

# Men's League for Women's Suffrage

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ONE PENNY.

President: THE RIGHT HON. THE  
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Chairman: HERBERT JACOBS. 1913.

## NOTES OF THE MONTH.

There was necessarily nothing new in Mr. Lloyd George's reply to the deputation sent by the Swindon Society of the National Union on the day after his Land Campaign speech. The considerations upon which he laid special stress are precisely those which we have always placed in the forefront of our appeal, and we trust that in the minds of Liberal opponents they will derive special force from his authoritative pronouncement. The party politician will accept from a leader of his party views which he will scorn when advanced by an archangel. Let us, therefore, take every opportunity of quoting Mr. Lloyd George whenever we are confronted by a Liberal heckler.

It is when the Chancellor of the Exchequer passed on to practical points that we find ourselves once more disappointed. He speaks words of encouragement; he speaks of the "growing conviction in favour of suffrage amongst larger masses of the population"; he speaks as "a consistent supporter in spite of all the suspicions to the contrary," and "more of a women's suffragist to-day than I have ever been." He urges us to concentrate on going to the electorate in view of the next General Election, and he very properly compliments the organisers of the Great Pilgrimage. But, after all that has occurred, we are entitled to more than this.

Mr. Lloyd George is the most prominent man in British politics; he has remarkable gifts as an advocate, and can both attract and sway audiences. It is an open secret that he practically forced the Insurance Act upon his colleagues in the Cabinet, many of whom were gravely alarmed by the rapidity with which the measure was prepared and hurried to the statute book. It is he who most of all violates his own expressed principles as regards women, in so far as he taxes us all in his yearly budget, and is now proposing legislation which will intimately affect all women who are directly and indirectly concerned in land tenure and taxation.

Will he not join—nay, lead—the suffrage crusade at the next General Election, and make it quite clear to his present colleagues that unless they consent to place a women's suffrage measure on their official dissolution programme he will absolutely refuse to take office? Let him exact a guarantee for a woman's suffrage measure as a *sine qua non* of the land campaign. We submit to him that such a course would provide the only real

refutation of the doubts which recent events have inevitably thrown upon his *practical* support of the movement.

He is not blind to the grossness of the fiasco of the Reform Bill, wherein the Government and its advisers were shown to be wrong on a fairly elementary question of parliamentary procedure. He confesses—in rather mild language, but frankly—the illogical position of the politicians who abandoned the cause on the excuse of militancy. He handicaps us by threatening opposition to anything that would be "an instalment." He knows that we have been shouldered aside by one important measure after another, and that in future the land and education proposals will take the place of the Insurance Act, the Disestablishment Act, and Home Rule. We say emphatically that unless he stands definitely by our side in the attempt to sweep the electorate, and gives us all the benefit of his personal magnetism and of the machinery which he can so largely control, it will not be possible for any intelligent suffragist to attach any real weight to his professions. He himself would smile if we did.

We have further to congratulate the Northern Men's Federation upon their success in securing an interview with Sir Edward Grey on the occasion of his visit to Berwick. The *Manchester Guardian* and other papers printed a very full report of Sir Edward Grey's reply, from which we can see that he was duly impressed by the importance of the movement among electors. We agree, however, with Miss Margaret Ashton, who, in a letter to the *Manchester Guardian*, expressed the view that the Foreign Secretary's immersion in his official duties seems to have rendered him less than conversant with the suffrage situation. It is impossible to doubt his sincerity as regards our cause, but at the same time it is difficult to understand why such men as he and Mr. Lloyd George do not realise the discreditable position of the Government in reference to the Reform Bill fiasco. If a Government promises to draft a Bill which will satisfy certain requirements and does not do so, that Government is—at the least unintentionally—a defaulter. There is no possible answer to this.

