A Symposium on Women's Suffrage.

The following questions have been put by The New Age to representative persons in science, ethics, art, politics, and economics:

1. What in your opinion is the most powerful argument—
   (a) For, or (b) Against woman's suffrage?

2. Is there any reasonable prospect of obtaining woman's suffrage in the present Parliament, and this immediately?

3. Have the militant methods in your opinion failed, or succeeded?

4. What alternative methods would you suggest?

You state in your letter of invitation that you are impelled to do so—"in order to ascertain whether there are means of preventing the promised repetition of the disgraceful scenes and their sequences, called forth by the belief that the suffrage should be extended to women." Would you answer these questions? I will venture to submit that the means of preventing the "disgraceful scenes" you deplore are perfectly simple and at hand. They consist in the treatment of women who turn hooligans and break the law precisely in the same way men would be treated who acted similarly. Let the punishments dealt out to them be the same in duration and intensity as those meted out to the male hooligan in like circumstances. The incentive to continue in the same course which the cheap martyrdom afforded by farcical sentences provides would then be removed, and the "disgraceful scenes" referred to would speedily come to an end.

In my opinion there are two most powerful arguments against woman's suffrage. Firstly, the liability of women to hysteria in one or other of the various forms of that abnormal mental condition, a condition which notoriously impairs the power of judgment. It has been shown that on the average, one woman out of every four or five exhibits symptoms of definite hysteria. If we include those whose temperaments is affected by hysteria, but where the actual symptoms are latent, the proportion would of course be larger.

Secondly, apart from any question of incapacity for political judgment, and even assuming such relative incapacity not to exist, there remains the fact that woman occupies as such a privileged and exceptional position, not only socially, but also in the law and its administration, based ostensibly upon her assumed weakness of will and intellectual power, a weakness which is urged in favour of leniency and exceptional treatment of women in criminal and even in civil proceedings at law, oftentimes by the very same persons who, when it is a question of according women the political rights of men, most strenuously deny the existence of any such relative weakness or inferiority in the female sex. So long, I contend, as women occupy this exceptionally privileged position, even apart from any other consideration, they have no just claim to equality with men in the matter of political rights.

I believe there is little danger, as things at present stand, of female suffrage becoming law in the lifetime of the present Parliament.

In my opinion the "militant methods," as they are termed, have failed, as casting ridicule on the movement, and furnishing a sorry sample of the quality of female intelligence, commonsense and judgment. How frequently have we heard that the males of the species are intended to be of the destinies of the nation?" The alternative methods I would suggest to those who believe in, and are anxious to obtain, the franchise for women, are the methods adopted by men in every other case, in a community organised politically on democratic lines, and possessing in general the right of free speech, and a free Press, viz.: agitation by means of argument and persuasion rather than by knocking off policemen's helmets, smacking their faces, and breaking post-office windows.

Mr. E. Belfort Bax.
efforts to move the whole body of the public to juster views. Women, having no constitutional means of making their voices heard, have been driven to the much decried militant measures.

3. These militant measures have, I think, brilliantly succeeded in bringing the subject into the region of practical and immediate questions. The public has been forced at least to attend to the matter. Previously it was ignored, except by a few thinkers, and even these placed it in the category of the unessentials. Every other question had to come first. We have had to make enemies in order to make friends.

How far all the militant measures are justifiable is a different question, and not one to go into here. But it must be remembered that many things are justified to those who are political opponents. These peaceful people patiently tried and tried quieter measures for nearly half a century—which would be unpardonable in those who possess political representation either as a class or as a sex.

4. Alternatives are indeed difficult to suggest for weaponless fighters. Election work seems to offer the best hope, in union with propagandist effort. But this has already been done on a large scale. Still further concentration in this direction might be perhaps advisable. The difficulty in all these measures (other than the sensational militant methods) is that they do not make much quick effect beyond their immediate radius of effort. The papers will not report the quieter kind of work. They want something to enable the British householder to denounce "these disgraceful women," and to suggest medieval methods for suppressing them.

One newspaper actually stated frankly that it was not possible to give space to report quiet meetings and educational work. This took no interest in the only militancy that was worth reporting. Yet women are urged to try quiet and constitutional measures as if this were to them quite a new idea! If they don't make a noise, they are told they obviously don't want the franchise; if they do make a noise they are told they are not fit for it! Many no doubt have been alienated by militancy, but in any case the cause would never have made an inch of progress by the help of those who held it so cheaply and understood it so little as to be turned aside because of some of its advocates which these law-abiding friends happened (rightly or wrongly) to disapprove.

Mr. Cecil Chesterton.

1. (a) It is the theory of democracy that every citizen should have a voice in the government of the State. Women are citizens; they have to obey the laws. Therefore, on democratic principles, there is a presumption that they should have their share in making the laws. This is not only the right to bring the subject in, but the only valid argument in favour of women's suffrage. Everything that the suffragist adds to it—as, for example, the absurd pretence that women are such as are oppressed by men as such, and that Lady Wimborne, who can nominate three of her sons in a century—which would be unpardonable in those who possess political representation either as a class or as a sex.

2. The most effective arguments against women's suffrage seem to me to be (1) that women are not suffering from any grievance peculiar to their sex—which is true, but not, I think, conclusive; and (2) that the mass of women do not desire the vote, which may be true, but can hardly be proved until the vote is offered them. These are arguments against the inclusion of women in a scheme of adult suffrage.

Mr. Edmund B. d'Anvergne.

1. (a) Men being men and women being women, as Mr. Austen Chamberlain has reminded us, or, in other words, creatures with very distinct interests and constitutions, it is obvious that one sex cannot successfully or fairly govern the other. I speak as one who thinks that we must, whether we like it or not, accept democracy as the ultimate basis of government. An unelected despot should indeed be able to interpret the wishes of his male subjects, thanks to common-sense of sex, however that an elected oligarchy of men can interpret the desires of women.

(d) The only argument against women's suffrage that appears to be worth refutation is that of a lawyer named Smith—i.e., that votes are of value only in so far as they represent swords or fighting units. This is a frank recognition of brute force as the basis of government, which, if accepted generally, would revolutionise society. It would of course involve the disenfranchisement of all men over fifty
or sixty years of age, the lowering of the electoral age limit to sixteen or seventeen, and the disqualification of all invalids, however highly gifted in other respects. It means, in fact, a mob rule.

2. I am not hopeful. The Ministry now feels itself firmly seated in the saddle, and would grant the suffrage only through fear of a split, which I do not think is to be apprehended. Very few of the members who voted for the Suffrage Bill would prefer it to their party allegiance. Many of them would certainly renounce their seats in order to vote against the passing of the Bill, for I am satisfied that the majority of women in this country would for some years to come vote Tory. They think that if the women the vote would be merely to compensate the Opposition for the abolition of the plural voter. The granting of Home Rule to Ireland, militant as it is, is against this reform. Home Rule certainly will mean Home Rule if Irish women vote. Personally, I do not see why the opinions of religious or otherwise, should not have as much weight as the men's.

Suffrage Bill would prefer it to their party allegiance. Many now accord the rights of property, but, in the case of irresponsible persons, those rights are exercised by deputy, through parents, guardians, trustees, etc., and no harm comes of it. Yet I should say that property is far more generous than the vote, which is but a trifle in comparison. It means, theoretically, I may observe that I consider Christabel Pankhurst and her followers are very uncertain in their action and expensive to manufacture. A boycott of the drapers' shops would certainly bring Lloyd George to his knees. On the other hand, a militancy of this kind would bring thousands of our women, invalids, however highly gifted in other respects, into the enemy's camp. Let women point to the Statute Book and ask whether it would be possible for them to enact more equitable laws. They are all now agreed that the enemy has a moral right to see that his (or her) liberties are not being whittled away by the legislature. But would women exercise such a power? Certainly not. Like the aristocrats of old, like the plutocrats of yesterday, like the democrats of today, they would try (some selfishly, some altruistically) to force upon others the mode of life agreedable to themselves, or according best with their own limited view of the fitness of things. Then why grant them the vote? Because they have a moral right to it, and because they must learn by long experience what men have not yet fully discovered—that power is sweet, liberty is sweeter. In the clash of conflicting interests lies the salvation of freedom.

