

# THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW.

The ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW is published by the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage, and can be obtained through any bookseller or news-agent. Annual Subscription, 2/-, post free.

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## THE NATIONAL LEAGUE FOR OPPOSING WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

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### DECEMBER MEETINGS.

DEC. 3RD (HASTINGS).—Christ Church Parish Room, 8 p.m. Mrs. Harold Norris. Chair: Brigadier-General Caulfeild.

DEC. 3RD, WESTMINSTER.—Adult School, 8 p.m., Mrs. Gladstone Solomon.

DEC. 3RD, PECKHAM.—Junior Imperial League. Debate, H. B. Samuels v. Miss Helen Ward.

DEC. 3RD, CHELTENHAM.—Debate, 8 p.m., Miss Gladys Pott.

DEC. 3RD, OLDHAM.—Co-Operative Debating Society. Miss C. Moir v. Miss Fraser.

DEC. 3RD, BRISTOL.—Kingsley Hall, Old Market Street. Debate, Miss Price v. Mrs. Dove Wilcox (W.S.P.U.).

DEC. 4TH, CHELSEA.—Private Debate at residence of the Misses Stuart, 9 p.m., Miss G. Pott v. Mrs. Francis Acland.

DEC. 4TH, URMSTON (MANCHESTER).—Women's Co-Operative Guild, 7.30, Miss C. Moir.

DEC. 5TH, OXFORD.—Branch "At Home," 8 p.m., Mrs. Gladstone Solomon.

DEC. 5TH, KENSINGTON.—Queen's Gate Hall, Anti-Suffrage Play and Speeches, 8.30 pm

DEC. 5TH, AINSDALE (LANCASHIRE).—Literary Society, Miss C. Moir v. Miss Lovell.

DEC. 5TH, HAMPSTEAD.—Finchley Road, Mrs. Harold Norris v. Member W.S.P.U.

DEC. 6TH, BIRKENHEAD.—Miss Gostenhofer's Drawing Room Meeting, 4.30, Mrs. G. Solomon.

DEC. 11TH, NEWBURY.—Lecture Hall, 3 p.m., Mrs. Greatbatch and Mr. A. Wenyon-Samuel.

DEC. 12TH, DULWICH.—League of Young Liberals. Debate, 8 p.m., Mrs. G. Solomon.

DEC. 12TH, BRIGHTON.—Debate, Mrs. Harold Norris.

DEC. 12TH, FULHAM.—Women's Co-Operative Guild, Mrs. Grigg.

DEC. 12TH, SOUTHSEA.—Public Meeting, Miss Gladys Pott.

DEC. 13TH, ABINGDON.—Debate. Corn Exchange, 7 p.m.

DEC. 13TH, SOUTH MANCHESTER.—League of Young Liberals. Debate, Miss C. Moir v. Miss Leadley Brown.

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## A MEETING

will be held in the

### QUEEN'S GATE HALL,

ON

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 5th,

at 8.30 p.m.

Speakers:

Mrs. A. R. COLQUHOUN.

Mr. H. G. WILLIAMS.

The speeches will be followed by an

ANTI-SUFFRAGE PLAY,

entitled:

"When the Vote is Won,"

by E. LOCK

(Produced by Miss M. HAMILTON).

Tickets, reserved 2s. and 1s.,

Unreserved 6d.,

Can be obtained from Mrs. Colquhoun, 25, Bedford Gardens, W.

The Committee of the Mayfair and St. George's Branch requires the services of a Lady Secretary and Organiser, who will take charge of the work of the Branch. Apply, Miss Helen Page, 515, Caxton House.



## SUFFRAGIST PRINCIPLES.

THE Bow and Bromley by-election, the result of which at the moment of writing has not yet been decided, has caused considerable excitement in Suffragist circles. Mr. G. Lansbury, the special champion of the militants, decided to resign his seat and to stand again on the "Woman Suffrage question." It was urged that this action would give the electorate of Bow and Bromley an opportunity to express its opinion on Woman Suffrage, in order that from the verdict of this one constituency the attitude of the electorate of Great Britain could be inferred. The argument could never be altogether convincing, as it might be pointed out that the Bow and Bromley electorate of December, 1910, by having chosen as their representative in Parliament a man who belongs to a Party containing himself alone (both the Liberal and the Labour Party remain neutral in this election), seem particularly unqualified to speak in the name of the United Kingdom on any single subject. This point, however, could have been overlooked, if there were any truth in the contention that the election would be fought on the Suffrage question only. It has pleased Mr. Lansbury and his Suffragist allies to pretend that it will be fought on this issue, but the suggestion deceives no one. Mr. Lansbury's election address disposed at once of this contention, for he realised the necessity of appealing to his electorate on other grounds; and in spite of the invasion of the constituency by Suffragist battalions, the voters of Bow and Bromley will be actuated primarily by the political considerations that really appeal to them and not by a side issue such as Woman Suffrage. Mrs. Pankhurst has declared that if Mr. Lansbury wins, it will be a victory for Woman Suffrage, and if he loses, it will be a victory for Anti-Suffragists. The first part of this statement is wholly incorrect; the second is only correct in so far as Mr. Lansbury's defeat would confirm what Anti-Suffragists and Suffragists know per-

fectly well already to be the case, that the British public is too indifferent or hostile to the question of Woman Suffrage to give it priority over other matters. Anti-Suffragists would welcome a "straight fight" anywhere on Woman Suffrage, but they know that it is only to be had by one method, the Referendum. For that method Suffragists show none of the enthusiasm that they find it convenient to lavish on Mr. Lansbury's seat at Bow and Bromley.

Of equal interest to the actual issue of this election is the light that the contest throws on Suffrage principles and on the real value of many Suffragist declarations. It is true that Mr. Lansbury is a Suffragist, but he is essentially the champion of militancy, and has throughout been closely associated with the Women's Social and Political Union. It was at one of their meetings held in the London Opera House, on March 8th, 1912, that Mr. Lansbury delivered his celebrated incitement to further militant excesses. He was reported to have spoken as follows: "We had welcomed into this country as fighters for liberty young Russian girls who had shot and stabbed police officers or judges; and he had the same feeling for the women lying in prison that night. . . . Let those who were in prison receive a message of cheer and hope, and let those who were out redouble their efforts and do tenfold more than they ever did before." The advocacy of militant methods can go no farther in the case of one who has not yet been called upon to be a leader of the Women's Social and Political Union. Mr. Lansbury, therefore, is contesting Bow and Bromley not as a constitutional Suffragist, but as a Militant. If we take this contest at the valuation put upon it by Mr. Lansbury and his fellow-Suffragists, he is in the same position *vis-à-vis* the electorate as Mrs. Pankhurst herself would be if women candidates were in vogue. Supporting Mr. Lansbury we find the whole gamut of Suffrage societies: Mrs. Fawcett and her National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, the New

Constitutional Society, the Women's Freedom League, and, of course, Mrs. Pankhurst and the Women's Social and Political Union. Now, we know that according to members of Mrs. Fawcett's Society the Militants are a "minute fraction" of those women who favour the enfranchisement of women. Consequently if Mr. Lansbury were to be returned for Bow and Bromley, the credit that the Suffragists would take to themselves would be appropriated in an overwhelming degree by the self-styled constitutional Suffragists.

Even with Mr. Lansbury's victory, the "Suffrage by-election" will not have been in vain. It has shown conclusively that however much the constitutionalists may deny the fact, all Suffrage Societies for practical purposes are one and undivided. Mrs. Fawcett, as President of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, wrote to the *Times* on March 8th, 1912, the following words: "I supported the militant Suffragists when I thought they were right and ceased to support them when I thought they were wrong. . . . I definitely and finally withdrew from all support and sympathy with the militant movement." Before the year is out Mrs. Fawcett marshals her followers to rally round and support an avowed advocate of militancy, and this is done hand-in-hand with the militant organisation, the Women's Social and Political Union, that she was so eager to repudiate when the militant policy was seen to be under a cloud. Suffragists promise to raise the moral standard of politics if women are given the vote. Up to the present they have given strange exhibition of their qualifications for this task. The Liberal and the Labour Parties are honest enough to say that, however much they may be opposed to the Unionist candidate, they cannot stultify all the principles of political morality as interpreted by non-Suffragist men by supporting a candidate whose views are not their own on cardinal matters. Among Suffragists there is supposed to be no more vital line of demarcation than that between militancy and non-militancy. But when it suits the purposes nothing is heard of the Militants and non-militants become one and undivided; Mrs. Fawcett's Society endorses a militant candidature, and Mrs. Fawcett appears on the same platform as a Socialist and Militant Suffragist to support him in his Socialism and Militancy.

## NOTES AND NEWS.

## The Suffrage Election.

Elsewhere we have dealt with the Bow and Bromley by-election from the standpoint of general principles, as they manifested themselves before the result was known. All that is said there holds good, even with the decisive victory of Mr. R. Blair, the Unionist candidate and Anti-Suffragist, by 751 votes. The election was of the Suffragists' seeking and they have failed utterly. One supreme touch of irony completes their discomfiture; a woman's name was included in the register and she voted in the only way that could make her the mouthpiece of her sex, that is to say, against Woman Suffrage. Fortunately the Suffragists have done more than merely fail to win the election. By throwing to the winds all principle and considerations of political morality they have shown up the Suffrage movement in its true colours. Reference has already been made to the spectacle of Mrs. Fawcett and Mrs. Pankhurst once more hand in hand, and for the noble cause of returning a Socialist and Militant Suffragist to Parliament. The methods adopted by their women followers who invaded the constituency appear, if we may judge from a letter to *The Standard*, to have introduced a distinctly lower note than Bow and Bromley are accustomed to; while a leaflet issued and circulated by the Women's Freedom League will rank for all time as a masterpiece of debased and unprincipled electioneering tactics. Again, the children who booed at the Unionist candidate because "they would have to go to the workhouse if he were elected" could hardly have received their information from Anti-Suffragists. The Women's Freedom League is among the Suffrage societies that claim that votes for women will purify politics and raise the standard of public life. By imitating the methods of Tammany for the purposes of a by-election Suffragists have exposed the fallacy and insincerity of all their claims. The Bow and Bromley election, we hope, will do as much as militant excesses to bring home to the people of Great Britain the fact that the Suffrage movement is based on a delusion and is supported by false reasoning.

## The November Meetings.

A CONSIDERABLE portion of this issue of the REVIEW has to be devoted to reports of the great Anti-Suffrage Demonstrations held during the month of November. As the speeches at these meetings cannot be reported at any great length in the public Press, those who are interested in the Suffrage question will, doubtless, be glad of the opportunity of reading such striking expositions of the Anti-Suffrage case. Considerations of space preclude verbatim reports of all the meetings. An exception, however, has to be made in favour of the great Glasgow Demonstration, which has achieved for the Scottish National Anti-Suffrage League all that the Albert Hall Demonstration of February 28th achieved for the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage. Not only was public attention directed to the movement on a scale never before attempted in Scotland, but many people, already heart and soul with the Anti-Suffrage cause, had an opportunity of realising that the time has now come when all Anti-Suffragists must help in whatever measure they can. As a result of the Glasgow meeting, the Scottish National Anti-Suffrage League has been launched on an independent career of increased activity. Without doubt it would appreciate still further assistance, but a good start has been made. What has been done in Glasgow will also be done, we trust, on a smaller scale at Middlesbrough, Bournemouth, Sheffield, and the other centres where big meetings have recently been held. It will always be found that these meetings evoke a sympathetic response from hundreds of people who have previously thought that their duty to the nation consisted merely in keeping aloof from the Suffrage agitation. The success of the various meetings is a sure sign that an increasing number of people are abandoning this attitude, and their definite support for the League should be enlisted at once.

## Home Rule and Woman Suffrage.

ON November 5th, Mr. P. Snowden's Woman Suffrage Amendment to the Home Rule Bill was defeated in the House of Commons by the substantial majority of 173 votes, or by more than two to one. It may be left to Suffragists to analyse the voting on this occasion

and to point out that there was no clear issue on the question of Woman Suffrage, because many Suffragists voted against the amendment, and some Anti-Suffragists voted for it. That may well be the case. The fact, however, remains that the amendment was brought in to test the feeling of the House of Commons on the Suffrage question. It had been made use of by Mrs. Fawcett, on behalf of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, to propose a "deal" with Mr. John Redmond, by which the Woman Suffragists of Ireland were to be thrown overboard by the withdrawal of the amendment—if the Irish members would undertake to vote for Woman Suffrage amendments to the Franchise Bill. Incidentally, Mr. Redmond appears to have formed a very shrewd idea of the value of Mrs. Fawcett's bogus bargain, as he ignored it, and the Home Rule Bill still ran no danger of having the Woman Suffrage Amendment tacked on to it. At the last moment, when the Suffragists realised that Mrs. Fawcett's abortive "deal" had done them no good, an attempt was made, at the half-annual meeting of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, to attach formally to the amendment the whole moral support of Suffragedom. The voting, therefore, was a test of the attitude of the House of Commons towards Woman Suffrage, and Parliament said what it has always said on this question: "We may from time to time have committed ourselves to a platonic support of Woman Suffrage, when the matter did not appear to be practical politics; but if the subject is brought up seriously, or is likely to clash with things that count, then we will have none of it."

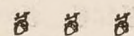


## The House Divided.

If a referendum of Suffragists could be taken, it would probably be found that the "arguments" which the majority regarded as telling most in favour of Woman Suffrage were—(1) "Taxation without representation is tyranny," and (2) "That the vote will raise wages." The latter statement appears in many forms; such as "The wages of men and women have been equalised in countries where women have the vote," or, as Miss M. Ashton expresses it, "the powerless condition of women to force a living wage." To



these two favourite "arguments" Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, Suffragist and head of the "only party that is consistently favourable to Woman Suffrage," recently had occasion to refer. He is reported to have spoken as follows:—"The argument of 'no taxation without representation' could not be used so far as individuals were concerned; it could only be applied to the State. It was equally fallacious also to say that, if women were enfranchised, wages would rise. Men's wages had never risen because they were enfranchised." In both cases Mr. Macdonald is absolutely right; but the two "arguments" will doubtless continue to do yeoman service for Suffragist audiences. The Labour leader went on to say that he desired women's enfranchisement "because the experience of women was needed in legislation on all questions affecting the home, the fireside, the cupboard, and the children. Women's experience was pre-eminently the experience of suffering humanity." In Mr. Macdonald's diagnosis there is some confusion of thought between legislation and the application of laws through local government; while he ignores entirely the masculine side of legislation which has to do with the more vital part of the national existence, namely, Imperial affairs. The central conception of the State is purely masculine, and in the case of a country that occupies the position of a Great Power its guiding force must be masculine. This is but to restate the argument of "physical force." The feminine side of legislation cannot be allowed to prejudice the vital interests of the State, and it must be furthered by such means as will not encroach upon the masculine part.



### The Franchise Bill.

AN interesting paragraph in the Political Notes of the *Times*, on November 26th, announced that there had been a new development in the Parliamentary aspect of the Woman Suffrage question.

"It will be remembered," continues this Note, "that the first of the Woman Suffrage amendments to the Franchise Bill is the preliminary amendment standing in the name of Sir Edward Grey, which proposes to delete the word 'male' before the word 'elector.' It is possible that this amendment might be agreed to by the Committee of the House with a view to considering whether they would then adopt one or other of the

Woman Suffrage proposals put before them by the different groups. But if they did agree to this preliminary amendment, it is now understood that the subsequent Woman Suffrage amendments would be out of order, and that the Commons would have pledged themselves to the addition of 11,000,000 women voters to the electorate. In these circumstances it is thought probable that the majority would vote against Sir E. Grey's proposal, and that the decision would thus be taken on the first vote."

### BOW & BROMLEY BY-ELECTION.

WITHOUT accepting entirely at his own valuation Mr. Lansbury's action in seeking a fresh election at Bow and Bromley, the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage took up the challenge at once and set to work to encourage the bulk of the constituency to remain true to their Anti-Suffrage instincts. A committee room was taken at 142, Bow Road, and a small army of workers was quickly on the spot, and carried out an energetic campaign up to the day of the election. Mr. R. Blair, as the Anti-Suffrage candidate, received all this vigorous support of the League, and, by common consent, has reason to appreciate the signal service thus rendered him. It is impossible in the short space at our disposal to record all the activities of those responsible for the Bow and Bromley campaign. Sometimes a dozen meetings would be held daily, the distribution of leaflets and other literature went on unceasingly, and the constituency had an opportunity of learning that there is no need to acquiesce in the Suffrage movement for want of protection against the "bullying" methods of its advocates. The result of the election amply confirmed the Anti-Suffragists' claim that the bulk of the people is wholeheartedly with them, the victory for Mr. Blair by 751 votes being even more emphatic than his supporters anticipated.

The special thanks of the League are due to the numerous helpers at this by-election, and among those who did yeoman service in speaking and canvassing may be mentioned Mrs. Wentworth-Stanley, Mrs. and Miss George Macmillan, Mrs. Atterbury, Mrs. Gladstone Solomon, Mrs. Bray, Mrs. Stocks, Miss Blenkinsop, Miss Mabel Smith, the Misses Stuart, Mrs. Myles, Miss Casson Simpson, Miss Neal, Miss Stevenson, Mr. A. Maconachie, Mr. Fenton, Mr. Winckoski, Mr. Macpherson, Mr. H. B. Samuels. There were many others.

### THE CARTOON.

In gladiatorial combats it was customary for the spectators, before the victor dealt the death blow, to signal, by holding their thumbs down or up, whether they wished the vanquished gladiator to be killed or spared.

### MAGNA EST VERITAS ET PRAEVALEBIT.

MR. LANSBURY is reported to have expressed in the course of conversation the opinion that one of the causes of his defeat was the Anti-Suffragist poster—"Women do NOT want the Vote."

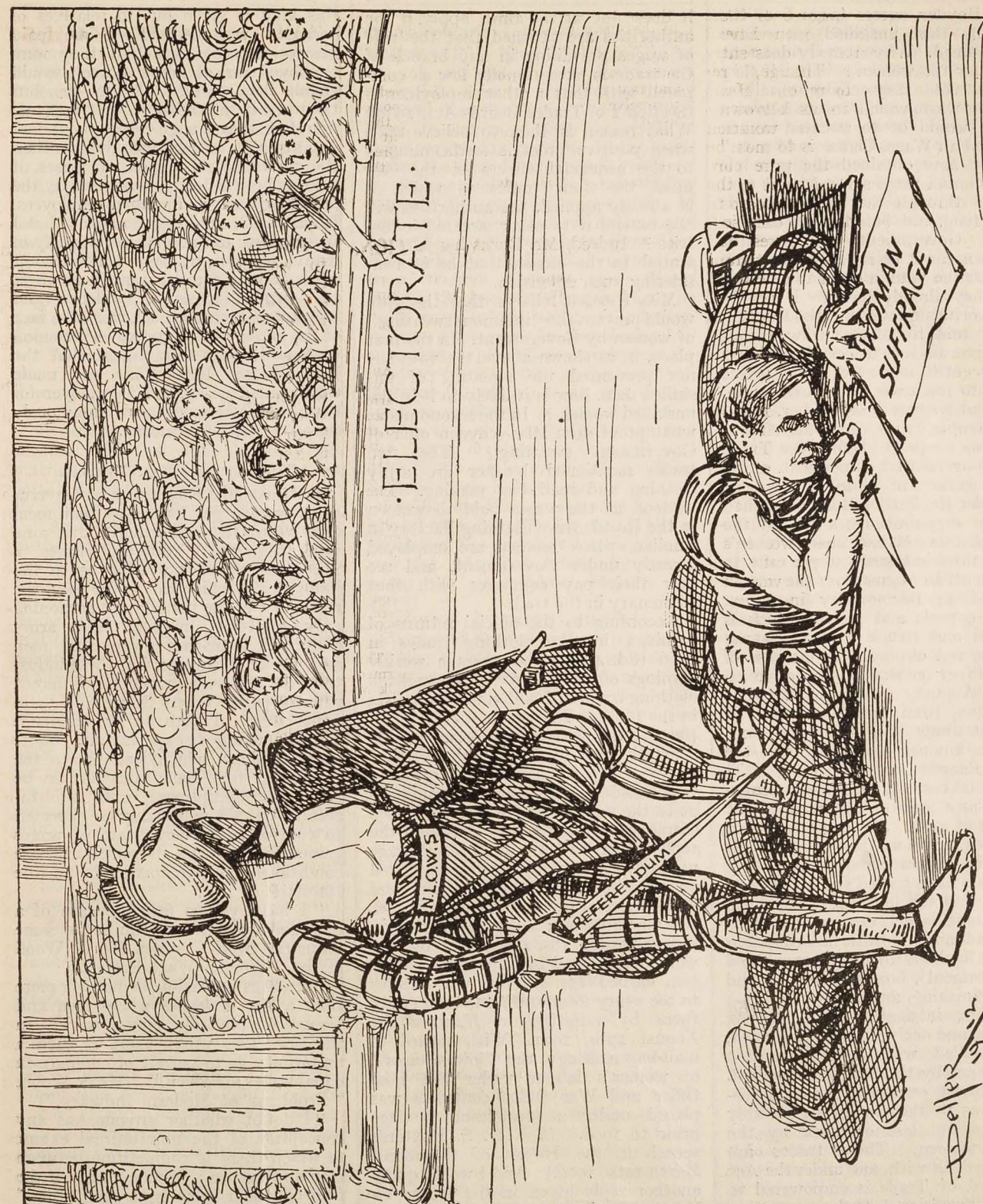
## "VOTES AND WAGES."

A CRITICISM—No. 5.

By MISS GLADYS POTT.

### EQUALITY OF ADVANTAGES.

But whatever benefits have accrued to workers under the Fair Wages Clause have been accorded to women equally with men: the Clause applies to females just as much as to males. Won, according to Miss Royden, by the votes of men, the advantages are shared with women. But, she tells us, women get no share in these advantages. Why? Because no "standard" or "fair" rate exists in their trades. Who is responsible for making a customary wage in any trade? The workers themselves. "Women," says Miss Royden (page 6 of "Votes and Wages"), "cannot combine to set a standard wage." I do not propose to enter into a discussion upon the difficulties of organisation amongst unskilled workers, under which category Miss Royden places "the vast majority" of women in industry, but how is the granting of the vote a remedy for such difficulties? Miss Royden tells us that the "vast majority" of women workers are unskilled. We read in the evidence before the Home Workers' Committee, 1908, that the men tailors working on Government clothing contracts complain of precisely the same sweated pay as do the women. In 1904 the men were paid 2s. 7½d. for a khaki jacket; in 1907 only 1s. 5½d. was paid for the same jacket. In 1906 telegraph boys' jackets were paid for at the rate of 15s. a dozen; in 1908 the pay was only 10s. 2d. a dozen. In 1904 police tunics were made for 2s. 8d.; in 1908 only 1s. 9d. was paid for them. Miss Royden quotes the case of a woman working 10½ hours and earning only 1s.; on page 111 of the above Report we hear of men working 12 hours and earning only 1s. 5d. It would seem, then, that neither the vote nor the Fair Wages Clause has prevented men earning sweated wages or those earnings being cut down. Does not this point to the conclusion that the vote is not an effective remedy? and, if so, can the non-possession of it be the cause of the low pay amongst unskilled women?



THE SIGNAL.  
(The "Suffrage Election," Bow and Bromley, November 26th, 1912.)



Miss Royden agrees (page 6 of the pamphlet) that unskilled men have not combined. What remedy does she suggest for the women? That if they had the vote they could obtain a minimum wage, which, to use her own words, "would be to sweated women what the Fair Wages Clause is to men." Yet they have obtained the principle of a minimum wage several years ago, not only through the Trades Boards Act in 1909, but before that date in certain Government departments. How, then, can it be necessary for them to possess the vote in order to get that which they already have? I turn to the authorities quoted by Miss Royden, and am told by Miss Tuckwell that women jam makers in certain districts have recently increased their wages from 5s. to 10s. a week by organisation (Speech at Newport, September, 1912.) In September, 1911, Miss MacArthur told us in a speech before the Trade Union Congress that 90 per cent. of the sweated workers in the industries dealt with under the Trades Boards Act had joined in organisations, and that the Trades Boards Act had raised women's wages in those industries 50 per cent. to 100 per cent. In August, 1911, the women employed in Bermondsey in cocoa, metallic capsule and pickle industries combined and struck for an advance in wages, and obtained an increase of from 20 per cent. to 50 per cent. (*Times*, August 16th, 1911.) The two ladies from whose speeches I quote attribute this energetic combination amongst women to the Trades Boards Act, which, if Miss Royden is correct, has been passed without any influence of women, but by votes of men. She complains that it applies to four trades only. It should be remembered that barely three years have passed since it became law, and that the four trades scheduled to be immediately dealt with—viz.: ready-made and wholesale tailoring (that spoken of by Miss Royden as so sweated by Government), box-making, lace and curtain finishing and chain-making—all present intricate and complex questions, and decisions affecting such, unless settled with infinite caution and patience by the Boards concerned, would almost certainly result in disadvantages to the employed, possibly with complete loss of work by the poorest women. These trades are still being dealt with, and under the Act the Board of Trade is empowered to make a Provisional Order extending the Act to any specified trade to which

it does not at the time apply, if the authorities are satisfied that the rate of wages prevailing in any branch of the trade is exceptionally low as compared with that in other employments. (Section 1 of Trades Boards Act, 1909.) What reason is there to believe that, when positive proof is forthcoming as to the beneficial effects of the Act upon the four trades to which it is already applied, the authorities will not extend it to other sweated industries? Indeed, Mr. Burns has already stated in the House that he is considering such extension.

Miss Royden tells us that the vote would prevent the "infamous sweating" of women by Government. In the first place, if, as shown above, the vote has not prevented the sweating of unskilled men, how is it likely to help the unskilled women? In the second place, what proof does Miss Royden offer of Government sweating? The two trades mentioned by her are army clothing and mail-bag making. Let us look at the wages paid to women in the Royal Army Clothing Factory in Pimlico, where women are employed directly under Government, and see how their pay compares with that customary in the trade.

According to the official returns of earnings in the clothing trades in 1906 (Cd. 4844), the average weekly earnings of women in the ready-made clothing trade in London was 11s. 11d.; in the Pimlico Factory it was 20s. 11d. (for girls the figures being 6s. in London generally and 7s. 9d. at the Pimlico factory). In August, 1911, a question was asked in the House of Commons as to the number and wages of women employed in this factory, and from the reply given we learn that the average weekly wage of 1,247 females employed on piecework (including learners and apprentices at 6s. a week) was 20s. 13d. The machinist earned 25s. 6d.; the 874 sewers earned 18s. 4d.; even the old women employed in ripping for alteration earned 15s. Anyone who desires to see every item and figure can study them by referring to *Hansard* for August 17th, 1911. With regard to mail-bag making: the "lowest class" of women's labour under the Post Office and War Office contracts was placed under a "minimum" wage prior to 1908. (See Mr. S. Buxton's speech in the House of Commons, March 10th, 1909.) And I would quote another reply given in the House on March 6th, 1911, regarding the pay of women sack-makers—"Some work of

this kind is given out to relatives of deceased workmen. They are paid piecework prices, which if they were employed for 48 hours a week would enable them to earn 28s. to 30s., but the work is intermittent." It appears, therefore, that though Government does not attempt to pay men higher than the current market rate of wages, it does make an effort to raise directly the customary wage of women employees. I must again remind my readers that I do not deny the misery and poverty of many of our women workers, but while seeking for the remedy amongst the tangled mass of evidence and interests concerned, I ask where, in face of the above facts, is proof forthcoming of Miss Royden's statement that the Fair Wages Resolution has made Government a "model" employer for men, or that women are "infamously sweated" by Government.

