m., when three dramatic sketches by Marie Clothilde Balfour will be acted by Miss Claude Nicholson and Miss Margot Balfour. One of the three sketches has been staged at the Court Theatre. An advertisement of this *matinée* appears elsewhere in this issue.

ADVERTISEMENT OF THE LEAGUE.

We congratulate the Surrey Branches on their initiative in undertaking to advertise the League in the County Press. Advertisements have been appearing for six months in *The Surrey Advertiser* and *The Farnham Herald*, while the Kew Branch has now accepted responsibility for *The Surrey Comet*. For one advertisement a fixed place in the paper has been secured, and Suffragists have shown their appreciation of the lead by inserting their own advertisement alongside.

For the benefit of other branches which may wish to follow the example of the Surrey Federation, we quote from some of the contents of the advertisements:—The N.L.O.W.S. and its aims, THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW, some names of Branch Secretaries, and the following *dicta*:—

"Do not allow the vast majority of your fellow countrywomen to be forced into politics against their will by the persistent agitation of a small minority."

"There are more than 14,000,000 women over 20 in the United Kingdom. How many ask for the vote? Until Suffragists show beyond dispute that they have a majority of these millions, no legislation is justifiable. Their highest figures so far published show a politically-negligible minority. It is for them to prove their numbers. Let them demand a referendum."

"Women do not need to vote; they are represented without voting. Political agreement is the rule in a household, whether of husband and wife, father and daughter, mother and son, or brother and sister; the vote of the man represents, therefore, the party-political wishes of the woman. It does this with economy of time, trouble and cost. Why change? Women are represented."

BOOKS	BOOKS ON
	SUFFRAGE QUESTION, POLITICAL
	SCIENCE, ECONOMICS, LAW & COM-
	MERCIAL, MEDICAL, SCIENTIFIC
	EDUCATIONAL.
	All other Subjects, and for all Exams.
	Second-Hand at Half Prices. New at 25% Discount.
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CORRESPONDENCE.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

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

SIR,—The Right Hon. H. H. Asquith, M.P., whilst expressing himself as being strongly of opinion that Parliamentary votes for women would be good neither for them nor for the State, has yet said that if a considerably preponderating majority of women demand the vote, nothing can stop them from getting it. Voting power and representation being at present exclusively in the hands of men, who might under any circumstances decide against National and Imperial votes for women, it is at least an arguable proposition as to whether this latter dictum of Mr. Asquith's is sound. But assuming for the purposes of argument that he is correct in his statement, and that women do demand the vote and get it, how would it work in practice and what price would they have to pay for it?

Under the present system the State has made man politically and economically responsible by law.

A husband has to keep his wife, also his children.

He is directly taxed; is liable for jury service; and if the country were invaded, would have to bear arms in its defence.

If from just cause a husband enters divorce proceedings against his wife and succeeds, he has to pay her costs as well as his own; if his wife enters proceedings against him and fails, he still has to pay her costs, if the action is adjudged to have been reasonably brought. In fact, whichever side the action comes from, and however it results, the husband has to pay the costs of both parties, unless another man in the shape of a co-respondent is brought in and made liable.

A husband is responsible, with certain limitations, for any debts his wife may incur, but she is not responsible for his debts.

In actions for libel and slander brought against a wife, the husband is liable for damages and costs.

In short, in all these, and in other matters, the woman is in a position of privilege under the present law, and rightly so.

But suppose women assume the responsibility of the franchise, and thus enter into political and economic competition with men, is it conceivable that they should retain this position of privilege?

It is quite inconceivable, and it may be well in this connection to bear in mind the words of that great pathologist, Sir Almoh Wright: "If woman had to fight for her position her status would be that which is assigned to her among the Kafirs, not that which civilised man conceded to her."

This may be an extreme view, but at least it is evident that the assumption of political power and responsibility by women would lead to a revolution in their position, in family life, and in the social and political construction of the State.

Surely it is full time that all those who desire to avoid such an upheaval should definitely decide to join the Anti-Suffragist ranks.

Yours faithfully,

C. GOSTENHOFER,

(Hon. Sec. Liverpool Branch of the N.L.O.W.S.).

Liverpool, 20th January, 1914.

SUFFRAGIST LITERATURE.

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

SIR,—The letter quoted in your columns from the *Morning Post* entitled "Woman Suffrage Propaganda in Girls' Schools," tempts me once more to bring up the question of Suffrage literature dealing with the White Slave Traffic and kindred subjects. The signatories of the aforementioned letter very justly complain of the undue influencing of young minds committed to their charge by school-mistresses of Suffragist leanings, and as I have had Suffragettes assure me they consider some of these most nauseating publications highly instructive and beneficial to young girls, I think it is time Anti-Suffragists cried "Stop!" to their pernicious and revolting campaign.

Decent-minded men and women are apt to remind one "you cannot touch pitch without being defiled," and they often offer this as an excuse for leaving matters alone; but if we of mature years are conscious of the smirching effects of such pamphlets and books as are issued by most of the Suffrage societies, ought we not all the more to make a determined stand against letting our young people come in contact with same? The militants are by no means the only offenders in this respect, and I have in my mind leaflets issued by the Freedom and Church Leagues, and it makes one sad

to think that some of these indecent and in many cases incorrect publications are disseminated under the cloak of religion. We are all aware social evils exist, and we all wish to see them abolished; but blazoning abroad details of same (only fit to be heard by select committees in camera) is not going to do any good, and is, in fact, doing an infinity of harm. These methods will create a morbid horror of wifehood and motherhood in the minds of our budding women, and will tear the veil from everything they have been taught to consider sacred and beautiful in the marriage state. Granted we live in a rushing, whirling world that has not much time for love, and that £ s. d. counts in many unions of to-day before affection; yet most men are decent in their conduct towards their wives, and we see around us many tolerably happy couples who have mated on the mutual respect basis, and who would wish to see their offsprings brought up as reputable citizens of our great Empire, and I therefore put forward an urgent plea: Do not let miasmatic Suffrage tirades warp their growing ideas. This tide of dirty literature is no doubt a passing phase due to the socialistic interregnum England is now passing through; but such phases leave an indelible mark on immature brains. Therefore I once more repeat: Wake up, Antis! Wake up, England, to the danger that is besetting your children's morals!

I am, etc.,

GLADYS L. MEDWIN.

(Asst. Sec. Bournemouth Branch N.L.O.W.S.).

January 17th, 1914.

FOR THE CAUSE.

"The evil that we do lives after us."

Dr. Ethel Smyth, the composer, has announced that she has altered her will so that the money she leaves will not go to the original legatees until the franchise has been extended to women. After her death the interest on the capital will be paid to the Women's Social and Political Union so long as either Mrs. or Miss Pankhurst is alive to direct its policy.—*Manchester Guardian*.

Also Ran.

The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies has every reason to be satisfied with the results of the by-elections in which it has recently taken part. It has intervened with its organisation funds, and Suffrage propaganda in six three-cornered contests, and in every case the Labour candidate whom it has supported has done strikingly well.—*The New Statesman*.

Breaking Quite New Ground.

Yet another Suffrage organisation—the Suffrage Service League. Among its aims and objects are: "To study the civic duties and opportunities that women already possess and to make use of them; to perform some definite organised service for the benefit of the community."

The Manufacture of Suffrage "Arguments."

