

Men's League for Women's Suffrage.

MONTHLY PAPER.

OFFICE: 40, MUSEUM STREET, LONDON, W.C.
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THE SITUATION.

DURING the past year the cause of Women's Enfranchisement has made its greatest advance. The formation of the Conciliation Committee, under the chairmanship of Lord Lytton, and the introduction of the Conciliation Bill have given it an assured position in practical politics such as it never held before. The Conciliation Bill (with which the name of Mr. Brailsford, one of the League's Executive, is so honourably associated) was discussed with great seriousness in the House of Commons on July 11th and 12th. Mr. Haldane, Mr. Runciman, Mr. Balfour, Mr. Alfred Lyttelton, Lord Hugh Cecil, Mr. Keir Hardie, Mr. Shackleton (who introduced it), Mr. Snowden, Mr. William Redmond, Mr. Kettle, and other prominent members supported it with argument and eloquence. In spite of the consistent opposition of the Prime Minister, and what we can only call the ignorant or treacherous opposition of Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Winston Churchill, the second reading was carried by a majority of 110, and the Bill referred to a committee of the whole House.

The reference to the whole House, instead of a Grand Committee, enabled the Prime Minister and his two or three supporters in the Cabinet to shelve the measure by refusing further facilities, on the worthless excuse of want of time. This they did, in spite of such support to the Bill throughout the country as has been shown for no other measure within two or three generations. At over 4,000 meetings resolutions were passed in favour of the Bill. Resolutions urging the Government to grant facilities were passed by the Town Councils of Manchester, Glasgow, Dundee, Dublin, Cork, and many more cities. The Bill had the support of every Woman Suffrage society throughout the kingdom, and of the greatest federations of women workers. Immense demonstrations and Albert Hall meetings were held in London. Yet Mr. Asquith, Mr. Lloyd George, and Mr. Winston Churchill maintained their veto upon the will of the people as expressed through the representatives in the House of Commons and by popular demonstration.

Under these circumstances, the League resolved to adopt an anti-Government policy, and to work against the Government candidates at elections, exception being made for candidates who had done actual service for the cause. We lost a few valued members, especially Liberal members of Parliament, from the Executive, whose absence we much regret. But they will continue their work for the cause, and the anti-Government policy has increased the power and efficiency of the League. The Government Veto upon democratic legislation also induced the most active of the Suffrage societies to return to militancy. Many devoted women have again been imprisoned in consequence, and Mr. Winston Churchill has in two cases reverted to the hideous abomination of forcible feeding, thus entering upon the course by which his predecessor in office (now Lord Gladstone) ruined his reputation.

The part taken by the League in the recent General Election is described in another column. Only a very short time before the campaign our Chairman, Mr. Herbert Jacobs, was unexpectedly invited by the National Union (London Society) to stand for East St. Pancras. The League did not officially recognize or support his candidature, though certain members spoke at his meetings. The failure of his poll was due to entire want of preparation in the constituency, and to the promise of support for Women's Franchise given by both the party candidates. Unhappily, the result has encouraged the enemy, and Sir West Ridgeway, for instance, has written to *The Times*, pointing to the inference that the Suffragists are a negligible quantity, and "that accordingly, timid members of Parliament may take heart and vote according to their convictions. . . . assured that there is no fear of their Parliamentary career being prejudiced by the conscientious discharge of their duty." Mr. Herbert Jacobs answered the letter in *The Times* of December 28th, and the situation gives no ground for so revolutionary a suggestion as that Members of Parliament should dare to vote according to their convictions. The action of the Cardiff Liberal Women, who abstained from supporting the Government, and enabled the Unionists to gain a majority of 299 in place of the former Liberal majority of 1,555, is sufficient proof of Suffragist power.