In last month's note upon the N.U. of Women Workers, in the desire not to take sides on the question of the constitution of that society, we conceded too much to Mrs. Humphry Ward. Our point was that, whatever the constitution, or her theory of it, it is utterly vain for Mrs. Ward to expect women to take a practical interest in social and economic questions

without their immediately demanding the Parliamentary vote. Mrs. Fawcett and Mrs. Swanwick point out that even on the technical issue Mrs. Ward is wrong, since the National Union of Women Workers has repeatedly passed resolutions on political issues, and has actually adopted women's suffrage resolutions in the past. We are informed that the secessions threatened by Mrs. Ward have proved inconsiderable.

The officers of the Women's Tax Resistance League ask us to inform our members that the sales of resisters' goods for this year are practically over, and that they are devoting the interval between this year's sales and next to holding meetings with a view to gaining new resisters. We are asked to make known to women who are in a position to resist this means of making a constitutional protest against the continued delay in the granting of the vote to women. Mr. Laurence Houseman is speaking at Dr. Handley Read's drawing-room meeting on November 12, and at the New Constitutional Society on November 18. Miss K. Raleigh, a very old friend of the Men's League, lectures on "The Worship of Athena" (with slides) at Caxton Hall on November 10 at 5.15. It should be remembered that tax resistance is a particularly strong weapon under the present Government, so many of whose supporters adopted the same policy in opposition to the Education Act of 1902.

Sir Henry J. Wood, the famous conductor, has admitted women to his Queen's Hall Orchestra. It is true that for the moment they are only playing "second fiddle," but this is an accident; the essential fact is that he has not admitted them because he wants to save wages. He pays an equal wage for the same post to man and woman alike. Bravo, Sir Henry!

J. M. M.

### LEAGUE SOCIAL MEETING.

A social gathering of the League will be held on Thursday, November 20, at the Arts Centre, 93, Mortimer Street, Langham Place, W., from 8 to 11 p.m.

Admission is free by ticket, to be obtained at the offices of the League or at the door.

Refreshments may be obtained at a moderate charge.

The Committee look forward to this meeting as a means of meeting members, old and new, and of getting new ideas for the winter's work.

F. N. S.

### MEN'S INTERNATIONAL ALLIANCE.

ICELAND.

Mrs. Briet Asmundsson's paper, "Kvennabladid," states the nature of the partial enfranchisement granted to women by the Althing this summer, and, to be sure, she is not full of admiration for her country's legislators. In their great wisdom they would not run the risk of admitting all women to the polls on the same conditions as men, so they set to work to find a limitation, and see what they found: they gave votes to all men of 25 years old, but to women only when they had reached the age of 40, as if women were an inferior sort of people. As a kind of consolation the women under 40 are to share their disfranchised condition with men under 40 who are in domestic service and live in their employers' houses. It is supposed that the King of Denmark will not hesitate to give his royal sanction to this product of well-considered and equitable legislation.

An incorrect translation made at Budapest has been the cause of much misunderstanding about Iceland. When the National W.S. Association was about to appoint its delegates to the Budapest congress, the Government promised them a grant to meet part of the expenses. A Reykjavik paper criticised this action, saying that the money would have been much better spent on the mail boats that convey the mails to Iceland. Some journalist mistook this story, and reported that the Government had appropriated the cost of one mail boat for the expenses of the two delegates. This misstatement made many a suffragist exult at the generosity of the Northern isle which showed its sympathy for woman suffrage by the sacrifice of a mail. An Austrian paper was still more sanguine, and informed its readers that the post office of Reykjavik had been sold to pay Mrs. Asmundsson and her daughter for their function of Government delegates to Budapest. Look how rumour grows!

SWEDEN.

As an important contribution to the investigation begun by the Men's Leagues for Woman Suffrage in their several countries as to the relation of women's wages with women's enfranchisement, we mention the action of the Swedish Socialist Women's Executive. Knowing that in the International Congress at Zürich for the protection of labour there was to come up a proposal to abolish night labour for women only and not for men, they sent a deputation to the Minister of the Interior demanding that Sweden should oppose this plan. "Legislation for women only is no protection, for it only makes the competition fiercer between men and women, and makes the struggle for life harder for women."