"For this we know, that every law that Man has made for evil, but that it has been well said, we now "count heads to save the trouble of the minority, and ask whether it would be possible for them to enact more vain, insane and even insane laws than those which men have enacted by the light of their own masculine intelligence.

MR. WILLIAM DE MORGAN.

1. That no argument has hitherto been advanced against the disfranchisement of men, that is not an equally strong one for the disfranchisement of women.

2. How should I know? I am not able to take an active part in the movement.

MR. WORDSWORTH DONISTHORPE.

You ask: 1. What is the most powerful argument (a) for, or (b) against Woman's Suffrage? Why "or" instead of "and." Why not both? Let me state an overwhelming argument for, and an irrefutable argument against.

(a) We have outlived the age in which the State consisted of a few score to a few hundred persons, when the physically strong rightly exercised a higher voting power than the weak; when Achilles counted for more than Thersites because he was more. But when States came to contain millions of citizens, it became apparent that the brute-force units cancelled one another on the average, and more complex forces decided the issue. We no longer confer the right of voting power on the prizefighter than on the mulatin, because there is probably another prizefighter in the opposite camp, capable of neutralising his efforts. As has been well said, we now confound heroism (and that is a true moral standard) only the moral right to see that his (or her) liberties are not being whittled away by the legislature. But would women exercise such a power? Certainly not. Like the aristocrats of old, like the plutocrats of yesterday, like the democrats of to-day, they would try (some selfishly, some altruistically) to force upon others the mode of life agreeable to themselves, or according best with their own limited view of the fitness of things. Then why grant them the vote? Because they have a moral right to it, and because they must learn by long experience what men have not yet fully discovered—that power is sweet, liberty is sweeter. In the clash of conflicting interests lies the salvation of freedom.

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DR. HAVELOCK ELLIS.

2. There is no possibility of passing any Woman's Suffrage Bill through all stages at once, not only because the rules of our complicated Parliamentary procedure must necessarily be followed, but because other questions are at the present moment regarded, reasonably enough, as more immediately urgent.

3. The militant methods of the Suffragettes have produced a variety of incongruous effects. Some of these have aided the woman's suffrage movement; others have impeded it. Personally I regard militant methods, apart altogether from the question of their effectiveness, as an unfortunate influence in the women's movement, which involves far more than the suffrage question, and deals with the fears of the politician. Freedom has been forced from despotism by fear rather than by logic or pleas for justice. I would counsel a continuance of these tactics, but only as a means to an end. In so they are contemptible. In answer to Question 4, I would suggest, not as an alternative, but as an auxiliary plan of campaign, to carry the war into the enemy's camp. Let women make a last and ask whether it would be possible for them to enact more vain, insane and even insane laws than those which men have enacted by the light of their own masculine intelligence.

MRS. ELIZABETH C. WOLSTENHOLME ELMy.

1. (a) In the enfranchisement of women on the same terms as men we shall get the greatest possible security for all other social and political justice.

2. As Mr. Asquith has promised "facilities," there is no reasonable doubt that women's suffrage can be assured during the approaching session, provided only that members of Parliament prove faithful to their pledges.
3. In my opinion the militant methods (for which, as a member of the Executive of the Women's Social and Political Union, I share the responsibility) have been most effective in rousing the attention of the people at large to this grave question—for more than all our previous quiet and persistence, they have revealed to the public exactly what I knew, for I formed the first Manchester Women's Suffrage Committee in October, 1869, at the same time that Miss Emily Davies and the first London Union's Suffrage Committee. To Miss Davies belongs the honour of being the pioneer of pioneers in this movement, as also in that of the Ladies' National Union, we remember that after our grounded hopes are realised, we shall need no further agitation, and therefore I decline to suggest any “alternative methods.”

Me wish, however, to urge upon every convinced woman's suffragist the duty and necessity of supporting the present movement by urging upon every M.P. whom he or she can hope to influence, the duty of actively supporting by his personal vote in Parliament, and by his influence with other M.P.'s, and especially by endeavouring to induce Mr. Asquith to adopt the Bill as a Government measure—as would be both fit and wise, despite the opposition of Lord Chancellor Loreburn.

The Government (Mr. Gladstone's) of the day did thus adopt and carry into law the Married Women's Property Bills, two for Scotland and two for England, Wales, and Ireland. I am indebted by Lord Chancellor Selborne, and of Mr. Blair Balfour, later known as Mr. Kinross, and president of the Scottish Court of Appeal, Mr. Blair was at the time Secretary for Scotland.

MISS FLORENCE FARR.

1. Fools, not women, should be voiceless.
2. No man can be expected to give the vote to anyone who visibly wants to keep him in order with it.
3. The vote will have to be taken by force, not given; that is what makes it worth having.
4. I should get rid of women’s delusions about young girls and their education. The young could win the battle in a week if they would only try.

The Hon. Mary Forthiam.

1. (a) The fact that only one sex is represented in the political world and most other walks of life is harmful to the nation. This being the case, women and children are at a big disadvantage, their claims ignored or overlooked. The status of woman is thus below that of man, and they labour and work under penal disadvantages.
2. There are two arguments, in my opinion, against women’s suffrage.
3. The militant methods aroused public opinion to the importance of the question when all other methods had failed; still women’s suffrage can with justice claim great debt in the past. Having aroused the masses to think and act, I feel that they would do the cause a far better service now if they withheld all militant methods.
4. Solid specadework on the lines of the constitutional women’s suffrage societies.

MR. W. L. GEORGE.

I am afraid it is rather difficult to say which is the strongest argument for or against women’s suffrage. There are too many reasons, ethical, political and simple, why the general public will be opposed to it. It will be too difficult for us to disseminate; perhaps, taking it all round, the best argument is one that begs the question: “Women have done so much, though they have been enslaved for so long. What would they not do then if they were free?”

I think the justice of the women’s demand is universally admitted. It is, therefore, conducted by the majorities: understood and therefore not to methods, for there are an enormous number of men who have accepted the idea of women’s suffrage, but are not inclined to support it because it means violence. Methods have annoyed them. As regards the prospect of a bill passing the present Parliament, they seem to me very rosy indeed; it is almost a foregone conclusion that the Lords will be muzzled within six months, which leaves the way clear for a Reform Bill. Now one does not need to be inspired to prophesy that the Government will present a Reform Bill, for it is pledged to suppress plural voting, to make London one borough, to settle the latchkey vote, to reduce the qualification period; all this involves a Reform Bill. Mr. Asquith being pledged not to oppose an amendment for granting the suffrage to women, it appears to me almost certain that women will get the vote by 1915, or before.

As regards methods, I, for one, do not object to violence: I like it. But I do object to any appeal to the women, the jury, the proletariat. Women are not a class: they are not a social agency. The best argument in favour of women’s suffrage consists in the fact that all political government finally consists in the fact that all political government finally rests on physical force, and, both in respect to muscular power and moral temperance, woman is not fitted to govern by physical force.

If in making these two replies, I have in mind complete woman-suffrage, applied to the married and unmarried, and detached from the wretched nineteenth-century principle of connecting the vote with property. I am in favour of woman’s suffrage in this sense, and, if I were a member of Parliament, should only support the miserable “Limited Suffrage” because it is that or nothing. A number of my friends earnestly desire it, and keenly feel the injustice of its non-realisation.

2. I do not see any prospect of the immediate passage of a woman’s suffrage bill in the present Parliament, since the Lords problem will occupy the earlier months (though it is the House of Commons that needs reform far more than the House of Lords) and the Home Rule question may hasten another General Election.

