

SUFFRAGE OR PARTY?

What are the reforms that have brought most of us into the Suffrage Movement? They are, among others, the reforms that have brought about the Cause of Purity, the Cause of Good Housing, the Cause of the Sweated Worker, the Cause of the Whole Race, and the Cause of the Right to Put These Things Right.

UPHOLD THEIR PRINCIPLES.

B. 72.
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 a Vote?

A Vote is a way of saying what **Political Party** you wish to **Govern the Country** and **Make the Laws.**

Should Women Have a Vote?

Women have to **obey the laws** and are put in prison if they break them, and **Women** have to **pay taxes**, the same as **Men** do, to find money for the Government of the Country, so

Why Not

give the **Women** a Vote for Members of Parliament?

No Good Government can be founded on **injustice.**

Is it Just to let **Men only** make the **Laws Men and Women** have to obey?

Is it Fair to let **Women** pay **Taxes** when they may not say how they wish the **Taxes** to be spent?

Is it Wise not to let the **Women help** to decide what kind of **Laws** are best for their **Homes, their Children,** and their **Country?**

Be Wise, Be Fair, Be Just, Be British, and ask your Members of Parliament to Vote for **Women's Suffrage.**

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,
 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 a Vote?

A Vote is a way of saying what Political Party you wish to Govern the Country and Make the Laws.

Should Women Have a Vote?

Women have to obey the laws and are put in prison if they break them, and Women have to pay taxes, the same as Men do, to find money for the Government of the Country.

Why Not

give the Women a Vote for Members of Parliament?

No Good Government can be founded on Injustice.

Is it just to let Men only make the Laws Men and Women have to obey?

Is it fair to let Women pay Taxes when they may not say how they wish the Taxes to be spent?

Is it Wise not to let the Women help to decide what kind of Laws are best for their Homes, their Children, and their Country?

Be Wise, Be Fair, Be Just, Be British.

and ask your Members of Parliament to Vote for Women's Suffrage.

Published by the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies
 14, Great Smith Street, S.W. and
 Printed by The Century Press, Ltd., 11, Bedford Street, Bloomsbury.

B. 80
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.

Is this Equality?

A REPLY TO MISS VIOLET MARKHAM.

In her much-lauded and much-quoted speech at the Albert Hall, on Feb. 28th, 1912, Miss Violet Markham spoke of Local Government work for women as "This great field of **equal rights and opportunities** with men."

But in England and Wales men are entitled to vote as **owners** whilst **women are not.**

Men are entitled to vote as **lodgers** in District and Parish Council and Guardian Elections, and in the Election of the London County and London Borough Councils—whilst **women are not.**

Men are entitled to vote on the **Service Franchise** in District and Parish Council and Guardian elections and in the election of London Borough Councils whilst **women are not.**

IS THIS EQUALITY?

Moreover **married women** have not, except in a few cases, been allowed to vote in Town or County Council elections outside London, and the **Government Reform Bill** will **take away** the vote from those few women whose claims have been allowed by revising barristers and re-establish the disability of marriage.

But married men are allowed to vote. **Is this Equality?**

And does Miss Markham think that **if women had votes** a Government would dare to take away the opportunities they have?

So much for the voting powers of women in local government. How about their **eligibility?** Have they "equal right and opportunities with men there?"

No. Except in London, Scotland and Ireland, only single women and widows who are electors for Borough and County Councils can stand for election. No woman, owner, lodger, or possessor of the "service" qualification can stand, nor can **any married women.**

These opportunities, says Miss Markham, are "practically neglected." Has it ever occurred to her that it is because there are **so few women eligible** that so few are found to stand? Were women given "equal opportunities" with men there would be no lack of candidates. The history of Women Guardians proves this. When women were first made eligible the qualification was the same as it now is for Town and County Councils. At the end of **eighteen years** there were only 169 women Guardians. But then the disqualification of marriage was removed and **residence** was substituted for the other qualification. In a single year the number sprang to **875.** There are now **1320.**

Moreover at least 60% of the women now serving as Guardians **would not be eligible** to stand for Town or County Councils.

Miss Markham gives the number of women elected onto Town and County Councils, but she does not give the number who **stood for election** which is more than four times as great.

Moreover she ignores the paramount difficulty that local elections are run on party lines: that men's political associations continually **refuse to adopt** women candidates, and that few women **can afford** to pay all their own expenses, especially in view of the great handicap of being an independent candidate, without the machinery or the backing of any party.

Does not Miss Markham think that **if women had votes** political associations would regard them more favourably as possible candidates?

We ask further—Is it as Miss Markham implied, **the Suffragists** who neglect their opportunities whilst **the Anti-Suffragists** make full use of theirs?

The first four women to stand for election to School Boards were:—

In London—Dr. Elizabeth Garrett, M.D.

Miss Emily Davies, LL.D.

In Manchester—Miss Lydia Becker.

In Edinburgh—Miss Flora Stevenson.

All Pioneers of the Women's Suffrage Movement.

Where were the Anti-Suffragists?

The N.L.O.W.S. professes to make one of its objects the advancement of women in local government.

How many, then, of the Executive Committee of that League are serving on local bodies?

One has been co-opted on to certain Sub. Committees, but **NONE** have faced the ordeal of election and been elected.

But the Suffragists are not so neglecting their opportunities.

On the Executive Committee of the N.U.W.S.S. are:—

Councillor Margaret Ashton, of Manchester.

Councillor Eleanor Rathbone, of Liverpool.

Miss I. O. Ford, Member of Adel Parish Council.

Mrs. Rackham, Poor-Law Guardian of Cambridge.

How does Miss Markham explain this?

Will she not admit that far from its being the women who neglect their opportunities who are asking for more, it is the very women who are making the fullest use of all their present opportunities who realise how **inadequate** those opportunities are.

Miss Markham says that the ratepayers can deal with such matters as slums and insanitary dwellings. Within limits they can, it is true. But one of the greatest living authorities on Housing, Mr. Nettlefold, tells us:—

"The Housing question must be dealt with on broad lines as a **National** question."

164
Women Suffragists do not want, in Frances Power Cobbe's words, to "go on labouring all their life-time merely pruning the off-shoots of evil roots." They want to aid the men in "the nobler and much more truly philanthropic work of plucking up the roots."

Finally Miss Markham has the temerity to quote **Joseph Mazzini** as if she thought that **he** would have sympathised with the objects of the N.L.O.W.S.

Lest any are in doubt as to his views, we would remind them and inform Miss Markham that in 1870 he wrote to a member of the Ladies' National Association :—

"Can you doubt how eagerly I watch from afar, and how heartily I bless the efforts of the brave earnest British Women who are striving for the extension of the Suffrage to their sex,"

and further

"You cannot fulfil your task without liberty, which is the source of responsibility. You cannot fulfil it without equality, which is liberty for each and all. Your claim to the Suffrage is identical with that of the working men. Like them you seek to bring a new element of progress to the common work. You feel that you too, have something to say, not merely indirectly, but legally and officially, with regard to the great problems which stir and torture the soul of mankind."

This is the man whom Miss Markham calls "one of the greatest democrats the world has ever known." Let her remember that to him true democracy was impossible without **equal political rights for men and women.**

1/6 per 100.

Read the "Common Cause" 1d. weekly.

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.

B. 77.

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.

Women's Work in Local Government.

First published by the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association and reprinted by their kind permission.

The question of women's work in Local Government has entered on a new phase. During the years in which we were struggling to obtain for women the right to serve on all Local Bodies we were told: firstly, that woman's place was in the home; secondly, that she was, by the laws of nature, incapable of grasping the problems of Local Government; and thirdly, that there was no demand among women for the possession of such a right. Now we are told by our former opponents that it is the paramount duty of women to serve on such bodies, and that it is almost criminal if they neglect this duty, and even the National League for Opposing Woman's Suffrage,—that bulwark of true womanliness—has started a movement to promote the election of women on Municipal and County Councils.

This new departure of the Anti-Suffragists, though plausible, is not so disinterested as might at first sight appear, for they distinctly state that it is intended as a counterblast to the Franchise Movement, and they use it as a peg on which to hang various accusations against their own sex in general and Suffragists in particular.

Let us examine these accusations in detail.

The first accusation made by Anti-Suffragists is, that women do not use the right they already possess to vote at Municipal elections. This statement is perfectly true, but it applies to men as well as to women. At the last London Borough Council elections only about 50 per cent. of the electors voted, and what was the proportion of women who voted must remain

a matter of conjecture, as no exhaustive returns have been made on the subject. In Liverpool, however, where such a return was made after the Municipal Elections of 1910, it was found that 45 per cent. of the women electors recorded their votes, as against 51 per cent. of the men. Also in one polling district in the Didsbury division of Manchester at a bye-election for the City Council on November 1st, 1909, all the women electors polled except four, and two of these were absent through illness. The apathy of both men and women electors may probably be explained by the complexity of the constitutions and functions of the various local bodies, and the technical nature of the questions at issue during an election. A change is, however, taking place in this respect, and at each successive election an increasing number of women record their votes. Possibly this hostile agitation of the Anti-Suffrage League may be a blessing in disguise, if the controversy which is thus aroused brings home to women the nature of the rights they already possess and stimulates their desire to use them. Secondly, we are told that the small number of women who present themselves for election to Municipal or County Councils is a proof that women have no genuine interest in public affairs, but care only for sensational agitation and self-advertisement. If Mrs. Humphry Ward and her colleagues had much practical experience of Municipal elections I hardly think they would bring this forward as an argument against Women's Suffrage, as it would rather appear to bear in the opposite direction.

There is, unfortunately, an increasing tendency to run Municipal elections almost exclusively on party lines. Even Poor Law elections are not now free from the political taint. The political associations and agencies are all-powerful, and they make up their lists from amongst their party adherents, too often without much regard to the fitness of the candidates. Everything is done with an eye to the Parliamentary elections. A popular Mayor or County Councillor may be the next Member of Parliament. Thus it is of primary importance to strengthen the party and the efficient administration of local affairs is a secondary consideration. It is only natural, therefore, that a man who has the Parliamentary vote should usually be preferred to the woman who has no political value, however high her qualifications may be. If these political associations can be persuaded to adopt a woman as one of their candidates, well and good; but they will rarely do this, unless there is a shortage of candidates for some doubtful ward, or they have reason to dread a three-cornered election.

If she stands as an "Independent" her failure is almost certain. Her expenses are more than quadrupled, she has to

meet the opposition of all the party organisations in addition to the difficulties which apply specially to women candidates, and these must not be under-rated. There still exists in the minds of many electors a prejudice against the participation of women in public affairs. Much of the opposition they have to encounter cannot, however, be described as prejudice at all, but arises from a genuine and well-founded fear of the prying eye of woman, amongst those who have been in the habit of feathering their own nests at the public expense. They want to be left in peace and not to be worried with troublesome enquiries and suggestions. There are, of course, exceptional constituencies and exceptional candidates, but what I have stated is the general rule.

During the last London Borough Council elections more than 60 women stood as candidates, and only eight were elected. If we examine the figures, we shall find that a large proportion of these unsuccessful candidates were women with a wide experience of social work, who were not adopted by their respective party associations because they were useless in a Parliamentary campaign. Confronted by such difficulties, hampered by political disabilities, how can we expect women to come forward in large numbers to fight an almost hopeless battle?

There is yet another obstacle placed in the way of women by the present law which permits none but occupiers to be elected to County and Borough Councils outside London. Thus a married woman or a daughter living with her parents is ineligible, and this restriction excludes many of the most suitable candidates. The effect of this limitation is shown by the fact that when the qualification for Poor Law Guardians was electoral, only 169 women became Guardians, whereas after March, 1894, when a residential qualification was provided by the Local Government Act, the number of women Guardians at once rose to 876.

A Bill to remove this disqualification has several times been brought before Parliament, but time has hitherto never been found for it owing to the "pressure of other business."

It is difficult to express in adequate terms the hypocrisy of these charges against women based on the small number who are elected to serve on Borough and County Councils. On the one hand women are effusively urged to come forth as candidates and reproached if they do not respond; on the other hand by political manoeuvres it is made practically impossible for the majority to be elected if they do stand. Let those who are so anxious to prove that the disfranchisement of women does not affect their chances of election to Municipal Councils resist the tyranny of the political caucus and show by deeds, not words,

that they are sincere in their professions. Let Mrs. Humphry Ward and our Anti-Suffrage friends use their great abilities to persuade their fellow-countrymen that sound views on Tariff Reform or Free Trade are not sufficient qualifications for the task of administering laws relating to housing, sanitation, and the care of imbeciles and lunatics. If they succeed in doing this they will have deserved well of their country, for I am convinced that the co-operation of women in Local Government will have far-reaching results in the purification of our municipal politics, because a fresh and healthy spirit will be thereby introduced into the community. We see even now how the candidature of an educated woman rouses the interest of the better class of electors, who have hitherto held aloof because they could not judge of the rival claims of the butcher, the baker, or the local builder. Enquiries are made, information is spread about the duties and functions of local bodies, and malpractices and corruption are unveiled.

Before, however, we can hope for the co-operation of women on any considerable scale they must be able to enter the field on the same terms as men; not as second-class citizens, but with equal political rights.

MARION CHADWICK.

Price 1/6 per 100.

Read	"Women's Suffrage," An Address by ROWLAND PROTHERO, M.V.O.	3d.
	"Demand and Achievement," The International Suffrage Movement, by ALICE ZIMMERN	3d.
	"Women: their Unfair Position from a Legal Point of View," by J. W. F. JACQUES	3d.
	"Plain Answers to Tangled Statements," A Reply to the Anti-Suffrage Handbook, by M. A. ROYDEN	2d.
	"How Women Use the Vote," by M. A. ROYDEN	2d.
	"Physical Force and Democracy," by A. M. ROYDEN	2d.
	"Vote and Wages," by A. M. ROYDEN	2d.

Send for Free Catalogue of Publications.

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.

MARCH, 1913.

B68.

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.

White Slave Traffic.

What is White Slave Traffic? It is a world-wide trade in young girls for immoral purposes, out of which enormous profits are made.

Who are the Merchants? Both men and women, who capture young girls of 12 years old and upwards, and entice them to bad houses, from which escape is practically impossible.

How do they capture the Girls? By false advertisements offering employment as governesses, secretaries, companions, servants, etc.; by making acquaintance with girls alone in streets or trains or 'buses. Many registry offices, theatrical agencies, and letter bureaux are simply traps for girls.

What class of girl is caught? No class is safe, from girls in careful homes like yours or mine, to the poorest sweated worker who is offered an escape from poverty.

Are they bad girls to begin with? It is estimated that only 5 girls in every 100 are "bad girls," who know what they are doing; the remaining 95 are girls who "never heard of such things," girls just like your own daughters, who, but for the White Slave Traffic, might have become happy wives and mothers. If they *wanted* to be "bad," there would be no necessity for this trapping system.

Why can't they escape? Because once ruined they dare not face life again in the world outside; because they are drugged, kept without clothes or money, until they are "broken in," and have become literally the slaves of their owner, whose real name they often do not know. The traders quickly take them abroad, where the foreign language makes them more helpless, and a girl is sold from one owner to another, first for large sums, and then, as her value decreases, for less and less, until she is turned adrift,

170
diseased and degraded, to the streets or starvation. The fate of an English girl in a South American port, at the mercy of men of all colours and nationalities, is frightful to think of. This life kills a girl in about five years, more or less.

Why does this form of Slavery flourish in "free England?"

1. *Because* people do not know this evil exists. *Remedy:* bringing the facts to the light of day.
2. *Because* those who do know the facts are often shy of speaking about them to their sons and daughters, and the White Slave Dealers count on this ignorance and shyness in order to carry on their trade. *Remedy:* the courage to face with our children any evil which they may otherwise have to face alone and unprepared.
3. *Because* the false idea that men cannot be as pure as women makes it easier for men not to be pure, and the easier immorality is made, the more women are sacrificed to it. *Remedy:* not to be satisfied with anything but the best from men and women alike.
4. *Because* the laws are not severe enough. *Remedy:* severer laws and heavier penalties for white slave traders.

But has not a White Slave Traffic Bill just been passed? Yes; but it is only a shadow of the legislation still required for the complete protection of women and girls. *White Slave Traffic is still going on.* The profits are so enormous that it is still worth while for the White Slave Traders to run the increased risk. English women can never rest until this intolerable insecurity—a disgrace to civilisation—has been made a thing of the past.

But how could Women help Men in these matters? It is the power of the Vote which enables men to bring about any reform whatever. Give women the vote. Make women responsible too. Let men and women face these cruel wrongs together, and bear together the pain of knowing and speaking about them. It always answers when men and women pull together. **Trust the women too!** In every country where women have been trusted with the vote, their power has instantly been felt in public morals, and especially in severer laws against trade in young girls.

Give British Women the Vote and the right to insist that the prayer of the white slave prisoners and captives shall no longer go unheard.

Read "The Common Cause,"—1d. Weekly.

Published by the NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES,
14, Great Smith Street, Westminster; and
Printed by THE TEMPLAR PRINTING WORKS, 168, Edmund Street, Birmingham.

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.

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE & TEMPERANCE.

By F. C. RING.

(Reprinted by request from "The White Ribbon," March, 1913).

It is constantly asked, "What will women do with the Vote when they get it?"

There is ample evidence that for one thing they will use it in the interests of TEMPERANCE. In all those countries where women already exercise the Franchise their influence has been directed towards the CONTROL AND SUPPRESSION OF THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC.

In our own Colony of New Zealand women were enfranchised in 1893. A Local Option Law was passed in 1894; and to-day the number of licences in proportion to the population is less than half what it is in England.

By an Act passed in 1910 it was made illegal to sell alcohol to persons under 21 years of age. In the LAST THREE ELECTIONS AN INCREASING MAJORITY HAS BEEN CAST AGAINST LIQUOR. It is significant that a pamphlet against Women's Suffrage is being secretly circulated, pointing out how greatly the WOMEN'S VOTE has injured "THE TRADE" in New Zealand.

AUSTRALIA. New South Wales (women enfranchised in 1902) failed to secure Local Option in 1907 and 1910, but the "NO LICENCE" vote rose in the latter election to the proportion of 2 For to 3 AGAINST Prohibition. The Secretary to the New South Wales Alliance says, moreover, "The women's vote has been a help to the Temperance Cause."

In South Australia (women enfranchised 1893) no child under 16 is allowed in a bar-room.

In Queensland (women enfranchised 1905) it is illegal to serve any person under 18 with liquor for his own consumption.

Women now have the vote in TEN OF THE UNITED STATES; and wherever they have had it long enough to influence legislation they have EFFECTED TEMPERANCE REFORM.

In Wyoming (women enfranchised 1869) a law prohibiting sale of intoxicants to persons under 16 was passed in 1895.

Colorado (Women's Suffrage granted 1893) has Local Option and partial Prohibition.

Idaho (women's Suffrage 1896) has Local Option, and alcohol is not allowed to be sold to persons under 16; also the sale of liquor is prohibited on election days.

In California (women's Suffrage 1911) alcohol is forbidden to be sold to persons under 18; on election days; or in places of amusement.

In the book called "Women's Suffrage in Many Lands," by Alice Zimmern, it is stated (p. 14):—

"Temperance advocates have come to see that the voting woman is their best friend, and the Women's Christian Temperance Association now has a Franchise Department in almost every State"; and again, "It (women's Suffrage) invariably attracts the opposition of the liquor interest, which is often strong enough to wreck the proposal, for the saloon-keeper rightly recognises in women his worst foes." (p. 12.)

In EUROPE we find the women in Finland enfranchised in 1907, and a Prohibition Bill passed in 1910, which the Czar at the instigation of the French Government—France being a wine-growing country—vetoed.

