

Men's League for Women's Suffrage.

OFFICE : 159, St. Stephen's House,
Westminster, S.W.

CHAIRMAN : Herbert Jacobs.

HON. SEC. : J. Malcolm Mitchell.

MONTHLY PAPER.



PRESIDENT :

The Right Hon. the EARL OF LYTTON.

TELEPHONE : 4276 Victoria.

HON. TREAS. : Regd. H. Pott.

FINANCE SEC. : A. W. G. Jamrach.

No. 24.

Price to Non-Members 1d. Monthly, including Postage.

SEPT., 1911.

THE SITUATION.

AN unsuccessful attempt has been made in the House of Commons to wreck the Conciliation Bill,—and Mr. Lloyd George has shown sympathy with it. Questions were put in the House of Commons with the view of ascertaining whether the facilities promised for the Conciliation Bill might be filched for some other Suffrage Bill of a different kind. Mr. Lloyd George gave distinct encouragement to the suggestion by saying that the facilities would apply to any Bill open to amendment; but that the Government could not afford facilities for the discussion of more than one Woman Suffrage Bill next session. Mr. George's answer occasioned great anxiety, but Mr. Asquith's letter to Lord Lytton, which we publish in another column, has made it clear that in spite of Mr. George's statement the Government intends to hold to its pledges, and that the facilities promised will be given to the Conciliation Bill and to no other measure.

The House of Commons has passed a resolution for the payment of members of Parliament. The question was hustled through after a five days' discussion in the holiday season, and is now law. The Speaker in his discretion refused to accept an amendment standing in the name of Mr. Walter MacLaren, protesting against the imposition of fresh taxation on unrepresented women, a fact to be regretted. Mr. MacLaren, however, drew attention to the injustice in his speech, and announced his intention of giving £50 a year, the proportion of his salary which he thinks women will contribute, to the Suffrage cause. He asked other M.P.s to do the same. No one made any reply to Mr. MacLaren's argument; but we deeply regret that Suffragist M.P.s did not force home the new injustice, which to our minds is nothing more nor less than pick-pocketing.

Mr. Lloyd George recently said the ratepayers were represented in the House of Commons. His remarks elicited a cry "What about women?"

A trifle over a hundred members in number, less than the majority which carried the second reading of the Conciliation Bill, has petitioned the Government to ascertain the feeling of the country before giving facilities to a Woman Suffrage Bill. The great majority of the House has not joined in this petition. The M.P.s in question seem to have forgotten that prior to the last pollings their great chieftain Dr. Massie emphatically recognized that the Bill was before the country.

SINCE our last issue the country has safely passed through a crisis, the magnitude of which probably few people will ever realize, save perhaps those who are citizens of Manchester, Liverpool, and Llanely. We have seen the railway system disorganized, provisions growing dearer, armed soldiers at our railway stations. The Conciliation Boards, devised in 1907,

have been found inadequate, and employers have been confronted with a dissatisfied army of servants. Contemporaneously we have seen hundreds of women on strike in Bermondsey.

Some lessons have been learned—or will be learned soon when the Commission arrives at its conclusions—and on all sides the public hopes that these conclusions will be valid and lasting. To students of political science, however, there emerges yet more clearly than in 1907 one salient fact that under modern conditions, party politics apart, trade disputes call—and always may call—for Government intervention, arbitration, or compulsion. A great social entity cannot leave commercial controversies involving the paralysis of national activity to the indefinitely protracted strife of comparative staying-power.

There arises at once the fundamental problem which Suffragists have been propounding for years. *The Government, which must step in to settle these disputes, is elected solely by men.* Yet these disputes affect not only men, but women—not only in factories, but in homes. We have referred to the Bermondsey biscuit-girls who were on strike. Their conditions were, no doubt, bad. But how much more disastrous to the community must be the fate of the wives and children of 250,000 working-men out on strike? In the last resort, a strike or a lock-out is a more terrible catastrophe for women, whether directly or indirectly, than for men. It is women who must find food for the household when money is scarce—women who must sit at home while a labour war is fought.

