

THE VOTE

(THE ORGAN OF THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE.)

VOL. II.—No. 35.

SATURDAY, JUNE 25, 1910.

ONE PENNY.

NOTICE.

Letters relating to editorial and business matters should be addressed to THE EDITOR and MANAGING DIRECTOR respectively. Applications for advertising spaces to be made to the ADVERTISEMENT MANAGER.

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EDITORIAL.

The Editor is responsible for unsigned articles only. Articles, paragraphs, or cuttings dealing with matters of interest to women generally will be welcomed. Every effort will be made to return unsuitable MSS. if a stamped addressed envelope be enclosed, but the Editor cannot be responsible in case of loss.

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WHAT WE THINK.

Mr. Asquith's Answer.

Mr. Asquith has promised to consult his colleagues of the Cabinet in the matter of the Conciliation Bill and to make public their decision at an early date. The matter is so "important and momentous" and at the same time "a question of times and seasons"—so the Premier told the deputation from the N.U.W.S.S. on Tuesday last—that only after Cabinet decision could any definite statement concerning Government facilities be made. Mrs. Fawcett warned him there would be "a great outburst of anger if the hopes of the women were disappointed," and in this the leader of the constitutionalists expressed also the opinion of the militants. The "gratis" statement of the Premier that he "did not think it ever would be in the power of any Government of the day to bring forward a Woman's Franchise Bill as a Government measure" would seem to have found its answer in his own words to the anti-Suffrage deputation which he received immediately afterwards, that his anti-Suffrage views were only *his own views*, and "he doubted if they were the views of the majority of his own party." To the female and unfranchised mind it seems a strange thing that a majority in a governing party cannot bring in a Bill which has the goodwill of the country. Still, we are told that Mr. Asquith's attitude towards the Suffrage deputation was one of sympathy, and if this is a good augury the Conciliation Bill may yet sail into safe waters for its second reading. Saturday's great demonstration and its welcome from the populace must have had its effect even on our Premier; it may lead him to see that his opinion, whatever be the ground for it, is not the opinion of the country as it is not the opinion of the House, and, unless we are misinformed, is not the opinion of the Cabinet. A little generosity now, a little less intolerance from one man, and what he himself termed "the passionate desire throughout the country" will have been satisfied. The Bill is not officially Liberal, and therefore it has every chance of being treated on its merits. Should the Peers, given the opportunity, throw out our Bill the women of the country will at least know where they stand.

Our Supporters.

From all sections of the community petitions in favour of our Bill flow in in a ceaseless tide to 10, Downing-

street. Distinguished medical men, Churchmen, actors, and philanthropists are praying that we shall have our fighting chance. As Mrs. Billington-Greig told us at the Kensington Town Hall, the fact that the Bill is easy of comprehension, that it merely opens a gate to a certain body of women who have had Government sanction to pass through a small door, makes the simple clause of the Representation of the People Bill (1910) a plain concrete fact easy to grasp. New members have joined the Conciliation Committee.

Scottish Mill Girls' Strike.

In Neilston Village, Renfrewshire, at Messrs. Alexander's sewing-cotton mills, a strike of 1500 mill workers is going on. Its origin dates back a month ago, when the "cop-winders" were asked by the masters to work on a revised system of rates with quicker speed of machinery. After three days' trial they refused, and 120 cop-winders struck work. Miss Dicks, of the National Federation of Women-workers, arrived on the scene, and though negotiations were started between the masters and workers, so far they have not been satisfactory, and, as we have stated, 1500 hands are out on strike. The girls at Neilston are, according to the report presented by Miss Dicks at a meeting of the Glasgow Trades Council, asking for the same terms that are in operation at Messrs. Clark's, Paisley. The girls at Neilston worked 55½ hours and received 12s. 9d. as an average, even at the old rates. They tried the new rates, and found themselves 4s. to 4s. 6d. short in their wages. The directors of the company claim that the new rates were not given a fair trial. It is a significant fact that a dispute between the directors of the Leadhills Co. and the miners in Lanarkshire has just resulted in one of the most remarkable victories ever won by labour over capital in Scotland, and also that several hundred girls employed in the Hollins Spinning Mills (Notts) have just won their case. The latter were summoned for leaving work, for which their justification was the conduct of a male overseer. Mr. Priestley, K.C., has given a written judgment on behalf of the Board of Trade in favour of the girls. Let us hope that a similar victory with as brief a time of fighting may attend the mill girls, 1000 of whom have joined the Union. If women-workers could at all times be induced to band themselves together against unfair conditions their industrial position would not be in need of the drastic improvement it is crying out for at the present time.

The Queen as Regent.

It was a great joy to us all to know that, as was only just and right—though that is no criterion of Parliamentary action—Queen Mary, in the event of the King's death during the minority of the young Duke of Cornwall, will act as Regent. A straw shows which way the wind blows, and if, in the regrettable event of King George's death, the Queen, a busy mother with a large family, is considered capable of ruling without in any way interfering with the bringing up of her children or household duties, by how much the more is the woman who has none of the great ceremonies attendant on those in high places able to spare five minutes from her household duties once every seven years (or so) to drop her ballot paper in the ballot box.

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THE GREAT PROCESSION.

It will be a strange thing if the Government takes no heed of this great protest—if, looking upon the State units who passed by in these miles of silent women, it can again assert, in the person of the Premier, that they do not count in the roll-call of citizens. In no former procession was the woman citizen represented in the same way and with due regard to the variety and importance of her work. Looking on at the never-ending army which passed steadily in well-marshalled battalions—home-makers, teachers, civil servants, shop assistants, actresses, artists, scientists, writers, nurses, medical women, athletes, sanitary inspectors—no one could ignore or deny the part taken in the daily work of the State by the sex which has been consistently denied citizen rights. It was described as a great army of women; but it was a great army out to plead for peace, and it is only an army, seen or unseen, which has this power of peace.

All London was out to see the women pass—all London, that is, which was not taking part in the march. From all parts of the country the friends of those who were marching had availed themselves of railway facilities and come to cheer the processionists on their journey from the Embankment to the Albert Hall. Not once along the way were the old rudenesses voiced, but the crowd was kind and strangely comprehending: they have been won long since, and they greeted the noble protest pageant as it deserved. As each contingent swung into view with banners waving they received it with cheers, eagerly curious to understand what the banners meant and to recognise some figure in the passing ranks. And the splendid cheering which greeted the prisoners, both of the Freedom League with their name bannerets, of the N.W.S.P.U. with their broad arrows, and the gallant band of picketers, showed the crowd's appreciation of the women's action both in militant and in constitutional protests. The presence of women from all countries marked the world-nature of the movement, and the presence of men in large numbers marked the new chivalry that has given place to the old patronage. But perhaps the greatest feature of this great procession was its democracy. Over common ground constitutional and militant marched, all questions of tactics laid aside for the moment; over common ground titled woman and factory hand marched, all differences of social status put by; over common ground the mental worker and the manual worker marched—the graduate and the sweated worker, the woman who had had some chance and the woman who never had a chance; over common ground the Fabians and the Church League, the new Constitutional, the various men's leagues, and the many other Suffrage societies marched united—let us hope for more than the day—in the common bond of fellowship forged by the Conciliation Bill, all differences of policy forgotten in the common danger and the common hope. Green, the colour of hope and symbolic of the summer day on which we marched, was the dominant colour of the procession. It was prominent amongst our green, gold, and white sections, on banners and on dress, in the N.W.S.P.U. contingents, in the Garden City cohorts, in the actresses' colours, where it mingled with rose, and also in the flowers carried by many of the processionists.

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Along the Route.

Along the Embankment from Blackfriars to Charing Cross, up Whitehall Place and Northumberland Avenue, the contingents formed into their own battalions, and owing to the general orderliness, and the fact that all had found their places soon after 5.30, there was no hitch in the proceedings. The itinerant vendor was there early, and while their banners were brought down to the different sections busy hawkers sold what they described as "Suffrage colours," buttons, and bananas to the curious crowd that had gathered in their hundreds to watch the lining up. Those who came late, though they had to push their way to their sections through a dense and not over-savoury crowd, had decidedly the best of it, for the long wait and getting in order rendered necessary by the extraordinary nature of the procession was the most tiresome part of it—shifting from foot to foot, getting into line, getting out of it, listening to the bands of other sections as they got into motion, and then hearing the distant roar of the crowd that lined the route as the first sections swung into view round Pall Mall; then when the signal to march came swinging round Cockspur Street, halting automatically beneath the great statue of Victory that marks Crimean days at the foot of Pall Mall—days which would have been blacker and darker but for the brave "lady of the lamp," Florence Nightingale. From the balcony of the Athenæum Club the Archbishop of Canterbury watched us go by.