In Norway (women enfranchised 1908) the same thing happened, and the duty on French wines and spirits had to be reluctantly lowered because the Norwegians wanted to borrow money from France for the development of their railways, but they ABSOLUTELY REFUSED TO WEAKEN THE DIRECT VETO LAW, by which the SPIRIT TRAFFIC HAS BEEN VOTED OUT of about half their towns.

In fact all the evidence strongly endorses the words of the Premier of Victoria: "What would give the accursed liquor traffic its death-blow would be the political power being placed in the hands of women."

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.

Published by the NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES, 14, Great Smith Street, S.W.;
Printed by THE TEMPLAR PRINTING WORKS, 168, Edmund Street, Birmingham.

172
National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies
President: Mrs. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.
WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE & TEMPERANCE
BY F. O. RING
Send for free Catalogue of N. U. W. S. S. publications
14, GREAT SMITH STREET, WESTMINSTER, LONDON, S.W.
LAW-ABIDING. NON-PARTY.
President: Mrs. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.
Colours: Red, White and Green.

JUNE, 1913.

895.

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 Home-keeping Women Want the Vote.

When people hear of Women's Suffrage for the first time, they are often inclined to say at once that only men should have the Vote, because

Woman's Sphere is the Home.

If by this they mean that in most cases, when a man marries, he has to go on working outside his home in order to support his family, while, when a woman marries, she generally has to stay at home in order to look after it and all that is in it, I think

We all Agree about this.

But Suffragists think that it is just because women do think so much of their homes, and care so much about them, that they ought to have votes. For, if you come to think of it, there are lots of homes that *can't* be made clean and decent and orderly, however hard the women who live in them try to make them so. There are

Houses so Badly Built,

and so inconvenient, that they *make work* faster than the women can keep up with it. There are houses with several storeys, and no water except on the ground floor; and there are houses with no water at all. There are many houses with none of the decencies of life, and there are some that are built "back to back," so that no fresh air ever gets through them. Then the surroundings are sometimes so foul that bad smells come through the windows and up the drains, and all sorts of dirt gets tracked in from outside. And, worst of all, there are houses with only two or three rooms, and ten or eleven people living in them. How can a woman keep her home nice and her children clean and good, when she lives in a house like these? Every one knows it is impossible. Do you know, a gentleman said the other day in Parliament that he knew a whole village in Cornwall where there was

Not One House Fit for Human Beings to Live in,

and no one could contradict him. Every one knew it was true. Every one said that the way our poor were housed was a

174
national disgrace, and something ought to be done to improve it. But what did they decide to do?

Nothing at all!

If the women who have to *live* in those houses and do the work of them, and break their hearts trying to keep them clean, had Votes, they would *make* the Government take the question up. They don't want to neglect their homes. They want to protect them. And they know it doesn't take half so long to cast a vote at the polling-station once in three or four years as to go on trying to keep homes clean and children healthy in houses that have no water and no drains.

To be sure, Mr. John Burns thinks he has done all that is necessary with his "Housing and Town Planning Act." But what did that Act really do? It ordered bad houses to be pulled down, but didn't order good ones to be put up! and so some hundreds have been built, but thousands have been pulled down; and others that ought to be pulled down have been left because there was nowhere at all for the people who lived in them to go to. The other day a lady was offered anything up to

10s. a Week for a Loft

with no fireplace, and only a skylight, because a man and his family wanted to live in it.

And yet when any public-spirited man does care enough about such things as these to bring in a Bill to deal with them, the House of Commons takes no interest in it at all. When a member of Parliament was describing the way in which the great city of Liverpool had succeeded in pulling down its slums and re-building, and had got the very same people back into the new houses, but nothing like the same amount of crime and sickness, because the people improved in every way when they were given a chance to live decently—even then hardly anyone cared to listen. Out of 675 members

Not Forty were Present,

and some had to be fetched, in a hurry, to make it possible to go on with the debate at all.

Women want the Vote to help them to get better Housing Laws. And when you feel inclined to say, "Women should stop at home and let politics alone," please remember that according to politicians themselves, the homes they have to live in are

A National Disgrace.

We women think that if we had Votes there would have been more than 40 members present to discuss that National Disgrace. We don't want to go on trying to clean up slums. We want the Government to abolish the slums altogether.

Price, 6d. per 100.

Published by the NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES,
14, Great Smith Street, Westminster; and
Printed by the TEMPLAR PRINTING WORKS, Edmund Street, Birmingham.

175
REPRINTED—JULY, 1913.

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

B. 81.

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.

Men & Women Together.

There are **no** men's questions.

There are **no** women's questions.

Men banded together can do something.

Women banded together can do something.

**Men and Women banded together can do
ALMOST ANYTHING!**

When Women's Suffrage comes, what will happen?

The men will have to take into account **the women's point of view**, and this will be in their own interests, because **all wrongs done to women recoil on men.**

Five millions of English women **have** to work for their bread, but they may not vote.

Englishmen are proud of their freedom and of their love of fair play. But is it a good use of freedom, and is it fair play, to handicap the weak?

A woman is weaker without a vote than she would be with one.

Woman's place is the Home.

Should the home be overcrowded and insanitary?

Children are the wealth of the nation.

Should there be a high rate of infant mortality?

Women are admitted to be the best teachers of the young.

Should women teachers be paid less than men for equal work?

All these questions affect men as fathers, husbands, and brothers of women.

Generosity and Charity are good, but Justice and Right-doing are better and cheaper.

Be just to the women and let them help.

Men and women together will save time and money in law-making. They will be stronger than men alone.

Our kinsmen in Australia and New Zealand have said to their women "Come over and help us." Let the Old Country renew her youth and strength by sharing in the hope and ideals of her young Colonies.

"Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings thou hast ordained strength."

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

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.

Reviews—July, 1913
 National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies
 President: Mrs. HENRY RAWCETT, LL.D.
 Secretary: Mrs. W. W. W. W. W. W.

Men & Women Together

These are the men's questions. There are no women's questions. Men and women parted together can do almost anything. The men will have to take into account the women's point of view, and will be in their own interests because all wrongs done to women reflect on men. Five millions of English women have to work for their bread, but they have no vote. The men are the lords of the land, but they have no conscience. A woman's work is not a man's work. One woman's piece is the same as another's. Should there be a high rate of infant mortality? Women are admitted to be the best teachers of the young. Should women teachers be paid less than men for equal work? All these questions affect men as fathers, husbands, and protectors of women. Generosity and charity are good, but justice and right doing are better still. Be just to the women and let them help. Men and women together will save time and money in many making. They will be stronger than when alone. Our kinship in Australia and New Zealand have led to their women going over and helping to build the Old Colony. Their work and strength is showing in the hope and ideas of the young Colonies. Out of the millions of babies and sucklings that obtained strength.

Price 5s per 100; 2s per 500.

PARLIAMENT AND WOMEN'S NEEDS.

(Reprinted by kind permission from the "Women's Trade Union Review.")

For those who believe the improvement of industrial conditions to be one of the crying needs of our time, of incalculable importance both to the nation and the race, as well as to the workers who suffer in life, health, and pocket for the lack of such improvement, the session just closed has been a season of protracted disappointment. And now that this period, barren of industrial legislation, is over, the new session opens with little better hope for the future. It is true that the Employment of Children Bill, so long and patiently promoted by the Committee on Wage-Earning Children, has been taken up by the Government and found a place in the King's Speech, and it may be that Lord Haldane's Education Scheme, if, indeed, that measure is introduced this year, will sweep away the present system of half-time and do something to regulate more satisfactorily the labour of the juvenile worker; but with these modest probabilities the list of official proposals is exhausted. Of the Truck Bill definitely promised last year by the Home Secretary, there is no word. We are not, it seems, to expect any legislation based on the recommendations of the Accidents Committee. Yet these recommendations are nearly three, and those of the Truck Committee over four years old. Also, there is a host of questions affecting factory and workshop life and, consequently, the domestic life of the people in the deepest and most serious way, which have long been awaiting consideration and treatment. Once again, it seems, they are to be passed by.

We will not, however, altogether give up hope. Governments—all Governments—reserve time and interest for those matters about which their followers in Parliament, or at least the most energetic section of those followers, display anxiety and enthusiasm; and Members of Parliament, perpetually busy here and there, distracted by the multiplicity of calls made upon them, for the most part wait, in things unsensational, for a lead or an appeal from their constituents. Factory legislation is not sensational. There are no party gains to be made by it; it may even arouse some party discontent. It is pretty clear, therefore, that if we want it we have got first to create a demand for it. Cannot all those who read this article do something towards creating this demand?

Let us examine a little more closely the amendments to the Factory Acts which seem to us to be overdue. Since the last general revision of our Factory Legislation took place, nearly twelve years have gone by. During that period we have had a short Act dealing with laundries, the Notice of Accidents Act (1906), and an Employment of Children Act (1903), which, although framed primarily in the interests of the employed school child, has, in fact, had a useful bearing on the conditions of employment of children in factories. But with regard to the fines and deductions which form so important a factor in the industrial life of almost all grades of women workers, the rising accident list, the questions of overtime, long spells of work and abbreviated meals time, no legislative steps have been taken, although from year to year varied and convincing evidence of the need which exists for fresh legislation on these points has been accumulating. In the field of administration, every annual report has shown the growing need for substantial addition to the number of women factory inspectors. Nevertheless, since 1908 their number has remained stationary.

As regards the evils wrought by the permission of overtime in non-textile factories and workshops, there is overwhelming evidence tendered

178

by H.M. Inspectors of the Factory Department, both men and women. It was one of the men inspectors, Mr. Parker, who stated unreservedly that overtime is mainly a woman's question. He wrote as follows:—"Most of the overtime in this country is worked by the women, it being seldom one finds any number of men working after the usual period of employment." That overtime, as at present allowed, is in their opinion not only injurious to the health of workers, but also to the best interests of employers, and unnecessary where businesses are efficiently organised, has again and again been stated by the factory inspectors. So long ago as 1900, Mr. Cooke Taylor, one of the superintending inspectors, pointed out the "strange issues" to which the policy of permitting overtime in certain categories of industry have led, and the absurdity of the pleas on which claims to be included in such categories are frequently based. He added that "almost universally" his colleagues were "in favour of the total abolition of overtime as now practised." Further, he said: "It is notorious that the great weight of opinion among employers is thrown into the same scale, their only stipulation being that the incidence of the law should be equal." That this feeling should be strong among employers we need not wonder, since we learn from another superintending inspector, Mr. Cramp, that overtime is chiefly made use of by classes of employers who could, if they would, perfectly well provide beforehand for press of work or orders. Other inspectors from the men's side of the Department point out that while some occupiers in a given trade seem to make it a binding rule to use every hour of permitted overtime, others, engaged in identical work, never work overtime from one year's end to another. A growing disposition on the part of a number of employers who formerly used overtime to abandon the practice is also noted; and this movement is found to be due not only to consideration for the health of the employed, but also to a growing sense of the unsatisfactory quality of overtime work, and the consequent absence of profit to the employer. As one of the women inspectors (Miss Sadler) remarked in 1905: "Skilled work cannot be got from tired hands and jaded eyes." There is no doubt that they are wise employers who have arrived at this conclusion for themselves, having learned that in many cases the work done in overtime hours does not repay the necessary outlay on extra power, light, and heating. Unfortunately, there are still many unwise employers, men (and women), who remain persuaded that it is to their advantage to wring the last ounce of effort out of those who work for them, and as long as the law permits them to impose overtime upon their employees, they will take all the latitude which the law allows. The normal working hours are already so long that this cannot be done without injury to the worker. "To allow . . . women to work fourteen hours in any consecutive twenty-four hours, exclusively of meal times . . . is and must be more or less injurious." Thus Mr. W. D. Cramp; and his view is expressed, in varying terms, by many of his fellow-inspectors. The women inspectors continually report the scenes of suffering which they have witnessed in factories and laundries, owing to the pressure of overtime upon the workers, especially those who are young or delicate. At the present time, in laundries, any woman over eighteen may be obliged to work for thirteen hours a day on three days in every week; or, if the employer decides to restrict overtime to sixty days in the year, for four days in any one week. It is true that, in the former case, the total weekly hours are restricted to sixty-eight; but it is the abnormally-long working day that tells. Miss Slocock has stated the experience of a forewoman who had left a large steam laundry in the hope of finding lighter work in a small hand laundry, and was bitterly disappointed, finding it far more tiring to work very long hours on four days a week than to work regularly for ten hours every day.

It must never be forgotten, in considering the case of women's hours, how large a proportion of our women workers are quite young. According to the census of 1901, over one-half of them were under twenty-five, while nearly one-third were girls in their teens. The strain of overtime upon a girl between eighteen and twenty is very great; and if she does not at the moment break down under it, it may none the less inflict lasting injury upon her constitution and vitality. It is in the years

179

below twenty that, according to official figures for the United Kingdom and several of our colonies, the incidence of the tuberculosis death-rate is seen to be much higher among females than among males (in striking contrast to the proportionate death-rate at later ages, where the male rate is greatly in excess of the female). This fact should serve as an additional reason for protecting our girls at a specially critical age from excessive hours of work.

Another reason, put forward again and again with a wealth of supporting testimony in the form of actual cases by the women factory inspectors, is the greater risk of accident involved in the permission of overtime. This risk, arising out of the physical exhaustion of the worker and her lessened power of attention, is increased by the speeding-up, the hurry, the actual "driving," which are apt to accompany the execution of orders carried out during overtime. Since the use of machinery, more or less dangerous, tends to become more and more common in every kind of industry, the weight of this argument for the abolition of overtime is an increasing one.

But it is not only within the factory or the workshop that overtime plays an injurious part in the life of the industrial worker. Those who argue against its abolition in the (supposed) interests of trade, or with the honest but mistaken notion that they are thereby preserving to the woman worker her liberty of action, frequently seem to restrict their observation to conditions within the workplace. Do they forget, or do they not know, that many, indeed, the majority of working girls live at long distances from their place of employment, and that if they work on till 10 p.m., this will frequently mean that they cannot reach home till between 11 and 12? Are they prepared to accept a division of the girls' day of 24 hours into work, travel to and from work, and a (too short) allowance of sleep, leaving not a single moment for recreation or self-improvement? Yet such reasoners are often keen supporters of Continuation Classes and Girls' Clubs!

Many of the facts adduced in favour of the abolition of overtime go equally to prove the necessity of legislation in respect of the spell of work. In non-textile factories and workshops the limit of the spell, without a break for a meal, is five hours, and it is the testimony of Mrs. Deane Streatfeild, gathered from her experience as a factory inspector, that "practically in every trade there will be found some employers who take advantage of this provision of the law to get through their day's work in two five-hour spells with the single break for dinner." This practice she has found commonest in the laundry industry, tailoring, dressmaking, and confectionery; and she points out that the first and last involved working for the most part in a standing position, while laundry work is hard in nearly every branch, and too often carried on, as also are the sewing trades, in unsatisfactory atmospheric conditions. Where machinery is used, the strain on attention is quite as exhausting, if not more exhausting, than that imposed by heavy manual labour. Mrs. Deane Streatfeild holds that it is the long afternoon spell which works real injury. Miss Squire, in her evidence before the Accidents Committee earlier, expressed an opinion that girls are more liable to accident at the end of a five-hours' spell; and, if the testimony of forewomen as to the difficulty of getting good work out of girls during the last hour of the working day in cases where no break for tea is allowed may be accepted, the argument from economy—the sole argument of those employers who organise their work on the basis of the two five-hour spells—does not hold good. In this case also the risk of injury to the worker's health is much increased when her place of abode and her place of employment lie far apart. A girl so circumstanced may easily spend between six and seven hours without food, this long fast coming at the end of the working day.

The amendment of the Factory Act required in order to do away with the evil of the double five-hour spell is simple, and could be easily effected. Assimilate the regulations in respect of meal-times in non-

180
textile factories and workshops to those which obtain in textile factories; prohibit continuous employment for more than four and a-half hours without a break for a meal in the one case as in the other; and the thing is done.

Akin to the foregoing demands is the claim of the working girl, a claim to which the National Organisation of Girls' Clubs has lately enabled her to give corporate expression, that she shall be secured by statute a full hour's dinner-time. Much present suffering and permanent injury to health are due to the practice, notoriously common, of cutting down the dinner-hour to thirty minutes. Dressmakers and milliners in the West End of London are great sufferers from this practice. As one who has been closely in touch with numbers of young dressmakers, the present writer can testify to the miserable rush and discomfort of the abbreviated dinner-hour. Ten minutes in which to scurry home, ten more for the actual swallowing of food, the third ten minutes spent in regaining the workroom at top speed—what wonder if this procedure, persisted in day after day, ends in digestion, anæmia, and other kindred ailments!

It is hardly necessary to establish afresh the need for legislation in respect of Truck and Accidents. The reports of the Truck Committee (1908) and the Accidents Committee (1910) have done this for us long ago, basing their recommendations on a mass of evidence gathered from all sorts of persons having experience, either as employers, employed, or inspectors of industrial life. The Chief Inspector's Reports have supplied, year after year, new cases in support of the conclusion of the two Committees. The accident list grows and grows; the carrying of excessive weights by women and children is continually illustrated by startling instances—some of the most startling, in the fruit-preserving and tinsplate industries, have occurred within the last year or two; the dangers of allowing machinery in motion to be cleaned by the young, or handled at all by those who are in years still children, is made manifest by the reported proceedings of coroners' inquests and multiplying claims under the Workmen's Compensation Act. Fines and deductions continue excessive and oppressive, while they arouse, as time goes on, a livelier sense of discontent and resentment in those who are subject to them; the outcry of the shop assistant against the living-in system waxes ever louder. Is it not high time that those two Reports on Accidents and Truck were taken down from the shelves where dust is accumulating upon them, re-conned by those whose business it is to initiate legislation, and made the basis of Government measures without further delay? We have avoided bringing forward for the moment, pleas for the amendment of the Factory Acts in the larger sense, though these are not wanting nor forgotten by us. For demands already supported by overwhelming evidence we think we may venture to claim immediate attention.

One word more. We all admit that legislation without administration is nothing worth. Of all our needs perhaps the greatest is such an increase of the women factory inspectors' staff as would enable it to bring to the industrial problems affecting the woman worker the close and constant attention which they require. What are seventeen visiting women inspectors, however able, zealous, and devoted, among something like two millions of women workers? Just because of their ability, their zeal, and their devotion, we ask that our women inspectors may neither be worked to death nor compelled to leave unvisited workplaces which they know to be sorely in need of their presence.

Price 1/4 per 100.

Advt.—“THE WOMEN'S TRADE UNION REVIEW,” published quarterly (price 6d. or 1/8 annual subscription, post free), to be obtained from the offices of the WOMEN'S TRADE UNION LEAGUE, 34, Mecklenburgh Square, W.C.

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

181
B100.

REPRINTED—JULY, 1913.

What does Women's Suffrage mean?

Some people think that Women's Suffrage means breaking windows and spoiling other people's property.

This is a great mistake. Only a small number of women do these violent actions.

Thousands and thousands of quiet law-abiding women are asking for the vote.

Why do they want it?

Not in order to sit in Parliament. It would not give them the right to do that.

They want it in order that they may be able to help choose the men who make the laws.

What are these laws about?

Many of them are about children, houses, wages, taxes, insurance, old-age pensions, and lots of other things which matter to women just as much as to men.

Don't you think it fair that a woman should be able to help decide how her children are to be educated, and what kind of home she is to live in?

Women want to help men to make this country a better place than it is for all the men and women and children in it.

In order that they should be able to do this, women ask men to help them get votes.

If you think it is fair that women should have votes, will you sign a card and become a “Friend of Women's Suffrage?”

There is nothing to pay, and your name will not be printed or used in any public way. We just want to know that you are a Friend in order that we may let you know when we have meetings and send you some of our papers.

Remember that we are a law-abiding, non-militant society, and that our work depends on Public sympathy.

You can help us if you will!

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.
6d. per 100.