#### THE EQUAL WORK THEORY.

But, says Miss Royden, under Government women get lower pay than men, even when they do exactly the same work (page 7 of "Votes and Wages"). She gives us no indication as to the industries in which this is the case, the remainder of the paragraph mentioning only mail-bag making and army clothing. I am not aware that men and women in any part of these industries do the same work for different rates of pay. Where do we find them doing this? I turn to the evidence of acknowledged experts, and quote their opinions, which lead me to the conclusion that such cases as can be found are exceptional, and rare instances cannot reasonably be expected to control the general rate of wages gained by the mass of workers, whose conditions and circumstances fix the standard of pay.

"I have yet to find the case of a man and woman doing quite the same industrial work," writes Mr. G. Wood in the "Woman Wage-Earner."

"It seems impossible to discover more than a few instances where men and women do precisely similar work. In the few cases where there is such a uniformity as to permit of comparison equal wages are given." (Mr. S. Webb, "Problems of Modern Industry.")

"I doubt whether anyone has any conception of the infinitesimal extent to which there is competition between men and women; in nine-tenths of the field of labour there is no such thing." (Mrs. S. Webb, "Problems of Modern Industry.")

"I think you will find it very difficult to find a place where women do the same work as men and get different pay." (Miss Collet before the Fair Wage Committee, 1908.)

"As a matter of fact, women do not do the same work as men. They do up to a certain point, but their output is less, and they are not so useful generally.

... I am not arguing for equal pay, because women do not really do equal work as a rule... You do no good to women by having any abstract idea of her relation to men's work; her wages are not settled in relation to men's." (Miss Irwin before Fair Wage Committee, 1908.)

"Women are more expensive than men; you will not find her as cheap, if you pay her the same wages. They come and go more readily and want more accommodation. You get a staff together and then they leave to get married; with men it is nothing of the sort." (Unwin's evidence before the Fair Wage Committee, 1908.)

"Are women asking that work done in the same time and equally well with men's (in the printing trade) should be paid the same? I know outside people say it, but I am not aware that any women workers themselves ask it... and I do not think anyone can be said to represent them." (Miss Collet, Fair Wage Committee, 1908.)

"In home work I do not think men and women do the same." (Miss Squire, Home Workers Committee, 1909.) Miss Royden in the *Common Cause* for August 29th quotes the case of women stitchers on riding saddles, who were said by one witness before the Fair Wage Committee to do equal work to men and receive less pay. I would ask those interested in the point to read the evidence of other witnesses before that Commission before deciding as to how much weight should be attached to this instance. Mr. G. Power, of the Leather Trades Federation (Question 3442 of Minutes of Evidence, Cd. 4423), said, "If we could put it to the practical test of a man and woman working side by side it would be found that the woman's work is not so durable as a man's... that is, taking the heavy and light work together"; and (Question 3519) "Generally speaking, taking all work together, woman's output is less than a man's."

Mr. J. T. Manson (another Leather Trade Secretary) (Questions 3895 to 3900) said: "Women cannot do the heavy part of the sewing as it should be done; it is done sufficiently well to pass

the Inspector's examination, but cannot wear so well." (Question 4009) "There are only sections of it that they can do as well." And in Question 4012 the witness describes how the low wage given to women is often the result of their performing portions of the work under the men, to whom it is given out by the contractor. It is interesting to compare the rates of wages given to men and women in New Zealand and Australia, as they seem to show that even under the ideal conditions resulting from Woman Suffrage and Wages Boards the two sexes cannot earn the same wages in this particular industry. An award was made in New Zealand in 1910 under which all men workers in the saddlery trade must receive a minimum wage of 1s. 1d. per hour, but women were to receive a graduated wage of 7s. 6d. to 30s. a week during the first five years of their employment and after that a minimum of 11d. per hour. (Official Awards Book, 1911.)

In Victoria the average weekly wage earned by men under an official award regulating the saddlery trades in 1905 was 34s. 2d., that earned by women being 14s. 5d. (Aves Report, Cd. 4167.)

Leaving ordinary industrial occupations and turning to those mentioned by Miss Royden in connection with her assertion on page 4 of the pamphlet that "women get less than men when their work is exactly the same," we find that she quotes postal employees, teachers, sick nurses, and domestic servants, and that in the *Common Cause* for August 19th she reiterates her statements concerning these trades. With regard to the two last she says that men do less work than women. I do not know how it is possible to compare the work of two persons whose duties are not similar, and my experience of men and maid servants and nurses is that identical duties are not required of each. Females in the Post Office are not employed on precisely the same terms as men; their work is not identical, nor are women and girls allowed to do as much over-time or night work, and are liable to leave owing to marriage.

That marriage alters the whole economic position of a woman, and does not alter that of a man, is a factor impossible to ignore in comparing the value of the two sexes in industry. Nor are women so constant in attendance as are men, and this, according to Mr. S. Webb, is a potent factor in the case. "The amount of time lost in sick-

ness is undoubtedly greater in the case of women than men," he says in "Problems of Modern Industry," and Miss Irwin agrees—"women are more subject to absences for illness and interruptions of work than men." (Fair Wages Committee, 1908.) No Insurance Office will insure women against sickness on the same terms as men; most Offices will not issue sickness policies to females at all. Does this not point to greater periods of illness? And if so, women are unequal in this particular to men in the labour market. I observe that in the *Common Cause* Miss Royden quotes salaries offered in the Post Office to show that men and women do not earn the same wages. No one doubts the fact, but the first question to determine is whether what Miss Royden calls the "industrial portion" of men and women is really the same. And to determine that we must take into account all differences such as the above, and then ask whether experience shows that the industrial output of 100 women is precisely similar to that of 100 men engaged in identical occupations, and the enquiry must range over a number of years, not over only one or two; and we must find out whether the average woman spends as great a portion of her life as does a man in the occupation under examination. According to Miss Irwin "women do not regard their work as permanent" (Fair Wage Committee's Report, 1908, Question 6037), and we also learn from the Census returns of 1901 that 67 per cent. of employed females are either below 25 years of age or over 55: a fact that clearly proves that the majority of women workers do not devote their best years to industrial occupations.

#### TEACHERS.

As regards teachers, it should be noticed that the salaries of those engaged in elementary and national schools are settled by local education authorities, upon which women can sit and for which women vote. In Mrs. Fawcett's opinion "no one can accuse the education authorities of injustice because they pay women less than men," while the supply of women teachers exceeds and that of men is less than the demand. (*Economic Journal*, 1892.) This condition of things still obtains. The L.C.C. Report, No. 1315, tells us that in 1909 "the supply of women teachers is greater in proportion to the demand than that of men." I offer no personal opinion upon the following extract



from Mr. Sidney Webb in "Problems of Modern Industry," but submit it to the consideration of my readers: "Although men and women teachers may perform exactly equivalent work, and perform them with equal result, yet their scholastic attainments are seldom equal."

It is more instructive to compare the salaries given to teachers in those countries referred to by Miss Royden and others where women are said to have so benefited by female suffrage. South Australia, in 1901, offered salaries to men teachers of £110 to £450; to women £92 to £156, with annual increment for men of £10 and for women £8. In Victoria at the same date the salaries were £70 to £239 for men and £56 to £138 for women. (See Special Reports on the Systems of Education, 1901.)

In Victoria, 1911, male teachers can earn from £120 to £415 and females £80 to £200; assistant males £70 to £164 and females £56 to £138. Teachers in this State are divided into seven classes. No females are in the first class.

In South Australia, 1911, salaries for male teachers are offered from £130 to £450, while females receive from £112 to £160; male assistants £140 to £260, females £84 to £180.

In 1911, in New South Wales, salaries for male teachers were £156 to £500; for females £192 to £312; for male assistants from £156 to £312, for female assistants £120 to £222.

In Queensland, male teachers' salaries range from £160 to £450; females from £110 to £360, and for male assistants £102 to £262, for females £72 to £216.

In Western Australia a male teacher may earn from £120 to £450; a female from £110 to £350 (in no one of the six classes into which primary education is divided in this State is the pay the same for the two sexes).

In Tasmania male teachers' salaries range from £110 to £420, females' £90 to £140.

(For all these figures see Australian Year Book, 1912.)

A quotation from Mr. Lloyd George, given by Miss Royden to show that in his opinion Government pays unequal wages for equal work, does not affect my criticism, inasmuch as he gives no indication as to where this inequality is to be found. But if mere expression of opinion from prominent politicians is satisfactory evidence that such opinion be in fact correct, may I draw the attention of my readers to Mr.

Balfour's words in the House of Commons on July 12th, 1910: "I do not believe that the enfranchisement of women will have any effect upon their material well-being, and I cannot say that I believe it will raise their wages." Mr. Austen Chamberlain has expressed a like opinion, which, as Miss Royden says, coming from a Chancellor of the Exchequer, "should carry weight." While offering no personal opinion upon the question of the relative values of men and women in labour, I submit that Miss Royden's pamphlet presents no evidence that equal work is performed for unequal pay, or that the granting of Female Suffrage would enable women in the trades she mentions to earn the same wages as men. I ask one question of my readers. If in any industry women are really as valuable to the employer as are men, why is it that, so long as there are unemployed women seeking work (as at present) men are employed in that industry? I know of no firm or private employer who deliberately pays more than is necessary for the work he requires performed.

#### THE AGRICULTURAL LABOURER.

On page 10 of "Votes and Wages" Miss Royden tells us that the vote has materially improved the economic position of the agricultural labourer, and quotes a paragraph by Mr. C. Chapman in substantiation of this assertion. Mr. Chapman was an Assistant Commissioner under the Labour Commission of 1891 to 1894, and says that during his collection of evidence at that period it was noticeable how advantageous the vote, which was granted to the agricultural labourer in 1884, had been to him. It is curious that, if this point so impressed itself upon Mr. Chapman's mind, he did not think it worth recording in any of his seven reports presented to the Commission. In the *Common Cause*, August 29th, we are told that he did not do so, because he took it for granted that everyone knew it to be the case. Yet neither the Chief Assistant Commissioner in charge nor the eleven assistants (of whom Mr. Chapman was one) who devoted their inquiries to agricultural interests, nor the Commission as a whole, referred to this potent factor in the case. One would have expected that some of the many gentlemen whose whole aim was to record causes of the conditions found would have mentioned so remarkable and, according to Mr. Chapman, "obvious"

a factor. Many references are made to previous dates for the purposes of comparison, such as to 1861, 1867, 1871, 1876, 1879, 1881, but a complete silence obtains as to the year the labourer obtained this magic weapon of the vote. In the general Report upon this part of the Commission's work we read that "The most effective agent in bringing about the labourer's improvement has been the cheapness of the prime necessities of life" (*i.e.*, Report 7421), and "The result of a comparison of wages shows an average of 13s. 5d. in 1892 as compared with 13s. 9d. in 1879-81." I ask my readers to note the following statistics (taken from official sources) before accepting any unsubstantiated opinion as to the economic improvement of the agricultural labourer being due to the vote. Between 1830 and 1881 his average wage rose 100 per cent. (see Report of Richmond Commission). In 1850 this average was estimated at 9s. a week (see Cd. 2376). In 1867 it was 12s. 3d. (see Report on Employment of Children, 1867-70). In 1881 it was 13s. 9d. The labourer obtained his vote in 1884, and by 1891 his average wage had fallen to 13s. 5d. During the next ten years the wage again rose 10 per cent., but is there any more reason to attribute that rise to his vote than to attribute the previous fall to the same cause?

The following extract from the Report of the Labour Commission, 1891 (C. 7421) is also worth observing: "The wages and earnings of women in districts where they still work in the field have increased very considerably of late years"; and Mr. Chapman himself remarks on the advance of wages of servant girls in one district he examined. I am offering no opinion upon the above facts, but merely arguing that Miss Royden's conclusions appear to have been framed without reference to the same, and are therefore untrustworthy.

In the *Common Cause* for August 29th, Miss Royden and Mr. Chapman make the remarkable statement that the Allotments Act, Parish Councils Act, and Old Age Pensions Act, were attributable to the agricultural labourer's possession of the vote, and should be regarded as increment to his wages. While disclaiming any intention of discussing the relative merits of the various Allotment Acts, I find it hard to accept the part of the argument applying to them, inasmuch as Allotment Acts were passed in 1819, 1832, 1845, 1879, and 1882, before

the labourer got the vote, as well as in 1887 after the suffrage had been given to him.

Neither do I accept the statement which follows, namely, that the Parish Councils and Old Age Pensions were more specially adapted to the needs of the agricultural labourer than to other classes in consequence of his possession of the vote. I confess that my knowledge of statistics, slight as in Miss Royden's opinion it may appear to be, does not lead me to add to the official calculations of comparative wages any monetary value that may be held by Mr. Chapman to represent the "addition to wages" granted by these privileges; but I fail to see why, if I did so, I should not add the like value to the wages of industrial women, who certainly benefit equally under the Acts mentioned. Indeed, as the longevity of females is greater than that of males women may be said to benefit more than men by the Old Age Pensions Act. Miss Royden, whose feelings are so susceptible that she discovered proof of my being personally abusive to her in the fact that others than myself wrote criticisms of her words in the Press, charges me in the *Common Cause* with uttering the "ravings of a madman." It is hardly necessary to remark that the quotation from my speech upon which she bases the epithet is imperfect (as has been pointed out in the columns of her own paper by one of her own supporters), but I leave my readers each to frame for themselves the epithet that they find most applicable to the methods of reasoning displayed by Miss Royden in "Votes and Wages" and in the articles in the *Common Cause* to which I have alluded.

Miss Royden finishes the said articles by asking what difference it makes to her arguments if all my criticisms are true. It makes this difference, that she will have been proved to have made statements contrary to fact and to have published the same, which was the sole point of my side of the controversy. Is it necessary again to remark that any argument founded upon false statements is entirely valueless?

If in Miss Royden's opinion it is of little or no moment whether her assertions be correct or incorrect, then, as I have said before, we differ upon more points than that of Woman Suffrage, and I am strengthened in my opinion as to the extreme undesirability of placing in the hands of Miss Royden

and her supporters more direct power with regard to legislative decisions affecting economic and Imperial questions. Those persons who confuse issues and retard progress by deliberately confining their study of such chance opinions as appear to be useful partisan weapons with which to assist an unsound cause, and who, by the circulation of the same, encourage the public to form economic conclusions upon false or insufficient evidence, so far from assisting the cause of women in industry, positively add to their economic difficulties and retard progress.

(Concluded.)

#### A SUFFRAGE STATE.

COLORADO, U.S.A., has enjoyed Woman Suffrage since 1893. The responsible officials of Denver, the capital, have recently been indicted in connection with the prevalence of vice in its most degraded form. In his defence, the Chief of Police protested that he had been expected in three months of office to reform "unspeakable conditions which have been in existence for twenty years." It is not a matter for surprise that Suffragists in America are disinclined to quote Colorado as a shining example of what Woman Suffrage does to raise the moral standard and to introduce purity in the public affairs of the States that possess it.

#### WOMAN'S INFLUENCE.

In a speech at a reception of the London Society for Women's Suffrage on November 12th, Lady Selborne cited the Criminal Law Amendment Bill "as an instance of the rapidity with which the opinion of women works in the House of Commons." Certain changes distasteful to all women, she pointed out, had been introduced into the Bill, but in the face of their disapproval, the offending clauses had been removed by the House of Commons. This instance of the Criminal Law Amendment Bill, as quoted by Lady Selborne, disposes of the whole Suffrage contention, which is to the effect that present-day legislation ignores the "woman's point of view." To achieve the end, which, according to Lady Selborne, the women of Great Britain desired, the vote would have been powerless. They made their views known in regard to certain details of draft legislation in the only way that is practical and effective, and thanks to their influence as women they carried their point. The vote would not have helped them, and Lady Selborne has done good service in proving that for all practical purposes of legislation it is superfluous to women's needs.

The *Westminster Gazette* has done good service by collating, in its issue of November 21st, the opinions of those who are in a position to know regarding the connection between low wages and the social evil. This plain statement of the case entirely disposes of an objectionable pamphlet on the subject published by the so-called Church League for Woman's Suffrage.

#### DUBLIN NOTES.

(From our Correspondent.)

##### THE "DEMAND" FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

THE defeat of the Snowden amendment to the Home Rule Bill has produced an outburst of carefully manufactured indignation among Irish Suffragists. Before the division Irish members of all parties were deluged with letters from members of every Suffragist society in this country. They contained the usual insolent threats of what would happen, if members dared to vote in accordance with their personal convictions. The figures of the division, with its overwhelming majority against the proposal to enfranchise Irish women in the Bill, reflects the value of these tactics to "the cause." Certainly the defeat was more crushing than most people here expected, but, as I pointed out last month, that the amendment would be defeated was a foregone conclusion. That fact, of course, does not affect the gravity of the "insult" to the women of Ireland. Mr. Redmond, Suffragists declare, has "stabbed the rights of Irishwomen in the dark" again. On this occasion, however, not Mr. Redmond, but Mr. Hugh Law is the chief offender. Mr. Law opposed the Snowden amendment, and the fact that he is himself an advocate of Woman Suffrage adds point to his opposition. That opposition, as he said in his speech, was due to the fact that there exists "no effective demand" for Woman Suffrage in Ireland. Mr. Law's remark has provoked positive hysteria in Dublin Suffragist circles. It happens to be the strict truth, and that is not palatable to the Suffragists. There is, of course, no effective demand, or any other sort of demand, for Woman Suffrage in this country. As I have remarked before now, "the cause" is the hobby of a few odd hundred women of leisure in the larger towns—notably Dublin, Belfast, and Cork. The vast majority of Ireland's population is agricultural. Ask a woman in rural Ireland if she is a Suffragist, and she will laugh in your face—or else wonder what you are talking about. In our country districts life is a serious proposition, and the country woman is not fitted either by nature or inclination for the pursuit of a sex-obsession. So much for the absence of demand. The argument would appear to be final. I need scarcely say that Irish Suffragists did not find it so.

##### MORE "MILITANCY."

Mr. Law's statement of the unwelcome truth had to be combated in some way. The demand did not exist; but with a superb persuasion of logic Irish Suffragists set out to create it—by supply. In common with most Irish people, I am unable to follow the mental processes of the Suffragist train. And so I can only state the conclusion of that process which I heard asserted from the platform at a suffragist meeting. Mr. Law's remark "must be taken as a direct incitement to violence." It opened a "new phase in the history of the Woman Suffrage movement in Ireland." There have been so many new phases—and they are all the same. This one opened with the breaking, in the middle of the night, of six panes of glass in the Custom House. Two women were arrested, refused to pay fines or damages, and went to prison—until someone paid the amount for them a day or two later. Other



"protests" took place which were of a "new" nature, at least so far as Dublin is concerned. This plan of campaign, which was sufficiently well-organised, consisted in the destruction of letters in a number of pillar-boxes by the use of corrosive fluid. Technically, we suppose, the contents of pillar-boxes are Government property. In fact, they are private property which a common sense of honour considers to be of a peculiarly sacred kind. This is the first translation into action in Ireland of the Pankhurst threat of "war on society," and the malignant meanness of its nature has given the Dublin public a better insight into the ethics of "militancy" than any mere spectacular outrage. Up to the time of writing there have been no other manifestations. So Suffragist honour is vindicated; twelve-and-sixpence worth of plate glass, and some dozens of letters—a few, no doubt, written by suffragist sympathisers—have been destroyed. Ireland's demand for Woman Suffrage is triumphantly vindicated!

#### THE FAILURE OF THE LAW.

I mentioned last month that the two English Suffragists concerned in the Theatre Royal outrage, who were released on ticket-of-leave, had not complied with the formalities of report, and that, therefore, their licences would be revoked. But I doubted whether the authorities would accept the defiant challenge of the Suffragists. They have done so, in the case of Miss Evans. She was arrested, and remanded for a week, during which time she adopted the "hunger-strike." Then she was released, on a legal point. A week later she was arrested again. After three more days of "hunger-strike" she was released again, on the ground that there was no evidence to show that she was about to leave the Dublin Police District. In both cases the Crown prosecution was absurdly perfunctory. It is quite clear that, though the authorities make a show of obeying public opinion and asserting the law, they do not want to have these women back on their hands. They have not yet made up their minds to adopt the Shavian policy towards "hunger-strikers." Meanwhile the four Irish Suffragists who were sentenced four months ago to six months' imprisonment have been released. Their release was the result of a jurors' petition to the Lord Lieutenant. Quite obviously it is absurd to make prisoners with a six months' sentence serve their full term, if women sentenced to five years can get out in a couple of months. At the present moment not a single Suffragist who has been sentenced for a breach of law is in an Irish prison, and not one of them has served anything like her full term. This present freedom from the care of such prisoners gives lively satisfaction to the authorities. But the manner in which the authorities have achieved that freedom gives no satisfaction at all to the Irish public. The Press in Ireland, though Suffragists call it "saturated in partisanship and opportunism" is much more of a "voice" than in England. It is consolidating public opinion in the necessity that the next law-breaker for "the cause" should, if she goes to prison, be kept there—at all costs. For the maintenance of the law's dignity, if need be by the brutal extremes adumbrated by Mr. Bernard Shaw, there is growing here an "effective demand."

#### MISS ROYDEN'S PLAIN ANSWERS

THERE appeared some time ago in successive issues of a Suffragist organ a series of articles entitled: "Answers to the Anti-Suffrage Handbook," written by Miss A. Maude Royden. These have since been published in the form of a small book by the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies. If no notice has been taken of the articles or the book in these columns, it is because so much space has had to be given to a refutation of Miss Royden's misrepresentations in another pamphlet, and it seemed superfluous to notice further efforts on the part of the same writer. Those who take an intelligent interest in the Suffrage question and are capable of distinguishing fact from fiction, of weighing arguments and of verifying information, will have known long ago the measure of reliability attaching to a variety of statements in the pamphlet "Votes and Wages." Mr. W. Dickinson, M.P., summed up the merits of the publication by saying that the argument in question was one for which he had a "profound contempt." Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, as recorded elsewhere in this issue, has also said that it is fallacious to say that women's wages would rise if they were enfranchised.

But Miss Maude Royden is still regarded by some Suffragists as the High Priestess of accurate information, and the repetition of her statements in various quarters prompts a brief analysis of this later publication.

#### THE VOTE IN NEW ZEALAND.

It is symptomatic of Miss Royden's style of argument that her first criticism of the Anti-Suffrage Handbook is not that the book is misleading, but that it enables its readers "to put misleading questions at Suffrage meetings." As an instance, she quotes the following example: "Is it not a fact that the industrial laws which you have quoted as helping sweated women in New Zealand were passed before women had the vote?"

As far as can be discovered, the reference is to the following sentence in the Handbook:—"As for wages in New Zealand, which are occasionally quoted by Suffragists, the rise has been due to awards under the Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act. This Act was drafted and introduced into the New Zealand Parliament before women had votes." (The Handbook gives the reference to a Blue Book for this statement.)

This is Miss Royden's "answer" (*Plain Answers to Tangled Statements*, p. 6):—"An Industrial Act was passed in 1890. It did very little for the worst-off, *i.e.*, the sweated women.

"Women were enfranchised in 1893. In 1894 the 'Industrial Arbitration' Act was passed. It came into force in 1895. It was consolidated and amended in 1900 and several times since. These Acts are the charter of the sweated woman, and are 'especially valuable' to her in a way in which the Victorian Wage Boards (set up before the enfranchisement to women in Victoria) are not.\* Yet these are the Acts under which those awards were given, which raised the condition of the sweated

\* "Sweated Industry," by C. Black, p. 246-7.

women, and which, according to the Anti-Suffrage Handbook (p. 39) 'were drafted and introduced . . . before women had votes.' This is a distinct attempt to mislead. Many beneficent laws are 'drafted and introduced' which are never passed, or not until those chiefly concerned have political power."

#### MISS ROYDEN'S "POINTS."

Let us take Miss Royden's points in their sequence.

I. "Sweated women"—the class for whom she says the Act of 1890 did very little, while subsequent Acts became their "charter."

The Sweating Commission appointed by the Governor of New Zealand in 1890 issued its Report in May of the same year, in the course of which it remarked:—"With satisfaction we report that the system known in London and elsewhere as 'sweating,' which seemed at one time likely to obtain a footing in some of our cities does not exist." (Of the nine Commissioners, three dissented to this and considered that sweating did exist "to a very limited extent.")

The word "sweated," therefore, which is introduced into the discussion by Suffragists, does not carry the same meaning in New Zealand as it does elsewhere.

II. The Industrial Arbitration Acts. The statement in the Anti-Suffrage Handbook is to the effect that the Act in question was drafted and introduced into the New Zealand Parliament before women had votes. Miss Royden says: "This is a distinct attempt to mislead. Many beneficent laws are 'drafted and introduced' which are never passed, or not until those chiefly concerned have political power."

What are the facts?

The Blue Book quoted in the Anti-Suffrage Handbook states:—"The Industrial Conciliation Act of New Zealand is identified with the name of the Hon. W. Pember Reeves, and was passed by him as Minister of Labour in the then Seddon Government of 1894. The Act had been first drafted by Mr. Reeves in 1891. In 1892 and 1893 it was passed by the House of Representatives, and on the compulsory clauses being thrown out by the Legislative Council, was withdrawn."

Miss Royden's remark about "beneficent laws," which are not passed "until those chiefly concerned have political power" is, as so many of her printed statements, absolutely irrelevant. The Bill in question was affirmed two or three times by the elected House: it was held up by the Legislative Council, which is appointed by the Governor, and in regard to which the electors have no power.

III. The effect of the Act. Miss Royden appears to have an instinctive objection to consulting official publications, and prefers any medium of information rather than a Blue Book. Her ultimate authority in this instance is the Blue Book referred to in the Anti-Suffrage Handbook; but, again, she prefers an intermediary, and so misses some valuable information. The actual words of the Blue Book in question (1908) are as follow:—

"The Conciliation and Arbitration Act is a real force in the industrial life of New Zealand, and, with the highly important exception that, directly, save as regards tailor-

ing, it has little effect on the employment of women, it covers a much more varied field than does the Special Board system of Victoria." (The italics are ours.)

These words enable us to gauge the precise value of Miss Maude Royden's assertion (made for the purpose of supplying a plain answer to a tangled statement) that the Act "consolidated and amended in 1900 and several times since" is "especially valuable" to her "sweated woman," who, incidentally, does not appear to exist in New Zealand. The Blue Book says that the Act "has little effect on the employment of women."

(To be continued.)

#### BOOK REVIEW.

"THE NATURE OF WOMAN," by J. Lionel Taylor, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P.