3. In my opinion, the militant suffragist methods have virtually failed. My reason for saying so are these:

(a) For many years (since the time of Miss Lydia Becker, for instance), the woman’s suffrage movement grew in volume and force, and its supporters had the satisfaction of freedom from the idea of disorder and rough manners, and thus discounted to a considerable extent the value of the suffrage when granted. I support woman-suffrage, but should witness its accomplishment with regretful thoughts of the set-back that, in turn, will lead to Socialism; and Socialism will render much of our present voting apparatus unnecessary and obsolete.

MISS BEATRIX HARRADEN.

1. The strongest argument in favour of woman’s suffrage is contained in the words: No taxation without representation.
2. I am unable to say at this juncture.
3. The militant methods have, in my opinion, succeeded. If all the other suffrage societies had the courage to be-
come militant, I believe we should get the suffrage at once.
4. I can suggest no alternative methods. The so-called constitutional methods have failed all along the line.

MR. HENRY HOLIDAY.
1. (a) I put aside the claim itself, because it can hardly constitute an argument, and ought to be avoided. The claim is that neither sex can have the right to say to the man who represents them, you shall not pass! Women may vote, and this would disfranchise large numbers of men, and ought to give a plurality to the winning sex. But if the thesis be sound the proper method would be what the late MR. A. Venables called "Proportional representation," upon which the existence and well-being of the race is determined by the number of pounds he or she could lift, or "No," I should say. But if the thesis be sound the proper method would be what the late MR. A. Venables called "Proportional representation," upon which the existence and well-being of the race is determined by the number of pounds he or she could lift.
which may, at first sight, appear less "reasonable" in character. It is difficult, however, that if I remain persistently deaf to reason and justice, there does come a time when it is "unreasonable" merely to go on arguing with women: they must be given a definite objective lesson in what failure to govern by consent may mean to the machinery of government.

3. Militant methods have failed to arouse among the majority of the electorate that indignation against the Government's veto on woman's enfranchisement which would have been aroused had the Press been open and truthful in its accountants, that women were actively endorsed at the hands of the authorities, of plain-clothes policemen, and of the stewards at public meetings, or had there existed among the general public interest on the part of those who demand work and a place in the world were merely revolting against marriage and the home. There are many more women than men in this country who would come to most of them, if a number of women economic self-dependence is no theory, but a stern necessity. Those who are immeasurably against women's entrance into political and professional life must, probably be driven to advocate some kind of conventional life for superfluous women.

I cannot tell. I should be inclined to surmise that some step towards granting women's suffrage will be taken in this Parliament, but probably not immediately.

It is most important to argue whether militant methods have failed or succeeded. They undoubtedly alienate some support, but on the other hand, often win over former opponents, and it is almost impossible to estimate the balance. My own impression is that the going to prison did a great deal for the cause at first, and made a profound impression, but that the leaders made a tactical mistake in carrying it on so long. The recent scenes in Parliament Square seem to have alienated more than they gained. Personally I am intensely, perhaps pedantically opposed to all violence, and do not regard victory as infinitely better worth having than conquest by a pure appeal to the emotions; at the same time, I cannot help greatly admiring the pluck, ability, and courage of the W.S.P.U., even when I dissent from them most. They have woke up women and exploded the ideals of drawing-rooms. As a matter of fact, too, I believe the violence used by members of the W.S.P.U. has been of a merely technical and mild nature, while they have pluckily suffered real hardship and maltreatment themselves. At the same time, I do not think these considerations can justify or excuse their leaders in deliberately provoking street fighting. There are some conquests of the W.S.P.U. that are precious to be risked, and the inhibition of violence between men and women is one of them.

4. The only alternative to militant methods that I can suggest are (a) educational measures; a good deal might be done by demonstrating the inevitableness of a change in the position of women under modern economic and industrial conditions; and (b) a general strike of women from political work as canvassers, organisers, etc. This would probably be an extremely effective weapon. But there are many women who are interested in these questions, as much as, or more than, in the suffrage, and the strike is therefore unlikely to be general.

Mr. Laurence Jersold (Paris).

1. (a) The most powerful argument for woman's suffrage is that women are undeniably superior to men in the arts of living, irrespective of the other arts; they are the realists, with a horror of the words, "casualties," "sacrifice," and "superfluous women.

2. I should much dislike womanfolk of mine joining in the suffragettes' militant practices, but I have to acknowledge that they seem to have made more headway by violence in a few years than they were made by peaceful agitation in several decades.

Dr. Oscar Levy.

My chief objection to woman's suffrage is that it makes men, even the more intellectually advanced, feel that their world is being invaded by something foreign and hostile. I am entirely in favour of woman's suffrage. Truth to tell, only women ought to vote; only women do vote.

Dr. A. M. Luddovici.

I am entirely in favour of woman's suffrage. Truth to tell, only women ought to vote; only women do vote.

The Hon. Neville Lytton.

1. (a) Women are taxed, and therefore they should vote, is much the strongest argument in favour of woman's suffrage. (b) There is no argument against the suffrage that can hold a candle to it.

2. I have no opinion on the matter.
3. Up to the last militant outbreak the militant methods had succeeded admirably, and had done more for the movement than years of work by the constitutionalists. The militants caused the peaceful workers to be put on a pedestal at once. If there had been no militant methods there would have been no one to compare the non-militants with, to the disadvantage of the former. Before the arrival of the militants the non-militants were regarded as the sufferings of the women in prison worked powerfully on the imaginations of the important men in politics. Their success reached its climax when they secured ardent and influential supporters in either House to take up their cause. The resumption of militant methods immediately before the last election was a great tactical mistake. I think that, is, that they are still willing to continue their labours.

4. I should suggest canvassing the country as before, and leaving the Parliamentary campaign in the hands of the supporters of the movement of violence. The reason of this is that those who still support the suffrage are simply the repetition of the street conflicts by which Europe obtained the blessing of Parliamentarism, less than a hundred years ago.

5. I cannot suggest any alternative to militant methods while men are so pig-headed that they prefer to be driven instead of led to do their duty.

Mr. Justin McCarthy.

1. (a) I am and have long been a firm believer in the importance and the justice of the claim to the suffrage; but it has ever laid down a basis of right to the suffrage which does not extend to women, if they care to claim it, nor can I imagine any basis. The payment of taxes never was recognised as a basis by political philosophers, and has lost all meaning as a rough educational test since the giving of free education.

2. I think the present Parliament is absolutely pig-headed. I am ashamed at the brutality of men in their conduct towards their female political opponents. Men who can understand the rights and duties of their own unaided industry. Even wives have no direct legal force, which are, and must be, repugnant to the public generally.

3. I think the present Parliament has now reached its climax when they secured ardent and influential supporters in either House to take up their cause. The resumption of militant methods immediately before the last election was a great tactical mistake. I think that, is, that they are still willing to continue their labours.

Mr. Joseph McCabe.

1. (a) The most powerful argument that I know in favour of women's suffrage is that it is so in our Colonies, and it will be so here. Another argument, scarcely less strong, is the injustice of taxation which attaches to them as the sisters of that Blessed Maid for whom we have no argument against women suffrage that can be described as powerful.

2. I see no reasonable prospect of obtaining women's suffrage under any Ministry presided over by Mr. Asquith, and fear it is far off. It will not be given until the giving is proved to be an advantage to the party that gives it, or they are induced to think so.

3. The militant methods—by which I understand the use of violence—are, in my opinion, most valuable until a year or two in collision to the moral forces that are now in the Press. Now they have ceased to help, and are an excuse to many to go back on their admission of the justice of women's suffrage.

4. I hesitate to take owls to Athens, but think the incomparably best method is for women, especially Liberals, to refuse to lend a finger to the men, at election or otherwise, and to maintain their educational propaganda in spite of the disgusting action of the House of Commons.