Printed by TEMPLAR PRINTING WORKS, Edmund Street, Birmingham.

What does Women's Suffrage mean?
Some people think that Women's Suffrage means breaking windows and spoiling other people's property. This is a great mistake. Only a small number of women do these violent actions.
Thousands and thousands of quiet law-abiding women are asking for the vote.
Why do they want it?
Not in order to sit in Parliament. It would not give them the right to do that.
They want it in order that they may be able to help choose the men who make the laws.
What are these laws about?
Laws about school children, houses, wages, taxes, and other things which matter to women just as much as to men.
Do you think if the right of women should be able to help decide how school children are to be educated, and what kind of houses are to be erected, and how women want to help men to make their country a better place than it is for all the men and women and children in it?
In order that they should be able to do this women ask men to help them get votes.
If you think it is fair that women should have votes will you sign a card and become a friend of Women's Suffrage?
There is nothing to pay and your name will not be printed or used in any public way. We just want to know that you are a friend in order that we may let you know when we have meetings and send you some of our papers.
Remember that we are a law-abiding non-partisan society and that our work depends on public sympathy.
You can help us if you will!

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

REPRINTED—JANUARY, 1914.

B 102. *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.

Women & Foreign Politics.

The Opinion of SIR EDWARD GREY,
Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

Some people say that women should not have votes, because they cannot understand foreign politics, and because if war were decided on women could not fight. This is what people say who have not really thought the matter out. But

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

has to think things out, and he says no one need be afraid of giving women votes for any such foolish reason as that. During the debate on the last Women's Suffrage Bill, Sir Edward Grey (the Foreign Secretary) said:—

"Foreign policy, as a matter of fact, since 1885 has been very little the deciding issue as regards the casting of votes at General Elections. But," he went on to say, "it is true it might become so. It may be that you may have a Government which so misconducts foreign affairs in the opinion of a number of people, or embarks on a policy which they think reckless or morally wrong, that it might become an issue to be decided by the casting of votes which would be very important. Supposing it were so, I say, as far as I am concerned at any rate, whether you are talking about foreign politics or about economics, or any other matter in politics, the woman who makes the home is in no way inferior in studying politics to the man who labours to support the home."

Then Sir Edward Grey went on to ask whether women should be forbidden to vote because they could not fight? His answer was "Certainly not!"

"I do not think," he said, "anybody really believes, if women had the vote, they are going to embark on a policy which would lead recklessly to war. Surely the most pathetic thing in war is the suffering and grief which is brought to the women in the homes, **even more than** the suffering of men in the field."

And as to the **duty** of fighting, we cannot all do the same duty.

Even men cannot all go and fight. Some must carry on the work of the country. Sir Edward Grey says rightly:—

"You cannot say that one duty which is essential is more essential than another. I maintain more and more should it be recognised, and I think more and more it is recognised, that the character of the home, the condition of the home, the standard of the home, **the nurture and rearing of children, is as essential a thing in the State as anything else.** That is women's business, the business which cannot be done by anyone else, and that that should be done, and well done, is at least as essential for the life of the State as the condition or use say of armed forces."

Women do not do the same work as men, but their work is equally important and **they should have equal rights.**

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

Published by the NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES,
14, Great Smith Street, Westminster; and
Printed by THE TEMPLAR PRINTING WORKS, Edmund Street, Birmingham.

Read the "Common Cause" (14 weeks)
 Published by the 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.

Women & Foreign Politics.
 The Opinion of Sir Edward Grey,
 Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

Some people say that women should not have votes, because they cannot understand foreign politics, and because if war were decided on women could not fight. This is what people say who have not really thought the matter out. But

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS has to think things out, and he says no one need be afraid giving women votes for any such foolish reason as that. During the debate on the last Women's Suffrage Bill, Sir Edward Grey (the Foreign Secretary) said:

"Foreign policy, as a matter of fact, since 1885 has been very little the deciding issue as regards the casting of votes at General Elections. It may be that you may have a Government which so misconducts foreign affairs in the opinion of a number of people, or embarks on a policy which they think reckless or morally wrong, that it might become an issue to be decided by the casting of votes which would be very important. Supposing it were so, I say as far as I am concerned at any rate, whether you are talking about foreign policy or about economics, or any other matter in politics, the woman who makes the home is in no way inferior in studying politics to the man who labours to support the home."

Then Sir Edward Grey went on to ask whether women should be forbidden to vote because they could not fight. His answer was "Certainly not!"

"I do not think," he said, "anybody really believes if women had the vote, they are going to embark on a policy which would lead needlessly to war. Surely the most pathetic thing in war is the suffering and grief which is brought to the women in the homes, even more than the suffering of men in the field."

And as to the duty of fighting, we cannot all do the same duty. Even men cannot all go and fight. Some must carry on the work of the country. Sir Edward Grey says rightly:

"You cannot say that one duty which is essential is more essential than another. I maintain more and more should it be recognised, and I think more and more it is recognised, that the character of the home, the condition of the home, the standard of the home, the nurture and rearing of children, is an essential thing in the State as any thing else. That is women's business, the business which cannot be done by anyone else, and that that should be done, and well done, is at least as essential for the life of the State as the condition or use of armed forces."

Women do not do the same work as men, but their work is equally important and they should have equal rights.

4d per 100, 2s per 1,000
 Published by the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies
 14, Great Smith Street, Westminster, London, S.W.
 Printed by The Labour Printing Works, Roper Street, Birmingham.

B 103. OCTOBER, 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.

TO A HAPPY WIFE AND MOTHER.

The opinion you expressed in your last letter to the effect that the woman who is a happy wife and mother, and who is fulfilling conscientiously the duties and responsibilities connected with her family, does not as a rule concern herself much with public affairs is to a certain extent true. There are women, who like yourself, have the good fortune to lead sheltered lives, secure in the affections of husbands and children, and surrounded by every care and comfort, whose interests certainly extend a very little further than their homes. Beyond giving a portion of their leisure time and money to certain philanthropic and charitable enterprises they are for the most part content to hold aloof from what they call "political" questions. Although you have never shown any inclination to exalt this indifference to the wider questions of national life, to the rank of a positive virtue, yet you do feel some doubt as to the necessity for your taking an interest in public questions, which you think on the whole had better be left to men. For this reason you do not see of what value the possession of a vote would be to you. You are apt also to regard with suspicion any effort to enlist your sympathies in the various questions now occupying not only the attention of

men and women who have made them their special study, but of the general public, because you honestly fear that their consideration might draw you away from, what no one will be disposed to deny, must be your primary duty, namely the well-being of your family.

If there were to be any real danger of neglect of your home owing to the widening of the sphere of your work and interests you would be justified in continuing to keep aloof from "outside affairs." Is it not, however, a mistake to assume that the two interests, home and country, are incompatible, and that they are offered to you as an alternative choice? Are they not in harmony with one another, the public good being as it were the complement or natural extension of the well ordered life of the home.

If we take for instance the question of the upbringing and education of children, is not your aim to make them fit to take their place in the world? By this you would mean not only that they should be efficient mentally and physically in order to achieve success, but that they should be imbued with a sense of their responsibility towards their fellow men. The further question then arises how can they be made to recognise their membership of the great community into which they have been born and how can their consciences be awakened to the evils that need to be remedied unless you yourself have turned your mind to public affairs? As your children grow up they cannot fail to hear these problems discussed, and to you as their early teacher and confidant in all their perplexities they will turn for counsel and advice. Can you with satisfaction relinquish your position as their counsellor and friend at this crucial period of their lives and confess that you have never concerned yourself about all these things?

If I know you at all I know you would not wish to fail your children as they are about to leave the shelter of the home, but would, on the contrary, desire to be to them in the larger life what you were to them in the seclusion of their home life.

First then in order of National importance is the welfare of the children. When you hear, and it is difficult not to hear in these days, even if your attention is not engaged for long, of the number of babies born who never live beyond infancy, you must sometimes ask yourself the question, can nothing be done to alter the horrible conditions in which underfed and underpaid mothers live and rear their children? Can nothing be done to remove them from the insanitary houses and the atmosphere of vice and crime they breathe?

It does not require much imagination to picture to oneself the evil results to our country of this poisoning of the sources of national life and character, for in these starved children, diseased mentally and morally, we have the material for the manufacture of criminals.

There are other evils, notably the White Slave Traffic, which also call for remedy. Does it seem quite fair to place upon the shoulders of men the whole responsibility for settling these problems?

Is there no need for the co-operation of happy wives and mothers in dealing with these blots upon our civilisation? Has the woman with capacity and power of heart and brain, so much needed in ministering wisely to the physical and spiritual needs of her own household, nothing to contribute to the larger household of the State? Surely the good qualities that you bring to bear upon the problems which confront you in your home—love, courage, patience, and tact—are just those which are so specially needed in dealing with the problems of the State, some of which I have only briefly alluded to here.

If you with your intelligence and sympathy were to give some of your leisure time to the consideration of only one of the many questions which so intimately concern our common humanity you could not fail to recognise what a

powerful lever the use of the vote would be in promoting legislation to remedy the more crying evils of our social and industrial system.

The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies,

14, Great Smith Street,

London, S.W.,

can supply you with literature showing what women have done to promote useful legislation in those countries where women are enfranchised, and they can also send you pamphlets showing the bearing of the vote upon the various questions relating to women and children.

Read "THE COMMON CAUSE," 1d. weekly.
"THE ENGLISHWOMAN," 1/- monthly.

Name and Address of nearest local Hon. Secretary:—

1/4 per 100.

Published by the NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES,
14, Great Smith Street, Westminster; and
Printed by the TEMPLAR PRINTING WORKS, Edmund Street, Birmingham.

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

B104.

OCTOBER, 1913.

LAW-ABIDING.

NON-PARTY.

PARLIAMENT AND THE CHILDREN.

In his speech on The Representation of the People (Women) Bill (known as Mr. Dickinson's Bill) in the House of Commons on Tuesday, May 6th, 1913, Mr. Asquith said:—

"I do not believe there is any legislature in the world that has done so much for the women as this man-elected legislature . . . the case which has been presented showing that the Parliament of this country has been unduly negligent of or oblivious to the interests of women, is a case totally destitute of foundation and wholly incapable of proof."

BUT HAS THE PARLIAMENT OF THIS COUNTRY REACHED A POINT IN LEGISLATION FOR WOMEN AND CHILDREN WHEN IT CAN AFFORD THIS COMPLACENCY? WE THINK NOT.

An old proverb reminds us that the proof of the pudding is in the eating.

We naturally measure the efficiency or inefficiency of a nation's legislation by the well-being or otherwise of a nation's people. Are we really satisfied that at present all is well with regard to matters which seriously affect the children of our country?

FOR INSTANCE:—

Statistics show that in one year (1899), out of 11,000 young men who desired to enlist in the Army, 8,000 had to be rejected as physically unfit. From 1905-10, on an average 300 in every 1,000 recruits were rejected.

We are told by those whose knowledge is based on years of personal experience and careful observation that physical unfitness is constantly a determining factor in the downfall of lads.

Is it possible to ascertain any of the causes which produce such lamentable results?

Yes. The causes of physical deficiency in youth are often traceable in their beginnings to the conditions which surround a child in infancy.

Present conditions compel many a mother to labour for the sustenance of her family at a trade or calling which obliges her to leave her little ones either neglected altogether, or in the charge of guardians who are often rough or ignorant.

The infant is thus deprived of his natural nourishment and of his mother's care.

Further, many an infant becomes weak and sickly, even if he does not die, because his mother, although she may be free to care for him, has been given no opportunity of acquiring even the first principles of domestic economy or child management.

In consequence of these things, children often suffer lasting injury, and grow up to be, as we have seen, a burden to themselves and to society.

ONCE MORE:—

There are at present many families both in town and country, who are compelled to live in crowded and insanitary dwellings, in an atmosphere which breeds and fosters every ill.

Are not children who are brought up under these conditions heavily handicapped in any endeavour which they may make to pursue an honest calling?

Are we to remain satisfied with this state of things?

A MAN-ELECTED LEGISLATURE MAY NOT INTENTIONALLY BE EITHER OBLIVIOUS TO, OR UNDULY NEGLIGENT OF, THE INTERESTS OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN, BUT BLUNDERS AND OMISSIONS ARE SURELY INEVITABLE IF WOMEN ARE NOT CONSULTED IN MATTERS SUCH AS THESE, FOR IT IS THE WOMEN OF A NATION WHO ARE NATURALLY BEST QUALIFIED TO DEAL WITH PROBLEMS WHICH CONCERN THE HOME, THE MOTHER, AND THE CHILD.

IS IT JUST, IS IT WISE, THAT MEN, AND MEN ONLY, SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO LEGISLATE IN MATTERS SO MOMENTOUS TO THE CHILDREN!

This is the Child's appeal to us:—

I was not born a criminal, but you may make me one; or you may make of me a bulwark of the State.

I may become the glory or the shame of the Empire; it depends on what you do for me. I may bring you great wealth and honour, or I may incur for you great shame and degradation. What will you do with me?

WOMEN DESIRE TO HAVE A VOICE in shaping the nation's policy in such a way that the nation's children may grow to the full and perfect stature of their manhood and their womanhood.

WOMEN DESIRE THE PARLIAMENTARY FRANCHISE BECAUSE THEY ARE CONVINCED THAT THE NATION AND THE NATION'S CHILDREN NEED THE WOMEN'S VOTE.

6d. per 100 ; 4/6 per 1000.

Read also the following leaflets in answer to Mr. Asquith:—

- "Parliament and Wives and Mothers."
- "Parliament and Moral Reform."
- "Parliament and Women in Local Government."
- "Parliament and Women in Industry."

Published by the NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES,
14, Great Smith Street, S.W. ;
Printed by THE TEMPLAR PRINTING WORKS, Edmund Street, Birmingham.

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

B105.

OCTOBER, 1913.

LAW-ABIDING.

NON-PARTY.

PARLIAMENT AND WIVES AND MOTHERS.

In his speech on The Representation of the People (Women) Bill (known as Mr. Dickinson's Bill) in the House of Commons on Tuesday, May 6th, 1913, Mr. Asquith said:—

"I do not believe there is any legislature in the world that has done so much for the women as this man-elected legislature . . . the case which has been presented showing that the Parliament of this country has been unduly negligent of or oblivious to the interests of women, is a case totally destitute of foundation and wholly incapable of proof."

Mr. Asquith seems to have forgotten several cases of negligence of the interests of **WIVES AND MOTHERS**—for instance:

1.—THE NATIONAL INSURANCE ACT

which gives Sickness, Medical, Disablement, and Sanatorium benefit to the insured man, **gives only Maternity benefit to his wife and nothing at all to his children.** And if the wife continues paying the same contributions as she did before marriage she gets 5s. per week sickness benefit instead of 7s. 6d.

2.—THE WIFE WHOSE HUSBAND REFUSES TO SUPPORT HER

has no claim upon him for more than the **barest necessities of life.** She must support herself if she can; if she and her children go to the workhouse her husband can be compelled to pay for their keep. If his misconduct obliges her to apply for a separation the magistrates may order him to make her an allowance, but **it is left to her to enforce the payment.** All she can do, if he refuses to obey the order, is to summon him at her own expense; if he disappears she must find him herself. It is almost impossible for her to get the money from him against his will. This is a great injustice, which a Parliament not "negligent of women's interests" might remove by **giving the magistrates power to enforce the order they have made.**

3.—If a man chooses to leave all his property away from his wife

SHE CANNOT CLAIM A FARTHING.

He may be a millionaire, and yet leave her absolutely destitute. Should he die without making a will she shares his property with his children, but if **she** dies intestate the husband inherits all her property of any kind, and **her children have no claim on it at all.** If a mother makes a will and appoints a guardian for her children to act jointly with their father, he is only bound to accept this guardian if it can be shown that he is himself unfit to have charge of the children; but the mother is obliged to accept the joint authority of a guardian appointed by the father, however unsuitable he may be.

4.—OUR LAW DOES NOT RECOGNISE MOTHERS AS PARENTS.

The father alone has power to settle all matters connected with the up-bringing of the children. He can declare, against his wife's will, that he has a conscientious objection to vaccination, can choose how the children shall be educated, can have them brought up in any religious faith he likes—or in none at all, can separate them from their mother entirely. The law only recognises her parenthood when the father forfeits his rights by flagrant misconduct, or when it prosecutes her for failing in her duty to her children.

5.—But in the case of the illegitimate child

THE MOTHER IS THE ONLY RECOGNISED PARENT.

The father has no rights, and too often he can evade all responsibility. The mother may summon him at her own expense if she can face the ordeal of having to prove her claim in a public court, but he is given six days' grace before the case comes on, during which he can easily abscond. If he obeys the summons he may be ordered to pay a sum not exceeding 5s. per week for the child till it is 16, but he can only be ordered to make the payments to the mother herself. Even if he does make them, the necessity of keeping in constant communication with him makes it harder for her to retrieve her own character; and should he refuse she has no means of compelling him to pay except by prosecuting him again—which is generally useless. The law which rightly protects a man against false claims might well be made to prevent his evading payment when the claim has been proved just; but our law-makers still pander to the idea that the fallen woman should pay a greater penalty than the fallen man.

6.—To this idea we owe the

UNEQUAL LAW OF DIVORCE

by which a man can divorce his wife for adultery alone, while she can only divorce him for adultery coupled with cruelty or desertion. Widely as we may differ as to what grounds for divorce are justifiable, every right-thinking person must agree that they should be the same for both sexes. The present law implies that what is an unpardonable sin in a wife ought to be condoned in a husband. It was condemned by every member of the Divorce Commission—but our Parliament shows no willingness to amend it.

Mr. Asquith "does not believe that there is any legislation in the world that has done so much for women" as ours. But:

In New Zealand, where women vote, the Supreme Court has power to cancel any will not making suitable provision for the testator's wife and family.

In California, where women vote, a Joint Guardianship Law gives the mother equal rights with the father over their minor children.

In New Zealand a deserting husband, or the father of an illegitimate child, can be prevented from leaving the country, and any order for payment that has been made on him can be enforced.

Many of the hardships under which wives and mothers suffer in Great Britain may well be removed when our legislators are no longer "negligent of or oblivious to the interests of women." We believe that that day will come when our Parliament is elected by

MEN AND WOMEN TOGETHER.

6d. per 100; 4.6 per 1,000.

Read also the following leaflets in answer to Mr. Asquith:—

- "Parliament and Moral Reform."
- "Parliament and Children."
- "Parliament and Women in Local Government."
- "Parliament and Women in Industry."

Published by the NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES, 14, Great Smith Street, Westminster; and Printed by THE TEMPLAR PRINTING WORKS, Edmund Street, Birmingham.

E106.

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

LAW-ABIDING.

NON-PARTY.

PARLIAMENT & MORAL REFORM.

In his speech on The Representation of the People (Women) Bill (known as Mr. Dickinson's Bill) in the House of Commons on Tuesday, May 6th, 1913, Mr. Asquith said:—

"I do not believe there is any legislature in the world that has done so much for the women as this man-elected legislature . . . the case which has been presented showing that the Parliament of this country has been unduly negligent of or oblivious to the interests of women, is a case totally destitute of foundation and wholly incapable of proof."

BUT HAS THE PARLIAMENT OF THIS COUNTRY NEVER BEEN NEGLIGENT OF THE INTERESTS OF WOMEN?

Some time ago John Ruskin said:—"The crowning and most accursed sins of the society of the present day are the carelessness with which it regards the betrayal of women, and the brutality with which it suffers the neglect of children." The truth of this has not changed since it was written; people who read the papers are constantly shocked by the number of crimes against women and the hideous offences against little girls, though they are actually far more numerous than ever appear. Assaults upon women form the largest proportion of crimes of violence.

Is it to be wondered at that little respect is paid to women when the law classes them with regard to their political status merely because they are women and not for any mental or moral defect, with criminals, paupers, and lunatics.