Then, if Government is ultimately the wielder at once of the nation's wisdom and of its force, surely it is imperatively necessary to society, no less than it is obviously fair to individuals, that those who are to seek office under the Crown, and to have the direct power of supporting or opposing a Ministry, should be elected by and answerable to women as much as to men. We have seen how the Insurance Bill proposed to treat voteless women less well than men. Surely we shall learn that women, as employers, as workers, as women at home, must be invited, nay even forced, in spite of the Anti-Suffragist, into the arena where alone can be settled the vital, urgent struggle upon the issues of which our national existence depends.

We desire to draw special attention to the list of our Vice-Presidents published in another column of this issue. The list is significant of the growing strength of the League, and we urge upon members the immediate duty of impressing the fact upon their friends. Every man who cares for the principle of Women's Suffrage should hasten to follow the lead of these distinguished men and strike an immediate blow for the Conciliation Bill. Elsewhere we draw attention to the campaign initiated by Mr. Sargeant.

Our open letter to Mr. Asquith has been revised and brought up to date. It will be for sale at the League's Office in a fortnight's time.

MR. ASQUITH'S PLEDGE.

MR. LLOYD GEORGE'S THEORY REFUTED.

OUR PRESIDENT, Lord Lytton, has taken prompt action in reference to the amazing answer given in the House of Commons by Mr. Lloyd George to Mr. Leif Jones. The Chancellor stated that "the undertaking of the Prime Minister was not an undertaking in favour of one Bill more than another," and that any Bill which, satisfying the Government's tests (capability of free amendment and discussion), secured a second reading, would be treated by them as falling within their engagement (we quote from *The Manchester Guardian*, August 24th).

Lord Lytton promptly addressed to Mr. Asquith the letter which we print below verbatim, and received the following explicit reply:—

THE PREMIER'S REPLY.

My dear Lytton,—I have no hesitation in saying that the promises made by and on behalf of the Government in regard to giving facilities for the "Conciliation Bill" will be strictly adhered to both in letter and in spirit.

Yours sincerely,

H. H. ASQUITH.

LORD LYTTON'S LETTER.

The following is the letter that Lord Lytton addressed to the Premier:—

Dear Mr. Asquith,—After your very cordial and explicit letter to me of June 15 last I did not imagine that I should again have to trouble you on the subject of facilities for the Women's Enfranchisement Bill next session. But the question raised by Mr. Leif Jones in the House of Commons yesterday and the answer given by the Chancellor of the Exchequer have aroused all the doubts and misgivings which had been completely set at rest by the assurance contained in your letter to me of June 15 that "the Government are unanimous in their determination to give effect not only in the letter, but in the spirit, to the promise in regard to facilities made before the last general election." Ever since I received that letter I have been able to assure any of my friends who doubted the fact that whatever might be your views on the merits of Women's Suffrage you would abide by your pledges given as head of the Government that this question should at any rate receive straightforward treatment in the present Parliament.

May I remind you briefly of the history of these pledges?

(1) You stated on behalf of the Cabinet in the House of Commons on November 22, 1910, that "the Government will if they are still in power give facilities in the next Parliament for effectively proceeding with a Bill which is so framed as to admit of free amendment."

This pledge referred to no particular Bill and to no particular session, and was criticized, you will remember, on that very account.

(2) On May 29 this year the Chancellor of the Exchequer, replying to a question put by Lord Wolmer, referred to the previous pledge made before the election, and added: "The Government recognized that the Bill which was read a second time the other day satisfies the last-mentioned condition, and that consequently it is their duty in the Parliament to give the promised facilities." He then pointed out that owing to the conditions of business "they could not allot to the Women's Suffrage Bill this year such an amount of time as its importance demands," and concluded with these words: "they will be prepared next session, when the Bill has been again read a second time, either as the result of obtaining a good place in the ballot or (if that does not happen) by the grant of a Government day for the purpose, to give a week (which they understand to be the time suggested as reasonable by the promoters) for its further stages."

This statement was quite definite on the two points which had previously been considered unsatisfactory; that is to say, it was a promise of time for the consideration of a particular

Bill (the Women's Enfranchisement Bill which had already been read a second time by the House of Commons) in a particular session (next session), and it was accordingly received with much satisfaction by the advocates of Women's Suffrage.

