

Men's League for Women's Suffrage.

MONTHLY PAPER.

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No. 18.

Price to Non-Members, 1d. monthly (including postage).

MARCH, 1911.

THE SITUATION.

THE GIFT OF FORTUNE.

THE astonishing success of the cause in the ballot for private members' Bills is the event of the month. When the stars in their courses fought against Sisera, he had a very bad time of it, what with stars, men, and women against him. The stars in their courses have now joined us in fighting against Mr. Asquith. We believe the ballots numbered between three and four hundred, yet the first two places were drawn for the Conciliation Bill. As Sir George Kemp, Member for N.W. Manchester, takes first place, Mr. Goulding, who drew the second, will adopt another measure, and Manchester, loyal for so many years to Women's Franchise, will have the honour of bringing in the new Bill. The date at present fixed is May 5th. Lord Hugh Cecil has been saying that he can imagine Mr. Asquith (whom he describes as the subtlest of the beasts of the field) coming down after Easter and proposing to deprive all private members of further time, with the simple object of excluding the Conciliation Bill. For ourselves, we consider Mr. Asquith too subtle to take so dangerous a step in the present state of feeling in the House and the country.

THE BILL.

The discussion on the Ginnell incident shows how strong is the undercurrent of indignation against the secret and self-appointed Cabal which is now attempting to dominate the House of Commons, and to silence the representatives of the people far more effectually than the Lords have ever done. Against the demands of the Conciliation Committee and the powerful Liberal group of Suffragists in the House, the Cabinet will not dare to burke discussion this session. To say nothing of the growing exasperation outside the House, and the refusal of increasing numbers of women to be governed, as Mr. Balfour said, without their consent. The grounds of opposition to the Bill discovered by nominal or treacherous supporters of the movement have now been removed. The title—"A Bill to confer the Parliamentary Franchise on Women"—will allow Mr. Lloyd George to move as many amendments as he likes, and Mr. Churchill's talk about plural votes and the power of husbands giving wives a vote for the stable is silenced by the exclusion of the 10% occupiers, leaving the household qualification only. The Bill has only two clauses, the first establishing household qualification for women, the second disallowing husband and wife from voting for the same constituency.

"VOTES FOR LADIES!"

The result of three inquiries lately held at Dundee, Carnarvon, and Bangor, will come as a terrible blow to people like Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Winston Churchill, who have done their utmost to obstruct Women's Franchise on the pretext that the Conciliation Bill was not "democratic" enough and would not include enough working women. These inquiries were supervised by committees of leading citizens, including two

Mayors, an ex-Provost, Ministers, Councillors, and a Professor. The result showed (1) in Dundee a percentage of 87 wage-earning women and working-class housewives among the householders on the municipal roll to whom the Conciliation Bill would give the Parliamentary Franchise; (2) in Carnarvon 73 per cent; (3) in Bangor 76 per cent. In Dundee it was proved that more than half of these municipal women voters (2,177 out of 3,866) live in one- or two-roomed dwellings. Where now is the cry of "Votes for Ladies!" raised last year by Mr. Holford Knight and other Liberal "Antis"? We have always maintained that under the Bill about 80 per cent of the women voters would be working women. We are proved to be right.

THE POLICE.

The popular indignation against the Government, and especially against the Home Office, will be much increased by the terrible evidence collected in support of a Memorandum forwarded by the Conciliation Committee to Mr. Winston Churchill. That evidence charges the police with brutal violence and filthy indecency towards the women who attended the last deputation to the Prime Minister on November 18th and 22nd. In answer to a question in the House from Mr. Chancellor, the Home Secretary admitted that the police had orders to avoid making arrests. Such orders naturally resulted in violence, and there is a very strong suspicion that the torture and indecency arose from an understanding with the authorities that the police (including the plain-clothes men, who were the worst offenders) had permission to treat the women just as they pleased. In an admirable article upon the subject, *The Manchester Guardian* of February 23rd said it did not see how Mr. Churchill could refuse an inquiry. But Mr. Churchill knew better. He knew how damaging to himself and the Government such an inquiry must be, if it were honestly conducted. Before the demand of the Memorandum was published he had already refused it, and so added another count to the shame of the Government's mismanagement. The evidence was collected by Dr. Jessie Murray and Mr. Brailsford, Hon. Secretary to the Conciliation Committee and a member of our Executive.

RESISTING THE CENSUS.