The laws of a civilised country should reflect the moral sense of the community, but our laws which deal with the relations between men and women set a low standard which puts great difficulties in the way of those who are working for health and purity in social life, and which in some cases actually gives support to evildoers.

FOR INSTANCE:—

- (a) The law considers the seduction of a girl over 16 as no offence unless damage or loss of service can be shown to an employer or guardian. A girl is considered old enough to give legal consent to her seduction at 16, and it may even be sufficient defence to the seducer that she appeared to be 16, if she is actually under that age, whereas she is protected from disposing of her property until she is 21.
- (b) Abduction of a girl under 18 is a Misdemeanour only, for which the maximum penalty is two years' imprisonment; while the abduction of a girl under 21, entitled to property, is a Felony, for which the punishment may be 14 years' penal servitude.
- (c) Indecent assault on children under 16 is treated more lightly by the law than offences against property of the value of £2 or upwards.

Such legislation sanctions the idea that material property is of more value to the state than morality. It is true that the practice of decent men and women rises far above this standard, and the law should be brought level with it. But how is this to be done?

194

WHAT ARE MEN DOING FOR WOMEN IN PARLIAMENT?

The law which puts the full burden of responsibility on the mother of the illegitimate child and which penalises the innocent child is **acknowledged to be unjust, but NO CHANGE IS MADE.** The marriage law which gives a licence to the man which may have terrible effects on his wife and children, is now universally condemned, **but NOTHING IS DONE.**

THERE IS NO "VOTING POWER" BEHIND THE DEMAND FOR THESE REFORMS.

Again, the economic position of women, who are hampered by many artificial disabilities and almost universally underpaid (nine-tenths of the sweated work of the country being done by women) makes professional immorality easier and far more profitable than industrial work. This is the cause of a secret corruption which contributes largely to degeneration of the race.

Untold efforts have been made by women to improve their position and to develop the law in the direction of moral reform, and occasionally with success, but it has only been accomplished by **PUBLIC AGITATION**, which has often meant painful effort and self-sacrifice.

The Criminal Law Amendment Bill of 1912 is an example. This much-needed piece of legislation was delayed for some years for want of time, and in the beginning of 1912 even the Home Secretary said that there was little hope of time being found. The strenuous work of women brought the matter before the public, and it was only in response to a remarkable public agitation that the Government gave facilities for the Bill. Even then, although the promoters of the Bill, with the approval of the Home Office, represented it to be the most moderate form of what was required, two important provisions, one dealing with flats kept for immoral purposes, and one to protect women from annoyance by solicitation, were cut out.

Those anti-Suffragists who think that women should remain at home and keep out of politics do not realise how much the votelessness of women has often forced them into the publicity of political agitation.

How much better it would be, **HOW MUCH LESS WASTEFUL**, if women were given the constitutional means of expressing their wishes. **Josephine Butler**, after 21 years' work for a higher morality, wrote:—"Think of the pain and trouble and martyrdom we might be saved in the future if we had that **little piece of justice.**" Women are still asking for that "little piece of justice," they are still asking to serve their country as citizens, they are still asking that they may bring their knowledge of social conditions, their energy, their enthusiasm, as a direct influence on legislation. More and more of them are beginning to feel that in saying "I do not want a vote" they are shirking their responsibilities. **THE STATE CANNOT AFFORD TO NEGLECT ANY FORCE WHICH MAY HELP TO IMPROVE THE CONDITIONS OF LIFE. AND WOMEN SUFFRAGISTS ONLY ASK THAT THEY MAY CO-OPERATE WITH MEN IN MAKING THE WORLD A BETTER PLACE FOR MEN AND WOMEN TO LIVE IN TOGETHER.**

6d. per 100 ; 4/6 per 1000

Read also the following leaflets in answer to Mr. Asquith:—

- "Parliament and Wives and Mothers."
- "Parliament and Children."
- "Parliament and Women in Local Government."
- "Parliament and Women in Industry."

Published by the NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES,
14, Great Smith Street, S.W.;
Printed by THE TEMPLAR PRINTING WORKS, Edmund Street, Birmingham.

195

553.

REPRINTED—MAY, 1914.

PROTEST AGAINST VIOLENCE.

The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies has always worked for Votes for Women by **peaceful and constitutional methods.**

It has **always condemned violence.**

It did so in 1908, in 1909, in 1911, in 1912, and in 1913.

It does so **NOW.**

We who belong to it call on all men and women who love justice and fair play to come forward and help us in our law-abiding propaganda. Help us to show that peaceful methods are the only ones which can advance our great cause.

Do not stand aside because a few suffragists belonging to another organisation have done things of which you disapprove and we disapprove.

Our Union is quite distinct from theirs and is far the oldest and the largest. We have now got **483 Societies** all over the kingdom. Our London Society alone has 60 branches. Thousands of men and women have joined us in the last few months—more are joining every day and taking part in our appeal to reason. All these are united in the protest against violence. All are working for justice and peace.

We ask you to join us too. Our name is—

The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies,

Our President is **Mrs. Henry Fawcett LL.D.**

The address of our Head Office is 14, GREAT SMITH STREET, WESTMINSTER.

Our colours are **red, white and green.**
JOIN NOW.

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

Printed by the Templar Printing Works, Edmund Street, Birmingham.

PROTEST
AGAINST VIOLENCE

The National Union of Women's
Suffrage Societies has demonstrated
its peaceful and constitutional
methods
It has always condemned violence
and in 1908 it was the first to
organize a "Women's Peace
Army" for the purpose of
demonstrating the peaceful
methods of the suffrage
movement.
It is now
organizing a "Women's
Peace Army" for the purpose
of demonstrating the peaceful
methods of the suffrage
movement.
The National Union of Women's
Suffrage Societies
The President, Mrs. Henry Fawcett, L.D.
The address of our Head Office is 11, Great
Street, Westminster.
Our colours are red, white and green.
JOIN NOW.
Ed. for 1911, 5s. per 1000.
London: The National Union of Women's
Suffrage Societies, 11, Great Street, Westminster.

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

REPRINTED—MAY, 1914.

B107.

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

LAW-ABIDING.

NON-PARTY.

PARLIAMENT AND WOMEN IN INDUSTRY.

In his speech on the Representation of the People (Women) Bill (known as Mr. Dickinson's Bill) in the House of Commons on Tuesday, May 6th, 1913, Mr. Asquith said:—

"I do not believe there is any legislature in the world that has done so much for the women as this man-elected legislature . . . the case which has been presented showing that the Parliament of this country has been unduly negligent of, or oblivious to the interests of women, is a case totally destitute of foundation and wholly incapable of proof."

No one knows where the shoe pinches but he who wears it.

Does Mr. Asquith consider the following cases *due* negligence of women's interests, or is he too busy to have noticed them?

1.—**THE VAST MAJORITY OF THE SWEATED WORKERS IN THIS COUNTRY ARE WOMEN.** (For tables giving the average wages paid to women in different trades see "Sweating As It Is," published by the National Anti-Sweating League; the percentage earning under 10s. a week in various trades varies from 3'0 to 51'9.) At the Exhibition of Sweated Industries held at Caxton Hall in November, 1913, woman after woman gave evidence of starvation wages. A maker of patent dress shoes working hard from morning to night said she could earn from 6s. to 7s. a week, finding her own machine and cotton. (See report in "The Daily Telegraph" for November 18th, 1913.) Mr. J. J. Mallon (Secretary of the National Anti-Sweating League), in October, 1913, quoted a case of a paper bag maker who was paid 6d. a 1,000 till recently. The rate of pay has now been lowered by one employer.

2.—**WOMEN WORKERS ARE LIABLE TO EXCESSIVE FINES AND DEDUCTIONS.** In one collar factory a girl was fined £1 0s. 6d. for stitching six dozen collars nearer the edge than she had been told. Her total payment for the collars would have amounted to 1s. 9d. (See Miss C. Smith, "Case for the Wages Boards," p. 25.) "I HAVE NEVER FOUND MEN FINED TO ANYTHING LIKE THE EXTENT TO WHICH WOMEN ARE FINED," writes Miss I. O. Ford, who was first Secretary and then President of a women's Trade Union for many years. ("Common Cause," April 25th, 1913.) "I have never found men fined (2s. 6d. in one instance) for looking out of the window, or 2d. every time they laughed."

3.—Young girls often have to work till 9 p.m. or 10 p.m., and in many cases this means they cannot get home till midnight, and then they must be up early to go to work again.

THE REPORT OF THE CHIEF WOMAN INSPECTOR OF FACTORIES AND WORKSHOPS FOR 1911 SHOWED AN INCREASE OF 23 PER CENT. IN THE NUMBER OF COMPLAINTS OF THE EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN OVERTIME. One of the men Inspectors—

198
Mr. Parker—states:—"Most of the overtime in this country is worked by women." At the present moment in Laundries any woman over eighteen may be compelled to work for **THIRTEEN HOURS A DAY ON THREE DAYS IN EVERY WEEK**, and this is a trade at which over 20 per cent. of the adult factory workers earn less than 10s. a week.

4.—Legislation is of no use at all unless (a) those who know the facts from inside have a voice in the matter; (b) it can be enforced. The Truck Act was intended to do away with the abuses of payment in kind, and thereby to remedy some of the worst evils in connection with factory work, but it effects little, partly because of too great elasticity in the wording—for instance, it is left to the individual magistrate, who may himself be an employer, to decide what is a "fair and reasonable" fine,—partly because **THERE ARE ONLY TWENTY WOMEN INSPECTORS TO LOOK AFTER THE INTERESTS OF TWO MILLION WOMEN IN INDUSTRY**. Evasions of the law are common, and will continue to be so as long as H.M. Government sees no pressing necessity for adding to the number of women inspectors.

5.—People often say, all that is needed to stamp out sweating is for women to combine in Trade Unions as men have done. The answer to that is:—

(a) Attempts to form a successful Trade Union among agricultural labourers have failed because of the difficulty in getting men to combine whose work isolates them. (See the recent Land Report.) It is still more impossible to organise the worst sweated labour since it exists among home workers who never meet, who are working 10, 11, and 12 hours a day, and who could not afford even the smallest subscription to Trade Union Funds.

(b) An increasing number of factory workers are joining Trade Unions, but **TRADE UNIONISM UNLESS BACKED BY POLITICAL POWER IS OF COMPARATIVELY LITTLE VALUE**. (For evidence as to the futility of strikes as compared with Parliamentary action see Mr. Philip Snowden's "The Living Wage," chapter 8.)

6.—Is it reasonable that in all cases of competition between men and women in industry, men alone should have the power to enforce their views? Without meaning to be cruel or unjust, it is yet impossible that they should know exactly where the woman's shoe pinches, or that they should not tend to put their own needs first.

IN AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND, WHERE WOMEN HAVE THE VOTE, SWEATING HAS BEEN PRACTICALLY STAMPED OUT. THROUGHOUT AUSTRALIA THE WEEKLY HOURS OF WORK FOR WOMEN IN FACTORIES ARE LIMITED TO FORTY-EIGHT, AND IN NEW ZEALAND TO FORTY-FIVE, AND A MINIMUM WAGE HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED FOR BOTH MEN AND WOMEN.

(For exact details as to legislation affecting women's work and wages in countries where they are enfranchised, see "**WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN PRACTICE**," published by the International Women's Suffrage Alliance.)

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

Read also the following leaflets in answer to Mr. Asquith:—

- "Parliament and Wives and Mothers."
- "Parliament and Children."
- "Parliament and Women in Local Government."
- "Parliament and Moral Reform."

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.

199
Read the "Common Cause." 1d. weekly.

B 109.

DECEMBER, 1913.

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.

WOMEN AND THE EMPIRE.

Some people, when they are told that women have been given the vote in Norway, Australia, or the United States, say, "That's all very well, but we have an Empire to govern, and women have nothing to do with Empire."

We say:—

1. **What about the protection and government of the Empire?** Who pays for it? Women as well as men.
2. **What about the millions of women and children we govern?** Is it not possible that women might understand and sympathise with their needs better than men? (For instance, the Government has been all too slow in sending out women doctors to India, where thousands of women can be treated by them only.)
3. **What about the loyalty and devotion of the subject races** inspired by the "Great White Queen"? Does that give any support to the idea that they would resent women having a share in government?
4. **What about the women teachers?**

The Right Honourable Joseph Chamberlain, speaking at a farewell meeting (January 17th, 1902) to the women teachers about to sail for South Africa, said:—"They were leaving England to take up an important and responsible duty. Our soldiers had done their part well; the civil administration had its task before it, and from education much was expected. The Teachers should regard themselves as part of a machinery the purpose of which was to bring about unity and prosperity; they were enrolled amongst the Builders of Empire."

5. **What about the women doctors and nurses,** and what about the missionaries who go out to every part of our Empire by thousands?
6. **Above all, what about the women who have gone out as home-makers to the lands over the sea?** It is they who have really made our Colonial Empire, for what are colonies but homes, and homes are only made by women? Generations of Englishwomen have gone fearlessly and willingly to the discomfort and loneliness of the new lands in the Antipodes and the West; they have faced the heat, the wasting climates, and the separation from their children of the old lands of the East, where—

"Never the lotus closes, never the wildfowl wake,
But a soul goes out on the East wind, who died for England's sake.
Man, or woman, or suckling, mother, or bride, or maid,
Because on the bones of the English, the English flag is stayed."

Published by the NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES,
14, Great Smith Street, Westminster; and
Printed by the TEMPLAR PRINTING WORKS, Edmund Street, Birmingham.

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

JANUARY, 1914.

B 110. *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.

WOMEN AND THE EMPIRE.

Some people, when they are told that women have been given the vote in Norway, Australia, or the United States, say, "That's all very well, but we have an Empire to govern, and women have nothing to do with Empire."

We say—

1. What about the protection and government of the Empire? Who says for us? Women as well as men.

2. What about the millions of women and children who govern? Is it not possible that women might understand and sympathize with their needs better than men? (For instance, the Government has been all too slow in sending out women doctors to India, where thousands of women can be treated by their own kind.)

3. What about the loyalty and devotion of the subject races inspired by the Great White Queen? Does that give any support to the idea that they would resent women having a share in government?

4. What about the women teachers? The Right Honourable Joseph Chamberlain, speaking at a meeting (January 1905) to the women teachers about to sail for South Africa, said— "They were looking forward to take in an important and responsible duty. On their side had been their part, the self-sacrificing factor had been their own, and their education must be expected. Teachers should be as good as men in their own way, and especially in their own way."

5. What about the women doctors and nurses, and what about the missionaries who go out to every part of our Empire by the hundreds?

6. Above all, what about the women who have gone out as home-makers to the lands over the sea? It is these who have really made our Colonial Empire, for what are colonies but homes, and homes are only made by women? Generations of Englishwomen have gone fearlessly and willingly to the discomfort and loneliness of the new lands in the Antipodes and the West, they have faced the heat, the vasting climates, and the separation from their children of the old lands of the East, where—

Never the joint class, save the willow weep,
 but a soul goes out on the sea, with the wind's weep,
 if a woman or a young man, or a girl, or a boy,
 honours on the bones of the English the English has to pay.

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.

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

JANUARY, 1914.

B 110. *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.

**TO TRADE UNIONISTS:
 WORKERS, UNITE!**

But how can Women unite until they have strong Trade Unions, and how can they have strong Trade Unions till they have Votes? Men's Unions were weak till they had Votes, and so are Women's Unions.

Women are helpless without Political Power. They can be sweated, and their cheap labour can be—and is—used to undercut the men and oust them from their employment.

As long as you oppose Women's Suffrage, you are the cat's-paws of those who want to keep women cheap, and, **by keeping women cheap, lower the standard of wages for everyone,** and the whole standard of living of the working class.

You are playing into the hands of those who, to get cheap labour, sow dissension between the men and women workers.

Women as well as men must have votes in order to stop all this.

Are you not willing to trust your own women-folk—your own mothers and sisters and wives? How can you fear your own women?

Men and women must unite and together fight the common foe by their votes and their Unions, **for the interests of the workers—men and women—are one.**

4d. per 100, 2/6 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.

Read the "Common Cause," 1d. weekly.
 JANUARY, 1914.
 Send for free Catalogue of N.U.W.S.S. publications.
B111.
 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.

WORKERS, UNITE!
TO TRADE UNIONISTS:

But how can Women unite until they have strong Trade Unions, and how can they have strong Trade Unions till they have Votes? Men's Unions were weak till they had Votes, and so are Women's Unions.

Women are helpless without Political Power. They can be sweated, and their cheap labour can be used to undercut the men and oust them from their employment.

As long as you oppose Women's Suffrage, you are the cat-paws of those who want to keep women cheap, and by keeping women cheap, you lower the standard of wages for everyone, and the whole standard of living of the working class.

You are playing into the hands of those who to get cheap labour, sow dissension between the men and women workers.

Women as well as men must have votes in order to stop this.

Are you not willing to trust your own women-folk—your own mothers and sisters and wives? How can you let your own women?

Men and women must unite and together fight the common foe by their votes and their Unions, for the interests of the workers—men and women—are one.

Read "The Common Cause." 1d. weekly.
 JANUARY, 1914.
 Send for free Catalogue of N.U.W.S.S. publications.

B111.
 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.

Votes for Mothers

THEY TELL YOU

"The Woman's Place is the Home."

Well, if you had **votes** you might have **better homes**; and if you had better homes your **children** would have **a better chance**.

You have seen many a poor woman's baby as fine and healthy at birth as the child of any wealthy woman in the land. You have seen that baby gradually pine, grow thin, pale, fretful, and at last sicken and die, in spite of all its mother's love and care.

Why did that Baby Die?

Most likely it died because the house into which it was born was unhealthy, insanitary, overcrowded, and consequently full of poisonous germs.

To prove this go to Birmingham. There you will find that, in a poor and crowded part of the city, of every **1,000** babies born **331** die. But, only $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles away, in the garden village of Bournville where the people have good and healthy houses, of every **1,000** babies born only **65** die. That means that of every **five** babies who die in the unhealthy houses only **one** would have died, had it been born in a healthy home—four of the five dead babies **need not have died at all**. They were killed by conditions which ought not to exist—conditions which their mothers had no power to change.

That is why **mothers** want votes. For then they could send men to Parliament who would say: "We have had enough of this wholesale slaughter of innocent babies. We will insist on healthy homes for the people, so that the babies may live and thrive."

Mothers, **it could be done**. It **will** be done when you have power and **use** your power to send to Parliament, men who will talk less about women stopping at home and do more to see that women have decent homes to stop in. For the sake of the babies demand

Votes for Mothers.

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

Published by the NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES,
 14, Great Smith Street, Westminster; and
 Printed by THE TEMPLAR PRINTING WORKS, Edmund Street, Birmingham.

Read "The Common Cause," 1d. weekly.
 JANUARY, 1914.
 Send for free Catalogue of N.U.W.S.S. publications.
 B 112
 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.

Votes for Mothers

THEY TELL YOU
 "The Woman's Place is the Home."
 Well, if you had votes you might have better homes; and if you had better homes your children would have a better chance.
 You have seen many a poor woman's baby as fine and healthy at birth as the child of any wealthy woman in the land. You have seen that baby gradually pine, grow thin, pale, fretful, and at last sicken and die, in spite of all its mother's love and care.

Why did that Baby Die?

Most likely it died because the house into which it was born was unhealthy, insanitary, overcrowded, and consequently full of poisonous germs.
 To prove this go to Birmingham. There you will find that in a poor and crowded part of the city of every 1,000 babies born 331 die. But, only 4 1/2 miles away in the garden villages of Bournville where the people have good and healthy houses, of every 1,000 babies born only 65 die. That means that of every five babies who die in the unhealthy houses only one would have died had it been born in a healthy home—four of the five dead babies need not have died at all. They were killed by conditions which ought not to exist—conditions which their mothers had no power to change.
 That is why mothers want votes. For then they could send men to Parliament who would say: "We have had enough of this wholesale slaughter of innocent babies. We will insist on healthy homes for the people, so that the babies may live and thrive."
 Mothers, it could be done. It will be done when you have power and use your power to send to Parliament men who will talk about women stopping at home and do more to see that women have decent homes to stop in. For the sake of the babies demand

Votes for Mothers

4d. per 100, 2s. per 1,000.
 Published by the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, 14 Great Smith Street, Westminster, and The Temple Printing Works, Strand, London, W.C.