Sir Charles McLaren.

1. (a) The most powerful argument for women's suffrage is that they are taxpayers, and in the main as intelligent as men, as well as the chief administrators of the family life of the country, they have every right to demand direct political representation.

(b) The most powerful argument against it is simply that of sex. The natural instinct of a man being to dominate, and that of a woman to rely upon his strength and power. This argument is, however, weakened by the fact that a great number of women do not in any way desire the suffrage, and that of others to rely upon his strength and power. Even worse, they have no direct legal claim against their husbands for support.

2. There is every prospect of obtaining woman's suffrage in the Reform Bill to which the Government are pledged in this Parliament, but there is no reasonable prospect of obtaining it immediately.

3. The militant methods, in my opinion, have advertised the question enormously in the Press, and as they have been directed against a Liberal Government, have enlisted the sympathy of the wealthy and Conservative classes. Probably, however, they have alienated large numbers of middle-class Liberals.

4. The alternative methods I would suggest would be persistent agitation without resort to methods of physical force, which are, and must be, repugnant to the public generally.

THE RIGHT REV. ARNOLD HARRIS MATHIE, D.D.

1. That women are men's equals (not their inferiors), and should therefore possess equal rights, since they bear the same responsibilities as men in matters of taxation, etc.

2. I think the present Parliament is by far more courageous than men, and that if heroism is to win the day success is theirs.

3. The militant methods fill me with anguish and admiration. I am ashamed at the brutality of men in their conduct towards their female political opponents. Men who can understand the rights and duties of their own unaided industry. Even wives have no direct legal force, which are, and must be, repugnant to the public generally.
2. There is every prospect of obtaining women's suffrage in the present Parliament, and immediately. Wherever we go, into whatever part of the country, into whatever social stratum, it is recognised as a fact that the disfranchisement of women is the burning question of the day. It has displaced the veto of the House of Lords, as Ministers have found out for themselves. It cannot any longer be neglected.

3. What have succeeded or failed to be easily judged. For upwards of forty years the cause of the emancipation of women made absolutely no progress, and was misconceived and stultified. In the present Parliament, and immediately. Wherever I find out for themselves. It cannot any longer be neglected.

4. There is no alternative method.

DR. MAX NORDAU (Paris).

1. I see no argument whatever, whether powerful or feeble, against woman's suffrage. Her present disfranchisement is not an argument, but a brutal fact. To declare her intellectually incapable of exercising political rights is not an argument, but an impertinence.

(a) The strongest arguments in favour of woman's suffrage are the following:

Woman pays all the taxes, bears the burden of all the laws, and shares all the fates of the Empire, exactly as do her masculine fellow-subjects. She is therefore, in logic and justice, entitled to an equal share with him in the education she gives to her children; there is no reason for denying her the faculty of managing the public affairs which are now subject to the influence of voters who may be drunkards, prodigals, blockheads, or ignorant fools.

(b) The votes committed by the "suffragettes" are coarse, stupid, and thoroughly inefficient. They offend good taste and create resistance in quarters where otherwise the people may incline towards favouring the emancipatory tendencies.

Surely, most of the rabid "suffragettes" must have fathers, brothers, husbands, sons, or other masculine relatives or friends. Let them hear their influence upon these men and determine them to fight the battle for woman's right with the usual correct weapons—with their vote on polling days, with their voice or pen on other occasions. If they are incapable of converting their ideas to the men of their own circle, they have no chance, for the hour, of winning strangers.

MR. C. H. NORMAN.

I. The principle of democratic government being that the people should control legislation, women are debarred from the franchise in that they cannot enforce legislation without the aid or consent of men; whereas, as politicallanders, they have the right to demand the assistance of women in giving effect to their legislative functions.

That is the fundamental difference between the male and female units in a democratic State. The present laws regulating the economic status of men and women are so diacritic in their operation against men that it would be economic madness to enfranchise women under present conditions.

2. I should say not. Democratic government rests upon the consent of the people to legislative measures. There is no evidence that the electorate has given a mandate to the present Government to carry woman's suffrage. The whole object of the suffragettes, women and men, is to obtain a hearing and a sufficient momentum to get a measure of the land, and as a great residuary force making towards stability and decency.

I. (a) To me the most powerful argument in favour of woman's suffrage is the inherent rightness of it. The government of any country should be in the hands of the intelligent and honest members of that community. Intelligence and honesty, therefore, should be the criteria for enfranchisement. At one time "sex," like "the possession of property," may have been a fairly accurate thumb rule as to the possession of cultured intelligence, but to-day neither the one nor the other has any practical value in the presence of the more or less general education of all classes and both sexes. "Sex," therefore, is an archaic and an anachronistic idea. The number of a community attains to a required standard of intelligence and honesty it is indecent to make any enquiry as to sex. A day or two, man or the community, has as much prima facie right to a vote as a man has.

(b) To me the most powerful argument against woman's suffrage is that it would tend to drag the half of the community into that sordid, dishonest, corrupt, uncharitable atmosphere which is inseparably connected with party politics. If I do think that it is a waste of time to give numbers of women into the arena of voting and vote influencing will benefit the political prohbit of the people, but I do think that it it would benefit the cause of government as a whole. Just as I look upon a body of legislators like the House of Lords as an asset of excessive value, because they are outside of the mass of popular elections, so look upon the possession of the nation. In view of a great body of intelligent women, removed from the evil influences connected with voting, and from the insane party spirit engendered by it, as of inestimable value to the beauty and sannness of the land, and as a great residuary force making towards stability and decency.

2. I do not think there is an immediate prospect of woman's suffrage being obtained, but I am satisfied that it will be obtained before another decade is passed, and then everyone will try to lay upon the other party the blame for not obtaining it long ago.

3. I think the militant method has been the only one which has brought woman's suffrage within the range of success. Up to the time that militancy was adopted the whole subject was academic, and since "justice" is a plea of but little value in dealing with the House of Commons, women might have waited until doomsday had they tried to win suffrage on the ground that it was "right." The Boers won South Africa because they fought the English. Had they copied the attitude of the Babus of India and pleaded the justice of their claims Capel Court would rule in Johannesburg to-day.

The kingdom of heaven was said to be peace and justice, and who believes that John Burns would be a Cabinet Minister had he not fought fights in Trafalgar Square years ago? M.P.'s will only take interest in the burning questions which are in people's mouths, and therefore the women who wanted the vote were obliged to resort to the only weapon possessed by the extension of militancy—namely violence and publicity and advertisement. It is truly a disgraceful sight to see women struggling in the streets with policemen, but the disgrace is to the England of the 20th century that such things are necessary in order to obtain a hearing and a sufficient momentum to get a Bill through the House.

4. I see no alternative to the present action, viz., two great organisations. The one militant, and aggressively militant, and following the line of Napoleon's dicta, and opposing obstinacy and inertia by big battalions of enthusiasm and force, until a promise is obtained. The other teaching and persuading and winning over the great body of respectable middle-class minds to the justice of woman's suffrage and to the grievances and hardships which women have to endure because they have no political power. The only alternative I can suggest is some more grandly and imposingly and impressively militant, and avoid all tactics which savour of the Bashi Bazouk, and which the non-militant go on their own way, but cease to bear all the burden of the soldier for a great cause.

MR. EDEN PHILLPOTTS.

Woman's suffrage is happily a certainty at no very distant date. The line pursued by those fighting the battle will decide who is to doubt the victory. Militant tactics should only be resorted to when a minority is resisting the clearly expressed demand of the majority.

4. The usual methods by which minorities seek to convert majorities to their ideas or proposals.

DR. JOSIAH OLDFIELD.

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actually destined to receive the vote will not only use it, but use it on the side of progress. The(resolution battle of the women against the men which took place in the present General Election argued a lack of perspective, a lack of instinct, and a confusion of principle that distressed me to observe; for it has been too long a time since the white-fan (ism) of some capable argument of potent application.