As the Election has resulted in the return of a Government still dependent on the Irish and Labour parties, there is great hope for a measure on similar lines to the Conciliation Bill. The Government programme is likely to include Bills concerning the Veto of the Lords, Home Rule, Payment of Members, Plural Voting, and Invalidity Insurance. With all these measures, as with all the affairs of the country, women are intimately concerned, but especially with Payment of Members, Plural Voting, and Insurance. It is impossible to recast the franchise, as by the Plural Voting Bill, without bringing the injustice of women's position into prominence. Insurance is one of the social measures that touch women most nearly. How members of Parliament will live on money taken out of women's pockets without giving women a voice in the payment or the choice, we do not understand. We must apply to Mr. Lloyd George and his colleagues, are thus living on women's money quite contentedly at present.

At a meeting held on January 3rd the Executive Committee resolved to remove the League's offices from 40, Museum Street to 159, St. Stephen's House, Westminster (close to Westminster Bridge Station). The League owes its most hearty thanks to Mr. Cecil Chapman and Mr. Reginald Pott for generous contributions towards the expenses of the new premises. Also to Mr. Joseph Clayton who has kindly undertaken to act as honorary organizing secretary for at least three months at the office.

We deeply regret that Mrs. Mary Clarke, sister to Mrs. Pankhurst and organizer of the W.S.P.U. in Brighton, died on Christmas Day, only two days after her release from Holloway. The greatest sympathy will be felt for Mrs. Pankhurst, who in one year has lost her mother, her sister, and her only son.

THE GENERAL ELECTION.

MEN'S LEAGUE MEETINGS.

As foreshadowed in our last issue, the League had a very busy time in London during the elections. The constituencies we worked in were chiefly Battersea and Hoxton, seats held previously by the Right Honourable John Burns and Dr. Addison, both Liberals.

In Battersea the chief feature was an open-air meeting on Saturday, December 3rd. A large audience assembled at the corner of Prince's Road, Battersea. Mr. E. Duval, who had arranged the meeting, was in the chair, and spoke with his accustomed vigour. He was succeeded by Mrs. Tanner, under whose eloquent attack on the unsatisfactory attitude of Mr. Asquith and Mr. Burns the crowd swelled in numbers and also, be it said, in vocal power. Our Honorary Treasurer, Mr. Bate, then faced an excited mob, which was attentive enough to listen to much genial irony and persuasive argument. Mr. R. H. Pott followed with a characteristic speech. By this time it was getting dark, and the courage of the crowd grew. A great battle ensued, and the big crowd, though naturally stronger vocally, was constrained to admire the force and determination with which Mr. Pott faced what cannot honestly be called "the music." Mr. Simpson and Mr. Mitchell wound up the list of speakers, and a good many questions were answered by them and by Mr. Duval, who concluded the meeting—one of the most successful in many respects of the whole campaign.

Twenty thousand handbills were circulated throughout the constituency during the days preceding the poll, and it was not difficult to see that Liberal politicians were nerving themselves to the uttermost in response to the flood of Suffragist opposition which surged into the constituency.

HOXTON.

In Hoxton we had an address, that of the Women's Freedom League, at 9, Hoxton Street, and a number of open-air meetings were held. A considerable circulation of handbills was effected, but the fact that the election took place on the earliest possible day, December 3rd, gave us very little time for the work which the Committee had authorized. Mr. Simpson, Mr. Gugenheim, Mr. Manson, Mr. De Maria, and Mr. Mitchell were among those who visited the constituency, while Mr. Mark Wilks gave much help to the Women's Freedom League.

EAST ST. PANCRAS.

Although the Men's League, as is explained elsewhere in this issue, was not officially connected with Mr. Jacobs's candidature in East St. Pancras, a number of members of the League naturally went to lend a helping hand to the Chairman. At one of the chief indoor meetings Mr. Brailsford and Mr. Langdon, K.C., spoke, and several others addressed open-air meetings.