The small courtesies of many of the crowd made the march seem but a step. Here a courtly old parson swept off his hat to the passing sections; there some poor work-women set free too late to walk with us waved their handkerchiefs; knots of Territorials stood to salute as we passed. Some working men called out as Mrs. Despard passed, "She's one of the best!" All the balconies and windows of the great clubs and institutions along the way were filled with spectators, and most of these were waving handkerchiefs and cheering as the detachments passed. In St. George's Hospital the nurses and patients stood on the balconies and waved to us, and the Lyceum Club was packed with waving, cheering supporters. The change in the personnel of the crowd was very noticeable as we marched westward, but the spirit was equally friendly all the way. On the Embankment the spectators were rougher and poorer—and none the worse for that. As we passed up Pall Mall, down St. James's Street, and neared Hyde Park Corner they became better dressed, and along Piccadilly motor-cars were parked containing many carriage folk waving small banners from flower-decked cars. Countess Russell had her victoria decked most gorgeously in the Freedom League colours near this coign of vantage, and one of her motors at Hyde Park Corner carried THE VOTE posters. Brakes were forbidden in the procession, and a number of them stood near motor-buses at the entrance to the Green Park and near the corner of Park Lane filled with children and grown-up people wearing Suffrage favours. Near Pall Mall Ellen Terry waved us her greetings, and in the crowd Mr. George Bernard Shaw proudly watched us go by, his wife walking amongst the writers. Well-known politicians were interested spectators from many club windows.

All along the way Mrs. Despard was greeted with cheers and waving hats and handkerchiefs. Several times flowers were thrown from the crowds and from omnibuses and carriages. One lady curtseyed to her, another rushed forward and kissed her hand; many others eagerly pressed through to shake hands with her. Loud cries of "Here's Mrs. Despard!" "Three cheers for Mrs. Despard!" "Well done, Lambeth!" greeted her as soon as she came in sight. As we passed the barracks the cheers were tremendous, and from groups of soldiers in the crowd,

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recognising General French's sister, came cries of "Well done, French!" Mr. Keir Hardie and Mr. Frank Smith were amongst the onlookers from cabs and carriages, and at sight of their friend and colleague waved their hats enthusiastically. Superintendent Wells left the procession at the Albert Hall and came to Mrs. Despard to shake hands before leaving the W.F.L. section to march on to the Kensington Town Hall.

With the New Constitutionals a notable figure was an old gentleman in his eighty-first year who walked every step of the way—in strong contrast to many men of the old school.

The Procession.

Twelve thousand women, four abreast, seven hundred banners, forty bands, and, report has it, one thousand police made up the great procession. On the shoulders of the W.S.P.U. has fallen the work of general organisation, and throughout the long two hours' march their arrangements were so perfectly made that there was not a single hitch. Mrs. Drummond, who has done much good work for them in the past, was mounted as the general of the army; Miss Marshall, who was frog-marched and grossly ill-treated in prison, was colour-bearer; and their fife and drum band followed the baton of Mrs. Leigh playing a new march. Miss Vera Holme and the Hon. Mrs. Haverfield, riding astride and looking splendid, rode up and down the lines like marshals seeing to the arrangement of their forces on field day.

The prisoners, carrying broad arrows with silvered tips, were led by Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Annie Kenney, Lady Constance Lytton, Miss Gawthorpe, and Mrs. Brailsford, and the Hunger-striker's banner was with this contingent. They lined up as a guard of honour outside the Albert Hall to receive the other contingents. The W.S.P.U. Prisoners' Pageant had a woman in prison dress, surrounded by young girls in the Union colours. Following her came the early pioneers of the Suffrage movement, and then many branches of the W.S.P.U. with banners and colours.

The Graduates.

Then came one of the most impressive sections of the procession, led by Mrs. Garrett-Anderson and Miss Aldrich Blake, M.D., the University graduates, said to have looked like "a regiment of Portias." About 800 women, in caps and gowns, marched together under the University Women's banner, and they included some of the most notable women who have won academic success in spite of the prejudice which still prevails at Oxford and Cambridge to-day. Two Newnham Senior Wranglers were amongst those in front, one of them being Miss Philippa Fawcett (the daughter of Mrs. Garrett Fawcett and of the great Postmaster-General and economist), who was placed above the Senior Wrangler of her year. Miss Dove, the genial lady who narrowly escaped mayoral honours in High Wycombe, was there in Trinity hood; Doctors of Music, Doctors of Literature, and Doctors of Medicine, in flaming gowns rivalling the bright June sun; fair girl graduates from every University that grants degrees to women, the dark brown hoods of London and the rabbit-skins of Trinity (Dublin), and the "late" R.U.I. predominating. The number of Dublin hoods to be seen was due to the fact that Newnham and Girton took immediate advantage of the privileges accorded by Trinity College, Dublin, when first of the elder Universities it opened its grim doors to women and proffered an academic entente to those ladies who had been denied their rightful capping. The great number of these learned ladies surprised even their own supporters, and though the gowns they wore were in many cases more suited to Arctic weather than June, they marched with fine military precision to the Albert Hall. The Cambridge University Men's League followed, some in slouched hats and smoking pipes, some in cap and gown, some with their hands in their pockets and wearing a diffident air. Then the Women Pharmacists and the Women Sanitary Inspectors with their different banners brought up the rear of this section.

THE FREEDOM LEAGUE SECTIONS.

In front of the Women's Freedom League, which fol-

lowed next, came our President, Mrs. Despard, the familiar mantilla on her snow-white hair and a bunch of arum lilies in her hand. She never faltered for one moment in the long and tiresome journey, but led our sections, "nobly defiant, straight as a larch," like some grand old spirit, with eyes of fire. Behind her came representatives of England, Scotland, and Wales, the latter wearing Welsh national dress, and all three carrying their banners. The representatives of branches of the W.F.L. followed next, London Central leading, Miss Sidley acting as Lieutenant-in-Charge in front, and Miss Spencer behind.

The branches who sent contingents were:—Battersea, Bromley, Central, Clapham, Croydon, Dulwich, Finchley, Hackney, Hampstead, Herne Hill, Highbury, Lewisham, Northern Heights, Southall, Tottenham, Willesden, Harrow, Ireland, Scotland (ten branches), Wales (four branches), Caldicot, Cheltenham, Eastbourne, Ipswich, Liverpool (Waterloo), Manchester, Middlesbrough, Marlow, Potteries (Staffs), Sheffield, Wolverhampton, West Sussex, Woking, York, Norwich, and Sudbury.

The waving pennons, in gold and green, and the all-per-vading colours of green, yellow, and gold, which gave a singularly light effect to the whole section, made the appearance of the branches wonderfully picturesque.

Prisoners' Section.

The prisoners were led by Mrs. Billington-Greig, who had a special banner, as had also Miss Matters (by deputy), the "grille" prisoner, and Mrs. Despard. Then came the "three-star" prisoners—those who have served three sentences; then the two-star; then those who have suffered one imprisonment, the whole section being followed by Miss Neilans and Mrs. Chapin walking under a splendid banner commemorating the Bermondsey ballot-box protest. Mrs. Chapin also carried a banner which recalled the unjust sentences inflicted on her and Miss Neilans by Mr. Justice Grantham for this protest, and all along the route the crowd showed indignation against the sentence. The banners of the prisoners were very effective, particularly the special banners—Mrs. Billington-Greig's as the first woman prisoner; Miss Irene Miller's, who was the first woman to be arrested in London; and Miss Matters', whose banner bore appropriately a chain. In addition to the other banners, at the head of the section waved the big Holloway banner, an effective foil to the fluttering green, white, and gold pennons of the rest of the Freedom League section.