Mr. Edwin Pugh.

1. I am not young enough to know a great deal about women, but I have felt that the man, and those of them are either reactionaries or revolutionaries. So, I would not give them the vote, because they are reactionaries. But I would give them the vote, because they are revolutionaries. There are, however, no logical, but only partisan arguments against woman's suffrage.

2. I think there is no least prospect of obtaining woman's suffrage in the present Parliament, since the Government is a Liberal Government, and a Liberal Government stands for compromise. Women, being either reactionaries or revolutionaries, have no use for compromises, and Mr. Asquith is shrewd politician enough to know that, as practically all the women's votes would be also, in a Conservatism or Socialism, to grant woman's suffrage would be to destroy the power of his party for ever.

3. The militant methods have failed. I think, because they have alienated public sympathy. It is impossible for men and women to wage physical warfare against one another upon equal terms. The women are favoured by their weakness, and the men are handicapped by their strength. The police are either unjustly condemned or unjustly excused. Fair play for both sides is impossible. And the police are simply no judges.

Alternative methods should not be "suggested," but expropriated. And you could not give me enough space—even if I had the time to expand—enough to explain why I would like to add that, in my opinion, what is wanted is Universal Adult Suffrage. One person, one vote. I would let paupers and criminals vote. As the greatest sufferers under our social system their points of view should be illuminative. But I would not let anyone vote who was under 21, who could be proved—by a few simple questions such as everyone has to answer when applying for any kind of trading license—to know nothing whatever about politics.

Mr. Alfred E. Randall.

1. In reply to your first question, the strongest argument for woman's suffrage is, in my opinion, the fact that women have not the right to vote because men are, in a country like England, the most powerful argument against it; for it is clear that if women have been able to improve their condition, they might improve the sphere of their activity without the vote, the vote is not necessary to their welfare or progress. Its value, which is the only thing I care about, is nil. It will not increase the representation of women in Parliament, for it will add nothing to the abilities of the members returned. It will simply increase the numbers of the poll, and add to the work of the returning officers and scrutineers. The extension of the franchise to women may, by registering a greater number of votes, give greater confidence to the Government; for the women, in their places, will be accurately ascertained. But as the introduction of legislation is practically the prerogative of the Cabinet, and it is a statesman's business to get the country to allow them to do as he likes, it offers no guarantee of better government or of the removal of practical disabilities from which the sex undoubtedly suffers.

2. I do not think that there is any hope of passing a bill for the disfranchisement of women in the present Parliament. The House of Lords and Home Rule will provide enough work for the next two sessions; and the Liberal Party will probably have to make another bid for popularity with another scaled Socialist Budget before it appeals to the people again.

3. The militant methods have failed. To continue to shock people is impossible; they become accustomed to it, or protect themselves from it. Violence must succeed at once, or fail. The militant suffragists have been too violent to have their claims reasonably considered, and not violent enough to cause them to be continued. They are not ridiculous, but dangerous; for the mob is no longer to be diverted by their stupid antics.

4. I suppose, what women wish to share in the government of the country, they would be more profitably employed in developing a party organisation and selecting and supporting those of them that they should be suffrage candidates; the ghastly failure of Herbert Jacob and Mirrlees is sufficient warning. But men should be chosen who have the means to present to the electorate, in ordinary political matters, and yet are in sympathy with the peculiar aspirations of women. In representative Government, to change the members is to reform the House. To make every member a Coalition Government, a general revision of the parties of which the coalition is composed, is the only hope of getting a given body of opinion effectively represented. It is this government for which the party is needed, a political power; to obtain political power organisation, independent candidates, and control of the electorate are necessary. If the vote were then needed, it could be had for the asking.

Mr. Will Reason, M.A.

1. The most powerful argument for woman's suffrage is, in my opinion, the fact that the nation needs it. The social problems that have to be solved concern women, and especially need the expression of the woman's point of view. This rests upon the truth that "woman is not undeveloped man, but diverse," not upon any fancied "equality" in particular ways. There is a question of right, but the nation's need is supreme.

2. I do not think there is any reasonable prospect of obtaining woman's suffrage in the present Parliament, if it be taken by the House of Lords, the party of which the coalition is composed, is the only hope of getting a given body of opinion effectively represented. It is this government for which the party is needed, a political power; to obtain political power organisation, independent candidates, and control of the electorate are necessary. If the vote were then needed, it could be had for the asking.

Mr. J. M. Robertson, M.P.

1. (a) Strongest argument for woman's suffrage: The admitted moral and legal equality of the sexes in all other respects, and the general use of women's help in political work.

Best answer to this: Present practice a good division of labour. Relinquishing this the vote cannot rationally be called a form of labour for which women are unfitted.

(b) Strongest argument against woman's suffrage: That the inevitable ranour of political strife will bring men and women into new and unhappy hostile relations for the principle, even when embodied in the so-called Conciliation Bill, so long as they know that that form of it will not be proceeded with. The women were either reactionaries or revolutionaries, so that the great majority were against giving that particular Bill the facilities necessary to become law. But if a general revision of the House takes place, it will not find their place on the register. The Conciliation Bill opens the door to the creation of qualifications of wealth, and excludes the great majority. In the voice of these that is most required; any satisfactory solution must bring in the mothers of the nation. Those who do men's work are not so happily needed in the national councils.

3. The militant methods may have attracted some, but they have espoused the cause of many others, including many women who were before eager for female suffrage. These methods also have a most disastrous effect upon the militants themselves, blunting their sense of fairness and truth, and destroying their sense of humour. Many of them simply cannot recognise facts, and their arguments fail to convince because of their lack of consistency and proportion. This applies to both sides equally.

4. I think the older methods of real argument and persuasion were making headway, as shown by the majority of Members of Parliament who were in favour of woman's suffrage before the militant methods were begun. I consider that we should have had a much fairer and more thorough franchise for men had some of the earlier extensions not been sought by violent procedure. What men give through fear they seek to make useless by craft; there have been many efforts in this direction. It is possible, I think, this way, whereas a really convinced majority seeks to make the machine as workable as possible.

Mr. Robert Ross.

1. (a) Every class of the community has the right (in a philosphic sense) to obtain what it requires that the right that challenges to every individual (whether it is good or bad for him or her), so far as the exercise of such right does not cause
Supplement to the New Age

1. (a) Because "nowhere on earth can the interests of women and children be safeguarded... Parliament is not equally responsible to women as well as men.

2. Yes, if those members of Parliament who profess... [Mr. Frank Rutter]

Mr. Frank Rutter.

3. Five years of "militant methods" have advanced... [Henry H. Schlossberg, Lecturer on Public Administration at the London School of Economics].

1. (a) The argument for women's suffrage is the argument for democracy, namely, that progressive government can only attain its fullest results when the governed, through the medium of their elected representatives, participates in the government, benefiting or suffering through their own acts and by their own desires.

2. I am not in favour of women's suffrage, but I should think not. The best chance is to avoid emphasising the women's aspect of the question, to drop such measures as the "Conciliation" Bill, and to base the franchise on the basis of the Twentieth Century Reform Bill.

3. It is difficult to say what methods have been most successful. Some of the women's actions, such as the petition, have been perfectly legitimate, others have been more or less anachronistic. It is impossible to imagine that all kinds of methods might proceed harmoniously together.

4. Vote Labour: The Labour Party is the only one that is sincere in this matter, and if women really desire the vote, they must not be content with anything less than the unqualified and unrestricted vote that is natural to them.
so strengthen it that it can force the Fabian Reform Bill through. I am also continuing work as at present in the educational field.

Mr. Clifford D. Sharp.