Read the "Common Cause," 1d. weekly.
 B 112 JANUARY, 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.

THE DEMAND FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

It is sometimes said by our opponents that there is no demand in the country for Women's Suffrage.

What is the truth? You may read it in this list of some of the **bodies of men and women** which have **passed resolutions** demanding Votes for Women.

179 CITY, TOWN, and other LOCAL GOVERNING COUNCILS, including:—

- | | | | |
|------------|-----------|------------|-------------------|
| Bradford | Edinburgh | Leeds | Newcastle-on-Tyne |
| Birmingham | Glasgow | Liverpool | Nottingham |
| Dublin | Hull | Manchester | Sheffield |
| | | York | |

Many **POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS**, of which the following are a few:—

Conservative Bodies.

- | | |
|---|--|
| The Scottish National Union of Conservative Associations. | The Carnforth Women's Unionist Association. |
| The Bolton Conservative Association. | The Wavertree West (Liverpool) Branch of the Working-men's Conservative Association. |
| The Farnworth Conservative Association. | |

Liberal Bodies.

- | | |
|--|--|
| Scottish Liberal Association. | The Liverpool Liberal Federal Council. |
| Welsh National Liberal Association. | The Manchester and Salford Liberal Federal Council. |
| Birkenhead Liberal Association. | The Merioneth Liberal Association. |
| The North Carnarvon Liberal Association. | The National League of Young Liberals. |
| The South Carnarvon Liberal Association. | The Lancashire and Cheshire Union of the League of Young Liberals. |
| The East Somerset Liberal Association. | |
| The Leeds Liberal Association. | |

Women's Political Organisations.

- | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|
| The Women's Liberal Federation. | The Welsh Women's Liberal Federation. |
| The Women's National Liberal Association. | The Women's Labour League. |

Suffragists are often told that the vote will not help the working woman. Evidently working men do not think it such a worthless weapon, and surely they should be the best judges. Look at the following list of

WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATIONS which have put on record their demand for **Women's Suffrage**:-

THE NATIONAL LABOUR PARTY (representing the Working Class Movement in the country).

THE TRADE UNION CONGRESS (representing the whole Trade Union Movement).

THE INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY (representing the Socialist wing of the Working Class Movement).

The following **TRADE COUNCILS** among others:-

Accrington	Castleford	Leeds	Pontypridd
Barrow	Chelmsford	Leith Burghs	Rawmarsh
Bath	Chesterfield	Luton	Rotherham
Birkenhead	Doncaster	Liverpool	Runcorn
Bishop Auckland	Garston	Manchester	St. Helens
Bolton	Goole	Manchester Women's	Southport
Brighton and Hove	Halifax	Middleton	Sowerby B. Idg.
Burnley	Huddersfield	Mytholmroyd	Wakefield
Carlisle	Keighley	Norwich	

A large and increasing number of **Branches** of the following **TRADE UNIONS**:-

Bakers' Union.	Operative Stone Masons' Society.
Brassworkers.	Painters and Decorators' Union.
British Labour Amalgamation	Postmen's Federation.
Brushworkers, Amalgamated Society of	Prudential Agents' Union
Builder's Labourers Union, United	Railway Servants, Amalgamated Society of
Carpenters and Joiners, General Union of	Railwaymen, National Union of
Clerks, National Union of	River, Wharf, and General Workers' Union.
Clothlookers and Warehousemen.	Sailors and Firemen, National Union of
Cokemen's Association	Scientific Instrument Makers.
Colliery Workmen.	Ship Stewards, Cooks, Butchers and Bakers,
Co-operative Employees, Amalgamated	National Union of
Union of	Shop Assistants, National Union of
Dock Labourers, National Union of	Shuttle-makers.
Dyers, Bleachers, Finishers and Kindred	Steam Engine Makers' Society.
Trades, Amalgamated Society of	Tailors and Tailoresses, Society of
Electrical Trades' Union.	Teachers, National Union of
Engineers, Amalgamated Society of	Typographical Association.
Furnishing Trades' Association, National	Upholsterers, Amalgamated Union of
Amalgamated	Vehicular Workers, National Union of
Gasworkers and General Labourers Union.	Weavers' Association.
Ironfounders, Friendly Society of	Wood Turners, Amalgamated Society of
Miners' Federation of Great Britain	Workers' Union.
Operative Plumbers' Association, United	

The largest **WOMEN'S ORGANISATIONS** have passed resolutions in favour of **Women's Suffrage**; amongst others are:-

Assistant Mistresses, Incorporated.	Women's Temperance Association, National
Headmistresses in Secondary Schools,	British
Association of	Scottish Union of the above.
International Council of Women.	Women Workers, National Federation of
Nurses, International Congress of	Women Workers, National Union of
Railway Women's Guild.	Women's Co-operative Guild.
Registered Nurses, Society of	University Women Teachers, Association of

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

Published by the NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES, 14, Great Smith Street, Westminster; and Printed by THE TEMPLAR PRINTING WORKS, Edmund Street, Birmingham.

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

MAY, 1914.

B118

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

National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies,

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

LAW-ABIDING.

NON-PARTY.

President:-Mrs. HENRY FAWCETT, LLD.

Country People & Women's Suffrage.

Country fathers and mothers lead very busy lives in their village homes, and they do not often get the opportunity of hearing about **Women's Suffrage and what it means**. A great many laws have been made which touch women's lives, but these laws have been made by men only, and they do not always fit the women.

Laws have been made about babies, about sickness and insurance, about pure food and drink, about the age at which children must go to school and what they are to learn when they get there; and sometimes the men who made these laws did not understand how hard it would be for women to carry them out.

For instance, it is often very hard for country mothers to send their little children long distances to school in all weathers, but the law says they must go when they are five years old, and when this law was made the mothers were never asked whether they approved of it or not.

Laws are made about houses, but some good new laws about them are badly needed. Cottages are very often very dark and inconvenient, the water has to be fetched a long distance, and the work of the women is most exhausting.

There are far too many "tied" cottages. When a man loses his place on a farm, he and his wife and family must leave the cottage sometimes at a week's notice, and as a rule cottages are so scarce that it is difficult to find another to which they can move.

Many women want better homes, even more than the men do, because most men's work is done outside the home, but women's work is generally done inside the home.

If women had votes, a man who wished to be Member of Parliament for their district would want to know what women thought about these things, just as he now wants to know what men voters think, and if he was elected he would try to get laws passed which he knew the women thought would be good for themselves and their children. This would also help the husbands and fathers, as laws which are good for the home are **good for everyone**—men, women, and children.

Some people are afraid of any change, and they think that if women had votes it would make trouble in the home, but this idea is mistaken. In Australia and New Zealand, in parts of America, in Finland, in Denmark, and in Norway (whose Queen is sister of our own King George), women have votes, and the homes are quite as happy and cared for as our English homes. Many excellent laws have been passed for women and children in these countries, and the men are quite contented with what the women have done.

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

Published by the NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES, 14, Great Smith Street, S.W. Printed by THE TEMPLAR PRINTING WORKS, Edmund Street, Birmingham.

Read "The Common Cause," 1d. weekly.
B119
JUNE, 1914.
Send for free Catalogue of N.U.W.S.S. publications.
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.

Country People & Women's Suffrage.

Country people and mothers... they do not often get the opportunity of hearing about Women's Suffrage and what it means. A great many laws have been made which touch women's lives, but these laws have been made by men only, and they do not always fit the women.
Laws have been made about babies, about sickness and insurance, about pure food and drink, about the age at which children must go to school, and what they are to learn when they get there, and sometimes the laws made these laws did not understand how hard it would be for women to carry them out.
For instance, it is often very hard for country mothers to send their little children long distances to school in all weathers, but the law says they must go when they are five years old, and when this law was made the mothers were never asked whether they approved it or not.
Laws are made about houses, but some good laws about them are badly needed. Outrages very often very dark and unbecoming, the water has to be fetched a long distance, and the work of the women is most exhausting.
The man who is the father of a family, when a man loses his home, he and his wife and family must leave the cottage sometimes at a week's notice, and he has no money to go to another cottage to find another place which they can live in.
Many women work very hard, and work more than the men do, but their men's work is done outside the home, but women's work is generally done inside the home.
If women had votes a man who wished to be Member of Parliament for his district would want to know what women thought about these things, just as he now wants to know what a voter thinks, and if he was asked he would try to get laws passed which would be better for women than the laws for them, and then children, this would help the husbands and fathers as laws which are good for the home are good for everyone—men, women, and children.
Some people are afraid of any change, and they think that if women had votes it would make trouble in the home, but this idea is mistaken. In Australia and New Zealand, in parts of America, in Finland, in Norway, (whose Queen is sister of our own King George), women have votes, and the homes are quite as happy and cared for as our English homes, many excellent laws have been passed for women and children in these countries, and the men are quite contented with what the women have done.

6d. per 100; 4s. per 1,000.
Published by the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, 14, Great Smith Street, S.W.
Printed by the Typographical Workers, Edmund Street, Birmingham.

Read the "Common Cause." 1d. weekly.
B119
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.

Published by the NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES, 14, Great Smith Street, S.W.
Printed by the Templar Printing Works, Edmund Street, Birmingham.

Read the "Common Cause." 1d. weekly.
B 120 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.

MILITANT OUTRAGES

In view of several acts of criminal destruction by the so-called "Suffragettes" the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies is compelled once more to dissociate itself, as publicly and emphatically as possible, from all tolerance of such outrages.

Such methods we regard as a **reactionary appeal to that physical force** which the Anti-Suffragists argue is the basis of government, and we therefore oppose these methods because they are a **negation of the very principles for which we stand.**

It should be unnecessary for a Society such as the National Union which has worked for many years by peaceable and law-abiding methods to reiterate continually its condemnation of methods of violence, but the necessity is due largely to the practice of the press, which advertises to the fullest extent every act of the lawbreakers while it leaves unrecorded the legitimate achievements of the main body of Suffragists.

For instance, little notice was taken of the remarkable demonstration of February 14th, at the Albert Hall, or of the chief and novel feature of that vast gathering, viz., the inclusion of over 600 delegates from 345 **men's** associations and unions all over the Kingdom, sent to demonstrate the sympathy and support of **Electors.**

A few people who believe themselves to be friends of the Suffrage movement, in their indignation over the recent outrages, are moved to withdraw their support, and even to urge us to suspend for a time our constitutional work for Women's Suffrage.

Such advice we regard as a counsel of despair, and indeed of treachery to our ideals. Never was there a time when it was more necessary to hold high the aim and character of the Woman's Movement, and to prove the wisdom, judgment, and faithfulness, of the vast majority of those who lead and guide the Cause.

To desert our Cause now would be only to throw it more completely into the hands of those whose methods we so greatly deplore.

Let us remember the famous saying of Lord Morley that **"No Reformer is fit for his task if he suffers himself to be frightened by the excesses of an extreme wing."**

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

Published by the NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES, 14, Great Smith Street, S.W.
Printed by the Templar Printing Works, Birmingham (Trade Union).

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

B 121

JULY, 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.

A Manifesto of Protest Against Militancy.

(Reprinted from the "Times" of Saturday, June 13th, 1914).

We, the undersigned representatives of law-abiding Suffrage Societies, covering the whole area of Great Britain and Ireland, have often protested against the lawless violence of a small section, and recent events compel us once more to put on record our detestation of methods of arson, destruction and vandalism. We oppose these methods, and always have opposed them, because they are a negation of the very principles for which we stand. Our task of convincing the electorate is rendered infinitely more difficult by such actions; these can only have the effect of encouraging anti-suffragists and of causing a corresponding weakening of public opinion in our support, on which we must ultimately rely for success.

It is the opponents of Women's Suffrage who argue that the ultimate basis of government is physical force. We, on the contrary, believe that physical force can produce no permanent settlement of any great political issue, and that the ultimate appeal is to the principles of right and reason.

Our demands are just, and the granting of them would be an advance in civilisation and would promote the true welfare of the nation as a whole.

- Millicent Garrett Fawcett, *President,*
 - Helena Auerbach, *Hon. Treasurer,*
 - Kathleen D. Courtney, *Hon. Secretary,*
 - Catherine E. Marshall
- } National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies,
- Hon. Parliamentary Secretary,*

representing 485 affiliated Societies in England, Scotland and Wales. (Offices: 14, Great Smith Street, S.W.)

- Maud Selborne, *President,*
 - E. Fingall, *President for Ireland,*
 - Winifred Arran,
- } Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association,
- Chairman of Executive Committee,*
- A. M. Ware, *Hon. Treasurer,*
 - Louise Gilbert Samuel, *Hon. Secretary,*

representing 75 Branches in Great Britain and Ireland. (Offices: 48, Dover Street, W.)

N.B.—The protest of the Women's Liberal Federation appeared in the *Times* of Thursday, June 11th, 1914.

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

Published by the NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES, 14, Great Smith Street, S.W.
Printed by the Templar Printing Works, Birmingham (Trade Union).

A Manifesto of Protest
Against Militarism

President: Mrs. Henry Fawcett, L.D.S.

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

National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies

Read the "Common Cause" 14, Westminster, London, S.W.

MOBILISATION!



EVERY WOMAN MUST PLAY HER PART !

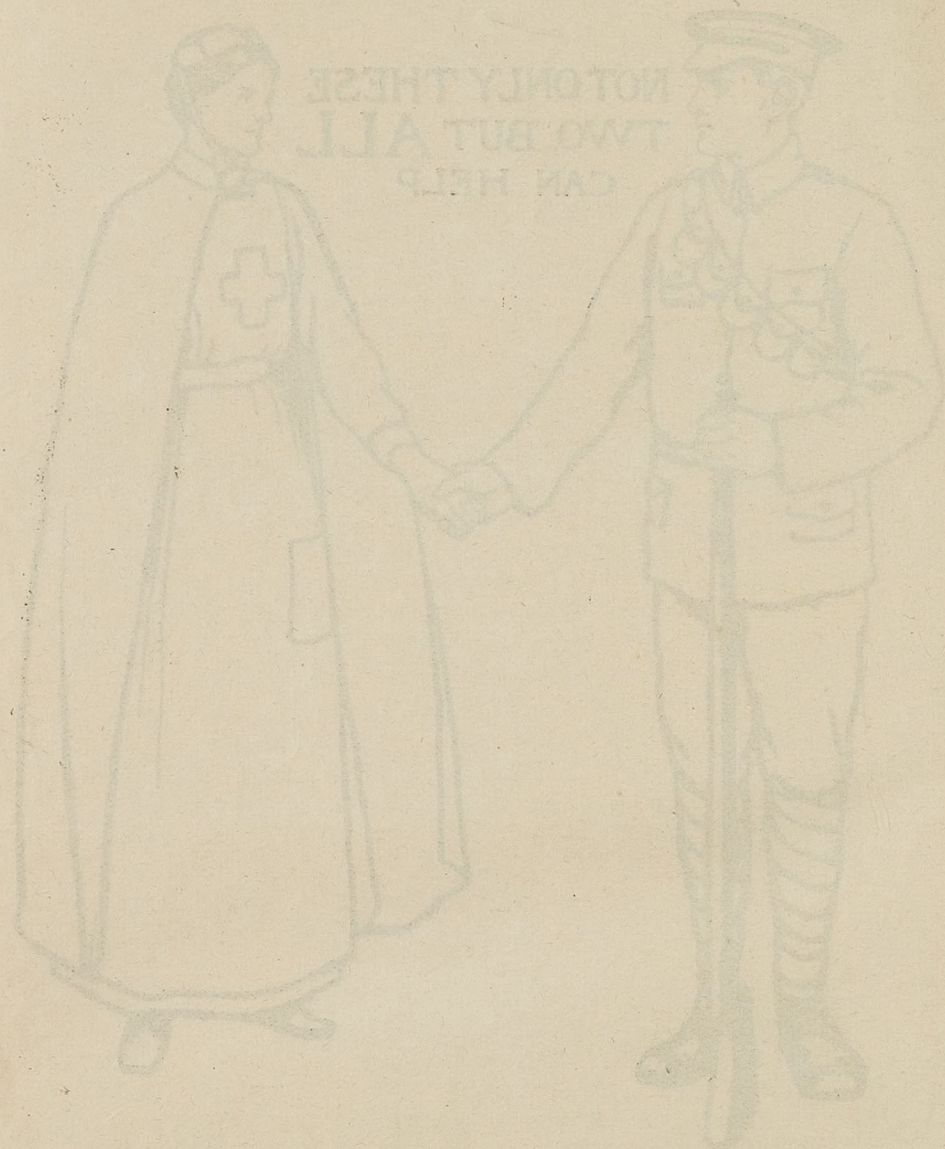
The NATIONAL UNION of WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES

has **MOBILISED** its forces in nearly 600 Societies for joint action with all Agencies for Relief in this International Calamity.

**NO PANIC! NO STORING OF FOOD!
NO HOARDING OF GOLD!**

The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies,
Central Offices—14, Great Smith Street, Westminster, S.W.
Emergency Offices—50, Parliament Street.

MOBILISATION



EVERY WOMAN MUST PLAY HER PART!

THE NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES

has mobilised its forces in nearly 800 Societies for joint action with all Agencies for Relief in this International Campaign.

NO PANIC! NO STORING OF FOOD!

NO HOARDING OF GOLD!

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

President: Mrs. Henry Fawcett, LL.D. Law-abiding. Non-party.

B121. **9d. per 100.**
Read "The Common Cause." 1d. weekly.

Send for free Catalogue of N.U.W.S.S. publications from Literature Dept., 50, Parliament Street, S.W.

MARCH, 1915.

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.

WAR TIME WORK IN THE NATIONAL UNION.

On the outbreak of war the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies decided to suspend its political activities for the time being and to devote its organisation to the Relief of Distress arising from the war.

Mrs. Fawcett appealed to all the Societies in the Union—"Let us show ourselves worthy of citizenship whether our claim to it be recognised or not."

The response was immediate and members of the N.U.W.S.S. have been working energetically on various schemes of public usefulness.

The problem for the Central Organisation at Headquarters was that of **THE ORGANISATION OF RELIEF.**

- (1) **How best to use the workers who were able and willing to give their services.**
- (2) **How to assist those who were obliged to earn their own living, and who found themselves face to face with unemployment.**

In the first place:—

THE REGISTRATION OF VOLUNTARY WORKERS

was undertaken. Card indexes were kept of all people who offered to help, and workers were drafted in batches or individually to organisations requiring assistants, such as Care Committees, Red Cross, Soldiers and Sailors Families' Association, Belgian Refugees' Committees, Schools for Mothers, Infant Welfare Associations, Girls' Clubs, &c., &c.

A further register was kept of **People Offering Hospitality** to war refugees, professional and industrial women, voluntary workers taking training courses, children needing country air, and so on.

On the other hand:—

The Central Organisation acted as an **ENQUIRY OFFICE FOR THOSE IN DISTRESS**, referring each case to suitable organisations or individuals likely to employ or assist them.

In connection with this need **Emergency Workrooms** were established at 14, Great Smith Street, and at the **Shop at 50, Parliament Street** (opened in August as the **Headquarters of the Active Service League**), in the East End, and in the Fulham Road. In these workrooms destitute women were employed, while seeking permanent work, in plain needlework, mending and toy-making.

