

# VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

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## PEACE ?



A Conciliation Committee has been formed for the purpose of securing the passage, by general consent of the House of Commons, of a Woman Suffrage Bill.

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To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

### THE OUTLOOK.

A most hearty reception has been given on all sides to the Woman Suffrage Bill. Several new Members of Parliament have joined the Conciliation Committee; many others have expressed themselves friendly to it; favourable leading articles have appeared in the columns of many influential journals; the Bill has been recognised by the Woman Suffrage societies, as far as they have expressed an opinion on the subject, as a satisfactory instalment of their demand. There appears to be no serious obstacle to its passage into law during the present Session, provided Mr. Asquith is prepared to give it the required facilities,

and in view of the influential support which the Bill has obtained, there is every reason to hope that he will do so. There is not space in this paper to give at full length all the comments that have been expressed with regard to it, but we reproduce extracts from various papers and from a special article on the subject by Mr. Philip Snowden. We also call attention to Mrs. Wolstenholme Elmy's opinion of the Bill.

#### The By-Elections.

In view of this Bill and of the spirit of conciliation which is actuating the House of Commons, it has been decided by the Committee of the Women's Social and Political Union, pending the decision of Mr. Asquith on the question of granting facilities for the Bill, not to take any part in the forthcoming by-elections in Hartlepool and East Dorset.

#### The Great Procession.

All the energies of the Woman's Social and Political Union are being directed towards the great peaceful procession and meeting on Saturday, June 18. It cannot be too clearly appreciated that this procession is definitely a demonstration in favour of the principle of VOTES FOR WOMEN, and not a demonstration in favour of the policy of the W.S.P.U. or of that of any of the other Societies taking part. The Procession is composed of militant and non-militant contingents and each will make as effective a display as their number and arrangements will permit.

#### Where Women Vote.

An interesting article in a recent number of the *Morning Post* deals with the effect of woman suffrage in New Zealand, and contains some facts based on first-hand informa-

tion that should be very useful to suffrage speakers. The article shows that women have put their names on the voting lists in enormous numbers. In the 1893 election, over 78 per cent. of adult females were registered as voters, and in 1908 this had risen to 99.76 per cent., a proof that women will take a great deal of trouble to get on to the lists. Moreover, of the women on the lists, an average of over 78 per cent. used their right to vote. In Australia, woman suffrage has, according to a lady who addressed the Conservative Franchise Association recently, had a tremendous effect. Infant mortality has been greatly reduced, because women insist on hygiene lectures in schools and strict inspection of farms and dairies. The women in Victoria are now fighting for equality of wages.

#### Women Students at Oxford.

We are glad to see that Oxford University is beginning to have a conscience with regard to the new Delegacy, which recognises the women students, the Statute for which has already been carried in Congregation by a large majority. By rejecting the Amendment proposing an Advisory Committee to consist of men and women, the University has shown sound common sense, for had it been carried, it would have been an encouragement to backstairs influence. Professor Geldart expressed the sentiments of the fair-minded members of the University by reminding Congregation that it was only right that women should become actual members of the Delegacy proper, seeing that the Delegacy would have to deal with women only, and as such could only act fairly to women if they had a clear and direct voice upon it. He reminded Congregation that the Delegacy was not only going to keep a register, but was going to have the power to remove names from that register; and, again, that every

penny to be spent by the Delegacy would come out of the pockets of the women themselves. In fact, the case of the women students of Oxford is precisely analogous to that of women tax-payers and law-abiders during the past forty years.

Fight for the Right.

The militant suffragists have taught this generation a lesson in the way of disregarding petty conventionalities when there is a principle to be fought for. Such a lesson has already been imprinted by the peaceful householders of Edwardes Square, Kensington, who, supported even by the Borough Council, insist on the right of entry to some gardens by force. The significance of this incident is noted by the Daily News, which calls it one of the most encouraging signs of the time that have been given of late years. It continues:—

It is, indeed, a new fact for England. It is a landmark in the social history of our era that gentlemen of mature age, who pay rates and go to town in the morning, have, apparently without a pang, decided to do things which in other people they would be inclined to regard as queer. They have taken the momentous step of making a public and spectacular and unprecedented fuss about a right which they believe themselves to possess. It takes one back to the boldest days of London, to the days of Queen Caroline's funeral, to the days of Wilkes and Liberty, back, even, to the days of the first Charters.

