

Men's League for Women's Suffrage

No. 38.

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WESTMINSTER, S.W.
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Monthly Paper.

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Nov., 1912

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IRELAND AND THE FRANCHISE.

THE SNOWDEN AMENDMENT.

While three of the United States were admitting women to citizenship as an incident in the Presidential Election, our House of Commons was occupying itself in refusing the franchise to the women of Ireland. From the moment that the Government determined to depart from its habitual neutrality in matters affecting women's suffrage, the result was a foregone conclusion. Liberals assured their consciences that they could not endanger Home Rule, and very few of them troubled to ask the prior questions why the fate of Home Rule should have been staked on this issue. From the moment that the Liberal whips were put on to tell against the amendment, it became a question of confidence. But why were the Whips put on? If the Government is prepared later in the Session to accept women's suffrage for the United Kingdom on a mandate from the House, what conceivable necessity was there to refuse it in Ireland, if the House had by a majority desired it? It was not the amendment but the Government's partisanship which made a danger for Home Rule.

We need hardly pause to consider the reasons which made it imperative to bring this amendment forward. The House is occupied in devising a Constitution for Ireland, or rather in ratifying by a series of mechanical votes the Constitution which the Government has devised. Home Rule means nothing more nor less than the creation of a Parliament. Here is a challenge which no suffragist could refuse. It would have involved an unpardonable disloyalty to principle to allow a new representative chamber to be set up without an attempt to include women among its electors. The specious plea was put forward that the House will have another

opportunity in January of extending the vote to all the women of the United Kingdom for the Imperial Parliament, and this, if it succeeds, will automatically enfranchise Irishwomen as voters for the Irish Parliament. But the two cases are by no means identical. Even an anti-suffragist, who shrinks from enfranchising women for a sovereign Parliament busied with all those concerns of peace and war, defence and foreign policy, in which he is oddly unable to discern that women have an interest, might very well agree to concede them a vote for a subordinate Parliament busied solely with domestic questions. No one can suggest that the issue whether the sweated linen-workers of Belfast, or the thousands of widows who hold farms under the Land Purchase Acts, should vote under Home Rule, is identical with the question whether women should decide for or against conscription.

THE IRISH VIEW.

While Mr. Birrell was content to argue that the amendment is superfluous, because the same issue will arise again in the Franchise Bill, the Irish spokesmen adopted a much more dangerous line of argument. They urged that the question ought to be left for Irish opinion to decide, and should be settled by the Home Rule Parliament itself. Mr. William Redmond and Mr. Hugh Law went further, and denied that Irish women are ripe for the vote or have made any effective demand for it. There is some truth in this statement, for Irish women have been absorbed in the national question and have only begun to think of their own claims, but a meaner spectacle than the advancing of such a plea by two Irishmen who have always posed as ardent suffragists has rarely been seen even in that House of treachery and pretence. One shrugs one's shoulders at the unfriendliness of this plea, but it is more important to realise its political significance. Listening to these three speeches by the two Redmonds and Mr. Law, one realised what is the centre of the situation. The Irish Party is resolved at all costs that the Home Rule Parliament shall not start with women electors. They dread the disruptive effect of the suffrage on the Liberal Cabinet, but even more, it seems to me, they dread the experiment of enfranchising their own sisters and wives. If that is so, one need not ask how they will vote in January. In order to perpetuate the votelessness of their own women, they must also enforce the subjection of our own. If they mean to insist that the matter shall be reserved for Irish decision their course when the amendments to the Reform Bill are reached is perfectly clear. They must vote against them.

A FREE VOTE.

The whole debate turned in reality on the attitude of the Irish Party towards woman's suffrage. Mr. Snowden in his quiet, reasonable, irresistible way, Mr. Roch with fire and feeling, Sir Alfred Mond with humour and directness, and Lord Robert Cecil with his subtle wording and nicely

pointed shafts all dwell on the part which the Irish Party played in defeating the Conciliation Bill. The Irish answers were shamefaced and embarrassed, and the attack had at least this measure of success that the Irishmen sought to disarm their assailants. Mr. John Redmond promised that there shall be a "free vote" from his party in January, and Mr. Hugh Law availed himself of his leader's permission to announce that he will vote for the suffrage amendments. I am afraid that a "free vote" only means that the Irish whips will not be officially employed to secure a unanimous anti-Suffrage vote. The value of the pledge was utterly discounted by Mr. Willie Redmond's statement that the solid vote against the Conciliation Bill last March was also a "free vote." I will not transgress the rather insincere courtesies of politics by questioning this surprising statement. It is enough to state the facts. Mr. William Redmond, Mr. Law, Mr. Gwynn, Dr. Lynch, and six others Nationalists were all members of the Conciliation Committee, and five of the ten were regular in their attendance at its meetings and actively helpful in the House. One of them, Sir Thomas Grattan Esmonde, actually put his name on the back of this year's Bill. Are we to believe that they all deserted the Bill they were promoting "without pressure"? What really happened is quite well known. At a party meeting Mr. John Redmond gave an explicit order that no member of the party should do anything for suffrage this year. To be sure Mr. Law has promised us his vote. I think I can guess what the managers of the party would like to do. Three or four of the more ardent Irish Suffragists will be told off to vote for their principles in order to give the division an appearance of freedom. The rest of the eighty will be brought up in a body to vote against the amendments.

THE NETT RESULT.

It is well to face the realities that lie before us. The Irish attitude is menacing. The action of the Tory anti-Suffragists in supporting the Government goes to show how little we can count on the normal antagonisms of party politics to advance our cause. Mr. Asquith's opposition means that, if the plan of devolution is pursued, we must expect the Government to oppose similar amendments to Mr. Snowden's when the cases of Scotland and Wales come up for decision. But there is encouragement also in the result. The Labour Party, in spite of the disloyal action of five of its members who are before all else the Government's men, has done well, both in its speeches and in its votes. Mr. MacDonald in particular, for the first time in Parliament, has made a strong and sympathetic speech on behalf of women. It needed even more courage for Liberals like Sir Alfred Mond and Mr. Roch to speak directly against their Irish allies, and they massed some thirty votes in the lobbies. The Irish members would do well to reckon with the fact that if they repeat their manoeuvre of last March they will cause a sharper schism in the Liberal party than the passage of the women's amendments could possibly cause. It is not a time for pessimism or acrimony. We have good friends in the House. We have material on which to work. Let us go forward to use the opportunity of the Franchise Bill to the utmost, resolved that no fault of violence, bitterness, or impatience on our side shall prejudice the hope of victory.

H. N. BRAILSFORD.

BOW ELECTION.

League Committee Rooms:
8, ALFRED STREET (Bow Rd. Station)

Helpers Wanted !!

BRANCH NEWS.