A few who could not be present sent deputies.

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Next came the other prisoners, marching in order of service.

Two imprisonments each: Miss Benett, Mrs. Holmes, Miss D. Molony, Miss Seruya, Miss FitzHerbert, Mrs. Cobden Sanderson, Mrs. Duval, Mrs. Sproson, Miss Ibbotson.

Grille Protest Banner, with chains: MISS MURIEL MATTERS (deputy.)

Men Prisoners: Mr. John Croft and Mr. Bayard Symmons.

Single Imprisonments: Miss Bessie Semple, Mrs. L. Borovikowsky, Miss Jenny McCallum, Miss Cecile Law, Miss Povey, Miss Marguerite Henderson, Miss Florence Bright, Miss Florence Burley, Miss Lila Clunas, Mrs. E. Reid Collins, Miss Muriel Scott, Miss Amy Hicks, Mrs. Borrmann Wells, Mrs. Scrimgeour, Miss Margaret Farquharson, Mrs. Hepzibah Sainty, Miss E. Bremner, Miss E. Knight, Miss Elsie Cummin, Mrs. Mackenzie, Miss Sidley, Miss Ada Mocatta, Miss Grace Johnson, Miss Dorothy Spencer, Mrs. Kathleen Crumme, Mrs.

The Picketers' banner bore the legend, "They also serve who only stand and wait."

The W.F.L. University women were headed by Mrs. How Martyn, in the cap and gown of a Bachelor of Science and gold-edged hood. She walked with a pretty little girl, Miss Eva Drysdale, whose father marched with the Men's League, whose mother was with the prisoners, and whose grandmother took her place with the veterans. Miss Muriel Nelson, M.A., was Lieutenant-in-charge. Pennons representing the different Universities in the section were carried by the graduates.

Madame Malmberg, representing Finland, led the International section, and amongst the most noticeable figures in this section were three Indian ladies walking with graceful scarves wound round their heads. The Committee of Women's Suffrage in Milan was represented by Signora Elisa Botticelli.

Nurses in uniform, matrons, sisters, nurses, district nurses, masseuses, members of the Red Cross Societies, and of all professions allied with the medical profession,



PRISONERS' SECTION.

[Barratt's Photo Press.]

(Mrs. Billington-Greig is seen beside the child carrying the banneret. Irene Miller, carrying her own, follows. The Holloway bannerets come behind. This only gives an idea of the tenth part of our sections.)

Mary Anne Hyde, Mrs. Winton Evans, Miss Madge Turner, Miss Isobel Cairns, Miss Lillie Boileau, Miss N. Bacon, Mrs. M. Montgomery, Dr. Helen Bouchier, Mrs. B. Drysdale, Miss V. Tillard, Miss M. Henderson, Miss Edmee Manning, Mrs. Katharine Manson, Miss Arabella Scott, Mrs. Julia Pickering, Miss Anna Munro, Miss Elizabeth Gibb, Miss Thompson, Miss Cecile Molony, Mrs. J. K. Hill, Mrs. Amy Sanderson, Mrs. Margaret Clayton, Mrs. Helen Meredith, Mrs. Annie Cobden Sanderson, Miss Alice Schofield, Miss Savage, Miss Alice Milne, Mrs. Alice Toyne, Signora Cimino-Folliero (deputy).

Their appearance all along the route was greeted with loud and frequent applause, and those who saw us pass say that this section (Prisoners and Picketers) were the popular favourites. But Londoners have long ago taken the Freedom League to their hearts, and the warmth of our welcome from the Embankment to the Kensington Town Hall was strangely moving. The great challenge of one of our oldest banners, "Dare to be free!" wakened whatever old seventh sense the most servile men in the crowds had, and, reading it, they cheered us again and again. Miss Edith Craig, Ellen Terry's daughter, to whom the picturesque appearance of our sections was largely due, with Miss Sime Seruya, the chief organiser, kept a continual watch on the marching divisions.

were well represented, and were greeted with great enthusiasm by the crowd.

The Athletes' section, with their beautiful banner of Diana and her hound, and borne by some of our most athletic members in gymnast dress, led by Mrs. Garrud, of jiu-jitsu fame, and Miss Kelley, was very striking.

Behind them, in stern contrast, came the sweated workers—boot machinists, box-makers, skirt-makers—of any section in that vast procession needing enfranchisement the most. Tired and toil-worn women, they carried their banner in the glare of the sun as bravely as the better cared for amongst us. The crowd was strangely silent as they passed, hot and weary, but unflinching. No one told them to "go home and mind the baby" when they passed by many who were wearing the products of their worn hands.

Behind them came the factory hands, some of them from the Government factories, and then the Civil Servants with their handsome banner.

The Teachers' section, led by Miss Thompson, had a beautiful banner, showing the colours of the League bravely.

The Picketers were led by Mrs. De Vismes, the champion picketer. Miss Elsie Chapin was Lieutenant-in-charge. To this section, representing as it did the historical vigil outside the House of Commons, London gave a great welcome.

Other Suffrage Societies.

With the Women Writers walked many well-known women. Miss Cicely Hamilton, author of "Diana of Dobson's," a contribution from whose pen appears on another page, carried the great black-and-white banner with Mrs. Gascoigne-Hartley; Mrs. Alice Meynell, Miss Alice Zimmern, Miss Peggy Webling, author of "Virginia Perfect"; Miss Elizabeth Robins; editors of various papers, among them Miss A. A. Smith, editor of the *India Magazine*; Miss May Sinclair, the well-known novelist; Mrs. Thomson-Price, consulting editor of THE VOTE; Mrs. Belloc-Lowndes, Miss Jane Wall, Mrs. Rentoul Esler, and many other well-known women.

Each carried a goose-quill and a black-and-white banneret bearing such familiar names as George Eliot, Fanny Burney, and Elizabeth Barrett Browning. As Oscar Wilde describes the writers' function, they put "black upon white, black upon white"—hence their colours. They attracted considerable attention, and were well cheered.

Behind them came the Church League, with a numerous following of clergy and others. Many Constitutional Suffragists marched in this section.

Next the Actresses, with their beautiful rose-and-green banner. Mrs. Madeleine Lucette Ryley, the author of "Mice and Men," walked with them. There was Miss Lena Ashwell, her arms full of pink-and-white paeonies; Miss Decima Moore, Miss Maude Hoffmann, Miss Eva Moore, Miss Phyllis Relf, Miss Jeanette Steer, Miss Adeline Bourne, and many others; but their professional duties kept many from joining us, as it would have interfered with both matinée and evening performance.

The Musicians had a fine banner, with the device, "The rest may reason and welcome; 'tis we musicians know." Miss Esther Palliser, Miss Caroline Hatchard, Miss Maud (daughter of Jenny Lind), and Miss Gertrude Peppercorn were in this contingent.

The Suffrage Atelier, to whom much of the artistic work of the procession was due, came behind in their picturesque dress, carrying their palettes with their colours tied to them. Then the New Constitutional Society, with a large contingent and a handsome banner, were followed by the younger Suffragists.

The Irish Women's Franchise League (who travelled all night to be present) had a beautiful green banner, borne by Miss Kathleen Sheehy, B.A., and Mrs. Sheehy-Skeffington, M.A., both in academic dress. Behind them came a large contingent of Irish women, including the two granddaughters of the Liberator, Daniel O'Connell, Hon. Miss Massie and Dr. Elizabeth Bell.

Marching behind these were the Irish Women's Suffrage Society (Belfast), the Gymnastic Teachers' Suffrage Society; the Tax Resistance League, following, had a fine banner showing John Hampden with the ship and the coin (reproduced from the statue at St. Stephen's). All along the route the Irish women were well cheered, and cries of "Good old Ireland!" were frequent.

And Yet Others.

Contingents from the Men's Political Union, their banner bearing the motto, "We fight the Government that refuses to give women the Parliamentary vote!" the Men's League for Women's Suffrage, the International Suffrage Society, the Men's Committee for Justice to Women, and the New Union for Men and Women, all carrying their own banners and with large followings.

