

Men's League for Women's Suffrage

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Monthly Paper.

President: THE RIGHT HON. THE
EARL OF LYTTON.

Chairman: HERBERT JACOBS.

July, 1914.

ONE PENNY.

SPECIAL FEATURES THIS MONTH.

Article by Managing Director of *Selfridge's*
ON
"EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK."

Letter from Sir Henry Wood.

SPECIAL ARTICLE

BY

C. V. Drysdale, D.Sc., M.I.E.E.

NOTES OF THE MONTH.

Readers will notice that we have been able to print this month two communications, both of which bear testimony to the increased estimation with which women's work is being regarded, a result due largely to the attention that suffragists have paid to this side of their many-sided campaign. It is with great regret, therefore, that we have to notice a great democratic university differentiating between men and women. A recent advertisement of the post of Professor of Chemistry at one of the constituent colleges of the University of London offers a salary of £600 for a man and of £500 for a woman. We venture to protest in the most emphatic terms against this gross insult to the growing body of educated women who compete with men for positions of this kind. There is no pretence that the work is different in kind or amount for women; it is a perfect scandal that an advertisement of this kind should have appeared. As suffragists and economists, we resent intensely the negation of the principle of equality as between both sexes which London has always upheld, and which is clearly violated by this action. What makes the matter still worse is that a *women's* college is in question.

TH. G.

SHOULD MEN AND WOMEN RECEIVE EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK?

By PERCY A. BEST.

(GENERAL MANAGER, SELFRIDGE AND CO., LTD.)

Discussions on general subjects seldom benefit by being applied specifically. One is apt in such cases to allow the broader aspect to be obscured by a too great prominence of the instance.

In writing of this question of equal pay for men and women doing equal work, however, my opinion has been largely formed by a specific instance. The work of three and a-half thousand men and women comes more or less directly under my personal supervision, and it is on my observation of the comparative earning capacity of these men and women that I base this statement.

The greater number of these men and women are sales-people, and they are paid equal wages and equal commission on the amount of sales they effect. Their ability is equal, and there is no reason why one person should receive more or less than another simply because his sex is different. The army of commerce has need of both men and women—is absolutely dependent on both being in the ranks. In merchandising, perhaps the most fascinating of all businesses, this fact is illustrated in a hundred ways.

Through all the lower grades of responsibility, boys and girls, men and women should be paid equally for equal work. But when the higher administrative posts are considered, it becomes apparent that the qualifications of the woman-worker do not fit her for greater responsibility. Of course, I do not say for a moment that *no* woman is fitted for such a post; I

NOTICE!

ADJOURNED MEETING,
AT
ANDERTON'S HOTEL,
ON
THURSDAY, JULY 23rd, at 8 p.m.

know of several instances to the contrary, and so do most people. But these are more or less isolated cases, and I have in mind the warning with which I prefaced this article. It is futile to allow an instance to obscure a generalisation.

One of the principal factors in the case is that of physical endurance. An administrative post in a great department-store, for instance, entails a continuous mental alertness and concentration, and, above all, an ever-present readiness to meet and overcome an emergency. All this demands a great deal from those faculties of strength of purpose, coolness, shrewdness, and dominance which Nature has ordained should be essentially characteristic of man.

So it is that the highest posts are usually filled by men. So far as their natural abilities are equal, men and women should receive equal remuneration, but above a certain level fair comparison of the male and female human being as workers entirely ceases.

Those who advocate that every position should be open to competition with men and women are, in my opinion, quite wrong—and wrong, be it noted, in their premise that both sexes can apply their powers with equal success to the same degree.

In any other department of commerce than the administrative, however, the employment of women workers at a lower wage than men is a suicidal policy. It is destructive alike of the best interests of the individual and the State.

THE NEGLECTED SIDE OF THE WOMEN'S EMANCIPATION MOVEMENT.

