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Men's League for Women's Suffrage

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Monthly Paper.

President: THE RT. HON. THE EARL OF LYTTON. Chairman: HERBERT JACOBS. Hon. Treas.: REGD. H. POTT. Hon. Political Sec.: J. M. MITCHELL. Assistant Organiser: R. de MARIA. Oct., 1912

A WORLD-WIDE MOVEMENT.

Men's International Alliance for Woman Suffrage.

First Congress. London, Oct. 23-29.

EVERY SUFFRAGIST IN ENGLAND is urged to take part

(See page 151).

EDITORIAL NOTES.

"THE AGE OF CHIVALRY."

No merely verbal comment seems adequate upon the scenes organised by Mr. Lloyd George's admirers in his native village. It was a practice in the greater days of the Inquisition for a more than usually loyal town to arrange an *auto da fe* when the Most Catholic Monarch was pleased to visit it. It was said, too, of James II., when Duke of York, that he expected a boot or thumbscrew exhibition for his pleasure when he visited Edinburgh. To do honour to Mr. Lloyd George the appropriate form of sport is apparently a suffragette hunt. Some day, one supposes, a competent scholar will undertake to add some modern volumes to Lecky's "History of European Morals." A precise account of the early twentieth century practice of subjecting three or four women to the rage of a male mob, to have their hair torn out, to be beaten with fists and sticks, kicked, stripped of the waist and indecently assaulted, will figure among the more startling examples of the degradation that underlies the partial civilisation of our period. The more honourable of the Liberal papers, notably the "Nation," have spoken frankly enough of this "disgrace to Welsh Liberalism." For my part, I feel that the indictment should have been more personal. This scene was only by a few degrees worse than those which have attended most of the Chancellor's public appearances for some years past. On every occasion he has contributed some jest or taunt or libel which was in effect an incitement to violence, and never until this last affair has he troubled to utter even a perfunctory injunction to decent behaviour. Let who will believe that this great crowd, which came together only to pay homage to Mr. Lloyd George, would have organised and executed its brutalities if he had chosen either in public or in private to command decency in accents which carried conviction. Such scenes, until men who respect themselves have learned to organise themselves on behalf of women, are rapidly making a sentiment which will corrode the whole relation-

ship of men and women for long years to come. It lies with us of the Men's League to redouble our zeal if we are to check this inevitable bitterness.

"PUTTING BACK THE CAUSE."

Mr. Lloyd George's remark that the four women who interrupted him "had put back their cause for years" exceeds in effrontery even his later remarks about the "chivalry" of our public life. That these methods of agitation are very far from advancing the women's cause is a criticism which any suffragist save Mr. Lloyd George may have a right to make. He is the one man who is debarred from making that complaint. A year ago the prospect was fair. There was unity among the suffrage forces. A truce from the rebellious methods of militancy reigned unbroken, and had lasted, save for one brief outbreak, through two years. Nothing was wanting to assure victory to the methods of persuasion and conciliation. It was then that Mr. Lloyd George came forward, as he himself boasted, to "torpedo the Conciliation Bill." One need not speculate whether, as is quite probable, he did at that moment sincerely intend that his own rival plan of conferring the vote should succeed. Nor need one discuss whether, as I incline to think, success would have been assured to it if the whole suffrage movement had decided that its wiser course was to make the utmost use of the new opportunity. The fact remains that it was the act, a confessedly hostile act, of Mr. Lloyd George which broke the truce, revived militancy, and ruined the hope of a solution by the tactics of conciliation on which the whole movement had embarked. It is a still more damning fact that with the successful launching of his torpedo the Chancellor's interest in women's suffrage apparently ceased. His contribution has been to frustrate the arduous work and patient self-control of two difficult years. With that achievement he appears to be content. He allowed the second reading of the Manhood Suffrage Bill to pass without a word. He listened in silence while the Prime Minister predicted for his colleague's scheme the fate which had befallen ours. He opens his mouth in the country only to announce that the prospect of victory has receded for many years. A man who makes such a prophecy is doing his utmost to bring about the misfortune which he affects to regret. He launched his torpedo at the "conciliation" barque, and now he is scuttling his own ship.

AFTER HONOUR—SEATS.