At least two of the most powerful Suffrage societies have decided to resist the coming Census by refusing to fill up the forms or allow the names of members to be registered. In some cases the occupiers or heads of households, remaining in their houses, will refuse all information, at the risk of fine or imprisonment. In other cases the women will avoid registration by other means. The case for resistance is being strongly argued by Mr. Laurence Housman, a member of our Executive. On the other hand, Prof. Sadler, a steady advocate of the Suffrage, condemns the resistance as a breach of citizenship. The reply is that women are now excluded from citizenship. In answer to a deputation from the Trade Union Congress at Sheffield in the middle of last month, Mr. Asquith expressly excluded them. "A man's vote," he said, "depends on his being a citizen. As to the distinction of sex, let them leave that on one side." H. W. N.

THE WORK OF THE LEAGUE.

As the Press, as usual, found no room to report our Queen's Hall meeting, we have endeavoured to give a fairly long account of the speeches for the benefit of members and friends unable to be present. It is impossible to thank by name all those from other Suffrage Societies who helped us so generously as stewards and collectors, but we are particularly grateful to Miss F. E. Cooke (W.S.P.U.) for her invaluable aid in the box-office.

By the way, Lord Selborne is to make some atonement for failing us at the Queen's Hall by addressing a meeting in the Grand Hall, Hotel Cecil, on March 9th, at 8 P.M., under the auspices of the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association.

THERE are several satisfactory items to note this month. We have had a good number of new members (there ought to be twice as many in March), many arrears of subscriptions have been paid up, and there is a cheerful increase in the subscribers to our paper.

THE amount of correspondence and clerical work in the office grows larger every week. We are continually being asked to send pamphlets and information on the Suffrage to people who are opening debates or reading papers on the subject, and these appeals come to us from all parts of England. Of course, we are only too glad to be of use in this way, but it all takes time, and money. In addition to Mr. Frank Witty, the Assistant Secretary, Mr. A. W. G. Jamrach is now permanently in the office, and on his shoulders has rested all the ticket-selling arrangements for the Queen's Hall meeting. The League can't do its work on voluntary labour alone, though we shall always have a number of men ready to give what service they can—with the pen and on the platform, and in a thousand other ways—for the sake of "the Cause."

THE weak spot in the League is still the slackness of the great majority of members. We want more speakers, more keenness in getting new members, a prompter payment of dues, and a livelier interest generally. It doesn't do to leave matters to the Executive and the officers. The question for each member is—What are you doing for the Enfranchisement of Women? We must get the Bill through Parliament this Session, and the thing to be done is to give your M.P. no peace on the matter if he is at all doubtful. Between now and May 5th the utmost pressure must be applied to gentlemen of the House of Commons by their constituents. In the face of what the women have done, and are doing, and our own poor activities, we can only recall Mark Twain's aphorism, "Man is the only animal that blushes—or has need to."

CAN anything be done to form groups, or branches, in various constituencies at present untouched? Will any one write here, to Head Office, who feels equal to helping in this way? I should like to see a City of London group formed at once. Half a dozen City men could soon arrange for a big meeting in Cannon Street Hotel.

THE Social Gathering at the Criterion on Saturday afternoon, February 4th, was a distinct success. All the Suffrage papers spoke kindly of it, and Mr. Brailsford's speech on the prospects of this year's Conciliation Bill actually got into the daily papers! It's a capital thing to bring members and friends together in this way, and the General Purposes Committee is inclined to repeat the experiment.

WHY are our members fighting shy of last month's 'Questions Paper'? Is it the questions or the shillings that cause the trouble? If you can't fill it all up, fill up as much as you can, and send it in. The time is extended to March 10th, to enable people to overcome their shyness. J. C.

THE TREASURY.

WE have received the following sums for the League from January 25th to February 23rd, the time for going to press:—

Special Donations.

Laurence Housman	£2 2 0
W. G. Dannell	0 14 6
G. H. Hooper (office furniture)	1 5 0
Do. (Queen's Hall)	0 12 6
W. F. Westbrook	0 5 0
W. H. Dickinson, M.P.	1 1 0
I. Zangwill	0 10 6
A friend (per R. H. P.)	5 0 0
R. de Maria	1 0 0
Miss C. Neumann (new offices)	1 1 0
W. R. Snow (new offices)	3 3 0
Mrs. Denibas	1 1 0
W. J. King	0 2 0
Commander Dugdale	0 5 0
T. M. Budgett (Queen's Hall)	2 2 0
Do. (new offices)	2 2 0
A. H. Barley	0 5 6
Mrs. Tilney (Queen's Hall)	1 0 0
R. H. P. (Criterion reception)	11 7 0