In this as in other schemes of relief undertaken by the N.U. the endeavour has been to make the work constructive; an experienced forewoman was put in charge of each workroom to train the workers, who then left the workrooms better fitted to obtain good employment than when they went into them.

218

To meet the **Needs of Professional Women thrown out of work by the war**, a scheme has been started by which skilled Secretaries and other paid workers have been supplied to philanthropic societies badly needing efficient helpers, but organised on a voluntary basis. A special "**PROFESSIONAL WOMEN'S PATRIOTIC SERVICE FUND**" is being raised for the purpose of paying the salaries of these workers.

Assistance has also been given to the **Work of the Women Patrols**, organised by the National Union of Women Workers with the sanction of the Home Office, to assist in preserving order in the neighbourhood of Camps and other Military Centres.

WORK OF THE SOCIETIES.

Apart from the work at Headquarters, a large amount of work has been done by the **Societies within the Union**, and in many cases Societies have had the satisfaction of seeing work which they originated taken up and extended by other organisations.

In the early weeks of the War the London Society undertook the work of registering Belgian Refugees, and provided a large number of French and Flemish-speaking interpreters. This work was subsequently taken up by the Government. The London Society has organised a number of hostels, including eight for Belgian Refugees—in one hostel alone there are 70 guests.

Again, the **first club for the wives of soldiers and sailors** to be opened in London was that started by the Paddington branches of the London Society.

In London and in the provinces the Societies offered their services to the **Mayors' Committees for the Relief of Distress**, and the fact that over **1,600 N.U.W.S.S. members are serving** on these representative committees speaks for itself.

In one large northern town the care of soldiers' and sailors' families has absorbed the energies of most of the local Suffragists, the Hon. Sec. of the Suffrage Society having been entrusted (in her individual capacity) at the outbreak of war with the task of organising a branch of the S.S.F.A., which dealt with 9,000 applications during the first five weeks of the war.

In Lancashire and Yorkshire the attention of Societies has been specially directed to the care of Maternity and Prevention of Infant Mortality; by joint action with the Women's Co-operative Guild many new Schools for Mothers and Baby Clinics have been established.

The Scottish Societies initiated the **Scottish Federation Hospitals** staffed by women doctors and nurses for service in France and Servia. This movement which has been now taken up by the whole National Union has been very successful, over £9,000 has already been collected for this valuable work. The London Society also gave a fully-equipped Motor Ambulance, which was accepted by the War Office, and several Societies have organised Red Cross Hospitals.

Women's Workrooms have also been organised in many places. Both town and country Societies have been active in providing **recreation and tea rooms for soldiers**, in organising concerts and French classes for recruits.

The need of healthy **occupation and recreations for girls** has not been forgotten and clubs have been started for them. In some places **village industries** have been stimulated by the better organisation of fruit preserving.

That so much work has been successfully accomplished is largely due to the fact that the N.U.W.S.S. has many organisers and office workers trained in administration.

To carry on and extend their work the Union needs funds as much as ever, and **donations** which may be earmarked for any special purpose are urgently needed by the

Hon. Treasurer, N.U.W.S.S.,
14, Great Smith Street,
Westminster, S.W.

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

219

Reprinted from "The Onlooker."

EDUCATION AND WOMEN'S FRANCHISE,

By **LADY CHANCE.**



THE many volumes which have been written on Women's Suffrage, and the speeches which are daily delivered on the subject in every part of the Kingdom, ought by now to have enlightened the entire population, and to have enabled all people to make up their minds which side they will choose in the controversy. But in spite of this flood of enlightenment, it is astonishing how many individuals still remain quite ignorant of the arguments "for and against." I meet them every day, of both sexes and in all ranks, and this ignorance is scarcely less common among those who should be in the educated classes than among those who have much more excuse for their lack of knowledge.

One of the commonest errors a Suffragist encounters is the belief that the supporters of the movement are all militants. This mistake is sedulously fostered by anti-Suffragist speakers and writers, and by the press, for they all unite in ignoring, as far as possible, every manifestation of suffrage opinion that cannot be brought into this category. The absurd unfairness of these tactics

is manifest only to those who happen to know that the militants, powerful though they are, form but three or four societies of a total of over thirty. The remaining associations work entirely by constitutional and law-abiding methods; consequently, they do not furnish to their opponents either good targets for abuse, or material for telling headlines. I am sometimes asked what I think the women of the upper classes have to gain by the vote. Now I often hear my anti-Suffrage friends say, "It is a shame to hold out a bait to women, and to try to persuade them (this, of course, especially applies to working women) that they have something material to gain by the vote," and to this I quite agree. But a gain may be no less great because it cannot be measured in £ s. d., or in the immediate fulfilment of desires, whether material or spiritual, or in the instant amendment of unequal laws; and my answer to the question, "What have women, particularly women of the upper classes, to gain by the vote?" is "above all, self-respect."

It is, or should be, humiliating to any educated woman to be *used* as an instrument of political warfare; to be implored to cajole, to charm, to educate—in fact, to influence in any way, legitimate or illegitimate, the male voter, and then to be thrust aside when this part of her work is done, and to be told that her political judgment is of less value than that of the men she has influenced. It would be no small gain to the national character if all women ceased to hold these semi-oriental views of their function in the body politic. John Stuart Mill told them many years ago that they should not be content to be considered as "half toy, half upper servant." That hard saying of his was applicable with greater force to the upper class women of his day than it is to those of the twentieth century, and it is pertinent to ask: What has brought about the improvement in the position and outlook of the latter?

There can be no doubt as to the answer.

It is the ever-growing movement for the complete civil and political equality of women, of which the demand for the suffrage is the most important manifestation. To those of my opponents who would argue that it is the better education of women which has brought about the improvement in their position, I would put the question, "How many of the first supporters of the higher education of women were also ardent Suffragists?" A study of the history of both movements reveals the fact that the pioneers of both were for the most part one and the same people. Such a study will also show that the reactionaries, who at all periods and stages of human progress raise an outcry against any forward movement, beset the path of the educationalists of fifty years ago with as many thorns as they now strew in the way of Suffragists. The history of the arduous battle which women had to fight before they were permitted to enter various professions, till then sacred to men, is sad reading, because one cannot help thinking of the many brave souls who were exhausted by the struggle, and whose lack of strength or sometimes of means caused them to fall out of the ranks before the victory was won by those well-equipped enough to persevere to the end.

But from another point of view encouragement and inspiration may be drawn from such reading, for we find that all prophecies of bad results have been completely falsified, and, what is perhaps a little comic, the former prophets of evil are now eagerly claiming a share of the honour of having helped women to their victory over ancient prejudice. Encouraging, too, is the knowledge that the movement is rapidly spreading in other civilized countries. When they hear that thirty members of the French Academy were found upholding the doctrine that Madame Curie's sex formed a "barrier sanctioned by immutable tradition" to her election as a member of that august body, the advocates of the women's cause may take heart and consider that an "immutable" tradition which was only saved from overthrow by two votes must be perilously near its latter end. Even in Germany, that land of stern opposition to

the emancipation of the female sex from the thralldom of the three K's, *Kinder, Küche, Kirche* (children, cooking, church), we know that after a long and severe conflict women have gained admittance to the universities, and we learn that this year the "Kaiser's prize"—the most coveted distinction at the University of Berlin—has been won by a woman.

Still, it will be said, this is education, not suffrage. I maintain, however, that among the white races the demand for full political rights and responsibilities inevitably follows on the heels of education. In support of this view, the following passage from the *Spectator* of September 3rd, a paper holding markedly anti-Suffragist opinions, may be quoted: "Educated man—man only educated enough to want to give political direction to his simplest feelings—cannot be kept out of his share in public affairs. If he is kept out he will revolt. If he revolts through exclusion he will do more harm than he ever could have done by being included." If further proof of the justice of my contention were needed, I would point to the fact that an overwhelming majority of really educated women of England have declared themselves openly for Women's Suffrage. I need only cite two instances, that of the women doctors, of whom 538 out of 553 signed a petition in favour, and that of the Association of Head Mistresses, who signed unanimously. It is, indeed, not too much to say that at the present time for one woman of intellectual ability who holds anti-suffrage views there are scores, probably hundreds, who are Suffragists.

It is not very generally known that Florence Nightingale signed a petition to Lord Beaconsfield, then Mr. Disraeli, in favour of granting the Parliamentary vote to qualified women, and I think that a fine saying of hers may form a fitting conclusion to this article: "Without representation there can be no freedom or progress."

National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.

LAW-ABIDING.

NON-PARTY.

President - - Mrs. Henry Fawcett, LL.D.

Colours - - - Red, White, and Green.

Oxford Branch, Local Office:—35, Holywell.

Hours, 10.30—1.

Give Better Reasons!

SOME men do not want women to have the vote. But the reasons they give for keeping the vote from women would, if taken seriously, keep it also from a large number of men—especially from working men.

They say: "If women had the vote they would neglect their homes and children in order to think about politics. Women's work is of such importance that the State cannot afford to allow them to neglect it."

Is *men's* work, then, of so little importance that it does not matter to the State if it is neglected? Of course not. Doctors, signal-men, engine drivers, and thousands of other responsible and hard workers have the vote. Why not Mothers? The State does not leave women alone in their homes any more than it leaves men alone at their work. It makes laws about Children and their Education, about Housing and about Food. If these things are women's work, why is not the opinion of women asked when laws are made about them?

Some people say, again: "Politics are dirty work; we won't have our women in them." But political work ought not to be dirty. It can be made very clean and fine work. Men with good, capable wives or mothers know quite well that women could help to improve politics, just as now good, capable men improve and are not corrupted by them. You would not think much of a man who refused to have or use a vote for fear he should lose his honesty and sobriety.

One other thing is always said by people who do not want women to have the vote: "The State rests on force. Women cannot be soldiers or policemen, therefore women cannot have the right to vote."

But if the following facts are honestly examined there will not be found to be much left of this argument that can be used against women and not against men:—

1. The State does not rest upon mere brute force. Force, strong and uncontrolled, makes Government, Society, and Legislation impossible. Its effects on a small scale can be seen when a street row is going on. It is force ordered by reason and by an enlightened public opinion that is the basis and safety of the State.
2. Men who are crippled, old and ill, men who never have raised and never intend to raise a finger in defence of their country use their vote unchallenged. They are supposed to do their share of work for the State in other ways, partly in building up that just and stable public opinion. Women do this also. On the other hand, soldiers who, according to this argument, deserve the vote more than any other members of the State—except, perhaps, policemen—can never exercise their vote when on active service, and are often debarred from voting by being moved from place to place.
3. If women are not soldiers or policemen there certainly would be no soldiers and no policemen without women and without the suffering of women, and women's money goes towards keeping up the State services. Women go to the war as doctors, nurses, and organisers of relief, and do what often seems the only sensible and civilised piece of work at the seat of war—the relief of unnecessary suffering.

If the State wants to go on taking women's work and money yet refusing them the vote, it must find some better reasons.

Nor can the State and men citizens be excused from finding real reasons because of the conduct of a few brave but misguided women. Such conduct in a few men would never be taken as a reason for depriving all men of the vote. It must be remembered that thousands and thousands of women are still working steadily and constitutionally for the vote in spite of the provocation of justice long delayed.

FEBRUARY, 1913.

Are Women Suffragists asking for seats in Parliament?

A REPLY.

A Letter of inquiry, signed "Philogynist," appeared in "The Times" of January 30th, 1907. The following reply was inserted on February 4th.

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE TIMES."

SIR,

Your correspondent, "Philogynist," asks whether the advocates of Women's Suffrage "merely demand the right to vote at Parliamentary Elections, or do they desire that women should be given the chance of becoming Members of Parliament, as well as the power of voting," and complains, that to these questions, often asked, "never has an authoritative reply been vouchsafed."

Without making a too arrogant claim to speak with authority, may I, as the chosen representative of the Women's Suffrage Societies on the deputation to the Prime Minister last May, offer a few words in reply? To the first question, I answer, without hesitation, that the right to vote—and this only—is the demand of the Women's Suffrage Societies, formulated many years ago, and clearly stated in the authorized definition of their object, viz.: that it is "to obtain the Parliamentary Franchise for women on the same terms as it is, or may be, granted to men."

To the question, "how long it will be before the larger claim will be brought forward?" the only possible answer seems to be, Who can say? In a country where free speech is allowed anybody may bring forward anything, but to the further question "why it should not be made at once," I would ask attention to some considerations which may be held to constitute a reply.

To begin with, many of the advocates of Women's Suffrage are decidedly opposed to such a claim. Over and over again, I have heard supporters of the movement declare that they do not

wish to see women in Parliament, carefully guarding themselves from being suspected of any such desire.

Let me further point out that no one can be returned for Parliament except by some constituency, and that as after the proposed reform women would be in a minority of, say, one to five or six, a very large proportion of the male voters in a given constituency must desire to be represented by a woman in order to secure her election. Admitting, however, that in some exceptional constituencies such preference might conceivably be shown, the safeguard would still remain that the previously existing Parliament would consist entirely of men, and would be capable of passing an Act definitely excluding women. It may, no doubt, be said that to give women seats in Parliament, would be the logical consequence of giving them votes, but English Parliaments are not governed by logic, and that such action as I have indicated would not, though illogical, be unconstitutional, may be inferred from the fact that the clergy of the Church of England are ineligible for membership of Parliament, though they have the same right of voting as other citizens.

Surely it may be asserted with confidence that the question of women in Parliament is not practical politics, and we may urge upon our statesmen not to be scared by a bugbear, which, when fairly faced, loses all its terrors, but no longer to delay the carrying through of a just and moderate measure, which, while meeting the claim put forth by reasonable women, is also desirable in the larger interest of the whole community.

Yours obediently,

EMILY DAVIES.

January 30th, 1907.

LONDON SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE,
58, VICTORIA STREET, S.W.

Price ... 6 a 1d. or 1/2 per 100.

S. SIDDEES & Co., Printers, 17 19, Ball Street, Kensington, W.

MEDICAL WOMEN ON WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

In November, 1908, a Committee of Registered Medical Women of the United Kingdom, addressed the following letter to the Prime Minister:

TO THE RIGHT HON. H. H. ASQUITH, M.P.,
First Lord of the Treasury.

ASSOCIATION OF REGISTERED MEDICAL WOMEN.

London, November 2nd, 1908.

SIR,

On behalf of the women practitioners of Great Britain and Ireland, we venture to request you to consent to receive a deputation of Medical Women in favour of the extension of the Suffrage to women. When receiving a deputation of Members of Parliament in last May, on the same subject, you invited an expression of opinion from the women of the country. In response to this invitation, we have written to all the Registered Medical Women residing in the United Kingdom, asking whether or not they are in favour of Woman Suffrage. The results of this inquiry are as follows:—In favour, 538; against, 15. We venture to submit that these striking figures show that the practice of our profession, which gives an intimate knowledge of the conditions of life of all classes, leads to the conviction that the enfranchisement of women is essential to their well-being. We therefore ask for an opportunity to lay before you the facts which have come to our notice, and which we believe will enable us to present the subject to you from a somewhat different point of view from that of former deputations.

We are, Sir,

Your obedient servants,

ELIZABETH GARRETT ANDERSON, M.D. (Paris) L.S.A. (London),
Late Senior Physician to the New Hospital for Women.

SOPHIA JEX. BLAKE, M.D. (Berne) M.R.C.P.I.
Late Dean Edinburgh School of Medicine for Women and
Lecturer on Midwifery for the University of Edinburgh.

J. JULIA COCK, L.R.C.P.S.I., L.M., M.D. (Brux.)
Senior Physician New Hospital for Women, Dean, London
(Royal Free Hospital) School of Medicine for Women.

JANE H. WALKER, L.R.C.P.S., M.D. (Brux.)
Physician New Hospital for Women, Medical Superintendent
East Anglian Mortley's Farm Sanatoria, Suffolk.

- 228
- MARY SCHARLIEB, M.D., M.S. (London)
Physician for the Diseases of Women, Royal Free Hospital.
- FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE BOYD, L.R.C.P.S.I., M.D. (Brux.)
Senior Surgeon New Hospital for Women.
- HELEN WEBB, M.B. (London)
Late Physician to Out-patients, New Hospital for Women.
- F. MAY DICKINSON BERRY,
Assistant Medical Officer (Education) London County Council.
- LOUISA BRANDRETH ALDRICH-BLAKE, M.D., M.S.
London University, Surgeon New Hospital for Women.
- EMILY G. FLEMMING,
Physician to Children's O.P. Department, New Hospital for Women, Physician Medical Mission Hospital, Canning Town.
- MAUD M. CHADBURN, M.D., B.S. (London)
Assistant Surgeon New Hospital for Women, and Surgeon Medical Mission Hospital, Canning Town.
- MAY THORNE, F.R.C.S.I.,
President of the Association of Registered Medical Women.
- L. GARRETT ANDERSON, M.D., B.S. (London)
Assistant Surgeon New Hospital for Women.
- AGNES F. SAVILLE, M.A., M.D., M.R.C.P.
Assistant Physician St. John's Hospital for Diseases of the Skin.
- FLORENCE E. WILLEY, M.D., M.S., B.Sc. (London)
Assistant Physician for Diseases of Women, Royal Free Hospital.
- FLORA MURRAY, M.D., B.S., D.P.H.
Assistant Anæsthetist Chelsea Hospital for Women.

A reply having been received to the effect that pressure of public business would prevent Mr. Asquith from receiving the Deputation, but that he would be glad to receive and consider any representations that might be made to him in writing, the following statement was presented:—

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE H. H. ASQUITH, M.P.

SIR,

We write on behalf of the 538 Medical Women of the United Kingdom who have declared themselves in favour of the principle of Women's Suffrage. A list of their names is appended.

Many of the women in the medical profession, whom we represent, have been working for the franchise for years, and some have worked for forty years. We regard the question of Women's Suffrage as one of supreme importance, and we greatly regret that pressure of public business prevents you from receiving a deputation from Medical Women on this subject; but, in compliance with your invitation, we beg to submit for your consideration a written statement of the reasons which influence us, as medical practitioners, in asking to have the Parliamentary franchise extended to duly qualified women.

An unrepresented class has no easy way of expressing its views on public questions, and Medical Women suffer from political

229

helplessness, in the way that various classes of men have suffered, before they were enfranchised. Legislation not infrequently deals with matters which directly concern the duties and privileges of medical practitioners, and, as members of the medical profession, we desire to have the vote, in order to protect our own interests, and also to co-operate more effectually with the rest of the profession in advancing its general interests.

The question of the enfranchisement of women, directly or indirectly, affects all the women in Great Britain, but it is perhaps in the case of Medical Women that the anomaly of the present system of electing the nation's representatives can be most clearly shown. We are a body of taxpaying and self-supporting women, and we therefore afford a striking example of taxation without representation. In earning our living we necessarily encounter the same economic conditions as men, and we claim that we should have a voice in the regulation of these conditions.

We feel the injustice of being forced to pay taxes while we are deprived of representation in Parliament. The principle of "no taxation without representation" is the foundation of English liberty, and we feel that it is one on which we ought not to appeal to a Liberal Government in vain.

In addition to being taxpayers, we are all graduates of Universities or holders of diplomas of learned bodies. Since membership of a University is a qualification for the franchise, the exclusion of women from this privilege rests on an arbitrary decision which cannot be justified by any reasonable argument. The majority of our number, therefore, possess a double qualification for the exercise of the franchise, the property qualification, and the university graduates qualification. In addition to these claims which are shared by many classes of self-supporting and educated women, we would suggest others which appertain solely to Medical Women on account of their professional position.

Members of the medical profession are called upon to perform services to their fellows, of the most arduous, intimate and responsible nature. They advise men and women of all classes, upon matters of health and hygiene, personal conduct, social relations and the rearing of children. They are regarded as experts, of whose skilled services many persons and public bodies, as well as important departments of State, think fit to avail themselves. Women practitioners share in these duties and responsibilities, both public and private, their professional position, in all respects, being identical with that of men. The anomaly of our position is great, and it may be still further demonstrated, by the fact that while, as women, we are debarred from exercising the elementary right of citizenship, as doctors, we possess, in common with men, the legal power to sign certificates of insanity which deprive men of their right to vote.