Some doubts were still entertained as to the precise interpretation to be placed on the time promised, and those doubts were cleared by your letter of June 15, but neither in that letter nor in mine of June 1, to which it was an answer, was there a question of any Bill other than that promoted by the Conciliation Committee, on whose behalf I had written to you.

In the House of Commons yesterday the Chancellor of the Exchequer said that the promise of facilities would apply to any Bill which fulfilled the conditions originally laid down by the Government provided that it had been read a second time by the House of Commons, and this has given rise to the misgivings to which I have referred and which are expressed by the *Manchester Guardian* this morning, where it is stated in a leading article that "it would be a shabby trick were the Government, merely on the ground that one Bill had had luck in the ballot and that another had not... to filch the opportunity which everybody understood the Government to have promised for the Conciliation Bill next session."

I do not share the misgivings, because I have implicit faith in the intention of the Government to fulfil the promise made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the House of Commons on May 29 and confirmed by you in your letter of June 15. Nothing, however, can set them at rest but a statement from you as head of the Government. May I therefore have your authority for saying that whatever other Bill dealing with Women's Suffrage may be introduced into the House of Commons next session, nothing will relieve the Government of their undertaking to give to the Bill promoted by the Conciliation Committee (a) a day for its second reading should it fail to secure a place in the ballot, (b) "a week" (as interpreted by your letter to me) for its further stages if it should pass its second reading?

Believe me, yours sincerely,

LYTTON.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

THE following gentlemen have consented to accept the position of Vice-President of the Men's League:—

The Right Hon. the Earl Russell.	J. Forbes-Robertson, Esq.
The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Lincoln.	Edward Goulding, Esq., M.P.
Prof. J. B. Bury, Litt.D., LL.D.	W. S. B. MacLaren, Esq., M.P.
H. G. Chancellor, Esq., M.P.	Sir Alfred Mond, M.P.
Hon. Sir John Cockburn, K.C.M.G.	William De Morgan.
	Philip Snowden, Esq., M.P.
	Prof. T. F. Tout, M.A.
	A. J. Webb, Esq.
	Israel Zangwill.

THE AUTUMN CAMPAIGN.

OUR NEW SPEAKERS' DEPARTMENT.

FOR a long time one of the most important branches of the League's activities has been the provision of speakers not only for our own meetings, but also for the meetings of other societies. So large have the demands become, especially this summer, that, in view of the campaign which all the societies are planning for the autumn, we have decided to separate this from the normal work of the office and place it in the hands of a special official.

Most fortunately we have had the good fortune to obtain the services of a member of the League, Mr. F. N. Sargeant, who will enter at once upon his duties. A letter will be issued to members drawing their attention to the immediate need for increased help in this department of our work. All our usual speakers will be available, but we shall need a great many more to cope effectively with the work before us.

Those who intend to help, but doubt whether they are sufficiently experienced, should undoubtedly begin by acting as chairman, a post which entails as much or as little speaking as they find convenient.

BEGIN AT ONCE!

Mr. Sargeant wants every member to undertake to bring a chair or box to some convenient street corner in his own district, and take the chair (or box) for one of our members who will be sent to do the speaking. Meetings are quite short, as a rule lasting from an hour to an hour and a half. The most valuable service is done in this way. Nowadays the audiences are exceedingly friendly as a rule, and a simple explanation of the Conciliation Bill, Mr. Asquith's promise for next session, and the history of 1910-1911, is really all that is required in most cases. When we remember our President's appeal to us in the light of women's heroic work, and the great privilege which our common duty implies, surely we shall have no difficulty in obtaining enough help to hold ONE MEETING EVERY NIGHT.

UNIVERSITY CAMPAIGN.

Mr. Sargeant, in addition to organizing the new Speakers' Department, is hoping to arrange for a meeting in Universities and Colleges early in the autumn term. Preliminary arrangements are on foot in several quarters.

We have among our members large numbers of graduates from various universities. Mr. Sargeant will welcome any advice which they can give towards arranging these meetings.

We desire to supply speakers to college debating societies, and shall welcome suggestions and invitations.

MEETINGS.