"In apologising to our readers for having supplied them with inaccurate information, we can only say that the news was given to us by one of the Suffrage societies to whom it was narrated by Mr. W. Bethell, a man known for some time past, who professed to give trustworthy details concerning the death of his brother."—*Votes for Women*.

Rara Avis.

"I am proud to say that it was my husband who made me a Suffragist," was Mrs. Gilbert Samuel's unkind cut at all those who have joined the Suffrage ranks from want of one.

WOMEN JURORS.

The first grand jury of women in California was empanelled at Redwood City to try their hand at investigating the conduct of the county officials. They were not a success in the opinion of the judge, who, in discharging them on January 16th, told them that their findings were based on inadequate knowledge and on trivialities.—*The Observer*.

THE Scarborough Branch of the National Union of Teachers at its general meeting last November defeated a motion in favour of Woman Suffrage. If the local branches of the Union will act up to their convictions and tackle this question, the executive and the Conference will be spared the noisy attentions of a few enthusiasts.

IN A SUFFRAGE STATE.

"The large number of occupations open to women (in Australia) prevents the great pressure of competition in any one of them."—Miss Margaret Hodge in *Jus Suffragii*.

Miss Tomkins was a citizen

Who to charring turned her hand
Mid the happiest conditions
Of a Southern Suffrage land.

She was the only "char" in all

The town, because, you see,
As many trades were open there
As women there might be.

One day she was amazed to find

A-reading of the news
('Tis better for the tale to write
The words that she would use),

That an English Emigration Board

Had had the cheek to send
To her own town three other "chars,"
All due the same week-end.

'Twas clear the "trade" would never stand

Such competition keen,
Miss Tomkins reasoned to herself,
And thought it very mean

Of that same Emigration Board—

But there 'twas not her way
To knuckle under adverse circes.
When once she'd had her say.

A list of occupations she

Keeps at her fingers' ends,
And leaving Eden, where she charred,
Her way to Nowra wends.

At Nowra it was her resolve

A barrister to be.
"The bar's the thing," she'd always heard,
"In a young community."

Alas! her plans miscarried, for

She had not brought her "plate,"
And before the one she ordered came
She found it was too late.

Another enterprising maid

Stuck hers up overnight,
And thus to practise all alone
She had secured the right.

Miss Tomkins, not a whit distressed,

To Taree went direct,
Where, houses being wanted, she
Became an architect.

And when the houses all were full

With boys and girls galore,
Miss Tomkins next as schoolmistress
In Taree town they saw.

No sooner had the children grown

To adults wise and bright,
Than Taree found the time had come
With gas the town to light.

Of course it was Miss Tomkins who

The plant installed and ran,
And there she would have been to-day
But for a horrid man,

Who said that gas was out of date

And volunteered to give
The town electric light, while he
Would on the profits live.

Enraged that Taree thus should fail
In Suffrage etiquette,
Miss Tomkins left. And still her tale
Is not quite finished yet.

But the rest is omitted, inasmuch as in regard to

Competition, Miss Hodge makes clear
Population does not count,
If to women open are only kept
Of trades a sufficient amount.

MRS. PANKHURST IN AMERICA.

Very much less is heard of Mrs. Pankhurst's recent tour in America after the event than was heard before. That it was comparatively a fiasco is now generally admitted. The first meeting was symptomatic. Suffragists had hired for the occasion the Carnegie Hall in New York, but as it was thought that this building would not be large enough, the Maddison Square Gardens Hall was taken. But the audience numbered only about 3,000; the best seats were empty, and just before the meeting began the "free-seaters" were allowed to fill them. A meeting arranged at Indianapolis had to be abandoned. Recently a telegram from New York states that it was brought out in evidence at a trial on January 15th last that the following represented Mrs. Pankhurst's profit and loss account in three towns:—

	Receipts.	Expenditure.	Balance.
Chicago	£562	£539	+ £23
Toledo	45	34	+ 11
Detroit	119	133	- 14

The balance in favour of the lecturer in regard to these three towns was thus £20. In America, it will be remembered, so-called constitutional Suffragists do not make common cause with militants and find excuses for them, nor does a "Church" League exist to welcome militants into its fold and condone their offences against the law of the land.

SUFFRAGISTS are fond of urging that the law is unjust to women, Anti-Suffragists, on the other hand, maintain that both the law and the administration of the law favour women; nature and the basis of society render this inequality as between men and women before the law inevitable. Instances proving the accuracy of the Anti-Suffragist contention are multiplied in the Statute book and are to be met with daily in reports dealing with the administration of the law. A typical case was reported in the *Standard* of January 14th, as follows:—

"In fining an elderly woman £10, with the alternative of two months' imprisonment, for ill-treating two horses by withholding from them food, water, and attention, the West Ham magistrate yesterday said that, if the defendant had been a man, he would not have given her the option of a fine."

A CORRESPONDENT writes to say that in the course of her reading she has come across the following incident, describing the methods adopted at one time in France for dealing with "riotous women." "In the year 1792 the women of Toulon declared themselves in a state of insurrection, and, assembling in crowds, threatened to hang the magistrates. The procurator-syndic at first laughed at their threats, but the multitude refusing to disperse, he assembled the council-general of the Commune, and ordered the fire-engine, with a plentiful supply of water mixed with soot, to be drawn out in battle array. By a vigorous discharge of this smutty artillery the insurgents in petticoats were completely routed, and quietly returned to their houses." Toulon would seem to have secured more unanimity among its women for their "insurrection" than, fortunately, our militants in any one town are ever likely to attain.

At the inquest held in connection with the Portsmouth Dockyard fire the following questions were put by the Coroner to the forewoman of the colour loft:—

Have you any Suffragists among the women under you?—No, I do not think so.

Have you had any Suffragist literature in the rooms where they work?—No.

Have you any suspicion that any of the women may be Suffragists?—No, I do not think any are.

The significance of this episode is unmistakable. As a result of the Suffrage movement all women become suspects, when responsibility for crime is being determined; while connection with the Suffragist movement would constitute a priori evidence against them.

SCOTTISH NOTES.

The Central Executive of the Scottish League for Opposing Woman Suffrage issued on December 19th a circular letter addressed to all members of the Scottish Presbytery, signed by the Duchess of Montrose, and Sir John Stirling-Maxwell, Bart., asking them to withhold their support from allowing the question of Woman Suffrage to be introduced into the Church of Scotland, as from information received they were at the same time being asked by those in support of Woman Suffrage to petition the General Assembly to take up this question of Woman Suffrage.

Replies received by the Central Executive have quite justified this step having been taken.

The Hamilton Presbytery was petitioned by the Northern Men's Federation for Woman Suffrage urging the Presbytery to overture the General Assembly in favour of the Parliamentary franchise for women. There was also read a letter from the Scottish League for Opposing Woman Suffrage, emphasising the necessity of the Church of Scotland keeping free from all such disruptive influences and refusing to be drawn into political controversy, which did not concern its constitution, its teaching or its work.

The Edinburgh Presbytery were also asked by the Northern Men's Federation to overture the General Assembly, and also to receive two members of the Edinburgh National Society for Woman Suffrage in deputation upon the subject. They agreed unanimously not to petition the General Assembly, but to receive the deputation on the question.

The Scottish League for Opposing Woman Suffrage have also written to ask the Presbytery to receive a deputation from them.

The Edinburgh Town Council received a deputation of those in support of Woman Suffrage, asking them to send two representatives of the Town Council to Parliament in favour of Woman Suffrage. After the deputation had retired and the question of sending the representatives was discussed, it was decided by the majority of one not to send any representatives.

