

# Men's League for Women's Suffrage.

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

CHAIRMAN : Herbert Jacobs.  
HON. SEC. : J. Malcolm Mitchell.  
PROPAGANDA SEC. : F. Witty.

MONTHLY PAPER.



PRESIDENT :

The Right Hon. the EARL OF LYTTON.

TELEPHONE : 4276 Victoria.

HON. TREAS. : { Herbert Jacobs.  
Regd. H. Pott.

FINANCE SEC. : A. W. G. Jamrach

No. 23.

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

AUGUST, 1911.

## THE SITUATION.

THE most important event for our readers this month is the decision of the Men's League at the Special General Meeting on the 21st of July to suspend the anti-Government policy. The resolution moved on the recommendation of the Executive was passed unanimously. A full report is given in another column.

At the same meeting the Earl of Lytton made his first appearance as President of the League, and delivered an interesting and eloquent speech on the present situation, a report of which we publish.

We are glad that Liberal members of Parliament are now among the speakers for the Women's Social and Political Union. Mr. Ponsonby, Sir Alfred Mond, and Mr. Roch have addressed meetings at the Pavilion this month. We may add that Sir Alfred Mond has become a Vice-President of our League.

We have taken part in the Bethnal Green election. Of the candidates Mr. Hoffgaard, the Conservative, declared himself in favour of the Conciliation Bill and against any wrecking amendments. Mr. Masterman, the Liberal, also promised to support the Conciliation Bill, but he would not pledge himself not to extend its scope. In other words, he is willing to vote for amendments which will practically wreck the Bill. He also repeated the mischievous fable that the Bill is one to enfranchise property, when in fact the Bill omits the freehold and occupation franchises, and only gives the vote to women who are genuine householders. Consequently, we opposed Mr. Masterman, and we may congratulate ourselves on having reduced his majority. Many of our members worked and spoke at Bethnal Green. Among these we may mention Messrs. Rogers, Kennedy, Jamrach, Nevinson, and Pott. Their labours were not wasted. The Bethnal Green people were both interested in and sympathetic to our cause.

The Executive Committee has resolved that copies of the various lists received from the clerks of the corporations and other local bodies which supported the Women's Suffrage Bill be prepared and offered to the leading suffrage societies.

## THE LEAGUE'S POLICY.

### SPECIAL GENERAL MEETING.

THE specific statement made by the Prime Minister, following upon and corroborating Sir Edward Grey's promise at the National Liberal Club, regarding facilities for the Conciliation Bill next session, led to the assembling of members of the League at the Holborn Restaurant on Friday, July 21st.

Mr. Herbert Jacobs presided over a comparatively small attendance, and moved officially on behalf of the Executive Committee the following resolution :—

“That the Government having promised facilities for Women's Suffrage during next session, the policy directed by the resolution dated September 23rd, 1910, be suspended, unless the Committee for special reasons think it advisable to recur to it.”

In explanation of the modified policy therein recommended the Chairman briefly set forth the series of events which had brought about the change in situation since the adoption of the anti-Government policy in September, 1910. He traced the gradual improvement through Mr. Lloyd George's original vague statement and Sir Edward Grey's explanation at the National Liberal Club to the explicit promise made by Mr. Asquith in his letter to our President, the Earl of Lytton. In support of the suspension of anti-Government operations recommended in the resolution, he pointed out that the Committee's point of view was completely in accord with that of the two chief anti-Government societies. Letters had been received from various members of the League applauding the proposed policy, and several prominent men whose connexion with the League had been slackened or actually severed by the old policy had intimated their desire to resume active co-operation in the event of the new policy being adopted. He added that the resolution had the unanimous approval of the Executive.

The resolution was formally seconded by the Honorary Secretary, Mr. J. M. Mitchell, who communicated the substance of a letter from the Honorary Secretary of the Bournemouth Branch, Mr. W. R. Hull, strongly commending the change.

