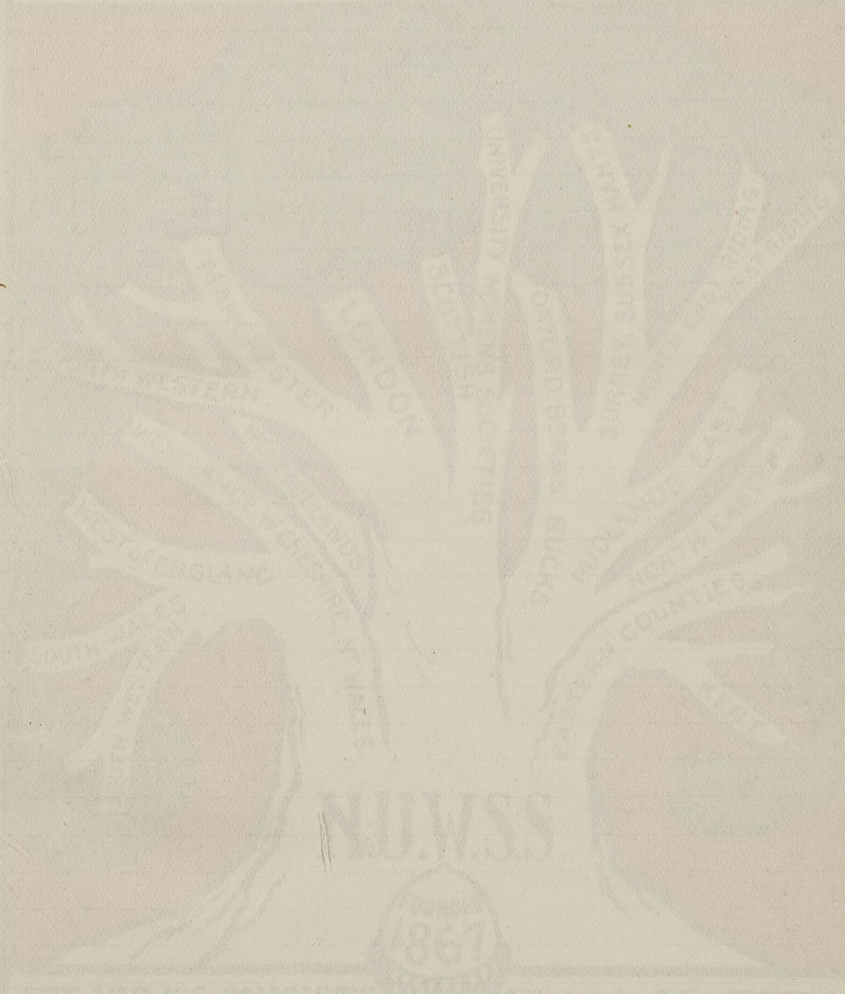
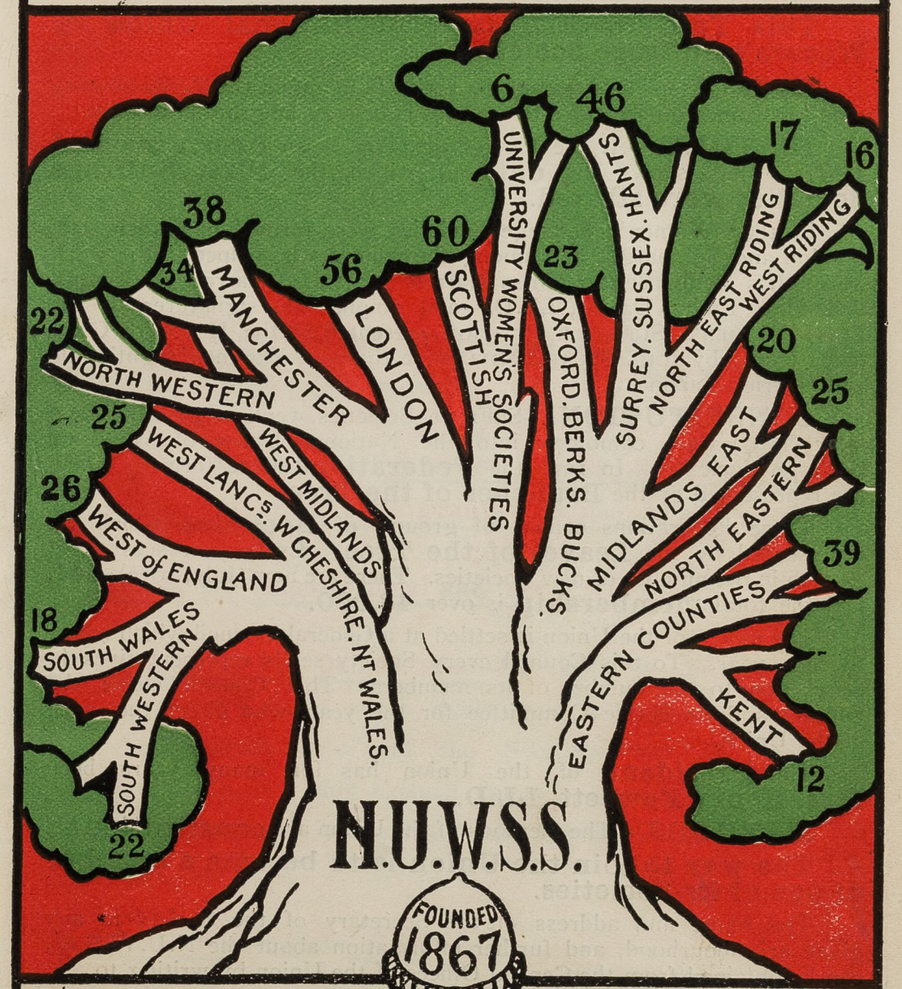
FROM
JESMOND HILL,
PANGBOURNE.

NATIONAL UNION
OF
WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES



THE NUWSS CONSISTS OF 449 SOCIETIES
UNITED INTO 16 FEDERATIONS
THE LONDON SOCIETY & UNIVERSITY WOMEN'S SOCIETIES

NATIONAL UNION OF WOMENS SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES.



THE N.U.W.S.S. CONSISTS OF 449 SOCIETIES
UNITED INTO 16 FEDERATIONS
THE LONDON SOCIETY & UNIVERSITY WOMEN'S SOCIETIES.

B. 101. August, 1913.

National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies

14, Great Smith Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

President: Mrs. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.

LAW-ABIDING. NON-PARTY.

Colours: Red, White and Green.

What does this Tree Mean?

This Tree represents the great **National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.**

OBJECT.—The object of the Union is to obtain the Parliamentary vote for women on the same terms as it is or may be granted to men.

HISTORY.—At the foot of the Tree is an **Acorn marked 1867.** That shows the **date** at which the **First Suffrage Societies were started.**

In 1867 Women's Suffrage Societies were formed in Manchester, London and Edinburgh, and among the women who helped in the work were Miss Lydia Becker, Miss Garrett (now Dr. Garrett Anderson), and Miss Emily Davies, LL.D.—and among the signatures to the First Women's Suffrage Petition presented to the House of Commons (1866) by John Stuart Mill were those of Florence Nightingale and Harriet Martineau.

CONSTITUTION.—Suffrage Societies went on growing, and later (1897) were combined into the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies. In 1910 the **Federations** were formed, which are represented by the **Branches of the Tree.**

These Federations consist of groups of **Societies**, which are represented by the **Leaves of the Tree.** Every year sees rapid growth in the number of new Societies. There are now (July, 1913) **441,** and the total **membership** is over **43,000.**

The policy of the Union is settled at a General Council which meets twice a year. To this Council every Society sends representatives in proportion to the number of its members. This Council elects the Officers and Executive Committee for the year, who direct the work of the Union.

The **President** of the Union has for many years been **Mrs. Henry Fawcett, LL.D.**

METHODS.—The methods of the Union are **constitutional.**

The way to join the Union is to become a member of one of its Societies.

The name and address of the Secretary of the Society in any given neighbourhood, and further information about the N.U.W.S.S., can be obtained from the Central Offices of the Union by writing to

THE SECRETARY,
National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies,
14, Gt. SMITH ST., WESTMINSTER, LONDON, S.W.

1/4 per 100.

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No. B 45. Feb. 1912.

NATIONAL UNION
— OF —
WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES,

14, GREAT SMITH STREET, WESTMINSTER.

President: **Mrs. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.**

Hon. Secs.: Miss Courtney. Miss Palliser.

Hon. Treasurer: Mrs Auerbach.

Colours—RED, WHITE, AND GREEN.

The National Union is the oldest and the largest of the British Women's Suffrage Societies.

Its Object is to obtain the **"Vote for Women on the same terms as it is or may be granted to men."**

Its Methods are **Constitutional and Non-Party.**

Its Organisation is Democratic.—Its policy is formed by the General Council which meets twice a year, and consists of representatives of all the Societies and the Executive Committee. This Council annually elects the officers and the Executive Committee who administer the affairs of the Union.

Its **Membership** is about **30,000.**

There are over 300 affiliated Societies forming a network all over the country from the Shetland Islands to Cornwall. New Societies are formed almost every day.

For purposes of organisation the Societies are grouped into Seventeen Federations as follows:—

Eastern Counties Federation:
Hon. Sec., Mrs. E. E. Kellett, M.A.,
4, Belvoir Terrace,
Cambridge.

Kentish Federation:
Hon. Sec., Dr. Brunyate,
4, Effingham Crescent,
Dover.

Manchester & District Federation:
Hon. Sec., Mrs. Stanton Barnes.
Sec., Miss Margaret Robertson,
85, Deansgate Arcade,
Manchester.

Midlands (East) Federation:
Hon. Sec., Miss Maud Dowson,
Sulney Fields,
Upper Broughton,
Melton Mowbray.

Midlands (West) Federation:
Hon. Sec., Miss Noel Wright.
Sec., Miss Coyle,
Worfield Cottage, Solihull.

N. & E. Ridings Federation:
Hon. Sec., Miss E. Bateson,
Robin Hoods Bay, Yorks.

North Eastern Federation:
Hon. Sec., Miss Hardcastle,
3, Osborne Terrace,
Newcastle-on-Tyne.

North Western Federation:
Hon. Sec., Miss C. E. Marshall,
Hawx End, Keswick.

Oxford, Berks. & Bucks. Federation:
Hon. Sec., Mrs. Haverfield,
Headington Hill, Oxford.

South Wales Federation:
Hon. Sec., Miss Janet Price,
159, Newport Road, Cardiff.

South Western Federation:
Hon. Sec., Mrs. Penry,
Heles School, Exeter.

Surrey, Sussex & Hants. Federation:
Hon. Sec., Miss M. O'Shea,
The Cottage, Cosham.

West of England Federation:
Hon. Sec., Miss Wheelwright,
52, Sydney Buildings, Bath.

West Lancs, West Cheshire, and North Wales:
Hon. Sec., Miss Jessie Beavan,
12, Ullet Road, Liverpool.

West Riding Federation:
Hon. Sec., Mrs. Bauer,
8, Springwood Terrace,
Bradford.

North of Scotland Federation:
Hon. Sec., Miss A. Black,
9, Victoria Terrace,
Inverness.

Scottish Federation:
Hon. Sec., Dr. Elsie Inglis,
M.R.C.M.,
2, St. Andrew's Square,
Edinburgh.

and

The London Society,

with 40 branches and a membership of over 3,000.

Secretary, Miss Philippa Strachey,
58, Victoria Street, Westminster.

All Men and Women who believe that Women have rights and duties as citizens and that in a free country Government should be carried on with the consent of the Governed, are invited to join us and to help us in our great constitutional struggle.

If you approve of our objects and methods please fill in the accompanying form and send it to the Secretary.

In whatever part of the kingdom you live, you can become a member.

In joining us you will help forward a great cause.

Our Weapon is Public Opinion.

I approve of the objects and methods of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies and desire to be enrolled as a member of the affiliated Society in my district.

I herewith enclose cheque / postal order *for £ : s. d. the amount of my annual subscription.*

Name .....
Mrs., Miss, Esq., or other title.

Address .....
(in full).

To the Secretary, ... *Society for Women's Suffrage;*

.....

or the

Sec., National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies,
14, Great Smith Street,
Westminster,
London, S.W.

Send for Catalogue of Publications

to Literature Secretary, N.U.W.S.S.,

14, Great Smith Street,

Westminster

and read our organ, *The Common Cause*, 1d. weekly.

NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES,
Parliament Chambers, Great Smith Street, Westminster.
President: Mrs. Henry Fawcett, LL.D.

LAW-ABIDING. NON-PARTY.

Colours: Red, White and Green.

An Ounce of Fact is worth a Pound of Theory.

Australian Senate

— ON —

Women's Suffrage

You British men and women hear from the Anti-Suffragists many prophecies of the terrible calamities that will happen if women get the vote, but what is the ***experience*** of that Britain under the Southern Cross where women have been enfranchised for the last 18 years? In 1893 women first voted in New Zealand; since then they have gradually won the suffrage in every Australian State and for the Commonwealth Parliament. Do we find any signs that it has "wrought such havoc in the home and family" as to make them "thankfully abandon their experiment," as the Anti-Suffragists predicted? On the contrary! They put themselves about to ***urge*** it on us. ***The Australian Senate itself has twice sent resolutions recommending the Enfranchisement of Women to the Home Parliament.***

One of these resolutions was sent on December 4th, 1909, and the other on November 17th, 1910. Below is a text of the resolutions passed last November, the first by a

unanimous vote, the second by a majority of 11 to 4, and ***cabled to Mr. Asquith:—***

(1) That this Senate is of opinion that the extension of the suffrage to the Women of Australia for States and Commonwealth Parliament has had the most beneficial results. It has led to the more orderly conduct of elections, and at the last Federal election the women's vote in a majority of the States showed a greater proportionate increase than that cast by men. It has given ***a greater prominence to legislation particularly affecting women and children,*** although the women have not taken up such questions to the exclusion of others of wider significance. ***In matters of defence and Imperial concern they have proved themselves as farseeing and discriminating as men. Because the reform has brought nothing but good,*** though disaster was freely prophesied, we respectfully urge that all nations enjoying representative government would be well advised in granting votes to women.

(2) That a copy of the foregoing resolutions be cabled to the British Prime Minister.

Is not the advice of the Australian Parliament worthy to be followed in ours? ***Australian Men trust their Mothers and Sisters and Wives;*** why should not Englishmen do the same?

What light do **FACTS** throw on the working of Women's Suffrage in Australia and New Zealand?

(1) **Imperial Affairs have not suffered:** New Zealand was the first Colony to offer a Dreadnought for Imperial defence. Australia and New Zealand generously helped the Mother Country in the South African War.

(2) ***The whole Community has benefited:***

(i.) ***The Temperance Cause has gained:*** *e.g.*, in New Zealand by the institution of Local Option.

(ii.) ***The Cause of Purity has gained:*** Lady Stout says:—"It is now recognised . . . that no man has a chance of election unless his character as a husband and father will bear investigation."

One of the first Acts passed in most of the States of Australia and New Zealand after the enfranchisement of women was to protect girls under 16 or 18 years of age instead of under 14. The legal standard of morality and conditions of divorce have been made equal for both sexes.

Acts were passed for the Suppression of Indecent Advertisement, &c.

(3) The titles of a few Acts the women's vote has helped to pass, will show that ***Women and Children benefit by Women's Suffrage;*** and by the spirit of equality of which the enfranchisement of women is an earnest.

NEW ZEALAND.

Judicial Separation Act (by which legal separation from worthless husbands can be obtained summarily and without expense).

Testator's Family Maintenance Act (which prevents a man from willing away his property without making suitable provision for his wife and children).

Infant Life Protection Act.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

Married Women's Property Act.

Affiliation Act.

Legitimation of Children.

Early Closing.

Factory Acts Amendments. (Sweating).

State Children's Amendment.

And a host of other bills dealing with children.

The Infant Mortality in New Zealand is the lowest in the world (77 per 1,000 in 1906).

There is at last serious consideration of Equal Pay for Equal Work.

It has been said that ***women will not use the Vote if they get it.*** Australasian experience shows this to be NOT TRUE. Here are the figures of the New Zealand elections :—

YEAR.	PERCENTAGE OF ELECTORS VOTING.	
	MALES.	FEMALES.
1893	69·61	85·18
1896	75·90	76·44
1899	79·06	75·70
1902	78·44	74·52
1905	84·07	82·22
1908	81·11	78·26

These figures point to ***a deepening of the sense of National Responsibility amongst men, and that it is already deep amongst women.***

Women of Britain, are you content that the women of Australia should care more effectively for their country and their unfortunate sisters and their children than you ?

Men of Britain, will you allow the men of Australia to be more just than you ?

If not, demand the Suffrage for Women.

Published by The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, 25, Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W. ; and
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NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES,
Parliament Chambers, Great Smith Street, Westminster.
President : Mrs. Henry Fawcett, LL.D.

LAW-ABIDING. NON-PARTY.

Colours : Red, White and Green.

Why Midwives and Nurses need Votes.

1. ***The Midwives' Bill of 1902,*** was carried through after a twelve years' struggle. Midwives narrowly escaped losing through the political pressure of other professions their name of Midwife and their professional independence, and these dangers arose entirely from the voteless condition of Midwives.

2. The Amending Bill of 1910 if passed into law would have crippled the practising Midwife most seriously. This Bill was dropped, but a Bill on similar lines is promised shortly. **In order to bring her case before the legislature the Midwife must be able to put pressure on individual Members of Parliament. The possession of the vote is the only effective means of doing this.**

3. ***Trained Nurses,*** **your profession is bound before long to be defined and regulated by law. You will run great danger of losing your professional independence unless, when that moment**

comes, you are in a position to exert direct political influence. You cannot do this as long as you are voteless.

4. ***The National Insurance Bill of 1911,*** **if passed in its present form can be used to wipe out of existence the profession of "practising Midwife."** There are 30,000 women on the Midwives' Roll, of whom much the larger proportion are practising Midwives. There is no mention of Midwives' fees as a legal expenditure of the Maternity Benefit. Even if this is rectified it is practically certain that Local Health Committees will be pressed to encourage the employment of Doctors rather than Midwives under the Maternity Benefit clause. Doctors will be largely represented on these Committees, Midwives rarely, if ever, and in this matter the interests of Doctors and Midwives clash.

5. Under the Bill as drafted all trained Nurses and Midwives in receipt of a salary will be obliged to contribute a fixed sum to the insurance out of their salaries. Those who are boarded and lodged will receive no benefit over what they receive at present, unless they are so long ill that they are obliged to give up their appointments. Those living out will receive 7s. 6d. a week when ill, but they will lose it if they go into a Home or Hospital for treatment. **The Bill is grossly unfair to voteless Nurses and Midwives.**

Work with us to get the vote for women so that you may be able to represent your own point of view to Candidates at Election time. **This is the way all other professions and classes get fair consideration.**

Read "The Common Cause," 1d. weekly.

Published by THE NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES, 25, Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W.; and
Printed by VACHER & SONS, LTD., Westminster House, S.W.—33423.

1/- per 100
8/- " 1000

B. 30.

VOTE

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Great Smith Street, S.W.

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B. 30.

VOTES FOR WOMEN.

The Conciliation Bill Explained.

What is the Conciliation Bill?

An attempt to bring all political parties together in support of a **moderate and practical** plan for giving votes to women. The Bill was drafted by a committee of fifty M.P.'s representing all four parties in the House, with the Earl of Lytton as its chairman.

It succeeded so well that in 1910 it was carried on the second reading **by a majority of 110.** In May, 1911, when Sir George Kemp introduced it, it was once more read a second time, and secured a majority of **167.**

Among those who have voted for it are:

Mr. Birrell	Mr. Balfour	Mr. Barnes	Mr. Devlin
Mr. John Burns	Mr. Bonar Law	Mr. Keir Hardie	Mr. Healy
Sir Edward Grey	Mr. Lyttelton	Mr. Ramsay MacDonald	Mr. Swift MacNeill
Mr. Runciman	Mr. Wyndham	Mr. Snowden	Mr. W. Redmond

Will it give Votes to all Women?

No! It will give votes only to **women who pay rates and taxes** (whether directly or as part of the rent). These women already have a vote for Town and County Councils. There is no dangerous innovation here. It is common sense that a woman who can choose a County Councillor can also choose an M.P.

What Women will get the vote?

Women Householders. A Householder is a woman who inhabits a dwelling-house, or part of a house over which she has full control, however small it may be, and **however low its value.** A duchess may get a vote for her palace, and a charwoman for her cottage, or (if she has full control) **even for a single room.** The household franchise is fair to all classes.

Why are these Women chosen?

Because they are **heads of households** which at present are unrepresented. Every man who is the head of a house may qualify as a voter. These women have the same responsibilities as men householders. **More than half of them are widows**, and many have children dependent on them. The rest are chiefly single women earning their own living.

What about Married Women?

A wife will not get the vote unless the house is rented in her name. But a woman will not be disqualified simply because she is married. This means that a sailor, a fisherman, or a commercial traveller who is often away from home when the election comes on may arrange to register his house in his wife's name, and so give her the vote. Thus **every household will be represented.** In Dundee, a seaport town, it has been ascertained that 370 married women will get the vote under this clause.

How many Women will get the Vote?

About **One Million** in the three Kingdoms.

Will it stop there?

That depends on men. They will still be the vast majority of the electors. There are seven and a-half millions of men voters.

Is the Bill fair to the working classes?

Well, the Labour Party thinks so. **Mr. Shackleton** introduced it in 1910. Thirty-four Labour members voted or paired for it in 1911, and none against it.

Look at these figures, which were reached (February 1911) by a systematic house-to-house inquiry, supervised in each town by committees of leading citizens of all parties.

In Dundee out of 3,866 women householders on the municipal roll it was found that 2,177, or **more than half, live in one or two roomed dwellings.** Some 1,178 women live in three or four roomed dwellings. Only 511 live in houses of five or more rooms.

In Dundee **89 per cent.** of these women householders are either weekly wage-earners or working-class housewives. In Carnarvon and Bangor (small residential towns with no industry) **75 per cent.** of the women householders are either wage-earners or working-class housewives who keep no servant. On the average fully **eight out of every ten** women voters will belong to the working class.

Surely this is democratic enough.

Does the Country approve of the Bill?

No less than **90 City, Town and County Councils,** and 30 District Councils have petitioned or passed resolutions urging that the Bill may become law. These include the City Councils of:—

Birmingham	Dublin	Leeds	Newcastle
Bradford	Edinburgh	Liverpool	Nottingham
Cardiff	Glasgow	Manchester	Sheffield.

What is the Government's Attitude?

It has promised **to give facilities** for the passage of the Conciliation Bill into law in the session of **1912**. This is to be (in Sir Edward Grey's words) "**a real opportunity,**" and the Prime Minister has pledged himself that this promise shall be fulfilled "not only in the letter, but in the spirit."

Electors! Tell your member that you expect him to vote for the Bill, to resist obstruction and defeat wrecking amendments. Tell him to vote straight and follow the lead of the Conciliation Committee. Tell him that women must be voters at the next General Election.

Support the Bill

Because it is **just, moderate,** and **democratic.**

Because women have **the same need of the vote** as men, to protect them against unjust laws and unfair taxes.

Because honest men are tired of seeing the question played with.

Because the women have earned success by their **pluck and perseverance.**

Here is the Text of the Bill, which was slightly modified in 1911, so as to remove any reasonable fear of **plural** or **faggot voting.**

1.—Every woman possessed of a household qualification within the meaning of the Representation of the People Act (1884) shall be entitled to be registered as a voter, and when registered to vote for the county or borough in which the qualifying premises are situate.

2.—For the purposes of this Act, a woman shall not be disqualified by marriage for being registered as a voter, provided that a husband and wife shall not both be registered as voters in the same Parliamentary Borough or County Division.

Copies of this Leaflet can be obtained at the

NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES, Parliament Chambers, Great Smith Street, S.W.

Dover		Ormskirk	Glasgow	Bethesda
Enfield	Altrincham	Preston	Haddington	Cardiff
Folkestone	Barnsley	Radcliffe	Hamilton	Holyhead
Falmouth	Birkenhead	Rochdale	Hawick	Llangollen
Letchworth	Bredbury and	Sheffield	Inverness	Llanfairfechan
Ramsgate	Romiley	Southport	Inverurie	Llandudno
Stevenage	Bradford	Tynemouth	Kirkwall	Portmadock
Uxbridge	Chester	Urmston	Kilmarnock	Penrhyn
	Chester-le-Street	Warrington	Kilwinning	Penmaenmawr
	Cockermouth	Widnes	Kirriemuir	Rhyl

Several of these Councils voted unanimously for the Bill.

ELECTORS! The Prime Minister has promised full facilities for our Bill next session. Ask your Member to support it through all its stages.

The will of the people as expressed by their elected representatives must prevail. That is Mr. Asquith's own watchword.

SUPPORT THE BILL

Because it is **just.** Because it is **moderate.** Because it is **democratic.**

Because women have **the same need of the vote** as men, to protect them against unjust laws and unfair taxes.

WE SUPPORT THE CANDIDATE WHO UNDERTAKES TO SUPPORT THIS BILL THROUGH ALL ITS STAGES.

Read "*The Common Cause.*" 1d. weekly.

Printed by KENNY & Co. (T.U.), 25 Camden Road, N.W.

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National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies

PARLIAMENT CHAMBERS, GREAT SMITH ST., WESTMINSTER.

President - - - Mrs. HENRY FAWCETT.

Colours: Red, White, and Green.

THE CONCILIATION BILL
FOR
WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

Which passed its Second Reading in the House of Commons, on May 5th, with a Majority of 167.

1. Every woman possessed of a household qualification within the meaning of The Representation of the People Act (1884) shall be entitled to be registered as a voter, and when registered to vote for the County or Borough in which the qualifying premises are situate.

2. For the purposes of this Act a woman shall not be disqualified by marriage for being registered as a voter, provided that a husband and wife shall not both be registered as voters in the same Parliamentary Borough or County division.

This is last year's Conciliation Bill altered to remove all possibility of plural or faggot voting.

WHAT WOMEN WILL GET THE VOTE?

Women Householders. A householder is a woman who inhabits a dwelling-house, or part of a house over which she has full control, however small it may be, and **however low its value.** A duchess may get a vote for her palace, and a charwoman for her cottage, or (if she has full control) **even for a single room.** The household franchise is fair to all classes.

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That depends on men. They will still be the vast majority of the electors. There are seven and a half millions of men voters.

IS THE BILL FAIR TO THE WORKING CLASSES?

Well, the Labour Party thinks so. **Mr. Shackleton** introduced a similar Bill last year. Thirty-four Labour members voted or paired for it, and none against it.

Look at these figures, which have been reached by a systematic house-to-house inquiry, supervised in each town by committees of leading citizens of all parties.

In Dundee out of 3,866 women householders on the municipal roll it was found that 2 177, or **more than half, live in one or two roomed dwellings.** Some 1,178 women live in three or four roomed dwellings. Only 511 live in houses of five or more rooms.

In Dundee **89 per cent.** of these women householders are either weekly wage-earners or working-class housewives. In Carnarvon (a small residential town with no industry) **73 per cent.** of the women householders are either wage-earners or working-class housewives who keep no servant. In Bangor the percentage of working-class women is **76.** On the average fully **eight out of every ten** women voters will belong to the working class.

DOES THE COUNTRY APPROVE OF THE BILL?

No fewer than **116 City or Town Councils** have now (July, 1911) petitioned or passed resolutions urging that the Bill may become law. The Councils are:

Battersea	Birmingham	Flixton	Whitehaven	Kirkcaldy
Camberwell	West Bromwich	Frizington	Wallasey	Lerwick
Hackney	Burton-on-Trent	Hale		Montrose
Lambeth	Coventry	Huddersfield	Arbroath	Perth
Poplar	Derby	Heywood	North Berwick	Saltcoats
South Paddington	Leicester	Harrowgate	Brechin	Stromness
Southwark	Nottingham	Heaton Norris	Broughty Ferry	Tranent
Stoke Newington	Solihull	Keswick	Bonnyrigg	Thurso
Wandsworth	Wellingborough	Liverpool	Cumnock	Wick
Willesden	Wolverhampton	Leeds	Dundee	
		Leigh	Dumfries	Dublin
Brighton	Bridlington	Macclesfield	Edinburgh	Cork
Chelmsford	Filey	Manchester	Elgin	Limerick
Cuckfield	Hull	Newcastle-on-Tyne	Fraserburgh	
Devonport	Scarborough	Oldham	Forfar	Bangor
Dover		Ormskirk	Glasgow	Bethesda
Enfield	Altrincham	Preston	Haddington	Cardiff
Folkestone	Barnsley	Radcliffe	Hamilton	Holyhead
Falmouth	Birkenhead	Rochdale	Hawick	Llangollen
Letchworth	Bredbury and	Sheffield	Inverness	Llanfairfechan
Ramsgate	Romiley	Southport	Inverurie	Llandudno
Stevenage	Bradford	Tynemouth	Kirkwall	Portmadock
Uxbridge	Chester	Urmston	Kilmarnock	Penrhyn
	Chester-le-Street	Warrington	Kilwinning	Penmaenmawr
	Cockermouth	Widnes	Kirriemuir	Rhyl

Several of these Councils voted unanimously for the Bill.