A notable day was spent in Oxford by our guests of the International Alliance on October 26, accompanied by Sir John Cockburn and several members of the Executive Committee, and, in spite of the elements proving unpropitious, the visit was most successful, and enjoyed to the full. Luncheon was served in the Clarendon Hotel, where we were joined by several leading members of the University, including Professors Margoliouth and Geldart, and Messrs. Lipson, Coupland, and Dundas, of Trinity College.

Christ Church, Magdalen, the University Church of St. Mary's, and other colleges were then visited, after which an adjournment was made to Manchester College, where the party was entertained to tea. Professor Gilbert Murray and Dr. J. Estlin Carpenter (Principal of Manchester College) acted as hosts on behalf of the Oxford Men's League, to whom we were greatly indebted for the success of the visit and the opportunity afforded to the delegates of meeting eminent supporters in this ancient seat of learning.

The Manchester branch is now making arrangements for a large indoor meeting, to be addressed by men only, to urge the inclusion of women in the Reform Bill. We wish this meeting every success, more particularly because it will be the first large meeting for Woman's Suffrage in Manchester to be organised and addressed solely by men.

We hope to form a branch at Stratford-on-Avon, where there is every indication of strong support. Our thanks are due to Mr. F. Bouchier Davies, the hon. secretary of the Leamington and Warwick branch, for his kind assistance in this matter.

The Bournemouth branch has in hand arrangements for a great public meeting towards the end of the year.

F. N. SARGEANT.

MR. LANSBURY'S FIGHT.

VOTES FOR WOMEN IN THE EAST END.

The Men's League, with all the other Suffrage societies, is hard at work in Bow and Bromley, fighting unanimously for the first man who has risked his seat for the cause.

Our Committee Rooms are at 8, Alfred Street, two minutes' walk from Bow Road Station on the District Railway. Dr. Drysdale, Mr. Brailsford, Mr. Mitchell, Mr. Simpson, and Mr. Williams are already hard at work.

We do urge every member to take a hand. First and foremost we want CANVASSERS to help in persuading the Liberal voters not to obey the dog-in-the-manger policy of abstention advocated by the local association. We also want all the MONEY we can get to make our campaign effective.

The "Anti"-men are not afraid to go to Bow and Bromley. Suffragist women may well call on their supporters to take an active part.

COME TO-DAY!!!

THE PRESS AND THE CONGRESS.

By far the best account of the Congress is that given by our friend Mr. Jaakoff Prelooker in the November issue of *The Anglo-Russian*, copies of which can be obtained at the Men's League Office, price 1d. Pressure on our space prevents our referring to other Press reports in this issue.

PROPAGANDA FUND.
AUGUST OCTOBER

A. W. Roberts (six

£	s.	d.	International Alliance Congress.
0	6	0	Donations to Entertainment Fund
0	6	0	E. Valliamy
0	2	6	Miss M. E. Crofton
0	2	6	R. H. Pott
0	2	6	Canon Everitt.....
0	2	6	Miss R. Paget.....
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£6	7	6	Lewis G. Fry
			A. P. Busch-Michell
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0	1	0	J. P. Fausset
0	2	0	Miss M. J. Salt
£0	9	0	Anonymous.....
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3	15	6	L. Bradbury
0	10	0	Miss L. Bigg
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£12	7	6	Total
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0	5	0
0	2	6
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0	2	6
0	2	6
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HANDBOOK ON WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

Published by THE MEN'S LEAGUE FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

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The Reform Bill and the Amendments by

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D. B. Jameson	0	2	6	H. J. Golding.....	0	5	0

SBURY for BOW

COMMITTEE ROOMS:

11 STREET (Bow Rd. Station)

Polling Day, NOV. 26th.

pointed shafts all dwelt on the part which the Irish Party played in defeating the Conciliation Bill. The Irish answers were shamefaced and embarrassed, and the attack had at least this measure of success that the Irishmen sought to disarm their assailants. Mr. John Redmond promised that there shall be a "free vote" from his party in January, and Mr. himself of his leader's permission to announce for the suffrage amendments. I am afraid it only means that the Irish whips will not be of secure a unanimous anti-Suffrage vote. The was utterly discounted by Mr. Willie Redmond the solid vote against the Conciliation Bill as "free vote." I will not transgress the rather in politics by questioning this surprising statement state the facts. Mr. William Redmond, Mr. Le Lynch, and six others Nationalists were all in ciliation Committee, and five of the ten we attendance at its meetings and actively helpful of them, Sir Thomas Grattan Esmonde, actually the back of this year's Bill. Are we to believe that the Bill they were promoting "without pressure" happened is quite well known. At a party Redmond gave an explicit order that no member do anything for suffrage this year. To be sure misled us his vote. I think I can guess what the party would like to do. Three or four of the Suffragists will be told off to vote for their privilege the division an appearance of freedom. It will be brought up in a body to vote against the

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BOW ELECT
League Committee Room
8, ALFRED STREET (Bow)
Helpers Wanted

BRANCH NEWS.

A notable day was spent in Oxford by our guests of the International Alliance on October 26, accompanied by Sir John Cockburn and several members of the Executive Committee, and, in

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Miss Dempster.....	0	5	0
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Colley.....	0	10	0
W. G. Bate.....	0	10	0
Dr. C. V. Drysdale.....	0	2	6
Jaakof Prelooker.....	0	5	0
W. Hammond.....	0	1	0
Anonymous.....	25	0	0
W. C. Watkins.....	0	2	6
W. C. McEwen.....	3	2	0
Total	£33	8	6

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F. P. B. Shipham.....	0	2	6
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M. A. Spielman.....	1	1	0
P. B. Tudor.....	0	1	8
W. G. Earingey, B.A.....	0	10	0
C. E. Vincent.....	0	2	6
J. W. Patterson.....	0	5	0
Thos. Wood.....	0	2	6
A. Priestman.....	0	2	6
W. Henderson.....	0	2	6
A. J. G. Jayne.....	0	10	0
H. Stoneham.....	2	2	0
G. Tweedy.....	1	0	0
A. C. W. Aldis.....	0	2	6
H. R. Lewis.....	0	10	6
G. J. Coates.....	0	6	0
Dr. H. F. Woods.....	0	5	0
F. A. Carlton-Smith.....	0	2	6
C. W. Pidduck.....	0	10	0
F. J. Matheson.....	0	5	0
J. C. Pawson.....	0	1	6
C. E. Stansfield.....	1	10	0
S. Passmore.....	0	1	0
E. J. Barrett.....	0	2	6
H. S. L. Fry.....	0	5	0
C. A. Claremont.....	0	5	0
A. J. Webbe.....	5	5	0
E. H. Watson.....	0	10	0
D. S. Paterson.....	0	2	6
Jaakof Prelooker.....	0	5	0
Rev. Dr. Tennant.....	0	5	0
A. G. Read.....	0	5	0
Walter Hogg.....	0	2	6

New Members.