THERE is only a short list of meetings addressed by members during August owing to its being a holiday month, but we are pleased to say that a debate between Mr. A. Mackinley, a member of our League, and Mr. Samuels, of the Anti-Suffrage party, was won on a show of hands by Mr. Mackinley. This debate took place at Woking on August 16th, and was very largely attended.

AUGUST 4.	Bishop's Stortford, N.U.	E. Vulliamy.
" 7.	Broadstairs, W.F.L.	J. Simpson.
" 9.	" "	J. Simpson.
" 16.	Woking, Debate	A. Mackinley.
" 16.	Berwick, W.S.P.U.	J. Gordon Spanier.
" 17.	Tottenham, W.F.L.	J. M. Mitchell.
" 17.	" "	V. Prout.
" 19.	Woking, N.U.	R. H. Pott.
" 19.	Clacton-on-Sea, W.S.P.U.	J. Simpson.
" 19.	Hyde Park, W.F.L.	J. M. Mitchell.
" 20.	Penge, W.F.L.	V. Prout.
" 22.	Crystal Palace, W.F.L.	V. Prout.
" 23.	Woking, N.U.	A. Mackinley.
" 23.	Tottenham, W.F.L.	V. Prout.
" 24.	Guildford, N.U.	R. H. Pott.
" 26.	Godalming, N.U.	Theo. Gugenheim.
" 26.	" "	J. Simpson.
" 27.	Hyde Park, W.F.L.	J. Y. Kennedy.
" 27.	Ealing, W.S.P.U.	J. Y. Kennedy.
" 30.	Penge, W.F.L.	A. Mackinley.

Mr. Yaldwyn also spoke on two occasions.

The Men's League will hold open-air meetings in conjunction with the Wimbledon branch of the Women's Social and Political Union on two Saturdays in October, the 14th and 28th. On the former occasion our speakers will be Mr. Herbert Jacobs and Mr. J. M. Mitchell.

Our open-air meetings on Sunday afternoons in Hyde Park at 5 o'clock will be resumed on September 3rd.

A very successful meeting, in which the Men's League took a prominent part, was held at Bedales School, Petersfield, on August 2nd. MR. G. H. HOOPER, in opening the meeting, paid a tribute to the splendid action of Col. Hanna, who had resigned the Presidency of the East Hants Liberal Association, on the ground that a Parliamentary candidate had been adopted who was not prepared to support the Conciliation Bill.

The principal speech was delivered by Mr. H. W. NEVINSON, who gave a clear exposition of the situation in Parliament of the Conciliation Bill. He condemned strongly the attitude of Mr. Lloyd George and his friends who are seeking to wreck its prospects by amending it to a degree which would destroy the unanimity of its supporters. He enlarged on the baseness of the insidious suggestion that the Prime Minister's promise of facilities applied to any Suffrage Bill which might pass its Second Reading (see the correspondence in this issue between our President and the Premier). Mr. Nevinson's speech was fully reported in the *Hants and Sussex Times*.

Miss EVELYN SHARP also spoke, and Mr. Frank Witty sang his humorous Suffrage songs.

LITERATURE.

We desire to call attention to an excellent pamphlet written, we are informed, by Mr. J. Malcolm Mitchell, under the title of *Colonial Statesmen and Votes for Women*. Its object is to refute Lord Curzon's 'Fifteen Reasons against Women's Suffrage' out of the mouths of experienced Colonial politicians. To our mind Mr. Mitchell's own arguments are quite as good and convincing as those of the distinguished gentlemen whom he quotes, but he rightly recognizes the fact that no one can speak with so much authority as those who are or have been actively engaged in governing countries which enjoy the privilege of an enfranchised womanhood. The granting of the Suffrage to women in Australia and New Zealand has always been a sore point with our opponents, but the emphatic tributes paid to the beneficial results of this reform by the statesmen of these colonies has provoked many Anti-Suffragists into making observations of an insulting and disparaging nature, which will hardly tend to foster that Imperialism of which they are so fond of talking. Lord Curzon has evolved from his imagination various untoward consequences which he asserts will result from the political enfranchisement of women. These are flatly contradicted by statesmen who enjoy the advantage of actual experience of the state of things which causes the noble lord so much uneasiness. Mr. Mitchell skilfully brings the vapourings evolved from a mind which in respect of this question is unfurnished and inexperienced into contact with the plain words of men who know. The result may be imagined. HERBERT JACOBS.