There is fortunately a penalty for such dishonour, and the suffrage movement is abundantly proving its vitality. It has owed nothing of value to Cabinet Ministers, with the single exception of Sir Edward Grey, and it can survive their silence and their pessimism. The result, first of Crewe and now of Midlothian, has proved the value of the gallant fighting policy adopted by the National Union in the hour of a

momentary defeat. It is doubtful whether Crewe could have been fought at all (it certainly could not have been effectively fought) without their aid. Their share in the Midlothian campaign has been acknowledged in ungrudging terms, first by the *Labour Leader* and then by Mr. Peters, the chief agent of the Labour Party, who has in a published letter attributed to their work no small part of the result. The fire and enthusiasm, allied with skill and patience in the dull work of organisation, which Miss Margaret Robertson and her staff bring with them into these contests would account for much more than the narrow margin by which the Liberal candidate was defeated. It is to the steady continuance of such defeats that the Liberal managers must look forward if they desire to repeat, with Irish aid, the manœuvre by which the Conciliation Bill was defeated. Liberalism in its whole handling of this women's question has lost its honour. It is now losing seats.

THE LOCAL PARLIAMENTS.

Mr. Churchill's curiously maladroit speech on devolution reminds us once more of the importance of the amendment which Mr. Snowden has tabled to the Home Rule Bill. One is not quite sure whether Mr. Churchill intended by this speech to revive devolution or to kill Home Rule. But from our point of view this at least is clear: the grandiose design of conferring legislative assemblies on Scotland and Wales, and in some shape on England, must still be treated as a living issue in politics. If these local Parliaments are even to approximate to the Irish model in their scope, then it is of the first importance for women to secure their share in the electorate which will return them. It will be these chambers, and not the Imperial Parliament, which will deal with most of the economic and social issues in which women's interests are vitally engaged. The Home Rule Bill, in short, is a pattern on which other bodies may soon be formed. In that case, in insisting that women shall be qualified as Irish electors, Mr. Snowden is fighting to-morrow's battle for English, Scottish, and Welsh women also. It is no remote or secondary issue, but one which may govern our national life for years to come. The cause of Irish women is emphatically the cause of every suffragist.

H. N. BRAILSFORD.

LITERATURE.

"THE MEN'S LEAGUE HANDBOOK ON WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE."

All members of the Men's League, as well as those who are anxious to increase the usefulness of the League, will welcome the publication of the "Handbook" on women's suffrage, which will be issued on October 23, with special reference to the (so-called) Reform Bill.

The "Handbook" is by far the most ambitious publication issued by the Men's League. It is intended for the information of the public, and to assist Members of Parliament in their consideration of the amendments to the Reform Bill.

It will consist of approximately 128 pages, and the cost will be only 6d. per copy (postage extra).

THE CONTRIBUTORS.

There is no need to do more than give a list of those who have promised to contribute chapters. It is obvious that, however excellent may be the literature published from time to time by suffrage societies, there comes a time when a general summary is required. The "Handbook" provides such a summary.

The chapters as follows:—

- The Political Situation
- The Procedure of the Reform Bill
- The Adult Amendment
- The "Norwegian" Amendment
- The "Conciliation" Amendment
- The Home Rule Amendment.....
- The Case for Women's Suffrage
- The Constitutional Policy
- Attitude of Liberal Women

- THE EARL OF LYTTON.
- LORD ROBERT CECIL, K.C., M.P.
- ARTHUR HENDERSON, M.P.
- H. N. BRAILSFORD.
- PHILIP SNOWDEN, M.P.
- R. F. CHOLMELEY, M.A.
- MRS. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.
- MRS. F. D. ACLAND.

- The Imperial Issue
- The Colonial Question
- The Religious and Moral Issues...
- The Economic Question
- The Case for the Industrial Women
- Mr. Asquith's Speech Answered...
- The Physical Force Fallacy.....
- Appendix: Facts and Figures.

It is of the utmost importance that this "Handbook" should have a wide circulation, and it lies with individual members of the League to give it the publicity which its importance deserves. Special terms will, of course be given to Suffrage Societies.

J.M.M.

THE LABOUR PARTY AND WOMEN SUFFRAGE.