In another issue, with regard to the Veto question, the same paper says:—

It is a poor plan to go on indefinitely letting yourself be deprived of something which is yours by right, and the possession of which has been the keystone to your whole system of life.

We thank the Daily News for these vindications of the principle of fighting for what is right.

Woman's Sphere.

A proof of the very active part which women are taking in all departments of public life, education, philanthropy, professional work, etc., will be found in the great Women's Congress which is to be held at the Japan-British Exhibition from the two weeks beginning respectively June 6 and July 4. The sections, which will be addressed by experts, deal with local government work, universities, the franchise, national life, technical training, poor law work, philanthropy, physical training, and many other subjects of the widest interest.

A Man's View on Divorce Reform.

On another page will be found a short summary of the evidence given by Mr. Cecil Chapman, the Metropolitan magistrate, before the Divorce Commission. It is a striking sign of the times that a man should take the view, not only that divorce law should be equal for both sexes, but that cases should be tried by a jury composed equally of men and women. Mr. Chapman's opinions, in view of his wide experience at one of the police courts in the Metropolis, carry great weight.

Great Meetings during the Week.

Both at the Scala Theatre and the St. James's Hall meetings during the past week the importance of the new Bill was pointed out by the leaders, who dwelt upon the opportunities which women will have when they are enfranchised for very much greater and more wide-reaching work in social reform. During the week also, Mrs. Pankhurst addressed an important meeting at Bury, which was extensively referred to in the local press. Although unable, through illness, to keep her engagement at Bolton, Mrs. Pankhurst addressed another meeting (organised by the Men's League for Woman Suffrage) in the Guildhall, Cambridge, on Tuesday. At this meeting, in spite of opposition by some youthful undergraduates, Mrs. Pankhurst stood her ground, and delivered a splendid speech.

Forthcoming Meetings.

As this paper is published Mrs. Pankhurst is addressing meetings at Bolton, Warrington and St. Anne's-on-Sea. To-day Miss Christabel Pankhurst will address Civil Servants at Winchester House, City, at 5.30 p.m., and Mrs. Pankhurst will address typists next Friday, at 7 p.m., in the same place. Other important meetings taking place during the coming week are the Monday free meeting at the Queen's Hall, London, to be addressed by Mr. Mansell Moullin, M.D., F.R.C.S., Miss Christabel Pankhurst, and Miss Mary Gawthorpe, with Mrs. Pethick Lawrence in the chair; and meetings on Wednesday and Thursday at Sheffield and Scarborough respectively, to be addressed by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence. We would draw the special attention of teachers to next Thursday evening's meeting at St. James' Hall, London, when Mrs. Morgan Dockrell, President of the L.C.C. Mistresses' Union, will be one of the speakers. All these meetings are leading up to the great Procession of June 18.

Contents of this Issue.

Our readers will be interested in the Press Opinions which we publish this week on the new Bill to be introduced in the House of Commons on June 14. The Bill is again dealt with in Miss Christabel Pankhurst's leading article, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence writes on the Passion Play which she has recently witnessed at Oberammergau, and Mr. Pethick Lawrence continues his series on "Women's Fight for the Vote," dealing this week with forcible feeding in prison. Readers

will be glad to know that this series of articles, the last of which will appear next week, is to be published in book form, and will, it is hoped, be on sale just before the great Procession of June 18. In a letter to her fellow-members Mrs. Pankhurst makes a special appeal with regard to the Prisoners' Pageant on June 18, and elsewhere we give a provisional map of the Procession showing how the various contingents will form up on the Embankment.

LETTER FROM MRS. PANKHURST.

DEAR FELLOW MEMBERS OF THE W.S.P.U.—  
The Women's Procession on June 18 will be the first and greatest political demonstration of the new King's reign.