Mr. Henry Jackson, prospective Liberal candidate for the St. Andrews Burghs, received on the 17th December a deputation from the St. Andrew's Branch of the League for Opposing Woman Suffrage. Prof. Burnet introduced the deputation and Mrs. Grogan also spoke.

Mr. Jackson's attitude towards this question was eminently fair and reasonable. He recognised clearly that in order to affect such a revolutionary change, the assent of the existing electorate is a primary essential. Mr. Jackson stated in conclusion that if he had the honour of becoming a Member of the House of Commons, he would take no part in voting on any Bill dealing with the extension of the Suffrage to women unless introduced by the Government. If and when the Government definitely announced their proposals it would be open to any elector to ask his views, and he could frankly state then how he intended to vote.

Blairgowrie.—The Women's Liberal Association held their monthly meeting on January 13th, when Mrs. J. M. Crosthwaite, Glasgow, gave them an address in favour of Woman Suffrage, and at the close of her remarks Mrs. J. S. Saunders moved a resolution, which contained in one of its clauses the following words: "When framing the Government of Scotland Bill to include in it a clause conferring upon women the right to vote at elections of members of the Scots Parliament and to maintain that clause as an essential part of the Bill." Mrs. Stewart said she deprecated the introduction of Women's Suffrage, and moved that the portion of the resolution dealing with this question be deleted. Mrs. Bowie seconded, and the amendment was carried by a majority.

It is interesting to note that on December 12th Mrs. H. Norris addressed this Association for the first time, and was very cordially received by them.

The Suffragette's Dream is the title of a one-act play (two scenes) by Mrs. Gladstone Solomon, which is bound to be popular at receptions or drawing-room meetings. There are three characters in the play. It is brightly written, and introduces cleverly, in order to point the moral, a variety of features in the Suffrage programme.

THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE READING ROOM.

In connection with the opening of the Anti-Suffrage Reading Room at 415, Oxford Street, a crowded meeting was held on January 27th. Mr. E. A. Mitchell Innes, K.C., was in the chair, and among those present were the Dowager Countess of Ancaster, the Hon. Mrs. Bernard Mallet, Lady Wynne, Mrs. Moberly Bell, Miss Pott, Mrs. Percy Thomas, Admiral Sir E. Fremantle, Mrs. Jeyes, and Mrs. Whittick. Letters of regret for absence were read from the Countess of Jersey, Lady Weardale, Lord and Lady Haversham, Mrs. Humphry Ward, Mrs. Bischoffsheim, and Mr. Massie. Mr. Mitchell Innes, in his opening remarks, announced that a Reference Library is being formed, and canvassing classes, etc., will be organised. It was also announced that Mrs. Colquhoun had consented to become President of a Debating Society, and members who wish to join were requested to send their names to the Secretary. Mr. Mitchell Innes said that what every organisation needs is touch, and that heretofore has been lacking, and he urged the formation of the Reference Library as being most important. It would create a nucleus of renewed activity, and focus the Branches and induce people to consult authorities for themselves instead of relying upon others.

Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun in a stirring speech rapidly traced the birth and growth of the Anti-Suffrage movement. She spoke of the accumulation of false statements of 40 or 50 years, which had to be demolished before progress could be made. But as soon as Anti-Suffrage became an active question the movement spread, and the tide of hope and enthusiasm is steadily rising, and one result is this Reading Room. What its value and usefulness may be rests with the Branches, and it is up to them to make it a success.

Miss Pott moved a vote of thanks to the Committee, and paid a high tribute to their grit, which is the characteristic of the British woman as well as the British man.

BRANCH NEWS.

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

Ascot.—A most successful public meeting was held on December 4th in the Ascot Parish Hall. Mrs. Harold Norris was the speaker, and Dr. Crouch took the chair.

Mrs. Norris proceeded to deal with the case of the housing of the poor, showing what powers Englishwomen had already got in that direction, and how very little use they made of them. She alluded to a letter written by Miss Octavia Hill earnestly protesting against the passing of any form of Female Suffrage Bill, this lady having done more than any other individual for the housing of the poor in London.

Many questions were then asked. A vote of thanks was proposed by Mr. Tottie, seconded by Mrs. Rives, and carried almost unanimously.

Bath.—The annual report of the Bath Branch shows a very satisfactory year's work. The membership has increased; literature has been freely distributed at meetings, the Church Institute, clubs, and other places; and Dr. Norburn has again been busy having copies of the REVIEW sent to every doctor in Bath. Two debates have been held, both resulting in an easy victory for the Anti-Suffragists. Two meetings were also held, which were equally successful. Members of the Branch have answered the various letters that have appeared in the *Bath Evening Chronicle* from the other side, and have been most successful in suppressing them.

Blairgowrie.—Under the auspices of the Blairgowrie and Rattray Women's Liberal Association an open meeting opposing Woman Suffrage was held in the Mission Hall on December 13th, which was fairly well attended. Provost Keay presided, and the speaker was Mrs. Harold Norris.

Bristol.—A meeting of the Debating Society was held at 15, Royal York Crescent, on January 7th. Several members were present, and everyone joined in an interesting discussion which followed the principal speeches.

On January 14th a very successful meeting was held at the Bethesda Schoolroom, Redfield, St. George. The chair was taken

by Mr. George Cambridge, who was supported by Mr. Brown, Mrs. Bull, Mr. and Mrs. Fleming, Miss Long Fox, Mr. Smith and Mrs. Sprackling. Miss Mabel Smith gave an able speech, which was listened to with great interest. The Anti-Suffrage resolution was carried unanimously.

After the speeches, Miss Griffiths, the Hon. Secretary of the Fishponds Branch, and her friends, gave an excellent dramatic entertainment. At the close of the meeting several new members joined the League. It is interesting to note that 141 new members have been enrolled since November 18th.

Brixton.—Under the auspices of the local Branch of the Junior Imperial and Constitutional League a well-attended meeting was held at Brixton on January 7th. Councillor Mills took the Chair, and an interesting discussion followed the opening speech.

Camberwell.—A debate, dealing primarily with the question as to whether the chivalry of the nation has been impaired by the actions of the militant Suffragettes, was held at the Congregational Church, Camberwell, on December 16th. The Pro-Suffrage speakers were Lieutenant and Mr. Cather (C.L.W.S.), and their opponents Dr. Hardy and Miss Mabel Smith. On putting the Suffrage resolution to the vote it was defeated by an overwhelming majority.

Cranbrook.—The annual Branch meeting was held on January 13th at Osborne House, the residence of Miss Neve, the President of the Branch. After the re-election of the honorary officials had been duly proposed and seconded, Miss Mabel Smith addressed the meeting, her speech being much appreciated. Major Rolandson made an admirable Chairman.

Ceres.—A meeting was held at Ceres, Fifeshire, on the 7th of January, at which Mrs. Grogan and Dr. Kay, St. Andrews, were the principal speakers. They both gave most excellent addresses, and it is only to be regretted that the attendance was not larger so that more might have heard their excellent representation of the Anti side of the Woman Suffrage question.

Cumberland and Westmorland.—The annual meeting of the Cumberland and Westmorland Branch of the League was held at St. Andrew's Parish Rooms, Penrith, on December 15th. Miss Cropper, Tolson Hall, presided, and there was a good attendance.