The discussion was opened by Mr. Theodore Gugenheim, who, while supporting the resolution, drew attention in a very emphatic speech to the meeting of Liberal members on the previous day at which Mr. Lloyd George made a lengthy speech in support of a democratic measure. The Chancellor of the Exchequer was evidently seeking to establish at the earliest moment the highly discreditable proposition that the Prime Minister's promise for facilities was for a Suffrage Bill not the Bill. He had the effrontery to promise his support for a “democratic” Bill, and to urge his friends in the absence of such a Bill to amend any other Bill in a “democratic” direction. As a

minister of the Crown he was utterly unjustified in seeking thus to pervert a specific Government promise for the Conciliation Bill.

Mr. J. Y. Kennedy having asked for detailed information as to the meeting, and the report given by *The Daily News* having been read, Dr. Drysdale echoed Mr. Gugenheim's warning, and Mr. Kennedy quoted a most unsatisfactory report of the meeting which he had received from a good authority. It appeared that Mr. Lloyd George had done everything in his power to prejudice our Bill.

Mr. Nevinson then reassured the meeting in so far as the Chancellor's action was not a new feature in the situation. We had always known precisely where the danger lay, and the Chancellor's meeting was rather gratifying to us than the reverse, since in a "packed" Liberal gathering Mr. George had not ventured to put a resolution. Mr. Brailsford, who arrived while Mr. Nevinson was speaking, corroborated his statement in all respects, and added that we might regard the Liberal meeting with serenity since Mr. George had for the second time failed to make his point against our Bill even in a meeting specially convened for the purpose, to which a number of our best Liberal friends were deliberately not invited. There could be no question that no Bill other than the Conciliation Bill could command general support in the House, and the Government, by written pledges, had irrevocably committed itself to giving facilities for the Conciliation Bill and for none other.

Our President, the Earl of Lytton, having arrived, the Committee's resolution was put and carried unanimously, and Mr. Jacobs, amid loud applause, invited Lord Lytton to make his first speech as President of the League. This speech is reported in an adjoining column.

Subsequently the Honorary Secretary made a statement on behalf of the Honorary Treasurers, who desired to remind members that our greatly increased work is accompanied by a proportionate increase in expenditure. In the last year our salary list has risen from £1 10s. per week to £5 10s., while postage, printing, and stationery have become a very serious item during the big canvassing campaign carried on during spring and summer.

The meeting concluded with a discussion, initiated by Mr. Nevinson, as to our immediate propaganda, and it was decided that we should make a beginning in the Bethnal Green campaign. Mr. Masterman, though a professed Suffragist, has given no assistance to the Conciliation Committee, which he professes to regard as undemocratic. A letter addressed to him from the office had elicited no reply.

Mr. Gugenheim, Mr. Yaldwyn, and others subsequently spoke on the need for further speakers for our open-air work.

### TREASURER'S REPORT.

By sheer hard work £78 6s. 6d. has been gathered in to the coffers of the League this month.

This, at least, is a great improvement, but it is not enough.

The expenses of our offices are £10 15s. per week at the very lowest, and this month, it will be remembered, we have had to circularize our members on two occasions for special purposes.

This postage has run into big money, and the consequence is we have little left to carry on with during August, a month when little comes in.

The dignity of the Men's League demands that we should have a better bank balance to draw on, and not be driven to exist from hand to mouth.

It is therefore proposed that, as we have now begun our large propaganda work for the next twelve months, we should start a £1,000 fund to carry it through.

With this object we appeal earnestly alike to every member who has and who has not sent in his subscription to stretch a point and send us a cheque for as large an amount as he can afford immediately.

Saying at the same time what he hopes to be able to send us month by month, as others have and are doing.

Such hopes are in no way binding, of course, but they are a great encouragement to the office.

It would be a great step if more members would follow the example of Mr. J. Gordon Stanier of Swindon, Wilts, who is for

the moment staying at Berwick-on-Tweed. He has found us several new members this month.