£34 19 0

Members' Annual Subscriptions	41 9 6
New Members' Subscriptions	2 16 0
Subscriptions for 'Monthly Paper'	0 19 0
Sales of Literature	2 0 6
Questions Paper Fees	1 1 0
Queen's Hall Collection, Feb. 20	25 12 8
Criterion Reception Collection, Feb. 4	5 3 2

Total for the Month £114 0 10

This is the best return we have had in the last twelve months, and the most satisfactory item is the payment of members' subscriptions—mostly in small sums. In future we shall publish these in detail. But as the work of the Head Office increases every day, so the expenditure necessarily increases, and we have now two paid assistant secretaries in the office helping Mr. Clayton. The office room, too, is quite inadequate for the work, and we must get additional accommodation at St. Stephen's House as soon as possible. If one or two members would just make up £25 or £50 between them and send it in we should have the rent of this additional room in hand for six months, and have no further anxiety about it. GOLDFINCH BATE.

NEW MEMBERS.

AMONGST those who have joined the League in the past month are Mr. George E. Boxall, an old Australian journalist, and author of 'The Anglo-Saxon: a Study in Evolution,' 'The Awakening of a Race,' and other books; Mr. W. V. Hatch, our organist at Queen's Hall; Mr. W. Merilees, Women's Suffrage Candidate at Glasgow at the recent General Election; Lieut.-Colonel Massy; and Mr. S. K. Ratcliffe, Secretary of the Sociological Society, and late editor of *The Statesman*, Calcutta.

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S FRANCHISE CLUB.

THE Club premises at 9, Grafton Street, were formally opened by the President, the Earl of Lytton, on February 23rd. Mr. Herbert Jacobs was in the chair, and speeches were made by Lord Lytton, Sir John Cockburn, Mr. Cecil Chapman, and Miss Otter. There was a crowded attendance, and as the membership of the Club now stands at 1,100 its successful career seems assured.

Circulate these Men's League

PAMPHLETS.

THE CONCILIATION BILL: An Explanation and Defence. By H. N. BRAILSFORD. 1d.

QUEEN'S HALL MEETING. Speeches by W. H. DICKINSON, M.P., EARL RUSSELL, I. ZANGWILL, Rev. R. J. CAMPBELL, and CANON HICKS (Bishop of Lincoln). 1d.

QUEEN'S HALL MEETING, Speeches by Sir JOHN COCKBURN, SILVESTER HORNE, M.P., H. W. NEVINSON, Mrs. PHILIP SNOWDEN, Sir VICTOR HORSLEY, and H. Y. STANGER, M.P. 1d.

AN OPEN LETTER TO MR. ASQUITH. Full of Facts and Figures concerning the Movement. 1d.

THE DECLARATION OF REPRESENTATIVE MEN IN SUPPORT OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE. Contains the Testimony of more than 300 representative Public Men. 1d.

WHY MEN SHOULD HELP WOMEN IN THEIR CLAIM FOR ENFRANCHISEMENT. By C. V. DRYSDALE, D.Sc. 1d.

1d. each. 9d. a dozen. 1s. 3d. for 25. 2s. for 50. 3s. 6d. for 100.

ALL POST FREE.

CASH WITH ORDERS.

OTHER LITERATURE.

SUBJECTION OF WOMEN. By JOHN STUART MILL. 6d. net.

ARTICLES OF FAITH. By LAURENCE HOUSMAN. 6d. net.

THE SWORD AND THE SPIRIT. By ISRAEL ZANGWILL. 1d.

WOMAN'S VOTE AND MEN. By HENRY W. NEVINSON. 1d.

MY FAITH IN WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE. By JOHN MASEFIELD. 1d.

EMANCIPATION OF WOMANHOOD. By Rev. J. M. LLOYD THOMAS. 1d.

THE EARL OF LYTTON ON VOTES FOR WOMEN. 1d.

FOR FREEDOM'S CAUSE. An Appeal to Working Men. By RONALD H. KIDD.

ALL POST FREE.

THREE SUFFRAGE PLAYS.