Yet the Zürich Congress resolved to recommend the proposed regulation to the different countries, showing once more thereby how the interests of unrepresented groups are mostly neglected by those in power.

AUSTRIA.

The Imperial Senate (Herrenhaus) has adopted the amendment to the Law on Assemblies which grants the right of political association to women as well as to men. It will be remembered that the House of Representatives (Abgeordnetenhaus) passed this amendment last New Year's eve; it now needs only the Imperial sanction to become law.

FINLAND.

In August the elections for the Diet took place. Among the 120 members 21 women were elected—four of the Swedish party, two of the Young-Finnish party, two of the Old-Finnish party, and 13 belonging to the Social Democratic party.

M. K.

### CANVASS OF MUNICIPAL WOMEN VOTERS.

At a special committee held on Friday, October 24, it was resolved to proceed at once with a canvass of the women on the electoral roll of selected districts in London. They will be asked not only to express their opinion on the question, but also to pledge themselves not to support any municipal candidate who is not in favour of the extension of the parliamentary franchise to women.

This decision is based upon the fact that in most cases municipal and parochial politics are run by much the same local machinery. Hence any influence upon local bodies will re-act automatically upon local political associations as a whole. It is intended to begin with a London borough as being most acces-

sible. A post-card canvass will be the first step, and this will be followed by personal canvass in cases where such a course seems desirable.

I shall be glad to have communications on this matter from any who can give useful information or personal assistance. As the preliminary canvass will involve outlay in postage and extra office work, I confidently appeal for financial assistance in order that Mr. Startup's burden in this respect may be removed.

J. M. M.

### SERIES OF ECONOMIC LEAFLETS.

The committee have authorised the preparation of a series of twelve leaflets bearing upon the economic position of women, with special reference to political matters. The Anti-Suffrage contention that votes have no connection with economic status is wholly untenable, and it has been found that where abstract considerations are useless the economic argument is both direct and convincing.

The leaflets will include a general analysis of women's labour conditions and a careful study of women's work in the chief professions and trades. Special attention will be paid to the established facts as regards economic developments where women have received the vote. In all cases the latest official figures will be used, and the deductions will be only such as emerge from the actual data.

I shall be grateful to any friends who will send me specific figures of recent date affecting any branch of industry in which they are especially concerned, together with appropriate comments.

Expert writers, of which a list will be given next month, will contribute the leaflets, which will be issued at a cheap rate for free distribution. The initial cost is guaranteed by our Hon. Treasurer, Mr. Fox-Bourne. The possibility of doing real good depends upon our having sufficient orders to print on a large scale.

J. M. M.

### BRANCH NEWS.

MANCHESTER MEN'S LEAGUE REPORT.

During the past few weeks there have arisen several important matters in which we have taken either the initiative or an active part. In connection with the Trades Union Congress held in Manchester recently an application was made to the Secretary of the Congress for an opportunity to address the delegates on the subject of the franchise. This not being permissible, two or three unions were approached with a view to having a resolution on the franchise submitted to the Conference, and a promise was received from the National Federation of Women Workers that this would be done. Two resolutions were eventually submitted, one instructing the Parliamentary Committee of the Congress to proceed with the drafting of a Bill, to be introduced next year, to extend the franchise to all adults, male and female, and the second protesting against the Prime Minister's failure to redeem his repeated pledges to women, and calling upon the Parliamentary Committee to press for the immediate enactment of a Government Reform Bill, which must include the enfranchisement of women. Both resolutions were passed, the former with only four dissentients and the latter with a substantial majority.

In regard to an explosion which occurred on a railway siding in Manchester, an appeal was sent to the Manchester Town Clerk, the Chairman of the Watch Committee, the lady and other councillors likely to be interested, asking for inquiries to

be instituted concerning the circumstances attending the arrest of the ex-secretary of the W.S.P.U. The procedure of the police in this matter was generally condemned as illegal and malicious, the *Manchester Guardian* characterising it as "scandalously irregular," and "calculated to pervert the ends of justice." The League's action secured the deserved exposure of the police in the Council.