To one who has for many years supported the Women's Suffrage movement to the best of his ability, not only because of the inherent justice of the demand, but in the belief that it would rapidly lead to more rational ideas and actions in relation to vital social problems, there is a certain phase of the movement which cannot be viewed with anything but sincere regret. It is the tendency—no doubt an excusable one—of many women to fight the battle of their emancipation merely as imitators of men, while disregarding the powers which are inherent in them as women, contradicting by their actions the very attributes which they claim for womanhood, neglecting the best interests of their sex, and despising that power which alone has enabled them to gain what they have already gained, and which they must use if they are to become really emancipated. They attach an exaggerated value to the vote as a means of securing social betterment, rather than as a recognition of equality and of citizenship, they profess love of peace and disbelief in physical force while carrying on a campaign of violence, and they set their faces against employing the power of controlling maternity which science has given them, and which is by far their strongest power both for gaining their vote and for securing a higher status, as well as securing the economic and moral improvement of the race in the process.

We are out for women's emancipation. Go back in imagination to our grandmothers, or go down in reality to the women of our poor districts, and think what has been their chief burden and disability. Is it the want of political emancipation? The answer even to the most earnest rational Suffragist is: No! The first and most pressing disability of woman is not of masculine or of human institution, it is the natural one of automatic and excessive child-bearing. Among working women the story is nearly always the same—one baby after another,

frequently at intervals of only a year; the loss of their health and vitality in the process, the despairing effort to feed and clothe their children and themselves adequately on a small wage, the agony of seeing many of their babies pine and die under their eyes as the result of enfeeblement at birth, bad nutrition, overcrowding, &c. What can the vote do for such women? Only those—unfortunately, there are many—who are blinded by Socialistic fallacies can imagine that it would have any great value. Those who have studied the population question, on the other hand, know perfectly well that no legislation of any kind could be devised which would materially improve the lot of the poor, and especially of poor women, if unlimited births take place. But even if we were to grant that the vote had all the value which its devotees imagine, can they for a moment contend that there would be the slightest chance of attaining it if unlimited maternity prevailed? What money, time, or energy has the desperate, overworked, wretched mother of a large family for suffrage interest or work; and what prospect of betterment within a reasonable time does it hold out to her?

Turn now to the women who devote themselves to the Suffrage cause. A considerable number of them are married, but very few have more than two or three children. How many of them would have been free to take part in Suffrage propaganda if they had had the large families of the poor women, or the large families which their own mothers or grandmothers had? How many of the unmarried Suffrage workers also would have been free or been equipped for the work if the smaller families of the present day had not permitted them to be released from helping their overburdened mothers or married sisters, and to be provided with or educated for economic independence? The subjection of women is only to a small extent a matter of intentional masculine domination. It is due practically entirely to the persistently denied or neglected phenomenon of overpopulation, and to the attempt of humanity—women as well as men—to escape from its dire consequences—poverty, hunger, disease, prostitution, and war. No professed emancipation of women is worthy of the name if its most important component, the emancipation from excessive and involuntary maternity is not included, no resistance on the part of authority to their political emancipation would be of any avail, if the control of motherhood were in their hands. Men base their claim to citizenship upon their production of wealth or power of defending their country; women can, and do, base their claim upon their production of the future supply of producers and defenders—and their claim would be irresistible if they had any control over the supply. By refusing to bring children into the world unless the State recognised them as citizens, and unless the conditions of Society were decently satisfactory for themselves and their children, women would not only be able to make any terms they desired, but they would do what nothing else can do—render the satisfaction of their claims possible.

