

Men's League for Women's Suffrage

No. 55.

Office: 136, ST. STEPHEN'S HOUSE,
WESTMINSTER, S.W.
Telephone: 4276 VICTORIA.

Monthly Paper.

ONE PENNY.

President: THE RIGHT HON. THE
EARL OF LYTTON.

Chairman: HERBERT JACOBS.

June, 1914.

NOTES OF THE MONTH.

With the passing of the Home Rule Bill, Parliament is taking a holiday for consideration of the situation which it has created in Ireland. The Amending Bill is to be introduced in the House of Lords, where it will be itself amended, and then Mr. Redmond and Mr. Asquith will have to decide whether it shall pass the Commons. In any case we may take it that all the circumstances point to an early appeal to the country, when the Government will ask for authority to deal with the Ulster problem. Our duty will be to see that candidates are not allowed to make the sequelæ of the Irish difficulty their only question. Trustworthy information shows that all the better Liberals are feeling at last shocked by the way in which Parliament has allowed the Irish question to block the way of the Women's Suffrage movement with its far more important consequences for the country as a whole. We prophesy that tactful and rational appeals to the younger school of candidates will meet with a far more business-like answer than has been the case in the past. The essential point for us is, what will Sir Edward Grey say on the subject in his election address?

Meanwhile the usual feeling has been created by the attempt made by Mrs. Pankhurst to see the King. The whole question of the right of direct appeal to the Sovereign is a thorny one, and we may admit that under modern conditions men have no longer the old mediæval claim to a personal audience. Why? Because the King is nowadays represented by his Ministers, and cannot act save by their advice. But, as Mr. Housman argued in the *Manchester Guardian*, women are in a different position. Men are protected by, and have the power of, the vote, and so have a powerful check upon elected Ministers. But women are in a wholly different position. The King has no more power in relation to women than in relation to men. We grant this. But the fundamental fact is that women, being excluded from the Parliamentary franchise, are in a mediæval position as regards the State.

We are not concerned to argue whether Mrs. Pankhurst was right or wise in taking the line she did, but we are quite clear that you cannot deny women's claim to an audience of the Sovereign in the same terms and upon the same principles as are pertinent to the position of the enfranchised man. Nor can any serious-minded man fail to perceive the startling difference between the attitude of the Home Office towards the Ulster and

Nationalist organisations and that which has all along been adopted to militant women. No doubt, Ministers are rightly advised that it would be difficult to secure a conviction against the contingent rebelliousness of Sir Edward Carson: but no sophistry could pretend that the actual crimes of the suffragist militants are in any way comparable as a national danger with the arming of Ulster; or that the speeches of Mrs. Dacre Fox and Miss Sylvia Pankhurst are likely to produce anything like the disorder which is specifically contemplated in utterances of the Ulster leaders.

It is disappointing to find that some suffragists are feeling it their duty to withdraw from the work owing to the recrudescence of militancy. Honest criticism is always healthy, and no one need resent the frankly expressed disapproval of opponents. But we do suggest this consideration. Since the whole force of the Home Office and Scotland Yard, backed by a considerable measure of public opinion, have only stimulated the militant movement, is it to be supposed that the resignation of constitutionalists will have the smallest effect? Resignation may provide a certain satisfaction to the moral and social conscience, but it goes no further, and hence is perilously akin to the vaunted righteousness of the Pharisees. May we appeal with all respect to those who are shocked by militant action to remember that the country needs women's suffrage far more than it needs the suppression of sporadic attacks on property? The Home Office may repress militancy; we doubt it. But the passing of a measure to redress the wrong which is the sole motive of militancy will be an absolute and immediate cure. Every window broken should mean an extra stimulus to the constitutional suffragist who cares for his or her cause and for the country's good.

NOTE!

SPECIAL GENERAL MEETING,

AT

ANDERTON'S HOTEL,

ON

JUNE 19th, at 8 p.m.

REPORT FROM THE NATIONAL UNION.