1. All the usual arguments for woman's suffrage based on the alleged superiority of the female sex, or any other supposition regarding the equality of men and women seem to me not only to rest on very controversial, and therefore very shaky, foundations, but to be utterly valueless in the educational field. No one supposes that the ordinary unskilled agricultural labourer is actually the intellectual equal of his employer. But in the eyes of the democrat that intellectual difference has not the slightest bearing on the claims of either party to a vote. Physical or moral comparisons are equally beside the mark from the democratic point of view. The alleged moral, intellectual, or physical equality of men to a vote. Physical or moral comparisons are equally beside the mark from the democratic point of view.

Whether, considered broadly as human beings, the average woman is the equal of the average man may be an open question, but whether at present she considers herself, her claim not to be an open question at all. The convention of the "superior sex," if it be a convention, is one which women cherish far more persistently than men, and for the maintenance, if not for the origin, of which they are chiefly responsible, and which gives them the bottom of their hearts that their masters are really superior beings, so most women believe in the bottom of their hearts that they belong to the inferior sex. Clearly this is in either case a most undesirable state of mind, unless the value of self-respect and intellectual independence is so great that the difference between the female sex and the male is over-rated. At all events, the best way I know of attacking this convention, whatever its chief bulwarks may be, is to give it up and to prove that it is not sound, and if you upset them. That ought to prove a staggering blow. It will take away from women their last excuse for being the slaves of men, and at last to millions the last excuse for which men can be held responsible. I do not believe that the political results of extending the franchise will be appreciable, that women's interests will be better looked after, or anything of that sort, because I cannot conceive of any issue present or future in the sphere of national politics which is likely to divide the sexes as such. Even if it became so, or that a scheme of voting for which women would not affect the ultimate decision. But I do believe that the social results of the change will be immense, and by securing a better education and a better understanding of the sexes will prove far more beneficial to society in the long run than those of any other piece of legislation which is likely to be undertaken in our generation.

2. The answer to your second question depends upon what is at best a very doubtful quantity, the value of election pledges given to people who, in case of non-fulfilment, have no power of holding them responsible. I should think that there must be an excellent prospect of such a point of becoming the nerve centre through which the nation's collective thought and will is translated into action, and its function is, I think, the last excuse for which men can be held responsible. But a scheme of voting by a parliamentary governing class, but to shape a fit environment for future generations. With regard to home affairs this is quite obvious, but when one comes up against affairs, it is possible people see quite clearly that the great task of the State is to secure peace and international good feeling. The work the State did in the eighteenth century was essential. For the much finer work now in hand women's assistance is essential. As long as the State denies women citizenship it is doing its work with one hand, perhaps the right hand, tied behind its back.

3. The acceptance of adult suffrage is more likely.

4. If the success of "militant methods" is to be judged on those of any other piece of legislation which is likely to be undertaken in our generation.

Those who have been concerned in extending the municipal franchise to women in and legalizing the appointment of women to posts in Local Government know how often the Bills have been, and still are, delayed by not being able to secure a place for them in the ball. All men's mem-

bers' Bills are taken in the order in which they obtain a place in the ballot. When a Bill has been adopted by a member of Parliament who is having a difficult time, the number of members it cannot be brought forward until it secures a place in the ballot, and the almost invariable answer to the request that the Member of Parliament that every member has to place first the Bills of his constituents. Women are not constituents, and therefore their Bills can be and are laid aside.

2. Of the prospects in the present Parliament it is impossible to judge, but that is no reason for ceasing to work, but rather the contrary.

3. The militant methods were in the early stages of much value, as without them the question would not have received the attention which it now attracts from all parties. That the militant methods have been carried too far and should cease altogether is my own opinion.

4. The constitutional methods of holding meetings, pro-
moting petitions, speaking on every occasion that offers in favour of the suffrage, and supporting Parliamentary candidates who are in favour of and will work for a Bill to extend the suffrage to women.

Dr. Gilbert Slater.

1. (a) The most powerful argument for woman's suffrage is, I think, the change that is proceeding in the functions of the State. Originally a military organ, the State did in the eighteenth century was man's work. For the much finer work now in hand women's assistance is essential. As long as the State denies women citizenship it is doing its work with one hand, perhaps the right hand, tied behind its back.

(b) Perhaps the powerful argument against women's suf-
frage is the half recognised fact that to give women the vote is to give them greater power in the decisions of society on the established ethics of sexual relationships and the laws relating thereto. That, I fancy, is what is in the background of the minds of those who say that woman's sense of what is right in these matters should change will be immense, and by securing a better education and a better understanding of the sexes will prove far more beneficial to society in the long run than those of any other piece of legislation which is likely to be undertaken in our generation.

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3. The acceptance of adult suffrage is more likely.

4. If the success of "militant methods" is to be judged on those of any other piece of legislation which is likely to be undertaken in our generation.

(a) Heckling Ministers I consider perfectly fair and expe-
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(b) Peaceful picketing of the Houses of Parliament I con-
sider most effective.

(c) By-election work I consider very effective; action in the General Election except on the old lines adopted by the N.U.W.S.S. is of doubtful value.

(d) Stone-throwing campaigns I consider a very great mistake. At the very beginning Mrs. Pethick Lawrence declared that the W.S.P.U.'s tactics were to suffer, not to commit violence. This policy, in my opinion, should have been adhered to without the slightest deviation.

(e) I consider that one blunder of extreme importance was made on the occasion when the W.S.P.U. refused to allow Mr. Lloyd George to address the Liberal women on the suffrage question without interruption. They should have
stipulated instead for a few minutes to reply, and should have appealed to Liberal women to insist on the Liberal Party taking the lead. The Liberal women were then, as they will often be, the key to the situation. How Mr. Asquith must have chuckled to see the W.S.P.U. handing it over in one blunder, their opinion that women had done up to that point.

(f) I consider that the hunger strike, especially as carried out by Lady Constance Lytton, has been extremely effective.

4. Women's suffrage, in my opinion, except for the observation of the fundamental principle, "Suffer, but do not commit suicide," is a subject for practical action on the part of both women and men. As long as women were brought up in seclusion, and debarred from the intellectual privileges given to men, there could be no more sensible practical case for their exclusion from the suffrage. One service bred the necessity of another. But now that women are obtaining almost equal opportunities in education, and are being received on equal terms in most of the activities of life, the case for exclusion from the suffrage is rapidly and progressively diminishing.

In my opinion the militant methods were, to some extent, justified during the early months of the movement which is involved in the word "male," for the argument of the women who work for this have high aims and high ideals. They succeeded in compelling attention; but the breach having been made in the fortress, other methods should now be employed, because it is a protection to them, women need it more, because they have more need of protection. More defensiveness by nature, they are made more so by a false restriction, in that they have thrown their way in regard to earning money, fame or position; they have more powerful enemies, more open and more insidious dangers, and "the laws are partial against women's side."

Men need the vote because it gives them power; power to annul or to modify laws that press hardly on themselves in any way.

MRS. CHARLOTTE C. STOPES.

1. Take all the arguments for giving the vote to men, and you can apply them with added force to giving the vote to women. Men needed the vote because it is a protection to them, women need it more, because they have more need of protection. More defensiveness by nature, they are made more so by a false restriction, in that they have thrown their way in regard to earning money, fame or position; they have more powerful enemies, more open and more insidious dangers, and "the laws are partial against women's side."

2. First, that women are believed to possess immortal souls.

3. They succeeded in compelling assistance; but the breach having been made in the fortress, other methods should now be employed, because it is a protection to them, women need it more, because they have more need of protection. More defensiveness by nature, they are made more so by a false restriction, in that they have thrown their way in regard to earning money, fame or position; they have more powerful enemies, more open and more insidious dangers, and "the laws are partial against women's side."

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3. They succeeded in compelling assistance; but the breach having been made in the fortress, other methods should now be employed, because it is a protection to them, women need it more, because they have more need of protection. More defensiveness by nature, they are made more so by a false restriction, in that they have thrown their way in regard to earning money, fame or position; they have more powerful enemies, more open and more insidious dangers, and "the laws are partial against women's side."