Another member has found us five, another three, and so forth. Surely many could find one new member apiece if we supply gratis the attractive membership forms beginning "Is it true?" (specially worded by men for men), they to supply a small amount of effort in obtaining a new member.

It can hardly be called effort; in many cases it is more the will to do it, the putting in of a word in season, and the handing out of a membership form, even if nothing comes of it at first request.

A. W. G. JAMRACH, Finance Secretary.

New Members.

	£	s.	d.
Frank Sproson ..	0	1	0
W. L. Hallward ..	0	5	0
Frank Evershed ..	0	2	6
W. Webbe ..	1	1	0
C. A. Claremont ..	0	5	0
Eric A. Constable ..	0	2	6
Wm. A. Constable ..	0	1	0
John Bishop ..	0	1	0
E. A. Lewis-Lloyd ..	0	2	6
Hugh Riviere ..	0	2	6
J. Young Hunter ..	0	2	6
Mostafa Hammonda ..	0	2	6
Dr. Harry Roberts ..	0	2	6
A. T. Stow ..	0	1	0
R. Y. B. Hyslop ..	0	5	0
W. Baine Dickinson ..	0	1	0
Herbert How ..	0	2	6
J. Gordon Allen ..	0	1	0
Kenneth B. Allen ..	0	1	0
Sydney W. Phelps ..	0	1	0
C. Evelyn George ..	0	1	0
H. Rolleston Stables ..	0	5	0
E. N. Cox ..	0	2	6
Arthur Jessett ..	0	2	6
M. G. Kramer ..	0	3	0
H. S. Davies Colley ..	0	10	0
J. Paterson ..	0	5	0
M. E. Dalby ..	0	2	6
	£4	15	6

Annual Subscriptions.

Rev. Alan Greenwall ..	0	10	6
G. T. Lucas ..	0	4	0
The Ven. Archdeacon Miller ..	0	10	6

Monthly Subscriptions (each for 12 months).

G. H. Hooper ..	0	1	9
F. Stanton Barnes ..	0	1	0
S. R. Daniel ..	0	1	0
J. L. Cather ..	0	10	0
J. Malcolm Mitchell ..	0	2	6
E. Richmond ..	0	2	6
J. Y. Kennedy ..	0	4	0
J. C. ..	0	5	0
A. W. G. Jamrach ..	0	4	0
Dr. Drysdale ..	1	0	0
Theo. Gugenheim ..	0	4	6
	£2	16	3

July money received.

New Members ..	4	15	6
Annual Subscriptions ..	35	4	0
Donations ..	32	4	6
Monthly Subscriptions ..	2	16	3
Advertisement in Monthly Paper ..	1	15	0
Literature Sales ..	1	11	3
Total ..	£78	6	6

### THE EARL OF LYTTON ON THE PRESENT SITUATION.

SPEAKING at the Special General Meeting described in this issue, our President gave an illuminating summary of the present position of the Suffrage cause in Parliament. He began with the fundamental fact that if all who supported the Second Reading of the Conciliation Bill cared only for the cause they profess to champion its immediate progress to the statute book would present no difficulty. Now, however, Mr. Lloyd George proposes to ignore all that has been done in the last two Sessions, and promises vigorous support to a new Bill. This promise came rather late in the day, and was given in the interests of a proposal which least of all commanded general support in the House.

#### CONCILIATION BILL A PRACTICAL COMPROMISE.

The Conciliation Bill had a unique history among Women's Suffrage proposals. It was a compact or compromise which aimed at a definite practical solution and represented the highest common measure of agreement between Suffragists of all parties. In consequence it had achieved unique success in the House of Commons and in the country. Twice it had received the emphatic approbation of the House on Second Reading; it had received two days of Government time; finally it had extracted a specific promise from the Prime Minister for next year. And now certain Liberals, led by Mr. Lloyd George, invite us to begin all over again with a Bill which can have no possible chance in the present state of parties.