ELECTORS! The Prime Minister has promised full facilities for our Bill next session. Ask your Member to support it through all its stages.

The will of the people as expressed by their elected representatives must prevail. That is Mr. Asquith's own watchword.

SUPPORT THE BILL

Because it is **just.** Because it is **moderate.** Because it is **democratic.**

Because women have **the same need of the vote** as men, to protect them against unjust laws and unfair taxes.

WE SUPPORT THE CANDIDATE WHO UNDERTAKES TO SUPPORT THIS BILL THROUGH ALL ITS STAGES.

Read *"The Common Cause."* 1d. weekly.

Printed by KENNY & Co. (T.U.), 25 Camden Road, N.W.

is Act, a woman shall not be disqualified by marriage for being registered as a voter, usband and wife shall not both be registered as voters in the same Parliamentary ty Division.

IS THE BILL FAIR TO THE WORKING CLASSES?

Well, the Labour Party thinks so. **Mr. Shackleton** introduced a similar Bill last year. Thirty-four Labour members voted or paired for it, and none against it.

Look at these figures, which have been reached by a systematic house-to-house inquiry, supervised in each town by committees of leading citizens of all parties.

In Dundee out of 3,866 women householders on the municipal roll it was found that 2 177, or **more than half, live in one or two roomed dwellings.** Some 1,178 women live in three or four roomed dwellings. Only 511 live in houses of five or more rooms.

In Dundee **89 per cent.** of these women householders are either weekly wage-earners or working-class housewives. In Carnarvon (a small residential town with no industry) **73 per cent.** of the women householders are either wage-earners or working-class housewives who keep no servant. In Bangor the percentage of working-class women is **76.** On the average fully **eight out of every ten** women voters will belong to the working class.

DOES THE COUNTRY APPROVE OF THE BILL?

No fewer than **116 City or Town Councils** have now (July, 1911) petitioned or passed resolutions urging that the Bill may become law. The Councils are:

Battersea	Birmingham	Flixton	Whitehaven	Kirkcaldy
Camberwell	West Bromwich	Frizington	Wallasey	Lerwick
Hackney	Burton-on-Trent	Hale		Montrose
Lambeth	Coventry	Huddersfield	Arbroath	Perth
Poplar	Derby	Heywood	North Berwick	Saltcoats
South Paddington	Leicester	Harrowgate	Brechin	Stromness
Southwark	Nottingham	Heaton Norris	Broughty Ferry	Tranent
Stoke Newington	Solihull	Keswick	Bonnyrigg	Thurso
Wandsworth	Wellingborough	Liverpool	Cumnock	Wick
Willesden	Wolverhampton	Leeds	Dundee	
		Leigh	Dumfries	Dublin
Brighton	Bridlington	Macclesfield	Edinburgh	Cork
Chelmsford	Filey	Manchester	Elgin	Limerick
Cuckfield	Hull	Newcastle-on-Tyne	Fraserburgh	
Devonport	Scarborough	Oldham	Forfar	Bangor

is Act, a woman shall not be disqualified by marriage for being registered as a voter, usband and wife shall not both be registered as voters in the same Parliamentary ty Division.

No. 36.

MR. ASQUITH'S PLEDGE FOR THE CONCILIATION BILL.

The Prime Minister has promised us time next Session for **"the Women's Suffrage Bill."**

Does this mean any Bill, **NO!** The promise refers to the **Conciliation Bill.**

We Stick to the Bill

which passed its second reading on May 5th, 1911, by a majority of 167. We have **No Promise for Any Other Bill.**

On May 22nd, 1911, **Mr. Lloyd George** said, in the House of Commons :—

"The Cabinet have given the matter their most careful consideration and have come to the conclusion that they could not allot to **The Women's Suffrage Bill** this year such an amount of time as its importance demands. They will be prepared **Next Session** when **The Bill** has been **again** read a second time to give a week (which they understand to be the time suggested as reasonable **by its promoters**) for its further stages."

What Bill? Who were the promoters? **The Conciliation Bill,** promoted by the **Conciliation Committee.**

On June 1st at the National Liberal Club, Sir Edward Grey said :—

"It is suggested that a week might be useless, because the **promoters** of **The Bill** will be helpless before obstruction. That is not the intention of the Government offer. The intention is that those who are interested in **The Bill,** its **Promoters** and **Supporters** should have a fair chance."

On June 15th Mr. Asquith wrote :—

"'The week' offered will be interpreted with reasonable elasticity. If, as you suggest, **The Bill** gets through Committee in the time proposed, the extra days required for report and third reading would not be refused."

To whom was this addressed? To Lord Lytton, Chairman of the Conciliation Committee. What was **The Bill?**

The CONCILIATION BILL.

Printed for and Published by the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, Parliament Chambers, Westminster, S.W.—33497.

is Act, a woman shall not be disqualified by marriage for being registered as a voter; husband and wife shall not both be registered as voters in the same Parliamentary ty Division.

Not a Property-Qualification Bill.

It is an **Occupiers' Franchise** and will give a vote to every woman who is the head of her household, even though she has **only one room**, and however low the rent of that room, so long as she has the complete control of it.

These provisions remove all danger of plural voting, since a woman cannot be the "occupier" or responsible head of more than one house. Men vote at present on a number of different qualifications, but the one on which women are seeking to be admitted is that one which, unlike the lodgers, the university, and other franchises, has been approved as satisfactory by **all political parties.**

Support the Conciliation Bill.

The substance of this leaflet and the Lists of Councils, Trade Unions and Federations were compiled and first published by the Lancashire and Cheshire Women's Textile Representation Committee—they are reprinted by their kind permission.

Published by THE NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES, 25, Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W.; and Printed by VACHER & SONS, LTD., Westminster House, S.W.—33538.

1/- 100; 8/- 1,000.

Read the Common Cause - 1d. Weekly.

THE TRADE AND LABOUR COUNCILS OF—

Middleton Guildford

B. 38. Aug., 1911.

National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies

PARLIAMENT CHAMBERS, GREAT SMITH ST., WESTMINSTER.

President - - - Mrs. HENRY FAWCETT.

Colours: Red, White, and Green.

WHAT WORKING PEOPLE SAY

ABOUT THE

"Conciliation Bill."

Is it fair to Working Women?

Yes!

This is the answer of working people themselves.

Resolutions in its favour have been passed by :—

THE TRADE AND LABOUR COUNCILS OF—

Aberdare	Farnworth & District	Newton-le-Willows	High Wycombe
Blackpool	Falkirk & District	Portsmouth	Halifax
Batley	Horwich	Runcorn & District	Hyde, Denton and
Barnsley	Kilmacoed	Rotherham	District
Bolton	Keighley	Ramsbottom	Stockton-on-Tees
Burton-on-Trent	Leicester	Renfrew	Smethwick
Cheltenham & District	Long Eaton	Rugby	Shipley & District
Carlisle	Manchester, Salford	Stalybridge	Spen Valley
Castleford & District	& District *Women's*	Sheffield	Scunthorpe and
Clydebank & District	Trade and Labour	Glasgow	District
Coventry	Council	Gloucester	

ALSO THE FOLLOWING TRADE UNIONS AND FEDERATIONS:—

Blackburn and District Weavers
Blackburn Branch National Association of Midwives
Burnley and District Engineers' Society
Burnley and District Twisters' and Drawers' Association
Burnley Branch National Association of Midwives
Bolton Local Textile Federation
Colne and District Weavers' Association
Denton Trimmers' and Wool Formers' Association
Dundee and District Jute and Flax Workers
Falkirk General Iron Fitters' Association
Fifeshire Cloth Tapers and Finishers
Govanhill Machine Engine and Iron Grinders
Haslingden and Rossendale District Tape Sizers
Harlsden Women Sorters' Association
London Federation of Wire Workers
Manchester Electrical and other Workers
Manchester Ring Spinners' Union

is Act, a woman shall not be disqualified by marriage for being registered as a voter; husband and wife shall not both be registered as voters in the same Parliamentary ty Division.

Trade Unions and Federations—*(continued.)*

Manchester, Salford and District Power Loom Weavers
Manchester Upholsteresses' Association.
Manchester National Association of Midwives
Oswaldtwistle Weavers
Oldham Amalgamated Moulders
Preston District Power Loom Weavers
Partick Central Board of the Amalgamated Slaters' Society of Scotland
Rochdale Machine Engine and Iron Grinders
Radcliffe Weavers and Winders
Ramsbottom Weavers, Winders and Warpers
Rossendale Weavers
Rishton Weavers
Sheffield and District Building Trades Federation
Sheffield Silver and Electro Plate Industry
Stockport Weavers', Winders', Warpers' and Reelers' Association
Tonbridge Amalgamated Society of Cricket Ball Makers.
Woolwich Workers' Union

Surely these Trade Unionists, who have had the whole controversy before them year after year, at Congress, and at Labour Representation Conferences and I.L.P. Meetings, and have disputed hotly and many a time the merits of different Bills, may be trusted to **know a democratic measure when they see it.**

Statistics taken all over the country, from London, large industrial towns, residential towns, and country districts, show that the proportion of working women who would be enfranchised under the "Conciliation" Bill is at least

80 per cent.

of the whole number: that is eighty out of every hundred women voting would be working women.

The Bill is

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B 35.

ALL OR SOM

OR

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It is of course possible to quote many argum Suffrage; moreover, the Conciliation Bill is a con **open to criticism.** But the women's choice do Conciliation Bill and Adult Suffrage, but between th **and nothing!** The Conciliation Bill passed i May 5th by a majority of 167. But there is not even House of Commons in favour of Adult Suffrage. Wh to all M.P.'s asking them to sign a memorial in favou two months only 100 signatures (out of a possible 670

Moreover, Mr. Philip Snowden has pointed out t voted or paired for Sir George Kemp's Bill, 78 are U **all vote against an Adult Suffrage me** 170 Liberals who voted or paired for the Bill **a opposed to Adult Suffrage** (for instance, M meeting of his constituents at Bristol on January 3r only support a Bill to enfranchise women househ **against** Adult Suffrage). It follows that an introduced, would be overwhelmingly defeated.

The Conciliation Bill is small, but it is de

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The Bill is

Manchester Spinning Spinners' Union

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B 35.

ALL OR SOME OR SOME OR NONE?

To those Supporters of Women's Suffrage who are also advocates of ADULT SUFFRAGE.

We ask those of you who sincerely believe that sex should not disqualify a person from voting in Parliamentary Elections to support the Conciliation Bill as the **only measure which the present House of Commons would pass.**

It is of course possible to quote many arguments in favour of Adult Suffrage; moreover, the Conciliation Bill is a compromise, and, as such, **open to criticism.** But the women's choice does not lie between the Conciliation Bill and Adult Suffrage, but between the **Conciliation Bill and nothing!** The Conciliation Bill passed its Second Reading on May 5th by a majority of 167. But there is not even a bare majority in the House of Commons in favour of Adult Suffrage. When an appeal was issued to all M.P.'s asking them to sign a memorial in favour of Adult Suffrage, in two months only 100 signatures (out of a possible 670) were obtained.

Moreover, Mr. Philip Snowden has pointed out that of the 310 men who voted or paired for Sir George Kemp's Bill, 78 are Unionists **who would all vote against an Adult Suffrage measure.** Also of the 170 Liberals who voted or paired for the Bill **a large number are opposed to Adult Suffrage** (for instance, Mr. Birrell declared to a meeting of his constituents at Bristol on January 3rd, 1910, that he would only support a Bill to enfranchise women householders and would vote **against** Adult Suffrage). It follows that an Adult Suffrage Bill, if introduced, would be overwhelmingly defeated.

The Conciliation Bill is small, but it is democratic.

The qualification is not **property,** but **residence.** Every woman householder, however small her rental, will be enfranchished, and no woman will be able to have more than one vote.

It is calculated that 82 per cent. of the million women enfranchised will be **working women,** *i.e.*, 820,000 of the new voters will be **working women,** and only 180,000 **will not.**

Do not oppose this small measure of justice **which is all that the House of Commons and the country are yet prepared to give.**

Once the disability of sex is removed, it will lie with you to see that women are included in any further extension of the franchise to men.

Published by The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, Parliament Chambers, Great Smith Street, Westminster, S.W., and
Printed by Vacher & Sons, Ltd., Westminster House, Westminster, S.W.—27342.

VOTES FOR WOMEN HOUSEHOLDERS

THE BILL.

1.—Every woman possessed of a household qualification within the meaning of The Representation of the People Act (1884) shall be entitled to be registered as a voter, and when registered to vote for the county or borough in which the qualifying premises are situate.

2.—For the purposes of this Act, a woman shall not be disqualified by marriage for being registered as a voter, provided that a husband and wife shall not both be registered as voters in the same Parliamentary Borough or County Division.

THAT IS TO SAY:

If this Bill becomes law, the Parliamentary Vote will be granted to any woman who owns or rents, **and lives in,** a house or dwelling place of any value, however small (*a woman paying 2s. 6d. or less a week for a single, unfurnished room, separately occupied as a dwelling, could qualify).*

Of the women who are enfranchised under this Bill (about one million, whilst there are 7½ millions of men voters), the greater number will be WIDOWS. In Bangor, for example, where there are 404 women who would get the vote, 288 of them are widows, and 116 are spinsters.

Also, of those 404 women, 368 either work for wages or do all their own housework. Only 36 have independent means.

Altogether it is calculated that of every 100 women who get the vote 82 will be **working women.**

The William Morris Press Ltd., 42, Albert Street, Manchester.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION

ON May 5th, 1911, this Bill was introduced by Sir GEORGE KEMP and passed its Second Reading by a majority of 167. This was *an increase of 57 on the majority on the Second Reading of the similar Bill introduced by Mr. Shackleton in 1910.*

Whereas in 1910 there were 189 men voting against the measure, IN 1911 THERE WERE ONLY 88.

The Conciliation Committee then asked for FACILITIES THIS SESSION for the Bill. This Mr. Asquith refused, but on May 29th he offered (through Mr. Lloyd George)

A WEEK OF GOVERNMENT TIME NEXT SESSION

for the further stages of the Bill. He further promised (in a letter to Lord Lytton on June 15th) that—

"The week offered will be interpreted with reasonable elasticity, that the Government will oppose no obstacle to a proper use of the closure, and that if, as you suggest, the Bill gets through Committee in the time proposed, the extra days required for Report and Third Reading would not be refused."

WOMEN must, then, be enfranchised NEXT YEAR, **if their majority in the House of Commons stands firm.**

Electors! press your representative to vote in favour of the Bill and to vote AGAINST WRECKING AMENDMENTS. If he is an opponent, urge him to abstain from voting at all.

Men and women, do all you can to make the Bill UNDERSTOOD by Members of Parliament and by the public. Almost every criticism directed against it is due to MISUNDERSTANDING. Could this be removed there would be no obstacle between us and

JULY 1911

VICTORY!

26

27

B. 39.

National Union

PARLIAMENT CH

President—Mrs. Henry Fa

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B. 39. Oct., 1911.

National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies,

PARLIAMENT CHAMBERS, GREAT SMITH ST., WESTMINSTER.

President—Mrs. Henry Fawcett. Colours: Red, White, and Green.

"WRECKING" AMENDMENTS.

We are asking our friends in the House of Commons not only to VOTE FOR THE CONCILIATION BILL, but to vote **against WRECKING AMENDMENTS.** What then do we mean by a

WRECKING AMENDMENT?

We mean an amendment which would so alter the character of the Bill that it would have no chance of **becoming law** during next session.

We know that the enfranchisement of

WOMEN WHO PAY RATES

is the measure which commands the greatest amount of support from Suffragists of all parties in the House of Commons. This is proved by the voting on the Conciliation Bill which passed its Second Reading in May, 1911, by a majority of 167. If the Bill were amended so as to give **votes to all, or nearly all women,** instead of to about one million householders, **all the Conservatives and many of the Liberals** who voted for the Bill on May 5, **would vote against it,** and **it would be defeated.**

"But," you may say, "if that is so

THE AMENDMENT WOULD NOT PASS

either. It is the same House of Commons. If they vote for the amendment they will surely vote for the Bill as amended."

That would be so if we had only

THE HONEST ADVOCATES

of a wider measure to consider—the men who really WANT to enfranchise MORE women than the Conciliation Bill includes. But some of our opponents have openly declared their intention of voting for widening amendments in order that **the Bill may take such a form that the House of Commons will reject it.** These men will vote for the amendment, but, when the Bill is amended,

WILL TURN ROUND AND VOTE AGAINST IT.

If, then, our FRIENDS vote for these amendments, they will be **playing into the hands of our opponents.** They will be making themselves **the catspaws** of those anti-suffragists who hope, by fair means or foul, to wreck the Bill.

What, then, is a man to do who sincerely wants married women to have votes? Let him **vote for the Conciliation Bill IN ITS PRESENT FORM** without fear, for have we not

MR. ASQUITH'S PLEDGE

that before this Parliament dissolves there will be a **Government Reform Bill?** Any extension of the franchise, either to men or women, **can be dealt with then,** without jeopardising the chances of the present measure of compromise.

GIVE THE CONCILIATION BILL FAIR PLAY FIRST.

Published by The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, Parliament Chambers, Westminster, S.W.; and Printed by Vacher & Sons, Ltd., Westminster House, S.W.—34229.

READ "THE COMMON CAUSE," 1d. WEEKLY.

WOMEN MUNICIPAL ELECTORS
AND THE
PARLIAMENTARY VOTE.

The Bill for the enfranchisement of women, which will come up for its second reading in the House of Commons on May 5th (1911), confers the Parliamentary Franchise (roughly speaking) on those women who already have the Municipal Vote. The National Society for Opposing Woman Suffrage has therefore attempted, in some few selected districts, a canvass of the women municipal voters, in order to get their views on the proposed reform. They claim that those women who would under the terms of the Bill be granted the Parliamentary Vote, are strongly opposed to their own enfranchisement, and they have published figures by which they seek to prove this assertion. We maintain, however, that

These figures are entirely worthless,

for the following reasons :—

(1.) The canvass was in many cases conducted by means of reply-paid postcards. It is impossible to know whether the woman addressed ever received the card, or by whom it was filled up, and returned. In many instances women declared afterwards that they had **not** received cards, and supposed that (if returned) their brothers or sons had filled them in " for a joke." In far more cases, the cards were not returned at all, the women not knowing in the least by what authority, or for what purpose, they were sent out, and being naturally, **and rightly,** reluctant to sign anything at all under such circumstances. In Liverpool, **only 25 per cent.** of the cards sent out were returned! The National Society for Opposing Woman Suffrage makes the ludicrous assumption that those who did not reply were " mostly—probably almost entirely—unfavourable to Women's Suffrage." A greater knowledge of the extreme caution of the working-classes (to which most of these women belong) would have suggested that the average woman municipal voter has too much sense to write answers to questions of whose origin and purpose she has but scanty, or no information.

(2.) The canvass was in other cases conducted by paid messengers, of whose intelligence and reliability nothing is known. These were provided with a list of women on whom to call, and expected to return the list filled up. In Cambridge, the women were not even asked to sign, or make a cross. The canvasser marked the paper himself! It

is not possible that any serious person should attach value to so grotesque a form of canvass, and **Lord Cromer has himself publicly admitted that, at least in the case of Cambridge, the figures are worthless.**

(3.) The printed questions were almost invariably open to grave misunderstanding. We do not accuse the N.S.O.W.S. of intentional dishonesty when we point out that it is almost impossible for the best-intentioned person to frame a written question on this subject which (without further explanation) cannot be misunderstood. Thus the widely-used form :—

"*Do you wish political power to remain in the hands of men?*"

or "*Do you wish it to be given to women?*"

obviously suggests that to give votes to women means to take them away from men.

The form :—"*I desire the Parliamentary vote, and so, I believe, do the majority of women in the country,*"

or "*I do not desire the Parliamentary vote, nor, I believe, do the majority of women in the country*"

introduces a sweeping statement which any honest person would hesitate to commit himself to, whatever his convictions on the subject.

The worst instance, perhaps, was the following form used in Bath :—

(1) "Would you like to be governed by women instead of men, as would be the case if women had the vote, owing to their much greater numbers?"

(2) "Do you wish women to have the vote?"

Anti-Suffragists have so far dishonoured their own cause as to put questions like these, and use the answers as evidence against a Bill for the enfranchisement of one million women. (There are over seven million men on the electoral register.)

In almost any form, the questions put could be (**and were**) interpreted as asking an opinion on Adult Suffrage, women Members of Parliament, or Militant Tactics. The answers varied accordingly, and had nothing at all to do with the "Conciliation Bill."

Besides all this, the N.S.O.W.S.

Did Not Canvass Thoroughly.

In Cambridge, numbers of women were never asked at all. In Hampstead, known suffragists were severely let alone. In Haslemere, **61 women out of 181 were not canvassed,** and all who had **at any time** signed an Anti-Suffrage petition were counted as "opposed" without

further question, regardless of the rapid growth of the Suffrage movement. Several wrote to the local papers, complaining that they had "never been asked." So also in Southampton, in Bristol, and in Bath, the canvass was admittedly incomplete. In Scarborough, postcards were sent out, bearing no address or name of senders.

We are of course aware that no canvass give unassailable results. A personal canvass cannot be entirely free from personal influence; a postal canvass is, as has been seen, hopelessly unreliable. Since, however, the N.S.O.W.S. has made its figures public, it is only fair to give examples of those collected by other canvassers than theirs.

A personal canvass of seven wards in Liverpool resulted in signatures being given to a Women's Suffrage petition by

75 per cent. of the women seen.

In Bolton, the results were equally good, out of a total of 5,750

2,660 were in favour of Women's Suffrage
610 were against
340 indifferent
83 ill
93 dead
576 removed
71 disqualified

Of the 1,317 not accounted for 500 were in wards which were not finished owing to lack of time, the rest were always out at whatever time the house was visited.

Thus 74 per cent. of the women seen were found to be in favour of Women's Suffrage.

In Warrington, canvassers found :—

618 in favour
57 against
157 neutral

of women seen. Those who were not seen, were

92 removed
155 out, after several calls
23 dead
41 refused to be canvassed

85 were "unaccounted for," of whom 67 were in one ward, which owing to lack of time could not be completely canvassed. It will be observed that an enormous majority of the women seen by canvassers signed a declaration **in favour** of Women's Suffrage.

But we have yet more impressive evidence to offer as showing the unreliable nature of the Anti-Suffrage canvass.

The National Society for Opposing Women's Suffrage Repudiates Its Own Figures!

In the February number (1911) of its official organ, the "Anti-Suffrage Review," the Editor comments on the passing of Suffrage resolutions by City and Town Councils. He writes:—

> **"It is significant that these resolutions come almost exclusively from bodies which depend to an appreciable extent for their election upon the votes of women. The pressure exerted upon the Councils may be unconscious, but is none the less real."**

How is it that **"strong pressure"** has been brought to bear on the women's representatives in Municipal Councils, to pass Women's Suffrage resolutions, **if the women voters themselves are anti-suffragists?** The answer is, that they are **not** anti-suffragists, and the Editor of the "Anti-Suffrage Review" knows it. So do we.

They and their representatives in one Municipal Council after another, are calling upon the Government to give facilities for the passage of the "Conciliation Bill," which will enfranchise them, into law. Here is a list grouped geographically; it is a growing one every day:—

England:

LANCASHIRE: Manchester, Liverpool, Oldham, Preston, Warrington, Southport.

YORKSHIRE: Leeds, Sheffield, Hull, Bradford, Huddersfield, Barnsley.

MIDLANDS: Birmingham, Leicester, Nottingham, Wolverhampton, Burton-on-Trent, West Bromwich.

SOUTH-WEST: Devonport, Falmouth, Truro, and Penryn.

Also:—Derby and Macclesfield; Battersea and Stoke Newington; Folkestone and Ramsgate.

Wales: Cardiff, Bangor, and Llangollen.

Ireland: Dublin, Cork, and Limerick.

Scotland: Glasgow, Dundee, Inverness, Perth, Hawick; Forfar, Brechin and Arbroath; Kilmarnock, Hamilton, Saltcoats, Kilwinning, and Cumnock; Thurso, Fraserburgh, and Inverurie; Lerwick, Kirkwall, and Stromness; North Berwick, Broughty Ferry.

VACHER & SONS, LTD., Printers, Westminster, London, S.W.—32848.

NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES,
Parliament Chambers, 14, Great Smith St., Westminster, London, S.W.

Manifesto issued by the Executive Committee on November 9th, 1911.

An entirely new political situation has been created by Mr. Asquith's announcement of the intention of the Government to introduce next Session a Reform Bill based on citizenship. This Bill will, in Mr. Asquith's own words, give the Parliamentary vote to "citizens of full age and competent understanding." Nevertheless it makes no provision for the enfranchisement of women, and we strongly protest against this omission, and call upon the Government to remedy it. We claim that women also are citizens and that it will be a gross insult and injustice to give the Suffrage to every man in virtue of his manhood while denying it to every woman in virtue of her womanhood. We take our stand on the citizenship of women and demand the representation of women as citizens.

Mr. Asquith promised in May, 1908, and repeated on Tuesday last, that if an amendment to a Government Reform Bill were moved causing it to include women it should not be officially opposed but be left to the free judgment of the House of Commons. If the Government does not include women in the Bill such an amendment will certainly be moved next Session and the National Union will do all in its power to secure its acceptance by the House. In the event of failure another amendment will probably be moved on the lines of Women's Suffrage now existing in Norway. In this country this would probably take the form of the franchise for women householders, and wives of householders. But again, should this fail, recourse would be had to a third amendment based on the principles of the Conciliation Bill.

We demand an assurance from the Government of what their attitude will be in the event of a Women's Suffrage amendment being added to the Reform Bill in the House of Commons. Are they prepared to endorse what Mr. Lloyd George said on this subject in 1908, namely, if such proposals "were incorporated in the Government Bill, from that moment they would be part and parcel of the measure for the fate of which the Government must accept responsibility"?

When we have received a satisfactory assurance on this point the path of the National Union then will be clear. We want as much Suffrage for women as we can get, and the Executive Committee call upon the Societies in the Union and all their members throughout the country to set aside individual preferences for this or that form of Suffrage and to work heart and soul to place women's names on the register and obtain a settlement of the franchise question next Session.

The Executive Committee are not unmindful of the promise of the Government of a week's time next Session for the Conciliation Bill. They hold to that promise and can only relinquish it if they secure something better.

(*Signed*) M. G. FAWCETT, *President.*
On behalf of Executive Committee.

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National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies,

Parliament Chambers, 14, Great Smith Street,
Westminster, London, S.W.

President - Mrs. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.

November 30th, 1911.

APPEAL TO SUFFRAGISTS.

The Executive Committee of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies issues this afternoon the following statement:—

"In view of recent disturbances and of the threat of future disturbances of a like nature, the National Union appeals most strongly to all Suffragists, both inside and outside the House, to remember that such outbreaks injure women far more than anyone else, and that they are organised by one society only of the many existing Women's Suffrage Societies. The National Union would remind politicians that the excesses of a few men have never been held sufficient excuse for not granting a much needed and long delayed reform, and that the best way of rendering them harmless and futile is to co-operate with those who are prosecuting this reform by constitutional and democratic methods.

"The National Union is carrying on a great constructive campaign in the country, and appeals to all Suffragists who are determined to secure the enfranchisement of women in 1912 to come to its support."

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WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE THIS SESSION

are hundreds, nay thousands of men as good as they are ready, and even perhaps eager, to fill their places. But Mr. Asquith besides being in the position of Commander-in-Chief is an important and powerful party leader. He is not at all a man who could be dropped out without being missed. The other Anti-Suffragists cling to him as a crowd of feeble swimmers cling to a life-buoy when they are approaching the point of exhaustion.

We know from their own public speeches that the Suffragists in the Cabinet refused to be parties to the introduction of any Reform Bill in the House of Commons which would not give a fair opportunity for placing Women's Suffrage by amendment to it. They succeeded in wresting from Mr. Asquith the very

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE THIS SESSION.

By Mrs. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.