MRS. CHARLOTTE C. STOPES.

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SUPPLEMENT TO THE NEW AGE

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it. The only consistent anti I ever met was a lame man. "Oh, yes, I know that there are delicate, diseased, stunted, and old men. There are crippled and maimed men more helpless than many women. I would disfranchise the lot, including myself, because I cannot fight." (2) Sentimental persons of both sexes say, "I do not like the notion of women voting. Nice women are better in a glass case than in a polling booth. Anything that sticks on their shoulders would make them look more like men than women." As to other women, who have no influence, and many needs, we are too susceptible to think of them, so we shall not mention them. (3) The general cause of the opposition of feminine anti's, which we are too susceptible to think of them, so we shall not mention them.

And would it do them the tithe of the harm that canvassing with a horde of women! They would swamp my opinions, belittle my arguments, and I am sure they would vote for yond that may be added the power of inertia. "Whatever is, is right." "We are very well off as we are," etc. "Let well alone." But what if it is not well? "Still let it alone in those dominated by inertia agree with the others that the possession of a vote would enuclea women. Would it really do them any more harm to put a cross against the name of a candidate for Parliament, than to put one for a candidate for a borough, or to write a whole shilling telegram? And would it do them the title of the harm that canvassing does? That is the anti's only hope in women to canvas, and nullify all their so-called arguments.

2. I do not pretend to be a Mother Shipton, nor am I good at conundrums. Ordinary processes of thought and generalisation do not empower me to foresee—

"Through the ways that are dark Of the leading M.P."

Our best moves are frustrated through unexpected blocks. Our enemies will condescend to do anything to keep us back. From the days of Mr. Labouchere, who talked our cause that a great nobleman was not ashamed to lend his good name to influence a secret collection of funds to work against us. The Prime Minister, who foams against the constitutional veto of the Lords, has usurped an unconstitutional veto against majorities in the House of Commons, supposed to be representative of the people. We never know what the purposes of our enemies are. Sometimes they are influenced; they are apt to have other interests irreconcilable to their promises and intentions to help us, and keep their consciences clear. The number of loyalists to our cause who will put it in front of everything, as we do, is few. And this is a country governed by the numbers, not by the intelligent values, of the votes. We cannot therefore prophesy concerning their purposes or their means, but we know there can be no true new age until women have fair-play. And we know that we never shall cease working for it until we win.

3. One cannot answer a question clearly without defining its terms. What is a militant method? The commonplace answer is, a method used by party men when the Government defined a policy they did not like. It is only because men are voters that their method of politics is considered quite right and gentlemanly. If women had votes, they do it in any way they can. This has roused many party men against them. But it has gained some others who put the claims of justice first.

The militant methods have not succeeded as yet, seeing that qualified women have not received and exercised the vote. But we cannot say whether or not they have failed. Time will try.

We of the law-abiding societies would rather gain our enfranchisement in a common and ordinary way, and so would the militants. It is only when woinanly arguments fail, they try another way. We have been when our law-abiding methods were stigmatised as disgraceful and unwomanly; at present the action of the militants is considered so by both sides; but the day may come when it will be considered so no more; the day when the anti's cease from troubling, and justice and freedom have been secured by women for women.

4. Every constitutional method open to women has been tried by the non-militant societies, or by the militants before they became so. They have sent up petitions for 60 years, the first being presented in 1851. There have been a great number of petitions than for any other cause, one of them at least over a quarter of a million. They have organised innumerable public meetings, fifty times as many as have been acknowledged by an indifferent or antagonistic Press. They have subscriptions for personal service more freely in proportion to their means, than any other reform has ever called forth. Some have tried passive resistance in regard to their taxes. Male electors have joined with them in sending up electors' petitions. Some have taught the Government their views or their action on this point by votes. Of course, when the militants have shown initiative heroism and the martyr-spirit that counts all things but loss for a great ideal.

The only alternative method I could suggest must begin from the other end. It would make the study of logic, constitutional history, economics and moral philosophy compulsory for all members of Parliament, with an honour's certificate for all those who pass it. The Cabinet Government is only necessitated by the natural tendency of human beings to make the interests of others subservient to their own. Yet the art of government is the only great art which men are supposed to be able to undertake without preparation, study, apprenticeship or experience. My plan would at once end the disgraceful scenes for which Ministers alone are to blame; because they would then understand the principles of justice and the spirit of the women who count in the country. But as we are women and have no votes we cannot raise the tone of our politics by proposing this suggestion, and we are forced to continue as a sex, at least for a time, to go on being governed, and seeing our country governed, by those whose only relation to both sexes who make up the people.

Mr. G. S. STREET.

1. (a) The industrial employment of women.
(b) The want of evidence that it is widely desired by women.

2. None whatever.

3. Succeeded at first by attracting attention; fails at present because they irritate without frightening.

4. I have no new suggestion to offer.

BARONESS BERTHA VON SUTTNER (Vienna).

1. The best reason for women's suffrage is that politics can only become worthy of progressive civilization if the (as yet) essentially female qualities of gentleness and gracef ul dignity are permitted to penetrate political life.
1. In my opinion the most powerful argument for woman's suffrage is the human argument—the bottom rock of humanism constitutionally constitutes the large portion of adult humanity. They form the basis of the human race, of the home, of national and social life. They are the support of society. Physiologically they are the most complex and highly specialized of organic forms; psychologically they are the most highly evolved in the plane of education, reception, and expression; socially they are the most adaptable to environment, the more imaginative, sensitive and sympathetic. Therefore the possessors are constructive and synthetic functions and faculties to a greater degree than men. By no natural law, nor by any code of justice, nor by the creed or the community at large, can the higher be placed in subjection to the lower; nor can arbitrary, artificial and purely eugenic restrictions be allowed to impede the full and free development of that basic factor—motherhood—upon which the future of the race depends. Justice to humanity as a whole is, therefore, the strongest and most irresistible argument for the political enfranchisement of women. For the Government is the department of social, industrial, economic, civic and imperial activities through the thwarted and repressed energies of its better and more evolved half.

2. The argument of its supporters is not a hollow, appealing one. It is the outcome of the Government's unconstitutional action. It is the revolting of women against the baneful dominance of male rule. The militants and the pacifists, the reformers and the revolutionists, are the adherents of the same cause, the manhood of humanity. Woman is humanity, the prophet of the superman, with the sake of that race, bone of her bone, flesh of her flesh, and soul of her soul, woman demands her political rights to obtain that race's heritage of liberty and unity.

3. Against that argument there can be no powerful argument, as no argument brought forward could rest on a basic foundation of justice, logic, truth or reason. The arguments, so-called, of the opponents to the enfranchisement of women, are negative, supposititious, and contradictory of each other. Evolution, development, progress, are positively affirmed in their hypothetical arguments to the fate of fabulous monsters.

4. The agitation for a reform and a demand for a withheld right extending over forty years, among its supporters, the greatest of politicians, the most famous of Prime Ministers, the advance guard of philanthropists, scientists, thinkers and writers, has returned to Parliament after endless persecution, repetition, and suppression. They refused to be shelved, to be put off to a more convenient season, to be ignored, to be circumvented, denied, played with, cajoled and suppressed. They were quick to make use of precedents, to employ ancient Parliamentary usages, and civil superstitious prejudices. They have been the outcome of the Government's unconstitutional methods of dealing with a great national question, of its imbecile inaptitude of grasping the extent and strength of the movement, of its shameful manipulation of the police force as a means to create riot and disorder, and to assault, torture and arrest pacifists (in the treatment of the various constitutional deputations to the House of Commons), will reflect, as long as history lasts, to the condemnation and discredit of politicians who could thus safely leave the police and the military to crush, with blood and fire. The militant party is the flame that at last ready to be transmitted into the living light and warmth of justice.