Its importance, already so great because of its object and its representative character, is now immensely increased by the announcement that a Woman's Suffrage Bill will be introduced in the House of Commons on June 14 four days before the date of the Demonstration.

The Procession will be representative in the widest sense. Not only will those who march belong to all classes of society, all professions, all trades, and all occupations open to women; the various sections will also represent all the different aspects of the women's movement, militant and non-militant.

The one object which will band us together on that day will be our intense desire for the Parliamentary vote. Militant and non-militant Suffragists will march in one great army, thus demonstrating to the world the essential unity which underlies any differences of method and of policy.

There is one section in that part of the great Procession allotted to the W.S.P.U. contingents, in which I am personally and deeply interested; that is, the Pageant of Prisoners. While I recognise to the full the value of the work done by all, I believe that the sacrifice of personal liberty that others may be free, the willing endurance of suffering in order to gain the power to help the helpless, always has been, and always will be, the most powerful appeal to the sympathy and imagination of the great mass of human beings. In order that the public may fully grasp the extent of the sacrifice women have made for the emancipation of their sex it is essential that the full number of imprisonments shall be represented in the pageant. It is not possible for every ex-prisoner in person to represent her own imprisonment. Many will be engaged in other capacities. Some are unable to be present at all.

I want especially to urge members who have no other duty to fulfil to volunteer to take part in this symbolic part of the Procession. Four hundred and eighty women are needed, to represent the full number of imprisonments, and the number is still incomplete. No prison clothes will be worn, but each member will carry, instead of a banner, a silver wand, to which is affixed a silver broad arrow. Will volunteers immediately send in their names so that the organisers of the Procession may allot to each one her rôle in the pageant.

On and on the compact ranks,  
With accessions ever waiting, with the places of the [absent] quickly filled,  
Moving yet and never stopping,  
Pioneers! O pioneers!  
Fill with sound of trumpet,  
Far, far off the daybreak call—hark! how loud and clear I hear it wind,  
Swift! to the head of the army!—swift! spring to your places,  
Pioneers! O pioneers!

Emmeline Pankhurst.

TREASURER'S NOTE.

Among the Self-Denial Cards is one bearing the name of a male sympathiser at Portsmouth, who sends 5s. 8d.—"My day's pay." With true devotion to the women's cause this friend went to work on his holiday in order to send a contribution to the funds. He hopes to be in London for the great Procession on June 18.

The Procession and Demonstration entails an expenditure of £1,000 upon the Union. But at this exceedingly important crisis no giving of self or service or money will be grudged. At the Albert Hall meeting there will be a united effort to put together a large sum for a great open-air campaign during the summer. Our members and friends will then come forward with the enthusiasm and generosity they have shown in the past, and we shall have the joy of proving once more what women can do. From many points of view the collection is the most important part of any great meeting. For the greatest test of the value that we set upon a thing, is the price that we are prepared to pay in order to obtain it.

E. P. L.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £100,000 FUND.

Table listing names and amounts for contributions to the £100,000 fund, categorized by date (May 14 to May 18) and type (e.g., For Procession Fund, For Self-Denial).

WOMEN'S FIGHT FOR THE VOTE.

By Frederick W. Pethick Lawrence.

(Previous articles appeared in our issues of February 11, 25, March 4, 11, 18, 25, April 1, 8, 15, 22, 29, May 6, 13, 20, and 27.)

CHAPTER XV. FORCIBLE FEEDING IN PRISON.

When the annals of these times come to be written historians will stand aghast at the extraordinary and inhuman method by which the Government attempted to put an end to the hunger strike, and they will wonder how in this civilised age such a course of action could be permitted by the people of the country. But beyond all this their thoughts will be filled with reverent admiration for the women who for the sake of their cause were prepared to endure so terrible an ordeal.

In the last chapter I explained how the prison mutiny and hunger strike originated in the determined stand made by women against the refusal of the Government to grant them the recognised treatment for political prisoners. The Government having paid no attention to words, had to be made to listen by deeds. The prison mutiny represents active resistance, and the hunger strike the supreme limit of passive resistance.