In view of the coming struggle over the Reform Bill, Mr. Geo. Lansbury, M.P., has addressed an important letter to all the Labour and Socialist organisations in the country, a few extracts from which will interest our readers.

Starting with the need of immediate action under the conviction that the Labour and Socialist movement "has the power to end at once a position of affairs which may develop into one of the greatest catastrophes of our times, a Sex War," Mr. Lansbury alludes to the recent deeds of violence "by women as gentle and good as our mothers and wives," and to the forcible feeding at Dublin. "The reason for all this," he says, "is that these women have lost all faith in political parties and the word and pledge of party leaders." He goes on, "a large number still have faith in our Labour movement, and now is the moment to prove our loyalty. We want such an agitation amongst trades unions, branches of the I.L.P. and B.S.P. as will ensure that the Labour party shall at once tell Mr. Asquith that the present Reform Bill must be withdrawn, and a new one including women substituted."

The futility of relying on private members' amendments is then shown, and, he adds, "Unless the Government accede to this demand, the Labour M.P.'s should go into opposition, voting against the Government in one division after another until they agree to grant votes for women, or are defeated."

He points out that as Labour men have obtained the support of women in their movement, so they (the men) should reciprocate and take their stand with them. "The women cannot fight with votes—we can do so," and he concludes by urging his followers to pass a very drastic Resolution (enclosed) in the above sense, and forward it to the Prime Minister, Messrs. Bonar Law, J. R. Macdonald, John Redmond, and their local M.P. This pronouncement is significant and epoch making, and we shall be curious to note the sequel.

S. W.

BRANCH NEWS.

A number of well-attended meetings have been held lately in Bournemouth and district, new members have joined the branch, and interest in the cause has been more than maintained. It is hoped to hold a large indoor meeting shortly, with every prospect of success.

Mr. J. Malcolm Mitchell has lately undertaken a most successful tour in Inverness, a report of which appears on another page. As a result a branch has been formed there under the presidency of Baillie McEwen.

Thirty men have already become members, and so strong is the feeling on the Suffrage question that it is confidently expected that many more will shortly join.

The Congress of the Men's International Alliance has already been brought to the notice of members. On October 26th a day will be spent in Oxford, and the University Branch will hold a reception to the delegates. I feel sure that this will be not the least interesting of what promises to be an historic visit.

The secretary of the Cambridge University Branch informs us that he is making arrangements for a meeting for both graduates and undergraduates in November.

F. N. SARGEANT.

MEN'S INTERNATIONAL ALLIANCE.

FIRST CONGRESS IN LONDON, OCTOBER 23rd—29th.

The arrangements for the first meeting of the Men's International Alliance in London, the preliminary announcement of which appeared in our last issue, are now complete, and it is hoped that our readers will co-operate to make this memorable gathering the success which we all trust it may be, both for our own sakes and for that of our visitors.

THE PROGRAMME.

A glance at the programme (given below) will show that our guests have been catered for in a variety of ways and that there is ample material for spending a very pleasant and profitable week. The fact that we have been fortunate enough to secure our esteemed Vice-President, Sir John Cockburn, K.C.M.G., President of the Alliance, to preside over the opening dinner at the Hotel Cecil; that Earl Russell (another of our Vice-Presidents) has kindly consented to take the chair at our own meeting at the Portman Rooms; and that our President, the Earl of Lytton, will preside at the farewell dinner, is enough of itself to indicate the importance of the proceedings.

In addition to this, Lady Brassey has kindly thrown open her house at Park Lane for a reception on behalf of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, various suffrage societies will receive the delegates on the afternoon of Oct. 28th, and that evening the Women's Freedom League will give a special reception at Caxton Hall; while the International Women's Franchise Club naturally take a leading part in the entertaining by giving a luncheon on the 24th inst. and a farewell dinner on the 29th, besides offering the hospitality of their Club to the delegates and their friends during the entire week. But this by no means exhausts the welcomes which the Committee have prepared for their visitors. On Saturday, 26th inst., a visit to Oxford and a reception has been arranged by the University Branch of the League which we trust will prove both pleasant and instructive; and on the afternoon of Oct. 29th, previous to the last function on the programme, the Parliamentary Joint Campaign Committee will receive the delegates in the House of Commons and shew them round, and afterwards a meeting will be held in the Grand Committee Room of the House at which several well-known Members of Parliament will speak.