The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies issued a short statement as soon as possible after the publication of the King's speech to the effect that no new situation as regards Suffrage had been created by it. No well-informed suffragist bearing the whole of the political facts in mind could have expected the speech to contain any definite statement about Women's Suffrage. What are the main facts of the situation? The Government is divided into Suffragists and Anti-Suffragists. The Suffragists are the more numerous; I also venture to add that they are the more distinguished and the more forceful in character; the liberalism of the future lies much more with them than with Anti-Suffragists. The Anti-Suffragists, however, minority as they are, inferior in power, capacity and character as we believe them to be, have one big advantage in that they are led by the Prime Minister. He is the Master of the Cabinet. He can say to any other Minister, "Go," and he goeth, and to any Member of Parliament, "Come," and he cometh. All the other Anti-Suffragists in the Cabinet in one bunch might go and would never be missed; there are hundreds, nay thousands of men as good as they are ready, and even perhaps eager, to fill their places. But Mr. Asquith besides being in the position of Commander-in-Chief is an important and powerful party leader. He is not at all a man who could be dropped out without being missed. The other Anti-Suffragists cling to him as a crowd of feeble swimmers cling to a life-buoy when they are approaching the point of exhaustion.

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important concessions which he announced to the Women's Suffrage Societies on November 17th, namely, that though, being an Anti-Suffragist, he was not prepared to initiate and propose legislation giving votes to women, he was prepared to bow to, and acquiesce in, Women's Suffrage if it were supported by a majority in the House of Commons; and that to do this was quite consistent with the best traditions of English political life.

Now, anyone who has thoroughly grasped these facts will see that Women's Suffrage could not possibly have been mentioned in the King's speech. The King's speech announces measures on which the Cabinet are united and Women's Suffrage is a subject on which they are divided. Our policy is to face the facts and make the best possible use of them. Our first object should be to endeavour to unite all the friends of Women's Suffrage in the House of Commons in support of the Conciliation Bill and of the Women's Suffrage amendment to the Reform Bill. This amendment will probably be moved by Sir Edward Grey, whose personal position in the House and in the country is almost unique from the amount of confidence which he inspires among all parties; this was abundantly proved from the chorus of approbation in all the papers when the King recently made him a Knight of the Garter. He has indicated that the amendment he favours is one based upon household suffrage for women including married women; and he has advised all Suffragists to unite in trying to get that amendment carried. Behind this amendment advocating it with all his force, we also have the powerful personality of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. With these two Lord Haldane is also acting. There are no three men among the Liberal Anti-Suffragists at all comparable with these three in power, force, and their capacity for inspiring enthusiasm and confidence. We shall make a powerful appeal to Conservative Suffragists to help us. Our strength with the Conservatives is much more in quality than in numbers; but the numbers are by no means insignificant. With such leaders as Mr. A. J. Balfour, Mr. Alfred Lyttelton, Mr. Wyndham and Lord Robert Cecil they represent a very great source of parliamentary strength. Finally we have the Labour Party as one man on our side. They will not only vote with us but they have pledged themselves to vote against the third reading of the Bill unless it includes women. That is to say they are prepared to make a real sacrifice for the sake of justice to women. Our thanks are due to our friends in all parties, but above all, to the Labour Party for the grand stand they are making for us.

Ours is no despondent spirit; our watchword is Forward, and we are full of courage and hope.

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No. B 41. February 1st, 1912.

NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES,
14, Great Smith Street, Westminster.
President - - - Mrs. Henry Fawcett, LL.D.

LAW-ABIDING. NON-PARTY.

Colours: Red, White and Green.

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE AND THE REFERENDUM.

As an agitation has been got up by a small section of the press in favour of submitting the question of Women's Suffrage to a Referendum, we print below the opinions of members of the Government on the value of this political method.

Mr. Asquith, Dec. 14th, 1910:—

"You are throwing away, if ever you adopt that proposal . . . the whole of the fruits of the experience and wisdom of generation after generation; you would be striking a blow at the very foundations of representative government; YOU WOULD BE DEGRADING THE HOUSE OF COMMONS."

And again, Dec. 12th, 1910:—

"I would not remain a member of an Assembly whose functions had been mutilated and truncated in that fashion."

And again, Dec. 1st, 1910:—

"It is a wholly pointless retort to ask those who, like ourselves, OBJECT ALTOGETHER TO THE IMPORTATION OF THE REFERENDUM INTO OUR CONSTITUTIONAL PROCEDURE, who believe it to be AN INADEQUATE AND DELUSIVE SUBSTITUTE for Parliamentary government, to ask us whether we will enter into a bargain. . . . On the whole, the Referendum has proved in practice a most disappointing and unsatisfactory way of ascertaining public opinion."

Mr. Lloyd George, Nov. 26th, 1910:—

"They mean to have a referendum. . . . How are you to instruct them (the voters)? Who is to undertake the task? Who is to bear the expense? How long is it going to take? How are you going to the poll? . . . It simply means that you would be crushing democracy with a weight of gold. . . . That is not a method of extending justice; it is A COSTLY METHOD OF DENYING JUSTICE, and that is why we cannot assent to it."

Dec. 16th, 1911:—

"A Referendum which the Liberal Party had repudiated for other questions would be doubly unfair for Women's Suffrage, I cannot see how any Liberal Statesman who opposed so strenuously the application of the Referendum for some questions could with any sense of fairness or decency extend it to questions like Women's Suffrage."

Mr. Winston Churchill, Dec. 4th, 1910:—

"We do not approve of the policy of a Referendum. WE THINK IT A BAD AND VICIOUS SYSTEM for a country to adopt at the stage, at any rate, to which Great Britain has attained. We know it is wholly out of harmony with British institutions. We think it would be fatal to Ministerial responsibility."

"The whole operation of the Referendum would be ABSOLUTELY ONE-SIDED." (Dec. 2nd, 1910.)

"We believe in democracy, we believe also in representative institutions, WE BELIEVE IN DEMOCRACY ACTING THROUGH REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS."

Lord Loreburn, Dec. 3rd, 1910:—

"THE LONG PURSE would have all the advantage."

Mr. Lewis Harcourt, Dec. 5th, 1910:—

"The Referendum is a new-fangled, costly, and irritating plebiscite, DESIGNED TO GIVE POWER TO WEALTH, and crush by expenditure the wishes of the least well-to-do."

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CONSTITUTIONAL SUFFRAGISTS AND THE MILITANTS.

LETTER FROM MRS. FAWCETT, LL.D.,

TO

"The Times," March 9th, 1912,

In answer to a charge that she condoned the recent militant outbreak.

Sir,—Miss Gladys Pott, in a letter dated March 7, says she has waited in vain for myself "and other leaders to repudiate all connexion with the law-breakers." May I point out that, in addition to formal and explicit repudiation and condemnation of the use of violence in any form as political propaganda, published by the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies in 1908, 1909, and so recently as December 9, 1911, on Tuesday last speaking at Kensington, I reaffirmed our strong disapproval of the methods of violence? Several papers reported my speech almost in full; *The Times* condensed it into a short paragraph, but gave the gist of it in the words, "They stood exactly where they had always stood in very strong disapprobation of the use of physical force and physical violence as a means of political propaganda."

I said at Kensington that as the National Union had so lately as last December, at a special Council meeting, adopted a resolution expressly and emphatically condemning violence, I personally did not think it necessary to say that what we condemned in December we still condemned in March; but I added that our Executive Committee was meeting in two days, and, if they were of the opinion that an explicit repudiation of violence was again needed, I should have no difficulty in accepting their view. This represents what actually happened; the Executive did feel that another definite expression

of our abhorrence of violence was needed, and one was accordingly adopted, drafted, as regards a large portion of it, by myself. This statement is found in full in many papers this morning, but *The Times* leaves out all that part of it, which repudiates violence and gives a very short paragraph of a few lines only, confined to an appeal to Members of Parliament to support the Conciliation Bill. If Miss Gladys Pott's newspaper reading is confined to *The Times* it is no wonder if she is still waiting in vain for a repudiation of all connexion with law-breakers from myself and other constitutional suffragists.

Miss Gladys Pott refers to a letter of mine in which I said that in certain contingencies the National Union would revise its strategy. She apparently would like to know exactly what we had in our minds when these words were written. I can only partially gratify her. They did not indicate any weakening at all in our belief that our great cause is injured and not aided by recourse to violence.

Miss Pott appears to think that our repudiation of violence is make-believe because I presided at a dinner in December, 1906, to celebrate the release of Mrs. Cobden Sanderson and her friends from prison. She has made a mistake in attributing to me a share in another similar occasion in 1907. But this is immaterial. I supported the militant suffragists when I thought they were right, and ceased to support them when I thought they were wrong. I know the exact date and occasion when I found it necessary to withdraw from all support of them. It was in July, 1908. Up to that date, speaking generally, they had suffered violence but had used none. The first stone-throwing took place at the time I have mentioned. It appeared to me then, and appears to me now, that the same arguments which were used to justify stone-throwing would justify every sort of crime for political ends; and I definitely and finally withdrew from all support and sympathy with the militant movement. I may have been right or I may have been wrong, but I have never felt the least hesitation in drawing the line where I did draw it.

The example of the violence used by men in political movements has often been cited to me to prove that I was wrong. The murders in Ireland, India, and Russia, the strike riots in Wales, the great and desperate riots preceding the passing of the Reform Act of 1832 are quoted. But my view of our own position was unchanged. We long to show that women can bring about an immensely important change

in their political *status* without doing the foolish and wicked things that men have done when they have been struggling for freedom. The Russian revolution, for example, seems to have thrown back the whole political development of Russia into a vicious circle, savage crimes followed by savage punishments in endless succession. If women can invent a better way of securing a great advance of human freedom, it will be no small part of what the world will gain by our movement.

Yours obediently,

MILLICENT GARRETT FAWCETT.
(President of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.)

Parliament Chambers, 14, Great Smith Street,
Westminster, S.W., March 8.

LETTER FROM MRS. FAWCETT, LL.D.,

In "The Times," March 12th, 1912,

in answer to a second letter from Miss GLADYS POTT, casting doubts on the sincerity of her repudiation of militant tactics.

Sir,—When the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies assert that they highly disapprove of the use of any form of violence as political propaganda, they unfortunately fail to carry conviction to the austere mind of Miss Gladys Pott, because, among other reasons, at a meeting in December I stood on the same platform with Mrs. Despard. This is mere foolishness. On some matters of great importance I differ profoundly with Mrs. Despard, but personally I reverence her deeply and esteem it an honour to be associated with her in those matters upon which we are in agreement. Those who know anything of her life and devotion to the welfare of working girls and women in the London slums where she lives amongst them will know what I mean. For about two years Mrs. Despard and her Society have worked for women's suffrage on non-militant lines. They adopted the same line

of conduct in respect to Mr. Asquith's pledges about the Women's Suffrage Amendment to the Government Reform Bill which was taken by the National Union. They also, like the National Union, continue their work for the Conciliation Bill. The National Union works with all other political associations, whether party or non-party, who are asking for the same thing, and not adopting a course of action of which they strongly disapprove.

This is the common sense and common practice of politics. Have we not recently seen the Lord Chancellor of England on the same platform with Mr. F. E. Smith, a gentleman who has proclaimed that under certain not very remote contingencies he does not mean to confine himself to constitutional agitation? The Lord Chancellor no more associates himself with Mr. F. E. Smith's announced intention of lawlessness than I or the National Union associate ourselves with Mrs. Despard's militantism.

Miss Pott has put her finger on another blot on our record. She thinks we are militants because the *Common Cause*, the organ of the National Union, reports proceedings of the militant societies! Judged by this test, *The Times* and many other papers are militant. They give far more space and importance in their columns to militant than to non-militant suffragists. *The Times* of to-day is an example. Three-quarters of a column is given to police court proceedings against law-breakers as compared with one-quarter of a column to a statesmanlike speech by the Secretary of State for War, supporting, as he has always done, the policy of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.

Yours obediently,

MILLICENT GARRETT FAWCETT (President)

National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies,

14, Great Smith Street, S.W., March 11.

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"How the Reform Bill of 1832 was Won."

Militant Suffragists appear to be obsessed by the idea that we owe the great Reform Bill of 1832 to the riots at Nottingham and Bristol. No one can study the history of the time without becoming convinced that this is a most absurd fallacy. What, then, actually did happen? In June, 1831, there was a general election of a character entirely unprecedented in England. An appeal to the constituencies was made by a Government in favour of Reform, and the enthusiasm all over the country was such that the united efforts of the Government on the one hand and the *non-electors* on the other resulted in the return of a large majority for Reform, this in spite of the fact that the House of Commons at that time was a body mainly consisting of members either nominated by owners of rotten boroughs or sitting by virtue of purchase from corrupt corporations. Referring to this election Harriet Martineau in her "History of the Peace" says, "That the amount of violence was no greater than it was, remained, and still remains, a matter of astonishment to the anti-reform party, and was a blessing scarcely hoped for on the other side." The House of Commons so elected proceeded to carry the second Reform Bill, but it was rejected by the Lords in October, 1831, an event which was the signal for a general manifestation of hostility to the anti-reform party all over the country. Only in isolated towns—in Nottingham, Derby and Bristol, did their manifestations take the form of rioting and arson. Elsewhere the agitation was conducted on strictly constitutional lines by means of the Political Unions which had

sprung up in all the great towns, and in which, in many cases, the bulk of the respectable citizens were enrolled. Thus in Birmingham at a meeting where 150,000 men were said to have been present there was no rioting, though tax resistance was talked of. During the final crisis which took place in May, 1832, there was, it is true, an actual possibility of civil war owing to the reluctance of the King to exercise his prerogative of making peers, but as a matter of fact his reluctance was overcome and no violence was exercised. Is it to be supposed that in this final victory the memory of the Bristol riots was what caused the King and the Duke of Wellington to throw up the sponge, or was it the knowledge that practically the entire nation were united in determining to obtain their just demand? The former hypothesis is too ridiculous to need refutation. What were these Bristol riots? They were the work of a few hundred drunken hooligans, who, after looting the wine cellars of the Mansion House, set fire to a number of municipal buildings and private houses to the great discomfiture of all respectable citizens. So far as they had any effect on the cause of Reform they contributed to alarm the King and to make the cause of the Reformers more difficult than it would otherwise have been. Is this the sort of action which any sane advocates of any great cause could possibly appeal to as a precedent which they would be justified in following? So far as the history of the Reform Bill bears on the present agitation for Women's Suffrage, the lesson which it teaches is plainly in favour of constitutional action.

A. HUGH THOMPSON.

March 25th, 1912.

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B. 71.

National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies

14, GREAT SMITH STREET, WESTMINSTER, LONDON, S.W.

LAW-ABIDING. NON-PARTY.

President: Mrs. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.

Colours: Red, White and Green.

The New Development in the Policy of the N.U.W.S.S.

1. What are the circumstances which made a development in the policy necessary?

The defeat of the Conciliation Bill and the probability that the same causes will operate again to secure the defeat of a Women's Suffrage Amendment to the Reform Bill unless some new factor can be introduced into the situation.

2. What caused the defeat of the Conciliation Bill?

The two principal causes were the opposition of the Nationalist Party, and the action of certain Liberal M.P.s who incited other members to break their pledges to support the Bill, giving the recent militant outbreaks as their reason for doing so. The real reason at the back of both these causes was a fear lest the public disagreement of Cabinet Ministers over a Women's Suffrage Bill would damage the prestige of the Government and weaken the Liberal Party. Those members who were specially interested in other measures which would only become law through the operation of the Parliament Act were prepared to sacrifice Women's Suffrage or anything else with the object of keeping the present Government in power.

3. How can we prevent the same causes from causing the defeat of a Women's Suffrage Amendment to the Reform Bill or any future Women's Suffrage measure?

By showing that we intend to get rid of the Anti-Suffragists and pledge breakers in the Liberal ranks, and thus inspiring in the Government and the Nationalist Party a fear lest the consequences of further evasion and delay should be more damaging to their interests than a speedy settlement of the question. **The best way to do this is to offer effective opposition at elections to Anti-Suffragists of the Government party, and to strengthen that party in the House of Commons which has adopted Women's Suffrage as part of its official policy, and which is prepared to insist on the inclusion of Women in the Reform Bill. The policy of supporting Labour Candidates in constituencies represented by Liberals whose Women's Suffrage record is unsatisfactory will, if successful, achieve both these objects.** If the Liberal Party managers realised that in consequence of the defeat of the Conciliation Bill and the uncertainty about the Government's Reform Bill an increased number of three-cornered contests would take place they would be obliged seriously to consider the position, and might regard the passage of a Women's Suffrage measure as the lesser evil of the two. In that case we should have nothing to fear next time from Nationalist opposition or Liberal pledge-breakers.

4. How will the policy work out in practice?

(a) **It does not involve the abandonment of our non-party attitude.** It is a development of our present policy, not a reversal of it. The National Union has always supported the friends of Women's Suffrage, and opposed its opponents. It will still do so, but it will give special support to those friends whose party has done most for Women's Suffrage, and special opposition to those opponents who have done it most harm.

(b) **The new policy will not cause us to oppose any Member whom we should not have opposed in any case,** we shall only oppose him in a more affective way.

(c) **We shall not under any circumstances support a candidate who is not a satisfactory suffragist.**

(d) **Supposing the Conservative candidate is friendly, shall we not be injuring him by supporting a Labour candidate?**

No, because if we succeed in detaching votes they will most probably be votes which would have been given to the Liberal, not to the Conservative.

The Conservative generally stands to gain by a three-cornered contest.

(e) **Supposing the Conservative candidate is not a satisfactory Suffragist, and by splitting the progressive vote we let him in, shall we have gained anything?**

Yes, because we shall have got a Liberal Anti-Suffragist member turned out, and in the present situation a Liberal Anti- Suffragist is more dangerous to us in Parliament than a Conservative Anti-Suffragist. We shall also have proved to the Liberal Party managers that our opposition counts for something.

(f) **Is it then an Anti-Government policy?**

Partly, because our efforts will be concentrated on the constituencies of unsatisfactory members of the Government party, but not wholly, because we shall oppose Anti-Suffragists of other parties as well, and where a Liberal is a proved friend of Women's Suffrage we shall support him.

5. What do we hope to achieve by the policy?

(a) We hope to put pressure on the Government to bring in their Reform Bill in the autumn.

(b) To put pressure on Liberal and Nationalist M.P.s to vote for an amendment to include women in the Bill.

(c) To strengthen the Party which is prepared to vote against the 3rd Reading of the Bill if an amendment to include women is not passed.

6. What if the Session ends without the passage of any Women's Suffrage measure?

We shall have embarked on a constructive policy which will give us good hope of success in the future.

7. Where will the funds come from for carrying out this policy?

The ordinary National Union funds will not be touched for this purpose. A Special fund is being raised with a special Committee to deal with it. All who wish to support the new policy should send contributions at once to the National Union Office, 14, Great Smith Street, Westminster, S.W. Over £1,000 was subscribed by delegates at the Council Meeting on May 14th. **We want £20,000 before October.**

Price 1/6 per 100.

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The Vital Claim.

An Appeal from Liberal Women to Women Liberals.

The expressions of discontent and grave warning which have gone forth to the Liberal Party from the Council Meetings of the Women's Liberal Federation, on the present position of the Suffrage question, have been noted with satisfaction by those who, for the sake of the Women's Cause, stand outside Party organizations. Whilst the Resolutions fall short of what might be desired and hoped for, they (and still more the speeches by which they were supported) are a distinct advance on any previous utterances of the Council. If they do not declare an immediate revolt, they certainly foreshadow one; and they reveal the important effects which the events of last year have had on the minds of women Liberals.

The recent wholesale desertion of the women's cause by the Irish Party has naturally aroused bitter resentment; and yet, dispassionately considered, it holds for women a lesson of valuable significance.

Above everything else, it spells faithfulness to one supreme idea, to which, until it is realised, every other claim and consideration must be subordinated. There may conceivably be political reforms of even greater importance to humanity at large than Home Rule for Ireland, but the Nationalist Party are of one mind with St. Paul when he declared, "I determined to know nothing among you"—save the mission to which he was dedicated. In a like spirit, hundreds of women have deliberately severed the ties and fealties of

a life-time and withdrawn their support from comrades and reforms, dear to and desired by them, in order to achieve one purpose which seems to them to transcend all others in immediate importance. It is in this spirit and by these methods only that successful revolutions and reformations are accomplished ; and it is through the lack of this spirit that

> "Enterprises of great pith and moment,
> With this regard their currents turn awry
> And lose the name of action."

Women had a right to say to the Irish Members who wrecked the Conciliation Bill, "Are not we women struggling for the same liberty, the same rights as you yourselves? Have we not stood by you in your struggle, and proved ourselves your champions and advocates in the great campaign of 1885?" Sympathy, honour, gratitude called to the Nationalists to stand firm for the women's cause ; yet all availed nothing, against the fear of possible disaster to their supreme aim. If this desertion—graceless and discreditable as it may appear—is nevertheless capable of a not wholly ignoble interpretation for us, still more may we commend this interpretation to the further consideration of the Women's Liberal Federation.

There can be little doubt that the Suffrage question has (at any rate since the great Liberal reaction in 1906) been in the power of organised Liberal women to settle. A quarter of a century ago they were in sufficient accord to split their great organisation over it and to place it in the forefront of their *raison d'être*. Since that time they have steadily increased in strength and influence, they have continued year by year to pass, with practical unanimity, declarations, manifestoes, remonstrances, and appeals addressed to the men of their Party on behalf of political recognition for women.

The prospect of the passing of a Manhood Suffrage Bill, for which there is so little demand among Liberals themselves that they recently refused to include it in a list of immediate reforms welcomed by them, has elicited from the Women's Liberal Federation a warning, which, from so persistently loyal a body, is very significant, and which we trust will be made still more effective by a personal pledge by all Liberal Suffragists to refrain from Party work at the next General Election in the event of the Reform Bill passing without the inclusion of women.

The highest Party loyalty must ever be subordinated to the root principles on which it is based. As a great Liberal (Lord Acton) said, "In the life of every great man there is a point where fidelity to *ideas*, which are the justifying cause of party, diverges from fidelity to *arrangements* and understandings which are its machinery."

The root principle of the Liberal Party is unquestionably self-government ; and when that Party shows itself faithless or apathetic towards this root principle, a higher service may be rendered to it by rebellion than by subservience. Women's co-operation, if needed in the political life of the nation, is needed on the side of the ideal ; and the ideal is never easy to serve.

A secondary consideration is this. In these days of congested legislation, it is usually necessary to concen-

trate all available power on any reform considered of primary importance, to the temporary exclusion of all others. The lack of this determination among women has dragged on the agitation for Women's Suffrage over half a century. Had women Liberals braced themselves to this resolve years ago, they would now have been able to render by their votes far more effective service to their Party than they can to-day. Were they now, late as it is, to adopt an attitude of demand instead of supplication, they could ensure this year the enfranchisement of their sex, and set free a vast sum of energy, time, enthusiasm and money for the furtherance of their political aspirations, and for schemes of social amelioration, which now are diverted and absorbed by the exhausting struggle of womanhood for political recognition.

The vision to comprehend, the courage to act, is what we need. In the words of Paraceleus :—

"Knowing ourselves, our world, our task so great,
Our time so brief, 'tis clear if we refuse
The means so limited, the tools so rude,
To execute our purpose, life will fleet,
And we shall fade, and leave our task undone."

C. C. OSLER.

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National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies,

14, Great Smith Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

LAW-ABIDING. NON-PARTY.

President: Mrs. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.

Colours: Red, White and Green.

The Reform Bill and Woman Suffrage.

Reprinted from "The Nation."

The Franchise Bill which Mr. Pease introduced on June 15th will remain for many months a provoking mark of interrogation among the assertions and denials of our politics. It is one of two things. It comes before us an indispensable and long overdue but by no means exciting project of registration reform. It will emerge from debate, if the progressive parties are true to themselves, the vehicle of the most fundamental act of emancipation in our social history. There is only one parallel to this uncertainty which we can recall, and by a hopeful coincidence it also was a Reform Bill. Disraeli's Household Franchise Measure of 1867 was drafted on a cautious and uninspiring basis of compromise. When it emerged from Committee, Britain had become a democracy. In many respects the Bill, even as it stands, is far from being a small or inconsiderable piece of legislation. It makes an end of plural voting. It frankly recognises residence as the only indispensable condition for the exercise of a citizen's right of sovereignty. It will add at least two million names to the

voters' register. But in all this necessary work upon the machinery of popular government, it lacks the human and social interest of the three historical Reform Bills. It adds indeed a larger number of electors to the roll than any of its predecessors. But it emancipates no subject class and raises the status of no body of men who labour under the stigma of deliberate exclusion from the franchise. It happens to-day to rich and poor alike that the delays of registration and its technical absurdities debar too many of us too often from the possibility of casting a vote. These anomalies are annoying to the individual, and because they vex the poor more often than the well-to-do they do amount to a class injustice. But no householder who is debarred from voting because he removed at the wrong time, or failed to satisfy the latch-key test, imagines that any doubt has been thrown upon his capacity to perform the functions of a citizen, and he knows, as a woman does not, that his point of view will be well represented at the polls. The two million men whose chances of securing a vote will be ensured by this Bill are not, like the town workmen of 1867 and the agricultural labourers of 1884, a well-defined class excluded hitherto by reason of their poverty. They represent rather the leakage of the present system, the men who might vote in one year to find themselves excluded in the next. The Bill will, therefore, become a true and great act of emancipation only if the House extends it to women. They are the one body of citizens excluded by a disability which involves a denial of human right. It turns on the momentous decision to be taken in Committee whether the Bill shall remain no more than a useful amendment of our registration machinery, or whether it shall put the seal of national recognition on the transformation which two generations of social change have slowly brought about in the position of women.

The debate on the First Reading of the Bill produced no challenge from the Conservative benches of the fundamental theory on which it rests. There is, or was, a Conservative theory of the franchise which is entitled to respect as an

intellectual attitude, but it found no place in Mr. F. E. Smith's detailed and qualified criticism of the Bill. The theory denies that the franchise is a right, and insists rather that the State, to ensure its own stability or progress, may at will enfranchise this class or the other. Such reasoning has lost its vital force. The principles of the philosophic Radicals have woven themselves inextricably into the thinking of every party. We assume that a right of citizenship belongs to all who can be affected for good or evil by government. The vote is not merely a means of performing a duty and service to the State. It is an indispensable means of protection in a world where for good or ill the State intervenes with increasing intimacy and insistence in the details of daily life. It is this which makes a case for woman suffrage which no conscious democrat can consistently resist.

* * * * * * *

Various detailed questions require examination, but they lack the significance of the one human issue which depends on this Bill. Mr. Pease defended its trust in the people qualified by prudence. Trust in the people qualified by sex-exclusion would be a more appropriate definition. As the Bill stands, its fundamental principle is that "every male person" who has reached the age of twenty-one is fitted to share in ruling that subject-class which includes his own mother. We do not care to dwell on that theme, because we refuse to believe that a House which reckons a large majority of suffragists can delay to remove what is a challenge to the self-respect of women, and an imputation on the enlightenment of men. For our part we deprecate a too early resort to compromise. There is no argument against the full enfranchisement of women as "residents" on the same terms as men, except the fact that such a basis would give them an excess over men of half-a-million votes. Men who themselves see how contemptible that argument is on any plane of intellectual self-respect, ought not to yield to this prejudice until they have exhausted the resources of argument and organisation. To yield to it is to admit that women are a class which might find itself indifferent to every tie of principle

or party, united in a solid antagonism to men. But while we should deprecate a premature compromise, it is necessary to protest at least as strongly against the assumption cherished by the "Times," and apparently by some Liberal opponents of woman suffrage, that the defeat of the extreme but logical proposal would end the debate. The Prime Minister has stipulated for a discussion "of the whole question," and manifestly if the widest solution were to be rejected, the obligation to test what support there is for less sweeping schemes would remain to be fulfilled. Most Liberals would welcome the enfranchisement of women who are occupiers, together with the wives of occupiers and, in the last resort, it would be possible to propose the enfranchisement of occupiers alone. There will, we hope, be no burking of debate, and no attempt to exclude any reasonable solution. There is a fear among party men, to which the hostile vote of the Nationalist members gave pointed expression in March, that a discussion of this question may have a disruptive effect on party unity. A failure to enfranchise women this year would create a still graver danger. It would mean the loss of many Liberal women's support and the accession of powerful forces to Labour. But worse that these losses would be the diminution of moral prestige which comes of trifling with a demand so earnest and so vital.

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National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.
14, Great Smith Street, Westminster, London, S.W.
President: Mrs. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.
LAW-ABIDING. NON-PARTY.

The Best Friends of Women's Suffrage.

By Mrs. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.

(Reprinted from the "Standard."