The Secretary read the annual report, which stated that the Society was formed five years ago. The work of the Branch had progressed steadily, and new members were continually being enrolled. The report was adopted on the motion of Mr. Lowther, seconded by Mrs. Hartley. The President gave an address on the present state of the Anti-Suffrage question, and said that Suffragettes could not claim that they had made any progress during the year. Having just returned from the United States, Miss Cropper devoted some time to a discussion of the state of affairs in America. In her opinion the States which had adopted Women's Suffrage were worse off than those which had not done so.

The meeting then discussed the position of Anti-Suffragists in regard to the National Union of Women Workers. Miss Cropper said a great many Anti-Suffragists were members of the Union, which was an admirable Society. But after what took place at the Hull Conference, and the attitude the Union took on the Suffrage question, she thought Anti-Suffragists would be in a false position by continuing membership of it. Lady Mabel Howard moved a resolution expressing the opinion that all members of that Society who were members of the Union should resign from the latter, and thus express their disapproval of the attitude that had been taken up. The Union had been turned, more or less, into a Suffrage Society. The resolution was seconded by Mrs. Weston, Kendal, and agreed to.

The following Branch officers were re-elected on the proposition of Mr. Lowther:—President, Miss Cropper; Vice-President, Lady Mabel Howard; Secretary, Miss Howard; Treasurer, Mr. Spedding; Committee, Lady Allinson, the Hon. Mrs. Cropper, Mr. Dykes, Mr. Hartley, Mr. J. W. Hills, M.P., Colonel Haworth, Miss I. Ketish, Mrs. Spencer Ferguson, Mrs. R. D. Marshall, Miss Johnson, Miss Thomson, Mrs. Salkeld, Mrs. Green-Thompson, Lady Wynne, and Mrs. Weston.

Dublin.—A debate was held on December 11th, in the Supper Room, Mansion House, between Miss Mabel Smith (N.L.O.W.S., Irish Branch) and Miss Perry (C.U.W.F.A., Irish Branch). The Lord Mayor presided, and there was a large attendance.

Miss Mabel Smith maintained, *inter alia*, that no political, social or economical advantage would be gained by the extension of the franchise of women.

Miss Perry, in replying, quoted from various Conservative leaders to show that they were in favour of Woman Suffrage.

Miss A. C. Murray and Miss Buchanan also took part in the debate.

In connection with the Conference of the Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation a debate was held on December 11th, in the large concert hall at the Rotunda Rooms. Mrs. Richard Martin took the chair.

Miss Mary Hayden proposed that "this meeting considers that, in the interests of justice and for the welfare of the nation, the Parliamentary franchise should be extended to women." She mentioned that the demand for women's franchise was universal, and that the suffrage had been granted to women in New Zealand, Australia, and in ten States of the American Union.

Miss Mabel Smith spoke against the motion. She said that after many years the constitutional methods of the Suffragettes had not made much progress, but lately they had resorted to methods which had caused the world at large to do what it had never done before, namely, to look with scorn on a certain section of the British women. Her opponents had not proved their case, and there was no evidence to show that public life would be purified by giving votes to women.

Miss Hayden and Miss Smith having again spoken, several members of the audience addressed the meeting, among whom were Mrs. A. E. Murray and Miss Morton, after which the proceedings terminated.

Dundee.—A drawing-room meeting was held on December 2nd, at 13, Albany Terrace, by kind permission of Mrs. Cuthbert. Mrs. Scrymgeour Wedderburn, President, was in the chair, and briefly introduced the speaker, Lady Griselda Cheape, who gave a most interesting and convincing address on the religious side of Anti-Suffrage. Several new members were enrolled.

Edinburgh.—Mr. J. Fraser Cunningham presided at a debate held in the Edinburgh Conservative Working Men's Association Rooms, 82, Nicolson Street, on December 17th. Mrs. Harold Norris supported the resolution, "That the Parliamentary franchise would not be extended to women," and was opposed by Miss Alice Low. Lady Christian seconded the resolution, and was followed by Lady Betty Balfour, who supported Miss Low.

After some discussion votes of thanks were passed, and the meeting terminated.

Fulham.—The Fulham Branch of the N.L.O.W.S., of which Mrs. R. L. Harrison is President, gave a very successful entertainment on December 6th in St. Augustine's Hall, Lillie Road, Fulham. It consisted of an instructive address by Mr. Herbert Williams, which was followed by a very witty play entitled "Woman's Rights," by A. M. Heathcote, admirably acted by Mrs. Oscar Fux and her two friends, Miss R. Goldsmith and Mr. G. F. Wallace. The evening concluded with a charming selection of songs, and a very amusing sketch, "Just Suggestions," cleverly given by Mr. Bernard Macdonald and Miss Robertson.

Glasgow.

Bridgeton.—A debate on Woman Suffrage was held under the auspices of the Bridgeton Junior Liberal Association on December 8th. Mr. W. K. Brymes was the speaker for the negative side of the question. The meeting was well attended, and the feeling of the meeting was distinctly Anti-Suffrage, but was not put to the test.

Giffnock.—Under the auspices of the Giffnock Literary Association, a debate was held on December 15th. Mrs. Harold Norris opposed Miss Bessie Semple, who spoke on behalf of the affirmative. The vote, when taken, showed a small majority in favour of Woman Suffrage.

Govan.—On November 27th the Secretary of the Glasgow branch addressed the members of St. Mary U.F. Church Literary Society, Govan, on "Some reasons why the Parliamentary Franchise should not be extended to women." A discussion afterwards took place, but no vote was taken.

Mrs. Harold Norris again debated at the Govan Liberal Association Rooms on December 18th. Mrs. Crosthwaite spoke on the Suffrage side. Provost Anthony presided. The meeting was an excellent one, and the feeling was strongly Anti-Suffrage, but no vote was taken.

An address against Woman Suffrage was given by Miss Deane to the members of the Govan Congregational Church Young People's Union on January 16th. A lively discussion took place afterwards, and on the vote being taken the resolution against Woman Suffrage was carried by a majority of 24. It is interesting to note that this Association, two years ago, passed a resolution in favour of Woman Suffrage by a large majority.

On December 1st the Exhibition of Women's Arts, Crafts, and Industries was opened by Lady Stirling Maxwell. The Scottish

League for Opposing Woman Suffrage had a large stall, which was very artistically draped in the colours of the League, and was considered by many to be the most striking stall in the Exhibition. Their opinion seems to be justified by the number of people who visited the stall. Members of the opposition gave it their particular attention, and great was the argument and debate that took place, so much so that the space round the stall had often to be cleared. This particular fact is mentioned in order to show that the Scottish League for Opposing Woman Suffrage is becoming quite popular, and many men recruits and workmen joined its ranks, and hundreds of signatures were added to the petition sheet. Some thousands of leaflets were distributed free, and the sale of literature and badges was considered quite satisfactory.

The Glasgow Committee, who undertook all the practical work in connection with the stall, are deeply indebted to the following ladies and gentlemen who so kindly gave their services:—The Countess of Glasgow, Miss McCulloch, the Lady Griselda Cheape, Mrs. Main, Mrs. Slaughter, Mrs. J. Campbell, Mrs. Balmain, Miss Waglish, Mrs. D. Blair, Mrs. Dickson, Mrs. Hadie, Mrs. C. D. Ferguson, Mrs. Cunningham, Mrs. Stewart, Mrs. Osman, Mrs. Jardine, Mrs. and Miss Adams, Mr. Victor Adams, Mr. J. M. McArthur, Mr. E. Aitken, and Miss Killick, Secretary, Kirkcaldy Branch.