MEN'S LEAGUE MEETINGS.

Our own meetings as a League will be the public meeting at the Portman Rooms on Thursday, the 24th inst. (admission by ticket only), presided over by Earl Russell; and one of our usual Hyde

Park meetings on Sunday afternoon, the 26th inst., when doubtless some of our visitors will speak.

Recreation, too, has not been forgotten, and the delegates are invited to attend a matinée of Bernard Shaw's famous comedy, "Fanny's First Play," at the Kingsway Theatre.

The actual business of the Congress will be transacted in the mornings of Thursday and Friday, 24th and 25th, and following Monday, 28th, and the agenda is briefly outlined below; the actual business of these meetings is confined to delegates, but visitors may be present if they desire.

It only remains to add that the necessary expenses attendant on these various proceedings and on the preparations therefore are somewhat heavy. Members are accordingly urged (a) to send contributions to the Entertainment Fund; (b) to purchase tickets for the dinner at the Hotel Cecil, which have been fixed at the low price of 6s. each; and (c) for the public meeting at the Portman Rooms, when speeches will be delivered by the Earl Russell and others, viz., reserved 2s. 6d. and 1s., and a few at 6d. each.

Offers of personal hospitality to the delegates during their stay will be esteemed, and should be made without delay to one of the secretaries.

As many, if not all, of our members have friends who are interested in the Women Suffrage cause, will they give the widest publicity to these proceedings, and so give a stimulus to the movement and bring fresh recruits to our ranks? We shall then be able to report when the Alliance meets at Budapest next year that the seed sown at London has yielded a rich and abundant harvest, and has brought Women Suffrage appreciably nearer to its consummation—"a consummation devoutly to be wished."

THE DELEGATES.

Delegates will be present from all the chief countries, including France, Germany, Sweden, Holland, Belgium, Hungary, and the United States. Among those who we hope will be present are:—Mr. Ernst Beckman, leader of the Liberal Party in the Swedish Upper House, and President of the Swedish Society; Herr Prof. Dirner, of Budapest; Colonel W. A. E. Mansfeldt, of Utrecht, hon. secretary of the Alliance; Mynheer F. W. Kehler, hon. treasurer of the Alliance; M. du Breuil de St. Germain, Paris, of the French Men's League, with M. Le Marin and other French Members of Parliament; Herr Franz Lehnhoff, of Bremen; Herr de Szemere, of Hungary. Many of these gentlemen speak English fluently, and it will be profoundly interesting to hear of the progress of the movement among men of other countries.

Equally interesting will be the presence of many distinguished women, including Madame Martina Kramers, editor of *Jus Suffragii*.

C. V. DRYSDALE.

PROGRAMME OF CONGRESS (Subject to Revision).

Wednesday, October 23	Evening	Reception and Dinner, Hotel Cecil, 7.30 p.m.	Chair—Sir John Cockburn, K.C.M.G.
Thursday, October 24	Morning	Business Meeting, 11 a.m.	
	Afternoon	Luncheon to Delegates, International Franchise Club.	
	Evening	Men's League Meeting, Portman Rooms, 8 p.m.	Chair—The Right Hon. the Earl Russell.
Friday, October 25	Morning	Business Meeting.	
	Afternoon	Theatre Party, "Fanny's First Play," Kingsway Theatre, 2.30 p.m.	
	Evening	Reception by Lady Brassey, 24, Park Lane, on behalf of National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.	
Saturday, October 26	Visit to Oxford and Reception by the University Branch of the Men's League.	
Sunday, October 27	Afternoon	Hyde Park Meeting, Men's League, 3 p.m.	
Monday, October 28	Morning	Business Meeting, 11 a.m.	
	Afternoon	Receptions by various Suffrage Societies.	
	Evening	Reception by Women's Freedom League, Caxton Hall, 8 p.m.	
Tuesday, October 29	Afternoon	Reception by the Parliamentary Joint Campaign Committee in the House of Commons.	
	Evening	Farewell Dinner, International Franchise Club.	Chair—The Right Hon. the Earl of Lytton.

PRINCIPAL BUSINESS AGENDA.