The recent development in National Union policy does not imply any change in the non-party attitude which it has consistently maintained. We have always in elections supported that one among all candidates, irrespective of party, whom we believed to be the best friend of Women's Suffrage. There has been no departure from this attitude. We are ready to support such men as Mr. Philip Snowden in Blackburn, Lord Robert Cecil in Hertfordshire, or Sir Alfred Mond in Swansea. This appears to me a genuine non-party attitude, and I see in it no "levity" or "want of straightforwardness." Our first aim beyond and above all party considerations is the recognition by the State of the political citizenship of women.

It is true that there has been a new development in our election policy. Hereafter we shall weigh not merely the answers given to our questions on suffrage by the individual candidates, but also the official attitude on the suffrage question of the party to which they belong. This has been proved to be necessary since the defeat of the Conciliation Bill; for we found then that promises are very easily broken when they come from men whose party is inconvenienced or embarrassed by the suffrage question.

At present the only party which is frankly for Women's Suffrage is the Labour party; hence, in elections where Labour candidates are standing, granting that their replies to our questions are satisfactory, and that they are not opposing tried and trusted friends of Women's Suffrage, we give our support to Labour. This does not make the National Union a party organisation, or create any alliance with the Labour party. It is in strict pursuance of our old policy to support the best friend of Women's Suffrage.

When Mr. Bonar Law or Mr. Asquith is able to announce, as Mr. Ramsay Macdonald did at Crewe, that one of the tasks of their respective parties is "to make a big fight for Women's Suffrage, and that they intend to do it," then we shall show our friends who allege that we have departed from our non-party attitude that they are wholly mistaken. When that day comes, the women who put suffrage in front of party will have won their long fight, and those who wish it can sort themselves out again into their respective parties.

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THE QUESTION OF THE MOMENT.

THE REAL ISSUE OF WOMEN SUFFRAGE.

The Government Franchise Bill has been introduced in the House of Commons. It proposes to add about 2,000,000 male voters to the Electorate.

It is true that an Adult Suffrage Amendment will be moved to this Bill, and that if this were passed by the House of Commons its effect would be to give votes to a large number of women. But other amendments will also be moved—one giving votes to women house-holders and the wives of house-holders, and one giving votes to women householders alone.

Surely if the Bill is to pass at all, it should include **some** women.

The question is not whether all women shall have votes, but whether when all men are given votes all women shall still be shut out.

Do you think it is just that the vote should be given to 9,400,000 men and not given to one single woman?

Are you prepared to let every young man of 21 have a voice in governing the Empire and to shut out all the mothers?

Women are just as important a part of the Empire as men. On the mothers of the country largely depends the moral and physical welfare of their sons.

Do you think it fair that women who pay a large share of Imperial and local taxes should have no voice in deciding how this money is to be spent?

Do you think that Parliament which makes laws about children, education, the home, the regulation of men and women's labour, the price of food, and other matters which closely concern women as well as men, should be solely elected by men?

The municipal bodies which some women help to elect, administer laws; but if the law is bad, or not as good as it might be, the most excellent administration will not do much good.

Women want the Parliamentary Vote, in order that they may be consulted about the laws under which they and their children live.

What suffragists ask is that men and women should be allowed to work together for the good of the state.

If you care for the good of your country and of all the men and women and children in it **support Women's Suffrage,** and join the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies. HEADQUARTERS: 14, GREAT SMITH STREET, WESTMINSTER.

4d. per 100. 2/6 per 1,000.

Read the "COMMON CAUSE," 1d. weekly.

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LAW-ABIDING. NON-PARTY.

President: MRS. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.

Women Suffrage Amendments to the Reform Bill.

The Enfranchisement of Women Householders and of the Wives of Men Householders

— or —

The Enfranchisement of Women Householders only.

The Prime Minister has promised that if any Women's Suffrage Amendment to the Reform Bill passes the House of Commons, the Government will accept it as an essential part of the Bill, to be defended thenceforth through all its stages.

There are more than enough Members of Parliament pledged to the support of Women's Suffrage to carry an Amendment, if they are united and true to their pledges.

Every intelligent person therefore should understand what form of Women's Suffrage is likely to be carried by Amendment.

If any Amendment is carried, it is nearly certain (so far as any one can tell at present) to be in one or other of the following shapes :—

1.—The Enfranchisement of Women Householders and the Wives of Men Householders.

Mr. Lloyd George and Sir Edward Grey have promised to try to get through an Amendment in this form, which is supported by the majority of Liberal Suffragist M.P.s, and by some Conservative Suffragist M.P.s.

The advantages which are claimed for this proposal are as follows :—

(a)—**The Amendment would enfranchise a reasonable and moderate number of Women.** It has been calculated that the number would be from 5½ to 6½ million women, according to the age at which the vote were granted. It is usually anticipated that the age will be fixed at 25. It is expected that the number of **Men Voters,** if the Reform Bill becomes law, will be about 10½ millions, so that the Women Voters would be about a third of the electorate, and would be in a decided minority in every constituency in the country. This may reassure those who fear what they call "a predominance of women."

(b)—**The Amendment is based on the familiar well-tried principle of Household Suffrage,** but recognises that the wife as well as the husband has a claim to represent the interest of the family and the household in the national well-being.

Some critics say: "What! Would you give two votes to one household?" Why not! If a bachelor and a spinster each inhabiting a separate dwelling are to have a vote apiece, surely when they come together in marriage and found a family, their voting power ought not to be halved, seeing that their value to the community and their stake in the community is not less but greater than before.

(c)—**The Amendment recognises the importance and status of Married Women.** Many people hold that the wives and mothers of the nation have a wider experience and are of more value to the community than single women, and that they ought not therefore to be left out of any scheme of enfranchisement. "If every untried youth of 21 is to have a vote, it would be a gross anomaly that his Mother should not have a vote."

(d)—**The Amendment satisfies Liberals,** because it cannot possibly be said that it favours any class above another or strengthens the right of property. **It satisfies Conservatives,** because they believe that married women, having a stake in the country, will be an element of stability and moderation in the electorate.

On all these grounds electors are asked to support this Amendment, and to request their Parliamentary representative to vote for it.

Should the above Amendment fail to pass, the next best chance will be for

2.—An Amendment enfranchising Women Householders only. This was the proposal of the Conciliation Bill, but many M.P.s voted against the Conciliation Bill for reasons of Parliamentary tactics which do not apply to the Reform Bill.

The effect of this Amendment would be to enfranchise from 1 to 1½ millions of women, *i.e.*, it would make women only a ninth or tenth of the electorate. The majority of those enfranchised would be widows, and most of the remainder would be single women earning their own living. No one will deny that a widow, who pays rates and taxes and supports her fatherless children, has the strongest claim of any one to the Parliamentary vote. The women wage-earners, whose labour is regulated by Parliament, also urgently need the vote for their own protection. This Amendment favours no class, for it has been proved that about 80 per cent. of those enfranchised under it would be working women.

Electors are urged to see that if wider proposals fail, this Amendment, the smallest concession that can be made to the just claims of women, shall at least be added to the Reform Bill.

All Electors and all women are asked to write to the Member for their constituency urging him to support these Amendments.

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LAW-ABIDING. **NON-PARTY.**

President: Mrs. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.

Colours: Red, White and Green.

The Labour Party and the Reform Bill.

IS it necessary, in the interests of true democracy, that Labour men should refuse to accept the Franchise Reform Bill if women are excluded? Should they not, rather, be prepared to take what they can get? and, if they have done their best to secure the inclusion of women, and failed, have they not a right to gather what advantage they can from the other provisions of the Bill?

Well, let us consider the position. The Reform Bill, save for the Women's Amendments, proposes to enfranchise no new section of the people. There is no class, no interest, at present unrepresented, to which this Bill would give representation. It would remove cases of individual hardship, but there is no man whom it would enfranchise who has not already the advantage of belonging to an enfranchised class and industry.

But with the women it is different. Their interests, their industries, their special needs, and point of view are at present altogether unrepresented (as were those of the town workers till 1867, and the agricultural labourers till 1884). To enfranchise them would be to set the bounds of freedom wider and to make the House of Commons what it is not at present, "a true and authentic reflection of the opinion of the nation."

From the point of view, then, of democratic principle the enfranchisement of women is **the one really great reform** made possible by this measure.

Let us imagine for one moment that all the Women's Amendments were defeated (which is to presuppose a wholesale breaking of pledges, since over 400 men in the House of Commons are declared suffragists), and the Bill were carried into law without them. What would be the effect?

With the establishment of **Manhood Suffrage** the difficulties of the women would be enormously increased for women. Should a Conservative Government be returned they would certainly not wish to add to the roll of voters. They would be apt to say, "There are far too many people enfranchised already." Should the Liberals come in again, their plea would probably be that the question of the franchise had lately been fully discussed, and that the House of Commons had deliber-

ately decided that womanhood was to be an absolute disqualification. For it is no good blinking the fact that the passage of such a measure would be a definite and forcible denial of the citizen rights of women ; and in such a denial surely no party pledged to the principle of Women's Suffrage ought to acquiesce.

But supposing that the Labour Party refused to accept the Bill without women, what would happen ? Although the Government majority does not absolutely depend upon the Labour vote, they could hardly carry the Bill through in the face of the organised opposition of the Labour Party, reinforced by a certain number of staunch Liberal suffragists. Supposing then that the Bill were defeated, or withdrawn in token of defeat, what would the women have gained ? Just this—that, when it was obvious that no Reform Bill could pass which did not include women, a Reform Bill which *did* include them would undoubtedly shortly be introduced. The anomalies of our electoral system cannot be allowed to remain long. The question *will* be dealt with, and if it cannot be dealt with without women then, and then only, the enfranchisement of women is assured.

The alternatives before the men of the country, then, if this situation arises, will be—Shall we insist on the immediate extension of the franchise to men on whose behalf no agitation, no organised demand, has ever been made, and thereby postpone, perhaps for years, the enfranchisement of the women who have already been struggling for it for nearly fifty years ; or, shall we refuse to pay such a price for the instant redress of our own less urgent grievance. Shall we not stand by the women—make their cause our cause, and consent to delay the victory a little that it may be complete ?

Remember the recent hollow-ware strike. The demands of the men were conceded first, but they **would accept no settlement which did not include the women.** They recognised that the women's need was even greater than their own, and that to stand out with the women was the only way to ensure victory for them.

The same situation may now arise politically. The Government, like the masters, would leave the women out of the settlement if they could, and there will be many appeals to the selfishness of the men to look after themselves and leave the women in the lurch. But the women know that they can look beyond the instinctive selfishness which would accept this prompting to the fine flower of Trade Unionism—the spirit of unselfish comradeship. And they appeal confidently to the Labour Party in the House of Commons to stand firmly by the principle laid down by their National Conference—the same principle which inspired Staffordshire Trade Unionists—" No settlement without the women."

Remember, **they won:** and, in their spirit, so shall we.

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LAW-ABIDING. NON-PARTY.

President: Mrs. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.
Colours: Red, White and Green.

How are we to get Women's Suffrage Included in the Franchise Bill?

The Bill is one to give votes to nearly all men of 21 years of age ; it is to come up early in the New Year (1913) ; and the question of Women's Suffrage will be introduced in an amendment to **the first clause.**

This first clause now reads :—

"Every male person shall be entitled to be registered as a Parliamentary Elector," etc.

Our first business is to get an amendment passed which will strike out the word **male,** and make the clause read :—

"Every person shall be entitled to be registered as a Parliamentary Elector," etc.

We may call this the first Women's Suffrage amendment. But it does not mean that all women will have the vote. It does not, by itself, ensure that **any** women will have the vote ; for, as you know, according to our judge-made law, a woman is **not a "person"** when Parliament grants privileges and rights of voting : she is only a " person " when it imposes taxes and punishments. The passing of this first amendment will therefore be an acceptance by the House of Commons of the principle of Women's Suffrage. It will mean, in effect, this :—" This House desires to see **some** women enfranchised, and will now proceed to settle **what** women these shall be."

If this amendment is not passed, most probably no single one of the subsequent amendments can even be discussed.* Therefore we must concentrate our main strength on this First Women's Amendment ; for, when people see in their newspapers next morning that a majority of the House of Commons is in favour of at least some women having the vote, they will think the House incompetent if Members cannot afterwards agree as to **what** women shall have the vote. As this Amendment

* At least in the Committee stage of the Bill, and probably not at all. [P.T.O.

is brought forward by Sir Edward Grey (Liberal), Mr. Alfred Lyttelton (Conservative), Mr. Arthur Henderson (Labour), Mr. Henry McLaren (Liberal), Mr. Dickenson (Liberal), and Lord Robert Cecil (Conservative), you will see that it unites the support of every kind of Suffragist in every party in the House. No Suffragist can have any excuse for not supporting it, therefore any Member who withholds his support declares himself against votes for women.

Electors, we urge you first and foremost to make sure that your member votes for this amendment.

When this preliminary amendment has been passed there are **three alternative amendments** to settle the question which women shall have the vote.

The Adult Suffrage Amendment (brought forward by Messrs. Arthur Henderson, Snowden, and Thomas).—To make this clause read :—"Every person **of either sex** shall be entitled to be registered as a Parliamentary Elector," etc. This is the Equality Amendment which would give votes to women on the same terms as men. It will be voted upon after the passage of the amendment to omit the word "male."

The Household Suffrage Amendment (brought forward by Mr. Dickinson and Mr. Acland for the Liberals, and Sir John Rolleston and Mr. Goulding for the Unionists).—This amendment would give votes to women over twenty-five years of age who are inhabitant occupiers, and to wives of inhabitant occupiers. It will be moved if the Equality Amendment fails to pass.

The Conciliation Bill Amendment (brought forward by Mr. Lyttelton and Mr. Goldman for the Unionists, and Mr. Murray Macdonald and Mr. G. J. Bentham for the Liberals).—This will be voted upon next in order if the Equality Amendment and the Household Suffrage Amendments fail to secure a majority. It would give votes to women who have the Local Government vote (as at present constituted), unless the basis of that vote is amended in the Local Government clauses of the Bill itself. Any Member who—if the two wider amendments fail to pass—votes against this amendment will prove himself in effect an anti-suffragist, for it is better for a few women to be enfranchised than no women at all.

ELECTORS, AND YOU WOMEN WHO DESIRE YOUR OWN FREEDOM, WE URGE YOU TO WRITE TO THE MEMBER FOR YOUR CONSTITUENCY, AND TO PRESS BY EVERY MEANS IN YOUR POWER FOR THE OMISSION OF THE WORD "MALE" AND THE INCLUSION OF ONE OF THE SUBSEQUENT AMENDMENTS FIXING THE BASIS OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN THE COMING FRANCHISE BILL.

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LAW-ABIDING. NON-PARTY.

President: Mrs. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.

Colours: Red, White and Green.

Ministers' Pledges.

These are some of the statements made at various times by responsible members of the Government, as to their attitude to the Women's Suffrage Amendments to the Reform Bill.

(1) **Mr. Asquith's** own pledges, given on the 17th November, 1911, to the Deputation from the National Union :—

". . . A word about the question put by Mrs. Fawcett :

"Is it the intention of the Government that the Reform Bill shall go through all its stages in 1912?"

"Certainly it is our intention. We hope to carry it through in that year."

"Will the Bill be drafted in such a way as to admit of any amendments introducing women on other terms than men?"

"Certainly."

"Will the Government undertake not to oppose such amendments?"

"Certainly. The Government as a Government is prepared to leave the matter to the House of Commons."

"Will the Government regard any amendment enfranchising women which is carried as an integral part of the Bill, and defend it in all its stages?"

"Certainly."

(The "Standard," November 18th, 1911).

(2) **Mr. Lloyd George's** confirmation of these pledges, made at the Albert Hall, February 23rd, 1912.

"I certainly agree with every word that was said by "the Prime Minister. This declaration was made by "the Prime Minister not merely on his own behalf, as he "repeatedly said, but made on behalf of the Government. "Let me say this about that question: You may disagree "with Mr. Asquith personally and with his views politically, "but I know him, and I know there is no man in England "who has a more sensitive regard to his pledged word than "he has, and when I hear suggestions that the Govern- "ment propose not to introduce a Reform Bill, or that if "they do introduce it, it will not be persevered with, or "that it won't be drafted in such a way as to give oppor- "tunity for amendment, I say that it is an imputation of "deep dishonour which I decline to discuss. No Govern- "ment could commit such an outrage on public faith with- "out forfeiting the respect of every honest man and woman "in the land. You go through all these pledges and you "will find that Mr. Asquith repeated in every phrase and "form these undertakings on behalf of the Government "—that the Bill will be introduced and carried through "all its stages this session."

("Manchester Guardian," February 24th, 1912.)

(3) **Sir Edward Grey** at the Horticultural Hall, December 16th, 1911.

"I understand the indignation which people feel at "any idea of a Bill being passed which is going to widen "the Suffrage for men and do nothing for women. I would "not have been a party to the introduction of any Bill "which was not going to give the House of Commons a "fair opportunity of putting Woman Suffrage into it. I "will go further and say this. It is to me inconceivable "that a House of Commons which has more than once "by large majorities approved the principle of Woman Suff- "rage, should calmly proceed to pass through all its stages "a Bill widening the Suffrage for men, without doing some- "thing to remove the barrier against women having votes. "If that happens, the House of Commons will have stultified "itself, and will have placed itself in an entirely indefensible "position; but until anything of that kind has happened, "till the House of Commons has refused to put a Woman "Suffrage amendment into the Bill, **or to proceed with "the Bill as so amended,** I decline to believe it possible "that that should happen."

("Manchester Guardian" December 18th, 1911).

(4) **Sir Edward Grey's** letter to Miss Haldane on the occasion of the Women's Suffrage Demonstration in Glasgow, December 9th, 1912.

"There is no truth in the report that if a Woman "Suffrage amendment to the Reform Bill were carried, it "will be followed by a resignation which would break up "the Government. The corollary to such a position "would be that if Women's Suffrage were not put into the "Reform Bill, the Members of the Government who are in "favour of Women's Suffrage should resign, and withdraw "their support from the Bill. This is not the position, but "the contrary."

("Manchester Guardian," December 10th, 1912.)

(5) **Sir John Simon** at the Meeting in the London Opera House, on December 4th, 1912.

The Bill had been introduced, and both by its title and contents it precisely corresponded with the Prime Minister's pledge. The Bill was so drafted that the question was bound to come upon the first line of the Bill, and the House would come at once to the point where proposals could be made, which would be unquestionably in order, and which would result in introducing Women's Suffrage into the texture of the Bill.

Thirdly, Mr. Asquith promised that the Government as a Government would not oppose such Women's Suffrage amendments, but would leave the matter to the House of Commons as a whole . . . . . It was one thing for the Government to make itself responsible for initiating Women's Suffrage proposals, and quite another thing for the Government to give the House of Commons an opportunity, after free discussion and without Government pressure direct or indirect, of expressing its deliberate opinion. That deliberate decision, as the Prime Minister had pointed out, when incorporated in the Government Bill, might then fairly claim all the protection and support which the Government alone could give to a Government measure. Such a measure would go forward to the House of Lords with all the authority of a Government Bill. . . . . .

That promise of the Prime Minister was quite good enough for any Liberal, and it was quite enough for any single-minded Suffragist. "I would not stand here," Sir John Simon said, "and take part in any discussion "which hinted at the possibility of the Prime Minister's "plain declaration being repudiated or qualified, and, "while cantankerous gossips may have their own opinions, "the views I am expressing are shared by everyone who "knows the Prime Minister and the character of his "leadership. If we make wise use of the next "few weeks, and if we unite upon the policy of this "resolution, we have most solid ground for saying that we "ought to be in a position to carry our cause to victory."

(*"Manchester Guardian," Dec. 5th, 1912.*)

1/4 per 100.

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14, Great Smith Street, S.W.; and
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LAW-ABIDING. *NON-PARTY.*

THE POSITION OF THE N.U.W.S.S.

FEBRUARY, 1913.

In 1870, 1886, 1897, 1908, 1909, 1910, 1911, Private Members' Bills to Enfranchise Women passed their second reading in the House of Commons.

In May, 1908, Mr. Asquith replied to a deputation of Liberal Members of Parliament that he intended to introduce, during the lifetime of that Parliament, an effective scheme of Electoral Reform and it would clearly be within the competence of those present to introduce by amendments or by extensions the object they desired. Such amendments the Government would not oppose.

In December, 1909, on the eve of the General Election, Mr. Asquith repeated this promise to the Women's Liberal Federation, stating that it would still hold good in the next Parliament.

In June, 1910, the Conciliation Bill, drafted by a Committee of Suffragist Members of all parties, was introduced and passed by a majority of 110. Mr. Asquith *refused facilities* for carrying this Bill into law on the ground that it was not capable of free amendment.

In May, 1911, the Conciliation Bill, altered so as to be capable of free amendment, was again introduced, and passed its second reading by a majority of 167.

Facilities were again asked and again refused, but an offer was made of facilities in 1912 when the Bill had again been read a second time.

On the strength of this promise the Suffragists throughout the country worked indefatigably to secure a majority for the Bill through all its stages, and success seemed assured when in November, 1911, Mr. Asquith announced his intention of introducing a Reform Bill which would enfranchise practically every man and no women. He, however, assured the deputation, and ten days later repeated the promise to a deputation of Suffragists, that every opportunity would be given for the inclusion of women in the Bill by way of amendments—that the Government would not only not oppose such amendments but would treat any amendment once carried, as an integral part of the Bill to have the backing of the Government through all its stages, and the benefit of the Parliament Act.

This amendment, in Mr. Lloyd George's words, "torpedoed" the Conciliation Bill. Liberal Suffragists turned their thoughts to the possibility of a wider measure. Irish Nationalists began to consider the waste of a week of valuable time, when a further opportunity for the enfranchisement of women was promised later in the Session, there were rumours of Cabinet resignations were the Bill carried; its majority went to pieces, and in March, 1912, it was defeated by 14 votes.

The constitutional Suffragists, however, accepting Mr. Asquith's solemn pledges, bent all their efforts to securing the passage of a Women's Suffrage amendment to the Government Reform Bill. In two

years £60,000, denoting an infinity of sacrifice and devotion, was spent on work, on the strength of the Government pledges. Minister after Minister assured them that this was a far better opportunity than any Private Members' Bill could give. Mr. Lloyd George even declared that he regarded the enfranchisement of women in this Bill as a certainty. For fourteen months Suffragists worked as even they had never worked before, on the strength of these assurances, although it became increasingly clear that the attitude of the Prime Minister made a "free vote" a practical impossibility.

The Suffrage debate was dated to begin on Friday, January 24th, and continue on Monday and Tuesday. On Thursday, January 23rd, in reply to a question from Mr. Bonar Law, the Speaker indicated that he would probably feel obliged to rule that a Bill so amended would be a new Bill, and would have to be withdrawn and re-introduced.

This ruling he confirmed on Monday, January 27th, in reply to a question from Mr. Asquith.

The position then was that the promise made five years ago by the Prime Minister and repeated at intervals ever since—repeated indeed most emphatically by Mr. Lloyd George on Thursday, January 23rd, to a deputation of working women, was null and void. The Prime Minister had promised what he had no power to perform. By his own carelessness, and the Speaker's deliberate failure to enlighten him, the Prime Minister had placed himself in the humiliating position of having his cheque dishonoured and returned.

The Suffragists then naturally expected a full discharge of the debt, and it seemed to them that, if it was impossible to do what the Government had proposed—leave the House free to put women into a Bill introduced without them, the only alternative was to introduce the Bill with women in, even if the House were left free to take them out if it would.

To their amazement, however, the Prime Minister offered the now totally discredited expedient of the Private Member's Bill. For this he offered all the time that might be necessary, but no other safeguards against the wrecking devices of its enemies—not even the certain protection of the Parliament Act. In exchange for an amendment to a Government Bill, the responsibility of which the Government would shoulder directly the House of Commons gave a vote in favour of it, a Private Member's Bill, which would have to run the hazards of three years, with no official protection, in the House of Commons.

Three years ago this offer would have been gladly accepted. Now the cross-currents and intrigues of the House of Commons have shown the impossibility of securing a free vote, and the invincible dangers which must beset the path of a Private Member's Bill. It has already been pointed out by Mr. Balfour, for example, that the Conservative Party will object to the application of the Parliament Act to a Private Member's Bill, and the Conservative Suffragist vote will therefore be cast against it in the third and even in the second session. That a straight vote on Women's Suffrage is impossible in the case of a Private Member's Bill the Government themselves recognised when they destroyed the chances of the last Private Member's Bill, and declared that they were offering something far better in exchange. Let them now make good their pledges.

6d. per 100.

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National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies

14, GREAT SMITH STREET, WESTMINSTER, LONDON, S.W.

LAW-ABIDING. NON-PARTY.

President: Mrs. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.

Colours: Red, White and Green

Law-Abiding Suffragists.

We law-abiding Suffragists often meet with people who say to us "I shouldn't mind if women did get votes, but I won't join you till you learn to behave yourselves. I will have nothing to do with people who smash windows and set fire to houses."

Our answer to this is: "Everyone has a right to his or her own opinion, but nobody has a right to form their opinions without looking at the facts of the case a little more closely than that."

In the first place, the Suffragists who break the law, usually called the "Suffragettes," are a very small minority of the women who are working for Women's Suffrage. Those who have gone to prison number a few hundreds, while those who have been convicted of serious offences in connection with this agitation are fewer still.

The great **National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies**, of which **Mrs. Henry Fawcett** is President, is quite distinct from the Militant Societies, in its constitution and its tactics. It has repeatedly condemned methods of violence in political propaganda.

It comprises more than 400 law-abiding Societies, with a total membership of over 42,000, and has been increasing lately at the rate of 1,000 a month.

In the second place, the Militant movement, being sensational, has attracted much more attention from the Press than the work of the law-abiding Societies. While the news of a militant outrage is shown in large head-lines and on the posters of every newspaper, the most important meetings of constitutional Suffragists receive scant attention from editors on the lookout for exciting "copy," and many thousands of orderly meetings pass unrecorded by the large dailies.

The men and women who take their opinions from headlines have only themselves to thank if their knowledge of the Women's Suffrage movement is superficial, but it is very unfair to the many thousands of women, whose desire for the vote is as keen as their conduct is orderly, that their cause should be so hastily judged.

But when we have taken all these facts into consideration we ought to look a little deeper still into the whole question.

In every great movement there will be found some extremists, and we cannot fairly repudiate a just cause because some men and women, maddened by delays and by the mishandling of a great question by party politicians, have gone beyond the bounds of reason in its advocacy.

If we did this, Christians would cease to be Christians because of the many crimes committed in name of Christianity in the past.

If we come down to present day politics, the followers of neither of the two great parties can honestly deny justice to Suffragists on the score of militancy; for then Home Rulers would have to forswear Home Rule because there has been cattle driving among the Nationalists, while all Unionists must forswear the Union because some of them have broken the heads of Nationalists in Ulster.

But neither Liberals nor Conservatives would consider that such a denial of their principles could reasonably be expected of them, and constitutional Suffragists ask that reason shall also be applied in their case, and that Women's Suffrage shall be judged on its own merits, and not by the excesses of the extremists.

The best way to crush out militancy is not by useless recriminations or vindictive punishments, but by just dealing with the Suffrage question.

The genuine, thorough-going Anti-Suffragists who, having thought the matter out, honestly disbelieve in Women's Suffrage must be left to their conclusions, but there are many more who will not trouble to think, and for their opinions we can have little respect.

But does no blame attach to those others who, admitting their belief in the principle, have done nothing to put that principle into practice? Who make their disapproval of militancy the excuse for their refusal to help?

We say to them.—"**Have the courage of your opinions,** join in your thousands, and make the pressure of public opinion in favour of this reform more urgent than ever, then justice must prevail and militancy cease."

Is it not cowardly to hide your true opinions, leaving the work to others, and then when the struggle is over to come out and say, as we know that millions will do—"Oh, yes, *I* was with you all along!"

When such theoretical Suffragists as these refuse us their aid in this **great spiritual and moral fight,** we are inevitably reminded of the words of Henry V.:

> ". . . . . And gentlemen of England now abed,
> Shall think themselves accursed they were not here,
> And hold their manhoods cheap while any speaks
> That fought with us upon St. Crispin's day."

Read the "Common Cause," 1d. weekly; and write for full Catalogue of Publications to N.U.W.S.S., 14, Great Smith Street, London, S.W.

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President: Mrs. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.

Colours—Red, White and Green.

Election Policy of the N.U.W.S.S.

The policy of the National Union at By-Elections has one single end in view. We want to make such a use of our resources that **the Government of the day will find that it has suffered by refusing votes to women,** and the Government of to-morrow will recognise that **it is wise to do us justice.**

If a Government is hopelessly anti-suffragist, or so fatally disunited, that it can take no action at all, the only course for suffragists is **to shorten its term of office.** When once it is recognised that our influence has diminished a party's popularity or helped to bring about its fall, we shall be within sight of our goal.