Percy Heffer.....	0	5	0
F. G. Turner.....	0	2	0
A. J. Dennis.....	0	1	0
Dr. H. C. Manning.....	0	2	6
D. W. Caddick.....	0	2	6
R. F. B. Jones.....	0	3	0
R. Band.....	0	2	6
C. H. Waghorn.....	0	2	6
L. Wright.....	0	2	6
H. B. Goulden.....	0	2	6
Horace Barrett.....	0	2	6
E. H. New.....	0	2	6
Rev. C. E. Griffin.....	0	2	6
Rev. C. Fleming Williams.....	0	1	0
Total	£1	14	6

Monthly Subscriptions.

G. H. G. Mower (two months).....	0	4	0
F. Stanton Barnes (two months).....	0	2	0
Total	£0	6	0

Summary (Aug. and Sept.).

Annual subscriptions.....	27	5	2
New members.....	1	14	6
Donations.....	33	8	6
Monthly subscriptions.....	0	6	0
Sale of literature.....	4	1	1
Total	£66	10	3

OCTOBER.

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J. C. Millington.....	0	2	0
T. D. James.....	0	2	6
Adolph Koeh.....	0	2	6
L. W. Phillips.....	0	2	6
G. E. Boxall.....	0	1	0
T. Fisher Unwin.....	0	10	0
Israel Zangwill.....	1	1	0
Edward Jacobs.....	0	2	0
Jos. Clayton.....	0	2	6
D. B. Jameson.....	0	2	6
J. W. Jones.....	0	10	0
Earl Russell.....	1	0	0
G. Spiller.....	0	2	6
H. R. A. Sennett.....	0	10	0
Granville Sharp.....	0	2	6
E. Strong.....	0	2	6
J. G. Alexander (two years), 1912-13.....	0	2	0
T. G. Rogers.....	0	2	6
H. E. Kittle.....	0	2	6
H. J. Golding.....	0	5	0

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Rev. F. Hankinson.....	0	2	0
Norman Parley.....	0	2	6
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F. Richardson.....	0	2	6
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H. J. Taylor.....	0	5	0
C. W. M. Moullin.....	1	0	0
Arthur Beck (2yrs.).....	0	6	0
W. C. Coupland.....	0	2	6
Hamo Thornycroft, R.A.....	0	10	0
H. Baillie Weaver.....	2	2	0
B. Belmont.....	0	5	0
W. G. Chappell.....	0	2	6
W. C. Watkins.....	0	2	6
Jno. Gordon.....	0	2	6
Col. F. Ditmas.....	0	2	6
Total	£27	5	2

New Members.

Percy Heffer.....	0	5	0
F. G. Turner.....	0	2	0
A. J. Dennis.....	0	1	0
Dr. H. C. Manning.....	0	2	6
D. W. Caddick.....	0	2	6
R. F. B. Jones.....	0	3	0
R. Band.....	0	2	6
C. H. Waghorn.....	0	2	6
L. Wright.....	0	2	6
H. B. Goulden.....	0	2	6
Horace Barrett.....	0	2	6
E. H. New.....	0	2	6
Rev. C. E. Griffin.....	0	2	6
Rev. C. Fleming Williams.....	0	1	0
Total	£1	14	6

Monthly Subscriptions.

G. H. G. Mower (two months).....	0	4	0
F. Stanton Barnes (two months).....	0	2	0
Total	£0	6	0

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Monthly subscriptions.....	0	6	0
Sale of literature.....	4	1	1
Total	£66	10	3

Annual Subscriptions.

J. C. Millington.....	0	2	0
T. D. James.....	0	2	6
Adolph Koeh.....	0	2	6
L. W. Phillips.....	0	2	6
G. E. Boxall.....	0	1	0
T. Fisher Unwin.....	0	10	0
Israel Zangwill.....	1	1	0
Edward Jacobs.....	0	2	0
Jos. Clayton.....	0	2	6
D. B. Jameson.....	0	2	6
J. W. Jones.....	0	10	0
Earl Russell.....	1	0	0
G. Spiller.....	0	2	6
H. R. A. Sennett.....	0	10	0
Granville Sharp.....	0	2	6
E. Strong.....	0	2	6
J. G. Alexander (two years), 1912-13.....	0	2	0
T. G. Rogers.....	0	2	6
H. E. Kittle.....	0	2	6
H. J. Golding.....	0	5	0

OCTOBER.

Annual Subscriptions.

J. C. Millington.....	0	2	0
T. D. James.....	0	2	6
Adolph Koeh.....	0	2	6
L. W. Phillips.....	0	2	6
G. E. Boxall.....	0	1	0
T. Fisher Unwin.....	0	10	0
Israel Zangwill.....	1	1	0
Edward Jacobs.....	0	2	0
Jos. Clayton.....	0	2	6
D. B. Jameson.....	0	2	6
J. W. Jones.....	0	10	0
Earl Russell.....	1	0	0
G. Spiller.....	0	2	6
H. R. A. Sennett.....	0	10	0
Granville Sharp.....	0	2	6
E. Strong.....	0	2	6
J. G. Alexander (two years), 1912-13.....	0	2	0
T. G. Rogers.....	0	2	6
H. E. Kittle.....	0	2	6
H. J. Golding.....	0	5	0

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Mrs. M. Thorpe.....	0	10	0
Lewis G. Fry.....	1	1	0
A. P. Busch-Michell.....	2	2	0
Dr. A. F. Miskin.....	1	1	0
Miss C. V. Tite.....	2	0	0
W. E. Dowson.....	1	0	0
H. Fox Bourne.....	1	1	0
J. P. Fausset.....	0	3	0
Miss M. J. Salt.....	2	2	0
Anonymous.....	3	0	0
Sir Victor Horsley.....	1	1	0
Mrs. Roger Clark.....	0	10	0
W. J. Mirllees.....	1	0	0
H. Carr-Smith.....	0	10	6
J. C. Flugel.....	3	0	0
Prof. T. F. Tout.....	0	10	0
Herbert How.....	0	2	0
K. A. R.....	3	3	0
Mrs. D. A. Thomas.....	2	0	0
F. S. Barnes.....	0	5	0
A. J. Webbe.....	2	2	0
H. Thomas.....	1	0	0
Lady Gibb.....	0	9	0
L. Bradbury.....	1	1	0
Miss L. Bigg.....	2	2	0
Israel Zangwill.....	0	12	0
Lady M. Sackville.....	3	3	0
Miss M. Hoc.....	0	10	0
Hugo Ames.....	0	2	0
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G. H. G. Mower.....	0	2	0
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G. E. Boxall.....	0	4	0
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R. A. Sennett.....	0	10	0
Granville Sharp.....	1	0	0
Laurence Housman (Lecture Fee).....	1	1	0
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New Members.