1. To arrange the Constitution of the Men's International Alliance.
2. Representation at Women's International Alliance, Budapest, 1913.
3. Questions of International Propaganda.

SEPTEMBER SPEAKERS' LIST.

Sept. 1	Hyde Park M.L.W.S.	Laurence Housman
" 1	" "	J. Malcolm Mitchell
" 1	" "	Theodor Gugenheim
" 1	" "	Arthur MacKinlay
" 3	Manchester "	Sam Brooks
" 7	" "	Sam Brooks
" 8	Hyde Park "	John Simpson
" 8	" "	David W. Caddick
" 8	" "	Theodor Gugenheim
" 8	Ealing W.S.P.U.	J. Y. Kennedy
" 8	Regent's Park W.S.P.U.	Arthur MacKinlay
" 13	Woking W.S.P.U.	Reginald H. Pott
" 14	Wimbledon "	A. MacKinlay
" 14	Richmond "	E. G. Clayton
" 15	Hyde Park M.L.W.S.	Theodor Gugenheim
" 15	" "	J. Malcolm Mitchell
" 15	" "	John Simpson
" 15	" "	J. Y. Kennedy
" 16	Inverness (Exchange).	J. Malcolm Mitchell
" 16	Southwark L.S.W.S.	F. N. Sargeant
" 17	Inverness M.L.W.S.	J. Malcolm Mitchell
" 17	Manchester N.U.W.S.S.	F. Stanton Barnes
" 18	Chorley Wood W.S.P.U.	Laurence Housman
" 18	Beaulieu M.L.W.S.	J. Malcolm Mitchell
" 19	Inverness " (two meetings)	J. Malcolm Mitchell
" 19	Southwark L.S.W.S.	Dr. C. V. Drysdale
" 19	" "	Lewis W. Phillips
" 19	Manchester N.U.W.S.S.	Sam Brooks
" 19	Brixton W.T.R.L.	Arthur MacKinlay
" 19	Hull N.U.W.S.S.	Sir John Cockburn
" 19	Inverness M.L.W.S.	J. Malcolm Mitchell
" 20	" "	J. Malcolm Mitchell
" 20	Woolwich C.L.W.S.	Rev. F. M. Green
" 20	Stamford Hill W.F.L.	Wilfred Hammond
" 20	" "	Percy A. Hawkins
" 21	Trafalgar Square W.F.L.	John Simpson
" 21	" "	J. Y. Kennedy
" 21	" "	Laurence Housman
" 21	Muswell Hill N.U.W.S.S.	H. G. Chancellor, M.P.
" 22	Hyde Park M.L.W.S.	Theodor Gugenheim
" 22	" "	J. Y. Kennedy
" 22	" "	John Simpson
" 22	" "	D. W. Caddick
" 22	" " W.T.R.L.	Laurence Housman
" 22	" " W.S.P.U.	J. Y. Kennedy
" 23	York N.U.W.S.S.	J. M. Mitchell
" 23	Southwark N.U.W.S.S.	Dr. C. V. Drysdale
" 23	Brixton W.T.R.L.	Laurence Housman
" 23	Ryde N.U.W.S.S.	Dr. Stanton Coit
" 24	Manchester N.U.W.S.S.	F. Stanton Barnes
" 24	Filey "	J. Malcolm Mitchell
" 25	Filey "	" "
" 25	Bexhill M.F.W.S.	Dr. MacPherson
" 26	Caxton Hall W.T.R.L.	Sir John Cockburn
" 26	" "	Herbert Jacobs
" 26	" "	Laurence Housman
" 26	" "	H. G. Chancellor, M.P.
" 26	" "	Dr. C. Mansell Moullin
" 26	" "	Rev. C. F. Williams
" 26	Hull N.U.W.S.S.	J. Malcolm Mitchell
" 27	Reading N.U.W.S.S.	H. G. Chancellor
" 27	" "	J. Malcolm Mitchell
" 28	Ealing W.S.P.U.	Tom Norris
" 29	Hyde Park M.L.W.S.	John Simpson
" 29	" "	D. W. Caddick
" 29	" "	J. Malcolm Mitchell
" 29	" "	Theodor Gugenheim
" 29	" "	J. Y. Kennedy
" 29	Hyde Park W.T.R.	J. Malcolm Mitchell
" 30	Southwark L.S.W.S.	J. Malcolm Mitchell
" 30	Middlesbrough C.L.W.S.	Rev. Claude Hinscliff

THE IMPRISONMENT OF MR. WILKS.