We Suffragists were much more easy-going in the past. We made no demand on the Government save that **it would furnish time for a Women's Suffrage Bill.**

We hoped to carry our measure by the great majority in the House of Commons drawn from all parties which have **seven times approved the principle of Women's Suffrage.** We used to aim only at increasing this non-party majority, and therefore **supported any candidate who would give us a satisfactory pledge** to whatever party he might belong. **But our non-party majority crumbled away when it came to business.**

Experience has shown that you cannot secure a free vote or an honest vote on the merits of Women's Suffrage **because few members will vote without thinking of the effect upon the fortunes of their party.** Mainly because the Prime Minister is our opponent, we have now on two occasions seen Liberals break their pledges and Irish Nationalists reverse their former votes, and this, **because they feared that the passage of a Women's Suffrage Bill would embarrass their anti-suffrage leader.**

Women's Suffrage is in the same position as every other vital question. It will never be carried until a Government takes it up.

We withhold our support therefore from any Liberal candidate however friendly he may be as an individual. His return would strengthen a Government which delays our enfranchisement by every day that it holds office. But we do not actually oppose Liberals who have always stood by us. **We direct our main efforts to opposing the anti-suffragist members of the Government,** because it is their influence which has prevented the Government from acting in our favour. We are prepared to support a Conservative who is himself a good suffragist, not at all because we ourselves are anti-liberal in opinion, but because his return—if our work has contributed to it—will help us to put pressure on the Government.

But we concentrate our efforts by preference on supporting Labour candidates in triangular contests. A Labour candidate is not merely himself a good suffragist, he belongs to the one party which has formally and officially adopted Women's Suffrage as an integral part of its policy, and by its votes in the House of Commons and the fine record of its leaders proved the sincerity of its convictions.

Our hope is to help these Labour candidates to capture the seats held by Liberal anti-suffragists, and so to **add to the strength of the one party which supports us, and diminish within the Liberal ranks the small but obstinate minority which forbids the application of democratic principles to women.**

Price, 6d. per 100.

Read "THE COMMON CAUSE," 1d. weekly.

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National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies
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The Election Policy of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.

WHAT IS THE OBJECT OF THE NATIONAL UNION AT BY-ELECTIONS?

The object of the National Union at By-elections is to show that the Government suffers by refusing votes to women.

DOES THE NATIONAL UNION THEN ALWAYS OPPOSE THE LIBERAL CANDIDATES?

No, the National Union will not **oppose** a Liberal Candidate if he has proved himself an unwavering supporter of Women's Suffrage, but it will not **support** any Liberal candidate while the anti-suffragists in the Cabinet prevent the Government from bringing forward a measure of Women's Suffrage.

WILL THE NATIONAL UNION SUPPORT A CANDIDATE OF ANY OTHER PARTY AT A BY-ELECTION?

Yes, the National Union will support a Conservative who is himself a good suffragist, and it makes special efforts to support Labour candidates in three-cornered contests.

WHY DOES THE NATIONAL UNION PREFER TO SUPPORT A LABOUR CANDIDATE?

It prefers to support a Labour candidate provided that he is himself a good suffragist **because he belongs to the one party which has officially adopted Women's Suffrage as part of its policy,** and because the support of the Labour Candidate is the most effective way of opposing a Government Candidate.

THEN IS NOT THE NATIONAL UNION ANTI-LIBERAL?

No, the National Union is not anti-Liberal, it is not concerned with party politics and gives its support to parties and individuals or withholds its support from them solely in consideration of their attitude towards Women's Suffrage. The National Union policy is directed against the anti-suffragist element in the present Cabinet, not against the Liberal party.

BUT WOULD IT NOT BE BETTER TO SECURE THE RETURN OF A LIBERAL SUFFRAGIST RATHER THAN RISK THE RETURN OF A CONSERVATIVE ANTI-SUFFRAGIST?

No, because every Liberal in Parliament returned at a bye-election strengthens the hands of a Government which refuses to do anything for women's suffrage.

HAS THE NATIONAL UNION JOINED THE LABOUR PARTY?

No, the National Union has not joined the Labour Party, nor become part of it. It is absolutely free to refrain from supporting a Labour Candidate who should show himself to be unsatisfactory on the Women's Suffrage question.

HOW THEN WOULD YOU SUM UP IN BRIEF THE NATIONAL UNION POLICY?

The National Union policy may be summed up thus:—Having proved that the passage of a Private Member's Bill for Women's Suffrage is impossible in the present House of Commons owing to fears of "embarrassing the Government," the National Union demands the introduction of a Government measure as the only practicable solution of the question, and aims at showing that the continual evasion and postponement of a solution is likely to prove more "embarrassing to the Government" than the passage of a Women's Suffrage Bill.

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Women's Need of the Vote:

A Practical Illustration.

THE POSITION OF SEAMEN'S WIVES UNDER THE LAW.

WHAT THE LAW PRESCRIBES.

Most people are probably aware that in theory at least a legal obligation rests upon a man to support his wife and young children, and most people who have any experience of social work also know that if a man chooses to neglect this obligation the machinery provided by the law for enforcing it upon him is exceedingly defective. Practically, a poor woman has no remedy against a selfish and neglectful husband, unless the case is such a gross one that she can get a legal separation or can persuade the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children to prosecute the man for his neglect. With regard to the wives of seafaring men, however, the legal position is even more anomalous. Not only does the law lay no compulsion upon a man, before he goes off to sea upon a voyage lasting months or even years, to provide for the maintenance of his home during his absence, but it actually makes it impossible for him to do this in an adequate fashion. The Merchant Shipping Acts of 1894 and 1906 contain clauses of which the purpose presumably was to oblige shipowners to permit the seaman, if he wishes it, to leave a note for his wife, authorising her to draw half his pay at monthly intervals. The wording of the clauses is such, however, that, strictly interpreted, they make it illegal for the shipowner, even if he is willing, to permit the seaman, even if he desires it, to leave notes for *more than* half-pay, payable at intervals *shorter than* monthly. For a short time after the passing of the Act the Board of Trade insisted upon the strict fulfilment of the law in this sense. One Liverpool firm of shipowners, however, well-known for its humane and enlightened treatment of its men, was able to prove to the Board of Trade that such hardship had resulted from the observance of the limits thus laid down, that the Board now permits shipowners to give allotment notes for whatever sums they please, payable at weekly or fortnightly intervals. Naturally, however, the majority of firms consider that they are doing enough if they give notes to the extent prescribed by the Act. Let us therefore see how the arrangement which the law not merely sanctions but enjoins works out in the average home of the average seaman.

HOW IT WORKS IN THE HOME.

It must be remembered that as a seaman receives food and lodging while at sea, the amount which the law permits him to leave for the maintenance of his home, wife, and children during his absence—viz., half his money wages—is considerably less than half his total remuneration. For the rank and file of seamen, firemen, and stewards it usually amounts to from £1 10s. to £2 5s. per month. Thus, with a monthly half-pay allotment the wife has to carry on the home as best she can for four weeks, and then receives a sum working out at from 7s. 6d. to 11s. 3d. per week, upon which she has to manage for another month, and so on.

In practice, however, it is frequently two months instead of one before she touches a penny of her husband's money. In addition, or as an alternative to allotments, most firms grant their men advance notes of a month's pay, which can be cashed a few days after the ship has sailed. The object of this advance is to enable the seaman to replenish his outfit of clothing, boots, bedding, utensils, etc., and to pay his debts before he goes off to sea. He therefore goes to a moneylender or a publican, or to a shop where his wife deals, and gets an advance upon the security of the note, paying a rate of interest varying from 1s. to 5s. in the pound for the few day's loan. The wife may consider herself lucky if she gets anything at all out of this advance. Where it has been paid it is eight weeks before the first monthly allotment becomes due. A very large number of seamen indeed do not trouble to take out any allotment, but ask for an advance note only. Thus the representative of one large shipping firm calmly told an inquirer that his firm did not like giving allotments, and that the men practically never asked for them. They got advance notes for their outfit, but they did not care to let their wives touch any of their money—" the wives are such a drunken lot." When asked how in that case the wives managed to pay the rent and supply the children with food, fire, and clothes, he said, indifferently, that he really could not say. Firms in much closer touch than this one with their seamen and their wives testify, on the other hand, that the women make much better use of their money than their husbands. If a wife were given to drink, it seems a poor reason for a man to abandon to her the whole duty of maintaining his children and his home.

DEMORALISATION OF THE SAILOR.

The inequitable and demoralising character of the above arrangements must be obvious to every one who reflects a little. In no other trade or calling does a decent man expect to assign less than half his wages to his wife to maintain herself, the home, and the children, and keep all the rest for himself. Of course, we do not assert that all or even most seamen do this. Some send money home from foreign ports, and others hand all that they have been able to save over to their wives on their return. There can be no doubt, however, that the fact that law and custom suggest half-pay as the maximum that a man should leave does make the less thoughtful men feel that this is the limit of their duty, and that the rest of their wages is theirs to

spend as they like. With the unimaginative, out of sight is apt to be out of mind, and many a man who, if he worked ashore, would never dream of indulging himself while his children went hungry, will go off to sea leaving an inadequate or no provision without, as many a wife has told us, "seeming to give a thought" as to how she is to manage. The result is as demoralising to him as it is cruel to his family. When he returns, after the restrictions and absences of life at sea, and receives a substantial little pile of sovereigns, the windfall is apt to be too much for his self-control; he falls a prey to the harpies and touts who are on the look-out for the returning sailor, and reaches home after a debauch with empty pockets.

SUFFERINGS OF HIS WIFE AND CHILDREN.

Meantime, the unhappy wife has been coping as best she can with the problem of how to make two ends meet upon a wretchedly inadequate allowance. If she is lucky enough to get work at charing, hawking, or in a factory, she goes out to work, perhaps leaving her young children to the perils of the street or the unprotected fireplace. She lets the rent run on. Having no ready money, she cannot buy cheaply in the market or pick up bargains on a Saturday night, but is obliged to deal with shops which allow credit, such shops being naturally those which charge high prices to recoup themselves for bad debts. She pawns every superfluous and many necessary articles of furniture and clothing. Worst expedient of all, she borrows from the professional money-lender, paying the usual rate of interest—viz., 2d. per shilling per week. In Liverpool an appallingly large proportion of seamen's and casual labourer's wives are in the toils of these money-lenders, who often succeed in netting a profit of two or three pounds upon an original debt of ten shillings.

If all these resources fail, only one expedient is left to the wife: she can apply to the guardians, who may take her and her children into the workhouse, or, if they are a lenient body, may give out-relief. They can then recover the cost of this relief out of the husband's wages on his return from sea. We knew one case in which a wife was driven to this course by a long illness. When the husband, who was a petty officer, returned home and found that he had been made a pauper during his absence, he was so furious that he ill-treated and then deserted her. His indignation should rather have been directed against the law, for he had done all that it allowed him to provide for his family during his absence by a half-pay allotment.

Another woman, who is at the present moment (April, 1911), is serving a sentence of six weeks in Walton Goal, is the wife of a fireman who regularly leaves her a half-pay allotment of £2, payable on the 20th of each month. She is a respectable young woman, with four young children, to whom she is much attached, and she finds that living, even in a cellar, on 10/- a week means " starvation all the time." She has fallen into the bad habit of regularly borrowing on the 5th of each month from a money-lender, paying a penny in the shilling per week for the loan, and trusting to odd jobs of charing to pay it back. Some

weeks ago, she was accused of lending out part of this borrowed money to several neighbours, one of whom begged for it on the ground that her children were starving and then, to escape repayment informed against her for acting as an unregistered money-lender. The Stipendiary, in sentencing her to a £20 fine or six weeks, remarked " that he was sincerely sorry for this poor woman " and that the real offender was the registered money-lender. He proceeded to denounce, in vigorous terms, the whole class of female Slum-money-lenders, who are indeed the favourite object of denunciation by the Magistrates, Head Constable, Press and public of Liverpool. It seems a pity that they do not keep some of their abuse for the law and the employers, who by the system of payment which they impose upon seamen and the encouragement they give to casual labour, drive women to the moneylenders, and to even worse expedients, in order to keep themselves and their children from starvation.

WHO PROFITS? Most abuses flourish because they are profitable to someone, but the state of things that has been described appears to be an exception to the rule. The Liverpool Women's Industrial Council, which has recently been investigating the matter, found that the only arguments brought in defence of the present system by shipowners were, first, that paying allotments weekly meant more clerical work than paying them monthly; secondly, that there might be slightly greater chance of loss in the case of desertion. This, however, seems fully met by the fact that desertions can be cabled home at the expense of the Board of Trade, and further payments thus immediately stopped. As a matter of fact, the firms which have, some of them for many years, voluntarily granted the weekly payment of two-thirds allotments state that they lose nothing by the arrangement except the cost of the extra clerical labour, and that this is more than repaid by the extra steadiness, respectability and contentment of the men, who are thus providing properly for their wives and families instead of spending a large part of their wages upon dissipation.

A DISFRANCHISED CLASS. It may be asked, then, why so great an abuse has been suffered to continue. The only answer I can suggest is that it happens to be one which affects two classes of persons who are peculiarly hampered by circumstances from making their grievances felt. Women have no votes, and the votes which seamen nominally possess are of little use to them, since only a very small proportion of the number are at home on an election day. Neither class, therefore, repays the attention of politicians. As Mr. Gladstone said of the agricultural labourers: They have no votes; they may safely be neglected.

ELEANOR F. RATHBONE.

Note.—A Bill has been introduced into the House of Commons by a private Member and seems likely to become law, to remove the ambiguity in the Merchant Shipping Acts and make it permissible for shipowners to grant allotments at intervals more frequently than monthly and for sums larger than half-pay. A shipowner, however, is not obliged to do this, nor is the seaman obliged to make any provision at all for his wife.

HOW DO THEY COME?

Some have come on foot all the way from the far North; many have tramped for miles and miles upon the road, and some who could not leave their homes or their work for so long, have cheered the others by marching with them for at least a day upon their journey.

WHEN DID THEY START?

Some started on the 18th of June, and ever since then groups of Pilgrims have been setting forth from different parts of the country in order to march to London and take part in the great Demonstration at the end.

WHEN DO THEY ARRIVE?

They arrive on the outskirts of London on July 23rd. They march through London on July 24th and 25th, and they meet in **Hyde Park on July 26th, at 5 p.m.**

WHY DO THEY COME?

Because they believe that THE CAUSE OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE IS THE CAUSE OF RIGHT AND JUSTICE; because they wish to show their devotion to the work handed on to them by the men and women who began it over fifty years ago; because they are prepared to stand firm and to endure and to labour with unalterable determination, by every law-abiding means in their power, until their Cause is triumphant, and the vote is won.

HOW CAN WE WELCOME THEM?

By going forth in thousands to meet them and march with them, by giving hospitality and information on their journey, by taking part in the meetings along the route and in the Great Demonstration in Hyde Park on July 26th; by handing on this leaflet to others and explaining what the Women's Suffrage Pilgrimage means; by joining the London Society for Women's Suffrage as a *Member* or a *Friend*, and by contributing to the Great Pilgrimage Fund.

If you are willing to help in any of these ways send your name to the Secretary,

London Society for Women's Suffrage

(National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies),

58, VICTORIA STREET, S.W.

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THE PILGRIMAGE.

WHAT DOES IT MEAN?

IT MEANS THAT

there are thousands of law-abiding women who believe that it is only **just and right** that women as well as men should be allowed to vote for the Members of Parliament, because laws are made which concern women as well as men, and that women should therefore have some say in the making of the laws under which they work and live.

IT MEANS THAT

the women taking part in this Pilgrimage wish to bring more clearly home to you the reasons why they desire this reform, by travelling from all parts of Great Britain, North, South, East and West, spreading information about the work they are doing and the manner in which that work is carried out.

IT MEANS THAT

they wish to make a personal appeal for your help and to give you the strongest proof of their earnestness and enthusiasm in a just cause which it is in their power to give.

IT MEANS THAT

they wish to convince you that the great majority of the women who are asking for the vote are opposed to violence, and that they firmly believe that women's suffrage can only be won by peaceful and orderly methods of propaganda, **by appeals to reason,** not to force.

IT MEANS THAT

these women have faith and courage as firm and steadfast as that which moved men in the past to keep up the struggle for their political freedom in spite of difficulties.

IT MEANS THAT

this Pilgrimage is an act of devotion on the part of law-abiding suffragists to the work handed on to them by the men and women who began it over fifty years ago. The Pilgrimage is above all the outward sign of women suffragists unalterable determination not to cease from pressing their claim to the vote by every lawful means in their power until the vote is won.

To all who sympathise with the cause of the suffragists the Pilgrimage will mean opportunity for showing their approval of this peaceful demonstration.

Men and Women can join the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies as members, they can sign their names as Friends of Women's Suffrage, or they can give assistance and information to the marchers which will be useful to them on their journey to London to attend the meeting on July 26th.

Everyone can help by handing on this leaflet and by explaining to others the **meaning of the Women's Suffrage Pilgrimage.**

Published by NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES,
President, Mrs. Henry Fawcett, LL.D.
Offices:—Parliament Chambers, 14, Great Smith Street, Westminster, London, S.W.
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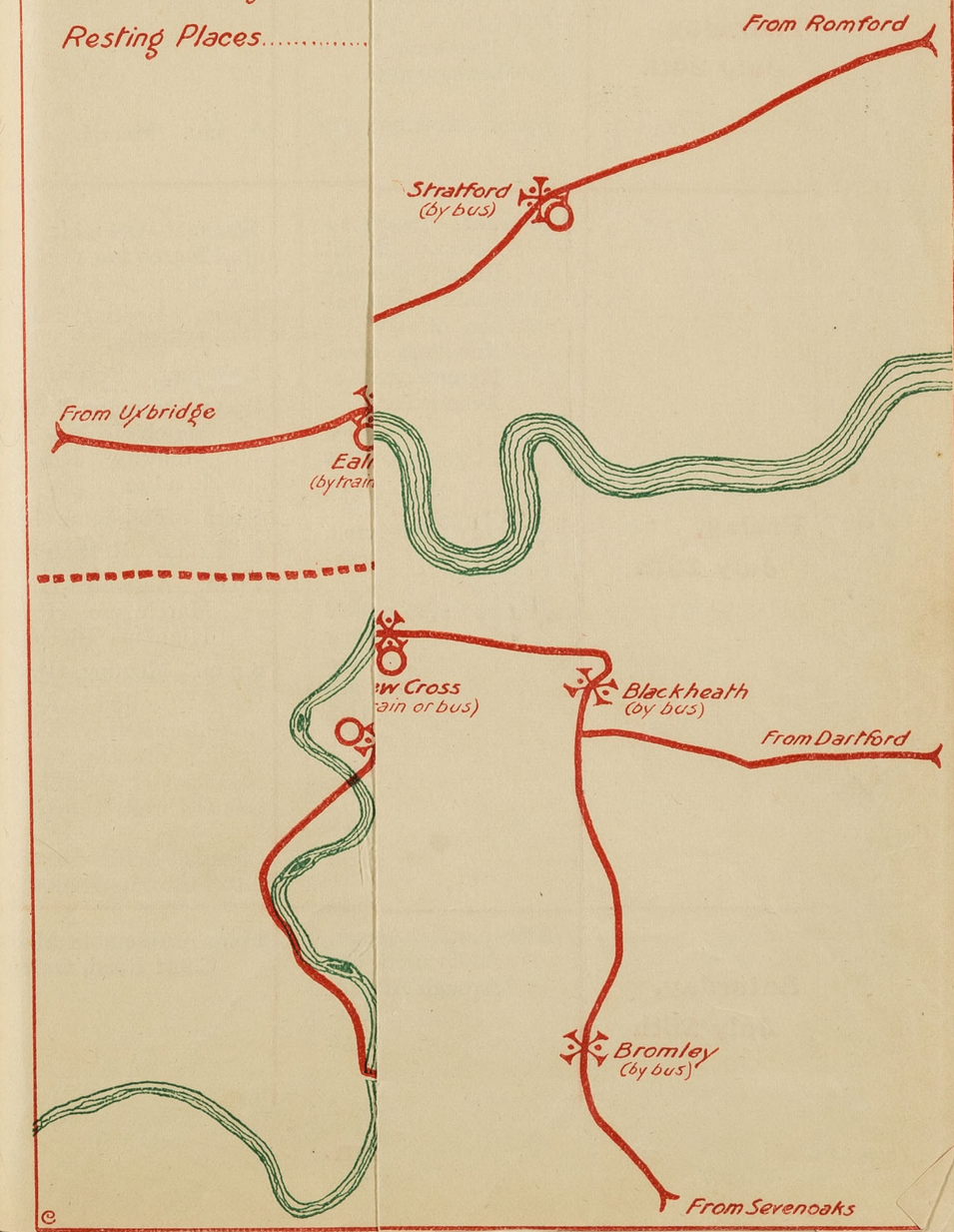
WOMEN'S PILGRIMAGE

LAW-ABIDING, NON-PARTY.

Places of Assembly on Satu

Public Meetings.....

Resting Places.....



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NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES

NON-MILITANT NON-PARTY

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE PILGRIMAGE

TO TELL ALL ENGLAND

WHY WOMEN

WANT THE VOTE

THE WEST COUNTRY ROAD

FROM

LAND'S END TO LONDON

MEETINGS WILL BE HELD ALL ALONG THE ROUTE

BERKSHIRE MEETINGS

HUNGERFORD ...	8 p.m., JULY 19th	READING ...	7.30 p.m., JULY 22nd
NEWBURY	8 p.m., ,, 21st	TWYFORD ...	Midday, ,, 23rd
THEALE	3 p.m., ,, 22nd	MAIDENHEAD ...	8 p m., ,, 23rd

AND

SLOUGH	Midday, JULY 24th	BROOK GREEN ...	12.30 p.m., JULY 25th
RICHMOND	7 p.m., ,, 24th	KENSINGTON Town Hall	8.30 p.m. ,, 25th

Demonstration in Hyde Park, 5 p.m., JULY 26th

ALL LAW-ABIDING SUFFRAGISTS ARE INVITED TO JOIN THE PILGRIMAGE

Particulars may be obtained from—

MRS. ROBIE UNIACKE, HOLLY LODGE, ASH VALE, SURREY.

n, Ltd., Printers, Aldershot. 5,317-r.

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE PILGRIMAGE

LAW-ABIDING. London Society of The NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES · 58 VICTORIA ST. S.W. NON-PARTY.

Route Map of Entry into London July · 1913

	PORTSMOUTH ROAD.	WEST COUNTRY ROAD.		WATLING STREET.	GREAT NORTH
Wednesday, July 23rd	Afternoon Meeting, Cobham. 8.15 p.m. Meeting, Esher.	Maidenhead	.	Beaconsfield.	Hatfield.
Thursday, July 24th	10 a.m. Assemble Esher. March *via* Portsmouth Road to 12. Meeting, Kingston Rly. Yard. 1—4.15 p.m. Rest and refreshment. 4.15 p.m. Assemble Kingston. March *via* Teddington, Twickenham and Richmond Bridge to 7 p.m. Meeting, Richmond.	Mid-day Meeting, Slou 7 p.m. Meeting, Richi	gh. nond.	7 p.m. Meeting, Uxbridge, the Pump.	8 p.m. Meeting, High
Friday, July 25th	10 a.m. Assemble Richmond Green. March *via* Sheen Road, Upper Richmond Road, 11.30 a.m. Barnes Common (corner of Roehampton Lane), Ranelagh Parade, Castlenau, Hammersmith Bridge, Bridge Avenue, King Street to 12.30. Meeting, Ravenscourt Park. 1.30—7 p.m. Rest and refreshment. 7 p.m. Assemble Brook Green. March *via* Brook G Hammersmith Broadway, Hammersmith R sington Road to 8.30 p.m. Meeting, Kensington Town Hall.	10 a.m. Assemble Green. March *via* rant, Kew Road, Kew Bridge, Chis Road, King Street	Richmond The Quad- Kew Green, wick High to reen Road, oad, Ken-	10 a.m. Assemble Townsend Road, Uxbridge Road, Southall. March *via* Hanwell, West Uxbridge Road, Ealing Broadway, Ealing Mall to 12.30. Meeting, Ealing Common. 1.30—4.10 p.m. Rest and refreshment. 4.10 p.m. Assemble Ealing Common (North Common Road). March *via* Uxbridge Road, Acton High Street, to 5.15 p.m. Birkbeck Road, disband. 5.15—6.45 p.m. Rest and Refreshment. 6.45 p.m. Assemble Blomfield Road (Uxbridge Road, near Wood Lane). March *via* Uxbridge Road, Holland Park Avenue, Notting Hill High Street, and Bayswater Road to 8.30 p.m. Meeting, Ethical Church Hall, Queen's Road.	11 a.m. Assemble Barn March *via* High Ba to 1 p.m. Meeting, Tally-H Finchley. 2—3 p.m. Rest and ref 3 p.m. Assemble Tally-H March *via* Finchley Archway Road, Road to 5 p.m. Tollington Road 5—7 p.m. Rest and ref 7 p.m. Assemble Tolling March *via* Hollow Highbury Place to 8 p.m. Meeting, Highbu
Saturday, July 26th	2.30 p.m. Assemble Warwick Gardens (Kensington Road Addison Road). March *via* High Street and Kensin through Alexandra Gate to	l, opposite gton Gore		2 p.m. Assemble Elgin Avenue, Maida Vale end. March *via* Maida Vale, Edgware Road, Oxford and Cambridge Terrace, Sussex Place, through Victoria Gate to	2 p.m. Assemble Monta Court Road, Oxford

HYDE PARK DEMONSTRATION, 5 p.m.

NTRY	WATLING STREET.	GREAT NORTH	T CENTRAL OUNTIES.	N ROAD.	
.	Beaconsfield.	Hatfield.	Ware.	ate.	**Wednesday, July 23rd**
gh. nond.	7 p.m. Meeting, Uxbridge, the Pump.	8 p.m. Meeting, High	Meeting, Enfield.	1 p.n 6 p.n lon. 8 p.n	**Thursday, July 24th**
Richmond The Quad- Kew Green, wick High to reen Road, oad, Ken-	10 a.m. Assemble Townsend Road, Uxbridge Road, Southall. March *via* Hanwell, West Uxbridge Road, Ealing Broadway, Ealing Mall to 12.30. Meeting, Ealing Common. 1.30—4.10 p.m. Rest and refreshment. 4.10 p.m. Assemble Ealing Common (North Common Road). March *via* Uxbridge Road, Acton High Street, to 5.15 p.m. Birkbeck Road, disband. 5.15—6.45 p.m. Rest and Refreshment. 6.45 p.m. Assemble Blomfield Road (Uxbridge Road, near Wood Lane). March *via* Uxbridge Road, Holland Park Avenue, Notting Hill High Street, and Bayswater Road to 8.30 p.m. Meeting, Ethical Church Hall, Queen's Road.	11 a.m. Assemble Barn March *via* High Ba to 1 p.m. Meeting, Tally-H Finchley. 2—3 p.m. Rest and ref 3 p.m. Assemble Tally-H March *via* Finchley Archway Road, Road to 5 p.m. Tollington Road 5—7 p.m. Rest and ref 7 p.m. Assemble Tolling March *via* Hollow Highbury Place to 8 p.m. Meeting, Highbu	Assemble Enfield High- end of Southbury Road). h *via* Edmonton and ham to ing, Cross Roads, top of ford Hill. Rest and refreshment. Assemble Cross Roads, ford Hill. March *via* Manor Road, Lordship Green Lanes, Seven s Road, Holloway Rd. to Tollington Rd. disband. same as Gt. North Road. **Green, Hampstead, W. St. Pancras.** eeting, White Stone Pond, stead Heath. semble White Stone Pond. *via* Heath Street, yn Hill, Haverstock Hill, Farm Road, Camden to ollington Road disband. same as Gt. North Road.	11.3 12.3 1.15 2.15 4.30 4.30 7.30 8.30	Katherine Street, roydon Station. hornton Heath, reatham High Streatham Com- de. st and refresh- Streatham Com- *via* Streatham Streatham Hill, o ing, corner of d, Brixton Rise. and refreshment. anterbury Road d). March *via* to ng, Kennington	**Friday, July 25th**
l, opposite gton Gore	2 p.m. Assemble Elgin Avenue, Maida Vale end. March *via* Maida Vale, Edgware Road, Oxford and Cambridge Terrace, Sussex Place, through Victoria Gate to	2 p.m. Assemble Monta Court Road, Oxford	March *via* Tottenham e Arch to	2.30	Piccadilly, and	**Saturday, July 26th**

DEMONSTRATION, 5 p.m.