In the course of our work, we come into contact with many classes of women, and we have special opportunities for realising

230

the disabilities which attach to their lives through lack of effective representation.

In hospital practice we observe the miserable condition of some of the women of the poorer classes. We see, at close quarters, the lives of the underpaid, the unemployed and the exploited, and also of the criminal, degenerate and intemperate, and we recognise that closely associated with the economic condition of woman's labour is the whole question of prostitution with its far-reaching attendant evils.

There are, at the present time, a number of laws on the Statute Book relating to public health and morals: others, which define the rights of parents in regard to the education, religion and guardianship of their children, which deal with marriage and divorce, with the housing of the poor, with the care of the feeble minded, with the question of intemperance, and with the regulation of female labour. Although these laws particularly affect women, yet while they are framed, women have no constitutional means of expressing an opinion on their wisdom and suitability.

We claim, for all women, that the women's point of view should be represented in the legislation of the country, and that Medical Women are specially qualified to assist in the solution of some of the problems with which these measures deal. We are convinced that the possession of the vote would exercise a stimulating effect upon women. Among those of education and leisure it would lead to an increased readiness to undertake work in branches of public service in which the co-operation of women is specially required, and among all classes a sense of responsibility and consciousness of citizenship would be fostered, which would tend to induce a study of and intelligent interest in matters affecting the community. Such a result would undoubtedly be of benefit to the State since the honour and welfare of the country are as dear to women as to men.

We are, etc.,

The signatures were appended of the following ladies, in addition to those who had signed the previous letter:—

ISABELLA MACDONALD, M.B. (London)
Physician to Out-patients, New Hospital for Women.

KATHERINE MAGUIRE, M.A., M.D.,
President of the Irish Association of Registered Medical Women.

KATHERINE M. CHAPMAN, L.R.C.P., L.R.C.S. (Edinburgh).
Assistant Medical Electrician, Glasgow Royal Infirmary and
Physician Wynd Dispensary.

Price ½d. ; 1/- for 25 ; 1/11 for 50 ; 3/6 for 100.

LONDON SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE, 58, Victoria Street, S.W.

November, 1908.

Printed and Published by S. SIDDESS & Co., 17 & 19, Ball Street, Kensington, W.

231

National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies,

25, VICTORIA STREET, WESTMINSTER, S.W.

President - - - Mrs. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.

UNSELFISHNESS OF WOMEN IN POLITICS.

THOSE who are opposed to Women's Suffrage, and also we fear a number of its lukewarm supporters, have recently been appealing to the unselfishness of women in order to enlist their support of Candidates who are not in favour of Women's Suffrage. Their contention is, that this is not the moment for women to press their demand for the duties and responsibilities of citizenship, while a great question, such as the future fiscal policy of the nation, is to be determined; on the contrary, now is the time to set aside your claims and support the man who, although opposed to Women's Suffrage, will advance the particular view you hold on the fiscal question.

As this appeal to their unselfishness will no doubt have an effect on some women, and induce them to support opponents of Women's Suffrage because they are "sound" on other questions these women are interested in, we should like to submit for their consideration the following questions:—

- (1) Do you believe that the enfranchisement of women is a question which concerns not only the welfare of women, but that of the whole nation?
- (2) Do you prove your serious desire for the enfranchisement of women by working for a candidate who, if he is returned, will not only vote against Women's Suffrage, but will also do all in his power to prevent a Women's Suffrage Bill from being considered in the House of Commons?

[P.T.O.]

- 232
- (3) During the forty years that women have been working for the Suffrage have you known a time when it was stated that Women's Suffrage should take precedence of all other questions, and do you think such a time will ever come unless women make it a practical question?
- (4) Do you believe that if Women's Suffrage is not put first it can become a practical question?
- (5) Are you likely to convert a candidate to Women's Suffrage when you yourself show how little importance you attach to it by helping to place him in a position where he can most effectually oppose it?
- (6) Are you not ungrateful to those men who have worked untiringly and unselfishly for Women's Suffrage if you help to return candidates who will work against them in the House of Commons?
- (7) Can you respect a candidate who urges you to persuade men to vote for him, and yet considers you unfit to give direct expression to your opinion by a vote?
- (8) Do you not believe that the more important the question and the more vital its effects upon the nation, the more urgent it becomes to have the opinion, not of a small minority of women who have time to take active part in elections, but of women in general, on that question?
- (9) Do you not take a very grave responsibility upon yourself in advancing your own individual views on questions of importance, while you are all the time effectually debarring other women from giving direct expression to their views through the Ballot?

These considerations are worth serious attention, if one is to come to a right conclusion as to the course dictated by true unselfishness.

National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, 25, Victoria St., S.W.

Price per 100 1/2, per 500 5/3

S. SIDDEES & CO., Printers, Kensington.

233

SOME OF THE

ORGANISATIONS OF WOMEN

Who have DECLARED in FAVOUR of WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

- 110,000 National British Women's Temperance Association.
42,000 Scottish Christian Union of the British Women's Temperance Association.
86,000 Women's Liberal Federation.
15,000 Scottish Women's Liberal Federation.
Many Women's Liberal Associations not in the Federation.
22,500 Women's Co-operative Guild.
68,000 Women engaged in the Textile Trades (by Petition).
3,000 Manchester and Salford Women's Trade and Labour Council.
Association of Head Mistresses (by resolution at Annual Conference, 1906).
1,500 Women Graduates at Universities (by Memorial, 1906).
Incorporated Association of Assistant Mistresses in Public Secondary Schools (by resolution at Extraordinary General Meeting, 1906).
Society of Registered Nurses.
Women's Industrial Council.
250 Women Journalists' Society.
250 Society of Women Employed in Bookbinding.
150 Smaller Unions of Women.
National Union of Women Workers, comprising 140 Societies. (Largest Women's Society.)
Women's Social and Political Union.
National Women's Social and Political Union.
25,000 Women's Franchise Declaration signatures (March 2nd, 1907).
800 Women engaged in Slipper Trade in Rossendale (by Petition).
4,250 Women Workers in Potteries, Staffordshire (by Petition).
2,000 Women Chain Makers, Cradley Heath (by Petition).
8,600 Women Tailoresses, Shirt Makers, &c., Manchester (by Petition).
400 Irish Women's Suffrage and Local Government Association (Largely of Women).
10,000 (over) National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies (being over 100 Societies and Local Committees), in England and Scotland.
350 Lancashire and Cheshire Women's Suffrage Society.
Hammersmith Women's Suffrage Society.

Published by the
NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES,
25, Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W.

[P.T.O.]

SOME OF THE

ORGANISATIONS OF MEN AND WOMEN

Who have DECLARED in FAVOUR of

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

- 20,000 Independent Labour Party.
- 12,000 Municipal Employees Association.
- 100,000 Northern Counties Weavers' Amalgamation.
- 5,250 Operative Bleachers', Dyers', etc., Association.
- 2,500 Leicester and Leicestershire Amalgamated Hosiery Union.
- 2,000 Amalgamated Felt Hat Trimmers', &c., Association.
- 1,600 Irish Textile Operatives' Union.
- 900 Fabian Society.
- 450 United Cigarette Makers' and Tobacco Cutters' Union.
- 400 Irish Hemmers' and Veiners' Trade Union.
- 400 Various smaller Unions of men and women.
- 1,500 General Union of Weavers and Textile Workers.
- Society for the State Registration of Nurses.
- Freedom of Labour Defence League.
- 12,000 Members of Lancashire and Cheshire Weavers' Unions carried ballots in favour of Women's Suffrage (Bolton, Hyde, Nelson, Haslingden, Clitheroe and Colne).
- 257,000 Women of all Classes and Parties signed an Appeal to Members of Parliament in 1896.

Published by the

NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES
25, Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W.

Printed by VACHER & SONS, Great Smith Street, S.W.—13251.

LAW-ABIDING. NON-PARTY.

London Society for Women's Suffrage,

President - The LADY FRANCES BALFOUR.

58, VICTORIA STREET, S.W.

(National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies. President: Mrs. Henry Fawcett, LL.D.)

Colours: Red, White, and Green.

WOMEN WANT THE VOTE

14 organized Societies representing
360,000 Women (and over) have declared for

WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

83,000 Women (and over) engaged in Trade,
have petitioned for

WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

255,000 Women (and over) of all Classes and Parties
appealed to Parliament in 1896 for

WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

Countless numbers of Women, Wives and Mothers,
who do not demonstrate, want

WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

287,000 Men (and over) Electors of Great Britain
petitioned parliament in January, 1910, for

WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

AND

On July 13th, 1910, 299 Members of Parliament
Voted for

THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE BILL

MEN AND WOMEN NEED

WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

Read "The Common Cause" 1d. weekly, and "The Englishwoman" 1/- monthly.

Printed by S. SIDDEES & Co., 17 & 19, Ball Street, Kensington, W.

237

— SOME —

Prominent Politicians

— ON —

Women's Suffrage.

THE RT. HON. R. B. HALDANE, M.P.

**THE RT. HON. SIR HENRY CAMPBELL-
BANNERMAN, M.P.**

"... The more I come to close quarters with the social questions which affect the great mass of the people of this country, the more am I driven to the belief that women ought to have the power of expressing their opinions on those subjects and help in their solution."

THE RT. HON. A. J. BALFOUR, M.P.

"We have been told that to encourage women to take an active part in politics is degrading to the sex, and that received the assent of an hon. friend of mine below the gangway. It has received the assent of almost every speaker to-day. I should think myself grossly inconsistent and most ungrateful if I supported that argument in this House, for I have myself taken the chair at Primrose League Meetings, and urged to the best of my ability the women of this country to take a share in politics, and to do their best in their various localities to support the principles which I believe to be sound in the interests of the country. After that, to come down to the House, and say I have asked these women to do that which degrades them, appears to me to be most absurd."

RT. HON. JOHN MORLEY, M.P.

"Politicians of both parties welcome the active aid of women in their political contests. They are all glad that women should help them in organisation, canvassing, and other of the least attractive details of electioneering. It is absurd, then, to pretend either that women are incapable of political interests and capacity, or that the power of voting on their own account must be injurious to their womanhood."

[P.T.O.]

238

“ . . . Great hosts of women, in constantly increasing proportion, earn their bread with their own hands, and the female worker in a Scottish printing office or a Lancashire cotton mill is as much entitled to a voice in the laws that regulate her toil as is the man. The same plea is obviously just as strong for every woman who is affected by rates and taxes.”

“ For my own part I have until now been content to let opinion gradually ripen. But the new and most impolitic exclusion of women from work on public bodies hitherto open to them, and where by common admission they were peculiarly fit to render useful service, is one of those retrograde steps that force general questions forward.”

THE RT. HON. R. B. HALDANE, M.P.

“ There is much prejudice—of, as I think, a most mistaken kind—against the extension of the suffrage to women. This is not confined to one party. I think it is gradually melting under the educational process which is afforded by the spectacle of the increased part which women are now taking in administrative work and local government. The time will come, and I think it will come soon, when it will be seen not only that those who are already bearing a distinguished share of the political activity of the nation cannot any longer be shut out, but that their admission to the full rights of citizenship is for the advantage of everyone concerned.”

J. KEIR HARDIE, M.P.

“ By treating women—I am speaking now from the working-class point of view—as equals, by conceding to them every concession which men claim for themselves, the women will play the part of the equal, not only in regard to wages, but in all other matters appertaining to industrial life. So this question of the Franchise is as much a man's question as a woman's question, because, as has been pointed out, the possession of the Franchise itself would give women a new standing, a new increase of power, and would enable them to win for themselves concessions which are to-day withheld. But it is more than a man's question, it is a national question!”

Published by the

NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES,

25, Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W.

Printed by VACHER & SONS, Great Smith Street, Westminster, S.W.—13251.

T
=

Wo
it
No

T
W
I

A

The Go
allow
ey sh

LA

PA

wise titled. The N.L.O.W.S. publishes no balance sheet nor

To WOMEN TAX-PAYERS

Women have to pay the same Taxes as Men. The Government takes their money, though it is not responsible to them in any way, and allows them **NO VOICE AT ALL** in deciding how that money shall be spent.

Now they are to be asked to

PAY THE SALARIES OF MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT

These Members of Parliament do not represent Women: they only represent Voters, whose votes sent them to the House of Commons, and who can turn them out at the next Election if they are not represented justly.

Then ought not their salaries to be paid by the Voters? But Government is not going to get the money out of the pockets of Men only: Women will have to pay too. Therefore

WOMEN CLAIM THE VOTE

cent. of
ver, only con
£1000 given by
less than 2½ per cent.
contributed over £20,000
As in the case of the first
proportion of the men we

Members of Parliament can be made
already to Men.

le responsible to them as they are

No Taxation Without Representation.

National Union Women's Suffrage Societies

(CONSTITUTIONAL—NON-PARTY),

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

No. 37.
JULY, 1913.

The Predominance of Men in Anti-Suffrage Finance and Organisation

By LADY CHANCE

The National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage claims to represent the opinions of the majority of the women in this Country. Suffragists believe this claim to be without foundation, and they believe that the facts set out in this leaflet abundantly prove their case. The facts are as follows:—In the Summer of 1910 (the Men's and Women's Anti-Suffrage Leagues being then separate bodies), an appeal was sent to the Press inviting assistance towards "furthering the organisation of the campaign against the Enfranchisement of Women." The appeal states that "the idea is to form a large and comprehensive League in which men and women will be equally represented. . . . A Secretary and Treasurer of the National Anti Woman Suffrage League (note the name it was at first proposed to give this amalgamated society) have already been appointed. . . . Our main efforts . . . will be directed to procuring the necessary resources. Our ambition should be to raise a fund of not less than £100,000." This appeal was signed by 105 men and only 20 women, which is a strange beginning in the way of equal co-operation of the sexes; for it cannot be urged that the appeal was one "from a man to men"—to use the words that the present Hon. Secretary of the Anti-Suffrage League applied to Lord Cromer's letter and list, in explanation of the enormous preponderance of the male sex in that case.

In October of the same year, less than six weeks before the formal amalgamation of the two Anti-Suffrage Leagues into the one Body now known as the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage (note the judicious modification of the name), Lord Cromer's letter above referred to, was sent to the Heads of Business Firms, asking for financial support, and enclosing a list, marked "strictly private and confidential," of 293 men and women who had already promised donations and subscriptions to the amount of over £21,000. (The list is printed at the end of this leaflet). This is a large sum for a small number of people to have contributed, but the truly remarkable characteristics of the list only appear on analysis. Such analysis reveals the fact that 220 of the subscribers were men or men's firms, leaving only 25 per cent. of women. This 25 per cent. of women subscribers, however, only contributed 7 per cent. of the total sum. Leaving out £1000 given by one rich Peeress, the remaining women gave less than 2½ per cent. of the whole. The first 100 subscribers contributed over £20,000, only 10 women being among them. As in the case of the first appeal mentioned above, a very large proportion of the men were Peers and relations of Peers, or otherwise titled. The N.L.O.W.S. publishes no balance sheet nor

242
lists of subscribers and refuses all information on the subject to anyone not a member of the Central League.

Since the above facts were first published various rejoinders from the Hon. Secretary and the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the N.L.O.W.S. have appeared. They cannot be called answers because they answer nothing. The tactics of the Officials of the League consist in answering arguments that nobody has used, while evading all the real points at issue. They say that the majority of the members of the N.L.O.W.S. are women. This assertion neither proves nor disproves the allegation that the bulk of the **financial support** of the League comes from the pockets of men. It merely proves that Anti-Suffragists think their opponents are simpletons easily taken in by false methods of reasoning and verbal quibbles. The ridiculous piece of bluff by which it is attempted to treat the publication of Lord Cromer's letter and list as a "breach of confidence" and of honour is another example of the straits to which the exigencies of having to defend a bad case can reduce its supporters. Needless to say no answer has been forthcoming to the simple question put over and over again: "Why does the N.L.O.W.S. wrap its finances in mystery? Why does its practice in this respect differ from that of every other public Association in the Kingdom?" A plain answer to this plain question would at once put an end to all the critical "inferences" which the Officials of the League find so disagreeable—especially to the inference that their reason for secrecy is that they have much to conceal which they dare not let the public know.

Thus far as to men's part in Anti-Suffrage Finance. Now as to Organisation. The Officials of the N.L.O.W.S. have been at pains to point out what is already sufficiently patent, viz: that a carefully arranged screen of women has been disposed in such a manner as to create an illusion of equal strength and co-operation of the two sexes in the League's work. The illusion is however soon dispelled on close inspection, and the spectacle of men pulling the wires and calling the tune from behind the screen while the lady-puppets dance to the public in front of it, is nowhere more clearly revealed than in the Report of the Annual Meeting of the N.L.O.W.S. in 1912 (see July, 1912, number of the "A.S. Review.") On that occasion speaker after speaker paid a handsome tribute to the dominant part played by men in the organising work of the League. It is true that a tribute was also paid to the tiny band of devoted women workers, but it was tempered by a reference to the extreme smallness of this band, and it was probably not deemed prudent to allude to the fact that even in this minute company a goodly proportion of the devoted service was of the salaried kind. The tribute to the ladies was somewhat tempered too by the remark of one speaker that "though a woman can work quite successfully up to a certain point she is never to be really depended upon."

In conclusion, Suffragists do not wish to deny the obvious fact that there are a certain number of women opposed to their sex's (if not their own) enfranchisement. But to the public,

243
 which is being asked to believe that these women represent the opinions of the majority of their sex, they wish to point out certain other facts which they consider have only to be known in order to convince any impartial inquirers that this particular Anti-Suffrage contention cannot be seriously upheld. The number of **women** who may be called convinced and active Anti-Suffragists is infinitesimally small; the bulk of so-called Anti-Suffrage women being merely indifferent, either because they belong to the "feet-in-the-fender" class, whose circumstances would not be directly affected by the vote, or to the large number (drawn from all classes) who are still more or less ignorant of the subject. The Anti-Suffragist women are **unsupported by any organised body of women in the Kingdom**, or by the great majority of the **educated women** of this or any other civilised country. They are therefore obliged to avail themselves of the brains and purses of Anti-Suffrage men. These in their turn could not act without a screen of women to shield them from the criticism of the public, which, it may safely be affirmed, would not allow to pass without comment the spectacle of a powerful body of rich and titled men financing and controlling a concern whose purpose it is to delay a reform of which the great majority of thinking women, as well as an increasing number of experienced and responsible men are in favour, and towards which all the more civilised countries in the world are steadily moving.

The following has been communicated to us as a copy of a list, showing the proportions in which men and women subscribed in answer to one of the appeals for Anti-Suffrage funds.

Messrs. N. M. Rothschild	...	...	£3000	
W. W. Astor	...	...	1000	
Sir Ernest Cassel	...	...	1000	
Lord Iveagh	...	...	1000	
Lord Ridley	...	...	1000	
Sir. Ed. Tennant (now Lord Glenconner)	...	...	1000	
Lady Wantage	...	...	1000	
				£9,000—6 men, 1 woman.
Lord Ashby St. Ledgers	...	...	500	
Earl of Durham	...	...	500	
Lord Joicey	...	...	500	
Lord Mount Stephen	...	...	500	
Sir Edward Stern	...	...	500	
Sir Andrew Noble (5 years)	...	...	500	
Lord Airedale (2 years)	...	...	500	
Howard Morley	...	...	500	
W. Weir	...	...	500	
David Davies (Liberal M.P. for Montgomery)	...	...	500	
				£5000—10 men.
Lord Armitstead	...	...	300	
Otto Beit	...	...	300	
Lord Ebury (5 years)	...	...	250	
Lord Curzon of Kedleston	...	...	207	
Lord Wolverton (3 years)	...	...	157	
Duke of Portland	...	...	150	
Sir E. Durning-Lawrence	...	...	105	
				£1469—7 men.