JOHN S. MILL's book of the "subjection of women" has so long held the field without serious challenge that we hail this refutation from a competent scientific observer. Dr. Taylor's book does not touch upon the vexed question of the vote or of women in politics, nor does he in this first volume of a series treat of the position of the unmarried woman or of woman's employment generally. He seeks to define the nature and the vocation of woman as the mother of the race, starting from the basis of a sound biology and sociology.

Mill had entirely ignored these considerations, and in so doing must have deliberately considered them to be of small account. To-day, however, it would be universally accepted that no study of woman's nature or life could be of value without a sound scientific foundation.

As physician and lecturer on biology and sociology, Dr. Taylor has had special opportunities for a careful unprejudiced study of the subject, whether in the particular or the general. Practice indeed has corrected theory, and he gives us the result in this little book wherein all may find matter for thought. The tone is so sympathetic; the arguments so balanced; there is so much of true wisdom and tact in these pages, that the most prejudiced will be tempted to read and will find no cause of offence.

It is difficult to write a short treatise of a great subject which shall be popular and strictly moderate, but Dr. Taylor commands our attention and compels us to go with him. He is specially skilful in his treatment of the three great fallacies which are constantly thrust upon us in Suffrage publications and lectures—the Matriarchate, the Oversexed, and the Neuter types of women. He skilfully shows that all three logically destroy each other and "are the merest grotesques of serious thought."

He points out that Mill made no attempt at applied biology. His women are figures who always obey rationalistic laws, who are free from considerations of health and disease, without varying types or temperaments. We are driven to conclude that Mill, brought up in a strange asexual way by his father, knew very little of women and almost nothing of family life or the burden of motherhood.

It is refreshing indeed to leave the hot and dusty strife wherein the question of the vote has involved women, and to read in unprejudiced words of some of those fundamental

truths without which both men and women would make the gravest life-blunders.

We heartily commend Dr. Taylor's book to readers of the ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW.  
E. B. HARRISON.

#### THE L.C.C. AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

At its meeting on November 19th, the London County Council debated the question of Woman Suffrage at some length, on a suggestion that an amendment should be sought to the Franchise and Registration Bill, providing that women (including married women) should be entitled to exercise the franchise at local government elections on the same conditions as men. The debate was adjourned until November 26th, when after further discussion the proposal was carried by 54 votes to 48. A noticeable feature was the following "Anti-Suffrage" speech of Lady St. Helier.

Lady St. Helier said that she quite realised that the work which women had done had been a great innovation and had been performed under great difficulties and with a courage and perseverance which had added enormously to their claim for further powers. But there was one very great drawback to any further extension of the franchise to women, and that was the fundamental drawback that the majority of women did not care to have the franchise. They had, of course, many examples to the contrary, and she did not say that there was not a large section who devoutly and keenly wanted to have votes. With the existing powers there was plenty of work for women to do in public life, but they did not really care or want to have the vote, especially as regards municipal matters. The questions which the municipality now undertook—education, the housing of the poor, sanitation—were questions in which women were intimately interested and much more so than men were. But when the time came that they could let their voices be heard, and that they could speak with no mistaken sound as to what they desired, they found that the percentage of women who voted at the municipal elections was very small—so small that the only conclusion they could arrive at was that women were indifferent. Whether they were tired or too busily occupied to take part she could not say, but the plain ordinary person with an ordinary mind would say that the women were indifferent on the matter. Women did not want the vote, they were not ready for it yet, and, having had this great opportunity of giving their opinions on great questions which affected them and their children more than any parliamentary or imperial question they took less interest and less trouble to help than in the parliamentary elections in which they could not vote. She felt most strongly that until women showed by their votes and by taking an interest in municipal questions that they did care for the vote and wanted to have it, it was extremely undesirable to touch the question at all. When they showed any municipal activity, then the Council might reconsider their position. She believed that she was speaking for the majority of women in saying that, at present, the time was not ripe for any great change, because the people they wished to emancipate were perfectly satisfied or were absolutely indifferent as to any change in the position which they now occupied. (Cheers.)

#### NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN WORKERS.

ON November 20th, the National Council of Women of Great Britain and Ireland (the Executive body of the National Union of Women Workers) passed by 199 votes to 59 the following resolution:—

"That in view of the fact that the questions of parliamentary and local government franchises for women are to be discussed in connection with the Franchise and Registration Bill now before the House of Commons, the National Council of Women of Great Britain and Ireland reaffirms the following resolution passed on October 30th, 1902, and again on October 20th, 1909: 'That without the firm foundation of the Parliamentary franchise for women, there is no permanence for any advance gained by them,' and, while not expressing any opinion on the Bill, urges all Members of Parliament to vote so as to ensure that no Bill shall be passed which does not include some measure of parliamentary suffrage for women."

The resolution was opposed by Mrs. Humphry Ward, Miss Pott and Mrs. Cyril Alington. In a letter to *The Standard*, dealing with this meeting, Mrs. Ward wrote:

"The arguments, such as they were, reduced themselves to the familiar plea that women could do nothing without the vote, that the suffrage was not a party question, and that the majority of the union, at a critical moment, must strike for their opinions and risk the secession of the minority. We pointed out in vain that the opening sentence of the Constitution says: 'The union is organised in the interest—not 'of no one party'—but 'of no one policy'"; and we asked if the Suffrage is not 'a policy' at the present time, what is it? One might as well say that a resolution in favour of a Republican form of Government was not a resolution in favour of a policy, because there is no Republican party in the House of Commons.

"The clear object of that line in the Constitution was to bar such resolutions and such proceedings as we witnessed yesterday. Mrs. Alington read a carefully expressed counsel's opinion laying it down that the resolution was entirely illegal and *ultra vires*, given the constitution of the society. Melancholy indeed it was to see how the protests and appeals of young and ardent members of the union like Mrs. Alington, herself a strong Suffragist, as well as of veterans like Miss Clifford, also a Suffragist, fell on deaf ears."

The question of the action to be taken by the Suffragists and Anti-Suffragists who were opposed to the resolution will be discussed at a special meeting.

#### LOCAL GOVERNMENT ADVANCEMENT COMMITTEE.

##### MEETING AT THE CAXTON HALL.

A MEETING on behalf of the Local Government Advancement Committee (Anti-Suffrage) was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on November 25th. Mrs. Humphry Ward (Chairman) presided over a



large gathering, and was accompanied on the platform (among others) by Lord George Hamilton, Sir Melville Beachcroft, Mr. Charles Lyell, M.P., Mr. Arnold Ward, M.P., Mrs. Burgwin (Superintendent of Special Schools, L.C.C.), Miss Cropper (Westmorland Education Committee), Lord Glenconner, and the Mayor of Westminster.

In support of the meeting, some thirty Members of Parliament sent their names, and a large number of influential men and women indicated their desire to help the movement. Those who gave their names were the Rt. Hon. Austen Chamberlain, M.P., the Rt. Hon. F. E. Smith, K.C., M.P., the Rt. Hon. Henry Chaplin, M.P., Sir William Anson, M.P., Sir John Barran, M.P., Sir W. E. B. Priestley, M.P., Major-General Sir Ivor Herbert, Bart., M.P., Colonel J. Rutherford, M.P., the Earl of Ronaldshay, M.P., the Rev. W. Essex, M.P., Major M. Archer Shee, D.S.O., M.P., the Hon. Rupert Guinness, M.P., Sir Charles Henry, M.P., Mr. G. K. Glazebrook, M.P., Mr. Harold Smith, M.P., the Hon. Walter Guinness, M.P., Mr. Evelyn Cecil, M.P., Mr. H. J. Mackinder, M.P., Mr. Cecil Beck, M.P., Mr. W. J. McCaw, M.P., Mr. E. Pretyman, M.P., Mr. A. W. Somers, M.P., Captain A. G. Weigall, M.P., Mr. W. A. Mount, M.P., Captain J. Gilmour, M.P., Mr. H. Fitzherbert Wright, M.P., Colonel T. E. Hickman, M.P., Mr. A. A. Tobin, K.C., M.P., Mr. G. Stewart, M.P., The Duchess of Montrose, the Countess of Jersey, Lady Ebury, Lord Glenconner, Lord Ashton of Hyde, Sir Thomas Acland, Bart., Mrs. Wilton Phipps, Mrs. A. Austen Leigh, Miss Cropper, Mrs. George Macmillan, Mr. G. W. Frothero, Mr. F. M. Sandwith, Mrs. Herbert Ryle, Mrs. Guy Stephenson, Mr. Cyril Jackson, L.C.C., Sir Walter Johnson, J.P., Mrs. Huth Jackson, Mr. A. J. David, K.C., Mr. W. Hasted, J.P., Mr. R. Woolley Walden, J.P., the Hon. Mrs. Mallett, Mrs. Greatbatch, Miss L. Terry Lewis, Mrs. Max Muller, Mrs. Dunn Gardner, Mrs. Henry Wilson, and Miss Soulsby.

After introductory remarks, Mrs. Humphry Ward said: The founders of our Committee and the supporters of our effort belong, in the first place, to the Anti-Suffrage camp. That is, we are convinced, to begin with, that in such a country as England, with England's Imperial and international position, and under our constitution, with the perilous power that it gives—unlike any other country in the world—to single and chance majorities, it is impossible to give the Parliamentary Suffrage to women without endangering the ultimate and responsible government of this country by men in matters pre-eminently masculine, where men alone should decide because men alone can carry out. To give the Parliamentary and Imperial vote to a dozen women in this country is potentially to give it to a future majority of women voters, whose presence in the electorate, by no fault of women, but simply because of the different tastes which nature has assigned them, might dangerously—even fatally—interfere with the just decision by men of male questions on which the very existence of the nation might hang. And we hold that to no section of the population could such a state of things be so disastrous as to the women of England, whose lives, whose homes, whose children must ultimately depend entirely, in the last resort, upon the strength of men, and the greater political experience of men, for the maintenance and upholding of their country.

This argument disposes, it has always seemed to me, of all the analogies from the Colonies, or the States of the American Union, or Scandinavia, or Finland; and we take our stand upon it. England is not Finland, and she is not New Zealand. She is the "weary Titan" on whose shoulders lie the burdens that only men can lift. But that being laid down, there remains the further question—how can the immense advance made by women in the last half-century in education, in knowledge, and civil capacity, be properly and fitly brought to bear upon the nation and the public activities of the nation? And here, it seems to us, that in our admirable and unique Local Government system, the foundation stone, as it has been often called, of English liberties—since out of its beginnings may be said, with much truth, has grown our whole political history—England fortunately possesses what, if time is given us, may lead to the true solution of the difficulty: just satisfaction of women's claims, and the just protection of men's responsibilities. That system was more or less in the melting pot during the whole of the nineteenth century; but the immense variety of delegated powers which it has now established throughout the nation, is recognised now, I think, by all political thinkers, as likely to be of more and more importance as time goes on. At present this system, and participation in it, is open to women—with certain exceptions—on the same terms as men. There are certain exceptions, and certain changes in the law, which are urgently needed. The position, for instance of married women, under the municipal law, throughout the United Kingdom needs to be made uniform, and we can only hope that the Local Government clauses in the Franchise Bill now before Parliament, which seem to perpetuate the present anomalies, are only there to be amended. Our Committee is strongly in favour of their drastic amendment. And the small change in the law which would make a residential qualification sufficient in the case of both men and women for election to Town and County Councils, as it is now sufficient for Borough Councils and Boards of Guardians, is, in our eyes, of still greater importance. Were it passed, the number of women candidates would be at once increased, and the Committee which I represent is strongly in favour of the change, and has been co-operating with both Suffragists and Anti-Suffragists in the House of Commons in the endeavour to obtain it.

Mrs. Ward went on to discuss the present position in the Local Government field and the difficulties attending the election of women, together with the steps that the Committee proposed to take to cope with the situation. As a reason for supporting only Anti-Suffragist candidates, Mrs. Ward pointed out that neutrality in this field had become almost impossible since, owing to Suffragist action, 200 and odd Town Councils had been induced to send up petitions to the Prime Minister in favour of Woman Suffrage. It had, therefore become impossible for Anti-Suffragists to support Suffragists on these Councils. She regretted it as much as anybody; but it had not been their doing.

Pressure upon our space prevents an extended report of the remaining speeches. Lord George Hamilton moved the first resolution affirming that the expansion and development of women's work in Local Government affords the best outlet for women's public activities. He pointed out

the equality in the franchise must be regarded as equality in business partnership; it must carry with it equal responsibility and equal liability for the consequences of the co-partnership. Mr. Charles Lyell, M.P., seconded the resolution, which was supported in an eminently practical speech by Mrs. Burgwin. The resolution was carried unanimously. Mr. Arnold Ward, M.P., proposed a resolution urging the various political associations engaged in the work of selecting and supporting candidates for Local Government elections to make due provision for women candidates on their lists. Sir Melville Beachcroft seconded, and Mrs. Cropper spoke to the resolution. The Mayor of Westminster proposed a vote of thanks to the Chairman and speakers, and Lord Glenconner seconded.

#### THE WELSH CAMPAIGN.

The following letter was published in the *Liverpool Daily Courier*, on November 11th.

To the Editor of the "Courier."

SIR,—As you reported the one meeting during the Welsh Anti-Suffrage campaign at which we lost our resolution, will you publish the enclosed brief report of the seventeen meetings which have been a great success? Yours, &c.,

GWLADYS GLADSTONE SOLOMON,

Org. Sec.

November 8th., 1912.

#### WELSH CAMPAIGN, 1912.

The resolution was in each case "That this meeting is against votes for women."

1. Barmouth, public free, approximate number in audience 200, resolution passed with 6 dissentients.
2. Criccieth, drawing room meeting (9), unanimously.
3. Towyn, public free (150), overwhelming majority.
4. Aberystwyth, open-air (300), 10 dissentients.
5. Llandilo, open-air (250), overwhelming majority.
6. Borth, open-air (80), 1 dissentient.
7. Aberdovey, public free (300), 7 dissentients.
8. Borth, public free (80), overwhelming majority.
9. Llanystumdwy, public free (100), 4 dissentients.
10. Criccieth, public free (200), 7 dissentients.
11. Carnarvon, public free (600), unanimously.
12. Bangor, workmen only (60), unanimously.
13. Bangor, workmen only (25), unanimously.
14. Bangor, workmen only (26), 18 to 5.
15. Bangor, drawing room meeting (25), unanimously.
16. Bangor, public free, in private room (80), resolution lost.
17. Corris, public free (200), unanimously.
18. Penygroes, public free (250), 7 dissentients.

[To the above list might have been added—  
19. Mackynlleth (400), resolution passed.  
20. Abergynolwyn (150), resolution passed unanimously.—Ed.]

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### A CORRECTION.

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

SIR,—My attention has been drawn to a paragraph in your November issue which runs as follows:—

"I learn on substantial Nationalist authority that Mr. Crawshay-Williams' blocking amendment was put down by arrangement with the Nationalist Party. There are only two inaccuracies in these three lines.

The first is that my amendment was a blocking amendment. It blocked nothing. The second is that it was put down by arrangement with the Nationalist Party. They were never consulted.

Yours truly,  
E. CRAWSHAY WILLIAMS,  
House of Commons, Westminster,  
25th November, 1912.

[We regret that our Dublin correspondent, in whose letter the above sentence appeared, should have been misinformed on this point.—Ed.]

### "DE MORTUIS."

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

SIR,—I notice in the current number of your paper an account of a meeting held at St. James' Hall, Worthing, addressed by Miss Gladys Pott and Mr. Mitchell-Innes, K.C.

The paragraph concludes with the words: "The resolution was put to the vote and carried with enthusiasm by a good majority."

Of course much depends upon what one considers "good" in this sense. Why not have put the actual figures, which, on the showing of Mr. Mitchell-Innes, were 82 versus 70?

In other words, the "good majority" was represented by 12.

May I ask you to be kind enough to insert this little letter in your next issue.

Yours faithfully,  
A. F. WHITELEY.  
[We are indebted to our correspondent for the actual figures of the majority.—Ed.]

### THE SOUTH LONDON HOSPITAL FOR WOMEN.

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

DEAR SIR,—Since the advent of women doctors, they have been in continuous and increasing demand amongst women and girls of all ranks of life, a demand which as yet is far from adequately met. The facilities for the post-graduate training of medical women are more restricted than in the case of men. None of the special hospitals for diseases of women admit women on to their honorary staff, and only one general hospital in London does so—the Royal Free Hospital. There is one general women's hospital staffed entirely by medical women—the New Hospital for Women in Euston Road. This hospital, which started in a small way in 1872, has continued to increase in size, and its success is demonstrated by the vast numbers of women and girls who apply for admission.

It is now proposed to start a general women's hospital in South London, with a medical staff of women only, and a committee has been formed for the purpose. Their

scheme has the support of leading members of the medical profession, and it has been laid before the King Edward Hospital Fund for London for their approval, and will be submitted again from time to time as fresh developments arise. Among the Vice-Presidents are the Bishops of Southwark and Kingston, and Mrs. Humphry Ward.

The Committee have been fortunate in securing a site consisting of three acres of freehold ground fronting on Clapham Common. Here will be built the in-patient department, which is to contain besides general wards for ordinary hospital patients, a number of private wards at an inclusive charge of from one to three guineas a week. These wards are intended for a class especially hard hit under modern conditions, viz., those women of small means who cannot afford medical attendance in a nursing home, and yet should not be occupying beds intended for the very poor in an ordinary hospital ward. The out-patient department is to be in a more central situation, and will be readily accessible to women living in the southern counties, as well as to those of South London. This department will be opened in a few weeks' time, and attached to it will be an enquiry officer to sift out unsuitable applicants.

The amount required for the purchase of the site at Clapham Common has been raised without any public appeal, and the committee feel encouraged to hope that the larger sum—at least £20,000—required for the erection and equipment of a well-appointed modern hospital will be subscribed, now that the scheme is being made more widely known. They earnestly appeal for generous assistance.

Donations and subscriptions may be sent to the Hon. Treasurer, Mr. E. L. Somers Cocks, 43, Charing Cross, S.W., or to the Bankers, Messrs. Cocks, Biddulph & Co., at the same address. Further information may be obtained from the Hon. Secretary, Cedar Lawn, Hampstead Heath, N.W.

I append below the names of those who have kindly consented to become Vice-Presidents of the Hospital.

I am, &c.,  
HARRIET S. WEAVER,  
Hon. Secretary.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.—Adeline Duchess of Bedford, Winifred Countess of Arran, The Viscountess Castlereagh, Lady Edward Spencer Churchill, Lady Robert Cecil, Mrs. Humphry Ward, Lady Betty Balfour, Mrs. Henry Fawcett.

### SHOOTING FOR LADIES

#### VOTES FOR WOMEN.

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

SIR,—Our attention has been called to the following paragraph in the Suffrage organ, *The Common Cause*, of October 10th.

#### "MARKSWOMEN."

"In a shooting competition at Bisley last Saturday, women are said to have specially distinguished themselves. Shooting at 100 yards with a miniature rifle against nine other ladies and 110 men, Mrs. Muirhead made 96 points out of a possible 100 (the highest score being 98), while five other women scored from 78 to 89. The total of each of these ladies would entitle her to the pay of a first-class shot, if she were

serving with the colours in the Army. Mrs. Muirhead took the fourth prize in this competition and a sixth prize in another at 200 yards, in which she made 46 out of 50. The superior physical force of men, in the contemplation of which our Anti-Suffragist friends find so much satisfaction, would not much avail any of their number in the regrettable event of a personal conflict with any of these Amazons. Of course, there would always be the satisfaction of calling her accomplishment unwomanly."

As any attempt to connect Ladies' Rifle Shooting with militant Suffragism is not only entirely uncalled for, but may, in our opinion, prove highly detrimental to a cause to which we are devoted, owing to the criminal excesses which have been already committed by Suffrage agitators and the threats of more extended outrages, we as representative lady shots at Bisley would respectfully ask you to assist us in disclaiming this implication placed upon our efforts to promote ladies' rifle shooting. It does not seem to be recognised that the increase and present position of rifle shooting for ladies has been made possible by the courtesy of the men and by the welcome and encouragement always accorded to us by them, particularly at Bisley.

We are

Yours faithfully,

ELLEN S. ALTON, London & Middlesex Rifle Association.

ADA S. BOORE, Otlands Ladies' Rifle Club.

CLARA A. CHAPMAN, South London Rifle Club.

LILIAN C. FEARON, Reigate Miniature Rifle Club.

E. G. MUIRHEAD, Byfleet Ladies' Rifle Club.

CAROLYN SMITH, London & Middlesex Rifle Association.

GLADYS H. BALIOL SCOTT, Hon. Sec. South London Rifle Association.

MADELEINE SHARP, South London Rifle Club.

MONA M. SHARP, Byfleet Ladies' Rifle Club.

ELSIE S. WATNEY, Reigate Miniature Rifle Club.

The following telegram was sent, on November 4th, to the Leader of the Irish Party, by the Irish Branch of the N.L.O.W.S.:—"The Irish Branch of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage earnestly protest against Mr. Snowden's amendment on the ground that neither a majority of the electorate as proposed by the amendment, nor a majority of the women of Ireland, has expressed its wish for the extension of the Parliamentary Franchise to women."

SUFFRAGISTS are delighted over the discovery that "in the ancient civilisation of Babylonia women were on a footing of equality with men. Women could hold civil offices, plead in a court of justice, and were allowed to manage their own business affairs." Further and more detailed information, adds a Suffragist organ, would be welcome. Surely not in the case of Babylon, unless the Church League for Women's Suffrage can spare time from the annotation of the Pauline Epistles for the rewriting of history.



## NOVEMBER MEETINGS.

## THE SCOTTISH ANTI-SUFFRAGE DEMONSTRATION.

## GLASGOW MEETING.

Preface by the Rt. Hon. Sir HERBERT MAXWELL, Bt.

IN matters political, attack is a far simpler matter than defence. It is easy for an orator, declaiming against the existing order of things, to rouse the attention, inflame the passions, and fire the imagination of his audience; whereas one arguing for the maintenance of *status quo* cannot look for a response from the excitement of his hearers. Moreover, long before the defenders of any institution awake to the need for action, the columns of attack will have been marshalled, the plan of campaign determined, some of the outworks may even have been carried before the garrison is under arms.

Such has been the case in the sudden upheaval to obtain votes for women. It would have been absurd a few years ago to organise opposition to a movement which had not come into being—to warn people against principles which were held as a pious opinion only by a small minority of the nation. The common sense of the community would have resented any fuss of that kind in favour of an order of government which has been tacitly accepted as germane to the Constitution by generation after generation from the foundation of the realm. Enthusiastic advocates of Women Suffrage we have known to be among us for many years past: we have also among us earnest believers in republican government; but just as it would now be mischievous to promote an agitation in support of the Monarchy, so it would have been senseless to take any active measures against the dilution of the electorate by admitting women to the franchise, with all the inevitable consequences of that act.

The case is different now. The revolutionary movement has been brought well under way; the attack is imminent; and we are practically (though it is to be hoped only temporarily) under the supreme control of a single Chamber, and that a stipendiary one, and it behoves those to look to their defences who are not disposed to entrust the destiny of the Empire to hands which have hitherto held unchallenged monopoly in a different sphere.

The great meeting in the Albert Hall last spring was the first rally in defence of the Constitution. It brought home to the minds of thousands who had never given the question a serious thought that the hour for indifference was past; that apathy was no longer consistent with good citizenship; and that it was imperative for the will of the nation to make itself known and felt without doubt or delay.

There were many Scots men and women in that great Albert Hall gathering, but it was essentially an English demonstration. The Scottish nation had yet to speak, and in the vast assembly in

A GREAT Anti-Suffrage Demonstration was held in the St. Andrew's Halls, Glasgow, on November 1st, under the auspices of the Scottish National Anti-Suffrage League. Lord Glenconner was in the chair, and the speakers included Earl Curzon of Kedleston, the Duchess of Montrose, the Marchioness of Tullibardine, Mr. A. MacCallum Scott, M.P., and Mr. Godfrey P. Collins, M.P. The large hall was crowded, and among those who accepted invitations or, if unable to be present, expressed their sympathy with the subjects of the meeting, were:—

The Prime Minister, Earl of Rosebery, K.G., K.T., Earl Loreburn, G.C.M.G., Marquis of Tullibardine, M.P., A. MacCallum Scott, Esq., M.P., Charles Lyell, Esq., M.P., Sir John Barran, Bart., M.P., J. Annan Bryce, Esq., M.P., G. P. Collins, Esq., M.P., Sir Henry Craik, M.P., Viscount Dalrymple, M.P., Sir John Dewar, Bart., M.P., R. C. Munro Ferguson, Esq., M.P., Sir Robert Finlay, M.P., Captain Gilmour, M.P., W. G. C. Gladstone, Esq., M.P., H. J. Mackinder, Esq., M.P., P. A. Molteno, Esq., M.P., D. Y. Pirie, Esq., M.P., W. M. R. Pringle, Esq., M.P., J. Cathcart Watson, Esq., M.P., Wm. Young, Esq., M.P., Sir George Younger, Bart., M.P., Sir Archibald Williamson, Bart., M.P., the Duchess of Hamilton, the Duchess of Montrose, the Dowager Duchess of Roxburgh, the Duke and Duchess of Abercorn, the Duke and Duchess of Portland, the Marchioness of Bute, the Marchioness of Tullibardine, the Marchioness of Tweeddale, the Marquis and Marchioness of Ailsa, the Marquis and Marchioness of Graham, the Marquis and Marchioness

Glasgow—the second city in the Empire—on November 1st, we may be sure that the voice of the majority of that nation was heard. In one respect these two memorable meetings had one feature in common—a feature without precedent or parallel in the history of Parliamentary reform. Hitherto successive extensions of the franchise have been conceded to the vehement, sometimes violent, insistence of the unenfranchised. All opposition to such extensions came invariably and exclusively from those who already possessed the Parliamentary vote. Anti-reform demonstrations by the unenfranchised were a phenomenon unknown—inconceivable. But in the present case we see a vigorous, organised opposition on the part of very large numbers of those whom it is proposed to enfranchise, and whom some of our present rulers have expressed the determination to enfranchise. The audience in St. Andrew's Hall on November 1st numbered about six thousand, the proportion of the sexes being practically equal. Among the three thousand women present there may have been some ten per cent. of Suffragists; be it said to their credit that they maintained dignified restraint upon their feelings. The remaining 2,700 were there to demonstrate a protest against the obligation which it is sought to thrust upon them. Yet it cannot be suggested that these women are of inferior intelligence to the brawlers of Regent Street or the incendiaries of Dublin. Those who listened to the earnest logic of the Marchioness of Tullibardine and the gentle pleading of the Duchess of Montrose well know that these ladies need fear no comparison with the most able and eloquent leaders of the Suffragist movement. Yet they, and the women who sat rank behind rank in rapt attention to them, came there to protest against being taken out of the sphere which women only can occupy, and being dragged into another for the functions whereof they have neither training, physical aptitude, nor ambition. *Nolunt episcopari*: they will not have these unfamiliar duties thrust upon them, well knowing that in measure as they should undertake them seriously must their own peculiar offices be neglected—offices prescribed by nature and hallowed by immemorial usage.