T CENTRAL OUNTIES.	EAST COAST.	KENTISH PILGRIMAGE WAY.	BRIGHTON ROAD.	
Ware.	Brentwood.	From Sevenoaks.	Reigate.	**Wednesday, July 23rd**
Meeting, Enfield.	1 p.m. Romford Market Place. 6 p.m. Procession in Romford. 8 p.m. Meeting, Romford, Corn Exchange.	5.30 p.m. Assemble Lee Green. March *via* Lee Road and Blackheath Village to 6.30 p.m. Meeting, Whitfields Mount, Blackheath.	Croydon.	**Thursday, July 24th**
Assemble Enfield High- (end of Southbury Road). h *via* Edmonton and enham to ting, Cross Roads, top of ford Hill. Rest and refreshment. Assemble Cross Roads, ford Hill. March *via* Manor Road, Lordship Green Lanes, Seven s Road, Holloway Rd. to Tollington Rd. disband. y same as Gt. North Road. **s Green, Hampstead, W. St. Pancras.** Meeting, White Stone Pond, pstead Heath. semble White Stone Pond. h *via* Heath Street, yn Hill, Haverstock Hill, Farm Road, Camden to ollington Road disband. same as Gt. North Road.	11.30 a.m. Assemble Manor Park (Station Road, Romford Road). March *via* Romford Road to 12.30. Meeting, Stratford Broadway. 1.15—2.15 p.m. Rest and refreshment. 2.15 p.m. Assemble Stratford Broadway. March *via* Stratford Road, Bow Road, Mile End Road, Whitechapel Road, Commercial Street to 4.30 p.m. Toynbee Hall, disband. 4.30—7.30 p.m. Rest and refreshment. 7.30 p.m. Assemble Toynbee Hall. March Commercial Street, Whitechapel Road, Minories to 8.30 p.m. Meeting, Tower Hill.	10.30 a.m. Assemble Whitfields Mount, Blackheath. March *via* Blackheath Hill, Deptford Broadway, New Cross Road to 12. Meeting, Pepys Road, New Cross Gate. 1—6.30 p.m. Rest and refreshment. 6.30 p.m. Assemble Pepys Road. March *via* New Cross Road, Old Kent Road, New Kent Road, Elephant and Castle, London Road, St. George's Market to 8.30 p.m. Meeting, King's Hall.	10 a.m. Assemble Katherine Street, near East Croydon Station. March *via* Thornton Heath, Norbury, Streatham High Road to 12.30. Meeting, Streatham Common, South Side. 1.30—3 p.m. Rest and refreshment. 3 p.m. Assemble Streatham Common. March *via* Streatham High Road, Streatham Hill, Brixton Hill to 4.15 p.m. Meeting, corner of Rushcroft Road, Brixton Rise. 5—5.30 p.m. Rest and refreshment. 5.30 Assemble Canterbury Road (Brixton Road). March *via* Brixton Road to 6.15 p.m. Meeting, Kennington Park.	**Friday, July 25th**
March *via* Tottenham e Arch to	2.30 p.m. Assemble Trafalgar Square. March *via* Cockspur Street, Pall Mall, Waterloo Place, Piccadilly, and Hyde Park Corner to			**Saturday, July 26th**

HYDE PARK DEMONSTRATION, 5 p.m.

HOW TO JOIN THE PILGRIMS.

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Thursday and Friday, July 24th and 25th.

PORTSMOUTH AND WEST COUNTRY ROADS

To ESHER. From Waterloo (L.S.W.R.); from Kingston, 'bus 79.
To KINGSTON. L.S.W.R.; from Ealing, 'bus 71, 71A; from Esher, 'bus 79.
To TEDDINGTON. L.S.W.R.; 'bus 71.
To TWICKENHAM. From Kensington, etc., 'bus 27; from Ealing, 71.
To RICHMOND. Metro. and Dist. (every 10 minutes); 'buses 27, 71, 71A; L.S.W.R.; from South London, 'bus 37.
To BARNES. From City, etc., 'buses 33, 9, 74; from Richmond and Wandsworth, etc., 37.
To RAVENSCROFT PARK. By Metro. and Dist., and by L.S.W.R. to Ravenscroft Park Station; by Metro., Dist., and Piccadilly Tube to Hammersmith Stations (6 minutes); 'bus 27 from Twickenham and Kensington; trams from Kew, Chiswick, Putney, etc.
To KENSINGTON TOWN HALL. By Metro. and Dist. to High Street, Kensington; 'buses from all parts.

WATLING STREET.

To UXBRIDGE. } From Baker Street (Metro.), *via* Harrow; from Bishop's Road, Paddington
To SOUTHALL. } (G.W.R.), *via* Ealing; trams from Hammersmith and Shepherd's Bush.
To EALING COMMON. By Dist. to Ealing Common; from Bishop's Road (G.W.R.) to Ealing Broadway; 'bus 17 from City, Oxford Street, etc.
To BLOMFIELD ROAD. By Metro. to Wood Lane Station; by Central London Tube to Shepherd's Bush Station; by N.Lond.R. to Acton (and tram); 'buses 17 and 23.
To ETHICAL HALL, QUEEN'S ROAD. By Metro. and Central London Tube to Queen's Road Stations; 'buses to Queen's Road, 12, 17, 20, 23, 44, 50, Bayswater end; 27, 32, 36, 74, Westbourne Grove end.

GREAT NORTH ROAD.

To BARNET GREEN. From King's Cross (G.N.R.) to High Barnet; by tube to Finsbury Park and G.N.R. to High Barnet; by tube or 'bus to Highgate or Golders Green and tram to Barnet.
To TALLY HO CORNER. By tube to Highgate or Golders Green and tram.
To TOLLINGTON ROAD. By 'buses 43, 62, 29, from City and West End; 87 from Clapton and Highgate; trams from City and Holborn.
To HIGHBURY PLACE. By Piccadilly Tube to Holloway Station and 'bus 43; by G.N. & C. Tube to Highbury Station; 'buses 4, 19, 43, 44, from West End, City, and South London; trams from City, Westminster, and South London.

EAST CENTRAL COUNTIES ROAD.

To ENFIELD HIGHWAY. From Liverpool Street, G.E.R., to Enfield Lock.
To EDMONTON and TOTTENHAM. By tube or 'bus to Finsbury Park and tram; by tram from Holborn.
To CROSS ROADS, STAMFORD HILL. By tube or 'bus to Finsbury Park and tram; 'bus 48 from Holborn and South London.
To TOLLINGTON ROAD. } *See* Gt. North Road,
To HIGHBURY PLACE. }

HAMPSTEAD AND GOLDERS GREEN ROAD.

To WHITE STONE POND. By tube to Hampstead Station.
To TOLLINGTON ROAD. } *See* Great North Road.
To HIGHBURY PLACE. }

EAST COAST ROAD.

To ROMFORD. From Liverpool Street (G.E.R.); from Fenchurch Street (L.S. & T.R.).
To MANOR PARK. From Liverpool Street (G.E.R.); tram from Aldgate; 'bus 54 from Wanstead and East Ham.
To STRATFORD BROADWAY. From Liverpool Street (G.E.R.) to Stratford or Stratford Market; by Dist. to Bow Road and 'bus 10, 25, 51, 93; 'bus 67 from Poplar and Walthamstow; tram from Aldgate.
To TOYNBEE HALL. By Metro. and Dist. to Aldgate East; by Inner Circle to Aldgate; by Central London Tube to Bank and 'bus; 'buses 15, 23, 25, 51, 52 from West End; 'buses 10, 40 from South London,
To TOWER HILL. By Metro. and Dist. to Mark Lane; 'buses 4, 42, 78 from North and South London.

KENTISH PILGRIMS' WAY.

To LEA GREEN. } From Charing Cross (S.E. & C.R.) to Blackheath Station; 'bus 75 from
To BLACKHEATH. } Croydon, Sydenham and Woolwich.
To NEW CROSS GATE. From Victoria or Charing Cross to New Cross Station; 'buses 36 39 from Victoria, 21 from City; trams from Westminster and South London.
To KING'S HALL. By Bakerloo and Central aud South London Tubes to Elephant and Castle; by S.E. & C.R. to London Bridge and 'bus; 'buses 1, 4, 10, 12, 34, 35, 36A, 40, 45 from all parts.

BRIGHTON ROAD.

To EAST CROYDON. From Victoria and London Bridge (S.E. & C.R.); 'bus 59 from Oxford Circus, *via* South London.
To STREATHAM COMMON. From Victoria (S.E. & C.R.) to Streatham Common Station; 'buses 49 and 59 from West End and South London; trams from Victoria and Embankment.
To RUSHCROFT ROAD. } From Victoria (S.E. & C.R.) to Brixton Station; 'buses 3, 59 from
To CANTERBURY ROAD. } West End; trams from Victoria and Embankment.
To KENNINGTON PARK. By C. & S.L. Tube to Oval Station; 'buses 3, 20, 34, 36, 39, 48, 59, from all parts; trams from Victoria and Embankment.

Saturday, July 26th.

TO WARWICK GARDENS. By Metro. and Dist. to High Street Kensington and 'bus; by Metro. and Dist. to Addison Road Station; by Dist. or Piccadilly Tube to Hammersmith Stations and 'bus; by Dist. or Piccadilly Tube to Earl's Court Station (6 minutes' walk); 'buses 9, 27, 28, 33, 49, 52, from all parts.

TO ELGIN AVENUE. By Metro. or Bakerloo Tube to Edgware Road Stations and 'bus; by N.L.R. to Kilburn Station and 'bus; 'buses 1, 8, 16.

TO MONTAGUE PLACE. By Piccadilly Tube to Russell Square Station; by Central L. or Hampstead Tubes to Tottenham Court Road Station; 'buses 1, 5, 14, 24, 29, down Tottenham Court Road; buses 68, 77, down Southampton Row.

TO TRAFALGAR SQUARE. By Bakerloo Tube to Trafalgar Square Station; by Hampstead Tube, Dist., or S.E. & C.R. to Charing Cross Stations; 'buses from all parts.

Women's Printing Society, Ltd., Brick Street, Piccadilly.

PILGRIMS.

24th and 25th.

POR **TEAD AND GOLDERS GREEN ROAD.**

HITE STONE POND. By tube to Hampstead Station.
OLLINGTON ROAD. } *See* Great North Road.
IGHBURY PLACE. }

COAST ROAD.

OMFORD. From Liverpool Street (G.E.R.); from Fenchurch Street (L.S. & T.R.).
IANOR PARK. From Liverpool Street (G.E.R.); tram from Aldgate; 'bus 54 from Wanstead and East Ham.
TRATFORD BROADWAY. From Liverpool Street (G.E.R.) to Stratford or Stratford Market; by Dist. to Bow Road and 'bus 10, 25, 51, 93; 'bus 67 from Poplar and Walthamstow; tram from Aldgate.
WA OYNBEE HALL. By Metro. and Dist. to Aldgate East; by Inner Circle to Aldgate; by Central London Tube to Bank and 'bus; 'buses 15, 23, 25, 51, 52 from West End; buses 10, 40 from South London,
OWER HILL. By Metro. and Dist. to Mark Lane; 'buses 4, 42, 78 from North and South London.

SH PILGRIMS' WAY.

EA GREEN. } From Charing Cross (S.E. & C.R.) to Blackheath Station; 'bus 75 from
LACKHEATH. } Croydon, Sydenham and Woolwich.
GR EW CROSS GATE. From Victoria or Charing Cross to New Cross Station; 'buses 36 39 from Victoria, 21 from City; trams from Westminster and South London.
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TON ROAD.

AST CROYDON. From Victoria and London Bridge (S.E. & C.R.); 'bus 59 from Oxford Circus, *via* South London.
EA TREATHAM COMMON. From Victoria (S.E. & C.R.) to Streatham Common Station; buses 49 and 59 from West End and South London; trams from Victoria and Embankment.
USHCROFT ROAD. } From Victoria (S.E. & C.R.) to Brixton Station; 'buses 3, 59 from
ANTERBURY ROAD. } West End; trams from Victoria and Embankment.
ENNINGTON PARK. By C. & S.L. Tube to Oval Station; 'buses 3, 20, 34, 36, 39, 48, 59, from all parts; trams from Victoria and Embankment.

26th.

T **NTAGUE PLACE.** By Piccadilly Tube to Russell Square Station; by Central L. or pstead Tubes to Tottenham Court Road Station; 'buses 1, 5, 14, 24, 29, down Tottenham t Road; buses 68, 77, down Southampton Row.

T **AFALGAR SQUARE.** By Bakerloo Tube to Trafalgar Square Station; by Hampstead , Dist., or S.E. & C.R. to Charing Cross Stations; 'buses from all parts.

W

Read "The Common Cause." 1d. weekly.

B 114. *Send for free Catalogue of N.U.W.S.S. publications.*

MARCH, 1914.

National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies,

14, GREAT SMITH STREET, WESTMINSTER, LONDON, S.W.

President: Mrs. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.

LAW-ABIDING. NON-PARTY.

Is the National Union Non-Party?

By Mrs. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.

The development in National Union policy in the last two years does not imply any change in the non-party attitude which it has consistently maintained. We have always in elections supported that one among the candidates, whom we believed to be the best friend of Women's Suffrage. There has been no departure from this attitude. Experience has, however, proved beyond a shadow of doubt that in judging which of a group of competing candidates is the best friend of Women's Suffrage, regard should be taken, not only of the personal opinions of each Candidate, but also of the official attitude on the Suffrage question of the Party to which he belongs. It is obvious, even to the least experienced, that a supporter of Suffrage who belongs to a Party which has definitely adopted the Enfranchisement of Women as one of its chief objects, is likely, when in the House of Commons, to prove a better friend of our cause than a man of similar opinions whose Party is indifferent or hostile.

At present the only party which is frankly for Women's Suffrage is the Labour Party; hence, in Elections where Labour Candidates are standing, granting that their replies to our questions are satisfactory, and that they are not opposing tried and trusted friends of Women's Suffrage, we give our support to Labour. This does not make the National Union a Party organisation, or create any alliance with the Labour Party. It is in strict pursuance of our old policy to support the best friend of Women's Suffrage.

That the Labour Party on its side understands our position is shown by a passage in "The Labour Leader" of January 29th, 1914:—

"If the National Union had decided permanently to throw in its lot with the Labour Party because of its integral worth as a Suffrage Party, we could have entered into a close and constant alliance. *The National Union has not done that,* and considering its purpose and constitution, we have no

right to expect that it should. It is a non-party association, and it must always direct its policy to securing Women's Suffrage at the earliest possible moment. If the Liberal or Conservative Party adopted Women's Suffrage as an item in its programme the National Union would be false to its members if it did not support that Party. This it has always made clear to the Labour Party, though it has given a pledge that even under these circumstances, in acknowledgment of the prior championship of Women's Suffrage by the Labour Party, Labour Candidates would not be opposed; the possibility of the Candidates of another Party being supported in constituencies where there is no Labour Candidate makes anything in the nature of a binding alliance impossible."

[The pledge referred to was contained in a statement made to the National Administrative Council of the Independent Labour Party by a deputation on behalf of the Executive Committee of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, and included an assurance that the National Union could not oppose Labour Candidates while the Labour Party retains its present attitude to Women's Suffrage, it being always understood, of course, that the personal attitude of the Labour Candidate was satisfactory.]

A Non-Party organisation which exists for the purpose of promoting a political object does not mean a group of persons pledged never to co-operate with any of the Political Parties. In this country nearly all great political questions are ultimately dealt with as Party questions. "Non-Party" means that our societies are open to the membership of men and women of all Parties, and that we are ready to co-operate with any Party which makes our cause a plank in its platform. As a matter of fact, the National Union does consist of men and women who belong severally to the Liberal, Conservative and Labour Parties, and also those who belong to no Party. The National Union is acting in a thoroughly Non-Party spirit when it invites and encourages its supporters to waive in many instances their own particular Political preferences in order to support a Party which has definitely pledged itself to vote against any further extension of the suffrage to men unless it also includes women. We ask our members in a word to put Suffrage before Party, and this is the very essence of a Non-Party attitude.

When the leaders of the Conservative or the Liberal Party are able to announce, as the Labour Leaders have repeatedly done, that one of their chief tasks is to make "a big fight for Women's Suffrage, and that they intend to do it," and have proved their sincerity by speech and vote in the House of Commons, we shall show our friends who allege that we have departed from our Non-Party attitude that they are wholly mistaken. When that day comes, the women who put suffrage in front of Party will have won their long fight, and those who wish it can sort themselves out again into their respective Parties.

9d. per 100, 6/6 per 1,000.

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National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.

14, GREAT SMITH STREET, WESTMINSTER, LONDON, S.W.

LAW-ABIDING. NON-PARTY.

President: Mrs. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.

Colours: Red, White and Green.

What is the Active Service League?

This League has been formed as an outcome of the Pilgrimage to combine the efforts of those who are willing to devote some time to open-air propaganda in the cause of Women's Suffrage.

CONSTITUTION OF THE LEAGUE.

Chief: The President of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, Mrs. Fawcett.

1. **The League Leader:** Mrs. Harley.
2. **Federation Section Leaders** (one for each Federation).
3. **Group Leaders** (one for each Society).
4. **Leaguers.**

DUTIES.

1. **The League Leader** will act as Hon. Secretary of the League at Headquarters.

2. **The Federation Section Leader** will be in charge of all Groups in the area of any given Federation.

3. **The Group Leader** will be in charge of the Leaguers in any given Society.

4. **The Leaguers** will pledge themselves (whenever possible) to devote at least one week in the year to **open-air work** either as—(*a*) Speakers, (*b*) "Common Cause" sellers, (*c*) F.W.S. Collectors, (*d*) Money Collectors, (*e*) Literature Distributors. The week need not be consecutive.

THE WORK OF THE LEAGUE.

How Federations can Help.

All Federations are recommended to organise as soon as possible their own special schemes for open-air campaigns during the coming summer, in which the Active Service League will be able to take part, *e.g.*, a Suffrage Summer Camp and Coast Campaigns at sea-side resorts. Plans for these are already being set on foot; it is suggested that possibly two neighbouring Federations might combine in some larger scheme.

Applications for grants for any definite plan of campaign will be considered by the National Union.

How Societies can Help.

By forming Groups who will undertake the work of educating the many villages and hamlets which are still ignorant about Women's Suffrage. This can be done by organising **Saturday Afternoon Tramps** or **Bicycling Parties** to visit outlying parts, where village open-air meetings will be held and cottage "talks" given, "Common Causes" sold, or Friends' cards signed and leaflets distributed.

How Individuals can Help.

Members of the National Union who do not live within the area of any local Society will be of great use in doing some or all the work of Leaguers within Societies and preparing the way for the formation of new Societies. They will send their names to the Federation Section Leader, and at **Bye-Elections** some Leaguers should always be at hand, to help the organiser in charge, who will apply for their assistance through the Federation Section Leader.

"Common Cause" Selling

will be a specially important branch of the Leaguer's work in each Society, and some Leaguers should volunteer to sell in the streets or in outlying villages.

Miss Royden will be the Leader of this Special Section.

All who can are asked to Help by Wearing the Uniform.

This is optional, but is recommended, especially in the case of Leaders. The uniform consists of—

Dark Green Coat and Skirt.
White Blouse.
Tie in the colours of the N.U.W.S.S.
Hat of Soft Felt in Green, with the Pilgrim's Badge.
Carrier to be worn at the back, of light brown waterproof with N.U.W.S.S. in red lettering.

"Common Cause" sellers will have special bags to be worn at the side with straps across the shoulders.

(N.B.—A sample uniform will be on view at 14, Great Smith Street, and at the Women's Kingdom Exhibition).

How the League will help the National Union.

By forming a really effective and well-prepared band of outdoor workers who will be of the greatest possible value at the next General Election.

Further information as to the working of the League and as to the purchase of uniform, etc., will be given by the Active Service League Leader,

Mrs. HARLEY,
National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies,
14, Great Smith St., Westminster, S.W.

9d. per 100, 6/6 per 1,000.

Published by the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies,
14, Great Smith Street, Westminster, S.W.; and
Printed by the Templar Printing Works, Edmund Street, Birmingham.

National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.

OXON, BERKS & BUCKS FEDERATION.

ACTIVE SERVICE LEAGUE.

A **Cycling Tour** in Bedfordshire, West Herts, Bucks and Berks (in this order) is being arranged for the month, **August 10th to September 5th,** under the leadership of Miss C. C. Lyon (Section Leader), and Miss Dora Mason (Head Organizer).

WILL YOU JOIN US?

In order to make our colours generally known, Leaguers are asked to wear the A.S.L. uniform—dark green coat and skirt, white blouse, tie in the colours, green felt hat with pilgrim badge, carrier of light brown waterproof—or, at least, to wear the tie and badge and to dress as far as possible in the colours.

The coat and skirt is to be obtained from SWAN and EDGAR, price £2 2s., the rest of the uniform from PARNELL, Victoria Street (near Victoria Station).

Leaguers will be responsible for their own expenses, but efforts will be made to procure hospitality where possible.

If you can join, even for one day, please fill in the accompanying slip and send it to **Miss A. M. ALLEN, A.S.L. Secretary, 35 Holywell, Oxford.**

(Signed) C. C. LYON.
A. M. ALLEN.
DORA MASON.

I wish to join the A.S.L. Cycling Tour from [*date*]

..... *to* .....

and am willing to (a) *speak;* (b) *sell "Common Cause";* (c) *distribute literature.**

Name .....

Address .....

* Please cross out what does not apply.

Parnell, Typ., London St., Reading.

Read "THE COMMON CAUSE," 1d. weekly. Price, 6d. per 100; 4/6 per 1,000.
B115. REPRINTED—MAY, 1914.

THE

ALL-BRITAIN LIGHTNING CAMPAIGN

The next **General Election** cannot now be far distant, and to all members of the National Union we make the appeal :

Strengthen the Demand for a Government Measure for Women's Suffrage.

One of the best ways of doing this is to

Help the All-Britain Lightning Campaign

the object of which is to

Double the Membership of the National Union.

All Members are asked to promise to use their utmost endeavours to persuade one or more of their friends or acquaintances to

Join the N.U.W.S.S.

This is not a "Snowball Scheme," new members are not asked to get others, but only to join the Society themselves and to give whatever subscription they can afford (usual minimum 1/-).

To all our present members we say

Surely YOU have one Friend who will listen?

Ask	**YOUR FRIEND**	to a Suffrage Meeting
Send		"The Common Cause."
Send		a Pamphlet.
Send		a Leaflet.

Appeal to your Friend to think seriously of all that is waiting to be done for the Women and Children of the Nation

and

GAIN ONE MORE MEMBER TO HELP OUR WORK.

MEMBERSHIP FORM.

National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.
14, GREAT SMITH STREET, WESTMINSTER, S.W.

.....*Society.*

I promise to join the .....*Society and to subscribe £ : s. d. per annum.*

Signed .....

Enrolled by .....

Read the "Common Cause." 1d. weekly.

B 119 JUNE, 1914.

Send for free Catalogue of N.U.W.S.S. publications.

National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies

14, GREAT SMITH STREET, WESTMINSTER, LONDON, S.W.

LAW-ABIDING. NON-PARTY.

President: Mrs. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.

Colours: Red, White and Green.

WHY YOU SHOULD JOIN THE N.U.W.S.S.

To those who are "QUITE IN FAVOUR OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE," but who "WOULD RATHER NOT JOIN ANY SOCIETY."

Are you holding back because you have not the time to give to Suffrage work and you don't like doing things by halves? Half a loaf is better than none, and as a member of the National Union you will have the chance of doing many a bit of work which takes little time and yet is a very real help to your Society—for instance, doing some canvassing, delivering a few leaflets, or writing a letter or two. Don't think that because you cannot do much work it is not **worth while to do a little.** Some workers give all their time, but the Cause owes much also to those who give their odd half hours.

Even if you can give no time at all, in joining a Society you help the Cause in two ways. First by your subscription; money is always wanted to carry on the work, and however small your subscription may be, it is so much to the good. Secondly, by adding to the numbers enrolled on the side of Women's Suffrage. When we are asked to show that there is a demand for the vote in any particular place, we want to be able to point to the large membership of the local Society. No answer is so satisfactory.

Are you thinking that your position or profession makes it difficult for you to declare yourself on the side of Women's Suffrage? To be a member of a Suffrage Society does not necessarily mean neglect of other work, indeed it has often inspired people to do their own work better, and good work already done in other fields will make your support of double value to the Suffrage movement.

The real question before us is not what we would "rather" do, but **how we can best help the cause of Women's Suffrage.** Perhaps you are doing some work for it already, and you feel afraid that joining a Society will mean giving up your freedom to choose the kind of work you will do? But the National Union offers work of every kind to its members; each one will find opportunities for doing what he or she can do best. It must help you to have the Society's organisation to work through, the moral support of the Society behind you, fellow members to work with you, the knowledge of what others are doing for the Cause to encourage and inspire you.

IN UNION IS STRENGTH,

AND

EVERY MEMBER IS HELPING ALL THE TIME

9d. per 100, 6/6 per 1,000.

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National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies,

14, GT. SMITH STREET, WESTMINSTER, LONDON, S.W.

LAW-ABIDING. **NON-PARTY.**

President:—Mrs. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.

14 REASONS

For Supporting Women's Suffrage.

1.—Because it is the foundation of all political liberty that those who obey the Law should be able to have a voice in choosing those who make the Law.

2.—Because Parliament should be the reflection of the wishes of the people.

3.—Because Parliament cannot fully reflect the wishes of the people when the wishes of women are without any direct representation.

4.—Because most Laws affect women as much as men, and some Laws affect women especially.

5.—Because the Laws which affect women especially are now passed without consulting those persons whom they are intended to benefit.

6.—Because Laws affecting children should be regarded from the woman's point of view as well as the man's.

7.—Because every session questions affecting the home come up for consideration in Parliament.

8.—Because women have experience which should be helpfully brought to bear on domestic legislation.

9.—Because to deprive women of the vote is to lower their position in common estimation.

10.—Because the possession of the vote would increase the sense of responsibility amongst women towards questions of public importance.

11.—Because public-spirited mothers make public-spirited sons.

12.—Because large numbers of intelligent, thoughtful, hardworking women desire the franchise.

13.—Because the objections raised against their having the franchise are based on sentiment, not on reason.

14.—**Because**—to sum all reasons up in one—**it is for the common good of all.**

Published by the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies,
14, Great Smith Street, S.W.; and
Printed by the Templar Printing Works, 168, Edmund Street, Birmingham.

National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies

Parliament Chambers, Great Smith Street, S.W.

President: Mrs. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.

SOME REASONS

WHY WORKING WOMEN WANT THE VOTE.

Because as long as women cannot vote for Members of Parliament they are not asked what they want, and they are treated like children who do not know what is good or what is bad for them.

Because only those who wear the shoe know where it pinches, and women know best what they want and what they don't want.

Because Members of Parliament must attend to the wants and wishes of those who have votes, and they have not time to attend to the wants and wishes of women who have not got votes.

Because laws are made which specially affect women's work and the work of their children.

Because if women are working as dressmakers, tailoresses, printers, confectioners, and laundresses, or in any factory or workshop, the laws under which they work are made for women without women being asked if these laws are good or bad for them.

Because if the laws under which women work are bad, women cannot have those laws changed unless they have the vote.

Because the vote has been given to women in some of our Colonies and has been of great use.

Because the way to help women is to give them the means of helping themselves.

Because the vote is the best and most direct way by which women can get their wishes and wants attended to.

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B 10. March, 1912.

National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies,
PARLIAMENT CHAMBERS, SMITH STREET, WESTMINSTER.

President: Mrs. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.
LAW-ABIDING. NON-PARTY.

Colours: Red, White and Green.

To MEN and WOMEN of the LIBERAL PARTY.

This leaflet is to show you that some of the Leaders of the Liberal Party think as the Suffragists do on the question of Women's Enfranchisement.

The Rt. Hon. WALTER RUNCIMAN* (in the House of Commons, July 12th, 1910).

"A woman who . . . takes an interest in the affairs of state, and who is anxious to see her fellow-citizens' standard of living raised, surely has a grievance when she is unable to take part in a Parliamentary election. . . . It is a good thing that women should be interested in the welfare of their country, and should wish to share the power of furthering causes in which they believe. I believe that the stage which we are marking to-day is one stage in an inevitable and reasonable movement."

"My belief is, that a woman does not love her home less because she cares that the homes of her fellow-citizens shall be purer and cleaner, and she wants to have a voice in the selection of those who control those conditions. I do not believe that a woman will love her children less because she happens to have a vote, or that she will educate her children worse because she shares the responsibility of electing their educators.