It is not possible in this series to find space to give the minor details of the story of the conflict between women and the Government which raged round the question of prison treatment, to answer one and all the little criticisms which have been made, to explain and clear up every one of the little misunderstandings as to the exact form which the prison mutiny took. It must suffice that I have shown the essential principle which underlay the action of the women and the steadfast singleness of mind with which they carried it out at extraordinary personal sacrifice. For the rest I would remind readers that the accounts which appeared in the ordinary press cannot be relied on for accuracy, and that if they desire to know the whole truth they must check every account given there with the corresponding account given at the time in the columns of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

For some time Mr. Gladstone continued with the policy of releasing the women from prison after they had been several days without food, but in September, 1909, he determined to adopt feeding by force. In this he had two objects in view. In the first place he hoped that he would be able to detain their bodies within the prison walls for the full prison sentence; and in the second place he hoped to break down their spirit; for feeding by force applied to a sane resisting patient without any of the alleviations to be found in a hospital, is an intense torture calculated to test to the uttermost the nerve and endurance of those to whom it is applied. In his first object he was partially successful; some of the women he was able to detain to the end of their sentence of a fortnight, a month, six weeks, and even, in the case of Miss Marsh, three months; others like Mrs. Leigh, he was forced to release after only a part of their sentence had been served, because the prison doctor reported that their lives would not much longer hold out; others had to be released at once because in their case the dangerous operation of forcible feeding would almost certainly have proved fatal. In Mr. Gladstone's second object he utterly failed; he did not break the spirit of a single woman; though thirty-six women were subjected to forcible feeding, every woman remained steadfast; every woman came out of prison more determined than ever to fight for the cause unto the end. She went in a suffragette, she came out a living flame.

What is Forcible Feeding?

The horrible practice of forcible feeding differed in different prisons and with different prisoners. In all cases the woman was seized by a number of wardresses, forced into a chair and either strapped down or held down by overpowering numbers. Then, in some cases, her mouth was prised open by a steel instrument and a tube forced down her throat into her stomach, and down this liquid food was poured. In other cases food was poured in from a feeding-cup, the throat being pinched to make her swallow. A third method was to pass a tube up through the nostrils and down into the stomach. Every one of these methods caused intense suffering and retching, amounting in some cases to sickness continued, as in the case of Jane Warton, during the whole period of the operation.

Some of the prison doctors endeavoured not to inflict more pain than the disgusting nature of the operation necessitated, others were frankly callous, others directly brutal. In many cases far more food was poured in than the prisoner could possibly digest. In many cases the necessary heart examination was omitted. One doctor admitted that he had lost his temper. Another slapped the prisoner's face because she was unavoidably sick. These outrages were equalled or surpassed by the visiting magistrates of Manchester Gaol, who had the hose-pipe turned on to a suffrage prisoner in Manchester for barricading her cell to prevent the operation taking place. To such depths did the officials sink in their fruitless endeavour to break the spirit of the women in prison.

The Legal Aspect.

The Women's Social and Political Union took the earliest possible opportunity of questioning the legality of the proceedings by an action brought on behalf of Mrs. Leigh against the Home Secretary, the Governor, and the Doctor of Birmingham Gaol, where she was forcibly fed. At first Mr. Gladstone placed obstacles in the way of Mrs. Leigh's solicitor entering the prison to take her instructions, but he was forced to give way. The case was tried on December 9, 1909, by the Lord Chief Justice and a special jury.

One of the earliest points to come out in the trial was the direct responsibility of the Home Secretary. Previously Mr. Gladstone in his answers in the House of Commons had endeavoured to shift the burden on to the shoulders of the prison doctors, but on this occasion it was admitted by his own counsel that he himself had directed, or at least sanctioned, the whole proceedings.