The Exhibition closed on December 13th.

Hampton.—A very successful and well-attended entertainment was given on December 17th, at the "Bell" Hotel Assembly Rooms, Hampton, a number of the working class being present. Mrs. Channon, a member of the Committee, had undertaken the organisation of the entertainment, which consisted of songs, recitations, and acting, and was much enjoyed. Major Ormister made an excellent speech, to which the audience listened with great interest.

Hamilton.—Under the auspices of the Scottish League for Opposing Woman Suffrage a public meeting was held in the Town Hall, Hamilton, on January 16th. Sir John Stirling-Maxwell, Bart., presided, and was accompanied on the platform by Lady Stirling-Maxwell, Mrs. Harold Norris, Mr. T. W. Watson, of Neilston, Dr. and Mrs. Hugh Millar, Mr. and Mrs. W. Dykes London, Mrs. M'Laverty, Mr. Hamilton, Organising Secretary of the League, and Miss Dean, Secretary of the Glasgow Branch. The hall was well filled.

The Chairman said it was a great advantage to have this question discussed by a lady speaker, as he felt very strongly that women were much more competent to discuss it than were men. After pointing out the great importance of the question, and the different attributes with which each sex had been endowed to carry out their own particular work, the Chairman introduced the speaker.

Mrs. Harold Norris put forward the Anti-Suffrage arguments in a most able address, at the end of which she answered the many questions put to her by members of the audience. On the motion of Mr. W. D. Loudon, Mrs. Harold Norris was heartily thanked, and the services of the Chairman having been acknowledged on the call of Dr. Miller, the meeting concluded.

Hastings.—A trenchant criticism of Suffrage argument was made by Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun, who addressed a meeting in connection with the Hastings and District Branch of the N.L.O.W.S., held at Christ Church Parish Room, St. Leonards, on January 17th. Major Vipan, D.S.O., J.P., presided. Mrs. Colquhoun endeavoured to show that the responsibility of the government of the country rested with the men, for they had to have sufficient physical force behind the law to ensure its being obeyed. The duties of women were in other directions. The tasks laid upon women were quite sufficient for them to perform, and if they were performing them properly to-day they would not have time to march up and down the country under suffrage banners. She dealt with various questions on militancy, and also with woman's standpoint with regard to legislation.

Isleworth.—On November 24th a meeting was held of the Spring Grove Literary and Debating Society, when a resolution in favour of Woman Suffrage was supported by Mr. Kennedy, of the Men's League for Woman Suffrage, and opposed by Miss Mabel Smith. The voting was 20 Pro-Suffrage, 28 Anti-Suffrage.

Liverpool and Birkenhead.—The Liverpool and Birkenhead Association of Branches has had a most encouraging year. Several new Branches have come into existence, and its total membership has increased beyond all precedent. Drawing-room meetings have

been held, and a large amount of literature has been distributed. Several debates have taken place, at which resolutions have been carried adverse to Woman Suffrage. A public meeting has been arranged to take place early in the year in Birkenhead, at which Miss Gladys Pott and others will speak.

Manchester.—It is with great pleasure we report that Miss Cordelia Moir has completely recovered from her recent breakdown in health, and has commenced work again with renewed energy and enthusiasm for the furthering of our cause.

A most interesting and well-attended debate was held on January 10th in the Lecture Hall, Singleton Road, Kersal, Manchester, under the auspices of the N.U.W.S.S. Miss Cordelia Moir moved the following resolution: "That this meeting believes that to grant any measure of the Parliamentary Suffrage to women would be contrary to the best interests of women and the nation." Miss Leadley Brown opposed the resolution. Several members of the audience took part in the debate. After the speaker's reply, the Chairman, Mr. R. N. Barclay, put the resolution to the vote, which was lost. Several new members were added to our Branch.

On January 20th Miss Cordelia Moir debated with Mr. J. Percy Smith at a joint meeting held under the auspices of the Heaton Moor League of Young Liberals and the Stockport League of Young Liberals in the Central Reform Club, Stockport. No resolution was put, but judging from the speeches in open debate, and the applause, feeling was about equally divided. A good deal of literature was sold.

Mitcham.—At the Vestry Hall, Mitcham, on December 1st, a debate took place between Miss Alice Gilliat (W.S.P.U.) and Miss Mabel Smith, before the local Conservative and Unionist Association, Dr. Cato Worsfield in the chair. The vote resulted in a tie, 62 being declared on either side. Another vote, taken with regard to militancy, was as follows:—31 in favour and 80 against.

On December 8th Miss Mabel Smith addressed a well-attended meeting in the Hall of the Church of the Ascension, Victoria Docks. There were a number of Suffragists present and many questions were asked. Mr. Moore presided. Hearty votes of thanks brought the meeting to a close.

Mundesley.—At the Coronation Hall, Mundesley-on-Sea, on December 18th, a debate took place between Miss Mabel Smith and various members of the audience. No vote was taken, but the general sympathy seemed to be with Miss Smith. Dr. Quait presided on this occasion.

Newcastle.—A meeting under the auspices of the Junior Imperial and Constitutional League was held on December 19th in the Northern Conservative and Unionist Club, Pilgrim Street, Newcastle, when Mr. J. P. Dickie, of the N.L.O.W.S., delivered an address on "The Case Against Woman Suffrage." Mr. S. Orr presided over a good attendance. Mr. Dickie said he was an extremist in this matter, and put forth many excellent arguments against the enfranchisement of women.

Newport.—A debate took place between Mrs. Gladstone Solomon and Miss Barke, of Cardiff, at the Victoria Road Congregational Chapel, Newport. Mrs. Solomon was supported by Miss Sealy, B.A. The Suffrage resolution was carried.

A very successful drawing-room meeting was held, by kind invitation of Mrs. Thompson, at Broughtholm. Mr. Wallis, who presided over the meeting, introduced Mrs. Gladstone Solomon, whose address was listened to with much interest. Tea was served, and eleven new members joined the branch.

Oxsted.—A debate on the "Ethics of Militancy" was held at the Congregational Church, Oxsted, on December 15th before the local Literary and Debating Society. Many Suffragists were present and a lively discussion followed the opener's speech. The Editor of the "Statist" was in the chair. No vote was taken.

Paddington.—On December 5th Mr. Clements gave a lecture on "The Legal Position of Women" at 3, Westbourne Terrace, by kind permission of Lady Dimsdale. He dealt with the present position of women under the law; her relationship to neighbours; the Married Woman's Property Acts; the position of women to the State; the protection by the State of women; the law as it stands towards women with regard to family life, summary jurisdiction, divorce, etc. At the close of his address Mr. Clements kindly elucidated various problems suggested to him by members of the audience. The proceedings terminated with a hearty vote of thanks.

Perth.—A lively meeting took place in the Guildhall a short time ago under the auspices of the Perth City and County Women's Liberal Association, when the question of the extension of the Parliamentary franchise to women was under discussion. Mrs.

Crosthwaite, Glasgow, was the principal speaker. A resolution was put to the meeting, having in it a clause: "When forming the Government of Scotland Bill to include in it a clause conferring upon women the right to vote at elections of Members of the Scots Parliament." Some interesting heckling took place, in which the Anti-Suffrage members of the audience took an active part, and an amendment to the resolution was proposed by Mrs. J. A. Stewart "that that part of the resolution dealing with Women's Suffrage be omitted." Mrs. Bowie seconded, and the amendment was carried by a large majority.