Whenever one listens to Suffragist speeches one is sure before long to hear the claims that the grant of the vote to women is going to produce economic and moral improvement in every direction, because women will then be able to compel the attention of legislators to their needs and wishes. And yet when we hear these declarations fervidly declaimed before an audience of sympathetic working men they often fall flat. "What good has the vote been to us?" is the frequent remark. Wages have been nearly stationary, cost of living has been rising. That the

granting of the vote to women would tend to equalise wages and thus prevent undercutting is a theme which I have myself sustained. But this is of much less importance than the effect of reducing the number of children to be a drain on their parents, and to become competitors in the labour market in their turn, to recruit the ranks of unemployed loafers and prostitutes and to disseminate disease. "Votes for women and chastity for men" is the latest tabloid remedy for prostitution and disease. "General early marriage and limitation of families" is the remedy which those who have long and earnestly studied this question know to be the only possible one. "Votes for women" would be a valuable aid to its attainment, and many of us have been supporters of the Suffragist movement because, like John Stuart Mill, we believed that the education afforded by it would inevitably lead sooner or later to a solution of the population difficulty, if women would only follow their own natural feelings. Mrs. Fawcett showed her appreciation of this question years ago. Dr. Aletta Jacobs, now President of the Dutch Women's Suffrage movement, started her medical career with giving gratuitous advice to poor married women on methods of limiting their families; Frau Marie Stritt, now President of the German Women's Suffrage movement, joined with me in organising the International neo-Malthusian Congress at Dresden in 1911, and has expressed her belief that women's emancipation is a sham without control of maternity; the Hungarian feminists have done good work in the same cause, &c. In England, almost alone among European nations to-day, the leaders of the Suffrage movement are neglecting this question, and if one brings it before them one is met either with evasion or by the airy remark: "That is one of the things to be attended to when we get our vote." A few years ago, when there was a possibility of a sudden victory for the Suffrage cause, there was some excuse for that attitude. To-day, when there is no such prospect, when the public is tired of the exaggerated claims so frequently made for the power of the vote, and when the working classes are eagerly anxious for a new message of hope on the economic side, it seems little short of folly and treachery to their sex on the part of the Suffragist leaders to neglect this question. No one who has read the papers during the past few months can have failed to see that the general public is becoming more interested in and sympathetic towards the question of family limitation than it is towards the Suffrage movement, and the Labour papers have frequently suggested the value of a birth strike. If the more militant section of the Suffrage movement would raise the eminently logical and justifiable cry of "No Votes, No Children"; or "No Citizenship for Mothers, No Future Citizens," and devote the energies they now waste in destroying property to instructing their suffering sisters in the methods of controlling the number of their children, they would be doing immense good instead of harm, they would be attracting instead of repelling public sympathy, and they would command a power over the Government which their recent tactics have utterly failed to secure.

Fortunately, while the leaders still hold aloof, numbers of individuals in the Suffrage movement are becoming alive to the importance of this question, and we may hope soon to see a much more scientific and utilitarian spirit infused into feminist politics and a reanimation of the whole movement.

We are asked to remind members of the League of the British Dominions Suffrage Union Conference, which will take place on Thursday, July 9, at the Westminster Palace Hotel, inclusive. Tickets, 3s.

CORRESPONDENCE.

LETTER FROM SIR HENRY WOOD.

To the Editor, "Men's League for Women's Suffrage Monthly Paper."

DEAR EDITOR,—As you were kind enough to write to me on behalf of the Men's League of Women's Suffrage in October last, when my directors first introduced lady players into the Queen's Hall orchestra, I thought it might interest you to hear that the change has been highly satisfactory from every point of view, and that we are taking another lady into the orchestra for next season's symphony concerts. I am hoping, too, that the other orchestras will follow our example when they can see their way to doing so.

Believe me,

Yours faithfully,

HENRY J. WOOD.

4, Elsworthy Road, London, N.W.,
June 24, 1914.

GLASGOW UNIVERSITY RECTORIAL ELECTION.

To the Editor, "Men's League for Women's Suffrage Monthly Paper."

DEAR SIR,—We beg to draw your attention to the triennial election of Lord Rector of the University.

The election, which takes place in October, is fought to a great extent on party lines, and for the first time in the history of the four Scottish Universities the Woman Suffrage Society of Glasgow University has felt itself strong enough to take an active part in the campaign.