It was agreed by the medical evidence both for the plaintiff and for the defence, though they differed as to the degree of pain inflicted by the operation and also as to the danger of serious consequences involved, that it would not be proper to operate thus on a sane, free patient without his or her consent, and that in order to do so it would be necessary to certify that that patient was insane. It was further agreed on both sides that there was no question regarding the sanity of Mrs. Leigh. The argument put forward by the defendants was that in prison the normal rights of the prisoner in this matter were in abeyance, and that the medical authorities had a right, on the instructions of the Home Secretary, to operate in this way on the body of the prisoner without his or her consent. Their view of the law was accepted by the Lord Chief Justice on the ground that it was necessary for the authorities of the prison to take this course in order to enable them to safeguard the life and health of the prisoner. He accordingly refused to allow the main question to go to the jury at all, and only submitted to them a minor point as to which they could hardly have come to any other verdict than that in favour of the defendants, which they actually did. By this decision of the Lord Chief Justice a person once committed to prison is deprived of one of the essential human rights, the right to forbid an operation upon his body without his consent.

Lady Constance Lytton and Jane Warton.

As soon as it became known that Mrs. Leigh was undergoing feeding by force in Birmingham Gaol Lady Constance Lytton determined to take her stand beside her by repeating, as far as possible, in Newcastle the offence for which Mrs. Leigh was imprisoned in Birmingham. She was arrested and sentenced to prison and at once commenced the hunger strike, but instead of being fed by force she was examined by a specialist from London. Her heart was pronounced weak and she was released after 56 hours. Mr. Gladstone denied all imputation of being a "respector of persons," saying that a weak heart was the sole cause of her release.

But his veracity was to be subjected to a severer test than he anticipated. A few months later, in January, 1910, stories of exceptional brutality perpetrated in Liverpool Prison on Selina Martin and Leslie Hall reached her ears, and she at once determined to place herself by the side of the women. This time she disguised herself and adopted the feigned name of Jane Warton. Thus fortified against detection, she went into the streets of Liverpool, and led a march of the men of the city against the prison. She was arrested and sent to gaol for a fortnight, the authorities suspecting nothing. Arrived there, she refused to eat prison food, and was ordered to the punishment cell on the third day because, as a political prisoner, she refused to do hard labour. On the fourth day she was told she was to be forcibly fed. No specialist was sent down to see her; no examination of her heart took place until after she had been fed by force three times, and even then the examination was only of a perfunctory character, and she was pronounced quite sound. The operation was continued for several days further, and then an order was sent from the Home Office for her release, whether because her identity was already suspected or because her condition had actually become exceedingly serious is not definitely known.

Mr. Churchill and Forcible Feeding.

Shortly after the release of Jane Warton the other suffragist prisoners were also released, and not long afterwards Mr. Gladstone, who had previously been appointed Governor of South Africa, left the Home Office, and Mr. Winston Churchill stepped into his shoes. Meanwhile a "truce" had been declared by the Women's Social and Political Union, and there were therefore no more Woman Suffrage prisoners.

One of the first acts of the new Home Secretary was to introduce the following new prison rule:—"In the case of any offender of the second or third division whose previous character is good, and who has been convicted or committed to prison for an offence not involving dishonesty, cruelty, indecency, or serious violence, the Prison Commissioners may allow such amelioration of the conditions prescribed in the foregoing rules as the Secretary of State may approve, in respect of the wearing of prison clothing, bathing, hair-cutting, cleaning of cells, employment, exercise, books, and otherwise, provided that no such amelioration shall be greater than that granted under the rules for offenders of the first division."

This rule is evidently a step in the right direction, though in the opinion of Women Suffragists it by no means carries the prison treatment of women political prisoners to a wholly satisfactory position. The prospects of the present Woman Suffrage Bill, introduced by the Conciliation Committee into the House of Commons, are so good that there are reasonable grounds for hoping that there will be no occasion for the resumption of hostilities between women and the Government, but in the regrettable event of this compromise breaking down it is impossible to say what form the conflict which rages round the question of the treatment of women political offenders in prison may take in the future.

This series will be concluded next week with an article on the "Truce and the New Bill." The articles will then be published in book form under the title "Women's Fight for the Vote." The book will be ready in about 10 days time and will be sold from The Woman's Press, 156, Charing Cross Road, price 1s. cloth and 6d. paper.