The Colonial and Foreign contingents came next, Lady Stout leading New Zealand and Lady Cockburn Australia, with followings of those who had benefited in the granting of political freedom in these countries. Mrs. Saul Solomon had a contingent of South Africans, and there were also representatives from Germany, Sweden, Denmark, France, Holland, and Norway (in national dress).

The Fabian women, representing the hopes and ideals of that great society, women from the Ethical Societies, and a large contingent, bearing great green boughs, from the Garden City marched next.

Innumerable other contingents, followed by a long line of carriages, ended the procession.

Sometimes the music of the bands, as it passed from one section to another and completed its march, would cease; but the old song in our blood, of hope near fulfilment, never ceased, and we marched to it. If London, the hub of the wide world, doubted that we were in earnest, why, all the doubts are now at rest, and nothing remains but to help us to reach our goal. We have demonstrated our place in the great scheme of things, our right to think and work, to live and let live, and soon, when, like the woman at the foot of Justice, as in our Woman's Pageant, we shall have our manacles struck off, we, too, shall cry: " 'Tis good to be alive when morning dawns."

EDITOR'S NOTE.—Many of our regular features—Branch Notes, &c.—have had to be held over this week, but we know that, in giving this comprehensive report of the Great Procession, we have met the wishes of our always-increasing readers. Notice of Mr. Chapman's fine speech at last week's "At Home" appears next week. In the absence of THE VOTE Directory, we hope the advertisements will also have their due attention. Forthcoming events should be studied for notices of future "At Homes, &c., and Mrs. Chapin's matinée.



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SATURDAY, JUNE 25, 1910.

SIGNS OF THE TIMES.

Every movement towards liberty wins its moments of popular sympathy and understanding, and few movements win more than this from the populace of their day. The people are too busy living and dying, too busy snatching the little they can get from life, to give themselves for their own deliverance. But it may be taken that the reasonableness and justice of a claim have been demonstrated to the full when the sympathy of the people is conscious and expressed.

All of us have marked the growth of popular sympathy with the active militant movement for Women's Suffrage. With every occasion offered by our demonstrations we have seen that the feeling in our favour has steadily improved. If we take the first militant procession of May, 1906, and that of last Saturday, and compare the reception accorded us by the onlookers, we can have no doubt left in our minds as to the rapid hold we have won upon the popular mind. The growth of sympathy has been both rapid and steady, though it has not always been expressed; but just now we stand at one of those points when it is conscious and manifest.

The lull in militant action has given the public as well as the politician time to understand more fully the essential significance of this form of political effort. The slow passing of the hours since the General Election has given birth to the desire for peace. Perhaps also a little of shame has crept to consciousness.

The General Election, too, has not been without its lessons, and in the quiet interval they have gone home. The strength and possibilities of the movement have revealed themselves to eyes made keen by personal interest. The moving of votes, the wide-spread questioning, the great growth of interest and activity—all these have been as levers moving the machinery of the political mind. It has come to be admitted that neither party can afford to turn the forces of militant Suffragism against its candidates at the polls.

Times of consciousness are not common in the political world. There are signs that such an hour is upon us now. In the inner circle of political life a desire to end the Suffrage struggle has grown into action, and a wonderful unanimity has displayed itself in favour of the Bill adopted by the Conciliation Committee. Under the influence of this hour the Prime Minister has agreed to receive two deputations of women—one from the National Union of Women Suffrage Societies and one from the Anti-Suffrage League—both of which he will have heard and answered when this issue of THE VOTE appears in print. Mr. Asquith, as Prime Minister, has never before received a deputation of women. That he has done so now is due to those influences for peace which of late have become active, and it is to be hoped that they will prove powerful enough to carry him into a dignified acquiescence with the will of Parliament and the people. Things are certainly moving, and there is hope expressed that even this miracle will be accomplished. Suffragists, certain always of their final success, begin to be sanguine of an early, if partial, victory. There is a widespread belief among Parliamentarians that this particular Women Suffrage measure cannot be rejected safely, that when we have gone so far to meet the politician, that when we have shown our willingness to pay the price of compromise as well as the price of struggle and sacrifice in order to get even a small practical measure upon the Statute Book, rejection would be an act of outrage wanton and dangerous in the extreme.

To us there have never been good reasons put forward, either in Parliament or out of it, against the establishment of political sex equality, but we have recognised that Par-

liamentary difficulties have been created, and that these would have to be overcome before victory could be ours. Among the possible ways of overcoming these difficulties the way of compromise had never been fairly tried until to-day. The arguments of the opposing politicians, generally mutually destructive, have never been met by a serious effort in legislative form. Such arguments have been answered and exposed, and expected to die, whereas in the heat of conflict they have attained generally a new vitality. But the way of compromise is now being tried. The basic measure of sex equality has been whittled down into an Occupiers' Franchise Bill, with which representatives of each party have declared themselves content; and we, realising that half a loaf is better than no bread, have declared our willingness to accept the Conciliation Bill as a first instalment of the rights we are entitled to.

Whatever we may feel as to the limits of this measure the politician should remain satisfied. He has been consulted and considered in every franchise excluded and in every line of the drafted Bill. Neither Liberal nor Conservative nor Labour man can have any shadow of excuse for refraining from its support—indeed, can have any shadow of excuse for not exercising to the fullest his power and influence over the governing machinery of the country in order to get this measure upon the Statute Book during this session.

The Bill can pass; the Bill must pass. A betrayal at this juncture would be the worst deed of treachery of which it is possible for us to conceive. There is no rational excuse, no superficially satisfactory reason, left to the members of Parliament. They must support this measure or expose themselves. They must not only support it, but they must support it in such a way that no option shall be left to the Government but to grant immediate facilities for its passage into law. We have yielded much that a beginning may be made; we can yield no more. The influences that have been at work to hasten the enfranchisement of some members of our sex must carry this Bill into law. It is their clear duty. So far in our attacks upon Government, so far in our attacks upon the citadel of masculine dominance, we have found it entrenched behind the politician. He has stood between us and the Government, but in this conciliatory effort he has come out into the open. He has declared himself on the side of an immediate solution. In so doing he has left the Cabinet unentrenched, weaker against attack than ever before, and full advantage must be taken of the position thus created.

A denial of facilities now, a blocking of this Bill, will shake the Liberal centre to its base, will damn the Liberal Party. The opportunity is theirs, and if they do not take it we must be ready to act. Neither Mr. Asquith nor his party can escape the consequences of betrayal now. The Liberal Party may save itself: Mr. Asquith may be brought to act or to resign. But one of these things is imperative—our need can no longer be gainsaid.

TERESA BILLINGTON-GREIG.

OUR TREASURY.

The Great Procession is over, and another wonderful day in the Woman's Movement has been added to our dramatic and picturesque history. "A triumph of organisation" is the unanimous criticism of the Press, but this was only rendered possible by the spending of a good deal of money. From the fluttering pennons and the march through cheering crowds I, as your treasurer, have to descend to the details of paying bills. For this purpose, and to meet the expenses of the summer work, I want a special enrolment of fifty friends to join with me for the purpose of raising £500 before August. The scheme is for each one to promise to collect, raise, or personally give £10 by August 31st. There are numbers in our ranks who perhaps cannot actually give £10, but, by making themselves responsible for raising it, they can manage to extract it in single pounds or lesser sums from their own friends.

The following have already promised to give or collect £10 each:—

| | | |
|--------------|--------------------|-----------------------|
| Anonymous | Miss Corben | Mrs. Schofield Coates |
| Mrs. Bastian | Mrs. How Martyn | Miss Seruya |
| Mrs. Clark | Dr. Knight | Mrs. Tudor |
| Mrs. Cleaves | Miss Eunice Murray | |

I have also to acknowledge the generous gifts of smaller contributions. This week's list is only up to June 17th, and all donations since that date will appear in our next issue.—C. DESPARD.

THE W. F. L. MEETING AT KENSINGTON TOWN HALL.