It was interesting to note that the hecklers (who were exceedingly attentive) became well known to all who spoke. By a singular coincidence, wherever a meeting was held the speakers were welcomed by the same artists in interruption, one of whom at the conclusion of the contest offered a very ample apology coupled with a handsome acknowledgment of the good temper with which Mr. Jacobs and his speakers had endured what he described as "a regular gruelling." Suffrage work in East St. Pancras began under somewhat discouraging conditions, but there is a good field for future labours.

WISBECH.

London work being over, Mr. John Simpson went to Wisbech where a good Suffragist Unionist, Lord Robert Cecil, was seeking to unseat an anti-Suffrage Liberal, the Honourable Neil Primrose. He held a series of exciting and successful meetings in the Market Square, and at the last moment secured a large hall for a meeting on Saturday, December 10th. Although we could not hear of this good fortune till Saturday morning, we were able to send speakers, while Mr. De Maria and a friend went down to help in circulating bills. The weather was desperately bad, but a very fair meeting assembled.

Mr. Simpson took the chair, and his flattering reception showed that he had made great strides with the people in a very short time. Mr. Mitchell and Mr. Gugenheim subsequently spoke, and a resolution hostile to Mr. Primrose was carried unanimously.

A significant fact was that in several London papers on the following Monday there appeared a characteristic portrait of Mr. Simpson taken in the act of haranguing the multitude.

As usual our election work was handicapped by the otherwise gratifying fact that many of our best speakers were unavailable owing to their being invited to speak by other societies. However, our loss was the gain of the cause in this respect.

MINISTERIAL LIBELS.

THE following letters have been written by members of the League in contradiction to the statements made by Cabinet Ministers in regard to men Suffragists:—

MR. LLOYD GEORGE'S MILE END OUTBURST.

(TO THE EDITOR OF *The Western Mail* AND OTHER PAPERS.)

SIR,—Among the various interjections from members of the audience during Mr. Lloyd George's remarkable speech at Mile End, there appear from press reports to have been a few quite inoffensive but singularly apropos, alluding to the Government's treatment of Woman Suffrage. In reference to one of the first of these interruptors, Mr. Lloyd George is reported to have said "There are many ways of earning a living, and that is one of the most contemptible of them." Knowing the facts of the case, I can see only three explanations for this remark:—First, that Mr. Lloyd George did not understand it to be a cowardly lie, such ignorance would not befit a man for the profession of politician. Secondly, that he lost his head and temper; a want of balance regrettable in one having charge of Imperial finance. The third alternative may be left to the perception of your readers and to Mr. Lloyd George's own conscience.

It may be remembered that the right honourable gentleman permitted himself a similar remark at Newcastle last year, and that its lack of foundation was speedily brought home to him. He must not be surprised if other honourable men place upon his own earnest efforts the same value that he is so ready to place upon the efforts of others.

I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

F. A. BATHER.

THE ASSAULT ON MR. CHURCHILL.

(TO THE EDITOR OF *The Times*.)

SIR,—In your issue of yesterday you give an account of Mr. Franklin's trial at Bow Street for an assault upon Mr. Churchill, and you report that in answer to the question "Do you mean to suggest that these people (i.e., the interruptors at his meetings) were paid?" Mr. Churchill replied:—"I do not suggest that in every case they were paid, but I do suggest that the militant movement is largely conducted by means of money, and that these demonstrations bring money to the militant movement. I make no suggestion as to individuals, but I do make a suggestion as to the general class of persons engaged."

As to the militant movement being largely conducted by means of money, Mr. Churchill's suggestion is nothing new. All political movements are largely conducted by means of money, and Mr. Churchill must be aware that even the Liberal movement is largely so conducted. Otherwise, one supposes, the Liberal peers would be less numerous than they are.