Debenham & Freebody Wigmore Street. (Cavendish Square) London, W. FOULARD FROCKS READY-TO-WEAR

Many of our newest ready-made frocks are made from soft wide width foulards. The latest models are made in one piece with turn-down collars and short skirts caught in at the back. The designs are as a rule quite small and are mostly in black and white, white and black, mauve and white, and pretty shades of grey and grey and white. The undermentioned are examples:



Foulard Gown (as sketch) in good quality black and white, white and black, mauve and grey and coloured figured foulards, turn-down collar, finished with bow at neck. 69/6



Foulard and Ninon Gown (as sketch), with bodice of lace, veiled with Ninon and trimmed with strapings, satin and buttons. In black and white, white and black, mauve and white, grey and white, and colours. 81/2 Guineas

OPINIONS ON THE NEW WOMAN SUFFRAGE BILL.

Notable Support Received. Accessions to the Conciliation Committee.

The new Woman Suffrage Bill announced in these columns last week has already met with considerable approval. We are informed that the following Members of Parliament, in addition to the 36 whose names we published last week, have joined the Conciliation Committee...

This will be necessary in order that it may be carried through its remaining stages, second reading, Committee stage, report and third reading, during the present Session. Owing to the influential support which is being given to the Bill, it is very much hoped that Mr. Asquith will see his way to concede this request.

PRESS OPINIONS.

"MANCHESTER GUARDIAN."

There has been issued within the past few days an unostentatious statement which carries with it the hope—and something more than the hope—that we are on the eve of the accomplishment of a deeply-desired and long-delayed reform. It is forty years since the first Bill for admitting women to the Parliamentary franchise passed its second reading in the House of Commons...

And it is not time that an honest and serious attempt should be made to grapple with the difficulty which this movement, like every other franchise movement, involves, and to find a solution which, even though it may not satisfy all demands, shall at least relieve Parliament of the reproach which has too long rested upon it? It is with this object that a Committee has been formed of members of the House of Commons representing all political parties—Liberal, Conservative, Nationalist, and Labour—and it is to the action of this committee that we owe the best opportunity which has yet arisen for the solution on non-party lines of the whole question.

It would be undoubtedly a big step in advance; and it would not in any way prejudice the long overdue return of other glaring electoral anomalies.

"THE DAILY NEWS."

This, as the Committee point out, practically applies the existing English local government register for women to Parliamentary elections the country over. That franchise has worked well for many years in local affairs. It excludes the ownership and lodger votes. Its basis is thoroughly democratic; the Independent Labour Party has avowed itself that 82 per cent. of the women on the municipal register belong to the working class.

"STAR."

It is high time that some advance was made in the direction of satisfying the unswerving claim of women to the rights of citizenship.

"THE NATION."

The suspension of hostilities between the militant Suffragists and the forces of Government during the present Parliament has afforded a chance of quiet deliberation among the various sections of politicians favourable to some form of women's franchise. The problem was to discover an escape from the deadlock which the agitation of the last few years had disclosed. Impatient enthusiasts for the cause have been in the habit of denouncing the "insincerity" of Liberals who hesitated or refused to assent to what seemed so plain a piece of justice as the proposal to extend the franchise to women on the same terms as it applies to men.

"THE MORNING LEADER."

Those who have always been in favour of the principle of woman suffrage (logically, it is for democrats at any rate unassailable), but the Bill, anyhow, is a working compromise, which could all have obtained votes as joint occupiers with their husbands under the £20 qualification, while the workers' wives would have been excluded.

got on to the registers, while the low wages of all but the best-paid women workers would have disabled them for the lodger qualification, which involves a weekly rent of not less than four shillings. To enfranchise women on such terms would have been to cure one injustice by creating another, to substitute a new class grievance for the sex grievance, and to do this at a time when social issues, involving direct and powerful appeals to class interests, were occupying the most prominent position in practical politics.

But, while continuing to press towards this goal, we are willing to admit that the conservative temper of our people renders it extremely unlikely that they will take the whole march in a single day. What, therefore, we are immediately concerned to discover is a halting-place which, if necessary, can be fortified and securely held against the forces of reaction.