At the Albert Hall the Freedom League contingents turned and marched on direct to the Kensington Town Hall, in the large hall of which a crowded meeting was held. The banners which had been carried in the procession were arranged on the platform and around the hall, the beautiful embroidered banner presented by the Suffrage Atelier occupying the place of honour. Mrs. Despard was in the chair, and on the platform were Mrs. How Martyn, Mrs. Cobden-Sanderson, Miss Benett, Mrs. Thomson-Price, Miss Manning, B.A., and Mrs. Holmes. A beautiful sheaf of lilies was presented to Mrs. Despard by Mrs. Cranstoun, and subsequently an anchor, in the colours of the League, to Mrs. Billington-Greig as a token of welcome from her fellow-workers on her return. The evening's speeches were brief, as many of the country members had to return by train the same night, and it was almost 9.30 before it was possible for the meeting to begin. Thanks to Mrs. Fisher's kindly thought a buffet was arranged, and those who had not had food for many hours were able to secure hasty refreshment before going upstairs to the meeting.

Mrs. Despard, in her opening remarks, declared that they had had a most wonderful procession, and she thanked those most heartily who during the last few weeks had devoted themselves to the work of the procession, and more particularly she thanked those behind the scenes—Miss Edith Craig and Miss Sime Seruya—who had slaved so devotedly and indefatigably in organising the success of their sections. It meant a great deal at this critical time in the history of nations that women should show what they could do. There were people who thought that there had been a depression, a slump, in the Suffrage movement, but in this great and peaceful demonstration women had shown themselves ready and knowing how to work together—and that was the great point. She was not going to say where they exactly stood, but the moment was a critical one. Men were wondering at the urgency of the women; but the women knew that if nothing were done now, it would presently mean that they would have to be a little fiercer and wilder, and show their determination more than ever before. Behind this movement there was a great force pushing it onwards. That force was economic pressure, and in it lay the meaning of this urgency. She asked their brothers in that room to help them. Some of the best men in the kingdom had come into the movement. (Applause.) But not even the best men knew what really was behind them—what was in the heart and soul of women fighting that they might see the dawn of womanhood. When Joan of Arc forgot her womanhood and put herself at the head of the troops she said: "It was pity for the great realm of France moved me, and I could do no other." In the same way it was pity for this great realm of Britain that was moving them on. Whether this little Bill passed or whether they were choked off as in the past, the women had come together that day, and they would not loosen hands again until they had won economic freedom for men, women, and children. They had heard of "the joy of living," but there was still a great proportion of people to whom, owing to the conditions under which they lived and worked, the ocean of life meant nothing—they only stood upon the brink.

She bade those to whom the movement for Freedom meant anything to take heart of grace. The love of their great venture was moving in their veins. They must move forward now and never slumber again; they were awake, and that awakening meant much to them. Speaking of the joy of the rising up of true womanhood, she said there would always be some whom the gods could not save. They were not the angry nor the too enthusiastic, they were only the craven, the apathetic, and the selfish. But such did not exist among their members, and they were determined that whatever was about to happen they would stand firmly together. They were going towards the ocean of life, and, shining in front of them, was the dawn of a perfect day. (Loud and prolonged applause.)

Miss Manning spoke of the feeling in the country towards the Bill, particularly Manchester and Sheffield. Whether

it passed or whether it fell to the ground, there was no doubt that the country desired it. (Applause.) At every recent open-air meeting that she had addressed concerning the Bill she had been told at the close of the meeting that "we all agree with you here." Men liked the new woman a great deal better than they liked the old. The march of that day was typical of the coming of the new woman. They had started from Cleopatra's Needle, and soon left the old Serpent of the Nile, the old wives of the women of a past age, behind them. The cheers that greeted them had been much more hearty than they had been two years ago. The country was with them; if one Cabinet Minister sought to impede the Bill by threats of resignation let him resign. (Applause.)

Mrs. T. Billington-Greig's Speech.

On rising to speak Mrs. Billington-Greig was received with loud cheers, and when they had subsided she said:—Mrs. Despard and friends: The reception we have received as we have walked through the London streets to-day is a great public example of what has been achieved by this Suffrage agitation, which only a few years ago was a very cold, a very academic, and almost a lifeless movement—certainly a movement without great enthusiasm, great fervour, and intense conviction behind it. But with the militant agitation it has grown into a movement which is full of flame which blazes up to the heavens in enthusiasm, in a spirit of high purpose, in a warm appreciation of the work of fellow-comrades, and in those great forces which go to make the life and soul of nations. The Suffrage movement is the living movement of the day, because it is the one movement, I believe, for which at this present moment people are willing to pay any price by means of which they can buy it success. It is the living movement, because while at the present moment it limits itself to a single demand, behind that single demand there is the greatest revolution that has ever taken place in the heart of the human race—that is, the mothers of the race. We have been passing through a time of quiet. Some of us have been going through a time a little quieter than the rest, and as a result of that time of quiet we have emerged with some new lights on present problems. As a result of that time of quiet there has come into existence the Conciliation Committee—(applause)—and the Conciliation Bill, and there has come into the minds of politicians the knowledge that this is not a movement to be blocked by the trumpety opposition of any Members of Parliament. As a result of that time of quiet we have got a clear appreciation into the minds of those who control the Liberal Press—and, one begins almost to hope, the Conservative Press—of the fact that either this matter has to be settled or something very terrible will happen to the people who prevent it—that rebellion is certain unless this Bill pass.

Those who look back on the history of the Franchise movement in this country will find that the very same stages have been gone through in our case as in the other Franchise extensions. First, the politicians consider your demand and reject it; and then, close upon their heels—when the struggle has come to a head and when the demand ought to be granted—in Britain you reach the stage of compromise. Then you know your case is gained in the minds of the people. Then you may be sure that the politician will begin to ask you to take a little bit less, and so constituted is the British public that unless you do take the "little bit less" it may be a very long time before you get what you ask for. We ask for a national declaration of the equality of men and women in politics to be placed on the statute book of the country. And when we have asked, and worked, and suffered for this, we are required to accept only an instalment. We say we want the principle estab-

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lished, and that nothing less can satisfy us; but a second consideration shows us that in every other Franchise agitation those who paid the price had to come down to meet the politician and take only a portion of what they were asking for. The question is: If we refuse the half loaf shall we be any nearer to gaining the whole loaf? We have always to remember that the series of circumstances which tend to the passing of a contentious measure do not occur with anything like frequency, and cannot be relied on to recur once the opportunity has passed. It is for us to kill this Bill or help it to pass. I say it is our certain duty to help the Bill to pass by every word and act of ours. (Cheers.) I do not profess, my friends, to understand why the politicians like it better than the Equality Bill. I fail utterly to understand why the Liberals should feel that one Franchise is more democratic than thirteen; I fail to understand why a man who wants Adult Suffrage prefers a Limited Bill to one upon which Adult Suffrage can be built. The politicians are entirely beyond my mind. They do not seem to be ordinary reasonable beings, and while I find it quite possible to understand the points of view of ordinary reasonable persons, the politician, I admit, is beyond me. I do profess to be able to see the reasons which led the Conciliation Committee to take the line of action they have taken. They went amongst members of Parliament, and they found that the very breadth and strength of the Equality Bill was against it. They felt that our very persistence in sticking to it had become a stumbling block against it. Tories said, "This Bill is a dangerous bill; it carries us so far." A broad statement of principle is too big a thing for the politician; and being big it was met on one side of the House with "Revolution!" and on the other side with talk of "Limits and restrictions!" That is the position with regard to this Bill, which has been before the House so often that a whole series of prejudices have been built up against it; and it was so big and strong and broad in principle that they were able to interpret it as being almost any bogey they pleased. Now, while I object to the point of view which is better pleased with a limited Franchise than with a great principle, I realise that the British mind is very much built on these lines, and if you can say "A woman who has a house will have a vote" the average man in the street and the average man in the House will understand better what you mean than if you say "We want the Vote on the same terms as men." The first law of fighting against principles in politics is the fear of the unknown that lies behind them. There is nothing that terrifies the politician so much as having put to him a principle of which he approves in theory but of which he is terribly afraid in practice. So there is no principle in this Bill, but a plain statement, a concrete fact. He will know who will vote and who will not vote, and he can go into the division lobby without feeling that he is endangering his party's safety or his sex's autocracy in the future.