We regard this campaign as an important opportunity for giving the question of Women's Suffrage its proper place in the political life of all our students, and of doing extensive propaganda work within the University. This last will include canvassing, the holding of meetings, the distribution of literature, and the issuing of several magazines, which are given free to all students.

The extent of our campaign depends almost wholly on our funds. The financial responsibility is, of course, great, and as we have to rely on the generosity of those interested, any financial help would be much appreciated, as would also a written word of encouragement.

International Women's Franchise Club,

9, GRAFTON STREET, PICCADILLY, W.

FOR MEN AND WOMEN.

MEETINGS DURING JULY.

Wednesday, 1 July, 3.30 to 6 p.m. Club Tea (Lecture, 4.30).
The Small Family System. Dr. C. V. Drysdale, D.Sc.
Chairman: The Hon. Mrs. Haverfield.
Wednesday, 8 July, 8.30 p.m. Reception to Delegates of Women Suffrage Union,
British Dominions Overseas.
Madame Sarojini Naidu .. "Some Ideals of Indian Womanhood."
Monday, 13 July, 3.30 to 6 p.m. Club Tea. To meet the Board of Officers of the
International Woman Suffrage Alliance.

Subscription: Town, 1 guinea. Country, 1 guinea and 10s. 6d.
Foreign, 10s. 6d.

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English and Foreign Books dealing with every aspect of the
Woman's Movement. Non-members enrolled as Associates by
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We hope that you approve and understand the significance of this step, and that we have your good wishes for our success.

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

MARGARET BARROWMAN,

Hon. Sec., Queen Margaret College Suffrage Society.

June 20, 1914.

[ED. NOTE.—Mr. R. B. Cunninghame-Graham, the celebrated writer, has written to Miss Barrowman accepting the invitation extended to him of becoming the Suffragist candidate. We hope any members of the League who are Glasgow University men will vote for him and assist the local Suffragists in their campaign.]

THE DECLINING CAUSE—IN AMERICA!

We have much pleasure in reprinting the following statement from the *Woman's Journal*, of Boston, under date of May 30, 1914. It will be seen that Mrs. Ward's hopes of America are likely to be disappointed:—

"The returns from the primary elections in Pennsylvania last week threw the Pennsylvania Suffrage headquarters into jubilation. Every candidate left in the running for United States Senator and for Governor is on the Suffrage side, and the only prominent man who had refused to declare himself, Michael J. Ryan, was defeated two to one for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination. The victories of the primaries have given an increased probability of success for the equal Suffrage amendment in 1915.

"Reports from the Suffrage organisations all over the State have been pouring in, full of good news, accompanied by the signed pledges of candidates for the Legislature in most gratifying numbers. One of the most conspicuous achievements was in Lackawanna County, where Senator Walter McNichols was defeated. Last year McNichols cast a deciding ballot in the Senate, but voted for Suffrage only after a tremendous protest from the Labour unions. He announced that he was personally opposed, and would not vote for the amendment when it came up again at the next Session.

"The Suffragists in Scranton, after persistently and patiently but unsuccessfully trying to secure his pledge to vote for the referendum on Suffrage, issued a campaign circular giving the Senator's record on general legislative Bills during the last Session, and thus helped to secure his defeat.

"'While the returns are not yet complete,' said Miss Hannah J. Patterson, State chairman of the Woman Suffrage party, 'returns so far show an overwhelming majority of successful candidates already committed to the support of our measure.'

"'There are no vacations in our schedule until this big 18 months' campaign is over and Pennsylvania's women enfranchised,' answered Mrs. Roessing, the State President, to a question about whether there would be continuous work during the hottest weeks of summer."

GENERAL MEETING, JUNE 19.