But if he means, as he appears to suggest, and as Mr. Lloyd George has also suggested, that the men who raise the question of women's enfranchisement at his and other Cabinet Ministers' meetings are paid for this service, I must inform him that he is entirely mistaken. No money has ever been taken by them in payment from any suffrage society, and none has ever been offered. It may seem strange to politicians that many men are willing to raise a question of justice, not only without any hope of reward, but with the certainty of suffering great violence and injury at the hands of Liberal stewards. But outside political

circles it does not seem so strange, and, whatever one may think of this method of keeping a question before the minds of Ministers, one feels some satisfaction in knowing that there are still men so disinterested as to support a cause for its own sake, and even to suffer for it. Certainly it does not say much for political standards when leaders on both sides of the House can suggest no better motives for their opponents' action than militant money or American dollars.

I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

HENRY W. H. NEVINSON.

National Liberal Club, Whitehall Place, S.W.,

December 7th.

"A FOUL BLOT UPON DEMOCRACY."

THE following letter was addressed by the Croydon Men's League for Women's Suffrage to the Unionist and Liberal candidates:—

"Dear Sir,—I am directed by the Committee of the Croydon Men's League for Women's Suffrage to request you to be good enough to favour them with replies to the questions asked below.

Yours faithfully,

(Signed) A. G. READ, Hon. Sec.

1. Are you, as a Unionist, prepared to follow Mr. Balfour in informing Mr. Asquith (or are you, as a Liberal, content that it shall be left to Mr. Balfour to point out to Mr. Asquith) that government in the United Kingdom must rest upon the consent of the governed?

2. Are you prepared to insist that the government of women by men—that foul blot upon democracy—shall be wiped away at the first moment, namely, next session?

3. Are you prepared to vote against the Government on the reply to the King's Speech if it does not provide for women's suffrage?

AN OPEN LETTER TO SUPT. WELLS.

DEAR SIR,—I am glad to see your name in the Honours List for the New Year, though I doubt whether the honour conferred will be considered by you any recompense for the unpleasant duties which fell to your lot during the last Suffragette deputation to the House of Commons. I understand you were nominally in command of the police force on duty, but I very much doubt whether you were responsible for the small number of constables placed in front of the Strangers' Entrance of the House of Commons. This paucity of numbers was, I suggest, the cause of the disgraceful treatment meted out to the ladies in that deputation by the police when they found themselves nearly overpowered and their illegal attempts to prevent a deputation reaching the entrance on the point of being frustrated.

My sympathy was extended to you when, having been instructed to attend at Bow Street on the following day, you found that Mr. Winston Churchill refused to bring any charge against the women whom the men under you had found it necessary to arrest, and so by inference the public were given to understand that the police had exceeded their duty. Unfortunately it is stated by well-known public men that many of them had done so, and in worse ways than that mentioned in the opening paragraph of this letter. Still, those who, I wish to believe, know you best think it was not a case of "You only did as you thought right," but rather that you only gave orders as you were told. May I complete the well-known pantomime couplet with the advice "Don't do it any more." In other words, Inspector, if it is wrong for a properly constituted deputation like that led by Mrs. Pankhurst to attempt to approach the House of Commons, order your men to do their duty and arrest them immediately. If it is not wrong, then order your men to ensure a safe passage for these ladies to the door of the House, and not obstruct or allow others to obstruct them as they did on this last occasion.

It may be—unfortunately, Inspector, I am afraid it will be—that the fulfilment of your duty as an honourable gentleman as well as a police officer will not bring you official honour; but, Sir, it will bring you a far greater recompense, firstly, the approval of your own conscience, and secondly the knowledge that you have merited the honourable esteem of all true men and women.

Yours truly, J. EDWARD FRANCIS.

THE INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S FRANCHISE CLUB.

THE International Women's Franchise Club was founded at the end of 1909 to provide a meeting place where Suffragists of all shades of opinion without distinction of sex, nationality, party, or religion, could meet in social intercourse.

The Club has met with a cordial reception from Suffragists of all countries, and although it has existed barely a year, its membership exceeds 800, and contains representatives of seven nationalities.