At the monthly meeting of the Executive Committee of the Men's League the following resolution was passed on the motion of Dr. Drysdale, seconded by Mr. J. M. Mitchell:—

"The Executive Committee of the Men's League for Women's Suffrage desires to record its sympathy with Mr. Mark Wilks in his imprisonment, and to point out that this imprisonment is the logical outcome of the law of coverture and of the non-recognition of women as responsible citizens. In the interests, therefore, of men as well as women, it calls for the immediate enfranchisement of women, and for such alteration of the law as shall put women on an equality with men, as regards both the rights and duties of citizenship and responsibility before the law."

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE IN THE HIGHLANDS.

Votes for Women is not altogether a new cry in the Highlands. The National Union have a fairly strong branch in Inverness, and eminent women have from time to time addressed meetings both in Inverness and in the more outlying districts. But hitherto the men's standpoint on this question had not been sufficiently emphasised. This was the more important because Mr. J. Annan Bryce, member for the Inverness Burghs, is a thorough-going "anti," and many of his Liberal followers were apt to think that suffragism and Liberalism were antagonistic terms. The cry that suffragism was a "Tory dodge" had been heard at previous elections. In spite of this many of us were convinced that the working-men of Inverness were sound on this question, and only required to have it pointed out to them to realise how vitally women's suffrage affected them and how much it would assist the economic freedom of both men and women. An invitation was sent to the Men's League to ask if they could send up a speaker, and Mr. J. Malcolm Mitchell agreed to come. With the exception of one evening, when a most successful meeting was held in Beaulieu, the other evenings were devoted to open-air meetings at the Exchange in Inverness, and the operatives of the Rose Street Foundry were also addressed during the dinner hour. Small at first, the meetings gradually increased in size until the last night, when Mr. Mitchell had a capital audience. Mr. Mitchell delighted his hearers with the fairness, the strong common sense, and the deep sincerity of his speeches. He was excellent in his dealing with the economic aspect of the question and its bearing on the wages of the working-classes. At his final meeting he swept away the absurd argument that suffragism was a "Tory dodge," and after showing how the low wages of women were due largely to their political servitude, he made a moving appeal to the men to give to their own women-folk that protection of the vote which they doubly need.

Altogether it was a most successful week. A new interest has been imparted to the subject, and many working men will think about it now who before were apathetic. The "Tory dodge" talk will not be repeated, for Mr. Mitchell is himself a sound Radical. A beginning has been made in the formation of a branch of the Men's League, and it is hoped that it will rapidly increase in membership. Mr. Mitchell left us strengthened and encouraged, and we owe him a debt of gratitude and pleasure which will not soon be forgotten. Many Liberal electors intend to press upon Mr. Bryce their views in regard to the Reform Bill, and it may be hoped that by the time the next election comes a large body of opinion in the North will realise that a Liberalism which does not include the enfranchisement of women is false to the great traditions of the party.

ALEX. N. MAC EWEN.

THE WOMEN'S MARCH.

A body of women is being organised to march from Edinburgh to London, holding meetings and distributing literature on the way, starting on October 12 and reaching London on November 16.

"The Women's March" is a private enterprise unconnected with any Suffrage Society; but all are being appealed to help it forward in every possible way, the motto being "Co-operation and Goodwill."

The route will be practically by the Great North Road—Berwick, Newcastle, Darlington, York, Selby, Doncaster, Grantham, Peterborough, St. Neots, and Hitchin.

Promises of support in the shape of volunteers, funds, speakers, hospitality, etc., should be sent in at once to the hon. organiser, Mrs. de Fonblanque, Dunton, Petworth, or to Miss Margaret E. Byham, Middle Heath, Graffham, Petworth, hon. treasurer and route secretary.

[EDITORIAL NOTE.—We are reluctantly compelled to hold over the list of subscriptions, and an account of the important meeting at the Caxton Hall on behalf of Mr. Mark Wilks, in which six out of the seven speakers were members of the Men's League.]