We have arranged to join with the Northern Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage in the holding of a Convention early in December, when it is intended that representatives from all the important Northern towns of Great Britain will formulate a demand to be presented to the Premier that Votes for Women be included in the next King's Speech. Our further action will be decided after receiving the report of our representatives as to the outcome of the Convention's demand.

Propaganda work has been vigorously carried on, and has been considerably facilitated by means of four handy-sized leaflets which we have printed (copies enclosed). These have been and are being discriminatingly distributed by our members, and have already borne fruit by bringing in new members.

One of our members, Mr. Macnamara, of Hale, has rendered good service by having had printed and distributed 3,000 copies of an article by Mr. Blatchford reasoning against the futility of the Government's opposition to the enfranchisement of women.

Our letters to the Press are receiving fair publicity.

### THE CHURCH CONGRESS.

BY A LIBERAL CHURCHMAN.

The recent Church Congress at Southampton will rank among the most important Church Congresses of recent years. No Church Congress in the lifetime of the present generation has so profoundly affected public opinion. In a sense, it may be called the first truly modern Church Congress that has ever met. Theological and ritual controversies were set in the background, and the Church gave itself up to the discussion of the Kingdom of God in relation to the social questions of the day. Not the least impressive phase of this series was the interesting and dignified discourse on the Kingdom of God in relation to the sexes. In this discussion no attempt was made to exclude the Suffrage, and even the militant side of the question was put before the meeting. For this bold course great thanks are due to the Bishop of Winchester. Soon after the subject was announced, Lord Curzon, as leader of the Anti-Suffragists, put considerable pressure on the Bishop to rule out all discussion relating to Female Franchise. We do not say that Lord Curzon's deeds are evil; but it is certainly a fact that Anti-Suffragists love the dark. Their one aim is to avoid the discussion which Suffragists are always demanding.

The result has justified the Bishop's refusal to submit to the insolent demands of the president of the Anti-Suffrage League, and the Church of England may fairly claim to have taught a genuine lesson in Liberalism to the official Liberal party. Of the women speakers Mrs. Luke Paget was among the best. Touching on the position or non-position of women in the councils of the Church, she pointed out that she herself was refused permission to present before the London Diocesan Conference a paper which she had personally prepared. And yet, she added, Hannah Moore gave evidence before a Committee of the House of Commons in 1814. In fairness it should be remembered that women Church members who are also householders do possess the vote for the Ruri-decanal Conferences which elect

the Diocesan Conferences. The fact, however, that women do not possess the Parliamentary vote casts a stigma upon them in regard even to the ecclesiastical and municipal bodies for which they do vote. Excellent speeches were also made by Miss Ruth Rouse and Miss Constance Smith. Some men speakers also did well, among others our old friend, Bishop Welldon, and the Rev. Lewis Donaldson. Bishop Welldon insisted that men cannot always be trusted to do justice to women. The discussion on women's status was followed by the marriage and divorce question, and here our vice-president, the Rev. T. A. Lacey, expounded the views with which the readers of this paper are already familiar.

During the whole of the Congress week the Church League for Women Suffrage did yeoman work, and a brilliant sermon was preached for the cause by Canon Scott Holland. The Antis also ventured on a meeting. The chairman was that well-known Tory, the Dean of Durham, whose Toryism on every political question is as notorious as his pose of a theoretical Liberalism. An M.P. (? Mr. Ward) made himself rather silly by pointing out that girls who go to prison for the Suffrage lessen their chances in the matrimonial market. He was asked what of the chances there of men with bad characters? But perhaps the most striking feature in the Congress was Miss Maude Royden's address to 2,000 men, no women being present, on social purity. It was a bold thing for the Bishop to ask Miss Royden to give this address, but it proved all for the good. Miss Royden's tender appeal for purity was the great event of the Congress week.