The Club, which has quite outgrown its original premises, has acquired a Club house at No. 9, Grafton Street, London, W., which is now being altered, and will, it is hoped, when completed, be found in every way suitable for its purpose. This house will shortly be open for members, the formal opening being expected this month.

It is intended to hold frequent lectures and receptions at which there will be opportunities of hearing the leaders of the Suffrage Movement in other countries, and of welcoming workers in the cause from other lands.

Literature of all kinds bearing upon the Suffrage Movement will be obtainable at the Club, and it is intended shortly to form a Suffrage Library and Information Bureau.

The subscription has been fixed at one guinea per annum, with an entrance fee of one guinea on and after January 1st, 1911. A reduced subscription of 10s. 6d. may be paid by members resident abroad. Foreign or Colonial members may pay a subscription of 5s. for a period not exceeding two months. The Club has been formed as a Company limited by guarantee, and the condition of membership is that no member incurs any liability beyond the subscription and entrance fee, and a sum not exceeding 1l. in the event of the winding up of the Club during the time that he or she is a member, or within one year afterwards.

All information may be had of the Secretary,

MISS GRAY HILL

75, Victoria Street, S.W.

BRANCH NEWS.

BRISTOL.

THE members mustered in strong force at the Victoria Rooms, Clifton, on December 7th, and assisted as stewards at a meeting organized jointly by the Conservative Women's Franchise Association and the National Union of W.S.S., and addressed by the Earl of Lytton. On December 8th the members of the branch entertained the Earl of Lytton to a most successful luncheon at the Imperial Hotel, Clifton.

In the course of his speech Lord Lytton said he was grateful to the Men's League for inviting him to the luncheon, and it was with pleasure that he paid tribute to the work which that League was doing in the country. The Men's League had a great work before it; it marked an important advance in the franchise movement. There was a strong reason for women's societies, for these were fighting the women's battle with the interests of women at heart, but there was no particular reason why a Men's League should be started, though the fact that it was so started was significant. It proved one thing, and that was that Mr. Asquith's Glasgow statement that chivalry was dead was untrue. (Cheers.) At the back of this movement he (his Lordship) could discern chivalry, and he admired it. Its members were convinced that this question was not only one for women, but for men; that women should be represented in the State, and that the laws of the country would be the better, and political life generally improved, if women were permitted to take a share. (Hear, hear.) It might have been noticed in some recent speeches of the leaders of both political parties that it was suggested that women's suffrage was a question which could be best settled by the application of the Referendum. The reference of such a question to men who had already voted would, if they decided against women's suffrage, not settle the matter. What-

ever might be the result of the Referendum he was not going to prophesy, but if it was adverse to the women's case, that would not stop the movement in any way. To-day the movement was not being retarded by the Anti-Suffragettes, but by the fact that the majority of the members of the House of Commons who were in favour of the vote did not care enough. Some people criticized the militant section, and said that, owing to their tactics, they could not support the movement in the whole-hearted manner in which they otherwise would. He was not going to discuss the wisdom of the militant tactics, but, as most of them knew, he was related to one of these "hooligan women." (Applause.) He therefore knew the type, and he could assure his hearers that these women were not of the type generally represented by the papers, but they were of a type for which he had the highest possible admiration. There was no question that these tactics had proved a powerful lever for the advancement of the movement. If every woman who was in favour of the vote did some active work to advance it, then it would be unnecessary for others to go to the lengths that they had been driven. Such energy and ability as the militants had shown, instead of being wasted, had much better be turned to the advantage of the State, as it would be when women were enfranchised.

A meeting will be called early in January to arrange a plan of "Campaign to Men," as suggested by Lord Lytton, and it is hoped that a generous response will be made to his appeal and that the chief towns in the West of England may shortly see for themselves that men are endeavouring to aid women to get the vote.

F. W. ROGERS, *Hon. Sec.*

2, Kensington Villas, Clifton.