Last year was probably one of the most active in all the long history of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies. There were 15 bye-elections, in 13 of which the National Union took part, and besides the ordinary work of propaganda and organization the Union undertook its gigantic pilgrimage—probably the most remarkable campaign ever arranged by any political society. This year, however, the Union is plunged into activities which threaten altogether to surpass those of 1913. There have already been a goodly crop of bye-elections, and it is satisfactory to observe that the anti-suffrage attitude of the Government has obviously done nothing to strengthen its position in the constituencies. In the rural districts the new Active Service League of the National Union is arranging a series of short campaigns, beginning with a Suffrage Camp near Weymouth at Whitsuntide, when meetings will be held in the surrounding villages and canvassers will plead the Suffrage cause on every doorstep. Yet more important was the "Woman's Kingdom" Exhibition organised at Olympia in April. It provided an unequalled opportunity of gaining a comprehensive idea of the work of women in a vast variety of spheres—in education, in the home, and the nursery, in the professions and industries, in art, literature, athletics, local government, social service, and politics. The lectures delivered daily by various well-known Suffragists resulted in the enrolment of a number of new "friends" and members, and the space given to the accounts of the exhibition in several London and provincial papers made the work of the National Union known to a yet wider circle.

Obviously the steady propaganda work carried on year after year by the National Union is beginning to bear fruit, for even so keen an anti-suffragist as Mrs. Humphry Ward has at last admitted that the representation of the women's point of view is urgently needed in social legislation. While clinging to the belief that the granting to women of any share in Imperial power would bring disaster to the Empire, Mrs. Ward is convinced that there is a genuine need of women in home politics. She holds, therefore, that the suggested system of Federal governments would provide a satisfactory way out of the Suffrage difficulty, and that women should be given a vote for these local parliaments. So far good; the admission is undoubtedly a sign of grace. But when Mrs. Ward goes on to propose that the National Union should renounce its demand for the Imperial vote in return for her assistance in working for the local vote, we feel that she is politically out of her depths. She has never sounded the real meaning of the Suffrage agitation. If she had, she would know that Suffragists are not merely contending for privileges. They demand the full franchise because they believe that the representation of women is needed in every sphere of Government, and certainly not least in a Parliament concerned with the protection of women and children in India and Burmah. For Suffragists, therefore, compromise is impossible. As Mrs. Fawcett said in her letter to *The Times*, we cannot "strike our flag and proclaim ourselves satisfied by the prospective complete exclusion of the influence of women from the electorate of the Central Imperial Parliament. . . . We Suffragists can recognise the consistency of Mrs. Humphry Ward and her friends in supporting W.S. in local Parliaments while continuing to oppose it for the Imperial Parliament; and we must ask her to respect our consistency in maintaining our advocacy of W.S. for both."

But, at least, we may conclude that the old anti-Suffrage

arguments that indirect feminine influence is more powerful than the direct influence of the vote, and that the interests of women in social legislation are adequately protected by the male electorate, are henceforth to be mentioned with the tolerance and respect due to the departed. W. M.

TREASURER'S NOTE.

The Treasurer desires to acknowledge the following subscriptions and donations, and will be grateful if members would respond promptly to reminders of subscriptions due. The subscription of Mr. Arthur W. Finer, acknowledged last month, should have read 12s.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.		
T. M. Budgett	2	2	0	Capt. M. Leigh-Lye ..	..	1	1	0
Maj. W. J. Roskell	0	5	0	Dr. J. Estlin-Carpenter ..	..	0	5	0
F. Moxon	0	1	0	S. L. Francis ..	..	0	5	0
W. Vernon Young	0	2	6	F. M. Overy ..	..	0	5	0
H. J. F. Hemingway	0	1	0	E. H. Larkcom Jacobs ..	..	0	2	6
M. Wilks	0	2	6	O. Carlton Smith ..	..	0	1	0
H. Stapleton Smith	0	5	0	E. J. W. Warren ..	..	0	2	6
Cecil Chapman	2	0	0	C. E. Larard ..	..	0	2	6
H. B. Fox-Bourne	0	10	0	H. Barr ..	..	0	2	6
Dr. F. A. Bather	0	10	0	J. D. Cathrall ..	..	0	2	6
Miss Leigh-Browne	2	2	0	E. Vulliamy ..	..	0	10	6
A. Foster	0	5	0	T. Marriott ..	..	1	0	0
H. Lynch	0	1	0	F. N. Sargeant ..	..	1	0	0
Elliott Howes	0	2	6	Archdeacon Miller ..	..	0	10	6

MANCHESTER MEN'S LEAGUE.