W. L. Hull.....	0	5	0
A. K. Hume, B.A.....	0	2	6
W. Gohlke.....	1	0	0
H. J. Gillespie (Quarterly).....	0	7	6
C. D. Fisher.....	0	2	6
E. Bigland.....	0	2	6
Jno. Goddard.....	0	1	0
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Summary (October).

Annual Subscriptions.....	6	7	6
Monthly.....	0	9	0
Donations.....	12	7	6
New Members.....	2	3	6
I. A. Entertainment Fund.....	44	6	8
Literature Sales.....	5	1	2
Total	£70	15	4

Collection at Poriman Rooms Meeting

Total	£44	6	8
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LANSBURY for BOW
OUR COMMITTEE ROOMS:
8, ALFRED STREET (Bow Rd. Station)
Polling Day, NOV. 26th.

THE FIRST CONGRESS OF THE MEN'S INTERNATIONAL ALLIANCE FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

The first Congress of the Men's International Alliance for Woman Suffrage is now over, and has fully justified the hopes of its promoters. Not only have our sympathisers in various countries responded nobly to our invitation to attend, but they have one and all worked with the greatest energy and enthusiasm to render the Congress a success, and we cannot thank them heartily enough for their readiness to do anything asked of them, both for the Cause in general, and for helping us in our fight in this country. The resolutions which they have passed have already received considerable attention in the Press, and they will be of great value in our propaganda as representing the opinion of men of acknowledged authority in their various countries. It has indeed been a pleasure to us also to have the visits of Mme. Martina Krämers, Mme. Rosika Schwimmer, Mme. Tekla Hultin, M.P., and other ladies who have come from afar, and who entered so earnestly into the spirit of the Congress. It appeared to some extent paradoxical that a Men's Congress for Woman Suffrage should not itself invite women to vote on its resolutions, but the reason for independent expression on the part of men was fully appreciated by all the ladies present.

Our thanks are also greatly due to the societies who have co-operated so nobly in making the Congress a success, and we hope that their efforts will be repaid by the stimulus given to the Cause by our friends from abroad.

OFFICIAL REPORT.

The Men's International Alliance for Woman Suffrage was constituted in Stockholm in June, 1911, by representatives of Men's Leagues for Women's Suffrage in Great Britain, Holland, France, Hungary, and the United States, as well as representatives from Germany, and led to the immediate formation of a Swedish Men's League, with Mr. Ernst Beckman, of the Swedish Upper House, as President. A preliminary constitution was drafted, and it was decided to meet again in Budapest in 1913 in conjunction with the Congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance. The desirability of more closely defining the constitution, however, combined with the political situation in Great Britain, led to a cordial invitation on the part of the Hon. Sir John Cockburn, K.C.M.G., President of the Alliance, and of the Executive Committee of the British Men's League for Women's Suffrage, to hold the first Congress in London this year. This invitation was issued both to the Men's Leagues for Women's Suffrage in various countries, and to representative men of other nations. As a result the following delegates, fraternal delegates, and other visitors attended the Congress:—

The PRESIDENT: The Hon. Sir John Cockburn, K.C.M.G.
GREAT BRITAIN: Delegates of the Men's League for Women's Suffrage:—Mr. Herbert Jacobs (Chairman), Mr. R. H. Pott (Hon. Treasurer), Mr. J. M. Mitchell (Hon. Political Secretary), Dr. C. V. Drysdale (Hon. Secretary), and the Members of the Executive Committee.

Delegates of the Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement:—Mr. Victor Duval, Mr. D. Cameron Swan.

Delegate of the Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage:—Mr. E. W. Futvoje.

Fraternal Delegates:—Mrs. Fawcett (the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies), Mr. John Simpson (the Women's Freedom League), Mr. Laurence Housman (the Women's Tax Resistance League, and the Women Writers' League), Mr. S. L. H. Fry (the New Constitutional Society for Women's Suffrage), Mr. George Trevelyan (the People's Suffrage Federation), Mr. Gustav Spiller (the Union of Ethical Societies), the Rev. Llewelyn Smith (the London Society for Women's Suffrage), Sir John Cockburn (the Political Reform League).

HOLLAND: Delegates of the Mannenbond voor Vrouwenkiesrecht:—Lieut.-Colonel W. A. E. Mansfeldt (President of the League and Hon. Secretary of the Men's International Alliance), Mijneer E. C. Suermond; Visitors: Mme. N. Mansfeldt, Mme. Martina Krämers (Hon. Secretary of the Woman Suffrage Alliance, and Editor of "Jus Suffragii").

FRANCE: Delegates of the Ligue d'Electeurs pour le Suffrage des Femmes:—M. Ferdinand Buisson (Président, Député de la Seine, and President of the Comité de la Représentation Proportionnelle), M. le Docteur G. Manuel (Vice President), M. J. du Breuil de St. Germain (Hon. Secretary).

HUNGARY: Delegates of the Hungarian Men's League for Women's Suffrage:—Mr. Zsombor Szasz (Vice-President, late Member of the Hungarian Parliament), Dr. J. Megyery de Megyery (late Member of the Hungarian Parliament), Dr. Leopold Katscher, Mr. Willy Pogany; Visitors: Mme. Megyery de Megyery, Mme. Rosika Schwimmer (Co-President of the Hungarian Society for Woman Suffrage).

THE UNITED STATES: Delegate of the National Men's League for Women's Suffrage:—Mr. Reginald W. Kauffman.

SWEDEN: Delegates of the Swedish Men's League for Women's Suffrage:—Mr. Ernest Beckman (President, Member of the Swedish Upper House), Mr. F. Henrikson; Visitor: Mme. Beckman.

GERMANY: Delegate of the Deutsche Männerbund für Frauenstimmrecht:—Lieut.-Colonel W. Mansfeldt.

DENMARK: Fraternal Delegate from the Danske Kvindeamfund:—Dr. A. Munch Petersen (Advocate of the Danish Supreme Court, and Prosecutor for Public Affairs), Mr. Viggo Koppel.

NORWAY: Mr. H. Braekstad (Vice Consul for Norway); Visitor: Mme. Braekstad.

FINLAND: Mr. J. Gummerus (Barrister at the Finnish Court), Mr. Volter Stenbach; Visitors: Dr. Tekla Hultin, M.P., Miss Harriet Blouw.

JAPAN: Mr. Yoshio Markino.

RUSSIA: Mr. J. Prelooker (Editor of the "Anglo-Russian"); Visitor: Mme. Prelooker.