<p>Price 3d. net.</p> <p>At the Gates</p> <p>ONE ACT PLAY.</p> <p>Being a Twentieth Century Episode.</p> <p>DRAMATIS PERSONÆ.</p> <p>THE SUFFRAGETTE (a young and very charming girl).</p> <p>TWO POLICE OFFICERS.</p> <p>A SEAMSTRESS.</p> <p>A MALE SYMPATHIZER.</p> <p>A MEMBER.</p> <p>A DRUNKEN MAN.</p> <p>A WAITER.</p> <p>Voices of Men, Boys, &c.</p> <p><i>Duly Licensed and Copyrighted.</i></p>	<p>NEARLY READY.</p> <p>How Spring came to Nutt's Alley.</p> <p>A SLUM SKETCH IN ONE ACT.</p> <p>BY</p> <p>IRENE McLEOD</p> <p>AND</p> <p>RACHEL FERGUSON.</p> <p>DRAMATIS PERSONÆ.</p> <p>GERT BATES.</p> <p>NELL BATES (her Daughter).</p> <p>LIZ HAWKINS.</p> <p>BELLA SIMMONS (a Flower Girl).</p> <p>BILL SMITH.</p> <p>JESS SMITH (his Wife).</p> <p>MILLY PARKER.</p> <p>THE SUFFRAGETTE.</p> <p>Public House Loungers, &c. &c.</p> <p>Written for the Young Purple, White, and Green Club.</p> <p>PRODUCED AT BOUDOIR THEATRE, MAY 6, 1910.</p>	<p>Price 3d. net.</p> <p>A Change of Tenant.</p> <p>ONE ACT PLAY</p> <p>CONTAINING</p> <p>FOUR CHARACTERS.</p> <p>BY</p> <p>MISS H. M. NIGHTINGALE.</p> <p><i>Copyrighted and entered at Stationers' Hall and all Acting Rights Reserved.</i></p> <p>[The latter will be granted on easy terms to applicants wishing to make use of the Play for propaganda purposes.]</p>
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THE WOMAN CITIZEN PUBLISHING SOCIETY, 13, Bream's Buildings, Chancery Lane, E.O.

Men's League for Women's Suffrage.

QUEEN'S HALL MEETING, FEBRUARY 20th, 1911.

THERE was a good attendance, but not nearly enough of our own members, at the Annual Demonstration on February 20th, though a fair number turned up at the appeal of Mr. Malcolm Mitchell and acted as stewards. Lord Selborne was obliged, unfortunately, to cry off at the last moment, and the resolution was accordingly proposed by Sir Joseph Walton, and seconded by Lord Lytton, who had most kindly consented to come, at short notice, instead of Lord Selborne.

On the platform supporting the chairman were (amongst others) Dr. Emily Davies and Miss Courtney (National Union), Lady Craggs (Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association), Mrs. Nevinson (W.F.L.), Mr. Cecil Chapman (New Constitutional Society), Mrs. Margaret S. Clayton and Miss Brailsford (W.S.P.U.), Mr. Ernest Bell (one of the earliest members of the Men's League), and the following members of the Executive: H. N. Brailsford, Sir Edward Busk, Sir William Chance, Cecil Chapman, J.P., R. F. Cholmeley, Joseph Clayton, and R. H. Pott. Mr. Malcolm Mitchell was in charge of the stewards, and was assisted by three members of the Executive, T. M. Budgett, E. Duval, and Captain Gonne.

Letters of regret for non-attendance came from Lord Selborne, Sir J. Rolleston, M.P., Mr. W. F. Roch, M.P., Sir Alfred Mond, M.P., Mr. E. Goulding, M.P., Sir J. Yoxall, M.P., Mr. Ellis Griffith, M.P., Mr. J. MacVeagh, M.P., Mr. Philip Snowden, M.P., Lord Robert Cecil, K.C., Mr. George Elliott, K.C., Mr. W. Pett Ridge, Mr. Laurence Housman, Mr. W. M. Rossetti, and others.

Mr. H. W. NEVINSON took the chair at 8 o'clock. He explained that our present demand that the Government should afford facilities this Session for a Women's Franchise Bill, was made in a spirit of confident hope. We had conquered three great enemies, Ridicule, Indifference, and Custom, and we were nearing victory over the fourth—Brutality. Stupidity we had always to fight; but though the gods might strive in vain against stupidity, we should not; we had to get rid of the intolerable insult of the denial of citizenship to women; and we had to do more—we had, as Olive Schreiner says in her latest book, to abolish the parasitism of women, and to make a real chivalry take the place of the false and degraded chivalry that was responsible for the misery of Regent Street, for the sweated worker in the factory, for the contemptuous treatment of women in every branch of education. It was the young above all who could do the work, and he appealed to the young among men to help.

MADAME MARIE BREMA (Actresses' Franchise League) then delighted the audience with four songs. Madame Brema was in splendid form, and it is to be hoped that she felt the reality of the welcome accorded both to her magnificent singing and to her great kindness in thus at once showing her sympathy with the cause and giving those present a rare artistic treat.