Nor are they incurring any sacrifice of influence in thus declining to be forced into the rough-and-tumble of party politics; for it is as true to-day as it was when said by a French philosopher long ago—*Les femmes peuvent tout, parce qu'elles gouvernent les personnes qui gouvernent tout*: Women have all in their power, inasmuch as they rule those who rule everything.

Monreith,  
November, 1912.

HERBERT MAXWELL.

of Linlithgow, the Countess of Airlie, the Countess of Cassilis, the Countess of Cromartie, the Countess of Dalkeith, the Countess of Eglinton, the Countess of Leven and Melville, the Countess of Rothes, the Countess of Selkirk, Constance, Countess de la Warr, the Earl and Countess of Glasgow, the Earl and Countess of Home, the Earl and Countess of Mar and Kellie, the Earl and Countess of Minto, the Earl and Countess of Stradbroke, the Earl of Ancaster, the Earl Curzon of Kedleston, G.C.S.I., the Earl of Dalhousie, the Earl of Dunmore, the Earl of Galloway, the Earl of Haddington, the Earl of Stair, the Viscountess Dalrymple, the Viscount and Viscountess Kelburn, Viscount and Viscountess Melville, the Dowager Lady Kinross, the Dowager Lady Lovat, the Dowager Lady Stirling, the Lady Anstruther, the Lady Constance Blackburn, the Lady Blythswood, the Lady Borthwick, the Lady Hermione Cameron of Lochiel, the Lady Griselda Cheape, the Lady Marjorie Dalrymple Hamilton, the Lady Dundas, the Lady Georgina Home-Drummond, the Lady Anne Kerr, the Lady Marjorie Mackenzie, the Lady Augusta Orr-Ewing, Lord and Lady Belhaven and Stenton, Lord and Lady Clinton, Lord and Lady Elphinstone, Lord and Lady Kinnaird, Lord and Lady Lamington, Lord and Lady Middleton, Lord and Lady Reay, Lord and Lady Ruthven, Lord and Lady Stratheden, Lord Abercromby, Lord Balfour of Burleigh, K.T., the Reverend Lord Blythswood, Lord Colebrooke, Lord Dunglass, Lord Glenconner, Lord Kinross, Lord Kyllachy, Lord Oranmore and Browne, Sir Ralph Anstruther, Bart., Sir James Bell, Bart.,

Sir Charles and Lady Cayzer, Sir Archibald Edmonstone, Bart., Sir R. W. B. Jardine, Bart., Sir Malcolm MacGregor, Bart., of MacGregor, the Right Hon. Sir Herbert Maxwell, Bart., Sir John and Lady Stirling Maxwell, Sir Hugh and Lady Alice Shaw Stewart, Sir Mark J. M'Taggart Stewart, Bart., Sir Alan H. Seton-Stewart, Bart., the Right Hon. Sir Charles Dalrymple, Bart., Sir Andrew Fraser, Bart., Sir Andrew Noble, Bart., Sir Robert Usher, Bart., Sir Henry and Lady Beatrice Dundas, Sir James and Lady Low, Sir David and Lady Baird, Sir Richard and Lady Waldie Griffith, Sir John and Lady Ure Primrose, Sir Alexander and Lady Christison, Lady Clark of Penicuik, Lady Gibson Craig, Lady Dewar, Lady Gordon, the Rev. Sir David Hunter-Blair, Bart., Lady Nathan, Lady Watson, Sir James Guthrie, P.R.S.A., Lady Bine Renshaw, Lady Russell, Lady Stewart of Grantully, Sir R. Rowand Anderson, LL.D., Lady Houldsworth, Lady Coats, Sir James Balfour Paul (Lyon King at Arms), Sir Halliday Croom and Miss Croom, Sir Oliver and Lady Riddell, Sir James B. Smith, Sir Wm. Turner, K.C.B., LL.D., Mr. and Lady Hersey Baird, Colonel the Hon. R. E. Boyle, the Hon. Mrs. Yorke-Bevan, Right Hon. Mr. and Mrs. J. Parker Smith, the Hon. H. Elliot, the Hon. E. Elliot, the Hon. Mrs. McGilchrist, the Hon. Mrs. Douglas Campbell, Major and Miss Rowley, Mrs. Leslie Hamilton, the Hon. Mrs. Rowley and Miss Rowley, Andrew Aitken, Esq., Dr. James Allan, Miss M. Anderson, W. Andrew, Esq., Mrs. Annandale, Mr. and Mrs. James Arthur, Mr. and Mrs. Esq., J. G. A. Baird, J. C. Baillie, Esq., Mrs. Balmain, Professor and Mrs. Barr, Admiral Bearcroft, C. E. Beckett, Esq., Mrs. Glasgow Bell, Surgeon-General Bidie, John Birkmyre, Esq., Mrs. Black, A. C. Black, Esq., Colonel Blair of Blair, Mr. and Mrs. David Blair, Mrs. Hunter Blair, Lieut.-Colonel Borthwick, Dr. and Mrs. J. T. Bottomley, Mrs. Stirling Boyd, Miss Boyle, Dr. Byron Bramwell, Professor Baldwin Brown, C. H. Brown, Esq., Miss Brown, George Brown, Esq., Miss Brown, J. Harvie Brown, Esq., LL.D., Mr. and Mrs. Nicol Paton Brown, Mrs. Brown, Mrs. Buchanan, Sheriff Buntine, Professor and Mrs. Burnett, Dr. and Mrs. Burn-Murdoch, Mrs. Caddell, James Cadenhead, Esq., A.R.S.A., Arthur Caird, Esq., Patrick T. Caird, Esq., Mrs. Cameron, Mrs. Campbell, Miss Campbell, Colonel Burnley Campbell, Mr. and Mrs. James Campbell, Mr. and Mrs. Pearce Campbell, Miss Campbell, D. Carson, Esq., D. Carson, Jun., Esq., Mrs. Gray Cheape, Jas. Clarke, Esq., K.C., Mrs. Clarke, Bailie Cleland, Mr. and Mrs. A. H. B. Constable, F. T. Cooper, Esq., the Rev. Professor and Miss Cooper, John Cowan, Esq., Miss M. Cowan, Edward Cox, Esq., A. J. Craig, Esq., Mrs. Craigie, Archibald Crauford, Esq., Miss Crawford, Mrs. Ewing Crawford, Miss Houston Crawford, Donald Crawford, Esq., K.C., Miss Dalglish, Francis Darwin, Esq., Mr. and Mrs. Peter Denny, Mr. and Mrs. W. K. Dickson, Mrs. A. H. Donald, Mrs. Douglas, Dr. Douglas, J. Dowden, Esq., M.B., C.M., F.R.C.S.E., Mr. and Mrs. Murray Dunlop, Miss Edgar, M.A., Miss Fenton, A. D. Ferguson, Esq., Miss Findlay, A. W. Finlayson, Esq., J. A. Fleming, Esq., K.C., Dr. and Mrs. Ernest Fortune, David Fortune, Esq., F. C. Gardiner, Esq., Colonel J. Gardiner, Professor and Mrs. Geikie, Robert Gibb, Esq., R.S.A., Ralph Glyn, Esq., H. C. Gordon, Esq., Mrs. Gordon, Mrs. Gordon of Ellon, Mrs. Gossip, Dr. Robert Gourlay, David D. Gray, Esq., Miss Hale, A. M. Hamilton, Esq., D. M. Hannay, Esq., Mrs. Armour Hannay, Dr. Heard, Mrs. Harmar, W. C. Hector, Esq., Thos. Henderson, Esq., R. S. Horne, Esq., Miss Horne, Mrs. Hotson, Mrs. Houldsworth, Mrs. Howdon, Colonel Robert Howie, Mr. and Mrs. George Clark Hutchison, Mrs. Hutchison, J. A. Inglis, Esq., Professor Irvine, Dr. Jamieson, Mr. and Mrs. James Fyfe Jamieson, Mrs. Jardine, C.N. Johnston, Esq., K.C., R. Johnstone, Esq., S.S.C., Mr. and Mrs. W. C. Johnstone, Dr. McKenzie Johnston, Miss Kellock, Miss Kemp, Mrs. Shaw Kennedy, Colonel and Mrs. Kidston-Kerr, Mr. and Mrs. C. M. King, Miss Kirk, Miss Kirkpatrick, Emeritus Professor Knight, D. B. Kyles, Esq., Bailie and Mrs. Lamond, Miss Landale, William Laughland, Esq., Miss Lawrie, Mrs. Lees, Rev. Canon Lennie, Mrs. J. Lilburn, A. N. Lindsay, Esq., Professor Harvey Littlejohn, Mr. and Mrs. Lobintz, Professor Lodge, Miss Louise Lorimer, F. C. London, Esq., Mrs. Lumsden, Mrs. Charles Lyell, T. M'Arly, Esq., Sheriff M'Clure, K.C., Mrs. MacDonald, Miss MacDonald, W. D. MacKay, Esq., R.S.A., P. Jeffrey MacKie, Esq., Mrs. MacKinnon, Mrs. MacLaren, Mrs. MacLehose, W. F. MacLellan, Esq., Mr. and Mrs. J. M. MacLeod, Councillor M'Culluch, Mrs. M'Ewen, Mr. and Mrs. McGregor, Mr. and Mrs. M'Intyre, Mrs. Main, W. Maitland, Esq., Colonel E. D. Malcolm, C.B., Mrs. Mansfield, J. Marshall, Esq., Captain and Lady Mary Maxwell, Mrs. Medley, the Rev. W. Metcalfe, D.D., Miss Esther Millar, Professor and Mrs. Hepburn Millar, Mrs. Pollok Morris, H. Burn Murdoch, Esq., Mrs. Murray, Professor Musgrave, Mr. and Mrs. Nairn, the Rev. Dr. Niven, Miss Oswald, Mr. and Mrs. Alexander M. Paterson, Mrs. Paterson, Rev. Professor Paterson, D.D., Mrs. Cochrane Patrick, Miss Dick Peddie, Professor Phillimore,

J. C. Pitman, Esq., Miss Playfair, Mr. and Mrs. Greig Pye, J. Rae, Esq., Mrs. Rae, M.A., Professor G. Ramsay, Mrs. Risk, Mr. and Mrs. Robertson, Miss B. Robertson, Miss Robinow, Neil Robson, Esq., Miss Helen Rutherford, M.A., Professor and Mrs. Sainsbury, R. L. Scott, Esq., Miss Sellar, Mrs. F. B. Sharp, Mrs. Campbell Shairp, Mrs. Shepherd, Rev. J. Cromartie Smith, Mrs. Smith, G. Smith, Esq., Miss Guthrie Smith, Mr. and Mrs. John A. Spens, J. H. Stevenson, Esq., Mr. and Mrs. Cuthbert Stewart, Mrs. Stewart, Captain and Mrs. Stirling of Keir, Miss Stockman, Doctor Taylor, Dr. and Mrs. Alexis Thomson, Mr. and Mrs. Michael Thorburn, Mrs. Thorneycroft, Miss Trotter, Dr. and Mrs. Dawson Turner, Miss M. J. Urquhart, G. H. Wallace, Esq., Mrs. Wauchope of Niddrie, Mrs. Paterson Wingate, Dr. Young.

## MR. ASQUITH'S MESSAGE.

## PREMIER'S OPINION UNCHANGED.

Lord GLENCONNER took the Chair and read the following letters from the Prime Minister and the Earl Loreburn:—

The Prime Minister wrote:—

"In view of the division of opinion which exists among my colleagues, and in the Liberal Party, on the subject of Woman Suffrage, I have not thought, and do not think, it right to take an active part in the controversy in the country.

"My own personal opinion is unchanged—that the enfranchisement of women for the purposes of the Parliamentary vote would not be in the best interests either of women or of the State."

## LETTER FROM EARL LOREBURN.

The Earl Loreburn wrote:—

"I am afraid I shall not be able to come to your meeting in Glasgow, but I believe Woman Suffrage for the Imperial Parliament would be a great mistake, and that this opinion is shared by the vast majority.

"The electors would make this clear if they had the chance, and I hope the friends of fair play—whatever view they take—will make a stand against the design of passing this unfortunate proposal into law behind the back of the constituencies.

"No Government could survive—or ought to survive—that gave effect to such a manoeuvre when it came to the point. And it would be unfair towards sincere—though mistaken—opponents to leave them under any delusion on so serious a subject."

Lord GLENCONNER then said:—I do not doubt that the large majority of the audience which I am now addressing are Anti-Suffragists, but it may be that some of our opponents are also present. Everyone in this audience is honourably pledged not to disturb the meeting, and here I may mention we are assembled to listen to the illustrious speakers who will address you, and that no questions or other form of interruption will be allowed. (Cheers.) Free speech is the heritage of Scottish men and Scottish women, and I would appeal to the sense of honour of those who do not agree with the speeches about to be delivered not to interrupt. Should this appeal be disregarded, the stewards will at once remove any interrupter, but without any unnecessary violence. (Cheers.) I would also ask the remainder of the audience, in the event of interruptions, not to show their disapprobation in too emphatic a manner. I make this appeal because my own experience, and the experience of others on these occasions, is that the expressions of disapprobation, much as one sympathises with them, sometimes cause as much disturbance as the original interruption itself. (Cheers.)

## SCOTTISH NATIONAL PROTEST.

My Lords, Ladies, and Gentlemen.—I value the honour which the Committee of the Scottish Anti-Suffrage League have done me in asking me to preside over this large and representative Assembly of Scotsmen and Scotswomen. I welcome you here to-night to take part in a Scottish national protest against the grant of the Parliamentary franchise to women. In the past many people have viewed this subject with indifference. It is in order to combat this feeling that we have asked you to come here to-night to express your abhorrence of such a proposal. To me here for the moment as a member of the Liberal Party, I am willing to follow the lead of the Prime Minister, who has said that the grant of the Parliamentary franchise to women would be a political mistake of a very disastrous



kind. Now it must be remembered that this is not a question of any section or class, but is a

#### GREAT CONSTITUTIONAL QUESTION.

We must not only consider whether men and women desire a change in the constitution, but whether this change or revolution would be to the advantage of the State. If adult suffrage is granted to women, they will be in a majority, and when they have the vote, there is no logical reason why they should not sit in the House of Commons and the Cabinet. Men and women have each their own sphere of action. (Cheers.) In many spheres they can help each other, but the whole responsibility of Imperial government must rest with man, the predominant partner. (Cheers.) It is not that men are individually intellectually superior to women. We rest our claim on the physical and immutable power of man, who, by tradition, experience, and practice, has been the ruling sex in all human societies for purposes of government and popular control. (Cheers.) As Mr. Harcourt said—"The true basis of the franchise is manhood, by which I mean the ultimate sanction of force and the power in the last resort to compel the acceptance of its decrees which constitute our code of laws." The question arises—Are women ready to be ruled by men? Personally I do not believe that the majority of women desire the vote. The noisy voices of a few must not be mistaken as representing the millions who are silent. In these days women have found plenty of work which they are admirably fitted to do. But public affairs, for which they are unfitted by temperament and training, let them leave to men. Man is only too willing and anxious to help woman in every good cause, but the

#### ULTIMATE DECISION

must remain in the hands of men, in whom the executive and constitutional power must rest. Holding the view that it would be prejudicial to the race and disastrous to the nation if women were enfranchised, let us in Scotland concentrate our efforts in the opposition and defeat of this movement. (Cheers.) We are honoured by the presence of a distinguished statesman, Lord Curzon—(cheers)—a man who has ruled the greatest dependency under the Crown, and at the same time a scholar and a student of history. (Cheers.) I could not wish or ask for a man whose authority is more valuable to address you to-night. I have now the honour to ask Lord Curzon to address you. (Cheers.)

#### EARL CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

##### EXTENSION OF PARLIAMENTARY FRANCHISE.

LORD CURZON, who was received with cheers, said:—My Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have been asked to move the following resolution:—

"That the extension of the Parliamentary franchise to women would be hostile to their own welfare and the welfare of the State, and that a change so momentous and so incalculable in its effects, both socially and politically, ought not to be entertained except upon a clear and deliberately expressed demand by the electorate."

Ladies and gentlemen, the last time that I stood on this platform I was addressing a genial but somewhat noisy concourse of my academic constituents. (Cheers.) For all I know some of those enthusiastic gentlemen may be here to-night. On the present occasion I cannot hope for a better intentioned, but I hope I shall have a quieter, audience. You may ask the question why I, an Englishman, should come up to Glasgow to speak to the men and women of Scotland upon the question of franchise for women? I think I might answer the question by saying that we are still a United Kingdom, until our friend Mr. Winston Churchill—(laughter) splits us up into a heptarchy or something worse. The question which I have come to discuss is a truly

#### NATIONAL QUESTION,

which concerns all parts of the United Kingdom alike, and if you contribute, as you do in this country, a Lord Chancellor to us in England, and a Member for a Scottish constituency as head of His Majesty's Government, you cannot resent an Englishman coming up and addressing you from a platform in Glasgow. But I have another answer to make. I have come here in the main because I happen to be one of the joint-presidents of the English Anti-Suffrage League, and I have come from them to deliver a message of sympathy—(cheers)—and support to the Scottish Branch of the League. Your branch in this country has an existence allied to but independent of our own. It owes its existence in the main to the unconquerable vitality and activity of the Duchess of Montrose.

(Cheers.) She has been the life and the strength of the Scottish League through all these years, and now that it is going to assume a new form and is about to accept a more active organisation, no one, I am sure, will welcome that fact more heartily than does her Grace. (Cheers.) I take it from what I have been told that in Scotland as in England there has been a tendency to think that no effort, no speeches, no organisation were required for the propagation of our views, and people have been disposed to think that the anti-suffrage cause might be left to look after itself, and that the pro-suffrage cause was a chimera, a bogie, an illusion so absurd that it was unnecessary to take it seriously. I venture to suggest that would be a great mistake. (Cheers.) Whatever may be your views about the suffrage, whether you think that those who want the vote for women are a large or a small section of the community, whether you regard their case as a bubble that can easily be pricked by argument or not, you, Lord Glenconner, said what was nothing short of the truth just now when you remarked that this is a great political question, upon which every citizen, man or woman, is bound to form an opinion. The change which is advocated is one which, if carried, must affect the

#### ENTIRE STRUCTURE OF SOCIETY,

and the relations between the sexes. It must have consequences, and they may be very serious consequences, upon the State and upon the Empire. (Cheers.) Well, upon a question of that sort I submit to you that no man or woman has a right to be indifferent. It is not a case where you can sit upon the hedge, even if it be a comfortable place to sit upon. (Laughter.) You are bound to come down upon one side or the other, and when you have come down, as I take it the majority of you have, then, believe me, it is no case for apathy or indifference, for your idleness and indolence will be taken advantage of by your opponents, and they will steal a march upon you—I am not certain they have not done so already—and you will give away an advantage from which they will not be slow to take profit, and which may retard your ultimate success. A year ago I think it may have been said that in England we were afflicted by a similar apathy. There was a tendency to let matters look after themselves. But we realised that we

#### MUST BE UP AND DOING,

and in the earlier part of this year we held a great meeting in the Albert Hall in London, at which there appeared on the platform together representatives of all shades of both political parties, including Cabinet Ministers and ex-Cabinet Ministers. Messages were read from the Prime Minister, Lord Lansdowne, and Mr. Joseph Chamberlain; and from that meeting there went forth a clear pronouncement of the great body of the best men and women of the country, who were resolutely opposed to this change. Now we have come up from the South to this great Scottish meeting, which we hope will be a Scottish analogy to the meeting in the Albert Hall, and I trust that there will go forth from this meeting a similar pronouncement—clear, emphatic, and strong—that you men and women of Scotland will not parley with this folly—for folly I take it to be—that you will not do anything that will so fatally injure your sex and weaken the fabric of State. In the resolution which I have read the first proposition is that the Parliamentary franchise to women will be hostile to the welfare of women. (Cheers.) I truly believe this to be the case. Many claims are made, and I have no doubt seriously and honestly made, as to the advantages which may accrue to women from the possession of the vote. I do not think that they stand examination. I doubt myself if one penny per week addition to wages would accrue to any branch of working women by the grant of the franchise, and if the grant of the franchise to women were to be made by them an instrument for

#### EXTORTING BY PRESSURE

or by other means an increase of wages from Parliament, then I should say it was the strongest reason against granting it. (Cheers.) We are told sometimes that the vote is necessary for women in order to remove some of the anomalies and injustices from which they are still alleged to suffer. I respect the argument, but I know not what those anomalies and injustices are—at any rate, I know of none which men are not willing to remedy, and I take a case which I think will shortly arise. You have a Commission sitting upon the question of the divorce laws, and they are likely to propose great changes. I think when they report you will get from this Parliament of men everything which women could desire, perhaps more than a Parliament of women would give. Then there is the question, difficult indeed for men to touch upon, but which affects

many people—the idea that the granting of the vote to women would have some effect in solving the insoluble sex problem and in bringing about the suppression of various forms of vice. I wish that I could think it would. I think if it were so I would become an advocate of votes for women. But in my view the moral, physical, or spiritual regeneration of women does not depend upon the vote. It is to other agencies and other sources that we must look for the mitigation of the evils to which I refer. But, after all, may we not also say that woman has her own sphere, her own political sphere? I think, sir, you said in your opening remarks something about

#### LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

and you indicated that in employment on Town Councils, County Councils, and Boards of Guardians women might find scope for those qualities in which they excel—tender regard for the sick, the fallen, the destitute, and the young. (Cheers.) True, but, my Lord, do they take advantage of them? Is this a moment at which you should give a wide extension of political responsibilities to women when they are so indifferent to the responsibilities that in the municipal elections which are going on all over the Kingdom, out of 5,000 candidates in the field, only 53 are women—just over one per cent. That does not seem to indicate a very passionate desire on the part of women to take part in political activities. It certainly does not provide us with a very strong argument for extending the sphere of their labours. But I am not going to pursue this branch of the subject—the question of women—to-night, because a later speaker who is to follow me is so infinitely better qualified to deal with the matter than any man can be. I refer to Lady Tullibardine—(cheers)—who has come here this evening and will deal specifically with that branch of the question. But may I say in passing that Lady Tullibardine herself is a living example of what a woman can do without a vote—(cheers)—and if she possessed a hundred votes could not do better than she is doing now. She has been spending the last few weeks in the North of Scotland with a

#### MEDICAL SERVICE COMMISSION.

appointed, I believe, by Mr. Lloyd George to secure to the crofters and others in the North of Scotland the benefits which are expected to come to the people of England from the Insurance Act (Laughter.) You seem to be a little sceptical about that, but I do not want to touch upon delicate or disputed ground, and the reference was only casual, accidental, and irrelevant. (Laughter.) I believe that Lady Tullibardine's knowledge of nursing and the requirements of women has been invaluable to that Commission, and I submit to you that she has been far better employed on such work than she would have been if engaged in breaking windows or practising a hunger strike in an English jail. (Cheers.)

The second point of this resolution is the interest of the State. You are invited to say that the extension of the vote to women would be hostile to the welfare of the State, and that is a subject about which a man is perhaps particularly qualified to speak. Sir, you said in your opening remarks, and you said with truth, that the welfare of the State is the supreme and final test in the matter. The interests of the State must necessarily over-ride the interests of any class, section, sex, or community, inside it. (Cheers.) If the interests of women were opposed to the interests of the State, then I say fearlessly the interests of the State must prevail—(cheers)—and if by the political enfranchisement of women you were going to do good to women, but that good was to be accompanied by injury or loss to the State, again I would say that the gain to women must be surrendered because of the greater injury to the State. (Cheers.) These are general and academic propositions with which I am sure you will agree. But in the present case there is no need to draw any such distinction. In our view the interests of women and the State are identical in this matter, and I believe I shall carry every woman as well as every man here with me in the argument I am about to develop, namely, that, in the interests of the State,

#### THIS MEASURE IS NOT DESIRABLE.

(Cheers.) Let us examine rather closely this question of the interests of the State. I think you will all of you agree that the chief complaint which is made against our modern democratic system is this—that the wide extension of the franchise has brought into political life an element, a large element, which is necessarily, from the conditions of its life and labour, imperfectly acquainted with some aspects of politics, and which is apt to regard and vote upon certain political issues from a narrow and interested point of view. That, gentlemen, is a truth which, whether you be Liberal, Radical, or Conservative, I think you will admit. It is the price we pay for democratic institutions. It is a price which I do not grudge, and which I am willing to pay. The extension of the franchise has been

the work of both parties. We accept the good and the evil of it, because the good greatly overbalances the evil, but still we do not deny that one of its features is the presence of a large, and in part,

#### UNTRAINED ELECTORATE.

What is the redeeming feature in the situation? It is this, that although the bulk of men, of working men—I hope I am addressing many to-night—have not the political tradition and training of which I speak, they have the machinery by which they are constantly obtaining it. The whole life of the working man is a political school. The papers which he reads every day, the public meetings which he attends, the debating societies to which many belong, the enormous influence of the Press, all of these are a mechanism for familiarising the working man with his duties. I believe it may be truthfully said that in no democracy in the world is there a higher desire to learn or wish to be competent for its responsibilities than in the democracy of England and Scotland. (Cheers.) But it is a different question when you come to women. Shall we be wise if to this uncertain element in the existing electorate we add the enormous and incalculable factor of a preponderant vote of women? They, too, are necessarily devoid of the requisite experience and training, but the difference is greater than that. The conditions of their education, the physiological functions they have to perform, the duties of their lives render it impossible, with due regard to the interests of their sex, to acquire the training and experience of which I am speaking. (Cheers.) And such an addition, as the Chairman pointed out, cannot be the casual addition of a few hundreds, or thousands, or a few millions. It must mean in the long run, and probably the short run, the addition of a number of women to the vote which would place them in numerical command. Such an addition to the already unstable electorate cannot be a source of strength, must be a source of weakness, and, in given circumstances, might be

#### A SOURCE OF PERIL TO THE STATE.

(Cheers.) It would be very much like as if in one of your great workshops in Glasgow you were to hand over the machinery to a body of untrained apprentices, who had never even had the advantage of previously entering the building. Now you must ask, what would be the effect on the State, on the government of the State, and the Empire, if a majority of women had the vote. Let me try to work it out for you. I grant you there might very easily be issues in our life upon which the vote of women would have immaterial consequences, some upon which the consequences might even be beneficial. But those cases do not cover the whole of the political field. Issues sometimes arise in public affairs—I am not certain but you can see them on the horizon now—great issues of peace and war, of treaties and alliances, of the treatment to be adopted towards our Colonies and dependencies. An unwise decision of those issues, and still more an emotional decision of those issues—(cheers)—might in circumstances which it is easy to imagine lead to the disruption and even to the ruin of the Empire. Do you women want such issues decided by an electorate in which the female vote would be in the ascendancy? Let me take one or two concrete cases. Suppose a General Election had to be fought on the question of whether the Turk should remain in Europe or be abolished to Asia. Supposing a Government came into power and introduced protection as part of its programme, and that the introduction of such a measure were threatened by reprisals or hostility from Germany; supposing that it was a question of introducing national compulsory military training into this country—I ask you, are those the sort of questions that you in your reflective mood wish to be decided by a majority of women? And take the final crucial test of all; take the

#### TEST OF INVASION.

Supposing this country were invaded and an election were being fought upon the steps that ought to be taken in the supreme crisis of our national fortune, would you like your destinies at such a moment to be decided by persons of the political and mental stability of Miss Pankhurst or Mrs. Pethick Lawrence? (Cheers.) I should like to take one more case, which from the circumstances of my public life is very familiar to me—I would like to take the case of India. (Cheers.) Now we will suppose that the amendment which is going to be moved by the Suffrage Party in the House of Commons to the Franchise Bill of the present Government is carried, and that in addition to the two and a half millions of men who are to be added to the register, eight or ten millions of women are added also—that is their desire. How do you think that news would be received in India? I tell you the princes and peoples of India would receive it not merely with amazement but with dismay!