The inaugural reception and dinner took place on Wednesday evening, October 23, in the Grand Hall of the Hotel Cecil, the Hon. Sir John Cockburn, K.C.M.G., presiding. About 180 guests were present, including the delegates and prominent members of various Women's Suffrage Organisations. The following letters and telegrams of greeting were received:—

From Dr. S. VAN HOUTEN, late Minister of the Interior, the Netherlands:—

"For consideration of health I cannot come over and take part in your meetings, but I heartily sympathise with their objects. Happily, equality in education and free competition of women in nearly every branch of work are increasing all over the world; also admittance to public functions. In consequence of this a very great many women are better qualified for the exercise of political power than the great majority of the other sex. Difference of treatment in the distribution of the right to vote can, therefore, not last. I do not see even the shadow of an argument to defend it."

From Mr. NICOLAS DE SZEMERE, Royal and Imperial Chamberlain of Hungary:—

"I am deeply grateful for your very kind invitation. Unfortunately I am at the present time unable to attend. I sincerely hope to have the distinguished honour of seeing you next year in Hungary. As the devoted servant of the cause of humanity, of our cause, and of yours.—Yours most cordially, NICOLAS SZEMERE."

From Mr. FREDERIC BAYER, Member of the Upper House, Copenhagen:—

"I cannot understand how any man possessed of complete reasoning faculties can oppose women's suffrage."

From Dr. PHIL. L. MOLTESEN, M.P., Copenhagen:—

"My best wishes are with this movement. Here in Denmark the women will soon be on the same political status as the men.

I hope the same will be the case in England, and when it is so, all the other nations will follow."

From M. DESTREE, M.P., Brussels:—

"I beg you to present my apologies to the Congress and to inform them how much sympathy I have for the cause which you defend."

From Dr. PROF. H. OLRİK, Director of the State's High School for Teachers, Copenhagen:—

"I beg to say that I fully sympathise with those who would grant this right to women to the same extent as it is granted to men. It is my earnest hope that the means which some suffragettes have used, and still use, in order to obtain the said privilege will not stand in the way of the fulfilment of this good cause of theirs."

From Prof. DR. HENTSCHEM, Stockholm:—

"I hope that the Congress will contribute very strongly to the progress of this important matter."

From Prof. ROBERTO MICHELS, of the University of Turin:—

"Though not believing that female suffrage would be able to modify essentially the conditions of life, I am entirely favourable to the cause of the Congress, because I think that women ought not to be excluded from the exercise of one of the first human rights. There must be no difference at all between men and women in political matters. That you may tell, if you like, in my name to the Congress with my most cordial greetings."

From Prof. DR. DIRNER, President of the Hungarian Men's League, Budapest:—

"I am particularly sorry that I am unable to be present and to accept your kind invitation, and would beg you to offer my sincere regrets to the Congress, whose work will, we hope and wish, be crowned with the greatest success."

From Mr. C. L. LANGE, Secretary of the Union Interparlementaire, Brussels:—

"Personally, I am in favour of woman suffrage, and my experience as a Norwegian has only strengthened my conviction on this point."

From M. A. DE MORSIER, Vice President of the Alliance Suisse du Suffrage Féminin, Geneva:—

"I tender to you my most sympathetic wishes for the issue of a valuable effort for the cause of justice which you uphold."

From Miss G. JEFFERY, Secretary of the Catholic Women's Suffrage Society, Oxford Street, W.:—

"My committee wish me to convey to you their best wishes for the success of the first Congress of the Men's International Alliance."

From the BURGOMASTER OF THE RESIDENCE, Budapest:—

"I have been requested by the Men's League for Women's Suffrage to take part in the Congress to be held in London, 1912, 23rd to 29th October, and also to set forth my views there regarding women's suffrage. I regret that I am not in a position to take part in the Congress, and so I cannot accept the kind invitation. But, being informed that you, dear Sir, are starting for London to represent the Hungarian Society, which is fighting for the same object, I take the liberty to request you to kindly apologise for my absence to the Congress, and also to express my sympathy with the endeavours of the League. Thanking you very much in anticipation for your kindness, I beg to remain, yours respectfully, BARCZY ISTVAN, M.P., Burgomaster."

From the DANSK KVINDESAMFUND, Copenhagen:—

"Heartiest greetings and best wishes for a good result.—From the thankful DANSK KVINDESAMFUND."

From the DANSKE KVINDEFØRENINGERS VALGRETSFORBUND, Copenhagen:—

"Wishing successful Congress."

From the GERMAN MEN'S LEAGUE FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE:—

"The German Men's League for Women's Suffrage greets the kindred spirits of all nations gathered together in London, and wishes the movement every success. Untiring will be our

battle for the emancipation of women from political slavery.—GASSMANN."

From the SWEDISH NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION:—

"Send cordial greeting, and rejoice at the splendid support given to our common cause by Men's Congress now assembled.—ANNA WHITLOCK, President."

After the loyal toasts had been duly honoured, the CHAIRMAN proposed the health of the International Alliance. He felt that it was fitting that its first Congress should be held in this country, which stood before the world as the parent of representative institutions. Fifty years ago women had practically no interests to protect, but to-day they had flocked into every industry, and with five and a-half millions of women now industrially engaged in the United Kingdom, it was gross unwisdom on the part of men to debar them from the means of protecting their interests. He did not wish long life to the Men's International Alliance, as he hoped that its work would soon be accomplished.

Dr. DRYSDALE seconded the toast in the name of the Executive of the British Men's League. It was indeed a pleasure to meet again so many friends from other countries who had shown such enthusiasm for the cause and hospitality to its English representatives. He hoped that the presence of so many representative men of different nationalities would once for all disabuse the mind of the British public of the idea that this movement was confined to a few extremists of the feminine sex, and that it would have a great and salutary effect upon politicians in this country.

Lieutenant-Colonel W. A. E. MANSFELDT, Hon. Secretary of the Alliance, responded to the toast. He referred to the formation of the Dutch Men's League in Amsterdam in 1908, and expressed the pleasure which he felt in attending the first Congress of the Men's International Alliance. He was glad to report the recent formation of a German Men's League, on behalf of which, as well as for the Dutch Men's League, he was glad to convey the heartiest greetings.

Mr. ISRAEL ZANGWILL, in proposing "Our Guests from Abroad," made some characteristically humorous remarks on the folly of the anti-Suffrage position. Even the dictionary suffered from being man-made. He noticed that the President of the Hungarian Men's League was a professor of gynecology, and on looking up the dictionary he found that, whereas the science of anthropology was the whole science of man, that of gynecology was only that of women's diseases. He was glad to find ex-President Roosevelt was an accession to the pro-Suffrage ranks, as after that the Men's League could hardly be described as effeminate. He wished to protest most strongly against the insult to the members of the Men's League by Mr. Lloyd George, who had accused them of being mercenary. He hoped that some of the men would bring a libel action against Mr. Lloyd George, and would be glad to contribute himself towards the expenses of such an action.