The resolution was moved by SIR JOSEPH WALTON, BART., M.P. (Liberal). He referred with pride to the fact that his constituency had sent up a petition in favour of Women's Suffrage, signed by 7,898 electors. This reform, he said, was long overdue; the opposition to it was selfish, unfair, and short-sighted. He himself implored every woman he could find to help him in his election in every possible way. How could he after that turn round upon them and say, "You are not fit to vote?" The granting of the municipal franchise had destroyed all logical opposition, and Anti-Suffragists were now reduced to protesting alternately that women were too indifferent to be enfranchised, and that if they were enfranchised they would instantly seize all political power and ruin the country. The Suffragists' claim was for Equality of opportunity. Legislation needed the woman's voice, for it was more than ever social, domestic, and economic; humanity needed the enfranchisement of women that women might gain a better kind of respect for men, and that the common interests of both might be better understood. For women, it was the freedom of their souls that was at stake. But the tide was with us, and it could not be stemmed; we were working for the best interests of the nation, and defeat was impossible.

THE EARL OF LYTTON (Unionist) seconded the resolution. After paying a tribute to Lord Selborne as a life-long Suffragist, he said that for himself he had no declaration of faith to make—that was made long ago; nor had he any new arguments—the arguments had all been put. He would but remind his audience of what had happened since the last yearly demonstration in that hall. First, there was the granting of the vote to women in the

State of Washington. Second, the resolution of the Australian Senate. Third, the formation of the Conciliation Committee, which meant the organization of a Women's Suffrage Society in the House of Commons. From that event sprang all the rest that had happened—the Bill, the support of the Town Councils, the majority of 109 for the second reading, the open declarations of Cabinet Ministers, the pledge of Mr. Asquith. The new feature, which Lord Lytton declared earnestly to be "the measure of the failure of the Conciliation Committee," was the participation of men in militant action. After a reverent and touching allusion to "the two women who have in the past year actually laid down their lives in the cause," he appealed to the leaders not to exact, and to their followers not to grant, services that involved danger to life. "We want you to live for the cause, not to die for it." It is easier to rouse than to restrain the spirit of self-sacrifice; and probably no man but Lord Lytton could have made that appeal with such a certainty—had he ever thought of that—that to those who heard it his words would sound an even stronger note of sympathy and conviction than if he had called for any deeds of heroism. As to our prospects, he urged us to concentrate on this session. If by any chance the Lords succeeded in forcing a Referendum, then we must work to make even a Referendum disappoint the Anti-Suffragists. Meanwhile we must keep our supporters active, in and out of the House; we must never rest until we had reached our goal.

MR. GEORGE LANSBURY, M.P. (Labour), said that he wanted votes for men and women as human beings. The need for the woman's voice in politics was undoubted; those who flouted the intelligence of the working woman knew nothing of the tragedy of her life, nor of the responsibility for that tragedy of man-made laws. The Liberal women ought to refuse to lift a finger to help the Government unless facilities for this Bill were given. There was not enough agitation among working women. They would respond more eagerly than any one imagined. The enfranchisement of women in politics meant the improvement of all the relations between men and women; it meant the general emancipation of mankind. Mr. Lansbury concluded with an eloquent tribute to the writings of Olive Schreiner.

THE REV. IVORY CRIPPS said that in his eyes Women's Suffrage stood for everything that made life worth living, not merely for women, but for every individual man. There was no generosity in men's supporting it; for they, too, had everything to gain by it. The old chivalry was a thing of non-essentials, blinding women and men alike to their real deprivations; but that must die. The cause of Women's Suffrage was immortal until its victory was won. In the debate of 1910 two arguments were heard again and again: it was said that the effect of the women's vote on politics must be considered before it was granted, and it was said that women were neither anxious nor ready to be enfranchised. The first argument breathed the essential spirit of persecution; the second aimed at imposing a test which Gladstone had repudiated in the case of the agricultural labourer. A third argument declared that the feminine brain was non-political, and the only just inference from this was that no man nor woman should vote without first passing a State examination! The truth was that there was no sex line in political virtues. We must enfranchise women for our own sakes, and as the only road to "true justice and the breaking up of manifold intolerable wrongs."

THE RESOLUTION calling on the Government to give facilities for the passage of a Women's Suffrage Bill through the House of Commons this Session was then put. Two dissentients were dimly described; but they have probably repented on thinking it over.

MR. CECIL CHAPMAN, J.P., in moving a vote of thanks to Madame Marie Brema and the speakers, said that the need for the enfranchisement of women was to be found in the fact that the common interests of men and women could never be humanly dealt with till both sexes were represented. The spirit of dominance in man and the spirit of subservience in woman must both be removed; civilization demanded from men something of the gentleness associated with women, but also from women something of the fearlessness and independence which true manliness implied.