Purley and Sanderstead.—On December 11th, a meeting was held at Mrs. Harrison's School in connection with the Purley and Sanderstead Branch of the League. Mr. Saunders presided.

Mr. A. Maconachie then addressed the meeting. Speaking on the subject of militancy, he felt that if the Government were to surrender while this state of things continued it would only increase militancy. Militants would say that the Government had yielded to force, and if similar fanatics could exist, they would be encouraged to like excesses. Mr. Lloyd George said there had been an increase of Parliamentary candidates in favour of this movement for giving the votes to women. That was not so. He had made inquiries, and found that out of the successful candidates recently there had been a gain of five to the Anti-Suffrage side. Women were not a separate class, only a different sex, and they had no different interests from those of men, and none which were not represented in the State. The speaker then dealt with the question of "Equal pay for equal work," and "Taxation without representation," showing what hollow arguments they were.

Many questions were asked and answered, and finally votes of thanks were accorded the speaker, on the motion of the Chairman; and thanks to the Chairman were moved by Mr. Parker and seconded by Mr. Atterbury. Practically the whole of the meeting was in favour of the Anti-Suffrage movement.

Roydon.—Miss Mabel Smith and Mrs. Vulliamy (N.U.W.S.S.) held a debate before the Young People's Society at the Congregational Hall, Roydon, on November 25th. The Suffrage resolution was defeated by 42 votes to 9.

Shields.—At the opening meeting of St. Aidan's Literary and Debating Society, Mr. H. S. Mundahl, K.C., opened a discussion against Woman's Suffrage, Mr. W. P. Henry presiding. There was a crowded attendance at the Parish Hall, and a keen and spirited attack followed an able statement of the various arguments used under the banner of the N.L.O.W.S.

Solihull.—Under the auspices of the N.U.W.S.S., Solihull and District Branch, an interesting debate was held at the Public Hall on January 12th between Miss Helen Fraser (N.U.W.S.S.) and Mrs. Gladstone Solomon. Dr. Vaughan Bernays presided.

The Chairman, in his opening remarks, said the question to be discussed was a vital one, and the decision of the audience would probably have far-reaching results. The warring of one sex against another was no doubt bad for the nation, and it was important that people should make up their minds and have some reason for the faith that was in them. He then called upon Miss Fraser to open the debate and to move the resolution: "That the vote shall be granted to women upon the same terms as it is, or may be, granted to men."

Miss Fraser, in supporting this resolution, said that the women's demand was just and reasonable, and put forward the chief grounds upon which they claimed the vote. It had been said that women did not want the vote. She could not say whether there was or was not a majority in favour of women's suffrage, but at any rate a greater demand had been set up by the women for the vote than was set up by the agricultural labourer. Women were anxious to help, to serve, to assist in the putting right of the wrongs which required remedying, not because they thought they were greater geniuses than men, but because they wished to place their services at the disposal of the State and work side by side with men.

Mrs. Gladstone Solomon next spoke, and while agreeing that women wanted to help, suggested they could help in better ways than Parliamentary ones. She showed how it was impossible to limit the Suffrage to a certain number of women. The next election would be fought on the questions probably of Tariff Reform or Free Trade. Would not the wisest answer be given by men, and was it not a fact that most women would prefer to leave such questions to be settled by the business men of the country? The speaker contended that many valuable reforms affecting women and children could be obtained on local authorities.

A number of questions were handed up and were dealt with by the speakers, and on the question being put to the vote some diffi-

culty arose in the counting, but the chairman ultimately announced that the resolution was carried by a small majority, although he confessed himself a little doubtful as to figures. The proceedings concluded with a vote of thanks to the Chairman.

Stratford.—Miss Mabel Smith addressed a large audience at the Ascension Hall on December 8th. At the close of her speech many questions were asked and a discussion followed. The meeting terminated with a hearty vote of thanks to the speaker.

Southport.—A debate arranged by the Mornington Literary and Debating Society, which aroused a good deal of enthusiasm, took place on January 17th, Dr. Alan Wilkinson presiding.

Miss McVine (Suffragist) proposed the following resolution: "That the Parliamentary Suffrage be granted to women on the same terms as men." Miss E. Platt, M.A., Liverpool, opposed the motion. After an animated discussion, in which the following took part, Miss M. W. Hughes, Messrs. J. Crop, J.P., G. Trayler, D. Lamont, D. Lamont, jun., and S. T. Lamont, the chairman put the resolution to the meeting, which was defeated by 23 votes to 8. A large number of people did not vote, though several came to the meeting with the intention of supporting the motion, but were so struck by the Anti-Suffrage arguments that they refrained from voting, and asked the Organising Secretary of the Liverpool Branch if she would send them some Anti-Suffrage literature.

A hearty vote of thanks to the Chairman and speakers terminated a very pleasant evening. Light refreshments were served, kindly provided by the members.

St. Albans.—Miss Helen Page addressed a drawing-room meeting at the Red Lion Hotel, St. Albans, on January 13th, which was held with a view to inaugurating a branch in the district. Mrs. F. G. Gladden took the chair, and others present were Mr. and Mrs. Worssam, Miss B. Vale, Miss Barnes, Miss A. Corbin, Mrs. Alcock, etc. At the close of interesting speeches from Miss Page and the Chairman, questions were put to the speaker by some Suffragists present, which were accordingly dealt with.

Mrs. Worssam has kindly consented to act as Hon. Secretary for the present.

A keenly contested debate took place on January 13th, when the subject before the St. Albans Debating Society was "Shall women have the vote?" Mrs. Gladstone Solomon, who gave an eloquent discourse against the enfranchisement of women, was opposed by Miss Ada Webster. Members of the Society also joined in the discussion. The voting resulted in a majority of one in favour of Woman's Suffrage.

Sutton.—A drawing-room debate was held at Eaton House on January 2nd, by the kind invitation of Mrs. Anstee. The speakers were Mr. John Foster, of Caius College, Cambridge, and Miss Black, of Girton College, for the Suffrage; and Mr. Sidney Maiden, of St. Edmund's College, Oxford, and Mrs. Prance, Hon. Secretary of the Sutton Branch of the N.L.O.W.S., against the Suffrage. Miss Mabel Smith and Dr. Galpin also joined in the debate, and spoke against the need for Woman's Suffrage.

A vote was taken at the close of the speeches, which gave a clear majority against the Suffrage, and six new members joined the Anti-Suffrage League.

Thornton Heath.—The resolution: "That this house provide for the true representation of the people by granting Votes for Women without delay," was debated before the local Parliament at the Baths Hall, Thornton Heath, on January 16th. The speakers were Miss Nina Boyle, of the Women's Freedom League, and Miss Mabel Smith. The debate, which was unanimously declared to be the best which had ever taken place in that hall, was very largely attended. Only the Members of the Parliament were allowed to vote and join in the discussion following the opening speeches. In consequence of the fact that all mention of militancy was disallowed and that the majority of the Conservatives (who are predominantly "Anti") were conspicuous by their absence, the voting resulted in 47 for the resolution, 26 against.