[This pamphlet is based upon the answers sent by various members of the Imperial Conference held this year (1911) to questions drafted by the Honorary Literature Secretary of the Women's Freedom League. We are permitted to offer it on sale to members and friends. 1d. per copy.—Ed.]

MANCHESTER BRANCH.

MEMBERS of the branch took part in the recent bye-election in the Middleton Division, rendering assistance to the National Union in their campaign. Neither candidate being quite "straight" on the Conciliation Bill, all the Suffrage forces gathered in the constituency restricted their activities to propaganda work. Voters were urged to keep the Bill in mind and to keep it before the candidates. We approached Sir Ryland Adkins, the Liberal candidate, by letter, urging him to give every consideration to the points submitted to him by the National Union with regard to the desirability of his giving to the Conciliation Bill his consistent support. Having been returned, he has promised to meet a deputation of his constituents after the second reading of the Bill next year. The opportunity thus provided is too valuable a one to be overlooked when the time arrives.

The branch is to hold open-air meetings during the autumn we hope, in West Salford. This division is represented by Sir George W. Agnew, who has the unfortunate distinction of being the only Anti-Suffragist member in the nine divisions of Manchester and Salford. We shall try, by reaching his constituents, to exercise such peaceful persuasion as will, at any rate, induce him to refrain from opposing the Bill next year.

W. BENTLY CAPPER, Jun. (*Joint Hon. Sec.*).

OUR £1,000 AUTUMN PROPAGANDA FUND.

Collected in July	£78 6 6
Collected in August (as per list below) ..	55 17 5
	£134 3 11

Will all members send us a *special* donation this month, so that we may turn round the even £200 during September.

A. W. G. JAMRACH, *Finance Secretary.*

Donations.			Forward			
£	s.	d.				
Jaakoff Prelooker ..	0	10	0	Eric H. Jacobs ..	0 2 6	
R. de Maria ..	0	5	0	H. Gordon Jones ..	1 0 0	
Mrs. W. M. Powell ..	5	0	0	Sir Wm. Hood Treacher,		
(Share of stall profits at Petersfield Bazaar)				K.C.M.G. ...	1 1 0	
M. M. Terrero ..	0	10	0	J. W. Robertson Scott	0 10 6	
Fred. Richardson ..	0	5	0	B. D. Jameson ..	0 2 6	
Laurence Housman	0	10	6	A. J. Crichton ..	0 5 0	
Lecture Fee.				E. A. Matzinger ..	0 5 0	
Theo. Gugenheim ..	0	10	0		£15 10 6	
Lecture Fee.						
J. W. Sidley ..	1	1	0	New Members.		
J. C. Pawson ..	0	1	6	Geo. Glanville ..	0 2 6	
Henry C. Naylor ..	2	2	0	R. W. Skipwith ..	1 1 0	
H. T. Shawcross ..	10	0	0	G. Watson ..	0 1 0	
A. R. Heath ..	0	2	6	Thos. D. Hawkins ..	0 1 0	
F. E. Marshall ..	5	0	0	Regd. Halfyard ..	0 5 0	
G. Watson ..	0	1	0	Geo. E. Griffiths ..	0 1 0	
J. L. Cather ..	0	3	0	F. R. Bomanji, B.A.		
R. H. Pott ..	10	0	0	Barrister-at-Law	0 1 0	
	£36	1	6	H. L. Bassett ..	0 1 0	
Annual Subscriptions.			A. B. Bromhead ..	0	2 6	
J. S. Davies ..	0	2	6	H. B. Allen ..	0 2 6	
W. S. Haig ..	0	5	0	Robert H. D. Gaul	0 1 0	
P. W. Bell ..	0	2	6	R. K. Gaul ..	0 1 0	
F. Brown ..	0	10	6		£2 0 6	
T. P. Newbould ..	0	5	0	Literature sales ..	0 6 3	
Wm. M. Rossetti ..	0	5	0			
Fred. Southwell ..	0	2	6	Postage Fund.		
Bishop of Lincoln ..	1	1	0	Herbert Jacobs ..	0 5 0	
G. P. Nowers ..	0	2	6	J. M. Mitchell ..	0 1 0	
O. B. Powell ..	0	5	0	J. A. Price ..	0 1 0	
M. M. Terrero ..	0	5	0		£0 7 0	
Canon Deane ..	0	5	0	Monthly Subscriptions		
A. K. Bulley ..	1	0	0	(12 months each).		
Fred. K. Richardson	0	2	6	G. N. Hooper ..	0 1 8	
C. M. Holmes ..	0	2	6	E. Richmond ..	0 2 6	
G. Spiller ..	0	2	0	F. Stanton Barnes ..	0 1 0	
H. Y. Stanger, K.C.	0	2	6	J. L. Cather ..	1 0 0	
F. P. B. Shipham ..	0	2	6	A. W. G. Jamrach ..	0 4 0	
F. F. Husband ..	0	5	0	J. M. Mitchell ..	0 2 6	
J. W. Sidley ..	0	5	0		£1 11 8	
Philip Snowden, M.P.	1	0	0	August Money Received.		
H. F. Carling ..	1	1	0	Donations ..	36 1 6	
H. R. Heather ..	0	2	6	Annual Subscriptions	15 10 6	
F. Talbot ..	0	5	0	New Members ..	2 0 6	
Harold Jacobs ..	0	2	6	Monthly Subscrip-		
Maurice Bell ..	0	5	0	tions ..	1 11 8	
Albert Hook ..	0	1	0	Postage Fund ..	0 7 0	
Basil Belmont ..	0	5	0	Literature Sales ..	0 6 3	
J. S. Mackenzie ..	0	10	0		£55 17 5	
Henry Bury ..	0	10	0			
Sir Edward Busk ..	1	1	0			
A. R. Heath ..	0	5	0			
W. F. Shannon ..	0	2	6			
W. H. Dickinson, M.P.	0	10	0			
A. W. Hall ..	0	10	0			