MR. GOLDFINCH BATE seconded the vote of thanks, and also, as Treasurer of the League, emphasized the pressing need of help of all kinds, sympathy, work, and money. R. F. C.

MEETINGS ADDRESSED BY MEN'S LEAGUE SPEAKERS IN FEBRUARY.

FEB. 1.	Kensington, W.S.P.U.	Joseph Clayton.
" 2.	Holloway Ethical Soc. (Debate)	Th. Gugenheim.
" 5.	Tottenham, I.L.P.	R. H. Pott.
" 9.	Stepney, I.L.P.	" "
" 9.	Caxton Hall, W.F.L.	J. Malcolm Mitchell.
" 10.	Cuckfield, N.U.	Rev. C. Hinscliff.
" 15.	Paddington, N.U.	Goldfinch Bate.
" 18.	Portman Rooms, W.S.P.U.	Cecil Chapman, J.P.
" 18.	Tunbridge Wells, N.U.	J. Y. Kennedy.
" 20.	Queen's Hall, Men's League.	H. W. Nevinson.
" "	" "	Rev. J. Ivory Cripps.
" "	" "	Cecil Chapman, J.P.
" "	" "	Goldfinch Bate.
" 22.	Winchester, N.U.	Rev. C. Hinscliff.
" 24.	Caxton Hall, Actresses' Franchise League (Debate).	Cecil Chapman, J.P.
" 24.	Kensington, W.S.P.U.	Joseph Clayton.
" "	" "	R. H. Pott.
" 24.	Cambridge Men's League.	J. Malcolm Mitchell.
" 28.	St. Peter's, Highgate (Debate).	J. Y. Kennedy.

FORTHCOMING MEETINGS.

MAR. 1.	Memorial Hall, London, Free Church League.	Rev. J. Ivory Cripps.
" 2.	Steinway Hall, W.S.P.U.	" "
" 6.	S. Paddington Ethical Church, N.U.	Dr. Stanton Coit.
" 8.	Kensington, W.S.P.U.	H. W. Nevinson.
" 9.	Caxton Hall, W.F.L.	Laurence Housman.
" 10.	Manchester, W.S.P.U.	" "
" 13.	Harrow, W.F.L.	" "
" 15.	Paddington, N.U.	C. Yaldwyn.
" 30.	Ipswich, W.F.L.	Laurence Housman.
" 31.	Bury St. Edmunds, W.F.L.	" "
APRIL 1.	Trafalgar Square, W.F.L.	" "

Mr. Laurence Housman will read his censored play 'Pains and Penalties' at Birmingham, on March 20th (National Union), and at Bristol, March 21st (W.S.P.U.).

Mr. Frank Witty continues to enliven innumerable W.S.P.U. and W.F.L. gatherings with his Suffrage songs.

MR. LAURENCE HOUSMAN is writing a number of articles on 'The Census' for *The Vote* and for *Votes for Women*.

OUR PARADOX.

It has always been supposed that co-operation and competition were at opposite poles. There is at least in our case one thing we can all do to make these extremes meet and produce one harmonious result, and that is to send in without any delay the salient facts bearing on Women's Suffrage, quoting some authority for the statements, and offering, where suitable, a comment on them. This amounts to a Competition in so far as two prizes of books have been offered for the best results. But let us hope the spirit of co-operation is so widespread among our members that not only will they send with their sheets the best donation to the funds they can afford, but will push the propaganda work which this Competition is intended to aid to its utmost limits.

We have now had the first delivery of the card cases. They are made to hold the membership-card, and to take, besides visiting-cards, a couple of membership-forms for distribution. On the back of these forms will be printed a selection of the most telling statements, and a further space left below each for the comment of friend or enemy. How often a potential recruit might be captured if, after the casual conversation in the train or elsewhere, one could give the victim one of these slips and say, "Well, have a look at this and see if you wouldn't like to take a hand in getting the women their vote." Some faint-hearted Suffragists have an exaggerated fear of reducing the number of their friends by dosing them with Women's Suffrage. But that is just as much a fallacy as the notion that when women have the vote there will be few marriages.

R. H. P.

THE CONCILIATION COMMITTEE.

THE WOMEN'S DEPUTATION.