The Beehive.—The Beehive held a most successful meeting in the Council Chamber, St. Andrews, on December 13th, at which there was a large attendance. The many gifts brought by the "Bees" were afterwards despatched to the Rev. Marshall Lang, of the Established Church; the Rev. Mr. Mackenzie, U.F.; the Rev. Mr. Shepherd, Episcopal; the Little Sisters of the Poor, Roman Catholics; the Children's Shelter, Prevention of Cruelty to Children; and the Invalid Children's Care Committee, in Dundee. The meeting was opened with prayer by Lady Griselda Cheape, who afterwards gave an address. A delightful musical programme followed, arranged by Mrs. Rodger. Tea was served, and gifts were distributed to every member present. After the singing of the National Anthem the meeting dispersed.

PREPAID ADVERTISEMENTS.

RATE.—First 24 words or less, HALF-A-CROWN. Succeeding words one halfpenny each. Three insertions for the price of two. All advertisements, with postal orders or halfpenny stamps to necessary value, to reach the advertisement manager, "Anti-Suffrage Review," 515, Caxton House, Westminster, S.W., by first post of the 23rd of each month for succeeding issue.

MATINEE.

THREE Dramatic Sketches, written and presented by Marie Clothilde Balfour at the Arts Centre, 93, Mortimer Street, W., Tuesday, February 10th, at 2.45 p.m. The sketches, "Herb-o'-Joy," "The Pursuer," "The Roses of Montignac," will be acted by Miss Claude Nicholson and Miss Margot Balfour. Tickets, 3s. 6d. (all reserved), from Mrs. Balfour, 134, Sinclair Road, W.

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Speaking at Torquay in December, Miss Helen Fraser is reported to have said: "What I want to know is, why should women, whose task it is to bear and rear the children, be permitted to tell the Government what they think should be done for such children?"

It is a matter for regret if Miss Fraser's communications to the Government on this subject have miscarried. But, no doubt, if she takes the precaution to register the next letter, it will reach its destination. This course would be more practical than the alternative which Miss Fraser apparently has in view—waiting till votes are given to women and then writing her views on education on her ballot paper.

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President: Susan Countess of Wharcliffe.
Vice-Presidents: Lady Arundel, H. G. Craven Esq.
Hon. Treasurer and Hon. Secretary: The Hon. R. C. Grosvenor, Morrisburne House, Woking.

SUSSEX.

BRIGHTON AND HOVE—

President:
Hon. Treasurer: F. Page Turner, Esq.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Curtis, "Quex," D'Avigdor Road, Brighton.
Co-Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Shaw, 25c, Albert Road, Brighton.

CROWBOURGH—

President: Lady Conon Doyle.
Hon. Treasurer: Miss McVill Green, Whincroft, Road, Surbiton.
Hon. Secretary: Miss Rawlinson, Fair View, Crowborough.

EASTBOURNE—

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

EAST GRINSTEAD—

President: Lady Musgrave.
Chairman of Committee: E. Lloyd Williams, Esq.
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Du Boulay.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Hindley Cooke, Woodbourne, East Grinstead.

West Hoathly, Turner's Hill, and Ardingly (Sub-branch)—

Vice-President: Lady Stenning.
Hon. Secretary: Miss E. Humphry, Vine Cottage, West Hoathly.

HASTINGS AND DISTRICT—

President: Lady Webster.
Chairman of Committee: Mrs. Bagshawe.
Hon. Treasurer: Madame Wolfen.
Joint Hon. Secretaries: Miss Finlay, 45, Kenilworth Road, St. Leonards-on-Sea; Mrs. B. Wood, Telham Hill, Battle; Miss Rigg, Esq., Lodge, Dorset Road, Bexhill.

HENFIELD—

President: J. Eardley Hall, Esq.
Hon. Treasurer and Secretary: Mrs. Blackburne, Barrow Hill, Henfield.

LEWES—

President: Mrs. Powell.
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. R. Parker.
Hon. Secretary: Miss Lucas, Castle Districts, Lewes.

WEST SUSSEX—

President: The Lady Edmund Talbot.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Travers, Tortington House, Arundel, Sussex.
Assistant Hon. Secretary: Miss Rhoda Butt, Wilbury, Littlehampton.

WORTHING—

Chairman: Miss Boddy.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Cooper, 5, Bath Road, West Worthing.
Assistant Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Olive, "Cliftonville," Salisbury Road, Worthing.

WARWICKSHIRE.

RIPMINGHAM—
(See Birmingham District.)

RUGBY—

Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. van den Arend.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Crooks, Moultrie Road, Rugby.
Assistant Secretary: Mrs. Marshall, 17, Murray 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 Algegon Percy.
Hon. Treasurer: Willoughby Makin, Esq.
Hon. Secretary: C. B. Wrench, Esq., 28, 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.

ALDBURY (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.

Wilton (Sub-Branch)—

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.
Hon. Secretary:
KIDDERMINSTER—
President: Mrs. Eliot Howard.
Vice-President: Mrs. Kruser.
Hon. Treasurer:
Hon. Secretary (pro tem.): Mrs. Evans, Church Street.

MALVERN—

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

STOURBRIDGE—

(See Birmingham District.)

WORCESTER—

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

YORKSHIRE.

Organising Secretary, W. Riding Federation: Miss Hunter, 50, Victor Road, Manningham, Bradford.

BRADFORD—

President: Lady Priestley.
Vice-Presidents: Mrs. G. Hoffman, W. B. Gordon, Esq., J.P.
Hon. Treasurer: Lady Priestley.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Weitz, 293, Toller Lane, Bradford.

District Secretaries: Miss Watson, "Heaton Rise," Bradford; Mrs. S. Midgley, 1071, Leeds Road; Mrs. G. A. Mitchell, Jesmond Cottage, Toller Lane, Bradford.

BRIDLINGTON—

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

HAKLEY—

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. Halbot, Claremont, Newton Park, Leeds.

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

METHLEY—

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

MIDDLESBROUGH—

President: Mrs. Hedley.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. G. Giers, Busby Hall, Carlisle, 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.

WEST RIDING FEDERATION—

President: Lady Gunter.
Vice-Presidents: Mrs. G. Hoffman, Miss J. B. Kitson, Mrs. F. Steinthal.
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Halbot.
Organising Secretary: Miss L. Murray Hunter, 50, Victor Road, Manningham, Bradford.

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.

ADERGWYNOLWYN—
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—

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. Treasurer: Mr. W. Jones, "Bryfdair."
Hon. Secretary:

CARDIFF—

President: Lady Hyde.
Hon. Treasurer: Miss Linda Price.
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 Seion," Twithill, Carnarvon.

GROSSIEN (Sub-Branch)—

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

CORRIS—

Hon. Secretary:
Hon. Treasurer: Miss Kate Evans, Liverpool House.

CRIGIETH AND LLANYSTUMDY—

Hon. Treasurer: Mr. H. R. Cruft.
Hon. Secretary:

MADGWYLLETH—

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, Merrion Row, Dublin.
Office hours, 2.30 to 4.30.

AFFILIATED SOCIETIES.

THE SCOTTISH LEAGUE FOR OPPOSING WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

Presidents: The Duchess of Montrose, LL.D.; Mrs. Charles Lyell; Lord Glenconner; Sir John Stirling Maxwell, Bart.

Vice-Presidents: Miss Helen Rutherford, M.A.; Mrs. Wauchope, of Niddrie.
Finance Committee: Sir Hugh Shaw Stewart, Bart.; Professor J. H. Millar; Wm. Langhland, Esq.; C. N. Johnston, Esq., K.C.