* Voted for the Conciliation Bill, May 5th, 1911.

The Rt. Hon. D. LLOYD GEORGE, M.P.* (Bath, November 24th, 1911).

"I want to put this to you—Government to-day is essentially different in its outlook, in its duties, in its functions, from government a century ago. Government to-day has annexed an interest in the very questions which in the old days were allowed to be solved by the individual man and woman in their own way for themselves. What are these questions? Look at the great subjects of legislation—I put them down here—of the last years; education, the training of children. That used to be left entirely to the individual in those days, not to the individual man, but to the man and woman consulting together. The housing problem; sanitation of houses; feeding of children, provision for old age and sickness; sobriety and temperance; cure, nursing, prevention of disease—formerly these were questions which men and women helped each other individually to deal with. Now they have been lifted into the sphere of law, why should women cease to be interested in them? Why should not men and women give the same mutual aid and succour to those great, momentous questions which affect their whole lives, and which have passed into the region of the ruler?"

Lord HALDANE (House of Commons, July 11th, 1910).

"I believe that the time will come when people will look back on the state of things in which we have drawn this political distinction between men and women with as much amazement as they look back upon the period when slavery was a recognised institution, and held to be of the very foundation and of the essence of the well-being of the State. I believe the time will come when people will feel that our doubts were the outcome of a great superstition, and will marvel that humanity had not emancipated itself earlier." . . . . . .

"Everyone knows that the position of women in point of remuneration of their wages, is not as good as is the case with men, and I cannot dispute what was said by the Hon. and learned member (Mr. F. E. Smith) that that is to some extent due to the fact that women cannot associate themselves together with that force and with that authority which is given by the fact that people possess a certain political footing in the State. If for that reason alone I should like to see that happen."

* Voted for the Conciliation Bill, May 5th, 1911.

Mr. ELLIS GRIFFITH,* Chairman of the Welsh Parliamentary Party, 1911 (House of Commons, May 5th, 1911.)

"I heard something said about the proper position of the woman being the home. . . . You can never use that argument seriously and honestly so long as the social conditions are such that you drive 5,000,000 women out of their own homes to earn their daily bread. It is idle to talk of chivalry and that sort of thing when 5,000,000 women are themselves breadwinners."

The Right Hon. AUGUSTINE BIRRELL* (on October 28th, 1910, to a Deputation from the Irish Women's Franchise League).

"He rejoiced that the Conciliation Bill was put forward as placing on the register over a million of women whose claims to have a voice in the Government of the country were, in his judgment, as strong as any claim put forward by the corresponding persons of the male sex who were already on the franchise book. . . . I certainly think the time for shuffling and delay in this matter has gone by, and that time will have to be given . . . I think you are perfectly right in feeling irritated and annoyed at the delay that has taken place, but you know before the time comes (*and I think you are entitled to insist on it at the earliest possible moment*) that the decks are cleared for action."

The Right Hon. Sir EDWARD GREY† (Horticultural Hall, December 16th, 1911.)

"If women have a share differing from that of men in the affairs of State and the work of the country, if they have a different point of view, if in some respects they are more directly interested in certain questions than men are and less directly interested in others, does it not follow that they ought to have some representation by votes? Does it not follow that as long as they have no representatives you have not the great elements in the country represented? That is our point of view to begin with. As long as women have no votes you may talk about Democracy as much as you like, you may talk about government by the people and for the people, but your representation of the country is hopelessly incomplete. The stake in the country of women, in its welfare and prosperity and success is at least as great as that of men. Everybody

* Voted for the Conciliation Bill, May 5th, 1911.
† Paired o . the Conciliation Bill, May 5th, 1911.

admits the importance to the national prosperity of the success of the homes of the country, everybody admits that the part which women play in making the homes of the country what they should be is at least as important as that of men, and in some respects their responsibility is even greater. Where you have responsibility you ought not to refuse political representation.

"I appeal to the Liberal Party to be true to its high and honoured traditions and once more—

WIDEN THE BOUNDS OF LIBERTY AND SET THE BOND FREE"

—D. Lloyd George.

LORD HALDANE AND WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE, Oxford, March 9th, 1912 ... 3d. per dozen, 2/- per 100

THE MARRIED WORKING WOMAN, by Anna Martin 2d. each.

VOTES AND WAGES, by A. M. Royden ... 2d. each.

Write for full Catalogue of Publications to N.U.W.S.S., 14, Great Smith Street, London, S.W.

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NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES.

Parliament Chambers, Great Smith Street, Westminster.

PRESIDENT: MRS. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.

LAW-ABIDING. NON-PARTY.

Colours: Red, White, and Green.

To MEN and WOMEN of the CONSERVATIVE PARTY.

This leaflet is to show you that some of the Leaders of the Conservative Party think as the Suffragists do on the question of Women's Enfranchisement.

Lord ROBERT CECIL (at a meeting of the Actresses' Franchise League, in the Criterion Restaurant, March 3, 1911).

"To my mind, we ought to approach this question, not in the interests of one class, or even of one sex. The vote should be regarded, as it has been well said, as a trust and not as a right. . . . I ask for the vote to be extended to women because I am confident that if they had the vote the government of this country would be better carried on. I believe we need in the direction of this country the female point of view. I am in favour of the Suffrage, not because I think women are as good as or better than men, or even like men, but just because they are not like men, because they constitute a very large section of the population, and because it is an outrage if we believe in representative government at all that this large section of the population with a different point of view from the rest, should not be consulted in

the making of the laws which are to govern the whole. No one who has read history can doubt that women are fully capable of exercising the governing faculty. I believe that many of the ills we suffer from arise from a want of consideration of their point of view, and I will always do whatever in me lies to secure for this country the benefit of that great reform."

The Right Hon. The Earl of SELBORNE, G.C.M.G. (Hotel Cecil, March 9, 1911).

"Take questions of marriage, divorce, children, and education: these deep questions centre round the home-life and the bringing-up of the children. Women seem to me to be as entitled as men to make their views heard in the settlement of these questions, and with the best intentions on the part of men I do not think that these questions will be as well settled by men alone as they will be if women can make their voices heard as well as men. . . .

"I come to the question of women workers, the women who have to toil for their daily bread, the women who very often have to support some parent or younger brothers or sisters, the women who are wage-earners and who have to face the battle of life under even more difficult conditions than men. . . . Is it fair that these questions affecting the livelihood of many thousands of women should be settled only by men? . . .

"Because I want to strengthen all the forces in my country that will make my country stronger in that world competition that lies before her, and which is going to grow more strenuous from generation to generation, because I believe that the whole soundness of our national life depends on the existence and solidity of the home, therefore I want to join to the ranks of the voters and so to those of the supporters of the country and the home, women whose influence, I believe, will be great to that end."

The Right Hon. A. J. BALFOUR* (in the House of Commons, July 12, 1910).

"We are told by some that women are incapable of rising to the height of all those considerations

* Paired for the Conciliation Bill on May 5, 1911.

which influence Imperial politics; they are good enough to manage New Zealand but they cannot manage or help to manage the Empire; they are good enough in this country to look after our municipal affairs but they are not good enough to manage our national affairs; they may have a vote for dealing with the police, but they must not have a vote for dealing with the army—rather a subtle distinction. I venture to say that there is not the slightest ground for thinking that at all events the women enfranchised by this Bill (the 'Conciliation Bill') would be less competent to deal with those great Imperial questions than any other class of the voting population. . . .

"My view is that a democracy, properly understood, is government by consent, broadly speaking. . . . I do think that whenever you get to a point that a class feels itself as a class excluded, then those who believe that democracy, properly understood, is the only possible government for any nation at the stage of political evolution which we have reached, must consider whether it is not his business to try to see whether the government which is by hypothesis not a government by consent can be turned into a government by consent. . . . I think everybody must feel that the number of ardent spirits who are doing admirable work—I am not talking of the militant section—in public life at this moment, and who think they ought to have the same rights as are given to every male occupier, is a large and growing number which cannot and ought not to be ignored, and a number which so long as you ignore it, will prevent your being able to say with any truth that our government is government by consent."

The Right Hon. ALFRED LYTTELTON, K.C., M.P. (in the House of Commons, July 11, 1910).

"To my mind reason and justice, I might almost say honour, make one favour this Bill. I myself for years, and I believe every Member sitting behind me, as well as a vast number of Members opposite, have asked for the assistance of women in political contests, and have accepted their services not merely as mere

followers, but as active principals in political affairs. . . . I think to ask these services with one voice and deprive them of political existence with another is going dangerously near to sacrificing the standard of personal honour."

Lord HUGH CECIL* (May 5, 1911, in the House of Commons).

"The Prime Minister stated that if the Government were in power in this Parliament they would give facilities for proceeding with the Bill if it was so framed as to admit of amendments. I understand that this Bill is so framed. The Chief Secretary said he was strongly of opinion that in the course of 1911 facilities must be given. . . . Those were very strong assurances, and I hope that the Government will not disappoint the expectations that have been excited. . . . It would be unfair to withhold from them (the Suffragists) the opportunity of laying their views before Parliament and having a decision upon them. In a self-governed country this is the right of any great body of the people which is profoundly in earnest, and I hope that the Government, having used such language, will not incur the great responsibility of disappointing those who rely upon the privileges of self-government, and that the House of Commons . . . be allowed a full and fair opportunity of deciding upon this great issue."†

"Let every Woman lay it on the conscience of her Man to use his influence as a voter with his Member of Parliament."—(*Lady Frances Balfour, June 2, 1911.*)

"Let Men and Women co-operate together in solving the problem of human misery, working together for the joy and happiness of the home."

---

* Voted for the Conciliation Bill, May 5, 1911.

† One week's facilities for proceeding with the Conciliation Bill have been promised by the Government in the *next* Session of this Parliament (*i.e.* in 1912).

Read "The Common Cause," the organ of the National Union. 1d. Weekly.

VACHER & SONS, LTD., Parliamentary and General Printers, Westminster House, S.W.—34341

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National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies,

14, Great Smith Street, Westminster, S.W.

President: Mrs. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.

?

ARE WOMEN CITIZENS?

The Law says Yes! when they are required to pay the taxes.

The Law says No! when they ask to vote.

DOES LAW CONCERN WOMEN?

The Law says Yes! when they are required to obey it.

The Law says No! when they ask for a voice in the representation of the country.

IS DIRECT REPRESENTATION DESIRABLE IN THE INTEREST OF THE PEOPLE?

The Law says Yes! If the people to be represented are men.

The Law says No! if the people to be represented are women.

All Women who believe this state of things is neither just to themselves, nor advantageous to the community, are invited to become members, and to ask their friends to become members of—

The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies,
14, Great Smith Street, Westminster, S.W.

[P.T.O.

National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies,
14, Great Smith Street, Westminster, S.W.
President: Mrs. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.

POLICY.

This Society demands the **VOTE FOR WOMEN** on the same terms as it is, or may be, granted to men.

It works on **CONSTITUTIONAL** and **NON-PARTY** lines.

At by-elections it supports the Candidate who declares himself the best friend to the cause of women, and in deciding which of two Candidates, who are both in favour of Women's Suffrage, shall be supported, it also takes into consideration the official attitude of the Party to which the Candidate belongs.

When there is nothing to choose between the Candidates it takes no sides.

It appeals to the Electors to exact a public pledge from the Candidates, and to support the cause of justice at the poll.

It appeals to voteless women to unite in demanding this great reform.

It appeals to everyone, man or woman to make the members of Parliament feel that **the country has spoken.**

OUR WEAPON IS PUBLIC OPINION.

Published by the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies,
14, Great Smith Street, S.W.; and
Printed by The Templar Printing Works, 168, Edmund Street, Birmingham.

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National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies,
14, GT. SMITH STREET, WESTMINSTER, LONDON, S.W.
LAW-ABIDING. NON-PARTY.
President:—Mrs. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.
Colours—Red, White and Green.

To Women who are Well Off.

THERE are two phrases which are constantly heard.

One—from men—that "women do not want the Parliamentary vote."

The other—from women, but too often *from women who are well off*—that "they don't care a bit about Women's Suffrage."

It is to these women that men speak, and it is to these women I address myself.

You "don't care a bit about Women's Suffrage."

You "don't see what good a vote would do you."

You "don't take any interest in politics."

If this is so, it is because life has dealt kindly with you. No doubt you have your own special worries and troubles and sorrows, for worry and trouble and sorrow know no class. But as regards outward circumstances you live a sheltered and comparatively easy life. You are one of the *women who are well off.* And being one of these, you think that a vote would not make you any better off, and that it would scarcely affect your life at all. And therefore (because women are extremely practical), you dismiss the subject without further thought, and say you don't want the vote.

How simple—and how selfish!

Have you no thought, no heart, for your poorer sisters who are toiling for a living, and struggling with difficulties of life of which you, in your sheltered easy lives, have no conception?

It may be nothing to you what form taxation takes. But to the woman striving on a miserable wage to keep her home and family together, is it nothing if the necessaries of life are taxed? If *you* do not care for a voice in the matter *she* needs one; and if you do not want a vote for your own sake, do you not see that she wants one, in order to make a protest that legislators will take notice of?

The Temperance question in all its bearings, the question whether there should be fewer public houses, &c., affects you only with regard to the sobriety of your servants and workmen; for though drunkenness, is, alas, a curse which affects every class, and desolates the homes of the rich as well as those of the poor, it does not, in the case of the well-to-do originate in the public house. Nor does it cause in the homes of the well-to-do the amount of physical misery that it does in poorer homes; it does not cause the children to be hungry, or the wife to be bruised and kicked. *You* may not care for a vote on the Temperance question, but what about the working woman?

The laws affecting morality, many of which, in most women's opinion, are disgraceful at present, do not affect you. You probably know very little, and possibly may pride yourself on knowing nothing about them. *You* do not want a vote as a means toward getting them altered. But what about the women and girls who live exposed to every sort of temptation and brutality, and whose lives are frequently ruined in every sense through lack of right and effective legislation?

The question of Religious teaching in schools; the number of hours that Shop Assistants work; Factory Laws; Conditions of Women's Labour; Old Age Pensions; Workhouse arrangements; Public Lodging Houses; Women Inspectors for Lunatic Asylums; the many laws which require altering to meet modern ideas; the laws which require to be made if life is to be bettered; these things are a large part of "politics," and because legislation on these matters would not affect you individually, is that any reason you should ignore your duty both to your fellow women and to the community at large?

I say deliberately "duty," for this aspect of the subject, the *duty* of women with regard to politics and public affairs, has not been sufficiently dwelt on.

It is true, most true, that a woman's chief duty lies in her own home. But just as true is it that "Charity should begin at home—but should not stop there," so is it true that a woman's chief duty lies in her home—but should not be limited to it.

You recognise this with regard to helping your poorer neighbours. You do not confine your thought and work exclusively to your own home. You probably belong to various excellent societies, and also help the individual cases of need and distress around you, and find it possible to do this without neglecting your homes.

"Yes," you may say, "this is as much as I can do. I have no time for politics. My hands are too full already of direct practical duties which lie close around me."

Believe me, it is no question of choosing between one and the other. A General Election takes place on the average once in five years. So that supposing you had a vote, it would take you, or any woman, not more than a couple of hours every five years to go to the polling booth to record your vote. That is the amount of time that nine out of every ten men have to give to politics. "So much for the time it would take."

As to knowing about politics and making up your mind on which side you would vote, it only takes a few minutes every day to read the newspaper. And if you did even this much you would soon become aquainted with the politics of the day, and would find that not a session passes without some laws being made or altered, which, directly or indirectly, affect not only you, but, still more, the women who are not well off. You would grow to see the need of their having the vote, and to wish that they had it, even if you still continued not to care for it yourself. And I venture to say that you would in time see that one of the best ways of helping your poorer sisters would be to help them to get the Parliamentary vote, in order that they might have some voice in the election of the legislators who make the laws which so closely affect their life and labour.

I ask you to think over these things—that it is your *duty* to take an interest in this matter of Women's Suffrage, as affecting the welfare of your poorer sisters, whose lives have not been cast in such pleasant places as your own; that it is your *duty* to take an interest in the welfare of your country, and to wish for the direct power of the vote, to influence its course in what you believe to be the right direction.

M. TAYLOR.

Chipchase.

Write for Catalogue of Publications to the

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PRESIDENT: MRS. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.

LAW-ABIDING. NON-PARTY.

Colours: Red, White, and Green.

TO WOMEN WHO ARE NOT WELL OFF.

What is Women's Suffrage? It is the right we demand to vote for Members of Parliament. If that is all, it might be asked: Are we not making a great fuss about a small matter? But just think a minute of what the right to vote means. Our laws are made by Parliament. The Members of Parliament are elected by voters. Therefore the laws represent the will of those voters. And so, the right to vote means the right to help in making our laws.

It is not difficult to understand that when laws are made the interests first attended to are those of the voters. These men have sent a Member to Parliament in order that he may express their opinions and see that they get what they want.

Sometimes what they want is good for the women too, but this is by no means always the case, and when the wants of the man with a vote clash with the wants of the woman who has no vote, **who gets attended to?** Why, the man, of course. Is it not the duty of the Member to represent the men who have elected him? Before the working-men had the right to vote, they found they could not get their interests looked after. **So what did they do?** They agitated and worked till they got votes. **Now what is the result of this?** The result is that these working-men can get laws changed or new laws made by explaining their grievances to the Member of Parliament they have helped to elect. They can protect themselves. But the working-women—the widows who must support themselves and their children, and the unmarried women who cannot or will not be supported by their male relations have no protection. They are in competition with the men in their work, and therefore the laws which are made to suit the men are often very hard on the women who have no voice in them.

We are often told that a woman's place is in the home. But the woman who has a home and who can afford to stay in it is affected by the laws too. She is not left alone to manage her home as she thinks best. There are laws which deal with her house, her food, her health and the health of her children. Would it not be fair to let the woman in the home have something to say to all this? If a man is asked how his children should be dressed, what they should eat, at what time they must get up and go to bed, he will say, **"That's their Mother's business."** And so it is. Yet Acts of Parliament decide what religion shall be taught in schools and at what age the child shall go to school, when it may leave, and whether it may be given dinner when it is there. Is not this the Mother's business, at least as much as the Father's?

There are other questions about which men have been asked what they want done. There is the question of **Temperance Reform.** Doesn't that touch a woman, too? If a man spends his wages on drink, it is the wife who will be the first to go short, and she who has to rack her brains to plan out the money that is left to such advantage that the children shan't be pinched more than she can help. And women, too, are sometimes tempted to drink. **Wouldn't Temperance Reform help them, too?** And if so, isn't it their business?

Then there was the question of **Taxation.** Men were asked in 1906, and twice in 1910, to give their votes for Free Trade or Tariff Reform. You will say, perhaps, "Well, **that's** not a woman's business, anyhow!" But women have to pay taxes as well as men, and in just the same proportion. Money must be raised for paying the expenses of the country—the Police, the Army, the building of ships, and many other things. It is a question of **how** the money shall be raised and **who** shall pay it. This is very much a woman's business, because it is a question of house-keeping. **Taxation affects the Price of What we Buy.** When a working-woman finds that the price of bread or of tea has gone up, she knows it **is** her business to arrange how the week's money is to be spent so as to make it go furthest; she knows that it is so much her business that **there is not anyone else in the world who will do so.**

There is another reason why women want to help in making laws: **they want to improve their homes.** Some homes are not fit for anyone to stay in. You have only to look about you to see slums in every town—yes, and in the country too—where the houses are not fit to live in. You will see houses whose walls are rotten, with roofs that leak, without proper sanitation, where the light and air never come in, and

where the children that are born die like flies. And you will find people crowded together so that **Decency and Virtue are almost Impossible.** Of course, these matters are partly under the control of the local authorities, but they only have power to administer the law, not to make it, and we think if we were allowed to vote we would vote for better housing-laws so that such a state of affairs could no longer exist. We would give the children **a better chance of growing up healthy.**

These are some of the reasons why we are asking for the right to vote. We want to protect the working-woman and improve the conditions of her work; we want to have a say in the laws which affect ourselves and our children; we want to improve our homes. We perform the **duties of citizens** and we contribute to the up-keep of the state as men do, therefore we demand the **rights of citizens** which men have.

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National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies,

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LAW-ABIDING. NON-PARTY.

President: Mrs. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.

Let the Women Help!

There is a great deal of work to be done in the world. In most of it men are only too glad to let women help. Why won't they let them help in the work of politics?

The work of politics has to do with the making of laws, and the object of these laws **is to make life better for all the men and women and children in the country.** If there are good, wise, just laws, everybody is the happier for them, and when there are unwise, unjust laws everybody suffers. Laws cannot absolutely stop poverty and illness and crime, and all the other things that make people unhappy, but they can help to stop them. The better the laws are, the less suffering there will be in the country. At present there is a **great deal of suffering.** One cannot go out into the streets without seeing a great many unhappy, miserable people. Little children who are **cold and hungry,** men and women who cannot get work, and are driven to try and make a livelihood by singing in the streets, or selling things that nobody wants, or even sometimes by begging. If one could go inside all the houses and the big public buildings, factories, and hospitals and workhouses and prisons, one would see a great deal more trouble and suffering. One would see men and women and children working very, very hard for very, very long hours, and earning very little money for it, so that they are **always hungry and tired** and have **no pleasure in their lives at all.** One would see other men and women and children sick and suffering with illnesses they need not have had, if their lives had not been so hard and miserable. Others again, one would see being punished for wrong things they have done, but which they would not have done if only they had been better taught and had not been **led into temptation** by ignorance and want. Then in the workhouses one would find poor old people, some of whom had worked very hard all their lives without ever being able to save enough to keep themselves when they got old.

Not all these poor people could be helped by **better laws,** but a great many could. If the laws were better there would be **better homes** and **better chances** for everybody. Fathers and mothers would see their children go out into the world with a **stronger hope** that they would lead **happy and useful lives.** It would be more worth while to struggle, there would be **more to look forward to.**

Women feel the trouble and misery in the world just as much, or even more, than men, and they would like to be able to help make laws which would do something to stop it. But as long as they have no votes they cannot do anything to make better laws, they are helpless. All the good will of all the women who would like to help is wasted. All the experience they have learnt by their own hard lives, and by being wives and mothers, is wasted. They could help, but they are not allowed to help. Is not this **foolish waste?**

Work to get women votes in order that they may be able to help to make our country happier than it is at present.

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LAW-ABIDING. NON-PARTY.

President: Mrs. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.

Women in the Home.

Women, we are told, should **stay in their own homes.** But they are not to be idle there! What ought they to be doing?

Looking after the children.
Seeing that they are properly fed.
Taking care of their health.
Cooking the husband's dinner.
Making the money go as far as it can.

All this is "the woman's job."

How will the vote help them?

By giving them a share in making the laws that govern all these things.

Do you think the laws have nothing to do with women's homes and their children, and the price of food? Why, **all** these things are affected by laws! Look at

The Education Act.
The Poor-Law Acts.
The Insurance Act.
The Children's Charter.

These laws have to do with children, and with the trials of sickness and unemployment and poverty. In all these, the woman suffers first.

Then there is the question of **Free Trade and Tariff Reform.** That is a woman's business, too, because she is the one who has to do the housekeeping. If the money doesn't go as far as it used to, or if it comes in less plentifully, she will be the first to go short. A mother will always stint herself before her little ones.

But we are told we have **the Municipal Vote,** and we can do all we need with that, because it is by the Municipal Councils that the law is worked. But can we? Can we make a bad or a stupid law into a good one by using the Municipal Vote? **Of course not!**

You can do something by **working** a law as well as it can be worked; but if it is really unjust or stupid, your work will be mostly thrown away.

Women want to be consulted when the laws are made. And the way to give your opinion so that politicians will listen to it, is **to vote.**

Isn't it time the "**Woman in the Home**" voted on questions that concern the home, since she knows most about them?

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President:—Mrs. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.

A Wider World.

When women have votes they can get the laws which concern their daily life—their homes, their children, and their work—made to suit them. But this is not all that a vote will do for them, nor perhaps the most important thing. For a vote will not only improve their comfort, but will improve them.

We live in the greatest and the free-est Empire which the world has ever seen. It is the business of Parliament to see that we continue to be as great and as free as we are now; it is the business of those who have votes to make a Parliament which knows how to do this.

This does not mean that every elector must himself be able to govern the country; it means that he must learn enough to judge whether the country is being governed as it should be or not. When we want a pair of boots we don't try to make them ourselves, we go to a bootmaker; but we know very well whether the boots we have got are good or bad, and we keep or change our bootmaker accordingly.

You can see that those who have votes have great things to think of and to do. They learn that the needs of daily life are not everything. They learn what a number of matters there are to think about, and to enjoy using their minds as well as their hands; they learn to consider what is best for all, and not only what seems best for themselves. When they are asked to make sacrifices for the good of their country, they know why they have to do it. They learn what those who are dead and gone have done for them, and they become willing and eager to do as much for those who are coming after.

If this is the effect of having votes, how can women be content until they, too, get them? While men learn to raise their heads and see all round them, are women to be kept head down with their eyes on the ground? Why should half the people of this country be helped to become wiser, better and happier, and the other half left in helplessness, dulness, and ignorance? Can such a state of things really be good for the country?

We think not. And so we ask that women, in the same way as men, should have votes.

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LAW-ABIDING. NON-PARTY.

President:—Mrs. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.

Why do Women Want a Vote? Well, why do Men have a Vote?

Because it is by votes that Members of Parliament are made; Members of Parliament make the laws; if any classes of men want laws made to suit their interests, they can state their wants to any man who wants their votes, and can, by voting together, send a Member to Parliament, who will try to get the law they want made.

It has been found by experience that however willing those in power might be to help their neighbours, they made a great many mistakes because they did not really understand what their neighbours wanted, or why they wanted it. Supposing a navvy had to make all the laws about trade, or a tradesman the laws about farming, or a factory hand the laws about miners, a great deal of mischief might be done to these different classes, and every one would be dissatisfied; but now, because so many men have votes, all these classes can send some Member to Parliament who thoroughly understands what they want, and will make the rest understand it too. This is why men struggled so hard, that as many as possible should have a vote.

Well, women want a vote for exactly the same reason. There are a great many matters which have to do with women, about some of which laws have been made, and about some of which laws ought to be made. But women have no votes by which they can make sure that their wants and wishes in these matters shall be understood and attended to.

There are laws about women's work, what sort of work they shall be allowed to do, and how many hours they shall spend on it; laws about their infants, about their children's schooling, about settling who is to look after the children if their parents die; about how the houses and the places they live in are to be kept healthy; about how disputes between married people are to be settled by the law; about who is to have their money if they die without making a will. And there are many other matters dealt with by law which concern women quite as much as men.

But although it is much more difficult for a man to understand what a woman feels and wants, than what another man feels and wants, yet all the laws are made by men whom men only send to Parliament.

Women, this is what we want changed. This is why you should do all in your power to get a vote for every woman who would have one if she were a man.

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LAW-ABIDING. NON-PARTY.

President:—Mrs. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.

The Tool.

What is the use of a vote? A vote is a tool. If a man wants to drive a nail into the wall he gets a hammer and does it. If a man has not a hammer it is uncommonly difficult to drive in a nail. If a man wants a law passed or changed he uses his vote.

Laws are made and the affairs of the country carried on by Parliament; the men who sit in Parliament are chosen by the men who have votes, and they are chosen because the voters believe these men will do what the voters want. Of course all men do not want the same things, and nobody gets everything he wants; but a man with a vote can be pretty certain that he will be attended to when he asks, and if there are enough men wanting the same thing they are pretty certain to get it. The vote is the hammer which drives the nail in.

Women are those who have plenty of nails they would like to drive in, but no hammer to do it with. Some of the things that men want are just as useful to women, and they get them when the men do. But there are a great many things very important to women, some of which are settled without their wishes being consulted, some of which are settled against their wishes, and some of which are not attended to at all. Laws are made about children, about women's work hours, about the sort of work they are or are not to be allowed to do, about the way to keep their houses clean, about how the money some of them pay in taxes should be spent, and not a word can a woman say about any of them.

That is why women should be given the Tool which helps a man; this is why women as well as men shou d have votes.

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NON-PARTY. NON-MILITANT.

President:—Mrs. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.

To WORKING MEN

Working men, do you love fair play? If you do, come forward and help the women who have been working for Women's Suffrage by peaceable methods for nearly fifty years.

When Household Franchise was passed rather more than 45 years ago—in 1867—women, who had previously the same qualifications for the Parliamentary vote as men, did not receive the franchise **Why?** Solely on account of sex; solely because they were women.

It was admitted that they were law abiding, responsible citizens. It was admitted that they had to pay the same rates and taxes as men It was admitted that the only reason they were to be excluded from the franchise was "because they were women."

Now is that a sensible, logical, or sufficien reason?