THE Parliamentary Conciliation Committee for Women's Suffrage has unanimously requested of the Home Secretary a public inquiry into the conduct of the London police on the occasion of the demonstrations by militant Women Suffragists outside the Houses of Parliament on November 18th, 22nd, and 23rd of last year. The memorandum forwarded by the Committee to the Home Office, together with the request, is now issued for publication. A foot-note explains the action of the Committee:—

The evidence collected by Dr. Jessie Murray and Mr. Brailsford regarding the conduct of the police towards members of the Women's Social and Political Union was laid before the Conciliation Committee on February 2nd. The Committee unanimously decided to transmit the evidence to the Home Office, and to demand a public inquiry into the conduct of the police. This memorandum was accordingly drafted by Mr. Brailsford in collaboration with other members of the Committee and forwarded in the course of the following week to Mr. Churchill.

The Conciliation Committee ask that the inquiry should be directed to ascertain "not merely whether the charges of aggressive violence, torture, and indecency here made can be substantiated, but also to ascertain under what orders the police were acting. 'The order to make no arrests,' the Memorandum observes, "goes some way to explain their conduct, and must in itself have led to much unnecessary and dangerous violence."

The Memorandum proceeds:—

It is, indeed, difficult to understand what motive or calculation can have prompted it. The only reason for interfering at all with the women was to prevent an obstruction of the thoroughfare and to keep open the approaches to the Houses of Parliament. The consequence of ordering the police to engage in a protracted conflict with the women was that for many hours on November 18th the whole of this area was abandoned to a struggle which was by the tactics of the police so prolonged as to cause the maximum of disturbance to traffic.

But there emerges from the evidence before us a much graver charge. We cannot resist the conclusion that the police as a whole were under the impression that their duty was not merely to frustrate the attempts of the women to reach the House, but also to terrorize them in the process. They used in numerous instances excessive violence, which was at once deliberate and aggressive, and was intended to inflict injury and pain. Many of them resorted to certain forms of torture. They frequently handled the women with gross indecency. In some instances they continued to injure and insult them after their arrest.

We take the following extracts from the Memorandum:—

1.—UNNECESSARY VIOLENCE.

Nearly all of the 135 statements communicated to us describe some act or acts of unnecessary violence. It is generally possible to determine from the frank statements of the members of the deputation how far these acts of violence were provoked. In some cases the women merely held their ground near the police cordon. In other cases they tried to push their way through it. In the few instances in which they themselves struck a policeman their statement usually shows that it was to force him to desist from his brutal usage of some other woman.

2.—METHODS OF TORTURE.

The clearest proof that the aim of the police went beyond the fulfilment of their duty in preventing an obstruction, and included the terrorizing of the women, is supplied by the overwhelming evidence that they resorted to various painful and dangerous methods of torture. The more common devices were to bend the thumb backwards, to twist the arm behind the victim's back, and to pinch the arm continually and with evident deliberation. These processes are described by the sufferers in almost identical terms in no less than 45 statements.

3.—ACTS OF INDECENCY.

The intention of terrorizing and intimidating the women was carried by many of the police beyond mere violence. Twenty-nine of these statements complain of more or less aggravated acts of indecency. Women describe such treatment only with the greatest reluctance, and though the volume of evidence under this head is considerable, there are other instances which we are not permitted to cite.

4.—AFTER EFFECTS.

The consequences of these assaults were in many cases lasting. Fifty statements speak of injuries of which the effects were felt for many days, and in some cases for several weeks. Two deaths occurred before the close of the year among members of the deputation. We have no evidence which directly connects the death of Mrs. Clarke, two days after her release from a month's imprisonment, with her experiences on November 18th. But there is evidence to show that Miss Henria Williams, who died suddenly of heart failure on January 1st, had been used with great brutality, and was aware at the time of the effect upon her heart, which was weak.

5.—STATE OF MIND OF THE POLICE.

The state of mind of the police may be inferred not only from their actions, but from the language which they are reported to have used. Fourteen of these statements complain of the profanity or obscenity of the language which some of them employed. But perhaps the most illuminating proof that certain of them had lost all self-control and every instinct of common humanity is supplied by their behaviour to old ladies, and in one instance to a cripple. Women of from 60 to 70 years of age were as roughly used as their younger comrades.

6.—PLAIN-CLOTHES MEN.

The suspicion was general among the women and also among onlookers that large numbers of plain-clothes detectives were employed on the Friday and the Tuesday. Organized bodies of men were moving about, and contributed to break up the women's processions. In some cases detectives assisted the uniformed police to effect arrests, and vied with them in violence. It may be said that they could only be identified by guesswork, but the numerous little indications in these statements leave little doubt that the impression formed by the women must have been correct. Against men in civilian clothes, who may have been detectives, there are many complaints of brutality and indecency. One of these men had disguised himself by donning the badge of the Men's League for Women's Suffrage. Under cover of this he struck a woman who sought his assistance.