The toast was responded to by Mr. ERNST BECKMAN, of the Swedish Upper House, who alluded to the pleasure it had given him in Stockholm last year to assist at the formation of the Men's International Alliance and of the Swedish Men's League for Woman's Suffrage. He was indeed glad to come to England and to see the extreme earnestness and enthusiasm with which the movement was being carried forward. He alluded briefly to the position in Sweden, and hoped that in 1913 Women's Suffrage would there be an accomplished fact.

Mr. ZSOMBER SZASZ, in responding for Hungary, referred to the position of the movement in that country, and hoped that, by a fortunate combination of circumstances, which had led the Government to bring forward a measure of Women's Suffrage, the cause would be won very shortly.

Mr. H. L. BRAEKSTAD, the Norwegian Vice-Consul, reminded his English hearers that the women of his country began to fight for political emancipation in 1885, and carried their cause to victory twenty-two years afterwards. In their agitation the women were supported by Conservatives and Liberals alike, and they exercised the vote for the first time in 1909. So

far from women taking little interest in the elections, as had been predicted, 72 per cent. of them recorded their votes, as against 70 per cent. of the men; and he was able to assure the people that the homes and the children were being looked after just as well as before.

Mr. YOSHIO MARKINO, as a Japanese, was very glad to add his testimony in favour of Women's Suffrage, although he could hardly venture to represent his country, owing to his having left it nineteen years ago. He related several interesting anecdotes dealing with the position of women in Japan. In one small peninsula in Japan the principal workers were women, who followed the dangerous calling of diving for sea shells. The operations of the men were confined to handling long poles in order to help the women who came to the surface exhausted. These men were in the habit of wearing large hats, and one day a woman lost her life owing to the interference of one of these hats with the life-saving operations. After this the wearing of these hats was forbidden. Mr. Markino suggested that there was a large number of men in England who were wearing the large hats of prejudice and stupidity, which must be removed.

M. DU BREUIL DE ST. GERMAIN briefly responded for France, and expressed the wish that the cause might progress in his country with the energy and enthusiasm displayed in Great Britain. He deeply regretted the absence of M. Buisson, the President of the French Men's League, who had done so much for the cause in France, but hoped that he would be able to attend some of the meetings of the Congress. He concluded by raising his glass to the health of the British Suffrage Societies.

Mrs. SWANWICK, in responding for the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, strongly repudiated the idea that the Women's Suffrage movement was undermining the home and the family life. The enemies of Women's Suffrage could not lay their hands on a single Suffrage organisation which had exerted any such influence, but because certain individuals had expressed unorthodox opinions in other channels an attempt had been made to fasten these publications upon the Suffrage movement. The Suffragists did not stand for any programme whatever. They stood for the vote, and the vote alone. Very possibly women, like men, might occasionally make fools of themselves, but it was necessary that women should have liberty in order to learn by experience.

Mrs. DESPARD responded for the Women's Freedom League, and ridiculed the idea that the Women's Suffrage Movement was anti-man in character. She contended that when its history came to be written it would be found that the militant side of our agitation had been fully justified. There had been no great movement in the world into which militancy had not entered. We were even familiar with the Church militant.

Mr. HERBERT JACOBS, in responding for the Men's League, referred to Mr. Bernard Shaw's recent pronouncement concerning the misguided men who came forward to help women to do what they could much better do for themselves. He said that Mr. Shaw was always listened to with delight. He did the thinking for the British nation, but no one ever dreamed of following his advice, and, therefore, they did not propose to dissolve the Men's League, but to prosecute their work in their own way.

Mme. ROSIKA SCHWIMMER proposed "Success to the Cause," and expressed her delight at seeing the great progress of the Men's International Movement, which she was sure would have such a great effect upon the success of the cause in all countries. She referred to the preparations that were being made for the Congress of the Women's International Alliance at Budapest next year, and was surprised to see that this Congress had been arranged so successfully at such short notice. She could not find words strong enough to express her hope for the rapid success of the cause in England, as it would undoubtedly be the signal for its adoption all over the world, and as organiser of the Budapest Congress she hoped that both Hungary and England would be able to attend there next year with victory in their hands.

Mr. J. MALCOLM MITCHELL expressed the view that Members of Parliament, on the whole, were the worst educated politicians in the country, and that their ignorance was by no means confined to the question of Woman Suffrage. Having regard to the wider importance of the movement in any particular country, he thought it would be a grave misfortune if the Reform Bill were passed without the inclusion of women. If, he concluded, it should fall to England to be the first of all the great countries to take this "great leap in the dark," it would redound to her glory and credit.

The proceedings closed with three hearty cheers for the Chairman.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 24.

The opening meeting of the Congress took place at the International Women's Franchise Club, which had been kindly put at the disposal of the Alliance by the Committee.

Sir JOHN COCKBURN, in his address of welcome to the delegates, said they were met there to discuss the most important question of the age, or, indeed, of all ages. There was a tidal wave of opinion on this subject which washed every shore. They were witnessing the end of the patriarchal age, in which men claimed the sole qualification for the management of affairs. There were still emphatic exponents of the doctrine, but their voice was a dying one. Although they were witnessing a profound change, it would not be attended with any sudden effect. It would not be a drastic change. There were a great many international congresses held in this and other great centres of the world which effected a change at the time, but a mere surface change. There movement went far deeper, because they sought to effect a profound modification wrought by the fusion of a vitalising element into their public life. The influence of women in public affairs would be gentle and noiseless. Empty vessels made the most noise. Since the patriarchal age was passing away, they were not going to revert to the matriarchal age, but they were going to revert to an age when the best elements of both would be blended together. In Australia, where women had the vote, the national defences had been placed in a state of national efficiency. Women believed in protecting their houses and their country. In Australia wages of both sexes had been equalised.

A Committee was then appointed to consider and report upon the constitution of the Men's International Alliance, consisting of the President, the Foreign Delegates, Dr. G. B. Clarke and Dr. Drysdale, of the British Men's League, and Mr. E. Futvoye, of the Men's Federation.

Addresses of welcome were given by delegates of Men's Leagues in various countries.

GREAT BRITAIN.—The greeting of the Men's League for Women's Suffrage was given by Mr. F. N. SARGEANT on behalf of Mr. HERBERT JACOBS, who was unable to be present. He sketched the history of the League from its formation in 1907 by Mr. Jacobs. It was the oldest League of its kind in existence, and since its formation had steadily increased in numbers. It had always been a non-party organisation, although it had at one time taken up an anti-Government policy. Since the introduction of the Reform Bill, however, it had steadily worked for the inclusion of women in the Bill, as well as on behalf of the Conciliation Bill; and, on the rejection of the latter, it was the first League to adopt the new policy of supporting Labour candidates against anti-Suffragists, which had become the policy of most of the Women's Suffrage Societies.