For years, thousands of women have been striving in every possible way to get Parliament to grant them justice in this matter. And all these years the subject has been shelved "till a more convenient season," or the matter treated as one no importance, and often as a joke.

Is it a matter of no importance that a woman, labouring to keep her home together, should not have a vote on a subject like the fiscal question, which affects the price of food, and indirectly, the wages by which she supports her home?

She has a vote for the Parish Councillor, the District Councillor, the County Councillor (or Town Councillor); why should she not have a vote for the Member of Parliament for the division in which she lives?

Do you think it fair play to her that she should pay the taxes and yet not have this vote?

If you think it is not right and fair, **you can get this matter put right.** And it has come to this, that **you only can do it.**

Time has shown that pressure by voters is necessary to get this injustice remedied. No women have Parliamentary votes; therefore, women's claims and petitions may be disregarded. But Parliament cannot and will not treat you in the same way, for you have votes.

We ask you, working men, to take up this question.

You have votes, and therefore you have power, and if you will come forward and ask that this measure of justice to women should be given them, there is no doubt whatever that it will be given.

Working Men, help Women to get Justice.

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National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies
14, Great Smith Street, Westminster, London, S.W.
LAW-ABIDING. NON-PARTY.
President:—Mrs. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.

Will the Vote help the Industrial Women?

Of course we all know that the possession of the vote will not change the condition, or the wages of the industrial woman, **immediately.** Some time will be needed before that can be done.

BUT, there are many ways in which the vote will help her to improve her state, as nothing else can. Here are three of them:

(1) It will help her Trade Unionism forward. Men found that to make their Trade Unions really effective, they **must** be backed up by **Labour Representation.** Even the great Lancashire Textile Union found that was necessary, and consequently returned Mr. Shackleton to Parliament to represent them. This is exactly the women's case. They, too, must have members elected by their votes who will press forward their claims in Parliament. Trade Unionism alone cannot help them effectively. When working men wish for some change in the Factory Acts, they have the **right** to demand that their wishes shall be heard and attended to. Working women have no such right. The Anti-Suffragists tell us women have priviliges and influence, and can get laws altered by these means. Working women earning 2d. an hour have **no** influence and **no** priviliges, nor do they want them. They want **Rights.**

(2) When women have votes, the Government, which now sweats women cheerfully and apparently remorselessly, will be obliged to pause. For dealing with voters is quite another matter to dealing with the helpless voiceless creatures that non-voters are!

It is not safe to treat a voter badly. **By degrees** the women will find this out, and will use their power. In all the countries where women have the vote, this effect is beginning. A Government's action helps to mould public opinion, and when Government recognises women's claims for proper wages the other employers of labour will also begin to recognise those claims.

(3) When the status of a class is low, the economic position of that class is low. Wages largely depend on status. Nothing will raise the status of women so much as giving them the full rights of citizenship. They will then be no longer classed with lunatics and imbeciles, and they will begin to demand and obtain the wages proper for human beings. 1d. an hour is **not** a proper wage for any human being to receive.

When you raise the status of a class, you raise the standard of living of its members, for you make them esteem themselves less lightly, and you make them therefore wish for better conditions and for better lives.

Anyone who reflects on this will see it is the most important point of this leaflet.

References—"Votes and Wages," by A. M. Royden. "The Englishwoman," March, 1909.

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LAW-ABIDING. NON-PARTY.

President: Mrs. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.

Colours: Red, White and Green.

Teachers!

Why Women's Suffrage matters to you.

Ever since the first Education Act was passed in 1870 **the control of Education has been more and more completely in the hands of Politicians,** and therefore more and more subject to the power of the vote. Thus the Teachers' Registration Council, a body about to be set up by an order in Council in obedience to an Act of Parliament, is charged with the duty of deciding who shall or shall not be qualified to teach. Within the last year the London County Council has been practically fined a very large sum of money for failing to satisfy the regulations of the Board of Education with regard to the size of classes in Elementary Schools.

More perhaps than any other professional body, **Teachers depend for their livelihood and their efficiency upon the action of the State:** more than other professional women you need the protection of the vote and the encouragement of an equal status.

You need the Vote for your own sakes, not merely because politicians cannot attend to the wants of the voteless, but because nothing is so likely as political enfranchisement to break down the tradition that women's work is inferior and therefore should be ill paid. If you want to be judged on your merits, you must work for the vote.

You need the Vote for the Children's sake. Without the vote you lack the only definite effective means of improving the conditions of your work. It is hard enough even for those who have votes to get things done which they believe ought to be done, whether in education or anywhere else ; for those who have no votes it is almost impossible. Moreover how can you hope to bring up children towards an understanding of their duties and responsibilities as citizens if you have to admit that you are yourselves unfit to exercise them ? If you want to use all your powers for the good of the children, you must work for the vote.

Let no one persuade you that Women's Suffrage is not an Educational question, or that when teachers meet in conference they should pass it by as none of their business. It is not a party question, but it is in the best and highest sense a political question ; for more than any other question that men and women meet to discuss it concerns the right management of the State ; and for you it is a burning question, for it concerns your share in that management and your power to do your own work effectively and to be judged for what you do.

R. F. CHOLMELEY.

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LAW-ABIDING. NON-PARTY.

President: Mrs. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.
Colours : Red, White and Green.

A Blow for the Anti-Suffragists

Their Canvass of Women Encourages Suffragists.

This country contains about 13,000,000 grown-up Women. The League for Opposing Women's Suffrage has canvassed a little over one quarter of **one** million, and they have only succeeded as the result in getting **one twentieth** of **one million** to say they are **Anti-Suffragists.**

In other words, the much advertised canvass by the Anti-Suffragists has only given them under 48,000 out of 13,000,000 women !

No Wonder we Suffragists are encouraged.

Our law-abiding **National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies alone** has over 30,000 members who **pay** every year to belong ! And it is only **one** of a great many Societies and Leagues which have Women's Suffrage as their sole object.

You may say these are picked women, but look outside.

That splendid body of social workers, the National British Women's Temperance Association, with about 155,000 members (March, 1912), demands

Women's Suffrage, so does the Women's Liberal Federation, with about 130,000 members (March, 1912), so does the Women's Co-operative Guild of more than 27,000 (March, 1912).

CHIEFLY WIVES AND MOTHERS.

And there are many many other bodies of Women outside the Suffrage Societies (for example over 50,000 in Scotland) too numerous to mention here.

Over 100,000 have signed resolutions or petitions in favour, and thousands and thousands of quiet working housewives whom we have met at home or at mothers' meetings and such like, believe in Women's Suffrage.

No wonder the League for opposing Women's Suffrage **is getting desperate!** The gentlemen who form its "Campaign Committee" have just published a leaflet trying to mislead people by making out that 48,000 out of 13,000,000 is a majority, instead of the tiny, tiny minority it really is!

Show your disapproval of such discreditable and silly misrepresentation, and join that **Large Majority of Thoughtful Law-Abiding Duty Doing Women,** who believe that

NATURE'S PLAN IS BEST,

MEN & WOMEN HELPING EACH OTHER

and that

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

will make our country

HAPPIER for MEN and WOMEN.

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B. 60.

National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies,
14, GT. SMITH STREET, WESTMINSTER, LONDON, S.W.
LAW-ABIDING. NON-PARTY.
President:—Mrs. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.
Colours—Red, White and Green.

Anti-Suffrage Arguments.

Anti-Suffragists say that the "The Voter, in giving a vote, pledges himself to uphold the consequences of his vote at all costs" and that "women are physically incapable of making this pledge."

What does this Mean?

When the issue at a General Election is PEACE or WAR, and a man votes for WAR, does he himself have to fight?

No!!

The men who fight are seldom qualified to vote, and the men who vote are never compelled to fight.

What is the Voters part in War?

He is called upon to PAY THE BILL.

Are Women Physically incapable of this?

Apparently **NOT.**

They are forced to pay in equal proportions with the men who alone have made the decision. Surely this is not fair! Since men and women are equally involved in the consequences, should not men and women equally have power to decide?

"But some matters discussed in the House of Commons concern men more than women."

True, but just as many concern women more than men.

Is not the Housing Problem a woman's question since

"Woman's Place is the Home?"

Are not EDUCATION, a Pure Milk Supply, and a Children's Charter questions for women, since

"The Woman's Business is to look after the Baby?"

Is not the Taxation of Food a woman's question since women are

"The Housekeepers of the Nation?"

Women claim **votes**, not because they are, or want to be, LIKE MEN, but because they are **Different**, and have somewhat different interests and different views. They want the vote as a tool, with which to do **not Men's Work**, but **Women's Work**, which men have left undone, or are trying unsuccessfully to do.

LET THE WOMEN HELP!

"Two Heads are Better than one!!"

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National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies,

14, Great Smith Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

LAW-ABIDING. NON-PARTY.

President: Mrs. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.

Colours: Red, White and Green.

Many Masters!

Reprinted from the "Common Cause."

Thousands of women ought to join the Suffrage Societies this summer. Thousands will join them when they understand the issue.

Have you read Mr. Pease's new Franchise Bill? Do you know what it proposes as an answer to women's long agitation for the Suffrage? **Votes for all male persons in the kingdom!**

Come out into the streets to look at your masters; every man you meet, nay, every lad with down upon his lip shall rule over you by the day this Bill is law. We have asked for a voice in our affairs, and they appoint two million more males to make laws for us and to tighten our bonds.

Mothers, the Liberal Cabinet refuses you the right to have any say in the laws for the child, but empowers every soldier-lad in barracks, over 21, to decide the regulations for health, the methods of education that shall be prescribed for your babes. There is but one means of protest open to you—Join the Suffragists, and ask for a voice in deciding these issues.

Philanthropists, you who have worked so long for Temperance, every male drunkard shall have a vote, but you, in all your ranks shall have no vote, if you are women. Every man who lives by the White Slave Traffic shall have a vote, but those that he buys and sells be ever unrepresented. The Liberal Cabinet wills

it. Every seducer in Britain shall have a vote, but his victims shall have no voice, no one to speak for them in the Mother of Parliaments.

All you political women consider it. Primrose dames, and workers through good times and evil for the Conservative Party, every youth in the village is to be set over you now ; by the time this Bill is law, every stable-boy and garden-lad shall be your master to decide, without consulting you, the Imperial issues you care so much for—nay, to tax you for his own benefit, while you are allowed no protest. Are you going to sit down tamely under this last indignity to your sex ? Will you still maintain that every man should rule and every woman be ruled to the end of time ? It is inconceivable that you should bear it. Protest now, at once, by joining a suffrage society.

And you, Liberal women, who have indeed asked for your rights and received fair words and a blank refusal from the man who is at the head of you to-day. How amazing it is that you should put up with it, if you intend to put up with it. Perhaps of all the women who are insulted by Mr. Asquith's so-called Reform Bill, no women are so gro sly insulted as the members of the Liberal Federation. You have your weapon if you will wield it. Is there no other Liberal who might take the place of the man who, hoisted into power on your shoulders, denies you what he willingly gives to every corner-boy and loafer in the three kingdoms ?

This summer, smarting under the injustice, the indignity inflicted upon us in the name of Liberalism, let us of the National Union reply to our enemies, and back up our many friends by inducing large numbers of women, thousands of women, hitherto unconvinced or wavering, to join the various suffrage societies and bring the pressure of greatly increased numbers to the siege of the already hard-pressed citadel.

M. Lowndes.

Join the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, or the Friends of Women's Suffrage.

6d. per 100; 4/6 per 1,000.

Printed by the Templar Printing Works, 168, Edmund Street, Birmingham.

Send for Free Catalogue of Publications.

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National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.

14, Great Smith Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

President: Mrs. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.

LAW-ABIDING. NON-PARTY.

TAXES and VOTES.

SHOULD WOMEN HAVE VOTES BECAUSE THEY PAY TAXES ?

YES. BECAUSE

1. It would be good for the State.

Why ? Because

Instead of contributing only money towards the upkeep of the State as at present, women would help much more effectually than they can now by bringing their common-sense, their practical qualities, their conscientiousness, and their Patriotism to bear on matters of National importance. Co-operation between men and women would be good for the State as it is for the home.

It is good for a State which boasts of Liberty and Justice to conform to the elementary principles of both. Liberty and Justice demand that those who give money should help to control its use. To levy contributions and deny a voice to the contributors is what has always been described as Tyranny. It is no answer, even if true, to say that ours is a benevolent Tyranny. Benevolence is not Justice.

2. It is unjust to tax Women without giving them Votes.

Why ? Because

(a) Women do not get full value for the taxes they pay.

How ?

Consider what happens to the taxes. They are used to keep up the army, navy, and other public services of the country ; they pay for protection of life, limb, and liberty for men and women. Why then should men have votes besides these other advantages ? The answer of the Anti-Suffragist is that men have to perform the dangerous work of the world. The

Anti-Suffragist has not quite forgotten deaths from child-birth. They are "allowed for." We are not told how this is done, but it is not to be done by allowing women to vote. Our answer is that women who risk their lives to bear the race have as much right to vote as men who risk their lives to defend the race.

Women do *not* get full value for their money, because the law is unequal for men and women. Women demand a fair field and no favour. They demand more than the protection of life and limb given by the present system, namely, better protection in the country for themselves and the children they bring into the world. They demand that the law shall value their safety and the safety of their children higher than mere property, instead of lower, as at present. Wars are fortunately rare, and few men are called upon to lay down their lives in battles, but some women die every day in bearing the soldiers and the legislators of the future. And the mothers who live care no less about peace and war than do their sons. Therefore it is fair to give women a direct voice in the government of the country.

Besides, it is wise to let women help in making laws, for women have by nature a *greater average aptitude* for *obeying* the laws. Women are *more* law-abiding than men. During the year ending March, 1911, there were four men to every one woman confined in local prisons, and twenty-seven men convicts to every woman convict.

Thus it would be both fair to men and good for the State if women had equal political power with men, unit for unit, and no cause for fear even should women voters outnumber men voters, as the average woman is more law-abiding than the average man.

(b) But giving the vote to women does not necessarily mean that a majority of women would have votes. As the Anti-Suffragist truly says, there are 4,000,000 grown-up men without votes. We are only asking for votes on the same terms as men, and, as adult suffrage is yet to come, we do not expect every woman to get a vote. Even if those 4,000,000 men are enfranchised, or some of them, that does not necessarily mean that all women will be the same. It depends on Parliament, which represents the will of the men in the country. If men are so much afraid of women, let them enfranchise some women at any rate, and, if adult suffrage should ever come, they will learn that women vote on different sides as men do, that women have as much conscience and sense of responsibility as men have, and that women are every bit as patriotic as men.

6d. per 100, 4/6 per 1,000.

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National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies,
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LAW-ABIDING. NON-PARTY.
President: Mrs. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.
Colours: Red, White and Green.

"Easier to Starve."

The lowest wages earned by Industrial workers are earned by women. The average wage of the Industrial woman, reckoning her wage for a whole year, and taking into account overtime, short time, good work, and scarcity of work and fines, is between 7/- and 8/- a week (though often nearer 7/- than 8/-).

The Board of Trade in 1906 gave the average wage of the Textile workers at 15/5 a week, and in the clothing trades (**factories**) at 13/6. These are the best paid trades.

It is less skilled workers and home workers who bring down the average wage to such a small sum. Read the evidence given on home workers before a Select Committee (1907), e.g.:—

Birmingham button trades—(sewing buttons on to cards). "Considerable numbers of people are working all the week for 2/- or 3/-, 4/3 was the highest weekly wage discoverable." (Page 70, Section 1298).

Birmingham brush trade—wages in some cases about **1¾d. an hour** out of which some materials have to be found (ibid. 1351-2).

Shirt finishing in Scotland—1d., 1½d., 1¾d. an hour (p. 704. Sec. 2118).

The question was put—

"Is this (1d. an hour) the lowest remuneration that you know of?"

Miss Irwin. "I have found a case in which a woman was finishing trousers at **½d. a pair,** each pair taking two hours to finish and she **supplied her own thread.** Finally she gave it up, saying that she found it **Easier to Starve without the work.**"

Sevenpence a dozen is paid in Belfast (where there are nearly 4,000 out-workers connected with the linen trade) "for embroidering handkerchiefs which are sold at 8/6 to 9/6 a dozen, with diligence a woman can embroider 1 dozen a day. Not so the women who ornament tea cloths sold at 15/- and 20/- each; these cannot be done under two days' persistent labour, and the remuneration is eightpence per cloth. (Page 70 of "Women's Industrial News." for April 1911.)

These are the wages of home workers. In some other trades, the home worker will reach the magnificent average of 5/- and 6/- per week.

It is argued that these women's labour is not really worth more than this miserable amount. But as long as they, as now, **never have enough to eat,** their labour will remain inefficient. Where wages rise, efficiency rises also.

Besides is it quite true to say their work is poor, when for instance the tea cloths they have embroidered are worth as much as £1 each ?

If anyone takes the trouble to visit home workers, they will find they are mostly women who support their young families or some relatives. The anti-suffragists tell us that men require better wages than women, because they support families and women do not. People who make such statements **do not know** about the lives of our industrial women workers.

But suppose that some of these women support themselves only, or supplement the family wage ; is it right, is it just, that a woman should be considered as a man's inferior in the wage market, and be supposed to need less to eat, less to live upon ?

It is not right, it is not just, it is bad for the whole nation,—and extremely bad for the future generation.

But this point of view, this demand for "economic justice" will **not** be enforced until women are men's political equals, i.e., till they have a voice in the nation's affairs and can enforce it themselves.

A VOTE IS A VOICE.

Price 6d. per 100; 4/6 per 1,000.

Read "Votes and Wages," by A. Maude Royden, 2d.

Published by the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies,
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National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies,
14, GT. SMITH STREET, WESTMINSTER, LONDON, S.W.
LAW-ABIDING. NON-PARTY.
President:—Mrs. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.
Colours—Red, White, and Green.

Women's Suffrage & the Protection of Women-Workers.

WILL THE VOTE HELP WOMEN TO IMPROVE THE CONDITIONS OF THEIR WORK?

This question finds its own answer in the history of the franchise for working men. Men have steadily (and wisely) used their votes to get better conditions as workers. Instances of their success are many, among the most notable being the legalisation of Trades Unions, the Truck Act, the various laws regulating work in factories, overtime, and so forth, the Fair Wages Clause, the Particulars Clause, the appointment of factory inspectors and many others. All these have been passed in the interests of the workers, and some of them have helped women as well as men. But where women have themselves the right to vote, they have taken further steps to protect themselves.

In our country, the worst sweated workers are women. In New Zealand and Australia sweating has been abolished. The women of New Zealand were enfranchised in 1893: in 1894 a law was passed which, gradually amended and improved, has resulted in the disappearance of sweating, though before 1893 there were cases of it just as bad as there are here. In Australia the beginnings of reform were made before women had the vote, but the thoroughness and completeness of the work has followed, and not preceded women's enfranchisement.

In two of the six Suffrage States of America, there is an Eight Hours Day for women, and in one there is a Nine Hours Day. In another (California) an Eight Hours Bill has passed the Legislature, but was defeated as "unconstitutional" by the Courts.

It will be brought forward again next year. (In the two remaining Suffrage States there is practically no factory work for women.)

In none of the States of America where women are disfranchised is there an Eight Hours Law, and in very few is there any restriction at all.

But Anti-Suffragists say that Suffragists are opposed to laws protecting women-workers. Is this true?

Certainly not. Suffragists of all classes are the keenest workers for better conditions for women's industries, and it will be remembered that when sweated women are "on strike," help is always given by women who are convinced Suffragists as well as experts on the subject of Industrialism, such as Miss Mary Macarthur, Miss Gore-Booth, and others.

But **as long as laws are made entirely by men,** women are naturally afraid that they won't always suit their needs. They know that the person who wears the shoe knows best where it pinches, and they want to be able to give their own opinion about laws regulating their work. When they have votes and can give their opinion, they are only too anxious to improve conditions of work.

Anti-Suffragists know this perfectly well. Though they say—

> "to grant women the franchise would be to raise a fresh obstacle in the way of reform."

They have also to admit that

> "Women are limited to 45 hours a week in New Zealand, except in woollen mills, when 48 hours is allowed; and in Australia, to 48 hours a week. In this country the limitation of hours for women is:—In textile factories, 56½ hours net; in non-textile factories, 60 hours net."

The first of these statements is made in a leaflet and distributed broadcast. The second occurs in the "Anti-Suffrage Handbook" (p. 42), which is circulated privately. Both these are officially issued by the Anti-Suffrage League and bear its name.

How do the Anti-Suffragists reconcile these statements?

Price 6d. per 100; 4/6 per 1,000.

Read the "COMMON CAUSE," 1d. weekly.

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B 64.

WHY WE ARE IN A HURRY.

When I am talking to men about Women's Suffrage even those who are friendly often say: "But why are you in such a hurry? It is bound to come soon"

Well we believe it is bound to come soon, but not without hard work. Many of us have worked very hard for a very long time and we want to get this question settled soon. Here are some of the reasons why we are in a hurry.

Many of the workers in the suffrage movement are eager to work for other objects such as **Temperance, Better Housing, The Reform of the Poor Law, The Abolition of Sweating,** and the **White Slave Traffic,** etc., etc., but they believe that until they get the vote they have not the necessary weapon with which to strike at the root of social evils.

All these questions are very important to the whole country and Empire. Everybody will agree that they ought to be settled without loss of time. But we believe that they cannot be satisfactorily settled until women are consulted as well as men.

Is it any wonder that we are in a hurry?

Also we want to defend women's interests in any future legislation that may be brought forward. We know that politicians deal more and more every day with matters affecting every man and woman in the home and in the workshop and in the factory, and we do not think it right that matters which affect women so closely should be settled for them without their consent.

We are in a hurry because

We want to see the homes of the poor made better, so that the children who grow up in them should make better citizens.

We want to see a reduction in infant mortality. At present large numbers of babies die from causes that might be prevented.

We want women's work in the world better recognised, and fuller opportunities given them of doing it in the best way and under the most favourable conditions possible.

We want to see the wage-earning power of women raised, so as to put a stop to the under-selling of men in the labour market with all the attendant evils.

Lastly we feel that **The Reputation of Great Britain is at Stake.** She has always been in the forefront of all movements making for freedom. Is she to lose that position when the freedom of more than half her subjects is concerned? We see other nations in various parts of the world one after another giving votes to women. We have given votes to black men in South Africa, and it even seems probable that the women of China will be given the vote before long.

Are we to lag behind them?

Is not the love of home and country just as strong in the hearts of British women as in those of the women of other nations or the black men of South Africa?

If you believe this, as we do, will you not help us by doing everything in your power to make the Government and Members of Parliament realise the urgency of our demand?

Price 4d. per 100.

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National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies

14, Gt. Smith Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

NON-PARTY. NON-MILITANT.

President:—Mrs. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.

FIVE POINTS

IN THE

Relation between Votes for Women and certain Economic and Social Facts.

MY object is to deal as briefly, as may be consistent with clearness, with five points, now constantly prominent in the controversy about Votes for Women.

I.—The Economic Responsibilities of Women.

The first is the patent fact that men and women are paid often at different rates for the same work, and the attempted justification of this.

The practice is justified often by the statement that "calls" on women are less. Experience contradicts this: we find some women, however disgraceful such a thing may be, who support their husbands; many widows who earn the livelihood of their families; countless single women who support, or partially support, their relations.

II.—The Relation between direct Political Power and Remuneration.

This plea of "calls" brings us to the second point, the close connection between remuneration and direct political power. Men are not, never have been, paid according to their **needs,** to the "calls" upon them. We have not so learned Economics; but the story of the "Combination Laws" seems to be dropping, unfortunately, from the National Memory. Time was, when the mass of the manual workers, debarred from the Parliamentary vote, found that **combination to raise wages was illegal.** The single worker whose life depends on getting work can drive no useful bargain with an employer, whose profits at the moment (whose life only in some improbable future) depend on the bargain he makes with the worker. Those who imagine that men's wages were not raised, when, having obtained the Parliamentary franchise, they could vote against any Candidate for Parliament refusing to support the legalisation of Trade Unions, had better "read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest" the story of Trade Unionism in the first half of the nineteenth century in England.

III.—The Interests of Men and Women Interdependent.

And this leads us to the third economic point. **The** obstacle to Trade Unions is the existence of the **blackleg.** It is to the advantage of every worker, **man and woman,** that there should

not exist anyone who will do his or her work for less pay than he or she can **take in order to live a decent life.** That is an economic and an ethical principle, and against economics and ethics combined there is no intellectual appeal. The blackleg is of use only to that section of employers who are selfish and heartless. Women need the vote as much as men did, in order to work out their economic salvation. It is the experience of past ages that unlimited power (except in the hands of the abnormally good) breeds selfishness. For us, average men and women, conditions must be equal if our natural selfishness is not to bear its natural but awful fruit. This is important to the nation, since, if it be true that "there are in the nature of things no self-existing units with these rights and privileges, selfishness is a ruinous mistake, a blunder which leads to shipwreck in all parts of nature alike," then selfishness, whoever exhibits it, is nationally disintegrating.

IV.—One Result of Women's Low Wages.

The next point is that tragedy which enforces its own moral on all who are not wilfully callous. Poverty (in other words, low wages) drives some women on to the streets. This fact cannot be denied; it must be known, *e.g.*, to Cabinet Ministers who talk airily about "greatly curtailing women's work," while they make no simultaneous provision for their support. No nation, no individual, taking the title of Christian, can dare to look unmoved on economic conditions which result in immorality. Far be it from us to absolve the individual of responsibility, that would be to cut away the root of ethics. But want, hunger, perennial misery are a poor breeding-ground for heroism; and while the individual may not repudiate blame, the nation which goes on not only acquiescing in, but justifying by roundabout arguments, such conditions, should feel the burden of a guilt too heavy for description in words.

V.—The "FORCE" Argument.

A political point in conclusion. Regardless of the fact that they do not propose to confine the Parliamentary Franchise to the Services and the Constabulary, people argue that, as women cannot fight, they shall not vote. The statement that they cannot fight is hypothetical, but let it pass. If they cannot, or if it be desirable that they should not, yet more women give their lives annually in childbirth than men do on the battlefield. Finally, when war breaks out, not **all** men can be called on for military service, *e.g.*, with the exception of military chaplains, the clergy cannot; while many women are summoned, viz., the Army Nurses. These have, if necessary, to work under fire. And will anyone argue that it needs more courage to fight when one's blood is up, than to **wait,** within the danger zone, till the wounded are brought in?

GERALDINE HODGSON.

Price 6d. per 100; 4/6 per 1,000.

Read "Votes and Wages," "Physical Force and Democracy," by A. Maude Royden, 2d each.

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B. 74.

SUFFRAGE OR PARTY?

Suffragists are expected to put Votes for Women before any party question.

Is this **RIGHT?**

Some people say "No! Because party questions are a matter of principle, and principles must not be sacrificed."

We say "**YES!** Because Women's Suffrage is a greater principle than any other, and stands for greater and more urgent reforms. The things for which Women's Suffrage stands are of the *first* importance to the life of the race and the good of our country. They are

MORE IMPORTANT THAN ANY PARTY QUESTION.

To sacrifice them is to sacrifice more sacred principles than any party-tie.

What are the reforms that have brought most of us into the Suffrage Movement? They are, among others,

THE CAUSE OF PURITY.

We want to put down the White Slave Traffic, to protect little children from assaults, and to save our boys and girls from hideous temptations.

THE CAUSE OF GOOD HOUSING.

We want our children to be born in houses where they will have a better chance of growing up healthy and good.

THE CAUSE OF THE SWEATED WORKER.

We want to protect women from working under infamous conditions, and little children from the suffering that comes from the starvation and over-work of mothers.

THE CAUSE OF THE WHOLE RACE.

We remember that vice and slums and sweated work are together destroying our children by thousands, and sending others out into the world all unfit for the struggle of life. We ask ourselves what use it is to have such a mighty Empire, if its citizens are to be stunted and corrupted by evil surroundings when they are growing up? We want votes to

HELP TO PUT THESE THINGS RIGHT.

People say, perhaps, "Why not work at these questions without votes; why not be more unselfish?"

We answer that to work at reform without votes is like

DIGGING WITHOUT A SPADE,

and it is not selfish to ask for one if you want to dig. A spade is of no importance by itself. It is only of use to dig with. But if you are going to dig, you must

GET THE SPADE FIRST.

Women! ask for it *now!*

The digging you are going to do is so important to the whole race that IT IS NOT RIGHT TO DELAY.

All party questions must give way to a question which concerns the life of the race itself. What is less important must give way to what is more important; and however they are urged to put this or that before the vote, Suffragists must at all costs

UPHOLD THEIR PRINCIPLES.

4d. per 100. 2/6 per 1,000.

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