5. Women's suffrage is unique. Its supporters have to deal with a corrupt and subsidised Press, with a paralysed and suppressed Parliament, with the powers that be, and at every point the weakness of the police and the military. The militants have been justified in their deeds and in their wisdom, in their fearlessness of danger, in their unflinching courage, in their utter forgetfulness of self, in their eagerness to serve the woman cause, in their contempt of suffering and even death, in their persistent battle for the right and their desperate struggle with the strong, when the principal object of the militants was the enforcement of the Conciliation Bill, but left open to amendment. Four weeks' steady application to business. All is laid down to the record of the Liberal Government's dealings with the women of England who demanded their elementary right of citizenship. I am thankful that for the recital in those pages there will be women historians, thus cast such a slur on British manhood, modern civilization and Christian chivalry as these officially manoeuvred "disgraceful scenes" bear witness. No page of English history will be read with greater shame and indignation by future generations than the record of the Liberal Government's dealings with the women of England who demanded the elementary right of citizenship. I am thankful that for the recital in those pages there will be women historians, and no facts will be suppressed. The old constitutional society did the spadework, the seed of freedom was sown in the prepared soil by the able hands of the militants, and the crop is ripening to a bountiful harvest, fed by the blood of the tears of the martyrs who sanctify every human cause.

6. The only alternative method that I consider feasible is the alteration of the Government's method in dealing with the agitation. The Government has simply to act according to precedent. It requires no brain-work; only a week's steady application to business. All is laid down to the Government's multiplicity of, and existing apparatus, by which ease of receiving votes, elections, deputations, petitions, demonstrations, and an active propaganda has made its demand a living political issue for immediate settlement, world-wide, under any normal Parliamentary procedure be secure of obtaining a speedy settlement of its claims at the earliest opportunity, and during the first session of the Parliament. But the question of woman suffrage is unique. Its supporters have to deal with a corrupt and subsidized Press, with a paralysed and corrupted Parliament, and above all, with a corrupt and subsidised Press, with a paralysed and suppressed Parliament, with the powers that be, and at every point the weakness of the police and the military. The militant party is the flame that at last ready to be transmitted into the living light and warmth of justice. When Annie Kenney first waved her half-yard of bunting in the sex struggle for votes, but then the revolt of women against the baneful dominance of male rule found tribute expression. That little white flag was the signal of battles of conquest and victory. A half-century of peaceful constitutional agitation had failed. Women had appealed in vain to man's reason, to his sense of justice, to his humanity and his sympathy. These qualities appeared to be non-existent. Men had not heard, had not felt, and not understood. The militant tactics roused the nation from stagnation and apathy, from somnolence and impotence. The autocratic triumvirate was ready to be transmitted into the living light and warmth of justice. The militants demanded a straight answer to a straight question. They refused to be shelved, to be put off to a more convenient season, to be ignored, to be circumvented, denied, played with, cajoled and suppressed. They were quick to make use of precedents, to employ ancient Parliamentary usages, and civil superstitions, prejudices. The militants have been justified in their deeds and in their wisdom, in their fearlessness of danger, in their unflinching courage, in their utter forgetfulness of self, in their eagerness to serve the woman cause, in their contempt of suffering and even death, in their persistent battle for the right and their desperate struggle with the strong, when the principal object of the militants was the enforcement of the Conciliation Bill, but left open to amendment. Four weeks' steady application to business. All is laid down to the record of the Liberal Government's dealings with the women of England who demanded their elementary right of citizenship. I am thankful that for the recital in those pages there will be women historians, thus cast such a slur on British manhood, modern civilization and Christian chivalry as these officially manoeuvred "disgraceful scenes" bear witness. No page of English history will be read with greater shame and indignation by future generations than the record of the Liberal Government's dealings with the women of England who demanded the elementary right of citizenship. I am thankful that for the recital in those pages there will be women historians, and no facts will be suppressed. The old constitutional society did the spadework, the seed of freedom was sown in the prepared soil by the able hands of the militants, and the crop is ripening to a bountiful harvest, fed by the blood of the tears of the martyrs who sanctify every human cause.
agitation with renewed vitality and persistence, I advise that the women of Great Britain and Ireland should become earnest and practical students of biology, and learn from that science a certain though perhaps protracted remedy for their evil state. If the suffrage is refused this year, it will be evident to even a layman with a large supply of cells—half-baked men, as Edward Carpenter dubs them; let the mothers of the kingdom see to it that no more elementary sisters are born to disgrace themselves and the nation. It requires only some extra chromosomes in the initial cells for girls (the standard of humanity) to be pro-

4. I think the leaders would do well to give their minds now to the tactical problem of framing a concrete proposal less contrary to the spirit of modern legislation than a woman's essential unfitfulness for public life. My oh-

5. Violence is the only method that ever can succeed in overcoming apathy. The fact that parliamentary candi-

dates now hesitate to pledge themselves to woman's suffrage proves that the question has entered the sphere of practical politics.

6. I think the most powerful argument against the suffrage is that it has only to increase its supply of dog whips and cobble stones to terrify this Government or any other Government into instant submission. To be frank about it, this is rather wishful in the uncomplimentary sense of the term. It is ridiculous as pressure, and as an irritant merely exasperating. Force is no remedy unless it is absolute and overwhelming, and it is not merely against, but it frightens nobody. Just think of being dog-whipped into such a leap in the dark as woman's suffrage and by such hands! No wonder the country grows colder and colder as the Albert Hall grows hotter. The last election was crushing for the militants. It seems hardly to have turned a single vote. A deadlock in this narrow sense would probably show that the cause was never before in such low water in regard to the support of the electorate.

7. The only alternative method I could suggest is the old-fashioned one of what is called peaceful agitation. It seems a long road to travel, this road back to sweet reason-

8. Sane and sober agitation without silly violence, and a demonstration that women can take an intelligent interest in public questions other than the vote.

9. I know of nothing valid against woman's suffrage; and for it I think the chief consideration is that the man's half of the country without getting anything for the other half lives in regard to thought and opinion and the sense of its own interest in public affairs.

10. I do not see much chance of obtaining woman's suffrage in the present Parliament. The women got very successful in attracting attention to the cause, but that they have now become ridiculous and discredited is the general public opinion.

11. I do not think that up to a point the militant methods were bad and demoralising.

12. I think that up to a point the militant methods were successful in attracting attention to the cause, but that they have been carried beyond that point and are now, in effect, its worst enemy.

13. I have no alternative methods to suggest.

MR. FILSON YOUNG.

(a) The strongest argument for woman's suffrage was that there was not sufficient argument against it until the militant suffragists supplied it.

(b) The strongest argument against woman's suffrage is that, so far as anything has been shown, the effect of political excitement upon women has been on the whole bad and demoralising.

2. Is a question for a parliamentary politician.

3. I think that up to a point the militant methods were successful in attracting attention to the cause, but that they have been carried beyond that point and are now, in effect, its worst enemy.

4. I have no alternative methods to suggest.

MR. RICHARD WHITTING.

1. I know of nothing valid against woman's suffrage; and for it I think the chief consideration is that the man's half of the country without getting anything for the other half lives in regard to thought and opinion and the sense of its own interest in public affairs.

2. I do not see much chance of obtaining woman's suffrage in the present Parliament, and the weak point is that women got no little out of the last Parliament, and the new one is but the old one with a more imperative mandate, which is not suffrage, but never more be.

3. No, I think they have been a dead failure, and naturally so, for they tend to scare the cautious, always the majority, back to the old and, as we hoped, discredited idea of woman's essential unfitness for public life. My ob-

4. Succeeded as emphatically as all other methods have failed.

4. No alternative method, but every kind of supplementary method in the way of educating the masses, the M.P.'s and the Ministers.
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