#### ON MR. LLOYD GEORGE.

There is a great deal of humbug in politics. Men have become used to it, and recognize it as a matter of course. He doubted whether women would be so easily satisfied. As regards Mr. Lloyd George's little meeting, he would treat it with the contempt which Dante expressed in the words "Don't waste time any longer—look and pass on."

#### THE INSURANCE BILL.

For the important work of the next few months, the Insurance Bill had provided a new and powerful weapon. Some of its provisions could not have been introduced had women been upon the electoral roll, inasmuch as they imposed upon women in some cases equal contributions with smaller benefits. Large classes of women workers are treated as dependents, living as they do in other persons' houses (e.g., domestic servants, barmaids), while a woman forfeits benefits upon marriage. It was for this Insurance Bill that the Conciliation Bill was postponed: it lies with us to show how voteless women are, or may be, treated by the legislature.

#### CONCLUSION.

In conclusion, the noble Lord referred to the pride and pleasure with which he had, after consideration, accepted the Presidency of the Men's League—his first connexion with any purely Suffrage society. In doing so he felt that the cause of Women's Suffrage had an even stronger appeal for men than for women, just as in all departments of life work done from a disinterested point of view on behalf of others offered a higher satisfaction in its accomplishment. Men who had striven towards the enfranchisement of women felt that it involved the improvement of public life generally and legislation more adequate for the nation's welfare. It was to many men a sacred cause, and such men were linked together by the great bond of self-sacrifice in a cause from which there could be no turning back.

The President's first address to the League was received with great enthusiasm, and the applause was renewed when Mr. Laurence Housman was called upon by the Chairman to welcome Lord Lytton on behalf of the Committee. Mr. Housman congratulated the League on its first President, one of those who put Women's Suffrage first in his political creed. The Government, though Suffragists were not even now very keen upon it, was no longer a bar. The position was hopeful, though dangerous, and he strongly appealed for energetic work. For his own part he laid special stress upon the Tax Resistance movement.

### THE WOMAN AND THE LATCHKEY.

(To the Editor of *The Daily News*.)

SIR,—I must hasten to rob Mr. Holford Knight of the promising mare's nest which he revealed to you yesterday. His case seems to be that because a decision rendered last week by the Court of Appeal has shaken the position of the latchkey voter, Suffragists must "rewrite their pamphlets and revise their calculations." The answer is very simple. The latchkey voter was first heard of in the *Kent v. Fittall* judgment in 1905. His claim was not secured till 1906. It was only in 1907 that a registration order directed landlords to make a return of tenants enfranchised as householders by this decision. In other words, this new class of householder voters has enjoyed a somewhat precarious existence, subject always to the individual caprice of Revising Barristers, from 1906 or 1907 down to the present year. Now the calculations to which Mr. Holford Knight refers were made in 1904. It was in that year that the I.L.P. found, after a canvass in fifty places, that 82 per cent of the women on the municipal register belong to the working class, that the Women's Co-operative Guild (after a less extensive inquiry) put forward the still higher percentage of 91, and Mr. Gerrey, the Liberal agent of Bolton, ascertained that 90 per cent of the women voters in his town were working women. All these figures, in short, were reached before the recognition of the "latchkey" householder. If the law has now gone back to the position which existed before 1907, our figures are still valid. If Mr. Knight will make inquiry (as I have done) from agents and revising barristers they will tell him, I believe, that women nowhere, even between 1907 and 1911, derived much advantage from the *Kent v. Fittall* judgment. Its application to the municipal voter was never generally accepted. The woman who inhabits a room or two in a tenement house will still be entitled to the vote, and her claim becomes doubtful only where the landlord resides on the premises. That was the position in 1904 when the canvasses to which Mr. Knight refers were carried out.

May I say in conclusion how deeply indebted Suffragists are to Mr. Chesterton and Mr. Knight for their opposition? When such vehement opponents of the whole principle of Women's Suffrage join the camp of those who are trying to extend our Bill, it is sufficiently obvious that they do so only because they believe that the wider Bill has no chance in the immediate future of becoming law.