For the discharge of great responsibilities in the dependencies of the Empire in distant parts you want the qualities not of the feminine but of the masculine mind. (Cheers.) Do not think for a moment that I am using here the argument of brute force. No man has ever heard me use that argument in connection with India. In no part of our dominions is sympathy more required than in India, and never did our present King say a wiser thing than when he made his memorable appeal. But if we want sympathy we do not want emotion. If we want sentiment we do not want sentimentality. We want above all things knowledge. Lack of knowledge, inexperience, may lead us to absolute disaster. Therefore I deliberately say to you, from such knowledge as I possess, that if the vote were extended to the women of this country I believe that our hold upon India would not be strengthened, but would be sensibly weakened, and if the crisis came, as it came once fifty years ago, and might come again, when we had to fight once more for that which we have won and hold for the glory of our people and the blessing of the human race, what part do you think women would play in the struggle?

#### WOULD WOMEN HOLD INDIA?

No. By men was India won, by men alone can it be retained. Now I put to you a further question. Do you think, ladies and gentlemen, this is a time in public affairs for making this great change? We live in an age when we are constantly being told that life is better and purer and animated by loftier ideals than it was in the past. Well, I hope it is so. I rather wonder sometimes if it is true. I think it may be true as regards the relations of individuals; I am not at all clear if it is true of the relations of nations. It seems to me that nations still march along their part of interested ambition with as callous a disregard of the ten commandments as they did in the days of Darius and Xerxes. For two thousand years we have listened from the pulpit in the church to the preachings of the Prince of Peace. I am not certain that war is any further from us, or any less frequent than it was two thousand years ago, or that the millennium is any nearer to our times. Take as an illustration of what I am saying the present phenomenon in Eastern Europe, where you have war raging throughout the Balkan Peninsula. That war is being waged and can only be won by men. It is man alone who can save woman and the dearest interests for which woman stands in those parts of Europe. Woman can take no part in that sanguinary conflict except to send her husband, or brother, or lover to the fight, to tend the wounded, and to mourn the slain. By man the battle has been fought, by man it will be won. It is a man's business not a woman's. Ladies and gentlemen, do not these hard crude facts of practical life sweep aside and tear to pieces the fine drawn sophistries of the platform? What is the good of talking about the equality of the sexes? The first whiz of the bullet, the first boom of the cannon, and where is the equality of the sexes? (Cheers.) When it comes to fighting, war has to be decided, always has been decided, and always will be decided by one sex alone, and that the male sex. But while I use this argument about the government of the Empire, I hope that nobody here will do me the injustice of thinking that because I am unwilling to associate women in government I therefore deny that they have any

#### SHARE IN THE EMPIRE.

That would not be true. The Empire is the heritage of women as well as men. (Cheers.) It is their joint acquisition and their joint glory. (Cheers.) Men have built it up by the sweat of their brows, the toil of their hands, and the blood of their veins. But women have contributed also—as mothers, as wives, as nurses, as teachers in a hundred benign and beautiful capacities for which God Almighty has fitted them. (Cheers.) And perhaps they have done more still. They have contributed to Empire by fostering the ideals upon which Empire alone can exist with advantage. In this way women wield a power, all the stronger because it is not written in the statute book, but is acknowledged by the universal conscience of mankind. (Cheers.) I do not think you want the vote to defend the share in Empire which women own. I am not sure that women have not something more important to guard even than the Empire itself. They have to guard the womanhood of woman—(cheers)—with all its responsibilities, its ideals, its spiritual endowment. If they can keep that image spotless they can well afford to let the men fight the battles and crowd the polling booths, because they in their place, and to the full extent of their opportunity, will have made an equally valuable contribution to the welfare of the State. (Cheers.)

The third proposition that I have to submit to you, to which I have to ask your assent, is that this great change can not be permitted except upon a clear and deliberately expressed

#### DEMAND BY THE ELECTORATE.

Ladies and gentlemen, is it necessary to offer any explanation or demonstration of that point? You may dispute, if you like, whether the vote for women will be good or bad for the State, whether they are or are not well fitted to exercise it, and so on. Differences of opinion about that are legitimate, but does anyone pretend that the question of votes for women has ever been before this country at a General Election or even at any individual election as the decisive test? At the last General Election, out of more than 1,200 election addresses issued by the candidates, Woman Suffrage was only mentioned in two, and as for the votes recorded for Woman Suffrage candidates at the last General Election, I believe they were considerably less than two. Nothing, therefore, can be more indisputable than this, that the present House of Commons has not the moral right to enfranchise a single woman—(cheers)—much less millions of women. What is, after all, the whole theory of our constitution? Is it not this, that two bodies of men go to the country with their wares, each advocating with a considerable amount of exaggeration and no small amount of untruth their particular commodities, while the country, in spite of a good deal of difficulty in ascertaining who is talking the truth, and how much he is talking the truth—the country, broadly speaking, has to decide between the two, and, having returned one party to power, expects the leading men of that party to be true to their word and to carry out the particular promises made. That may be a good or a bad system of government. It seems to be suited to the development of our race. But it is entirely inconsistent with the view that when a body of men are returned to power they are given a blank cheque to do as they like. That is not the theory we have proceeded on in the past, and I hope we shall not in the future. It is clear, therefore, that unless a mandate is given from the constituencies to carry a particular measure, no Ministry has a right to introduce or carry an important change without reference to the constituencies. (Cheers.) That is a part of our case, that there is

#### NO MANDATE

to pass Woman Suffrage until you have gone to the people. Of course you may dispute as to how you should go to the people, whether by General Election or by a referendum. I will not argue that to-night because the word "referendum" makes a great many people lose their heads. In the last resort, if you want to have a clear decision on this question, whether you like it or not, it seems to me almost inevitable that there will have to be a special poll of the people on this issue alone. (Cheers.) But, ladies and gentlemen, here I come to a peculiar feature of the case. A reference to the people seems to be the last thing that the advocates of Female Suffrage are willing to accept. They shiver at the very idea of a referendum. They are trying at the present moment, by bargaining and negotiating with the different parties in the House of Commons, to wrest from a harassed and distracted Parliament a decision favourable to their views. They are willing to take a verdict in the present House of Commons because they think there is a chance of that verdict being in their favour, but they are not willing to take a verdict from the men in the country, by whom the men in the House of Commons are returned, because they think it will be against them. And this leads me to say a word or two, which I hope will not cause offence, about a subject concerning which I do not think we should be altogether silent, and that is the tactics which are being pursued by the leading spirits in the Suffragist party. They may say that they are the best judges of the methods by which to play their own game. That is so, but they are not the sole judges. (Cheers.) They are appealing to the public, and the public are entitled to form an opinion upon the matter. My own opinion is that these tactics reflect very little credit upon the sense of those who practise them, that they are in some cases an

#### INSULT TO THE SEX

to which these ladies belong—(cheers)—while I am perfectly certain that they disgust and alienate a large proportion of the electorate. When you have women, however excellent their intentions, hiding in organ pipes—(laughter)—slapping Ministers in the face—(laughter)—breaking windows and setting fire to post boxes and theatres—one might comment *ad nauseam* upon the stupidity and vulgarity of the performance. I do not wish to do that, but I prefer rather to look upon these demonstrations in the light they throw upon the political capacity of those who undertake them. Just look at the chain of reasoning which seems to be adopted.

#### MARCHIONESS OF TULLIBARDINE.

The Marchioness of TULLIBARDINE said:—Lord Glenconner, my lords, ladies and gentlemen,—In the impressive speech in which Lord Curzon moved the resolution which you find on the paper this evening, he dealt with the question of Woman Suffrage chiefly from the constitutional point of view, the view of the interests of the State at large. If you will allow me I will deal with one or two aspects in which this question presents itself to me as a woman. I say at once that I am not here to-night because I do not value, and value more than I can say, the great development of opportunity and capacity for service, professional and otherwise, that has opened to women in the course of the last generation. (Cheers.) Nor am I here because I think that woman has no place in the State, but because I believe, as Lord Curzon has already put before you, that

#### WOMAN'S PLACE IN THE STATE

is radically and fundamentally different from the place occupied by man—(cheers)—and that it is only by giving to both men and women the fullest scope for the exercise of their special functions that they can attain their highest development, and the ideal state be achieved. Now, I think we shall all agree that the fundamental characteristic of woman is her concern for the individual. If it is sometimes a reproach against her that her view of things is too personal; surely, on the other hand, it is through the personal equation that she renders her highest service and attains her fullest self-expression. If she be wife and mother she has daily responsibility for the welfare of husband and children. If she be unmarried she probably has the care of parents, and sooner or later she will find an outlet for her sympathy in someone beyond her home who is in need of help. (Cheers.) I think I am not claiming too much for woman when I say that to the help of the individual she can bring an understanding, a sympathy, a perception of detail that no man can give. (Cheers.) It is therefore not surprising that this unique power of lavishing herself on the individual has led women for centuries past into philanthropic work, and I think that the debt which our State owes to women, particularly unmarried women, in this respect is immense. It seems to me that the amount of philanthropic effort which we see in our country at this moment is one of the brightest and most distinctive features of our national life. I do not say that we have enough voluntary effort for the relief of suffering and poverty, but I believe it to be increasing in volume every day, and it is service lovingly and gladly given; and though men have often been

#### THE PIONEERS IN THIS WORK

—and we know how many men are helping on this work to-day—I think I shall carry you with me when I say that the ranks of this great army of philanthropic workers are chiefly filled by women. (Cheers.) I therefore hold that the first field for the activities of woman outside the home sphere is that of philanthropic service. It brings to her, and through her to the State, a noble enrichment of character, because it is the natural outcome of her character. Then in recent times we have seen women entering such public bodies as are concerned with bringing to the individual the benefits of legislation passed by the State. Women have been admitted to bodies dealing, as Lord Curzon has reminded you, with the care of the children, the sick, and the poor; and I believe that no body, public or voluntary, is ideally constituted for this work unless there be a woman representative upon it. I believe also that our co-operation in work of this kind is welcomed by men in general, as it has been generously welcomed by Lord Curzon to-night, and I look to see women more and more widely taking advantage of the opportunities already open to them in this respect. Lord Curzon has reminded you of how comparatively little we have as yet availed ourselves of these opportunities. I hope that is a reproach that in the next few years we shall do our utmost to wipe away. This field of service on public bodies concerned with the care of the individual seems to me to offer another great sphere for women in the State, but when we come to the question of Imperial politics it is another matter. Now I must say to you frankly that I want to see women of all classes taking an interest in politics, because I think our horizons often need widening, and I believe that if we enter political life in an advisory capacity, we can help to form public opinion and keep political discussion on a high level. If we succeed in doing that our action will be all to the good. I will also say to you that, although I entirely agree with what Lord Curzon has said as to the fatal effect of women having a preponderating vote on matters of foreign and Colonial policy, I believe there are many women in this country who could intelligently exercise a vote. But what I do not want you to forget is that when we come to matters of general

#### THEY BREAK THE LAW.

and when the law is applied to them they ask that it should be over ridden in their own behalf. It is all the equality of the sexes—up to a certain point. (Laughter.) But when the equality of the sexes is made a source of inconvenience or even of pain to themselves, then it is entirely forgotten, and they ask that preferential treatment should be meted out to them alone. (Cheers.) I have spoken about these tactics in no uncertain tones, not merely because I feel they ought to be severely condemned, but because they throw a flood of lurid light upon the capacity of the women to whom I am referring. (Cheers.) That a minority of women, noisy in excess of their numerical strength, illogical in a manner that proves their unfitness for the vote, and unruly to a degree which testifies to their unfitness to join in the rule of others, should claim to decide the fortunes of their own sex is bad enough, but that they should claim to shift the balance of political power is an outrage which I am certain the common sense of the community will never allow. (Loud cheers.) I have been asked, before I draw to a close, to make an appeal to you. I think probably you will know what is coming. (Laughter.) Even church services are in the habit of closing with an appeal for funds, and while we are still reeling under the effect of a beautiful sermon—(laughter)—or not reeling, as the case may be—the man with the bag is at us. But there is this difference; whereas in the church we are not always told what we are going to subscribe for, in the present case there is no doubt at all. We are going to make to you immediately an

#### APPEAL FOR FUNDS

which it will be almost impossible for you, in the conditions of this hall, to resist. There is to be an interval in which there will be no speeches, and in your supreme relief at this escape, you are expected to take the cards which will be supplied, and write upon them whatever your inclination suggests. Meetings cannot be held, literature cannot be printed and circulated, an organisation cannot be made effective, without money. People seem to think that the Central League in London is a body with a Fortunatus' purse in its possession, and that sympathisers with the League have a right to offer their sympathy—a very useful commodity in its way—and expect the League to find the funds. I submit to you that funds are necessary for the success of the League, and this appeal is not to wealthy sympathisers alone. Our appeal is to the whole community, because we are fighting the battle of the whole community; we believe that we represent the sentiments of the vast majority of men and women, and if that is so we have the right to ask for their practical support. To do justice to our opponents, I must say they do not fail in this respect. They seem to have an unlimited power of extracting money from their supporters, and if they fail, as I hope they will do, it will not be from lack of funds. I conclude by moving the resolution which stands in my name. I will not repeat it. I ask you to give us the sinews of war, by which alone this campaign can be successfully waged in Scotland as in England. I invite you to pledge yourselves by single effort and combined effort, in the case of women, to save your sex from the injury which is threatened to it; in the case of men to ward away this blow which is aimed at the heart of the State. (Loud cheers.)



politics we have no special contribution to make to the subjects in question. The subjects which loom largest in political life, such as

#### HOME RULE AND TARIFF REFORM,

are subjects to which we can make no special contribution that cannot be made by men—(cheers)—and when we come to questions of national defence, questions concerning the Army and the Navy, it is obvious that we have no personal experience whatever to guide us in the exercise of a vote; and I do not think that we, who are incapable of taking upon ourselves the burden of national defence, should have the decisive voice in questions of peace and war. (Cheers.) Lord Curzon has put before you clearly how useless it is to disguise the fact that if the vote goes to women it must go to all women, and that therefore it is not a question of enfranchising a few of the most educated women, but all women, and handing over to us the balance of power in every constituency in the Kingdom. Now, I do not want to speak of personal matters, but I will say to you that I know something of the work of a woman's political association acting as an auxiliary to a man's association. I know only too well how difficult it is to find workers, and how, in nearly every case, the work that is given has to be fitted with difficulty into a life already busy with philanthropic service or home duties. If you give us the vote you will take us away from the work which I take to be peculiarly our own—the work we do best, the work no one else can do in quite the same way. (Cheers.) It will no longer be a case of giving what help we can as auxiliaries, but of having thrown upon us an intolerable burden of responsibility. You will take us from the flanks and throw us into the very heart and centre of the battle, and in doing so you will leave the flanks exposed, because no one else will do the work which we shall have to leave undone. Moreover, I am absolutely convinced that

#### WOMEN CANDIDATES FOR PARLIAMENT

will inevitably follow the granting of the vote to women. The temptation to enter the field which offers greater scope to ambition than any other calling will prove irresistible to many of the able speakers and organisers who are to be found among the ranks of women. For one elected many will stand; many more will have heavy political responsibilities thrust upon them. We shall be thrown more and more into the political vortex, and shall have work forced upon us which all men admit to be of ever-increasing volume and nervous tension. The results will be disastrous to our health and injurious to the race at large. (Cheers.) But I know that many earnest-minded women have joined the Suffrage movement out of the very reality of their care for the individual. Facts have come to their knowledge with regard to social evils which are a terrible stain upon our civilization and our Christianity, and they believe that these evils cannot be efficiently dealt with unless women have the vote. Now in so far as legislation can deal with such matters, it is of course of the utmost importance that the woman's point of view should be put before whatever Government is in power, but this I understand is the case to-day with all legislation especially affecting women and children; and in this connection I rely on the assurance recently given by the Home Secretary that a Bill now before Parliament, in which Suffragists and Anti-Suffragists alike are deeply interested, will be shortly passed through the House of Commons, and passed in a form in which it will be able to deal effectively with the evil it chiefly seeks to remedy. But whatever legislation can or cannot do, let us never forget that the work we women have to do in regard to evils such as these goes far beyond that. We have work to do greater even than the special care we can give to the material welfare of the sick and the needy. We have the work of character building largely in our hands. (Cheers.) Character building in the home, influence beyond it. We must hold up ideals both for the men in our homes and for the young women and girls in the difficult places of life. I do not think I am saying too much when I say that few men will have ideals if we have not got them, and though I recognise that men may and do lead us through the Churches, women constitute the great mass of the moral and spiritual forces in the country. (Cheers.) But I admit that though in the past women have tried to hold up ideals of chivalry and purity, we have sometimes not achieved as much as we might, because we have shirked knowledge of these evils. I agree with our Suffragist opponents that our ignorance has contributed something towards their existence; and if I may say so to other women present, I regard it as an obligation laid on married women and women of mature age, leading sheltered lives, to know something of the main facts of those evils, in order that they may be able to bring more definite influence to bear on the men of their own families in these matters, and that whenever there is necessity for legislation dealing with these subjects they may be able to put the

#### WOMAN'S POINT OF VIEW

before them. (Cheers.) But as a result of the excessive emphasis laid by Suffragists on legislation as a cure for social evils, we find that literature on these subjects, literature in many cases entering into wholly unnecessary and revolting detail, is daily passing into the hands of young girls and is being discussed freely by them both in public and in private. I will say without hesitation that I regard this as a deadly by-product of the Suffrage movement. (Cheers.) In many cases I believe that such knowledge must result in a seriously distorted outlook on life, in possible injury to the nervous system, and even in a blunted moral perception. The fountain of our national purity is being contaminated at its source by the general distribution of such literature, and the fact that promiscuous discussion on these subjects has become a feature of the Suffrage movement is to my mind a proof that if women had the vote such discussion would tend to become a prominent feature in political contests, to the permanent lowering of the whole tone of public life. I would say to those women on whose hearts the burden of these social evils is laid—

#### THROW YOUR ENERGIES

into the work of the many societies which exist to help women; those which aim at giving decent lodging-houses to girls who may be seeking work far from home, rational interests to those whose lives are otherwise devoid of them, definite standards to those who have been taught little; or give help to societies which exist specifically for the protection of women or their rescue. So long as these societies lack workers or funds—and it is unnecessary to tell you that such societies are always in need of both—so long is there more than ample scope in their ranks for all those who have the woman's cause at heart, and everything that is done to raise the standard of life and thought amongst women must inevitably tend to make their influence in the State ever more widely felt. It is, therefore, because I believe that it is along the lines I have indicated, and by friendly and trustful co-operation with men, each mutually and loyally recognising the other's distinctive sphere, that I think woman's capacity to serve the State, and her influence therein, can receive its fullest and richest development, and I therefore beg to second the resolution which has been put before you by Lord Curzon. (Loud cheers.)

#### Mr. A. MACCALLUM SCOTT, M.P.

Mr. A. MACCALLUM SCOTT, M.P., supported the resolution. A young lady interrupting—I beg to move an amendment. Mr. SCOTT: This is not a Conference. There will be an opportunity given later on for anyone voting against the resolution. Another young lady interrupted, and immediately walked out of the hall. Mr. SCOTT: We have just listened to a most interesting speech from Lord Curzon on this subject which, as he has put it, is without the part of party politics. It is almost impossible to find in any speech in favour of Woman Suffrage an answer to the question, "Why should women have votes?" The most important question of all is usually taken for granted.

#### WHY SHOULD WOMEN HAVE VOTES?

It is not sufficient to reply that some women want votes, and therefore they ought to have them. That is, indeed, the attitude of a large section of Woman Suffragists. They do not condescend to argument. (Hear, hear.) "We demand the vote" is their ultimatum, and to prove that they really do want it, they break tradesmen's windows and throw hatchets and ring bells and pour paraffin oil into pillar boxes. No one doubts that these women do desire to have votes, but we have evidence that there are many more women who desire as strongly that they should not have votes. (Cheers.) They cannot both have their way. I have sometimes heard it retorted that those who do not want the vote need not use it. Nobody will compel them to vote, and the fact that they do not want it is no reason why women who do want a vote should not have it. Those who talk in this way seem to imagine that the vote is some kind of private property which concerns its owner alone—something a woman voter could carry about in her pocket or done up in a brown paper parcel. The vote is not a thing of that kind at all. It is the right to govern other people, and those women who are opposed to Woman Suffrage not merely do not want the vote themselves, but are determined that they will not be governed politically by other women's votes.

#### THE APPEAL TO PRINCIPLE.

Many people say they are in favour of Woman Suffrage because it is the logical development of the democratic principles which they hold. They are not much in love with it—their love is very platonic indeed. In their frank moments they confess that they think it would have some undesirable results—but they must at all costs be true to their convictions. "*Fiat justitia ruat cælum.*" Their convictions are not strong enough to make them press forward Woman Suffrage, for if they had done so they could have carried it a generation ago—they are only strong enough to make them yield if they are pressed. Their instinct is at war with their judgment. They are unwilling conscripts of logic and principle. This is the explanation of the astonishing paradox that for over a generation the House of Commons has been passing Woman Suffrage Bills through their preliminary stages by large majorities and then dropping them. I am not surprised at the indignation with which Suffragists who are in earnest view this Laodicean support. (Hear, hear.) But what are the principles which may have so distasteful a logical development? That is the point on which it is impossible to get any satisfactory assurance from these politicians, or indeed from any Suffragist. If it comes to that, why should men have votes? Why should anyone have a vote? To convince one who has an open mind it is necessary first of all to show a reason why men should have votes, and then to show that that is a reason which would include Woman Suffrage also. So far, however, are our Woman Suffrage friends from giving a good reason why women should have votes, that they cannot even give a good reason why men should have votes. I may very properly be challenged as to whether I myself can give a reason why men should have votes. I will give a reason presently, and it will be one which can certainly not be extended to women.

#### A FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN RIGHT.

But, to return to the case usually presented in favour of Woman's Suffrage. All the theoretical arguments, when they are analysed, seem to resolve themselves into variations of one root idea. It is that the right to vote is a fundamental human right, an essential part of human dignity and status, something belonging to the human being as such. Women are human beings, and, therefore, women ought to have votes—so runs the syllogism. Somewhere at the back of every Woman Suffrage argument lurks this idea. It appears in many different guises. Sometimes, for example, it is said that those who have to obey the laws ought to have a voice in making them. But every human being must obey laws, and this, therefore, is simply another form of the claim that the right to vote is a fundamental human right. Or an appeal may be made to the principle of "No taxation without representation." But here again there is no one who does not pay taxes. The lodger who pays rent pays his share of the taxes included in his rent. (Hear, hear.) The child who buys a pennyworth of sweets cannot do so without paying a tax. You cannot exist in this country without paying taxes, and, therefore, the claim made in this maxim also is a universal one—that the right to vote is a fundamental human right.

#### IMPOSSIBLE OF APPLICATION.

Many people have got this idea of a fundamental human right so firmly rooted in their minds that they are reluctantly compelled to follow it out to its logical conclusion as regards Woman Suffrage, even when their instinct and their experience bid them halt. It is to be remarked that they are not willing to follow it to its logical conclusion in other respects. One question will generally be sufficient to test, not their sincerity, but their consistency. If the right to vote is a fundamental human right, belonging to the human being as such, are you prepared to give the vote at once to all the inhabitants of India without regard to their degree of education or civilisation? Are you prepared to give the vote at once to every African Zulu or savage Bushman? There are few who would be prepared to accept such an application of this alleged fundamental principle. (Hear, hear.) But, if it may be retorted, surely it is preposterous to talk about giving the vote to large masses of uneducated Indians and Africans. The women of this country are not uneducated. Wait till the natives of India as a whole reach a higher standard of education and then it will be time enough to talk about universal suffrage for them. The common-sense of such an observation is not to be disputed, but its relevance to our present discussion can certainly be called in question. This is to introduce an entirely new qualification for the vote—an educational qualification. (Cheers.) What we were discussing was a human being

qualification. No recognisable section of the Woman Suffrage party proposes the adoption of an educational qualification. If such a qualification were introduced, many people who now have the vote would lose it, and they would not be confined to one rank of society. But all that is quite foreign to the proposition that the right to vote is a fundamental and inalienable human right. If that proposition be accepted, there is no halting place short of complete, universal suffrage for India at once.

It will generally be found that those who appeal to this principle in support of Woman Suffrage do not really regard it as a principle of universal application. They are ready to put it aside at the dictates of a higher necessity. The good of the State as a whole is the supreme law, and must be the governing consideration in all political questions. If it can be shown that any particular application of that alleged principle would imperil the security and welfare of the State, they are willing to abandon it. If the principle must be abandoned in relation to the 300,000,000 inhabitants of India, it is possible, it is at least open to argument, that this country, and all the great democracies of history, have been right in withholding the political franchise from women. (Cheers.) If it can be shown that Woman Suffrage would be a dangerously unstable basis for democratic government, that would in itself be a good reason for hesitating to extend the vote to women.

#### THE SIGNIFICANCE OF VOTING.

In these discussions people seldom stop to consider the question why anybody has votes and why we have General Elections at all. In politics, we can never escape from the fact that the ultimate basis of government may be an appeal to physical force. Least of all can we escape from it at the present time, when we have such unpleasant reminders of it in the Balkan Peninsula, in the £70,000,000 which we spend on Army and Navy, and even in our internal politics—in the riots which took place during the recent labour troubles, and in the present state of affairs in the North of Ireland. Men got votes in the first instance because they took them with a strong hand, and in the second instance because Governments felt that it was absolutely essential that whatever Government was in power should have behind it, and should in any emergency be able to rely upon, the support of the majority of the men of the nation. (Cheers.) A General Election is not a means of finding out what is the wisest or best thing to do. The majority may be mistaken, it may be unjust. Woman Suffrage would not change that. (Hear, hear.) What a General Election does do is to show what is, for the time being, the practicable policy—what is the policy which, if it came to the test of civil war, would have the best chance of being successful—and that is the policy which has the support of the majority of men. A General Election is a kind of short cut which helps us to arrive at the same result while avoiding all the sacrifices of blood and treasure involved in civil war. We count heads instead of breaking them.

What has always seemed to me the essence of the case against Woman Suffrage may be put in this way:—

- (1) The only stable basis of government is one which secures, as nearly automatically as possible, that the balance of political power is in the same hands as the balance of physical force.
- (2) Among a people who have reached a certain educational level, and above all, in whom certain habits of union and co-operation have been developed, the unit of physical force is the individual male citizen.
- (3) By counting heads among the men among such a people, we do obtain a fairly approximate index as to which policy and which Government has, for the time being, the balance of physical force in the country behind it.
- (4) Women are not, as physical force units, equivalent to men, and therefore, if women were included in counting heads, the result would not be a reliable index of the balance of physical force in the country.