A Special General Meeting of the League was held at Anderson's Hotel on Friday, June 19, at 8 p.m., Mr. H. Jacobs in the chair. After an opening statement by the chairman a collection was taken, which resulted in £4 19s. 7d. It was resolved to take the formal business first, and Mr. H. Lynch moved Resolution No. 3: "That all officers of the League be elected by the members in General Meeting." This was

seconded by Mr. Goulden and opposed by Messrs. Laurence Housman and T. Gugenheim, and after considerable discussion was defeated by 27 votes to 22.

Mr. E. J. Warren then moved: "That this League invites the new Liberal Suffrage Societies, both men's and women's, to co-operate with it in its endeavour to secure the repeal of the 'Cat and Mouse' Act and the cessation of forcible feeding." This was carried *nem. con.* The next Resolution: "That this League invites the new Liberal Suffrage Societies, both men's and women's, to co-operate in trying to secure from the Government a definite statement before the next General Election as to whether they will or will not bring in a measure for the enfranchisement of women," was carried unanimously.

Mr. Warren withdrew the last Resolution, *viz.*, "That this General Meeting of a non-party League strongly disapproves of any of its offices being held by officials of party suffrage organisations, and especially that of Political Secretaryship, accepting in its entirety Dr. Bather's Resolution, the terms of which were:—

'That this meeting approves of the action of the ex-Political Secretary in having resigned office on becoming an official of a Party Suffrage Society, and considers that this should form a precedent for all officials of the League in future.'

After considerable discussion, this was carried by a large majority. As the hour was too late for the remaining item on the agenda, inviting a general discussion as to the best methods of furthering the objects of the League, it was then moved by Mr. Goulden, and seconded, that the meeting be adjourned. This was carried, and the meeting adjourned accordingly.

TREASURER'S NOTE.

The Hon. Treasurer urgently appeals to members to assist the League by *donations* and the *prompt payment of subscriptions due*. The establishment during the present year of many branches in the provinces has been a serious drain on our finances, but the Committee hope that the work done in this direction will in time amply repay the expenditure incurred on it by tapping centres of enthusiasm hitherto neglected. A handy membership form has just been prepared, and can be had on application to the Hon. Secretary. If every member of the League would undertake to enrol but one new member the Treasurer would soon be relieved of his anxieties. The following subscriptions and donations have been received since the last issue of the monthly paper:—

£ s. d.		£ s. d.	
F. Fleming Baxter ..	2 0 0	W. R. Snow ..	2 2 0
L. H. C. Shuttleworth ..	0 5 0	R. G. Snow ..	1 1 0
Fredk. Smith ..	0 2 6	J. C. Snow ..	1 1 0
D. R. Hughes ..	0 1 0	A. Snow ..	0 10 0
Capt. Chalmers ..	0 10 0	F. R. Cana ..	0 2 6
H. W. Dickinson ..	0 5 0	Dr. A. D. Macpherson ..	0 2 6
A. W. Pollard ..	0 2 6	A. H. J. King ..	0 1 0
W. Mirrlees ..	0 10 0	Mrs. Leslie Thompson ..	0 10 0
F. M. Mather ..	0 2 6	J. Y. Kennedy ..	0 12 0
Alfred Wright ..	1 1 0	J. M. Oliver ..	0 2 6
Anon. ..	0 1 0	G. H. G. Mower ..	0 2 6
A. C. Bick ..	0 1 0	J. A. Price ..	0 1 0
W. Laurence Bradbury ..	1 1 0	V. Prout ..	0 2 6
E. Snowden ..	0 5 0	H. Krauss Nield ..	0 2 6
H. Hersey ..	0 2 6	S. Holman ..	0 2 6
Walter Jerrold ..	0 5 0	J. F. Allcock ..	0 1 0
H. Sharratt ..	0 10 0	P. Holman ..	0 2 6
Ebenezer Howard ..	0 2 6	A. Roper ..	0 1 0
Rev. J. A. Douglas ..	0 1 0	A. J. C. Ewen ..	0 2 6
C. F. Prangnell ..	0 1 0	J. L. Booth ..	0 2 6