Mr. E. FUTVOYE presented the greetings of the Men's Federation for Women's Enfranchisement, which had Mr. Mark Wilks for its President. Although all Suffrage Societies were united as to the end to be attained, they differed as to policy and method.

HOLLAND.—Lieutenant-Colonel MANSFELDT, as President of the Dutch League, said that at present in his country there was a coalition of the Clerical parties, under which they were not likely to get Suffrage for Women.

FRANCE.—M. J. DU BREUIL DE ST. GERMAIN, Hon. Secretary of the French League, said that in France the movement at first met with too little opposition. The argu-

ment fell over French audiences like water off a duck's back. The idea was now, however, spreading every day in their country, although silently, largely due to the devoted efforts of M. FERDINAND BUISSON, President of the French League, and of the Committee for Proportional Representation, as well as M. LOUIS MARIN, one of their Vice-Presidents and a Member of Parliament, who had written strongly on the subject.

HUNGARY: Mr. SZOMBOR ZSASZ, in conveying the greetings of the Hungarian Men's League, stated that in his country, contrary to what existed in other parts of Europe, the Socialists were against Women's Suffrage. Their hostility complicated the political situation, but the present Government had taken up the question, and they had reason to expect a successful result at an early date.

SWEDEN: Mr. ERNST BECKMAN, President of the Swedish League, stated that in Sweden they had a Liberal Government which was a combination of two parties, the Liberal and the Labour and Social Democratic Party. Both alike had Women's Suffrage on their programme. The Government had introduced a Bill into Parliament proposing to give the franchise to women, and this had passed the Lower House, but had been rejected in the Upper House, where the Government were still in the minority, by twenty-eight votes. He hoped, however, that there would be a change in the Constitution of this Chamber before long, and that the Bill would be brought into the Upper House again and passed next year. The Liberal Prime Minister, Mr. Karl Staaff, was a member of the Men's League for Women's Suffrage, as was also Mr. Sandström, the Minister of Justice, who brought in the Bill. Two other Ministers were also members of the Men's League, and the Cabinet were unanimous on the question.

GERMANY: Colonel MANSFELDT presented the greetings of the newly-formed German Men's League for Women's Suffrage. Although too recently formed to have anything of importance to report, its President, Herr Leo Gassmann, and its members had determined on an energetic campaign. The following fraternal delegates also presented greetings:—

DENMARK: Dr. A. MUNCH PETERSEN said that the Prime Minister of his country had spoken favourably of the movement for Women's Suffrage, and held the opinion that it would be to the best interests of the country when men and women were working side by side. He was glad to find since his arrival that the Prime Minister had introduced a measure on the day previously amending the Danish Constitution in such a way as to include Women's Franchise in respect to both Houses of Parliament. As all parties appeared to be in favour of the reform, it would doubtless be carried before long.

RUSSIA: Mr. JAAKOFF PRELOOKER stated that Russia occupied perhaps the foremost place in the world in regard to the women's question. Russia had over eighty million women, and during centuries they had enjoyed equal political rights with men, which was none. Russian women had done their best to help men in their emancipation. Women of property, by power of attorney, could vote by proxy at Parliamentary elections, because possessors of property had the right to vote. The question of Women's Suffrage had been mentioned once or twice in the Imperial Duma, but in the reply to the Address from the Throne no mention of women was made.

The PRESIDENT said that the Congress was being held not only to hear of the progress that had been made, but to do active work, and proposed the following resolution:—

"That this Congress of the Men's International Alliance for Woman Suffrage, assembled in London, desires to record its opinion that the enfranchisement of women is urgently demanded in the interests of justice and good legislation. It notes with satisfaction the strong testimony as to the beneficial results of Women's Suffrage in the countries where it has already been granted, and expresses the hope that other countries enjoying Parliamentary institutions will shortly pass a similar measure

of enfranchisement, as a necessary corollary of representative government."

Mr. FUTVOYE proposed the following addition:—

"To gain this end, this Congress looks to the political sections in all Parliaments to use whatever voting power and influence that they have or may have to force their respective Governments to give, before any other reform, citizen rights on equal terms to men and women."

This was not seconded, and the Chairman and others considered it inadvisable as an international resolution, having regard to the varying political situations in different countries. The original resolution was then put and carried unanimously.

The delegates then adjourned to a luncheon given by Mr. Goldfinch Bate, Hon. Treasurer of the International Women's Franchise Club. Mr. BATE expressed his pleasure at welcoming the delegates, and Sir JOHN COCKBURN the thanks of the delegates for the hospitality shown them. Mrs. STANBURY, as Vice-President of the Club, extended a hearty welcome to the delegates on behalf of the Club, and Mme. MARTINA KRÄMERS, in responding, said that she was delighted to see the progress that had been made by the Men's International Alliance, and how glad she was to have an opportunity of attending the Congress and receiving the hospitality of the Club.

The first public appearance of the Alliance was made at the meeting at the Portman Rooms in the evening, when The Earl Russell presided over a fairly large meeting convened by the Men's League.

The CHAIRMAN, in his opening remarks, said it was a pleasure to preside over a meeting attended by representatives from all countries. Women's Suffrage was a great international movement, not backed up by women only, but by men of position in many countries. The position in this country was a critical one, and not improved by recent outbreaks of militancy. Militancy had brought the movement forward, but now did the movement much harm. Suffragists had suffered from it over the Conciliation Bill, and would suffer over the Franchise Bill. The Government's tactics in torpedoing the Conciliation Bill had been designed to injure the Suffrage cause. Although he did not approve of breaking windows, he did not think a right cause became wrong because people who supported it did things of which he could not approve. It was a world of constantly shifting compromises.