#### THE MORAL SPHERE.

I have no time to elaborate that argument in detail, as I have elaborated it elsewhere, but I would only say in conclusion that this argument does not involve a denial of the all-important part which is played by moral ideals in politics. A moral ideal is the most powerful force in politics, and, ultimately, all physical force is at the service of moral ideals. From this sphere of moral influence no woman is excluded. Indeed, they have in it a power greater than men can ever aspire to. In the rearing and training of the young they form and mould the moral nature of each new generation. Fletcher, of



Saltoun, once said, "Let who will make the laws of the nation, so long as I can make its ballads." He knew how great had been the influence upon the people of Scotland of the moral ideas handed down from generation to generation in the ballads of our country—how these ideals had taken form in acts and in legislation. How much more may the women of this country say: "Let the men make the laws, but we will make the men." (Loud cheers.)

#### MR. GODFREY P. COLLINS, M.P.

MR. GODFREY P. COLLINS, M.P., said:—My lords, ladies, and gentlemen,—Lord Curzon has referred to the fact that the House of Commons has no mandate to pass Women's Suffrage. I go further, and say there has never been a great constitutional change made by any Cabinet without their being responsible for and answerable to the nation for their course of action. The question of Woman's Suffrage does not raise the question of women's superiority or inferiority. There are countless channels still untapped in public life for women's influence and for women's power. (Cheers.) The difficulty arises in drawing a line of demarcation. No one denies that many women would exercise the vote more reasonably than many men, but once you grant the principle you are not dealing with certain individuals but with the whole mass of the female population, the situation became different and more difficult. Every man worth his salt consults and has regard to the opinions of the other sex, but am I not stating a fact that, writ large on and proved by every page of history and experienced daily by every man and woman in this hall when I say that woman's predominating guide in life

#### IS NOT HER REASON

but her instinct and intuition. (Cheers.) That intuition is more largely developed in women than in men, but instinct and intuition, though good guides, are not the best masters so far as Parliament is concerned. Parliament is the ultimate seat of authority where such questions as peace and war have to be decided, where men have to use their reasoning faculties which they have purchased through centuries of hard and bitter experience. That is one reason why I am opposed to the principle of Woman's Suffrage. (Cheers.) The House of Commons is sensitive of public opinion, and if you are convinced that the granting of the Suffrage to the female population of these islands is bad for womanhood and is bad for the nation—the necessary corollary to the entrance of women into the House of Commons—it rests with you to make your influence felt and to show that you also are determined that this great change will not take place.

#### THE DUCHESS OF MONTROSE.

The Duchess of MONTROSE said:—Lord Glenconner, ladies and gentlemen,—A very pleasant duty has been assigned to me, that of returning thanks to our Chairman and to the speakers who have kindly come here this evening. Before doing so I will only say one or two words, as you have heard so many excellent arguments against Woman's Suffrage that I feel it is not possible to add very much to them. This large and representative audience shows in a remarkable way the immense

#### WEIGHT OF PUBLIC OPINION

that lies behind us, and is with us, both throughout the country and in Glasgow. (Cheers.) We have had for some time to contend against the apathy of the large majority of the public on this question of Woman Suffrage. Many, though opposed to it, have as yet hesitated to come forward and join our League. Thus it is only on a great occasion such as this that the strength of our side is revealed. You will have seen the long list of supporters of this meeting, who were unable to be present this evening, distinguished men and women in all walks of life and of all shades of political opinion, who are firmly united in their opposition to Woman Suffrage. We hope after this representative gathering of both sexes to be able to strengthen our Scottish Branch on somewhat similar lines, and thus to increase its membership. I am happy to be able to inform you that to-day Lord Glenconner and Sir John Stirling Maxwell have kindly consented to be Joint Presidents of our Scottish League. As we are not Suffragettes, we are very glad to have the assistance of men to help us. I would therefore like to appeal now to all those present who are in sympathy with us to become members of our League. As was said previously, the time for hesitation is past. Those who think with us should now come forward and join us, and thus prove that the majority are on our side. Lord Curzon

has told us no longer must anyone sit on the edge. They must come down upon the right side. Those who are in favour of Woman Suffrage generally view this question from the limited standpoint of

#### SUPPOSED BENEFITS

to be gained by their sex, whereas we who are opposed to it are convinced it would be harmful to the best interests of the State and Empire as a whole. The real question is, not whether Woman Suffrage should be granted because some women demand it, but whether Woman Suffrage, if granted, would promote the welfare of our country and Empire. (Cheers.) Would it increase the efficiency of the State to put the balance of political power in this country into the hands of women? Would it not be folly if Great Britain, of all countries in the world, with its vast Imperial problems and responsibilities, were to embark upon an experiment from which other great countries have hitherto shrunk, an experiment which, once made, can never be retraced? Again, Suffragists would have us believe that they have a monopoly of sympathy for their poorer and toiling sisters. But we Anti-Suffragists are quite as anxious as they are to lessen the hardships under which many poor women labour, only we maintain that such questions as

#### SWEATED LABOUR

and other similar social problems would not be easier solved if women had votes. (Cheers.) Can Suffragists point to any real grievance that women suffer under that men are not willing to remedy? On the other hand, the vast influence that women already possess without being enfranchised is enormous. The State admits women to the municipal franchise and to membership of the Local Government bodies, and as members of Royal Commissions they can bring direct influence to bear on social legislation affecting women and children, thus proving that reforms desired by women can be obtained without the vote. This clamour to obtain the Suffrage is injurious both to women themselves and to the service they owe their country, for the useful public work that is open to them on Municipal Boards dealing with all that concerns the sick, the aged, and the destitute, proves how much they can do for the benefit of the community, without usurping the executive powers and responsibilities of men, who are far better fitted to deal with the work of the Imperial Parliament. We Anti-Suffragists desire our great Empire to be governed by men, not by women, and we object to a minority of women, however energetic they may be, claiming the right to speak for their sex, when they have no practical proof that the large majority of women are on their side. (Cheers.) At the present time our country has to face questions of the greatest national importance, such as the relations between Capital and Labour, Tariff Reform, besides many grave Imperial concerns, and we are convinced that to introduce a large female element into the British electorate would weaken the governing forces of the State, and

#### ENDANGER OUR IMPERIAL POWER.

(Cheers.) I have now the pleasure of moving that a hearty vote of thanks be accorded to Lord Glenconner for presiding over this large meeting, and I would also ask you to give a very cordial vote of thanks to Lord Curzon and the other speakers who have kindly come here this evening. (Cheers.) On behalf of our Scottish Committee I wish to say how deeply indebted we are to Lord Curzon for coming to Glasgow to give us the admirable address we have had the pleasure of listening to this evening. We value very highly Lord Curzon's leadership and co-operation in our Anti-Suffrage League. The fact of his coming all this way north to speak against Woman Suffrage proves how seriously he views this question. It is because Lord Curzon is a great Imperialist that he realises how vital to this country, and to all its vast interests at home and abroad, is the predominance of male government in British politics, and he refuses, as we refuse, to risk the hazardous experiment of adding millions of women voters to the electorate. (Cheers.)

#### RESOLUTION CARRIED.

The resolution was then put to the meeting, and those present asked to indicate their approval by a show of hands. A large number so signified, but when the Chairman asked if there were any opposed a number of ladies also held up their hands.

Lord GLENCONNER declared the resolution adopted by a very large majority, and the proceedings were terminated with the singing of the National Anthem.

### THE MIDDLESBROUGH MEETING.

A LARGE demonstration against the extension of the Parliamentary franchise to women was held on Friday, November 8th, in the Town Hall at Middlesbrough. Sir Hugh Bell, Bart., was in the chair, and the speakers included Colonel Chaloner, M.P., Sir Alfred Pease, Bart., Miss Gladys Pott, Mrs. Hedley, Miss Gertrude Bell, and Mr. Alfred Allen, J.P. In opening the proceedings, the Chairman read letters in support of the Anti-Suffrage cause from Lord Curzon of Kedleston, Mr. Walter Long, M.P., Mr. Austen Chamberlain, M.P., Mr. Herbert Samuel, M.P., and Mr. Joseph Pease, M.P. The Town Hall was filled, and the Suffragists were strongly represented; but the strong appeal made by the Chairman, and the manifest displeasure of a certain section of the audience to any form of interruption, secured, after the first few minutes, a perfectly orderly meeting. Out of a gathering of 1,700 people, it is estimated that the resolution was carried by about 700 votes to 500. The Chairman, in stating his views on the question of Woman Suffrage, declared that, for the enforcement of our laws, for the ordered government of the nation, for everything which makes human society possible, the ultimate sanction—not necessarily the only sanction, nor the best sanction, but the ultimate sanction, is force. It would, therefore, be a perilous thing to entrust the maintenance of law and order to what might easily be proved to be the less forceful majority of the people.

Colonel Chaloner, M.P., proposed the motion in a vigorous speech. He elaborated the argument of physical force, and pointed out that women possess much more power and influence without the vote than they would ever have, if they were placed on a political level with men. No legal power can ever equal that which woman now possesses by her gentleness and calm influence upon rougher man. The suggestion that a certain number of women should be given votes must inevitably lead to Universal Suffrage, when there would be a large majority of women over men exercising the franchise. The vote carried with it the right to enter Parliament, as well as all the responsibilities and duties which now fall on possessors of the vote.

In seconding the motion, Miss Pott carried the greater part of her audience with her by

her closely reasoned speech. She analysed many of the arguments of the Suffragists, including some that appeared on a leaflet which had been handed to the audience outside the hall, urging them to oppose the resolution.

Suffragists, Miss Pott said, as the audience would see from the leaflet, were evidently at pains now to show that the interests of their husbands, brothers and sons were not antagonistic to those of women. The whole basis of the Suffragist case was that they were antagonistic. Anti-Suffragists contended that they were identical, and from that circumstance deduced the fact that the votes of men represented women.

Miss Pott asked the Suffragists for proof that the vote in the hands of women would cure the evils they saw around them. Unless they proved that the interests of women were something different from the interests of men, they could not prove that the vote in the hands of men did not represent women. What were the interests of women as apart from those of the men? Their interests were precisely the same, and the average man represented the average woman. Unless the remedy was going to make things better it was worse than useless, and they saw that it had not proved a remedy for the strike, or for the sweated industries, for these existed among people who had the vote. The functions of men and women were diverse, that of women centring round the primary function of child-bearing, which developed a habit of mind which placed the interests of the individuals upon whom she lavished so much care and attention, paramount, as against the interests of the community. The immediate good of the individual was not always the eventual interest of the State.

The Suffragists made a great point of the extension of the franchise to women in Australia and New Zealand. They derided all fears regarding the effects of Woman Suffrage. They declared that we must trust experience, and pointed triumphantly to the resolution of the Australian Senate which urged people of Great Britain to grant the Parliamentary vote to women, because it had proved so successful in Australia. If any weight was to be attached to Australian views on Woman Suffrage, similar weight must be attached to Australian views on other subjects. Miss Pott asked the

Liberals present whether they had been converted to Tariff Reform because Australia, a few years ago, sent over to England a message setting forth the advantages of Protection. She reminded Unionists present that Mr. John Redmond had also received a telegram from Australia emphasising the success that Home Rule had been to Australia. Were they, for that reason, prepared at once to give Home Rule to Ireland? The history of the last 50 years entirely contradicted the allegation that women's interests were not understood or represented by men. Miss Pott referred to the history of trade and factory regulations, to all that had been done for women in regard to education, to the fact that of the conditions complained of by J. S. Mill in 1869 four-fifths had been remedied or removed to-day. So far from women's interests having been neglected, the improvement maintained had been steady. In the face of these facts she would ask Suffragists two questions: (1) If this improvement had been brought about by women's influence, how can they say that women have no influence? (2) If it is not brought about by women's influence, how can they say that men neglect women's interests? Another point. If it is really true that men cannot understand women, what would be the use of women sending men to Parliament to represent them?

The resolution was supported by Mr. Alfred Allen, Secretary of the local Branch of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, and by Miss Gertrude Bell, who pointed out that all the work which all the women who wanted to give their services to the nation could possibly do was to be done, and was waiting to be done, in Local Government—that is to say, the household work of the nation. Women should realise how wide were the powers that belonged to them in Local Government—the education of children, the question of sanitation, overcrowding, slum areas, matters affecting infant mortality. With a few brilliant exceptions, women how were asking for the vote had not availed themselves of their opportunities in these directions.

A vote of thanks to the Chairman was proposed by Mrs. Hedley, a member of the Middlesbrough Board of Guardians, and seconded by Sir Alfred Pease.

### THE SHEFFIELD MEETING.

A GREAT demonstration against the granting a Parliamentary vote to women was held at the Albert Hall, Sheffield, on Friday, November 15th, under the auspices of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage. The Duke of Norfolk presided, and the speakers included Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun and Mr. Fred Maddison, formerly Liberal member for Burnley. Lady Tree was to have spoken, but was unavoidably detained by an engagement at Folkestone. In expressing her regret for her absence, Lady Tree sent the following message to the meeting: "All my inclinations are with your meeting, just as all my heart is in the cause of woman versus votes for women. I maintain that woman has her own kingdom,

and there her power is limitless, but there are dominions into which, of necessity, women are forbidden to enter, and she is kept out, not by the tyranny of man, but by the tyranny of nature. Women, as builders of Empire, are non-existent in the world's history. Women, as mothers of great men, are the glory of the world's history. Let us, therefore, not seek to copy man. Let us be content to reproduce him."

The Duke of Norfolk pointed out that it was because they felt the Anti-Suffrage cause was beginning to be appreciated, and because they felt, as too often was the case at the present day, that people were slow to awaken to the real importance and the real danger of the question, that they had

asked the audience to attend that night.

"We have not come here to-night with very light hearts," he said. "There is no satisfaction in striving to check the desires of those whom we know hold their desire for the franchise very keenly, who believe that in not allowing them to have it their just aspirations are being thwarted; and we take no pleasure, but only come from a sense of duty to try to rouse one another to the fact that this movement is fraught with immense danger to our future."

What they were really asked to do by those who supported the Suffragette movement was to hand over the future destinies of the Empire to an electorate in which the majority would be women, which could only be



regarded as a fatal step fraught with the utmost peril and danger. They knew very well what marvellous good women could do, and did.

#### WOMEN'S INFLUENCE.

"We have all felt, I hope," the Duke of Norfolk continued, "the happy influence they exert upon us. We have all been animated by their example. We have all wished very often that we, the stronger and ruling sex, in many ways could emulate their noble self-devotion and their spirit of sacrifice. But at the same time we feel that these qualities alone are not sufficient for the conduct of great affairs in which are necessary political knowledge, diplomatic tact, keen insight into all the various conflicting interests of the great nations of the world, and of all the lessons which history teaches us. We feel it is in men, and in men alone, that we can find that knowledge and power which are necessary to carry on so tremendous a work."

They felt, too, most sadly, that the very beneficent sway which women had over us was being largely imperilled by the course which the agitation was following. Events had taken place, actions had been resorted to which made us deeply lament the possibility of our own relations with our friends being drawn into the vortex of such a hurrying forward and ill-judged movement.

This, to his mind, was one of the most salient points in the arguments for those who told us that they ought to have not only a voice, but an overwhelming voice as the guides of our country. Those who were to sway the Government, dictate the policy, and to guide the public life, had shown what, in their opinion, were the methods which should be adopted to carry forward their views. They had seen these methods with astonishment, bitter indignation and keen sorrow. We were told sometimes that so earnest were they in their resolve to obtain the franchise for women, that they felt justified in resorting to extreme measures, and that, of course, if once the franchise were granted, they would settle down to peaceable action, and no further resort to methods of that kind. Was it possible to believe such a state of things could come about?

#### THE BULLYING METHOD.

If women were in possession of the power to carry their views into law, and were able to say, "This very power we possess we obtained by bullying our countrymen into acquiescence," when they had other aims and objects in view, was it not certain they would again resort to the same measures that won for them their initial success? When that had come about the method of women's agitation, which they deplored, would become

a recognised part of the function for carrying on the public life of our country.

It was most important, therefore, that no one should rest content with the belief that this danger could never become a real one. They ought, as quickly as possible, to arouse themselves to the danger which threatened, and even in fairness to those whom, to their keen regret, they felt they must stubbornly oppose, it was right they should show at once on which side of the question their belief rested, and make them understand they were determined to save our country and the Empire from what they believed to be a great danger that would become pressing, unless they came forward and stated their case, and tried to educate their countrymen to the real peril of the case.

In an eloquent speech, Mrs. Colquhoun proposed the resolution against the granting of Woman Suffrage before the question had been submitted to the electorate. The vote, she pointed out, was not the end, it was only the beginning of the movement they were opposing. Behind it came the bigger propaganda—the feminist ideal of what woman was going to be, and going to do. It was against that ideal they were out to fight, because it was a most wicked, most pernicious, and most degraded feature of our modern civilisation that women should be preaching the doctrine of equality of woman and man.

They not only wanted to get that equality in politics, although that would really mean superiority of woman over man, but they wanted also to get individual equality, whereby men and women in every kind of way should be on exactly the same footing. That was the most absurdly false ideal for women to hold that had ever been put forward by any set of cranks, because the minute they started men and women in competition on what were called equal terms, women went to the wall.

#### THE IDEAL PEDESTAL.

"I don't want to see equality between men and women, because I want to see you men recognise that a woman cannot be put on an equality with you, but that if you do your duty by her, you will put her higher than yourself, and sacrifice yourself for her. The only ideal that is worth the women's holding, is to say that this pedestal must be erected for women, not by reason of any special virtue, but by reason of the sacred function of motherhood which Nature has bestowed upon them."

Women must be protected against the weakness of their sex that they might perform those sacred functions under the conditions most favourable to themselves and to the race.

### THE BOURNEMOUTH MEETING.

A LARGE meeting in opposition to the grant of the Parliamentary franchise to women was held in St. Peter's Hall, Bournemouth, on November 13th. Dr. J. Roberts Thomson presided, and the speakers were Mrs. Colquhoun and Earl Winterton, M.P. The chairman read a letter from Mr. H. P. Croft, M.P., regretting his unavoidable absence, and a telegram from the Princess Pless, who had intended to be present, but was prevented by illness.

Mrs. Colquhoun, in a powerfully expressed address, said in granting the Parliamentary

vote to women it meant that the country would be handing over the larger part of political power in the country to women. Matters of defence and trade of the country, questions of the administration of the Empire were matters which had interests as much for women as for men. But men had to look after them, and when women asked for a preponderating share of political power they were asking for what was firstly foolish and secondly unjust. Because, if her opinion of equity was right, women would be asking for a share of what they

"If you want to remove your handicaps, women," declared Mrs. Colquhoun, "you must go to your Creator, because man and the vote will never do it for you." Equality of men and women before the law was an impossibility in a civilised community. It was no longer possible to contend that they could set up an aristocratic basis for the franchise for women in a country where they already had the democratic basis for men. The only question was whether they were prepared to give votes to all women, or to deny them to all women. By granting the franchise to women, they would add a large number of neglectful or indifferent voters, or of neglectful and indifferent wives and mothers. Mrs. Colquhoun also dealt with the claim of the Suffragist that Women's Suffrage would have its essential bearing on the treatment of social problems, and pointed out that much of the most important work of social administration was local and not national. That field was open to women, but they had not touched the edge of it. And yet there were women clamouring for a vote in the Imperial Parliament. "Until we have covered that field, we have no right to ask the men to entrust us with the administration of the Army, the Navy, and the Colonies. We ask you to leave that to them, and let us do our own job and do it well."

Mr. Fred Maddison, in seconding the motion, pointed out that the opposition to Suffrage had nothing to do with the question of individual inferiority; it was a question of function. He was against votes for women not because he believed it would be the end of all things, but because it was very desirable the laws of the country should be made by that sex which had the final power and responsibility concerning them, and the ability to bear the full burden they imposed. It was not that women were inferior to men; it was a question of function. At the best, votes for women would only add to the indifference of the electors, and at the worst foster a feminism which sought to undermine some of the things without which this country would be a useless thing.

The resolution was carried by a very large majority, and the chairman, in announcing the fact, said he was glad to see that in Sheffield there were people who differed from the Anti-Suffragists, but who knew how to behave at a public meeting, though, as a matter of fact, such good behaviour did the Anti-Suffrage cause more harm than the other methods frequently adopted.

Several questions were asked and answered. Mr. Arthur Balfour (*ex* Master Cutler), proposed a vote of thanks to the Chairman and speakers. Mr. H. H. Bedford seconded, and the motion was carried.

could not perform—they were asking for power to regulate what men had to perform. She was of opinion that there was no more unjust claim in history than that women should be given, not only an equal, but preponderating share in the government of a country. The ideal of womanhood and manhood possessed a differentiation of function in both State and family, and in fulfilling her ideal woman would do all the better if not forced into competition with man. She begrudged the energy her sex were displaying in a futile and unjust demand, because she

wanted it in fulfilling the ideals of womanhood. Personally she had yet to meet the Suffragist idea of man with a capital M—he who would cut down and was ignorant of everything that was womanly for women. Most men had either mothers, wives, sisters, cousins or aunts, and if they did not get or could not hear the woman's point of view of things they must be stone deaf. The side of woman's work as it affected women and children could be accomplished without women clamouring for interference in Imperial matters. A certain section of men, when questioned as to women's franchise, said, "Oh, let the women have it, and they will keep quiet." It was begging the question to say they would keep quiet when they had it. Just as much as there was a widespread demand for a Parliamentary franchise for woman, so was there an equally widespread opposition to it.

Earl Winterton opened by saying he did not speak on this question from a party

point of view. He was not there to belittle or sneer at his opponents' convictions, because he believed there were many earnest men and women in favour of granting the Suffrage to women. So far as he was concerned—and he believed he was voicing the opinion of every member of the Anti-Suffrage League when he said he should not be influenced one jot or tittle by the so-called militant campaign in the last four years—he should always have been opposed to Woman Suffrage. No words could too strongly reprobate the militancy he referred to. He believed it to be partly a joke, partly a crime, wholly futile, wholly illogical, and wholly absurd. He believed if it had not been for militancy a Bill of Woman Suffrage might have been sneaked through the House of Commons, because many might have looked upon it as such a small matter as to say, "If they want it, let them have it." He thought now, however, if there had ever been a chance of its being granted, owing to militancy the chance now was

practically nil. There were far more important questions for Parliament to decide than any question of the extension of the franchise to either men or women. It had been argued that by revolution and rebellion the franchise was secured for men, but in no case could rebellion or revolution be successful unless there was a majority on its side, and the militants did not even have a majority of women on their side, much less men.

Dealing with the matter from the economic point of view as affecting women and children, Lord Winterton said, if women would but give their time to local administration, one half the social scandals that exist in this country to-day as affecting women and children would cease to exist. (Loud applause.) A number of questions were put and answered at the end of the meeting.

A vote of thanks was passed to the Chairman and the speakers on the proposition of Dr. Frost, seconded by Mrs. Dering White.

### THE HAMPSTEAD MEETING.

#### A MESSAGE FROM MISS EDITH DURHAM.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON presided at an enthusiastic gathering held by the Hampstead Branch in the Hampstead Conservatoire on November 14th. The principal speakers were the Countess of Jersey, Lord George Hamilton and Mr. Wenyon-Samuel.

Amongst those on the platform were Lord and Lady Charnwood, Lady Hamilton, Lady Wynne, Sir R. and Lady Bradford, Lady Banks, Admiral Sir Edmund Fremantle, The Hon. Mrs. Mallet, Mrs. Moberly Bell, Mr. and Mrs. J. Walter Smith, Miss Lawrence Alma Tadema, Miss Gladys Pott, Colonel and Mrs. Cowley, Mr. and Mrs. Talbot Kelly, Mrs. Metzler (President of the Hampstead Branch), &c. &c.

Letters of regret for non-attendance were received from Earl Cromer, Lord Weardale, Earl Percy, The Earl of Ronaldshay, M.P., Lord and Lady Haversham, Mrs. Humphry Ward, Mr. John Massie, Lady Tree, and Mr. Frederic Harrison.

Much interest was expressed in a letter which was read from Miss M. Edith Durham, whose work in the Balkans both before and during the war is so well known. When she was last in England, Miss Durham was for some time Hon. Secretary for our Hampstead Branch. She wrote from Albania, where she is with the Montenegrin army: "I am glad you are to have a public meeting in Hampstead. If the women who broke windows in London were to come out here they might find something useful to do." This letter, read out by Lord George Hamilton, was received with prolonged applause.

Lord George Hamilton, who was cordially received, said that he was perfectly convinced that the realisation of the Woman Suffrage desires would be a national calamity. The three great arguments against granting the vote to women were that an overwhelming majority were opposed to it; it would be bad for women; it would be worse for the State. It was true that women's labour was poorly paid, but that was because there was a redundancy of women here, while in the Colonies there were not enough

in proportion to the men. Hysteria and emotion were ousting fortitude and self-discipline from politics, and it would not be advantageous for the State to be woman-ridden. He deplored the outrages which had been carried out by militants, and expressed the opinion that sheer weak-mindedness had led them to it. Lord George concluded his convincing speech by saying emphatically: "To put women on an equality with men is contrary to Heaven's Act of Parliament, and to the everlasting law of Nature and of fact."

The Countess of Jersey, in an admirable speech, moved the Anti-Suffrage resolution. Lady Jersey contended that the possession of the vote would be no real advantage to women. Before she went to Australia she had been inclined to think that there was something to be said for giving the vote to rate-paying women, but she had not been three months in the country before she was entirely convinced to the contrary. She saw democracy at close quarters, and became assured that anything in the nature of a limited franchise would be entirely impossible. Perhaps one would only have to turn to those countries whose States had given the votes to women, to see how women had benefited by the vote. What did they find? In Denver, Colorado, and in Salt Lake City one could easily find skilled typists for five or six dollars a week, but the greenest boy from school had to be paid seven, such was the common ratio of skilled labour as between man and woman. In Australia there were some strikingly interesting comparisons in the rates of wages, although women had the vote. In Victoria men school teachers were paid from £120 to £415 a year, but women only from £80 to £200, and in all States in Australia one could find much the same condition of things. That showed that the possession of the vote had not put women on an equality with men.

Would the social condition of women be advanced in other ways by the vote? It was often said that the infant mortality in New Zealand had fallen since women had

the vote. It was indeed true that it had fallen 14.3 per 1,000 in that time, but in England in the same period it had fallen 56 per 1,000. If the vote was the cause of the fall in New Zealand, to what was the even greater fall in England to be attributed? It was to the great work of women who had not troubled their heads about the vote—to the good work of the women who had made use of the municipal vote, who had taken an interest in housing and sanitation; to the Sisters of Mercy, factory inspectors, and the like.

Lady Jersey resumed her seat among prolonged applause, and was at this juncture presented with a beautiful bouquet by Mrs. Metzler.

Mr. Wenyon-Samuel, in seconding the resolution, said that it was the feminist movement in its most aggravated form which seemed to threaten the future of the Empire. The militants had piped and nobody had danced, but they had forced up an opposition to themselves which would take many years of campaigning to remedy.