H. N. BRAILSFORD.

32, Well Walk, N.W., July 29.

### OPEN-AIR CAMPAIGN.

FOR the third year in succession the Men's League has undertaken an active campaign in the London parks and open spaces, and the efforts of the speakers have been attended with very considerable success. Large and sometimes enthusiastic audiences have been addressed, and no one in the crowd could have complained that his questions were not fully and courteously answered. Every aspect of the question has been dealt with by speakers, the Conciliation Bill necessarily taking the place of honour in the various speeches, and although the misrepresentation of the measure by the Press is noticeable in the attitude of the crowd, little difficulty is usually experienced in making the position clear.

Unfortunately this useful and necessary work is hampered, and that seriously, by want of assistance from members. It cannot be too strongly impressed upon members of the League that upon the next year's work does the success of our campaign and the passage of the Bill depend. Sir Edward Grey's advice to "Concentrate on 1911" must be carried out—to quote Mr. Asquith, "in the spirit and in the letter." Our one and only need is speakers and workers during the months when open-air work is a possibility, and we trust that in the next few days the office will receive more offers of help. Our old and valuable friends Messrs. Duval, Simpson, and Kennedy are at present almost the only men we can depend upon, and besides the

injustice of this, the serious over-work of our tried speakers is an unpleasant contingency to contemplate. This appeal is not made merely in the interests of the League, but on behalf of a cause which men have altogether neglected in the past, and a generous response is hoped for. Th. G.

THERE will not be a meeting in Hyde Park on Sunday, August 6th.

Will members, willing to address out-door meetings, please communicate at once with the propaganda Secretary at the office?

### MEETINGS ADDRESSED BY MEMBERS OF THE M.L.W.S.

JULY 2.	Hyde Park, M.L.W.S.	T. Gugenheim, J. Simpson.
" 3.	Upper Norwood, W.F.L.	J. Y. Kennedy.
" 3.	West Ham, N.U.W.S.S.	T. G. Rogers.
" 4.	Eastbourne, N.U.W.S.S.	Laurence Housman.
" 5.	West Ham, N.U.W.S.S.	T. G. Rogers.
" 6.	Kensington, Catholic W.S.S.	Joseph Clayton.
" 7.	Sutton, N.U.W.S.S.	J. Y. Kennedy.
" 8.	Tufnell Park, W.S.P.U.	A. Mackinlay.
" 9.	Hyde Park, M.L.W.S.	J. Y. Kennedy, J. Simpson, T. Gugenheim.
" 10.	Cambridge, N.U.W.S.S.	E. Vulliamy.
" 11.	Wimbledon, N.U.W.S.S.	J. Y. Kennedy.
" 12.	St. Neots, N.U.W.S.S.	E. Vulliamy.
" 13.	Woking, N.U.W.S.S.	J. Y. Kennedy.
" 14.	Epsom, N.U.W.S.S.	A. Mackinlay.
" 14.	East Ham, Free Church L.	T. G. Rogers.
" 15.	Muswell Hill, London Socy.	T. Gugenheim.
" 15.	Redhill, W.S.P.U.	E. Richmond, R. H. Pott.
" 15.	Woking, N.U.W.S.S.	A. Mackinlay.
" 16.	Hyde Park, M.L.W.S.	J. Y. Kennedy, T. Gugenheim, J. Simpson.
" 18.	Hyde Park, W.F.L.	Dr. C. V. Drysdale.
" 20.	Cambridge, N.U.W.S.S.	W. Mirrlees.
" 20.	Epsom, N.U.W.S.S.	T. Gugenheim.
" 22.	Dorking, W.S.P.U.	E. Richmond.
" 22.	Finchley, N.U.W.S.S.	T. G. Rogers.
" 22.	Childs Hill, W.S.P.U.	J. Y. Kennedy.
" 23.	Hyde Park, M.L.W.S.	T. Gugenheim, Dr. C. V. Drysdale.
" 23.	Ealing, W.S.P.U.	J. Y. Kennedy, A. Mackinlay
" 23.	Hyde Park, W.F.L.	Dr. C. V. Drysdale.
" 25.	Victoria Park, W.F.L.	A. Mackinlay.
" 25.	Cambridge, N.U.W.S.S.	W. Mirrlees.
" 25.	Melbury Road, W.S.P.U.	Laurence Housman.
" 25.	Burgess Hill (Debate) N.U.W.S.S.	T. Gugenheim.
" 26.	Bethnal Green, N.U.W.S.S.	T. G. Rogers.
" 26.	Bethnal Green, N.U.W.S.S.	J. Y. Kennedy.
" 26.	Bethnal Green, W.F.L.	A. W. G. Jamrach.
" 27.	Purley, W.S.P.U.	C. Yaldwyn.
" 27.	Bethnal Green, N.U.W.S.S.	T. G. Rogers.
" 28.	Bethnal Green, W.F.L.	A. W. G. Jamrach.
" 28.	Bethnal Green	H. W. Nevinston.
" 28.	Bethnal Green, W.F.L.	A. W. G. Jamrach.
" 28.	Bethnal Green, N.U.W.S.S.	J. Y. Kennedy.
" 28.	Bethnal Green, W.F.L.	R. H. Pott, Mr. Jouning.
" 28.	Barnet, W.S.P.U.	Laurence Housman, F. N. Sargeant.
" 29.	West Croydon, W.S.P.U.	C. Yaldwyn.
" 29.	Kilburn, W.S.P.U.	E. G. Clayton.
" 29.	Guildford (Debate), N.U.W.S.S.	A. Mackinlay.
" 30.	Godalming, N.U.W.S.S.	J. Simpson.
" 30.	Hyde Park, W.F.L.	J. Y. Kennedy.
" 30.	Ealing, W.S.P.U.	E. G. Clayton.
" 30.	Hyde Park, M.L.W.S.	T. Gugenheim, J. Simpson.