I really think that, for the reasons I have partly touched upon, there is more chance of this measure passing than there is of the Equality Bill passing. We have made our movement by making sacrifices. It was bred and born in sacrifices, and it seems we are to be asked to make another sacrifice. We are to be asked to accept the practical measure that is approved by the limited mind of the British people instead of that big, general statement of principle which warms our hearts and makes us strong for the struggle. While we see the limits of this Bill, while we recognise the absence of that principle in it, we must remember that its general interpretation by the people will be that we have won. (Applause.) They will say not that "such women vote and such women don't," but that "women vote for Parliament," and I am myself firmly convinced that the great lesson of those women voting will so soon inculcate into the minds of other women and of men a reasonable understanding of our demand, that the passing of this Occupiers' Bill will hasten the day when a really fair Franchise will be established in this country. I have one word more to say, and only one, and that is, my friends, that we are going to make, I hope, every effort to get this Bill on the Statute Book, even while pointing out how great is the sacrifice we are making in pushing it. I do want every woman to do for this Bill, if not all she



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SENT ON APPROVAL

would have done for the Equality Bill, certainly all she can possibly do, in the few days remaining to us before the second reading, to make it clear that any betrayal of this Bill is going to be greeted by the militant women of this country with such a revolution as will make any politicians regret that they did not hasten it through every stage and get it upon the Statute Book at the earliest possible moment. We are making a great compromise; we are giving every atom we can give to the politician. We have paid every price that is asked of us, and therefore betrayal now must mean that there are men in the Government so determined to keep women in subjection that nothing but the most strenuous militancy will ever drive them out of office and bring freedom to the women of this country. If this is not so the Bill will pass; and if it does not, it will be our task to break to pieces the Cabinet which will not see reason. (Prolonged applause.)

Mrs. Despard's Appeal

Mrs. Despard, in the course of a stirring appeal for funds, said:—We are out not only for the Vote, but for that which we know lies behind the Vote; and in order that we may rightly exercise our privilege there must be propaganda work and educative work throughout the country. There are people in the country districts literally crying out to us to send them organisers and to send them speakers. We need help—much, much more help—if we are to attack this work that lies before us. Remember this: whatever happens, there is going to be an Election before very long. Before this we must have the country places and villages awakened. Whether we have obtained this small measure of Constitutional power which they are proposing to give us or not we shall have to go on. It would be a sad thing if the Women's Freedom League, because a certain number of women had gained the right for which we have been fighting, failed to carry on its work. The Women's Freedom League, with its hopes, its aspirations, its ideals, and its claims, has much work yet to do. It is for you to say if it will hold

together. I myself have an idea of this Freedom League of ours spreading beyond the bounds of our country. (Applause.) We have had many such appeals: "Why don't you make this an International Women's Freedom League?" My answer has always been: "Let us finish our first battle; then heaven grant that we may extend, that we may take in the oppressed of other countries, that we may become strong, and, above all, useful to those who need us." And, in order to do this, you must help us to replenish our coffers. We have passed through a difficult time lately. The political situation and the death of the King crippled us for a time, but we have perfect faith in the Women's Freedom League because of the women who are in it." (Loud applause.)

An immediate response to this appeal was made, acknowledgment of which will be found on page 102.

"MARCHING PAST."


There is one thing, I fear me, that I shall never see—and that is a Women's Suffrage procession through the streets of London. Four have I walked in, the first nervously, the rest joyously. But as for seeing them—what do you see when you march but the band in front, the crowd on either hand, and, now and again, a glimpse of flying pennons ahead when the serpent-line curls round a curve? The man in the street may write of us as we look; we, the women in the road, can tell only of our own flag, our own group, our own kindly policeman escort; we would give much many of us to see such a march go by, but that is a thing forbidden; our duty is not to admire, but to march.

Yet regretfully we think it, there must have been much to see! We in the Writers' section seemed to wait so long after the appointed hour motionless, if impatient, behind our black-and-white banner, our eyes watching the Freedom League pennons ahead—stationary still, though we knew it was long since the leading files of the W.S.P.U. had swung into Northumberland Avenue on their way to the Albert Hall. Once there was a false alarm, and our banner on the strength thereof was hoisted into position, to be dropped again when we found the alarm was false, since its weight was no trifle, thick velvet and ten-foot poles. Up it went once more, and in earnest this time, for the green, gold, and white were on the dance at last; our band struck up, and lines of faces stared as we went by.

Hanging on to a heavy banner, one's energies concentrated on the task of holding it gallantly erect, one has not overmuch mind to spare for surroundings, but almost unconsciously the impressions of the march compared themselves with those received when, two years ago, we traversed the same route. And the comparison resulted in the conviction that the crowd, on the whole, was friendlier. Once, to be sure, a hiss was audible—somewhere near Knightsbridge—and piercing a burst of cheers and clapping. But, take it all in all, the jibes were fewer, the faces kinder. One could only look at them when the halt came; but, when the halts did come, and one did look, it was always to meet a smile. Words of encouragement were plentiful, and not only from women. Man after man tossed us a good wish as our banner went by, one well-wisher accompanying his sentiments with a slap on the back so hearty that the banner-bearer had scarcely breath to gasp her thanks.

And if we make entertainment for the crowd, does not the crowd likewise make entertainment for us? We in our section bore aloft the names of women writers remembered after death; but such is fame, the man in the street was evidently under the impression that Maria Edgeworth, the Brontës, and other worthies whose names were held aloft were actively and in person agitating for the repeal of the sex disability. Acting on this conviction, he hailed the bearer of the Elizabeth Barrett Browning standard as "Good old Liz!" greeted her who displayed the banner of the author of "Evelina" as "Dear old Fanny!" and speculated anxiously as to whether it was Charlotte or Emily Brontë who held on high the names of the sisters of Haworth.

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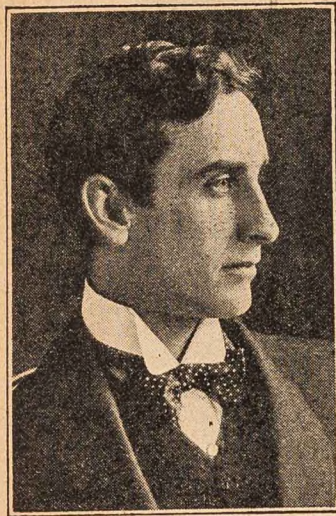
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SPEECH BY EARL LYTTON AT ALBERT HALL ON JUNE 18th.



(Photo, Ernest B. Mills, 6, Stanley Gardens, Hampstead.)

EARL LYTTON.

Chairman Conciliation Committee.

noon in this magnificent procession with your heads held high because you were marching in a triumphant cause, and your hearts, too, I know, were beating with a new sense of hopefulness and expectation; and the knowledge that I have been able, even in a very small degree, to contribute to that new sense of hopefulness gives me more pleasure than anything that has happened to me since I first entered into political life. To-day is a triumphant day for the Suffrage cause, and I am glad to be able to share with you some of its emotions. I most cordially reciprocate the words that fell from your Chairman just now that this demonstration must be the last of its kind. I hope, ladies and gentlemen, that the next demonstration that you will be called upon to take part in will be the celebration of the victory of your cause, a rejoicing at the termination of that long struggle in which the women of this country have been engaged, and a vindication at last of your claims to exercise the rights of citizenship.

If anyone had said at the beginning of the present session that it was one that was likely to see the triumph of your cause no one, I think, would have believed him. The outlook in February last was not very hopeful, not because there was any slackening in the forces that lie behind us, but merely because of the peculiar circumstances in which this Parliament opened; but since February last a great deal of work has been done and a new situation has arisen. Will you allow me to say one word about that work? From the circumstances which led to the termination of the last Parliament it was abundantly clear to everyone that if there were to be a solution of this question on non-party lines it could only be brought about by the concentration of all our supporters in the House of Commons. It was the object of the Conciliation Committee to bring about that concentration and to ensure that all the friends of this cause in the House of Commons should be not merely united on the main ideal, but should have an "Agreed Bill" which they would be prepared to support when the time arrived. In politics one never knows when the opportunity may occur. The thing is to be ready for it when it comes. The object of this Committee was not to wait for the opportunity, but to make sure that when the opportunity did come we should be prepared for it, and I think that subsequent events have justified the action of the Committee. We worked out our Bill, we made our preparations, and now, in circumstances no one could possibly have foreseen, the opportunity has arisen for settling this question.