Manchester had a "Mayflower Day" on the first of the month, when ladies sold flowers in the streets to provide funds for the Police Court and Prison Gate Mission. The occasion seemed opportune for a special suffrage leaflet, so one was prepared and nearly 5,000 copies distributed. The thanks of the League are due to the local suffrage societies, who co-operated splendidly with the Men's Leaguers in the work of distribution. The leaflet proved one of the most effective issued, and roused interest sufficiently to elicit enquiries in the street as to the League's work. The League has received a valuable acquisition to its strength during the month in the person of the Rev. Leigh Orton.

The desire of a body of women suffragists to lay their grievance before the King being in accordance with ancient custom and the laws of England, the League decided to forward a loyally worded request to his Majesty, asking that he might grant audience to these persecuted subjects, and thus by acting justly preclude the possibility of another outrage being added to the injustices already perpetrated against suffragists. It is with the greatest regret that the League has to record that this request proved of no avail. Copies of the appeal were sent to the Press, which almost unanimously boycotted it.

A resolution was passed that a letter sent to Mr. Harold Swann, the prospective Liberal Parliamentary candidate for the North Division of Manchester, pointing out that his election address contained no reference whatever to women's suffrage, and asking whether the omission was intentional, and to which letter no reply had been received, should be repeated, and failing any response, that the attention of the Manchester Liberal Men's Association for Women's Suffrage be drawn to the position, with a request that they should take steps to have the omission suitably remedied.

Partial success only has, so far, been achieved in the efforts the League is making to promote co-operative working by the various local suffrage societies. The League is not without hope, however, that the progress made may still lead to complete success.

MEN'S INTERNATIONAL ALLIANCE FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

France.—The paper *Le Journal* held an inquiry to ascertain how many women in France desired the vote, by distributing ballots and opening a poll for them on the day of the general Parliamentary election, April 26. The result of the polling was that 505,972 women filled in their ballots, of whom only a very small number said that they did not want to vote. After the proportional system of representation this would mean that the French Republic ought to give 35 seats in its Parliament to women.

This action on the part of the feminists encouraged the anti's to undertake a similar enterprise, and so the *Petit Echo de la Mode* asked its readers to give their opinion on the subject of votes for women, and prided itself on having collected more negative than affirmative answers. It forgets to state, however, that the question was, "Are you willing to vote, will you mix in the strife of politics, or do you prefer to stay at home?" and does not mention either that there was no control as to the origin of the ballots received!

The Court of Appeal (Cour de Cassation) has rejected the claim of Mdlle. Halbwachs, who had asked to be inscribed on the voting register in the 13th ward of Paris, alleging that only the possession of political rights entitles a person to vote in elections.

Germany.—In Frankfort-on-Maine there is a League for the appointment of women to municipal councils, and lately this League sent a petition to the Prussian House of Representatives to make women eligible by changing the municipal regulations for the six eastern provinces. It was especially pointed out of how much service women are in that capacity in other States of the Empire.

Denmark.—The women of the Scandinavian countries have again felt the need of holding a conference for their common interests, as they have done before. The biggest Danish women's association, Kvindesamfund, has invited the women's organisations of Sweden, Norway, and Finland to discuss four subjects of great interest to all of them, viz., (1) the property rights of married couples, (2) the relations and rights of parents and children, (3) marriage and divorce, (4) limitation of hours of work for women only, especially prohibition of night work. The President of the Danish Men's League for Women's Suffrage is among the speakers. There will be ample opportunity provided for discussion, as two entire days, June 10 and 11, will be devoted to the meeting. The House of Parliament at Copenhagen will be put at the women's disposal for this end, and the Government grants a subsidy of 2,000 kr.

Kvindesamfund has proposed an amendment to the Constitution which is about to be revised, to the effect that the rules for accession to the throne shall be made equal for male and female descendants of the Royal Family. This amendment was advocated by Herman Trier, a feminist deputy member of the Constitutional Committee, but the Prime Minister said that fortunately the condition of the Royal Family was so prosperous as not to make the need of such stipulations felt, "and for the rest women have so much to gain by the new Constitution, that we may safely let this claim go."