CONCLUSION.

Such experiences are not new in the annals of the militant societies, and they have hitherto observed an almost unbroken tradition that it is unsoldierly to complain. Their spirit is entitled to respect, but we as citizens are not content that the police should form a habit of indulging in such excesses. If even a fraction of this testimony, which all of it bears to our minds the stamp of truth, can be established, the police will have been convicted of violating almost every instruction in their Manual, which forbids (p. 6) swearing and foul language, prescribes (7) an equable temper, requires that in making an arrest (p. 105) "no more violence should be used than is absolutely necessary," and enjoins that "needless exposure" shall not be inflicted on the person in custody.

We claim that the evidence here collected suffices to justify our demand for a public inquiry into the behaviour of the Metropolitan Police on November 18th, November 22nd, and November 23rd. The object of such an inquiry should be to ascertain, not merely whether the charges of aggressive violence, torture, and indecency here made can be substantiated, but also to ascertain under what orders the police were acting. The order to make no arrests goes some way to explain their conduct, and must in itself have led to much unnecessary and dangerous violence. But it would not explain the frequency of torture and indecency, nor the more obviously unprovoked acts of violence which many of the men committed. A man acting under this order might feel that he was justified in flinging a woman back with some violence when she attempted to pass the cordon. But this order alone

would not suggest to him that he should run forward and fell her with a blow on the mouth, or twist her arms, or bend her thumb, or manipulate her breasts. The impression conveyed by this evidence is from first to last that the police believed themselves to be acting under an almost unlimited licence to treat the women as they pleased, and to inflict upon them a degree of humiliation and pain which would deter them or intimidate them. We suggest that the inquiry should seek to determine whether such an impression prevailed among the police, and, if so, whether any verbal orders (which may or may not have been correctly understood) were given by any of the men's superiors by way of supplement to the general order.

The full text of this Memorandum can be obtained from The Woman's Press, 156, Charing Cross Road.

MANCHESTER BRANCH.

THE annual meeting of the Branch will take place on Thursday, March 16th, in the Library at the Onward Buildings, Deansgate (Peter Street end), the main objects being to receive the Committee's Report and to elect officers for the ensuing year. In order to enhance the interest of the meeting, representatives of the local Women's Suffrage Societies or Branches, are being invited to attend and to give short addresses on the movement and its prospects. Already Miss Jessie Stephenson, Lancashire, Organizer of the Women's Social and Political Union, and Miss M. E. Manning, B.A., Hon. Organizing Secretary of the Manchester Branch of the Women's Freedom League, have kindly promised to be present. It is expected that the North of England Society also will be well represented. The chair will be taken at 8 o'clock promptly by Mr. D. M. Humphreys, Chairman of Committee. All members of the Branch are earnestly pressed to make a special effort to be present. Our general meetings are so exceedingly rare that when there is one it behoves every member to attend.

The Report will contain very much of interest. The volume of work that has been done, notwithstanding the scarcity of time common both to officers and to members, will prove surprising to those people who are fond of belittling the League. The Report will deal with our work in connexion with the two General Elections of last year; the nature of the Parliamentary representation throughout our district—judged from the Suffrage point of view; last winter's monthly meetings; deputations to Cabinet Ministers; debates and indoor meetings we have supplied with speakers; correspondence with Party leaders—with political Associations, and with local M.P.s; our open-air demonstrations; stewarding of Suffrage meetings; the formation of an offshoot of the Branch at Bolton, and other matters. In an appendix will be given the first full account of the pursuit of Mr. Hilaire Belloc, in connexion with the great debate which never took place.

Members are therefore urged to attend and to bring their friends—ladies or gentlemen, Suffragists or "Antis."

W. BENTLY CAPPER, JUN., *Hon. Sec.*

21, Oxford Road, Manchester.

"It is like a reincarnation to find myself facing precisely the same problems here which we had in Australia sixteen or seventeen years ago."—Sir John Cockburn at Caxton Hall.

MR. JOSEPH CLAYTON'S articles in *Votes for Women* on 'Militant Methods in History' have been issued in pamphlet form (one penny), and can be obtained from The Women's Press, 156, Charing Cross Road.

NEW WORDS TO OLD CATCHES, and 'VOTES FOR WOMEN, LLOYD GEORGE!' by F. W. As sung at the Criterion Restaurant, Men's League Reception, February 4, and elsewhere. Words only, 3d. each; 12 copies 2s. 3d. post free.—From F. W., Men's League Offices, 159, St. Stephen's House, Westminster, S.W.—[ADVT.]

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.]