COLONIAL STATESMEN AND VOTES FOR WOMEN.

By J. MALCOLM MITCHELL. 1d. post free.

The object of this pamphlet is to refute Lord Curzon's 'Fifteen Reasons against Women's Suffrage.' Sold by

THE MEN'S LEAGUE FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE,
159, St. Stephen's House, Westminster.

Pamphlets and Leaflets sold by the
MEN'S LEAGUE FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE,
159, St. Stephen's House, S.W.

MILITANT METHODS IN HISTORY.
By JOSEPH CLAYTON.
1½d. post free.

IN DEFENCE OF THE
CONCILIATION BILL.
By PHILIP SNOWDEN, M.P.
1½d. post free.

A LIST OF REPRESENTATIVE
MEN IN FAVOUR OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE
1½d. post free.

LEADING POINTS FOR POLITICAL JUSTICE TO WOMEN.

Edited by Dr. W. BOULTING.

Every member is invited to send us 6d. for 24 copies of this leaflet which resulted from the competition among members of the Men's League. The leaflet is printed on good paper and contains six paragraphs of salient points connected with Women's Suffrage.

It is intended to be given to people showing some interest in the matter, to encourage them to join the League or subscribe to its funds. It has therefore, printed at the bottom, a suitable form to be torn off and sent to this office.

6d. for 24 post free.

Larger quantities on application.

Send at once to the—

MEN'S LEAGUE FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE,
159, St. Stephen's House, Westminster.

TEACHER, experienced, Certificated M.A. of Edinburgh, deeply interested in W.S. movement, would like to OPEN SMALL PRIVATE BOARDING and DAY SCHOOL. People interested in this will receive particulars and Prospectus on application to "No. 17," MEN'S LEAGUE OFFICES, 159, St. Stephen's House, Westminster, S.W.—[AdvT.]

HAVING TWENTY YEARS' EXPERIENCE in the WEST END, I am able to offer exceptional value for all kinds of REPAIRS, ALTERATIONS, and DECORATIONS. Estimates Free. Terms Moderate. Satisfaction guaranteed. No job too small.—ARTHUR MACKINLEY, Builder and Decorator, 12, Fortnam Road, Holloway, N.—[AdvT.]

PRINTED BY FRANCIS & Co., 13, Bream's Buildings, Chancery Lane, E.C.