At the conclusion of Mr. Samuel's brief but forcible speech, the resolution was carried with only three or four to vote against it.

The meeting closed with a hearty vote of thanks to the chairman and speakers, on the motion of Mr. J. Walter Smith, seconded by Mr. Talbot Kelly.

### OUR BRANCH NEWS-LETTER.

**Branch Secretaries and Workers' Committee.**—The next meeting of this Committee will be held (by kind permission of Mrs. George Macmillan) at 27, Queen's Gate Gardens, S.W., on Wednesday, December 11th, at 11.30 a.m. These meetings are open to all the Presidents, Treasurers, Branch Secretaries and workers of the League. Chairman, Miss Gladys Pott; Hon. Secretary, Miss Manisty, 33, Hornton Street, Kensington, W.

**Bangor.**—A well-attended meeting was held at the Queen's Head Café, Bangor, on



November 4th, Mrs. Gladstone Solomon being the speaker. A strong Branch of our League has been formed at Bangor, with Miss Hughes as Hon. Secretary.

Mrs. Solomon, who made an excellent speech, was subjected to a brisk fire of questions from a number of the opposition who were present. All of these she answered very ably.

**Bristol.**—The Bristol East Sub-Committee had a very successful meeting on October 30th, at the residence of Mrs. Edmondson, Bloomfield Road, Brislington. Mrs. H. C. Trapnell gave an interesting address, and twenty-five new members were enrolled.

The members of the St. Michael's Liberal Club were addressed on October 25th by Miss Price, whose speech was followed by a general discussion, and questionings which she very ably answered.

At the monthly meeting held by the invitation of Miss Long Fox at 15, Royal York Crescent, Clifton, 272 new members were welcomed by the speaker, Mr. T. W. Barry, who gave a very able address.

A Sub-Branch has been organised at Burnham, Somerset, and the Hon. Mrs. Arthur Rogers, of St. Germain, Burnham, has kindly undertaken the duties of Hon. Secretary.

**Cambridge University.**—A very interesting debate on Woman Suffrage was held at the Cambridge Union on November 14th, and some brilliant speeches were made. It was a visitors' night, and the resolution against the granting of the Parliamentary vote to women was proposed by Mr. Talbot (Christ Church, Oxford) and seconded by Mr. A. L. Attwater (Pembroke, Cambridge). Mr. Roberts (Trinity College, Oxford), Mr. E. P. Smith (Caus College, Cambridge), Mr. Dodd and the Rev. Cave (Christ's College, Cambridge) were ably supported. The resolution was carried by 170 to 100—a majority of 70 against Woman Suffrage.

**Carlisle.**—The Annual Meeting of the Cumberland and Westmorland Branch, which was held at the County Hotel, Carlisle, on October 21st, was very well attended, and the speeches made were most interesting.

Miss Mary Cropper (President of the Branch) was in the chair, and she was supported on the platform by Lady Mabel Howard and Miss Howard (Hon. Secretary). The Hon. Mrs. Cropper, The Baroness von Hugel, Mrs. Heywood Thompson, Mrs. Johnson, Mrs. Spencer Ferguson, and several officials and members of other Branches in the district.

Miss Cropper, in an interesting speech, said that since their last Annual Meeting the deeds of Suffragists had not weakened the sober opinions of those who were opposed to them. There was no need to speak only of "Suffragettes," for even the calmer members of their party showed a lack of sense of proportion and of judgment which was often startling. Just lately she had been sent a paper issued by some one of the Church Suffrage League begging all its members to sign a declaration enclosed; this declaration was a promise not to attend the services or sacraments of any Church of which the vicar was not a Suffragist, and willing to use a prayer for "The Cause" during his service. Such things, said Miss Cropper, made one wonder what was becoming of the fair-mindedness, sweet reasonableness and courtesy which ought to be characteristic of their sex. Mrs. Fawcett's strange conscience with regard to politics

was also surely proof that this was a conscience searing crusade.

Miss Howard read the fourth Annual Report of the Branch, which showed a very satisfactory growth of the work, and the Secretary announced that Mr. Grant, M.P., Egremont Division, Colonel Bagot, M.P., for South Westmorland, and Mr. Christopher Lowther, candidate for North Cumberland, were all in sympathy with the Anti-Suffrage movement.

The Treasurer's statement showed a satisfactory balance in hand.

All the acting officials of the Branch were unanimously re-elected for the ensuing year.

**Carnarvon.**—A most enthusiastic meeting was recently held in the Carnarvon Guildhall. Mrs. Gladstone Solomon set forth the arguments against granting the franchise to women in a very forcible and convincing manner, and the resolution against Woman Suffrage was well carried. At the close of the meeting over forty of those present enrolled themselves as members of the Branch, which is now, as a result of this meeting, in full working order in Carnarvon. Miss R. Lloyd Jones, of "Twithill," Carnarvon, has kindly consented to act as Hon. Secretary.

**Chiswick.**—The Chiswick Branch held its fourth Annual General Meeting in the Chiswick Town Hall on November 4th, the President (Mrs. H. Norris) in the chair. There was an excellent attendance of members and their friends.

The Secretary's report showed a great advance in the work of the League in this neighbourhood, and recorded a great increase in the membership of the Branch, as well as much energy in the way of meetings and canvassing. The Treasurer's financial statement also went to prove, by showing a large increase of income, that the life of the League in Chiswick is in a very healthy state. Unfortunately, Mrs. Greatbatch has felt it necessary to resign her position as Treasurer, and the President, in thanking her for all her past work, congratulated the Branch on being able to retain the interest and efforts (although in a different direction) of so valued a worker.

The Secretary undertook to continue the office of Treasurer with her own work, and all the other members of Committee and the officers stood for re-election. When the business part of the meeting was over, a delightful address from Mr. Holford Knight was listened to with keen interest.

A vote of thanks to the speaker was proposed by Mrs. Greatbatch, and to the chair by Mr. Holford Knight, who took the opportunity of thanking Mrs. H. Norris and Mrs. Greatbatch on behalf of the Branch for the excellent work they had done.

**Clevedon.**—Considerable interest was aroused in Clevedon by the debate in the Public Hall on November 22nd, between Miss Helen Fraser (N.U.W.S.S.) and Miss Gladys Pott. Dr. Visger was in the chair, and the hall was filled to its utmost capacity, many being unable to obtain admission. Miss Fraser proposed the resolution that the vote should be given to all duly qualified women, and Miss Pott very ably opposed. The discussion then became general among members of the audience, and when the resolution was put, the voting was 179 for "votes for women" and 141 against. This result, in view of the fact that the Suffragists have been working in Clevedon for three years and our League for just a little over a month, was satisfactory from our point of view.

**Deal.**—Very able speeches were made at a crowded meeting held at the Theatre Royal, Deal, on October 24th, under the auspices of the local Branch of our League.

Lady George Hamilton (President of the Deal Branch) was in the chair, and the speakers were Mrs. Somervell, Lord George Hamilton and Mr. Arthur Page.

Mrs. Somervell, in proposing the Anti-Suffrage resolution, traced the slow process of educating public opinion and deciding the difficult question of the form in which that opinion should be legislatively expressed. She said she had immense sympathy with many of the ideals of the Suffragists, but they "always wanted to go too far ahead," and to legislate too much in advance of public opinion meant that the law did not get obeyed, which was against the interests of good government. There was a great danger to the State already in the number of ignorant, irresponsible voters, and if a large number of women were suddenly added to the electoral roll that danger would be enormously increased; women, on the average, were more ignorant politically than men in the same stations of life. They had already seen what it meant to turn loose in politics emotional woman, and the result had been one of the ugliest things in recent history.

Lord George Hamilton, in a forceful and cogent speech, said, so far as it had been possible to test the matter, the overwhelming mass of women in this country were opposed to Woman Suffrage, and unfortunately as the numbers in this movement became more and more limited, so did a certain section of this limited number become more violent. Women's judgment on the average was more capricious and less prescient than that of men; they were more hasty in action, and more regardless of consequences, providing they could achieve their object for the moment. If anything could give force and substance to this view it was for women to go about the country in the pretended interests of their sex and to ape the violence of male hooligans and street rowdies. It was true that acts of violence preceded the passing of the Reform Bill, but that Bill was passed, not because of them, but because the overwhelming mass of the people desired it. Acts of violence, for political purposes, were usually the acts of persons of feeble or excitable minds, which, possessed by one idea, forced them into crime. What had made these little islands the head of the most wonderful Empire? Was it not largely because the Englishman in an emergency had never lost his head, but had exercised a virile judgment followed by determined action? Woman, with all her charms and merits, was more emotional than man, and surely this was not the right moment to pitchfork 11 million women into the electoral rolls of this country. In conclusion, Lord George Hamilton quoted the Anti-Suffrage view of an eminent French woman barrister, "God and nature have made men and women different. Each have their respective spheres of work, though at times they overlap and interfere one with the other. To attempt to obliterate all the distinction between men and women so as to place the two on a dead level of equality, is contrary to the fundamental laws of nature and of fact, and if ever the day should unfortunately arrive when such a claim should be admitted by Parliament, it will be bad for the unwise

women who ask for it, and worse still for the foolish Parliament which sanctions it."

Mr. Arthur Page having given a short and interesting address, questions were put and answered, and our resolution was carried with but very few dissentients.

It was then proposed by Lady George Hamilton, seconded by Mrs. Marke Wood, and carried unanimously, that "this meeting is strongly of opinion that the Criminal Law Amendment Bill should be passed into law in its original shape without delay."

**Deptford.**—At the Rolt Street Institute, Deptford, on October 29th, Mr. W. G. Liverman (N.L.O.W.S.) met in debate Miss C. E. Elkin, of the L.S.W.S., the audience consisting chiefly of working men and women, who listened with the deepest interest to the speeches.

A rather novel system of voting on the resolution was introduced. Each member of the audience was served with a ballot paper—men with a red one and women with a green one. This resulted in a majority of 10 men against the vote, and a majority of women for the vote, the ultimate result giving the Suffragists a small majority of three.

**Dorking.**—This Branch is doing exceedingly well, and as was reported at a recent meeting of the General Committee, has exactly doubled its membership during the past year. This meeting was held by kind permission of Mrs. Barclay, at Bury Hill, and the Hon. Secretary (Mr. A. P. Keep) presented a very satisfactory report of the work done in the year ending October 31st. Major Hicks also presented a very good balance sheet. The President and officials were re-elected. Mrs. Wilfred Ward was elected Chairman, and Miss Loughborough, during the absence abroad of Mr. A. P. Keep, will act as Hon. Secretary.

A successful meeting of the past month was one held at Brockham on October 25th. Sir Benjamin Brodie was in the chair, and most interesting speeches were made by Mrs. Wilfred Ward and Mrs. H. Norris. A capital programme of songs and recitations was given by Miss Mary Abbott and Mr. S. H. Longman. A number of Suffragists were present, but no questions were asked, and when the Anti-Suffrage resolution was put to the audience it was carried by 56 to 36 votes.

**Dulwich.**—Anti-Suffragists turned up in large numbers at the All Saints' Parish Room, Dulwich, on October 23rd, to hear Miss Gladys Pott debate with Miss Helen Ward (N.U.W.S.S.). Mr. J. G. Dalzell (President of Dulwich) made an admirably impartial Chairman. Miss Ward put her case first, and her arguments were then ably dealt with by Miss Pott, who, in a short speech, completely swept aside Miss Ward's attempts to prove the desirability of woman's franchise. Miss Ward answered, and Miss Pott again in her brief reply carried the sympathies of her audience with her by her admirable logic. Questions put to both speakers by members of the audience served to further strengthen the Anti-Suffrage position.

**East Berks.**—Three meetings organised by this Branch were held at Waltham, St. Lawrence, Hare Hatch, and Knowl Hill on October 24th and 25th. The Chair was taken on October 24th by Mr. Charles Nichol at Waltham School, and on Friday afternoon

Mrs. Wilson Noble occupied the chair at the Hare Hatch meeting. The same evening Mr. Warner, of Knowl Hill, presided over a meeting at Knowl School. On each occasion Miss Gladys Pott was the speaker, and the resolution was carried unanimously at every meeting. As a result of these meetings, a number of new members have been enrolled by the East Berks Branch, which is extending its work rapidly throughout a larger area.

**Great Missenden.**—At Great Missenden, on October 31st, Miss Gladys Pott met both Lady Frances Balfour and Miss Muriel Matters in debate on the subject of "Woman Suffrage," and proved herself perfectly equal not only to the efforts of both speakers, but ready to meet any argument, and there were many advanced, by those of the closely-packed audience.

The Earl of Buckinghamshire presided, and both sides of the controversy were equally represented in the audience. Lady Frances was the first to speak, and was answered by Miss Pott. After Miss Matters had addressed the meeting, questions were asked and answered.

**Hackney (North).**—A debate of some local interest was held at the North Hackney Constitutional Club, Stamford Hill, on November 6th. Mr. A. Maconachie opposed Mrs. Mustard of the Women's Freedom League, and Mr. Hoddy, J.P., presided over a very large attendance.

Mrs. Mustard, in her speech, endeavoured to justify the fringing of pillar boxes, and on being pressed for a definite statement, said: "I would rather see pillar boxes being burned than see men in the House of Commons breaking faith with women." This curious statement was received with loud cries of "shame." Mr. A. Maconachie ably defeated the arguments advanced by Mrs. Mustard, with the result that the latter speaker's resolution in favour of the Franchise was defeated by a substantial majority.

The first public meeting of the Hackney Branch, on November 26th, was a great success. A full report will appear in our next issue.

**Hammersmith.**—An interesting and animated debate took place between Miss Mabel Smith and Miss A. Maude Royden, on October 21st, before the Hammersmith and Fulham group of the Christian Social Union. The speakers took for their subject the effect that the women's vote would have on Social Reform, and Miss Smith's opposition to Miss Royden's arguments was vigorous and effective. No resolution was submitted to the audience.

**Hereford.**—Another of the series of drawing-room meetings organised by the Hereford and District Branch was held by the kind permission of Miss Rachel Evans at her residence, Thornton, Hereford, on October 25th. Mrs. Butterworth presided over a very full attendance, and was supported by the Dowager Lady Croft and Miss M. King-King (Hon. Treasurer).

Mr. Arthur Pott, of Goodrich House, Ross-on-Wye, gave a short address, which was received with great appreciation.

The Anti-Suffrage resolution was carried unanimously, and at the conclusion of the meeting other ladies kindly offered their drawing-rooms for future meetings.

**Kensington.**—There was a very good attendance at the Kensington Town Hall

on October 24th, when the Kensington Branch held its Annual Meeting under the presidency of Lord Claud Hamilton, M.P. Lord Claud in an impressive speech said Woman Suffragists would strain every nerve to get the Franchise measure passed during the existence of the present Parliament, but that no genuine majority for it existed, and it could only be passed by a system of log-rolling.

Sir David Gill proposed the re-election of the present Executive Committee, and Lady Ibbetson seconded, the motion was carried unanimously.

The President (Mary Lady Ilchester), Hon. Treasurer, and Hon. Secretary, were also re-elected.

Mrs. Colquhoun then read the Annual Report, which showed that the growth of this Branch is most encouraging, there having been 200 new members enrolled during the past year. The subscribers now number 800.

Mr. H. J. Mackinder, M.P., moved the adoption of the report in a thoughtful and vigorous speech. He dealt particularly with the economic fallacy that women, through voting power, could improve their wages. Referring to the feminist propaganda, he said the claim for equality, if granted, would deprive women of rights and privileges which are increasing with the march of civilisation and are essential to her as wife and mother. The danger of the feminist movement lay in the preponderating influence of the unmarried woman and the idea that women can compete with men.

Mrs. Colquhoun seconded the adoption of the report, and Mr. R. W. Cracroft moved a vote of thanks to the Chairman and speakers.

On November 27th, by kind permission of Mrs. Hamilton Ross, a drawing-room meeting was held at 17, Linden Gardens, and was largely attended. The speaker was Miss Pott, and a charming programme of songs was given by the well-known singer, Miss Marguerite Le Mans.

**Liverpool.**—At an "At Home" given by Mrs. Frank Jeans, of 50, Rodney Street, Liverpool, attended by a large number of influential Liverpool residents, a strong Branch of our League was formed for Abercromby. Mrs. Jeans welcomed her guests, and Mrs. Case presided over the formal meeting, which was addressed by Miss Gostenhofer, Miss Platt, Alderman Maxwell, and Mr. Goodwin. Mrs. Jeans proposed, and Councillor Lawrence seconded, a resolution pledging the meeting to form the Abercromby Branch, and a Committee of ladies and gentlemen was appointed to work it, with Mrs. Jeans and Miss Bernard as Joint Hon. Secretaries and Mrs. Pollitt as Hon. Treasurer.

**East and West Toxteth.**—This newly formed Branch is very successful, having already enrolled 130 members, and possessing a most active band of workers. The first public meeting was held on November 20th, in the Lark Lane Institute, when there was a very good audience. Councillor Lawrence was in the chair and the speakers were Miss Platt, Miss Owen, Mrs. F. A. Goodwin, and Mr. Noel B. Goldie. Miss Platt spoke earnestly on women's true work, and Miss Owen gave some convincing figures with regard to the canvass of women municipal voters in Liverpool



and Birkenhead. The Anti-Suffrage resolution was carried unanimously.

**Manchester.**—Two very successful debates were held in connection with this Branch on November 5th. Mrs. P. W. Craven, M.Sc., put our side of the case before the Urmston Congregational Church Literary Society, Mr. J. H. Werner presiding over a large audience. Mrs. Craven's speech was followed by a general discussion, and when the vote was taken 30 declared themselves anti- and 19 pro-Suffrage, the rest not voting.

In connection with the Oldham Branch of the British Women's Temperance Association, a debate took place on the same date in the Friends' Meeting House, Oldham. The subject taken was "Will Women's Franchise help the Temperance Cause?" Miss Helen M. Lee took the affirmative side, and Mrs. Watson Harrison the negative. Mrs. William Taylor presided. At the conclusion of the speeches a good many questions were put to our speaker, but no vote was taken.

**Norbury.**—At the Norbury Debating Society, on October 24th, Mr. Geeson moved "That the granting of the Franchise to women would be against their own interest and that of the nation." Mrs. Chandler, of the Church Suffrage League, opposed the resolution, and Mrs. Tyson (W.S.P.U.) and other members of that Society supported her. Mrs. Winckoski, Secretary of our Streatham Branch, was a very strong supporter of the resolution, and the discussion which followed was very animated. Mr. G. D. Lush made an able chairman.

On the resolution being put, it was carried by a good majority.

Through the kindness of Mrs. Raphael Venelli a very successful drawing-room meeting in connection with the Streatham and Norbury Branch was held at 21, Norbury Gardens on November 13th. Miss Mabel Smith delivered an excellent speech on the objects of the League and put forward cogent reasons why it was not necessary to extend the Parliamentary franchise to women. Mrs. Winckoski, the local Secretary, was fortunate in getting many ladies present to join the Branch.

**North Berks.**—A most interesting Anti-Suffrage meeting of November was a gathering of Vice-Presidents of the North Berks Branch, Lady Wantage entertaining the party at luncheon at Lockinge House.

At the business meeting after luncheon Lady Wantage presided, and gave a brief account of the year's work in the constituency.

Miss Gladys Pott (Hon. Secretary) announced that the membership of the North Berks Branch now numbered between 500 and 600, and was steadily increasing.

Amongst those present were Lady Hyde, Lady Henderson, Lady Harcourt-Smith, Lady Norman, Mrs. Mayo-Robson and Mrs. Wroughton.

**Oxshott.**—A very successful and well-attended public meeting, under the auspices of this Branch, was held on October 24th in the St. Andrew's Hall.

Mrs. Bowen-Buscarlet presided, and was supported on the platform by Mrs. Lugard (Hon. Secretary), Mrs. Humbert, Colonel Bowen-Buscarlet and Major A. Nelson.

Both Mrs. Harold Norris and Mrs. Bowen-Buscarlet made most interesting speeches and answered a number of questions put to them. Votes of thanks to Mrs. Norris, the

Chairman, and Mrs. Lugard terminated the meeting.

**Reading.**—On November 12th, there was an interesting educational debate between Miss Gladys Pott and Miss Young, of the N.U.W.S.S., at the Salisbury Club, Reading. The subject of the enfranchisement of women was very ably dealt with by both speakers, whose arguments thoroughly interested the audience.

**Rugby.**—There was a very large audience in the Co-operative Hall, Rugby, on October 29th, to hear a debate between Miss Gladys Pott and Mrs. Corbett Ashby, of the N.U.W.S.S. The speakers were both supported on the platform by representatives of their respective opinions.

The Rev. Dr. David was in the chair, and owned in his introductory speech that he always had been and still was "on the fence."

Miss Pott opened the debate and made an exceedingly telling speech, which was loudly applauded, and Mrs. Corbett Ashby then put the case for the Suffrage. Both speakers were afterwards afforded an opportunity of dealing a little further with each other's arguments, and the general discussion which followed brought out a number of most interesting points.

When the voting for and against was taken, the Suffragists won, but a very large number of those in the hall abstained from voting.

**Shoreditch.**—A rather novel feature of a debate at the Shoreditch Y.M.C.A., on November 4th, was that for an equal time both speakers had the right to cross-question each other. Mr. Herbert G. Williams was a splendid exponent of the Anti-Suffrage side of the question, and Miss Cockle (N.U.W.S.S.) opposed. As a result there were only 15 supporters of the Suffrage, while 30 voted "Anti," a very satisfactory majority.

**Stratford-on-Avon.**—Sir Henry Fairfax-Lucy was the chairman at a representative meeting held in the Corn Exchange, Stratford-on-Avon, on October 30th. Most of the officials of the local Branch were on the platform, and the audience was a large and keenly interested one, and included several well-known advocates of Woman Suffrage.

Mrs. H. Norris and Mr. A. Maconachie were the speakers, and on a show of hands being demanded, the Anti-Suffrage resolution was carried by a majority of 28.

Votes of thanks were proposed and seconded by Councillor Kennard and Mr. Wells Taylor.

**Tunbridge Wells.**—The Countess Amherst was the chief hostess at a very successful and large "At Home" held in the Town Hall, Tunbridge Wells, on October 22nd. Miss Gladys Pott gave an interesting address, and among the audience were several well-known Suffragists, including Madame Sarah Grand. A Suffragist speaker, Miss Scott, asked Miss Pott several questions which were so ably answered as to entirely win the sympathies of the audience. Colonel Hunter in proposing a vote of thanks to Miss Pott said that the Suffragists in their frantic efforts to obtain the franchise had started a sex war and had entered into what he called "an unholy alliance" with the Labour Party. If they realised the degradation to women involved by joining the Socialist Party and the terrible consequences of setting man and woman against each other, they would have nothing further to do with the present movement for giving votes to

women. Mrs. Pontifex and Miss Backhouse (Hon. Secretary) were responsible for the successful arrangement of the "At Home," and for the charming decorations of the hall and platform.

**West Sussex.**—Miss Stuart and Sir Harry Johnston were the opponents in a debate on Woman Suffrage which took place by the invitation of Lady Maud Parry at her residence at Rustington, on October 21st. Lady Parry, who presided, made a long speech in favour of a Woman's Franchise Bill, and Miss Stuart's answer to Sir Harry Johnston's arguments resulted in a number of questions being addressed to her from the audience.

Miss Stuart's quick and ready replies to the number of small problems presented to her were admirable.

**Whitechapel.**—An audience of several hundred working men gathered in the Toynbee Hall, on October 31st, to hear a debate between Miss Mabel Smith and Mrs. Swanwick. Mrs. Swanwick put forward the resolution "That the vote would improve the position of industrially employed women." Mr. H. B. Samuels made an effective little speech in the course of the general discussion which followed. Although no vote was taken, it was generally agreed that the sympathies of the audience were Anti. Mr. Wise made an admirably impartial chairman.

**Wimbledon.**—One of the most interesting debates of the month was that which took place between Mr. Herbert G. Williams, of our Wimbledon Branch, and Dr. C. V. Drysdale, Hon. Secretary of the Men's League for Women's Suffrage, on November 11th, in the Lecture Hall. Councillor Ernest Williams presided over a most attentive audience. An interesting and novel feature of the discussion was the cross-examination of each speaker by his opponent, at the conclusion of the speeches.

Mr. Williams said the only real principle of government which had ever been established was the principle of those governing who could do so. There was not one man in this country who had the vote because he was taxed. It was a mere question of expediency, and arbitrary lines of age, of the house one lived in, and so on, were drawn. The only test of Woman Suffrage and everything else was the test of expediency. The laws were not identical as regards men and women, but that did not mean unfairness. Mr. Williams called the argument as to women's wages "a disreputable argument," and he said that a corrupt appeal had been made by Suffragists to girls in the Post Office on the ground that they would be able to force members of Parliament to get higher wages for them. It was often argued that the result of Woman Suffrage would be to decrease vice of all sorts, but he contended that if a majority of women joined with a minority of men to pass restrictive laws with regard to such evils as, say, drunkenness, they could not coerce the majority of men.

**Woodford.**—We have received the First Annual Report of the Woodford Branch, which shows that great success has attended the first year's work of this Branch. The Hon. Treasurer submits a most satisfactory balance sheet, and the President and the Hon. Secretary, while expressing themselves pleased with what has already been accomplished—the membership now numbers nearly 300—urge the necessity of greater enthusiasm in the future.

On November 12th, a deputation of the Branch, consisting of the President, Mrs. E. N. Buxton, the Hon. Treasurer, Mr. W. Houghton, and seven other ladies and gentlemen, waited on the prospective Unionist Candidate for the Walthamstow Division, Mr. Harry Symons, K.C. Mr. Symons assured the deputation that as matters are, he certainly could not see that the vote would be advisable for women whom, he thought, could safely trust their interests to the legislation of men.

#### THE CAMPAIGN IN WALES.

The greatest success has attended our long campaign in North Wales, where Mrs. Gladstone Solomon and her assistants have now been organising for some months.

**Pen-y-groes.**—On October 24th a crowded meeting was held in the Town Hall at Pen-y-groes, a quarry town near Carnarvon. Mr. Phillips of Carnarvon was in the chair, and Mrs. Gladstone Solomon and Miss Hughes were the speakers, the latter giving her address in Welsh. The resolution against the granting of the Parliamentary Franchise was passed with only seven dissentients. After the meeting a great many came forward to sign post-cards, buy badges, and join the newly-formed Branch of the League.

**Bangor.**—On November 4th three meetings were held in Bangor. The first was a meeting of about sixty quarry-men who passed our resolution unanimously. The second was a meeting of tailors, and the result of the poll was eighteen against and seven for "Votes for Women." The third was a small public meeting in a private room, which was attended in full force by Suffragists, who had received an urgent whip. They subjected the speaker, Mrs. Gladstone Solomon, to an hour's heckling, with which she dealt very ably. A male Suffragist who was present, without asking permission from the chair, and in spite of the fact that Mrs. Solomon had arranged that no resolution should be put, insisted on putting a Suffrage resolution to the meeting, after most of our supporters had left.