All that I can say at this moment about the situation is this: That all the real friends of this question outside and inside Parliament—yes, even in the Cabinet itself—

"I am most deeply touched at the warmth of your welcome, and I will ask for your indulgence in view of the emotions which are necessarily aroused by so magnificent a gathering. I hope that the cloudless sky and brilliant sunshine that have smiled on your procession to-day may be taken as a happy augury that the clouds are disappearing, and that before long we may be sunning ourselves in the joy of realisation. You who have marched through the streets this afternoon must have done so with your heads held high because you were marching in a triumphant cause, and your hearts, too, I know, were beating with a new sense of hopefulness and expectation; and the knowledge that I have been able, even in a very small degree, to contribute to that new sense of hopefulness gives me more pleasure than anything that has happened to me since I first entered into political life. To-day is a triumphant day for the Suffrage cause, and I am glad to be able to share with you some of its emotions. I most cordially reciprocate the words that fell from your Chairman just now that this demonstration must be the last of its kind. I hope, ladies and gentlemen, that the next demonstration that you will be called upon to take part in will be the celebration of the victory of your cause, a rejoicing at the termination of that long struggle in which the women of this country have been engaged, and a vindication at last of your claims to exercise the rights of citizenship.

are putting forth exceptional efforts to see that this opportunity is not lost. As Chairman of a Committee composed almost exclusively of members of Parliament, I can assure this great meeting that those members of Parliament who are friendly to this cause have thrown themselves into it these last few weeks heart and soul. Great as has been the enthusiasm of every member of the Committee, I feel bound to say on this occasion that the chief credit for the work we have already been able to accomplish, and the honour of our success—if, as I hope, our efforts are crowned with success—is due to our Secretary, Mr. Brailsford. I can never tell you, ladies and gentlemen, how he has slaved for this cause during the last four months; he has spared no pains, he has allowed no obstacle to stand in the way, he has done the work of at least six men, and he has never allowed himself to be discouraged by any check. Whatever may be the outcome of the efforts of this Committee, we all of us owe a debt of gratitude to our Secretary, Mr. Brailsford.

Now I want to say one word about the Bill itself. It has been put forward in the belief that it offered a better solution of the question than those which have hitherto held the field. We realised to the full that it fell short of the demand for absolute equality between the sexes which has been sustained by every one of the women's organisations. But, like all compromise, it entails some sacrifice on the part of those who support it; but we felt that a Bill of this kind had more chance of being carried into law immediately than any other that could be put forward. But it is not put forward as a window-dressing measure. We have approached all parties, and have asked for their support, and it was the essence of their acceptance of our proposal that they should get the Bill this session. In framing it our main object has been to satisfy the two conditions laid down by the Prime Minister himself some years ago as essentials to any non-party solution of this question. Firstly, that it should be on democratic lines, and, secondly, that it should receive the support of a large majority in the House of Commons. Let me just indicate in what way we believe our Bill does satisfy these conditions. There are those who say that it is not sufficiently democratic. I think these critics must be ignorant of the exact wording of our Bill, or, at least, of the registration laws under which it would be carried out, and, indeed, some of them seem to have a special definition of their own of the word "democratic." I thoroughly believe that there are some members of the present Government who would not believe that a Bill was democratic unless its promoters were able to assure them that every individual enfranchised by the Bill would vote for them. We cannot give any such assurance, and if that be the true meaning of "democratic," then our Bill is not a democratic one, but, ladies and gentlemen, I ask you what has the true democrat to do with the use people make of their votes. All that he is interested in is that every class in the country should be fairly represented in any Franchise Bill. Now, it is from that point of view I claim our Bill is on democratic lines. Any limited Franchise Bill, in order to be democratic, must typify the class that is enfranchised by it in the same proportion as they are represented in the country as a whole. The Bill is, I claim, a fair representation in small of the interests of the country as a whole. It is a Bill that will enfranchise every woman householder, no matter what may be the value of the house she occupies. A Bill that will do that and give her representation in the same proportion that it is enjoyed by men is, I insist upon it, a democratic Bill. Now, with regard to the second condition—that it should receive the support of a large majority in the House of Commons, I hold that has been already proved. Our Bill was introduced, as you know, last Tuesday by Mr. Shackleton. It was threatened with the most strenuous opposition at every stage, and at the first stage on which opposition could be shown no opposition was forthcoming. I do not believe, if Mr. F. E. Smith could have commanded even fifty supporters he would have shirked going into the Division Lobby, and, there, I say that, by that evidence,

already our Bill satisfies the second condition—that it has received the support of a large majority in the House of Commons. That is the Bill, and, as I have already said, the opportunity has arisen. By common consent the Parliamentary decks have been cleared of party controversy at any rate until the autumn, and the way is prepared for the introduction, discussion, and passage of a non-party measure. No one could say that the House of Commons is at this moment overburdened with work. It is rising every day quite unusually early—for the House of Commons—and even if all its spare moments, since the Bill was introduced, had been spent in its discussion, it would have gone a long way already. It has made a good start. The Committee has done all it can do in the preparation of the way. It now remains for the Government to help its passage into law. This chapter is not yet finished, and until the decision of the Government is made public I shall continue to be confident that the chapter will end by the passage of this Bill into law. We have, therefore, every reason to be confident to-day. The women of this country are still asking out of the darkness of their long subjection of those who are posted on the political watch towers—the watchmen of the night—but the answer has come at last—come with its message of hope and confidence, "The night is far spent, the day is at hand." (Loud applause.)

Mrs. Pankhurst's Opening Speech.

At the Albert Hall Mrs. Pankhurst, who was in the chair, before calling upon Lord Lytton to speak, said: One word, and one word only, is in the minds of those who have participated in this great women's demonstration. That word is "Victory!" (Cheers.) This magnificent procession, the like of which has never been seen before in this or any other country, coming as a climax to all the fifty years of patient work and five years of strenuous agitation, will compel any Government with any idea of statesmanship to realise that the Bill must become law without delay. (Applause.) So great has been the procession, so long has it taken to enter and fill this vast hall, that I have not the time—I wish I had—to refer in detail to all the interesting features of the procession; but I do want to say, not a word of thanks, but a word of congratulation, to those women, representing all ranks of society, all shades of political opinion, and all methods of agitation—(applause)—who have united in a great and peaceful demonstration for the emancipation of their sex. I think, if there is a woman here who had any doubts before the procession, that she is now satisfied that she has performed her duty along with those of us who had no doubts in helping to make the demonstration an overwhelming success. One word I must say of thanks to those patient workers who have devoted weeks of strenuous effort to bringing together and uniting in the procession all those varying sections of women. (Applause.) I know that to them to-day in itself is a great reward for all they have done, and they are happy, as happy as any of us, in the success that has attended their efforts.

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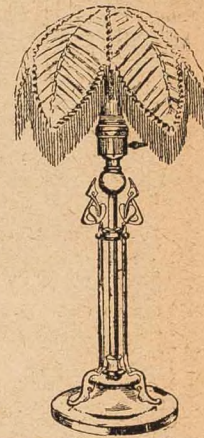
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Well, now, a word about the situation. I repeat—there can be no doubt about it—the Bill will go through. (Prolonged applause.) This effort of ours must be the last demonstration of unenfranchised women, and it is our duty to-night to call upon the Government to conclude the agitation by passing the Bill introduced by the efforts of the speaker on my left—(cheers)—and his colleagues. It is my duty from the chair to move the following resolution: "That this meeting calls upon the Government to grant facilities for the Women's Suffrage Bill now before Parliament, so that it may pass into law this session, and pledges itself, regardless of personal cost or sacrifice, to push forward the campaign for the emancipation of women until victory be won."

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FORTHCOMING EVENTS. LONDON.