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 MACKINLAY, Builder and Decorator, 12, Fortnam Road, Holloway, N.—[ADVT.]

## THE UNDER-MAN.

A NEW NOVEL.

By JOSEPH CLAYTON. 6s.

"There is little of merit and less of attractiveness in this very unconvincing story." *Liverpool Daily Post.*

"Mr. Clayton has given us a moving narrative, full of human knowledge and human sympathy, touched also with heroism. He 'knows' things, and even when most diffuse he grips."—*Sunday Times.*

"The novel is unsatisfactory, and fails to grip the attention."—*Outlook.*

"The story is one that grips, and Mr. Clayton is to be congratulated on a fine achievement."—*Morning Post.*

"There is a forcible simplicity without any bitterness in this study. Mr. Clayton knows and genuinely likes the working man without idealising him...and while his sympathies are with trade unions and against employers, there is unusual moderation and restraint in his writings."—*Observer.*

"Neither the author nor his characters pay the slightest attention to the fact that industrial concerns must be governed by the laws of economics."—*Spectator.*

"It well deserves reading, and the close of it is an excellent piece of character drama." *Times.*

"Mr. Clayton lacks the psychological touch which makes a character live." *English Review.*

"It reads more like a chapter of real life than a mere romance."—*Evening Standard.*

"Mr. Clayton's artistic skill does not show to advantage in the artless structure of his tale...but we listen with respect to his description of working-class ethics."—*Nation.*

"A grim, poignant story, at times powerfully told, and always imbued with the author's knowledge of and sympathy with human nature."—*Globe.*

From the Publisher,

Mr. MARTIN SECKER, 5, John Street, Adelphi, W.C.  
And all Booksellers.

Or from THE MEN'S LEAGUE FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE,  
159, St. Stephen's House, Westminster.  
4s. 6d. post free.

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.

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