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

BRANCHES.

BERWICKSHIRE—
Vice-President: Mrs. Ravendale.
Hon. Secretary: Miss M. W. 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, Gowar Park.

DOLLAR—

President: Mrs. Doble.
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. Secretary: Mrs. Kinnear.
Hon. Secretary: Miss M. L. S. Craik, Flight's Lane, Lochee.

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.

LEAFLETS—

3. Gladstone on Woman Suffrage. Price 1s. per 100.
4. Queen Victoria and Women's Rights. Price 2s. 6d. per 1,000.
5. Lord Curzon's Fifteen Good Reasons against the Grant of Female Suffrage. Price 3s. 6d. per 1,000.
6. Is Woman Suffrage a Logical Outcome of Democracy? E. Belfort Bax. Price 1s. per 100.
8. Woman Suffrage and the Factory Acts. Price 5s. 6d. per 1,000.
9. Is the Parliamentary Suffrage the best way? Price 10s. per 1,000.
13. Women's Position under Laws made by Man. Price 5s. per 1,000.
15. (1) Woman's Suffrage and Women's Wages. Price 5s. per 1,000.
15. (2) Woman's Suffrage and Women's Wages. Price 3s. per 1,000.
15. (4) Women's Wages and the Vote. Price 6s. per 1,000.
16. Look Ahead. Price 4s. per 1,000.
18. Married Women and the Factory Law. Price 5s. per 1,000.
21. Votes for Women (from Mr. F. Harrison's book). Price 10s. per 1,000.
24. Reasons against Woman Suffrage. Price 4s. per 1,000.
25. Women and the Franchise. Price 5s. per 1,000.
26. Woman Suffrage and India. Price 3s. per 1,000.
27. The Constitutional Myth. 3s. per 1,000.
29. Women and the Suffrage. Miss Octavia Hill. Price 4s. per 1,000.
30. On Suffragettes. By G. K. Chesterton. Price 3s. per 1,000.
31. Silence Gives Consent. (Membership form attached.) Price 7s. per 1,000.
32. Taxes and Votes: Should Women have Votes because they Pay Rates? Price 4s. per 1,000.
34. Woman Suffrage. From the Imperialistic Point of View. Price 5s. per 1,000.
36. Registration of Women Occupiers. Price 1s. per 100.
37. Why Women Cannot Rule: Mr. J. R. Tolmie's Reply to Mr. L. Housman's Pamphlet. Price 5s. per 100.
38. Substance and Shadow. By the Honourable Mrs. Evelyn Cecil. Price 5s. per 1,000.

Leaflets—*contd.*

41. A Liberal's Standpoint: A Plea for Conscientious Objectors. By Holford Knight. Price 5s. per 1,000.
42. Black Tuesday, November 21st, 1911. Price 5s. per 1,000.
43. Woman Suffrage: The Present Situation. By Mrs. Humphry Ward. Price 3s. 6d. per 1,000.
44. The Lord Chancellor's Speech at Albert Hall. 5s. 6d. per 1,000.
45. Miss Violet Markham's Speech. Price 5s. 6d. per 1,000.
47. Most Women Do Not Desire a Vote. Price 3s. 6d. per 1,000.
48. Some Words of Wisdom. Price 3s. 6d. per 1,000.
50. The Real Issue of Woman Suffrage. 3s. per 1,000.
51. Suffragist Fallacies. *A Mandate (?)*. Price 3s. 6d. per 1,000.
52. Manifesto. Why the Nation is Opposed. 5s. per 1,000.
53. Power and Responsibility. 3s. 6d. per 1,000.
54. The Danger of Woman Suffrage: Lord Cromer's View. Price 3s. 6d. per 1,000.
55. "Votes for Women" Never! Price 3s. 6d. per 1,000.
56. Liberals and Woman Suffrage. By Holford Knight. 6s. per 1,000.
57. Against Woman Suffrage. 3s. per 1,000.
58. In League with Militancy. Price 3s. per 1,000.
59. A Lead to Unionists. Price 3s. per 1,000.
60. Neglected Opportunities. Price 5s. per 1,000.

PAMPHLETS and BOOKS—

- A. Freedom of Women. Mrs. Harrison. 6d.
- B. Woman or Suffragette. Marie Corelli. 3d.
- C. Positive Principles. Price 1d.
- D. Sociological Reasons. Price 1d.
- E. Case Against Woman Suffrage. Price 1d.
- F. Woman in Relation to the State. Price 6d.
- G. Mixed Herbs. M. E. S. Price 2s. net.
- H. "Votes for Women." Mrs. Ivor Maxse. 3d.
- I. Letters to a Friend on Votes for Women. Professor Dicey. 1s.
- J. Woman Suffrage—A National Danger. Heber Hart, LL.D. Price 1s.
- K. Points in Professor Dicey's "Letter" on Votes for Women. Price 1d.
- L. An Englishwoman's Home. M. E. S. 1s.

Pamphlets and books—*contd.*

- M. Woman Suffrage from an Anti-Suffrage Point of View. Isabella M. Tindall. 2d.
 - N. "The Woman M.P." A. C. Gronno. Price 3d.
 - O. The Red Book (a complete set of League leaflets in handy form). Price 3d.
(Withdrawn for revision.)
 - Q. Why Women should not have the Vote, or the Key to the Whole Situation. 1d.
 - R. The Man's Case Against 1,000,000 Votes for Women. 1s. each.
 - S. "Songs for Suffs," or "Clement's Inn Carols," by J. Arthur Pott. 3d. each.
 - T. "Feminist Claims and Mr. Galsworthy," by J. Arthur Pott. 1d. each.
The Physical Force Argument against Woman Suffrage. By A. MacCallum Scott, M.P. Price 1d.
Deputation to Mr. Asquith on Woman Suffrage. 1d.
 - U. Equal Pay for Equal Work. A Woman Suffrage Fallacy. Price 1d.
 - V. The Albert Hall Demonstration. Price 2d.
 - W. Suffragette Sing-Song. Price 2d.
 - X. A Memorandum on Woman Suffrage, by Rt. Hon. Sir Joseph Compton-Rickett, M.P. Price 1d.
 - Y. Woman Suffrage: Its Meaning and Effect. By Arthur Page, B.A. Price 1d.
 - Z. Speeches by Lord James of Hereford and Lord Curzon of Kedleston at a Dinner of the Council. 1d.
 - AA. Lecture by Miss Pott. Price 1d.
 - AB. Wages and Votes: A Reply to Miss Maude Royden. By G. S. Pott. Price 2d. each.
- The Legal Subjection of Men: A Reply to the Suffragettes, by E. Belfort Bax. 6d.
- Ladies' Logic: A Dialogue between a Suffragette and a Mere Man, by Oswald St. Clair. 1s.
- All the above Leaflets, Pamphlets, and Books are on sale at the offices of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage, 515, Caxton House, Tothill Street, Westminster.
- The speeches made by Lord Curzon and others at the Glasgow Meeting have been published in pamphlet form, and may be had on application at the Head Office.
- Mrs. A. Colquhoun's "The Vocation of Women." Price 4s. 6d.; Lord Charnwood's Pamphlet, "Legislation for the Protection of Women," price 2d.; Mr. Harold Owen's book, "Woman Adrift," price 2s. net; and "The House of the Suffragette," by Nita Simmonds, price 6d., may be obtained on application to these offices.