**DARE TO BE
FREE.**

- THURS., JUNE 23RD.—Caxton Hall, 3.30 p.m. Hostesses—Mrs. Cunningham, Mrs. de Vismes. Speakers, Mrs. Fenwick Miller, C. V. Drysdale, D.Sc.
Rushcroft Road, Brixton, 8 p.m.
Highbury Corner, 7.30 p.m.
1, Robert Street, 6.45 p.m., London Branches Council.
- FRI., JUNE 24TH.—1, Robert Street, Adelphi. Whist Drive in aid of funds of London Branches Council, 7.30 p.m. No Speaker's Class.
- SAT., JUNE 25TH.—Morland Road, Addiscombe. Mr. and Mrs. Duval.
- SUN., JUNE 26TH.—Finsbury Park, 11.30 a.m. Miss Guttridge.
Wandsworth Common, 11.30 a.m. Mrs. Duval and others.
Regent's Park, 12.
Battersea Park, 3.30 p.m. Mrs. Clanchy.
- MON., JUNE 27TH.—White Horse, Brixton, 8 p.m.
Hornsey Fire Station, 8 p.m. Miss Neilans.
Highbury Corner, 7.30 p.m.
Mossbury Road, 7.30. Mrs. Duval and others.
Crystal Palace, Tram Terminus, 8 p.m. Miss Ethel Fennings and Member of Men's League.
- WED., JUNE 29TH.—South Place, Kennington, 8 p.m.
- THURS., JUNE 30TH.—Caxton Hall. Chair, Mrs. Huntsman.
Mrs. Sproson, "The Working Woman's Point of View";
Mr. O'Dell, "Shakespeare's Women."
Finchley, 8 p.m. Miss Marguerite Sidley.
- FRI., JULY 1ST.—1, Robert Street, 8 p.m. Mrs. Chapin.
- SAT., JULY 2ND.—42, Parkhill Road, Hampstead. Mrs. Thomson
Price. Garden Meeting, 3-6.
- SUN., JULY 3RD.—Finsbury Park, 11.30 a.m.
Wandsworth Common.
Regent's Park, 12.
Brockwell Park, 6 p.m. Mrs. Manson.
Battersea Park, 3.30 p.m.
- MON., JULY 4TH.—1, Robert Street, 7.30 p.m. Central Branch
Members; 8.15 p.m., Public Meeting—Mr. Robert Young
on "The Essentials of Citizenship."
- FRI., JULY 8TH.—Mrs. and Miss Chapin's Matinée, Rehearsal
Theatre, Maiden Lane, Strand. Tickets, 5s., 2s. 6d., 2s.
- Sun., July 3rd, to Sun., July 10th.—Vote Week everywhere.
- Portsmouth Meetings. THE PROVINCES.**
- FRI., JUNE 24TH.—Stubbington Avenue, 8.
- MON., JUNE 27TH.—Town Hall Square, 8 p.m.
- TUES., JUNE 28TH.—"At Home," Co-operative Hall, Gosport, 7.
- WED., JUNE 29TH.—Gosport Hard, 8 p.m.
- THURS., JUNE 30TH.—Mrs. Turner's Drawing-room, 74, Whitworth Road, Gosport.
- FRI., JULY 1ST.—Sultan Road, 8 p.m.
- THURS., JUNE 23RD.—Garden Meeting, Grasmere, Norwich Road, Ipswich. Mrs. Arncliffe-Sennett.
- FRI., JUNE 24TH.—Felixstowe. Mrs. Arncliffe-Sennett.
- Edinburgh. SCOTLAND.**
- FRI., JUNE 24TH.—33, Forrest Road. Branch Meeting, 8 p.m.
"Mary Wolstonecraft," Miss J. M. Marshall.
Dundee. Speaker, Miss Jack (Edinburgh). Chair, Miss Clunas.
- SAT., JUNE 25TH.—Dunfermline, 3 and 7.30 p.m. Speaker, Miss Madge Turner.
- WED., JUNE 29TH.—Dundee. Speakers, Misses Bell and Clunas.
Chair, Miss Marnie.
- Portrush. IRELAND.**
- Ramore Hill every evening at 8.30.
Bath Terrace, every afternoon at 12.15.
- WALES.**
- WED., JUNE 29TH.—Swansea. Chez-Nous, Sketty, 6 p.m.
Garden Party, Cake and Candy Stalls.

THE HARTLEPOOLS BYE-ELECTION.

For between two and three weeks a most successful by-election campaign for Votes for Women has been waged in the Hartlepoons, resulting in a great reduction in the majority of the Liberal. Our shop in Church Square has been a centre of attraction all day long, and at night meetings were held in front of it. These meetings, the largest ever held in West Hartlepool, were attended by thousands of electors and women, who gave the closest attention to the speakers. Not only in the evening have the audiences been huge, but also at the gates of the various works during the dinner-hour, when the men have returned half an hour earlier to listen to the Suffragettes.

At the beginning it was thought that polling would take place on June 15th, but the struggle was prolonged until June 20th. Despite, however, the length of the fight, and the consequent strain upon the speakers, interest in the Women's Freedom League and its objects never waned, and the last meeting addressed by the writer, exactly a fortnight after the first, was bigger than ever, although at least seven other meetings were being held in the same square simultaneously.

The campaign has been highly successful. The Hartlepoons are won for "Votes for Women," and will never slip back into the old condition of antagonism or indifference. So marked has been

the influence on the electors that the candidates have declared themselves for Women's Suffrage, though not in their addresses. The latter were issued before it was realised how much enthusiasm for the movement could be roused. Had they been issued a little later doubtless their message would have been different. At the various engineering and ship-building yards it was no uncommon sight to see five meetings within one enclosure, each of the audiences large; but on the arrival of the Suffragettes, candidates, Free Traders, Tariff Reformers, were all left for the "Votes for Women" chariot. Seeing this, the Liberal candidate and his supporters deemed it advisable to talk of Women's Suffrage and Mr. Shackleton's Bill.

The women of the Hartlepoons have welcomed the Suffragettes, and it will be understood that this means a great gain in a place where there are practically no occupations for women. In these boroughs, owing to the nature of the industries, the men are more numerous than the women, and for the latter there is "only service."

Our true warrior, Mrs. Sproson, did some capital work during her short stay from Thursday to Saturday. Her efforts were confined to West Hartlepool, but they were of a most telling kind. She gave her audiences sound practical politics, the result of years of experience. At first, owing to the appropriation or misappropriation of a pitch, Mrs. Sproson got into conflict with both Free Traders and Tariff Reformers. This resulted in some youths moving the car, and accidentally Mrs. Sproson's dress was torn, but half an hour later the plucky upholder of women's rights assured the writer that all were good-humoured.

Mrs. Clark, of Sunderland, came down to speak on two occasions, and Mrs. Coates-Hansen addressed a meeting last Wednesday. The members of the local Branch assisted admirably at the Shop, selling and collecting at meetings, and giving hospitality to those from a distance. Miss Cressy has taken the chair very frequently, and has had the arranging of meetings, etc. Mrs. Gordon came from Dewsbury to help during the last two days, and commenced to speak to workmen as soon as she arrived. Many other workers, particularly speakers, were needed. Still, with so few, good work was done. Nevertheless, those who did not come in person ought to help another way. Not all the work is done in London. It is these large centres of population and industry that are going to force the Government to deal with our measure. For this work to continue donations should be sent to Mrs. SCHOFIELD COATES, Wilstrop House, Roman Road, Middlesbrough, or to the Treasurer of the W.F.L., 1, Robert Street, Adelphi, London, W.C.—A. S. C.

CHARLES LEE'S UNPRECEDENTED SALE.

Some really remarkable value is being offered at the summer sale which commences June 27th at Charles Lee and Son's, 98-102, Wigmore Street, Owing to the National mourning most of us are only now buying our summer linens, foulards, and muslins, and for that very same reason Messrs. Lee's large and handsome summer stock, which had to be put aside during this period of black wear, will now be sold in its first freshness at perhaps the lowest sale price seen for many years. The well-tailored linen suit shown in our illustration, neat and workmanlike, and to be had in black and white, mauve and white, and all white is marked down to 55s., and with its slim cut is a most desirable gown. A dainty lingerie frock in soft lawn trimmed Valenciennes, with panelled insertions of imitation Irish crochet, is only a guinea, and really remarkable value. Attractive Foulard frocks range from 39s. 6d. to £5, and there is a wonderful line in blouses at 10s. 11d. Smart flannel costumes in the League colours are quite moderately priced. For furs Messrs. Lee have an old-established name, and one of our members tells us of a handsome set of black fox looking as good as the first day after two winters' wear.