Sir ALFRED MOND, Bart., M.P., Vice-President of the Men's League, said it was a very remarkable occasion. It was not merely a domestic Suffrage meeting, but an international demonstration, most significant as to the present and future of the Suffrage movement in general. It comprised delegates of almost every civilised country in the world. The fact was too often overlooked that this was just as much a men's as a women's movement. It was not a sex war, but an effort at co-partnership. The Suffrage was only a small incident, and it did not build up a barrier to the co-operation of the sexes. The Suffrage movement was not a question of sex, but a question of the State. The attempted exclusion of one-half of the citizens from the control of the affairs of the community was a blunder of the first magnitude. The opposition to Women's Suffrage was not based on argument, but on prejudice—a kind of obscure sex prejudice. All the so-called arguments were a cloak to a prejudice which men were afraid to admit. They would move to leave out the word "male" in the Franchise Bill, and hoped that amendment would be carried. Since the year 1886 there had been a majority in favour of Women's Suffrage. The question had been before the country and the House of Commons for very many years. Suffragists were asked to demonstrate more than the supporters of any question had been asked to do. He did not believe any male Franchise Bill would have been carried if they had had to wait till all the sluggards and all the indifferent people had expressed an opinion on it. It was as absurd to ask every woman to demand the vote as to expect that every male should insist on being placed on the register without the agent's help. At some recent municipal elections 71 per cent. women had voted to 73 per cent. men; he did not think that was a bad proportion. Some of the countries represented that night had already introduced

women into their civic life. In Australia women had the vote not only for the States, but for the Commonwealth, and the Senate stated that Women's Suffrage had had the most beneficial results. The reform had brought nothing but good, and the Senate added that all countries enjoying representative government would be well advised in granting votes to women. The women of Australia had not altered, except, perhaps, to become a little more intellectually clever. And in the United States no less than a million of women would vote for the election of the President. He suggested that anti-Suffragists should send out a commission to discover from their unsexed appearance which of the American women belonged to that million voters. Only those countries could progress of which the population moved onward together equally step by step. It was a great movement going on certainly to glorious victory. Whether they won now or not, there was no reason for letting the flag drop. Victory was certain, and its effects would be world-wide.

Mr. ERNST BECKMAN, President of the Swedish Men's League, a member of the Swedish Upper House, then addressed the meeting. While the women of Great Britain had been struggling for fifty years they had not got so far as the Swedish women in ten years. The women of Sweden had been able to introduce general courses of political and social education, and held mock sittings of Parliament and of town councils so as to prepare women to take part in public affairs. Two of the great political parties had inscribed Women's Suffrage on their programme—the Liberals and the Social Democrats. The Liberal Cabinet was unanimous for Women's Suffrage. The State needed the co-operation of woman, and woman needed the vote for her own citizenship. It was a great time of social reforms, and no social reforms could be carried out effectively without the help of women. Women had proved they had the talent for this kind of administration even more than men. It was an unpardonable waste, morally and economically, not to let women have their say in political affairs in this century of social reforms. And Women's Suffrage was itself the greatest social reform of all. It was nonsensical to try to make a division between municipal and political work. Women needed the vote for the protection of their wages, and all the affairs of family life, which had been affected by legislation. Good government was self-government.

Mme. MARTINA KRAMERS, editress of "Jus Suffragii," expressed the pleasure of the International Women's Suffrage Alliance at the Men's League which had sprung up. In America alone there were fifty men's leagues, and all these leagues were now in their turn forming an international alliance. Men's chivalry would procure the women the vote; it would not be lost because women obtained the vote. They would repay their debt of gratitude by building up a new society with the collaboration of men.

Mr. PHILIP SNOWDEN, M.P., Vice-President of the Men's League, who was received with great applause, dealt with the attitude of the Labour Party to the Suffrage. When the Independent Labour Party was formed fifty years ago it placed equality of men and women in the front of its programme, and it had always advocated that persistently. It was distinct from, but formed a part of, the general Labour Party. Acute differences arose in the Labour Party as to the form of Women's Suffrage which the Labour Party ought to support. To give votes to women on the same terms as men now have them would be only to give votes to about one-eighth of the total. For seven or eight years this question had been hotly debated, and the I.L.P. had been the only party which had steadily insisted on the enfranchisement of women on the same terms as men. About ten years ago the Labour Party had been formed, and had never taken up the same attitude as the I.L.P. Last autumn the situation was changed by the declaration of the Government with regard to the Reform Bill. He went on to speak of the resolution passed at Birmingham, when the Conference declared it would not have such a Bill unless the long-overdue demand for women's enfranchisement was also conceded.

Every Labour member had voted for giving votes to women when such a measure had been brought before Parliament. When the final crisis came it could not be supposed that that party would be false to their previous records. The Labour Party would stand by its Conference resolutions, and would not take instructions from any person outside its party. The Labour Party was not supporting the Government; they voted for the measure of enfranchisement to women. Mr. Snowden, in the course of his speech, was subjected to many interruptions from one or two women of a militant society. He concluded by saying that he had little doubt that women's enfranchisement would be carried this session.

Lieutenant-Colonel MANSFELDT wished to take the opportunity as a military man of expressing his entire dissent from the frequently expressed opinion that the enfranchisement of women would lead to the military and naval decadence of the State. Although he was glad to think that women's influence would generally be exerted on the side of peace, he was equally certain that they would never be backward in doing everything to ensure the power of their country to repel aggression.

Frau ROSIKA SCHWIMMER, of Hungary, who will organise the International Suffrage Congress of 1913, spoke with surprise at having learnt that in England there could be so many Suffragists that there were some left to fight friends. In her own country this was not possible; they had none to spare for such a purpose. She went on to refer to the horrors of the war in the Balkans, and to express her amazement at the conduct of the world's affairs by men which permitted the loss of so many lives.

Mr. MALCOLM MITCHELL said that the progress of civilisation had been mainly the successive breaking down of the vertical barriers between families, towns, and countries. The last such barrier, and the most irrational, was the vertical division between the sexes. He emphasised the essential unity of the movement in the United Kingdom which underlay the apparent multiplicity of policies and societies.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 25.

The Congress met again at the International Women's Franchise Club in the morning, under the presidency of Sir John Cockburn, and addresses of welcome were presented by fraternal delegates from Women's Suffrage and allied societies.

The greetings of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies were conveyed by its President, Mrs. FAWCETT, who expressed her great pleasure at the progress of the movement among men. She left sure that this Congress would bear very valuable fruit. She sketched the history of the National Union, and alluded to its recent adoption of the policy of supporting Labour candidates against anti-Suffragists, in which she was glad to see the Men's League concurred. Most valuable service might be done by the Men's International Alliance by collecting as much information concerning the economic conditions, etc., in various countries as possible.

Mr. JOHN SIMPSON, as an associate of the Women's Freedom League, conveyed the warmest greetings of that League to the Men's International Alliance. The Freedom League aimed at a happy combination of reason and energy, and, although it was a militant society, it had abstained from militant demonstrations unless they were felt to be absolutely necessary in order to call attention to serious injustice. He referred to the picketing of the House of Commons, as well as the breaking down of the grille, and other actions of the Freedom League, and hoped that for the future it would not be necessary to repeat militant action, and that they might be able to concentrate on the same policy as that adopted by the National Union and by the Men's League.

The Rev. LLEWELLYN SMITH, expressing the greetings of the London Society, said that it was one of the larger societies of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies. Its work was of a purely educational character, and consisted chiefly in organising meetings, both indoor and outdoor, in all parts of London.

(To be continued.)