On January 17th Mrs. Despard will speak on 'Theosophy and the Women's Movement,' at Queen's Hall, Clifton, at 8.

Mr. F. W. Rogers will take the chair.

SUSSEX MEN'S LEAGUE.

THE Executive Committee decided to close the shop in Western Road, which had been taken in succession to that in London Road, after the General Election; and at the same time they were obliged to accept with great regret Mr. Brunel's resignation of his arduous duties as Secretary. We trust, however, that the necessity he finds himself under of giving a portion of his time to other business than Suffrage will not be of very long duration, and that we may yet welcome him back to the post he has so long and ably filled. Mr. Francis is filling the breach for the time being, and all communications should be addressed to him at 51, Buckingham Place, Brighton.

The loss of Mrs. Clarke has deeply grieved our members, who were well represented at the memorial meeting held at the Pavilion last Tuesday evening. It was the fortunate privilege of many of our members to come into touch with Mrs. Pankhurst's sister, and her earnestness in the cause she had at heart, combined with her beautiful character, endeared her to all who knew her. Those who spoke at last Tuesday's meeting did not err on the side of lugubriousness, but rather sought to inspire those present with the idea that although Mrs. Clarke's bodily presence is removed, her spirit has in great measure been left in the hearts of many, and it is for those to prove themselves worthy of the sacrifices she made.

KESWICK.

MISS CATHERINE MARSHALL, of the National Union, writes to us:—

I know you are always asking for reports of any activities in connexion with the Men's League, so I send you a copy of the notice we have been using in our area during the election, in accordance with the recommendation in your monthly paper. We have been getting as many electors as possible to send in these questions, signed, at each meeting; the result is the same as one copy of the questions with a list of signatures appended, and is much less trouble to arrange for. I have been carrying on a campaign, single-handed, in the Egremont Division, the only Cumberland Division where we did not work last election, and the only one whose member voted against the Bill! Neither candidate answered our questions satisfactorily. I had inter-

views with them both. So I held a series of open-air meetings immediately preceding theirs in the principal mining towns and villages, and stirred up their electors to go and question them on Women's Suffrage (they both told me there was no interest in the subject in that constituency, but they were very much mistaken, as they have discovered by this time), and passed a resolution at every meeting urging the successful candidate to support the Conciliation Bill when it is re-introduced. I generally succeeded in getting copies of the Resolution taken to the candidates by some of their principal local supporters. On two occasions the chairman of the Liberal meeting came and took the chair for me first, and took the Resolution on with him to the Liberal candidate's meeting.

DONATIONS RECEIVED IN DECEMBER.

ELECTION FUND.

		£	s.	d.			£	s.	d.
Fredk. A Carlton-Smith	...	0	2	0	Laurence Housman	...	2	2	0
Lieut. J. L. Cather, R.N.	...	1	0	0	Edward Vulliamy	...	1	1	0
John Carl Flügel	...	5	0	0	Ralph De Maria	...	2	0	0
Alfred H. Bailey	...	1	1	0					

OTHER DONATIONS.

Basil Belmont	...	0	10	0	A. A. Eustace	...	1	0	0
G. H. Bekens	...	0	10	0	Mrs. Catherine Holiday	...	5	0	0
Miss Moser	...	0	2	6	Cecil Chapman (New Offices)	...	5	0	0
Mrs. Sim, Fleet	...	0	5	0					

NOTICE OF REMOVAL

IN THE COURSE OF THIS
MONTH THE OFFICE OF THE

MEN'S LEAGUE

FOR

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

WILL BE REMOVED TO

**159, St. Stephen's House,
Westminster**

(Close to Westminster Bridge Station).

Hon. Secretaries:

**Mr. J. MALCOLM MITCHELL,
Mr. JOHN MANSON.**

Hon. Organizing Secretary:

Mr. JOSEPH CLAYTON.