Hungary.—The Minister of Justice, Herr von Balogh, has requested the Woman Suffrage Association to send two delegates

to confer with him on the draft of the new Civil Code, concerning which the Association sent a memorial to the Government. Accordingly Fraulein Vilma Glücklich and Frau Meller-Miskolczy went, and discussed the desired changes. These concern chiefly equality of rights and duties as between husband and wife, protection of the life and health of children, the care of illegitimate children, equal guardianship rights for men and women. Much interest was shown to the women's claims and wishes.

Sweden.—Already before the opening of Parliament the new Minister of Justice declared that the Government did not intend to introduce Bills on the same questions as the former Government had intended to put forward, and so the enfranchisement of women is also to be postponed.

In the new First Chamber (which has already thrice blocked the way for the extension of the vote to women) the proportional strength of the parties remains unchanged. In the new Second Chamber the Conservatives have gained 21 seats, yet the majority of the Progressive parties is still 58 votes in favour of women's enfranchisement. If the question could only be brought up there!

As a fruit of the recent election campaign, we mention the foundation of a new women's association with a political aim called "Women and the Country." The founders are mostly women members of the Executive of the Progressive Defence League, and the objects are (1) the enlightenment and political education of Swedish women (2) making them capable of choosing which party to join after their own judgment. As lecturers the new League has engaged Dr. Lydia Wahlström and Miss Hilma Borelins. It is hoped that their lectures may have no less a success than those of the Stockholm W.S.A., and those of the N.W.S.A. held all over the country last winter.

Another result of the electoral campaign is a Conservative Women's League, formed at the initiative of the Swedish National League in a provincial town. It proposes "to arouse women to a sense of responsibility, and organise them into a force that makes for the conservation of society;" but, on the other hand, it declares "that it will never make any sort of effort to obtain new rights for women." These women seem to have

International Women's Franchise Club,

9, GRAFTON STREET, PICCADILLY, W.

FOR MEN AND WOMEN. SUBSCRIPTION ONE GUINEA.

MEETINGS DURING JUNE.

Wednesday, 10 June, 8.30 p.m. Should Women Serve upon Juries? Mrs. Bosnell Tucker.
Chairman: Mr. G. B. Hamilton.

Wednesday, 17 June, 8.30 p.m. Discussion. "Nationalism and Progress."
Messrs. Charles Diamond, Th. Gugenheim, T. Huws-Davies, and Julius West.
Chairman: Mr. Goldfinch Bate.

Wednesday, 24 June, 3.30 to 6 p.m. Club Tea (Lecture, 4.30).
The Difference between English and Hungarian Feminism. Mme. Rosika Schwimmer.
Chairman: Mr. D. Cameron Swan.

Wednesday, 1 July, 3.30 to 6 p.m. Club Tea (Lecture, 4.30).
The Small Family System. Dr. C. V. Drysdale, D.Sc.
Chairman: The Hon. Mrs. Haverfield.

The Club possesses an excellent LIBRARY, composed of books dealing with every aspect of the Woman's Movement. Over a thousand volumes in French, German, and other languages as well as English are available for the use of Members. Non-Members may be enrolled as Library Associates by paying 5s. 6d. per annum.

LUNCHEONS, 1s. 3d. DINNERS, 1s. 6d.

ALL PARTICULARS—SECRETARY.

Tele.: 3932 MAYFAIR.

lost sight of the inter-relation between the duties and rights of citizens, imagining that one can go without the other.

The dissolution of Parliament has retarded the publication of the result of the big national petition for the enfranchisement of women, but it will soon be made now.

Belgium.—In the Constitutional Committee, among the 31 members, there are some Clericals, one of whom is M. Colaert, Mayor of the town of Ypres. This Conservative gave a well-documented and eloquent defence of women's rights, and advocated the abolition of all sex disability in electoral respect. His words did not fail to impress the Committee. M. Orban, Professor at the Liège University, proposed to enfranchise women householders, widows, women guardians, and matrons. M. Francotte, another Liberal, wished to enfranchise women heads of families, whereas M. de Greef proposed to introduce women suffrage in the Representation of Interests. Belgian Suffragists are looking forward to the final report which the Committee will make.