### THE WOMAN AS CITIZEN.

In connection with the new L.C.C. institutes a course of lectures on social and economic questions relating to women at home and in the labour market is being given at the Women's Institute in Montem-street, Finsbury Park. There is a regular attendance of between 20 and 30, many of the students being on the staff of the Post Office Savings Department in Finsbury Park. The questions of national and local government have already been fully discussed.

In Germany, under the Imperial Trade Law, "employers are bound to allow their juvenile workers, under 18 years of age, the necessary time for attending a continuation school, and in all States in which the Central Government has not passed a law compelling attendance Local Authorities may make bye-laws for that purpose, and may compel all juvenile workers, *male or female*, within their districts, up to the age of 18, to attend a continuation school unless they are attending some other kind of school which is equivalent to it." (From Mr. Scobell Armstrong's admirable pamphlet on "The Trade Continuation Schools of Germany," published by the Eighty Club.)

The recognition of women's place in society and the stimulation of their civic interest will lead inevitably to an irrepressible demand for political responsibility.

### At the Seaside.

Funny thing, everyone else having a happy idle time; mother alone has her holiday tasks. She wouldn't let father bath the kids now and again on a sweltering August night. He would not know how. That's his artfulness.

### THE NORTHERN MEN'S FEDERATION FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

The Northern Men's Federation is already become a vital fighting force. One week's work in Edinburgh yielded, under the secretaryship of Miss Nannie Brown, the following results:—A big open air meeting in the Liberal Division of South Edinburgh, which was addressed by Mr. T. P. Gordon, an East Fife elector, Mr. Trainer, and Mr. James Brunton.

The following night, Friday, September 19, a meeting was held in the Livingstone Hall, South Edinburgh. Councillor Bruce Lyndsay took the chair, and Mrs. Arncliffe Sennett, Councillors Crawford and Barrie, and Messrs. Gordon and Trainer, and Mrs. Roy Rothwell spoke. Not a single hand went up against the principles of Votes for Women, and on Mrs. Sennett asking the question "Is there a Liberal here who will offer me his vote against the Government?" five men, one after the other, got up and offered to turn their Liberal votes against the Government if need be. Two Labour men offered their Labour votes to either party who would put Women's Suffrage on the party programme.

On Saturday afternoon Mrs. Sennett explained the objects of the Federation at a large meeting held by the Women's Freedom League in Princes Street, and in the evening addressed the dockers in Leith Walk.

On Sunday, September 21, a crowd of about 1,000 assembled in the meadows to hear speeches delivered under the banner of the Federation; Mr. Gilzean, one of the speakers, said he meant to vote only for Women's Suffrage.

A mass meeting will be held in the Synod Hall on November 14. Members of the corporations, including Bailie Alston, J.P., of Glasgow, have promised to attend.

Berwick-on-Tweed, led by the indomitable secretary, Mr. R. K. Gaul, are in communication with Sir Edward Grey, their representative. Votes for Women or no Votes for Sir Edward Grey is Berwick-on-Tweed's motto. (See further on page 221.)

Glasgow is forging ahead! Meetings are being held in Bridgeton, Mr. McCallum Scott's division, and voters are being asked to turn their votes against this "Liberal" representative, who is Secretary of the Parliamentary Committee which opposes the representation of tax-paying women.

Vigorous campaigns will be conducted in all the divisions of those members who, in the words of one of the Scottish Deputation, "Treated the whole matter with levity, and laughed at the Cat and Mouse Bill." Settling day is near!

The Northern men are coming to London for a convention early in December, and it is to be hoped that next Session will see an end of this miserable business or an end of the Government responsible for it.

Under the auspices of the Federation a deputation has been received by the Morpeth Town Council, which has since passed a resolution in favour of Women's Suffrage. At Newcastle a town's meeting has been arranged.

M. ARNCLIFFE SENNETT.

### On the Parade.

Putney paterfamilias sitting on a bench with three grown children staring out at the sea; just out of earshot, the fourth child to Mother: "Mother, aren't we going to do anything but hang about here?" Mother, in an undertone: "Keep your eye on father; then you'll see what we are going to do."