244

Lord Allendale	100
T. H. Benyon	100
Mrs. Bischoffsheim	100
J. G. Crompton	100
L. Currie	100
Earl of Derby	100
Duke of Devonshire	100
Lord Faber	100
Earl of Jersey	100
Pandeli Ralli	100
Sir E. Hambro	100
Earl of Harewood	100
Lord Haversham	100
Sir A. Henderson	100
Marquis of Lansdowne	100
Lord Llandaff	100
Lady Miller	100
Duke of Norfolk	100
H. Oppenheim	100
Hon. W. Peel, M.P. (now Viscount Peel)	100
Earl of Plymouth	100
Earl of Rosebery	100
Hon. W. F. Smith	100
Lord Wandsworth	100
Lord Weardale	100
Earl of Wemyss	100
Marquis of Zetland	100
L. C. Brassey	100

Total—49 men and 3 women £18,269 £2,800—26 men, 2 women.

Want of space prevents us publishing the entire list in our possession, but an analysis shows that:—

Of 17 persons	who subscribed	£50 each,	only 2 were women.
„ 18	„	£25 or more	4
„ 8	„	£20	1
„ 27	„	£10	2
„ 44	„	£5	16
„ 32	„	£2 2s.	12
„ 54	„	£1 1s.	16
„ 34	„	less than £1 1s.	12

(Any sum sent in the name of two persons has been counted as one subscription in this analysis).

The total sum subscribed on the list comes to £20,734 14s. 5d., of this women only subscribed £1595 4s. Lady Wantage gave £1000 of this sum. 68 other women subscribed £594 4s. Men subscribed £19,139 10s. 5d.

Price 3d. per dozen.

Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association.

Hon. Secretary:

MRS. GILBERT SAMUEL, 48, Dover Street, Piccadilly, London, W.

245

NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES.

Non-Party.

Non-Militant.

A Public Meeting ON WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

WILL BE HELD AT THE
NEW HALL, PANGBOURNE

ON
WEDNESDAY, March 6th,
8.30 P.M.

Chair: Mrs. ROBIE UNIACKE.

Speakers:

Miss MAUDE ROYDEN.

MISS

MARGARET ROBERTSON

ALL WILL BE WELCOME.

All information from MISS JONES, Hon. Sec.,

Pangbourne Women's Suffrage Society,

Jesmond Hill, Pangbourne.

NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES.
 LAW-ABIDING. NON-PARTY.
 PRESIDENT: MRS. FAWCETT, LL.D.

AN OPEN-AIR MEETING
 WILL TAKE PLACE ON
SATURDAY, JUNE 29, at 8 p.m.
 IN THE SQUARE,
PANGBOURNE.

MISS MARGARET ROBERTSON
 WILL SPEAK ON
WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

 Should the weather be unfavourable, the Meeting will be held in the NEW HALL.

 Printed and Published by Tidbury Bros., Pangbourne.

NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES.

LAW-ABIDING. NON-PARTY.
PRESIDENT: MRS. FAWCETT, LL.D.

AN OPEN-AIR MEETING

WILL TAKE PLACE ON

SATURDAY, JUNE 29, at 8 p.m.

IN THE SQUARE,
PANGBOURNE.

MISS MARGARET ROBERTSON

WILL SPEAK ON

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

Should the weather be unfavourable, the Meeting will be held in the NEW HALL.

Printed and Published by Tidbury Bros., Pangbourne.

NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES
PRESIDENT: MISS FAWCETT

AN OPEN-AIR MEETING

WILL TAKE PLACE ON

SATURDAY, JUNE 28, at 8 P.M.

IN THE SQUARE,

PANGBOURNE.

MISS MARGARET ROBERTSON

WILL SPEAK ON

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

Should it be desirable the Meeting will be held in the NEW HALL.

Printed and Published by T. H. B. H. Pangbourne

National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.

Non-Party.

Non-Militant.

PANGBOURNE.

— A —

PUBLIC MEETING

WILL BE HELD ON

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 23rd,

AT 8 P.M., IN THE

NEW HALL, PANGBOURNE.

CHAIRMAN:

MISS E. M. SUTTON (COUNCILLOR OF READING).

SPEAKERS:

MRS. OLIVER STRACHEY

(London Society for Women's Suffrage).

MISS DORA MASON.

ADMISSION FREE.

COLLECTION.

Children only Admitted with their Parents.

"READING STANDARD" PRINTING WORKS, 13 & 15, VALPY STREET.

250

251

NATIONAL UNION OF
WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES.
NON MILITANT.

PANGBOURNE WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETY.

AN

Open Air Meeting

ON

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

will be held on

SATURDAY, MAY 10th., 1913.

AT 8 p.m. IN

The SQUARE, Pangbourne.

SPEAKERS :

MISS HELEN WARD,

MRS. COWMEADOW,

MISS HILDA JONES.

Tidbury Bros., Printers, Pangbourne.

Children NOT admitted.

NATIONAL UNION OF
WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES.
NON MILITANT.

PANGBOURNE WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETY.

Open Air Meeting

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

SATURDAY, MAY 10th, 1913.

The SQUARE, Pangbourne.

SPEAKERS:
MISS HELEN WARD,
MRS. COWMEADOW,
MISS HILDA JONES.

Printed and Published by Tibbitts Bros., Pangbourne.

National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.

Non-Party.

Law-Abiding.

PANGBOURNE SOCIETY.

Parliament & Moral Questions.

Is Legislation for Women in this Country satisfactory?

Mr. Asquith says "YES."

Women say "NO."

Miss K. A. HESSEL,
WILL SPEAK ON THE ABOVE QUESTION, AT THE
BREEDON SCHOOL,

ON
WEDNESDAY, JULY 16th, at 8 p.m.

Men and Women who are interested are invited to attend.

Children NOT admitted.

Collection at door after Meeting.

254

255

**NATIONAL UNION OF
Women's Suffrage Societies.**

NON-PARTY.

NON-MILITANT.

PANGBOURNE.

A :: ::

Meeting

WILL BE HELD

On Wednesday, June 3rd,

At 8 p.m., 1914

IN

**THE SQUARE,
PANGBOURNE,**

Speaker :

MISS MURIEL MATTERS.

Tidbury Bros., Printers, Pangbourne.

1909.

256

NATIONAL UNION OF
 Women's Suffrage Societies
 BANGBOURNE
 Meeting
 On Wednesday, June 3rd,
 At 8 pm.
 THE SQUARE
 BANGBOURNE
 Mrs MURIEL MATTERS

257

NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES,
 25, VICTORIA STREET, WESTMINSTER, S.W.

President - Mrs. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.

**THE PARLIAMENTARY VOTE
 AND WAGES.**

BY

GERALDINE E. HODGSON, B.A., D.Litt.

PRICE, $\frac{1}{2}$ D. EACH.

London:
 VACHER & SONS, PRINTERS, WESTMINSTER HOUSE, GREAT SMITH ST., S.W.

1909,

THE PARLIAMENTARY VOTE AND WAGES.

ADVOCATES of the extension of the Parliamentary vote to women are told often that they are wrong in supposing that there is any connection between political power and wages.

A short outline of events in the first three-quarters of the XIXth century may serve to show that, so far as they possess them, men won political power and industrial security in one and the self-same struggle. The idea of laws regulating employment is of considerable antiquity; but it may suffice to begin with the *Statute of Apprentices* 5 Eliz., c. 4 (1564), and the *Act of James I.*, c. 6 (1604), which together settled the conditions of membership, hours of labour, and rates of wages in the several trades.

By the Act of James I., the magistrates were directed to assess wages, so as to "yield unto the hired person, both in the time of scarcity and in the time of plenty, a convenient proportion of wages." This sounds very nice indeed, and seems to have been at any rate partly achieved, for a Government Report of 1818, commenting on the misery which followed the abrogation of the legislation of the last Tudor and of the first Stuart, observes, "Whilst the statute of 5 Elizabeth was in force, the distressing circumstances now complained of never occurred." The Statute of Apprentices was repealed in 1814 at the instance of the employers, who presented a petition bearing 2,000 signatures, in spite of the fact that the workmen presented a petition bearing 300,000 signatures against the repeal.

Mr. Howell traces the employers' victory to their voting power:—"The cause of the workmen was pleaded with great eloquence by Mr. Sheridan; but the employers alone had the power of deciding, and they were at that time not controlled by any popular franchise or vote."*

The workmen not only lacked the franchise, but the Acts of Geo. III., 39 and 40, had made combinations of workmen illegal, that is, if the purpose of such combination were to alter wages, to lessen the hours of work, to hinder any person from employing another, or to prevent any person from engaging in any industry or manufacture. These Acts were not dead letters; e.g., in 1805, a linen-weaver of Knaresborough was committed for three months to Wakefield Gaol because he carried a letter, asking for help, to workmen in York†; and, "In 1818, a common workman was prosecuted for combining, and bail to the amount of £200 and two

* *Conflicts of Capital and Labour* (1st Edition, p. 113), by George Howell.

† *Ibid.*, p. 121.

sureties of £100 each were required for his appearance at the next sessions to answer the charge."*

The late Mr. Justice Stephen, commenting on this Act of Geo. III., wrote:—"I shall not describe it as a system specially adapted and designed to protect freedom of trade. The only freedom for which it seems to me to have been specially solicitous is the freedom of the employers from coercion by their men."†

As misery increased, the workmen petitioned for the re-enactment of the 5 Eliz., which was refused; so also was their request for a fixed statement list of wages, which the employers opposed.

Yet, Mr. Herbert Paul writes (*History of Modern England* Vol. v., p. 296): "It is not true that workmen were neglected before they possessed the franchise. A complete code of industrial legislation for the benefit of women and children was established by the zeal and energy of Lord Shaftesbury 14 years before household suffrage became the law of the land."

Mr. Paul's first sentence crystallises the opinions against which this pamphlet is directed. His second has a somewhat Hibernian ring, as it purports to prove the care for men by reference to a Bill dealing with women and children. Also, it overlooks the fact that the pit-owners forced on Lord Ashley a compromise permitting boys of 10 to work in the pits on three days in the week. Of this transaction, Messrs. Sidney Low and Lloyd C. Sanders write:—"Ashley received little support from the Government, and had some difficulty in finding a peer to take charge of his measure in the Upper House."‡ So, perhaps we are justified in thinking that the Bill of 1840 was due mainly to the moral force, to the "sæva indignatio" of an enlightened individual, and is no proof of the advantage of rendering anyone politically powerless. In Vol. xi. of the *Political History of England*, a volume which cannot be charged with extravagant sympathy for the claims of labour, the following passages occur:—"The disturbances which broke out again and again during the years 1816-1819 were partly the outcome of sheer destitution among the working classes, and partly of a growing demand for reform, whether constitutional or revolutionary. . . . The writings of Cobbett, especially in his *Weekly Register*, certainly had a wide influence in stirring up discontent against existing institutions, but it must be admitted that he condemned the use of physical force and pointed to Parliamentary reform as the legitimate cure for all social evils. Reform, however, in Cobbett's meaning included universal suffrage, with annual

* *Conflicts of Capital and Labour*, p. 115.

† *History of the Criminal Law in England*, London, 1883, Vol. iii., p. 208, Sir James Fitz James Stephen.

‡ *Political History of England*, Vol. xii., p. 34.

Parliaments, and the Hampden Clubs all over the country agitated for the same objects in less guarded language. Still, looking back at these democratic agencies, by the light of later experience, we can hardly adopt the opinion expressed by a secret Committee of the House of Commons that their avowed objects were 'nothing short of a revolution.'** Whatever people may think of the facts and theories set forth in these chilly phrases, they can hardly fail to see the underlying recognition of the connection between political power and industrial conditions. In 1824, Joseph Hume succeeded in inducing the House of Commons to appoint a Committee to inquire into industrial distress; the Combination Laws were repealed, and as a more or less natural consequence of this new freedom, combined with continued industrial distress, many serious strikes occurred. Parliament took fright; some manufacturers seem to have fostered public alarm, and in 1825, another Commission was appointed, this time on the motion of Mr. Huskisson. During its deliberations, the public fear diminished, and Mr. Wallace introduced a milder Bill than might have been expected, which passed as the 6 Geo. IV., c. 129. The first section repealed the Act of 1824. The second section re-enacted that part of the Act of 1824 which had repealed all previous statutes against combination among workmen. The ground being thus cleared, the third section forbade the use of threats or violence for the purpose of obstructing, molesting, or intimidating workmen with regard to their work, or with regard to membership or non-membership of any association; it likewise forbade the use of threats and violence to employers concerning conditions of manufacturing processes or employment. The penalty was imprisonment with hard labour for a period not exceeding three calendar months. The fourth section exempted from punishment all persons meeting together for the purpose of discussing and determining the wages of *those actually present*. This was the sole direct recognition of the workmen's right to combine. The fifth section secured to employers the right of meeting together to discuss and settle the wages of employees. As Mr. Nassau, senior, pointed out in 1831, this Act revived the Common Law against combinations of workmen, except in the case of discussions of the wages of those actually present at a meeting.

In 1832, the first Reform Bill was passed, which, in England, enfranchised copy-holders and lease-holders in the counties, and £10 householders in boroughs. The newly enfranchised were not the working-class proper, and that the latter were not immediately benefited may be gathered from Mr. Howell's story of the six Dorchester labourers, sentenced in 1834 to seven years' transportation "ostensibly for administering unlawful oaths,

* *The Political History of England*, Edited by Dr. Wm. Hunt and Mr. Reginald L. Poole.

but really for the 'crime of combination.'* Mr. Howell says that after a demonstration in Copenhagen Fields, on March 21st, 1834, estimated to number 400,000 persons, who marched to Lord Melbourne's official residence with a petition, in favour of these labourers, signed by 226,000 people, they were "pardoned"; but, adds Mr. Howell, "the men had been hastened out of the country, and after they had been quarantined at Sydney for about three weeks, they were literally sold as slaves at £1 a head; and even when they were pardoned, some of them did not hear of their pardon till years afterwards, and some of them would never have heard of it until the expiation of their sentence, had it not been for the merest accident of falling across an English newspaper in the Colony at the Governor's own house."

Again, prosecutions in the late forties, e.g., of 10 Newton engineers in 1847, of the Sheffield razor-grinders in 1848, and the Wolverhampton tin-plate workers in 1851, show how bad were the conditions still after the *first* Reform Bill. These prosecutions were all instituted under the Common Law against conspiracy. The expenses of the defence for the three cases, Mr. Howell states, amounted to £7,658 9s. Strikes followed, that attracting most attention being the Builders' Strike and Lock-out in 1859. After the prosecution and conviction of a man named Perham for picketing, public attention was turned again permanently to the whole question of the relations of employers and employed, until a solution was found.

The year 1867 was notable.

The *Masters and Servants Act* practically repealed all the Georgian industrial legislation.

John Stuart Mill's amendment to the Reform Bill in favour of Women's Suffrage was lost by 196 to 73.

Finally, the Reform Bill of 1867, enfranchising, in English counties, £12 occupiers, and in English boroughs all householders and also lodgers paying £10 per annum, was passed.

Four years later, the *Trade Union Act* sanctioned the Trade Unionists' aims, and legalised their action. The *Masters and Servants Act* was renewed annually until, in 1875 (eight years after the Reform Bill), the *Employers' and Workmen's Act* replaced it.

The amendment, in April, 1906, of the *Government Trade Disputes Act* in accordance with the policy and wishes of the Labour Party, is, whatever else may be thought about it, a significant testimony to the influence in industrial matters of political matters. It could not have been passed without the Liberal Party, and they were no doubt influenced by their constituents. A short quotation from the article on Trade Unions in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*

* *Conflicts of Capital and Labour*, George Howell, p. 134.

may close this brief outline:—"In connection with trade disputes, no person can now be prosecuted for conspiracy to commit an act which would not be criminal if committed by him singly, and consequently employers and employed alike may lawfully do in combination all that they would be entitled to do as individuals."

The present writer has no wish to suggest that direct political power is *a* or *the* straight cut to the Millennium, or that Trade Unionists are always immaculate. But a study of the first three-quarters of the XIXth century seems to suggest that as the sufferings of the working-classes drew to them the attention of humane politicians, and as the gradual extension of the franchise to working men enabled them to act for themselves, legislation did tend to ameliorate their condition with greater rapidity than had been the case in the days of their political impotence.

It is quite true, no doubt, as Arnold Toynbee wrote: "You must not suppose, however, that the ruling classes were utterly incapable of sympathy with the people, or of playing the part of protectors. When their interests were not imperilled or their class prejudices involved, they frequently did interpose to shield the workmen from injustice. Parliament, even in its worst days, was never entirely on the side of the masters; there were always certain kinds of oppression against which it steadily set its face. Its attitude was a mixed one. For example, if we turn to a statute of Geo. III., which forbids combinations of workmen under penalty of three months' imprisonment with hard labour, we shall find in the very same Act clauses making it illegal for employers to pay their workmen in truck under penalty of a ten pound fine."*

It will probably occur to all readers that most of us, in the rare moments when our interests are not imperilled nor our class prejudices involved, are quite excellent people; further, that the imprisonment of a poor man with hard labour for three months and the imposition of a £10 fine on an employer, presumably better off, are curiously uneven punishments; and finally it may occur to them that there is wisdom in the plea that those who wear the shoe know best where it pinches, in other words are, if freedom be allowed them, their own natural protectors. With these reservations, rather large ones perhaps, Mr. Toynbee's apology for the employers may be read with sympathetic respect.

Some one may ask—What has all this to do with women? Some one may argue that the freedom won in the sixties by men can be enjoyed by women, that they too are free to combine.

As a matter of fact, since women, in commerce, in the professions, and in the artisan world, are habitually—with very few exceptions—paid less than men, they have much less, often no

* *The Industrial Revolution*, Arnold Toynbee, pp. 186, 187.

effective freedom to combine; so great is their poverty often that they cannot afford a Trade Union subscription; where they can afford it, they do combine, and the latest Board of Trade Returns (May, 1909) gives the number of Women Trade Unionists in the United Kingdom as 201,000.

Moreover, women have no direct power even if the Government took it into its head to legislate against them. This is not a "fantastic" supposition of "hysterical" women. (By the way, will our opponents define "hysterical"? They would at least benefit the medical profession, which, I believe, has never done so.) We remember the clause in the defunct Licensing Bill "abolishing barmaids"; we do not forget the proposal "greatly to curtail the labour of women," while no accompanying provision for their maintenance is suggested. No Government of any party would dream of "abolishing" or "curtailing" male occupations; men are actual or potential voters. True, the barmaids' clause was dropped, but only after an expenditure of money and energy which enfranchised persons would never have needed to spend.

If it be argued again, as it has been before, that the vote granted to women "on the same terms as it is or may be granted to men" will not enfranchise the worst off, I reply that it will enfranchise some industrial wage-earners, many lodging-house keepers, married, widowed, or single; and most of those professional women, who, with others financially freer, have hitherto, in addition to earning their own bread, toiled successfully, but with an expenditure of energy only required from the voteless, for their less happily placed sisters. Only the ignorant or the wilful can maintain that the votes of these women would not be used for the amelioration of the industrial conditions of the Empire.

When at last people weary of arguing over what they "think likely," they may have time to perceive that now, as always, the voteless are at the mercy of the Legislature. Mercy, in competent hands, is a beautiful thing; but fallible human beings might do well perhaps to aim at doing justice first. Men have found that in order to win political justice they need political power; will they add one more homely truth to their general stock?—viz., that, in this respect, the goose and the gander need identical sauce.

Published by

THE NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES,

25, Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W.

V. & S.—21942.

0921306