CORRESPONDENCE.

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

DEAR SIR,—Will you allow me to remind your readers that what is probably the only International Feminist Library in England is now located at the International Women's Franchise Club? The library already contains over a thousand volumes dealing with the various aspects of feminism, and is receiving constant additions of standard works of historic, economic, and social interest, both English and foreign.

Club members may take out two books at a time without any payment, and other persons may use the library as associate members for the small annual subscription of 5s. 6d. (including catalogue), exchanging books by post, as non-members are not entitled to enter the club premises. This arrangement is very convenient for Suffragists who for any reason are unable to join the club, though, of course, the guinea subscription, which includes both club and library, is the more profitable bargain.

I may mention that the library is in charge of a librarian who attends four times a week to give out books and render other assistance to readers.

Yours, &c.,

ALICE ZIMMERN,

Hon. Sec., Library Committee I.W.F. Club.

April 30, 1914.

ANNUAL MEETING: AN ADDENDUM.

We regret that, in the account of the annual meeting which was published in the last number of the Monthly Paper, no reference was made to an amendment moved by Mr. Housman to Mr. Gugenheim's resolution having reference to the attitude the Men's League should adopt towards the new Party Leagues. The discussion on this amendment was directed to urging the necessity of only conditional welcome, and on the amendment being put to the meeting the numbers for and against were equal. The Chairman, exercising his casting vote, voted against the amendment, which was thus lost by one vote. The original resolution was then carried by a large majority.

SIR W. CHANCE ON MRS. HUMPHRY WARD.

There is only one other matter to which I wish to refer before I sit down.* Our good friend and ally—Mrs. Humphry Ward—(I use these words advisedly, because, although she is unconscious of it, every letter which she writes to the Press makes more converts to the cause, and because I believe that she herself will be the first to join us when the victory has been won) wants the Suffrage question postponed until we have a Federalist scheme of government established in the United Kingdom. Then she would graciously allow—for Mrs. Humphry Ward apparently regulates the political pulse—women to elect the members of these local Parliaments, and even to have seats in them; in fact, to have equal rights with men in this matter. But they are to be shut out from the Central Imperial Parliament. Why? Because, she says, "We secure in this way a distribution of responsibilities which corresponds broadly with the natural difference between the sexes. The control of the central machine—of the physical force, the finance, diplomacy, and colonial relations of the Empire, and the final decision in all disputes which could not be settled by the Federal bodies—would thus rest entirely with men, while in social and domestic affairs a vast new field might open to women."

But this is not to be, says the unconscious humorist, until the Suffragist party and its leaders give an assurance to those who are resisting the women's suffrage movement in its present form, that "the line of demarcation between such local assemblies as might arise under Federalism and the Central Imperial Parliament would be loyally accepted and observed."

Women suffragists really owe a great debt of thanks to Mrs. Ward for her kindness and condescension; but, having given suitable expression to it, I think they will be wise to follow the straight path they now tread, which will lead them to the goal they have so nearly won.

THE WOMEN'S DEPUTATION TO THE KING.

RESOLUTIONS PASSED BY THE COMMITTEE ON MAY 19, 1914.

1. That whereas men, being electors, have the constitutional right of approach to Ministers as representing the King, women, to whom Ministers have not that direct responsibility which they have to men as voters, are justified in asserting their ancient constitutional right of direct approach to the Sovereign.

2. That the Committee of the Men's League for Women Suffrage humbly request that the King be graciously pleased to indicate to the authorities his desire that any official steps taken in connection with the proposed deputation on May 21 to Buckingham Palace shall be directed towards the maintenance of public order and the protection of the deputation from violence.

The first resolution was ordered to be sent to the Press Agency, and the second to Sir Edward Grey and to Lord Stamfordham, the King's Secretary, and to Sir Edward Henry, Chief Commissioner of Police.

No acknowledgment of these resolutions has been received from any quarter.

* Part of a speech delivered May 22, 1914, at the L.S.W.S. Reception at the Westminster Palace Hotel.