On November 5th two more meetings were held in Bangor, one at the Penlon Quarry, where our resolution was passed unanimously. The second was a drawing-room meeting, held by kind permission of Miss Jones at "Bodnant," when the resolution was again passed without opposition. A very strong Branch of the League has now been formed in Bangor.

**Corris.**—This is another quarry centre, and a most successful Branch has been founded here as the result of a public meeting held on November 7th. The chair was taken by the Vicar, the Rev. T. Thomas, and Mrs. Gladstone Solomon and Miss Hughes both spoke. Again the resolution was passed unanimously.

**Machynlleth.**—A very well attended meeting was held in the Town Hall here on November 8th. Mrs. Gladstone Solomon gave an address, and the usual resolution was passed.

**Criccieth.**—On November 12th a spirited debate, arranged by the Town Debating Society, took place between Mrs. Gladstone Solomon and Miss Leah Thomas. No

vote was taken, but the arguments were followed with interested attention.

**Abergynolwyn.**—A large Branch of our League has been formed at this large quarry centre as a result of a meeting addressed by Mrs. Solomon on November 13th.

**Bow.**—On November 20th an open-air meeting was held at Bow (near Aberystwyth), when the usual resolution was passed by a large majority. Two dinner-hour meetings were also held here on November 21st, Mrs. Stocks, Mrs. Gladstone Solomon, and Mr. Samuels being the speakers.

### BRANCHES.

#### BERKSHIRE.

##### NORTH BERKS—

President: The Lady Wantage.  
Hon. Secretary: Miss Gladys Pott, Little Place, Clifton Hampden, Abingdon, Berks; and 7, Queensborough Terrace Hyde Park, W.

##### Abingdon (Sub-Branch)—

Hon. Secretary: Lady Norman, Stratton House, Abingdon.

##### Wantage (Sub-Branch)—

Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Woodhouse, Wantage.

##### SOUTH BERKS—

President: Mrs. Benyon.  
Hon. Secretary and Hon. Treasurer: H. W. K. Roscoe, Esq., Streatley-on-Thames.

##### EAST BERKS—

President: The Lady Haversham.  
Hon. Treasurer: Lady Ryan.  
Secretary: St. Clair Stapleton; Esq., Parkside, Easthampstead, Bracknell.

##### Ascot (Sub-Branch)—

Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Herbert Crouch, Chalchots, Ascot.

##### Windsor (Sub-Branch)—

Hon. Secretary: Lady Mary Needham, 52, Francis Road, Windsor.

##### Wokingham (Sub-Branch)—

Hon. Treasurer: T. H. Mylne, Esq., Joint Hon. Secretaries: Mrs. Garry, Great Mead, Wokingham; Mrs. Antony Hawkins, Bear Wood, Wokingham.

##### NEWBURY—

President: Mrs. Stockley.  
Joint Hon. Treasurers: Miss J. Dunlop and Miss Ethel Pole.  
Hon. Secretary:

##### READING—

President: Mrs. G. W. Palmer.  
Hon. Treasurer: Dr. Secretan.  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Thoyts, Furze Bank, Redlands Road, Reading.

#### BIRMINGHAM AND DISTRICT.

President: The Right Hon. J. Austen Chamberlain, M.P.  
Vice-Presidents: Maud Lady Calthorpe; Miss Beatrice Chamberlain.  
Hon. Treasurer: Murray N. Phelps, Esq., LL.B.  
Hon. Secretaries: Mrs. Saundby; W. G. W. Hastings, Esq.  
Secretary: Miss Gertrude Allarton, 109, Colmore Row; Birmingham.

##### Handsworth (Sub-Branch)—

President:  
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. C. A. Palmer, Park Hill, Handsworth.

##### Hon. Secretary: Miss H. Berners Lee, The Pool House, Great Barr.

##### Solihull (Sub-Branch)—

Hon. Secretary: Miss Maud Pemberton, Whitacre, Solihull.

##### Stourbridge—

President:  
Hon. Treasurer: Miss Evers.  
Hon. Secretary: Miss Timmis, Pedmore, Stourbridge.

##### Sutton Coldfield—

Hon. Treasurer: Miss Muriel Addenbrook.

Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Grinsell, Combermere Oak, Four Oaks.

##### Wednesbury—

Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Shirlaw, 35, Rooth Street, Wednesbury.

#### BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

**HADDENHAM.**  
President: Mrs. Stevenson.  
Hon. Treasurer and Secretaries: Miss L. B. Strong, Hon. Secretary: Miss Newcombe, The Hawthornes, Haddenham, Bucks.

##### WENDOVER—

President: The Lady Louisa Smith.  
Hon. Treasurer and Secretaries: Miss L. B. Strong; Miss E. D. Perrott, Hazeldene, Wendover, Bucks.  
**St. Leonards (Sub-Branch)—**  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Westcombe, St. Leonards, Tring.

#### CAMBRIDGESHIRE.

**CAMBRIDGE—**  
President: Mrs. Austen Leigh.  
Hon. Treasurer: Lady Seely.  
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(Continued on page 305.)

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 Hon. Secretary: Miss Sterling, 14, Bartholomew Road, N.W.  
**STREATHAM AND NORBURY**—  
 Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Winckoski, 31, Hopton Road, Streatham.  
**UPPER NORWOOD AND ANERLEY**—  
 President: The Hon. Lady Montgomery Moore.  
 Hon. Treasurer: Miss E. H. Tiple.  
 Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Austin, Sunnyside, Crescent Road, South Norwood.  
**WESTMINSTER**—  
 President: The Lady Biddulph of Ledbury.  
 Hon. Secretary: Miss L. E. Cotesworth, Caxton House, Tothill Street, S.W.  
**WHITEHAPPEL**—  
 Hon. Secretary: Lady Wynne, St. Thomas' Tower, Tower of London, E.C.  
**MIDDLESEX.**  
**EALING**—  
 President:  
 Vice-President: Mrs. L. Prendergast Walsh, Kirk-cornel, Gunnersbury Avenue, Ealing Common.  
 Hon. Secretary: Miss McClellan, 35, Hamilton Road, Ealing.  
 All communications to be addressed to Mrs. L. Prendergast Walsh for the present.  
**EALING DEAN**—  
 Joint Hon. Secretaries: The Misses Turner, 33, Lavington Road, West Ealing.  
**EALING SOUTH**—  
 Mrs. Ball.  
 All communications to be addressed to Miss McClellan as above.  
**CHISWICK**—  
 President: Mrs. Norris.  
 Hon. Treasurer and Hon. Secretary: Miss M. Mackenzie, 6, Grange Road, Gunnersbury.  
**HAMPTON AND DISTRICT**—  
 Hon. Treasurer: H. Mills, Esq.  
 Joint Hon. Secretaries: Mrs. Ellis Hicks Beach and Miss Goodrich, Clarence Lodge, Hampton Court.  
**PINNER AND HARROW**—  
 President: Sir J. D. Rees, M.P.  
 Hon. Treasurer: Mr. Mayo.  
 Joint Hon. Secretaries: Mrs. Gardner Williams, "Inverary," Pinner; Miss K. Parker, "Mayfield," Pinner.  
**UXBRIDGE**—  
 Hon. Secretary and Hon. Treasurer (pro tem.): Mrs. Wakefield, New Belmont, Uxbridge.  
**MONMOUTHSHIRE.**  
**NEWPORT**—  
 President: Mrs. Bircham of Chepstow.  
 Hon. Secretary: Miss Prothero, Malpas Court.  
**NORFOLK.**  
**NORFOLK COUNTY BRANCH**—  
 Vice-President: Lady Mann.  
 Hon. Secretary: Miss Dorothy Carr, Ditchingham Hall, Norfolk.  
**NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.**  
**WELLINGBOROUGH**—  
 President: Mrs. Heygate, The Elms, Wellingboro'.  
**OUNDE**—  
 President: The Hon. Mrs. Fergusson.  
 Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Coombs.  
 Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Newman, Bramston House, Oundle.  
**NORTHUMBERLAND.**  
**NEWCASTLE AND TYNESIDE**—  
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 Hon. Treasurer: Arthur G. Ridout, Esq.  
 Secretary: Miss Moses, 9, Ridley Place, Newcastle.  
**NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.**  
**NOTTINGHAM AND NOTTS**—  
 President: Countess Manvers.  
 Hon. Treasurer:  
 Hon. Secretary:

**OXFORDSHIRE.**  
**BANBURY**—  
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 Vice-President: The Hon. Mrs. M. Lyneux.  
 Hon. Treasurer: J. P. England, Esq.  
 Hon. Secretary: Miss Gurney, 17, Oxford Road, Banbury.  
**Bicester**—  
 President:  
 Hon. Secretary: Miss Dewar, Cotmore House, Bicester.  
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 Hon. Treasurer: W. Poore Clarke, Esq.  
 Hon. Secretary: Miss Clarke, Market Street, Woodstock.  
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 Hon. Secretary (pro tem.): Miss Evans, Ropley, Goring-on-Thames.  
**HENLEY-ON-THAMES.**  
 President: Lady Esther Smith.  
 Hon. Treasurer: G. F. Gibbs, Esq.  
 Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Holt Beever, Yewden, Henley-on-Thames.  
**OXFORD**—  
 Chairman: Mrs. Max Muller.  
 Vice-Chairman: Mrs. Massie.  
 Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Gamlen.  
 Hon. Secretary: Miss Tawney, 62, Banbury Road, Co. Hon. Secretary: Miss Wills-Sandford, 49, St. Giles, Oxford.  
**Hook Norton (Sub-Branch)**—  
 Hon. Secretary: Miss Dickens.  
**THAME**—  
 President: Mrs. Philip Wykeham.  
 Hon. Treasurer: W. Ryder, Esq.  
 Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Ronald Lee, High Street, Thame.  
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 Secretary: Miss F. Daines, 7, St. Peter, Shrewsbury.  
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 President:  
 Hon. Secretary: Mrs. E. Y. Trestrail, Esq., 17, Arrow, Hillside, Oswestry.  
**SHREWSBURY**—  
 President: Mrs. Portman.  
 Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Somerville.  
 Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Birkbeck, Church Square, Taunton.  
**WESTON-SUPER-MARE**—  
 President: Mrs. Portsmouth Fry.  
 Hon. Treasurer: Miss W. Evans.  
 Hon. Secretary: Mrs. E. M. S. Parker, Welford House, Weston-super-Mare.  
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 Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Goodall.  
 Hon. Sec.: Mrs. Kippisley, Northam House, Wells.  
**STAFFORDSHIRE.**  
**HANDSWORTH**—  
 (See Birmingham District).  
**LEEK**—  
 Vice-President: Mrs. Sleigh.  
 Hon. Sec.:  
**WEDNESBURY**—  
 (See Birmingham District).  
**SUFFOLK.**  
**FELIXSTOWE**—  
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 Vice-President: Miss Jarvis White Jarvis.  
 Chairman: Mrs. Jusston.  
 Hon. Treasurer:  
 Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Haward, Priory Lodge, Felixstowe.

**SOUTHWOLD.**  
 President: Mrs. Heape.  
 Hon. Treasurer and Hon. Secretary: Miss Coley, 39, Field Stile Road, Southwold.  
**WOODBRIDGE**—  
 Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Ogilvie.  
 Hon. Secretary: Miss Nixon, Priory Gate, Woodbridge.  
**SURREY.**  
**GAMBERLEY, FRIMLEY, AND MYTCHELL**—  
 President: Mrs. Charles Johnstone, Graitney, Camberley.  
 Vice-President: Miss Harris.  
 Hon. Secretary and Treasurer: Mrs. Spens, Athalian Grange, Frimley, Surrey.  
**CROYDON**—  
 President:  
 Hon. Treasurer: Miss B. Jefferis.  
 Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Narraway, 5, Morland Avenue, East Croydon.  
**DORKING**—  
 President: Mrs. Barclay.  
 Chairman: Mrs. Wilfrid Ward.  
 Hon. Treasurer: Major Hicks, The Nook, Dorking.  
 Hon. Secretaries: Miss Loughborough, Bryn Derwen, Dorking; A. Percival Keep, Esq., The Hut, Holmwood.  
**DORSET.**  
**DORSET AND DISTRICT**—  
 Hon. Treasurer: Miss F. Cross.  
 Hon. Secretary: Miss Paice, The Limes, Bgham.  
**Englefield Green (Sub-Branch)**—  
 Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Shipley, Manor Cottage, Englefield Green.  
**EPSOM DIVISION.**  
 President: The Dowager Countess of Ellesmere.  
 Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Butler.  
 Hon. Sec.: Mrs. Sydney Jackson, Danhurst, Epsom.  
**BANSTEAD**—  
 President:  
 Hon. Secretary: Miss H. Page, Tadworth.  
**GOBHAM**—  
 President: Mrs. Bowen Buscarlet.  
**Oxshott**—  
 Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Lugard, Oxshott.  
**Stoke d'Abernon**—  
 Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Nelson, Stoke d'Abernon.  
**ESHER**—  
 Esler—  
 Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Hervey, Hedgerley, Esler.  
 Long Ditton—  
 Hon. Secretary: Miss Agar, 9, St. Philip's Road, Surbiton.  
 Thames Ditton—  
 Hon. Secretary: Miss Sandys, Weston Green, Thames Ditton.  
**East and West Molesey**—  
 Hon. Secretary and Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Garland, "Farrs," East Molesey.  
**EWELL**—  
 President: Mrs. Cheetham.  
**Cheam**—  
 Hon. Secretary: Miss West, Cheam.  
**Worcester Park**—  
 Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Auriol Barker, Barrow Hill, Worcester Park.  
**LEATHERHEAD AND DISTRICT**—  
 President: C. F. Gordon Clark, Esq.  
**Fetcham**—  
 Hon. Secretary: Mrs. C. F. Gordon Clark, Fetcham Park, Leatherhead.  
**Bookham**—  
 Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Pick, The Nook, Great Bookham.  
**SUTTON**—  
 Hon. Treasurer: Col. E. M. Lloyd, Glenhurst, Brighton Road, Sutton.  
 Hon. Secretary: Mrs. France, Springhaven, Wickham Road, Sutton.  
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 President: Miss S. H. Onslow.  
 Vice-President: Lady Martindale.  
 Hon. Treasurer: Admiral Tudor.  
 Hon. Secretary: Miss Clifton, Westbury Cottage, Waterden Road, Guildford.  
**GODALMING**—  
 President: Mrs. Pedley.  
 Hon. Treasurer: Colonel Shute.  
 Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Rice, "Melita," Peperharow Road, Godalming.  
 Ass. Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Ford, "Woodside," Peperharow Road, Godalming.  
**KEW**—  
 Hon. Sec.: Miss A. Stevenson, 10, Cumberland Rd., Kew.

**KINGSTON-ON-THAMES**—  
 Hon. Treasurer: James Stickland, Esq.  
 Hon. Secretary:  
**MORTLAKE AND EAST SHEEN**—  
 President: Mrs. Kelsall.  
 Hon. Treasurer: Dr. Cecil Johnson.  
 Hon. Secretaries: Mrs. Franklin, Westhay, East Sheen; John D. Batten, Esq., The Halsteads, East Sheen.  
**PURLEY AND SANDERSTEAD**—  
 President: The Right Hon. Henry Chaplin, P.C., M.P.  
 Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Doughty.  
 Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Atterbury, Trafal, Russell Hill, Purley.  
**REIGATE AND REDHILL**—  
 Hon. Treasurer: Alfred F. Mott, Esq.  
 Reigate—  
 Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Rundall, West View, Reigate.  
 Redhill—  
 Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Frank E. Lemon, Hillcrest, Redhill.  
**RICHMOND**—  
 President: Miss Trevor.  
 Hon. Treasurer: Herbert Gittens, Esq., A.C.A.  
 Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Willoughby Dumergue, 5, Mount Ararat Road, Richmond.  
**SHOTTERMILL CENTRE AND HASLEMERE**—  
 Hon. Treasurer: Miss Andrews.  
 Hon. Secretary: Mrs. H. Beveridge, Pitfold, Shottersmill, Haslemere.  
 Ass. Hon. Secretary: Arthur Molyneux, Esq., Downlake, Grayshott.  
**SURBITON**—  
 Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Dent, Chestnut Lodge, Adelaide Road, Surbiton.  
**WEYBRIDGE AND DISTRICT**—  
 President: Mrs. Charles Churchill.  
 Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Frank Gote-Browne.  
 Hon. Secretaries: Miss Godden, Kincairney, Weybridge; Miss Heald, Southlands, Weybridge.  
**WIMBLEDON**—  
 President: The Rt. Hon. Henry Chaplin, M.P.  
 Vice-President: Lady Elliott.  
 Hon. Treasurer:  
 Hon. Secretary: F. Fenton, Esq., 20, Ridgway Place, Wimbledon, S.W.  
**WOKING**—  
 President: Susan Countess of Wharncliffe.  
 Vice-Presidents: Lady Arundel, H. G. Craven, Esq.  
 Hon. Treasurer: The Hon. R. G. Grosvenor.  
 Hon. Secretary: Miss Peregrine, The Firs, Woking.  
**SUSSEX.**  
**BRIGHTON AND HOVE**—  
 President:  
 Hon. Treasurer: F. Page Turner, Esq.  
 Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Curtis, "Queen," D'Avigdor Road, Brighton.  
 Co-Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Shaw, 25c, Albert Road, Brighton.  
**CROWBOROUGH**—  
 President: Lady Conan Doyle.  
 Hon. Treasurer: Miss Melville Green, Whitcroft.  
 Hon. Secretary: Miss Rawlinson, Fair View, Crowborough.  
**EASTBOURNE**—  
 President: Mrs. Campbell.  
 Chairman of Committee: Mrs. E. Lloyd Williams, Esq.  
 Hon. Treasurer: Miss Stewart.  
 Hon. Secretary: Miss D. Bagot, Westfields, East Grinstead.  
**West Hoathly, Turner's Hill and Ardingly (Sub-Branch)**—  
 Vice President: Lady Stanning.  
 Hon. Secretary: Miss E. Humphry, Vine Cottage, West Hoathly.  
**HASTINGS AND DISTRICT**—  
 President: Lady Webster.  
 Chairman of Committee: Mrs. Bagshawe.  
 Hon. Treasurer: Stephen Spicer, Esq.  
 Joint Hon. Secretaries: Madame Wolfen, 6, Warrior Square Terrace, St. Leonards-on-Sea; Walter Breeds, Esq., Telham Hill, Battle.  
**HENFIELD**—  
 President: J. Earley Hall, Esq.  
 Hon. Treasurer and Secretary: Mrs. Blackburne, Barrow Hill, Henfield.  
**MIDHURST**—  
 Hon. Treasurer and Hon. Secretary: Miss Vigers, Ambersham, Midhurst.  
**LEWES**—  
 President: Mrs. Powell.  
 Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. R. Parker.  
 Hon. Secretary: Miss Lucas, Castle Precincts, Lewes.  
**WEST SUSSEX**—  
 President: The Lady Edmund Talbot.  
 Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Travers, Torrington 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.****BIRMINGHAM—**

(See Birmingham District.)

**RUGBY—**

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

**SOLIHULL—**

(See Birmingham District.)

**STRATFORD-ON-AVON—**

President: Lady Ramsay-Fairfax Lucy.  
Hon. Treasurer: R. Carter, Esq.  
Joint Hon. Secretaries: Miss Field, Talton House, Stratford-on-Avon; G. Wells Taylor, Esq., Avon Cottage, Stratford-on-Avon.

**SUTTON GOLDFIELD—**

(See Birmingham District.)

**WARWICK, LEAMINGTON AND COUNTY—**

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

**WILTSHIRE.****SALISBURY AND SOUTH WILTS—**

President: The Lady Muriel Herbert.  
Hon. Treasurer: Miss Russell.  
Hon. Secretary for South Wilts: Mrs. Richardson, The Red House, Wilton.  
Hon. Secretary for Salisbury: Miss Ethel Cripps, Hillbrow, Fowler's Road, Salisbury.

**Alderbury (Sub-Branch)—**

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

**Chalk Valley (Sub-Branch)—**

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

**Wilton (Sub-Branch)—**

Vice-President: Mrs. Dubourg, The Mount, Wilton.  
Hon. Secretary: Miss Q. Carse.

**WORCESTERSHIRE.****HANLEY SWAN—**

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

**KIDDERMINSTER—**

President: Mrs. Elliot Howard.  
Vice-President: Mrs. Kruser.  
Hon. Treasurer:  
Hon. Secretary: J. E. Grosvenor, Esq., Blakebrook, Kidderminster.

**MALVERN—**

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

**STOURBRIDGE.**

(See Birmingham District.)

**WORCESTER—**

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

**YORKSHIRE.****BRADFORD—**

President: Lady Priestley.  
Vice-Presidents: Mrs. G. Hoffman, W. E. Gordon, Esq., J.P.  
Hon. Treasurer: Lady Priestley.  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Halbot, 77, St. Mary's Road, Manningham, Bradford.  
District Secretaries: Mrs. S. Midgley, 1071, Leeds Road; Miss Casson, 73, Ashwell Road, Manningham, Bradford; Mrs. G. A. Mitchel, Jesmond Cottage, Toller Lane, Bradford.

**BRIDLINGTON—**

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

**ILKLEY—**

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

**LEEDS—**

President: The Countess of Harewood.  
Chairman: Miss Beatrice Kitson.  
Hon. Treasurer: Miss E. M. Lupton.  
District Secretaries: Miss H. McLaren, Highfield House, Headingley; Miss M. Shcock, Barkston Lodge, Roundhay.

**METHLEY—**

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

**MIDDLESBROUGH—**

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

**SCARBOROUGH—**

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

**SHEFFIELD—**

Vice-Presidents: The Lady Edmund Talbot, Lady Bingham, Miss Alice Watson.  
Hon. Treasurer: G. A. Wilson, Esq., 32, Kenwood Park Road.  
The Hon. Secretary, National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage, 26, Tipton Crescent Road, Sheffield.  
Asst. Secretary: Arnold Brittain, Esq., Hoole's Chambers, 47, Bank Street, Sheffield.

**WHITBY—**

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

**YORK—**

President: Lady Julia Wombwell.  
Vice-Presidents: Dowager Countess of Liverpool; Lady Denmore.  
Hon. Secretary and Hon. Treasurer: C. A. Thom, Esq., 13, St. Paul's Square, York.

**THE GIRLS' ANTI-SUFFRAGE LEAGUE.**

President: Miss Ermine M. K. Taylor.

**LONDON—**

Hon. Treasurer and Hon. Secretary: Miss Elsie Hird Morgan, 25, Philbeach Gardens, Earl's Court.  
Such Branch Secretaries as desire Members of this League to act as Stewards at Meetings should give notice to the Secretary at least a fortnight prior to the date of Meeting.

**BRISTOL—**

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

**ISLE OF WIGHT—**

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

**NEWPORT (Mon.)—**

Hon. Secretary: Miss Sealy, 56, Risca Road, Newport.

**OXFORD—**

Hon. Treasurer and Hon. Secretary: Miss Jel, 34, Norham Road, Oxford.

**SCOTLAND.  
THE SCOTTISH NATIONAL ANTI-SUFFRAGE LEAGUE.**

(In affiliation with the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage.)

President: The Duchess of Montrose, L.L.D.  
Vice-President: Miss Helen Rutherford, M.A.  
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Aitken, 8, Mayfield Terrace, Edinburgh.

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

**BRANCHES:****BERWICKSHIRE—**

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

**CUPAR—**

President: Lady Anstruther, Balcaskie.  
Vice-President: Lady Low.  
Hon. Treasurer and Hon. Secretary: Mrs. A. Lamond, Southfield, Cupar.  
Assistant Secretary: Mrs. D. Wallace, Gowan Park.

**DUNDEE—**

Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Young.  
Vice-President: Miss Craik, Flight's Lane, Lochce.

**EDINBURGH—**

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Vice-President: The Countess of Dalkeith.  
Chairman: Lady Christison.  
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. J. M. Howden.  
Joint Hon. Secretaries: Mrs. Johnston, 19, Walker Street; Miss Kemp, 6, Western Terrace, Murrayfield, Edinburgh.

**GLASGOW—**

President: The Countess of Glasgow.  
Chairman of Committee: Mrs. John N. MacLeod.  
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. James Campbell.  
Hon. Secretary: Miss Eleanor M. Deane, 180, Hope Street, Glasgow.

**Garnloch and Dennistoun (Sub-Branch)—**

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

**Kilmacolm (Sub-Branch)—**

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

**Tradeston (Sub-Branch)—**

Hon. Secretary: Miss Ainslie, 76, Pollok Street.

**NAIRN—**

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

**KIRKCALDY—**

Vice-Presidents: Miss Oswald and Mrs. Hutchison.  
Hon. Secretary: Miss A. Killock, Craighour, Milton Road, Kirkcaldy.  
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Pye, Bogie, Kirkcaldy.

**LARGS—**

President: The Countess of Glasgow.  
Vice-President: The Lady Kelvin.  
Hon. Treasurer: Miss Andrews.  
Hon. Secretary: Miss Jeanette Smith, Littlerath, Larga.

**ST. ANDREW—**

President: Mrs. Armour-Hannay.  
Vice-President: Mrs. Harnat.  
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Burnet.  
Hon. Secretary: Miss Playfair, 18, Queen's Gardens, St. Andrews.

**IRELAND.****DUBLIN—**

President: The Duchess of Abercorn.  
Hon. Treasurer: Miss Orpin.  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Albert E. Murray, 2, Clyde Road, Dublin.  
Asst. Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Hovenden-Torney, Lane Street, Dublin.  
Secretary: Miss White.

**ABERGWYNN—**

Hon. Secretary: The

**ABERDEEN—**

Hon. Secretary: The

**ABERYSTWYTH—**

Hon. Secretary: The

**ABERYSTWYTH—**

Hon. Secretary: The

**ABERYSTWYTH—**

Hon. Secretary: The

**BARMOUTH—**

Hon. Secretary: The

**BANGOR—**

Hon. Treasurer:  
Hon. Secretary:

**BORTH—**

Joint Hon. Secretaries:  
Borth; Miss Davis.  
Hon. Treasurer: M.

**BLAENAU FESTINIOG—**

Hon. Treasurer: Mr. W.

**BLAENAU FESTINIOG—**

Hon. Secretary:

**CARDIFF—**

President: Lady Hyde.  
Hon. Treasurer: Miss Linda Price.  
Hon. Secretary: Austin Harries,  
Taff Embankment, Cardiff.  
Assistant Hon. Secretary: Miss Evelyn,  
68, Richards Terrace.

**CARNARVON AND PEN-Y-GROES—**

President: Lady Turner.  
Hon. Treasurer:

**CUPAR—**

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

**GROSTON (Sub-Branch)—**

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

**CORRIS—**

Hon. Secretary: Miss Roberts, Council School.  
Hon. Treasurer: Miss Kate Evans, Liverpool House.

**CRICCIETH AND LLANYSTUMDWY—**

Hon. Treasurer: Mr. H. I. Jones.  
Joint Hon. Secretaries: Mrs. G. G. Jones,  
Miss Glynn, "Plas Grollym," Criccieth.

**MACHYNLETH—**

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

**NORTH WALES, No. 1—**

President: Mrs. Cornwallis West.

**TOWYN—**

Hon. Treasurer: Mr. Lawrence Jones.  
Hon. Secretary: Miss Claudia Symond, Towyn.