"NEWCASTLE CHRONICLE."

For our own part we have always been in favour of giving votes to women on the same basis as that on which they are granted to men, and the campaign of the combatant Suffragists neither strengthened nor weakened that belief. It must be admitted that the measure now foreshadowed is a very substantial instalment of female demands. It is pointed out that the bill in party controversy offers a particularly favourable opportunity for presenting a private member's Bill, and if a measure on the lines suggested is introduced, it would have an excellent chance of acceptance.

placates Tory, Radical, and Labour man, and apparently only needs Mr. Asquith's support to become law speedily.

MR. SNOWDEN, M.P., ON THE BILL.

The present Parliament has a majority of its members pledged to woman suffrage. In face of the prominent position this question has held among pressing political demands during recent years, the pledges given by Parliamentary candidates at the last General Election must be regarded as indicating a considered judgment on the matter.

The practical difficulty in the way of removing the political disabilities of women has been divergence of opinion as to method, or as to the actual results which would come from any particular device. It seemed an almost impossible thing to devise a method which could overcome the opposition of every section of supporters of the principle of woman suffrage, much less to succeed in uniting all sections in support of a Woman Suffrage Bill.

The Conciliation Committee for Woman Suffrage which was formed in the early weeks of the present session, through the activity of the Earl of Lytton and Mr. H. N. Brailsford, had the difficult task of trying to find some method by which united action could be taken by all supporters of woman suffrage. The municipal register as it exists in England and Wales was finally suggested as the basis of compromise, and on this proposal a remarkable unanimity of support was secured.

But the demand for the removal of the sex disqualification for the Parliamentary vote has become so urgent that it cannot be ignored without serious damage to the political life of the country.

The Government, through the mouth of the Prime Minister, is pledged to put no obstacle in the way of a Woman Suffrage Bill which is based on democratic principles. This new Bill is heartily approved by the most democratic members of the House. The Government cannot plead the character of the measure as a reason for withholding support from it.

The Government have now a fine opportunity of settling this question in such a way as will put an end to the agitation except in so far as it may continue as part of the movement for a full adult democratic franchise system. It will also relieve them from an embarrassing position.

MRS. ELMY IS HOPEFUL.

Mrs. Westonholme Elmy rejoices in the hope that after 50 years of work in the woman's cause, she is to see the enactment of a Woman Suffrage measure. She writes:— "I believe we are at last going to win something substantial, and for my part I shall welcome anything which helps to break down the insulating disability of sex—and does not block the way of further progress."

It is but little that I can do now, but what I can do I will do to the last. I am in my 77th year, and have worked my hardest for justice between the sexes ever since early in 1861, first for better education for women and better conditions and opportunities of employment, and from the time of Mr. Mill's return to Parliament, for Woman's Suffrage as well as for other reforms, some of which (the Married Women's Property Act and the Infants' Act) became Law. It is good to look back on the changes effected, and to look forward to those now imminent, and to know that what we win for women in these islands we help to win for women everywhere, and at least in every civilised land.

"WESTERN MAIL."

A Bill to extend the Parliamentary suffrage to women has been formulated for presentation to the Legislature, its sponsors being drawn from Conservative, Liberal, and Labour ranks. The measure is moderate, and the militant "suffragette" organisation takes care to point this out; but in its moderation lies its chief force of success, and for this reason the militant organisation aforesaid have bestowed upon it their benediction, at the same time intimating that their full demands will continue unassisted.

"SHEFFIELD INDEPENDENT."

Many democratic citizens, sympathetic to the principle of Woman's Suffrage, but disinclined to support any proposal which would mean the making of a new plural voting anomaly, will be prepared to give favourable consideration to the "via media" now suggested. It is hard to see how so cautious and so tentative a measure of reform could be opposed by any party. We feel sure that the Bill will have the general support of the Liberal party. What would happen in the House of Lords is a little doubtful.

"WEEKLY TIMES."

But the Bill gives much, and the principal Suffragist Society, the Women's Social and Political Union, is prepared to accept it. The Bill, anyhow, is a working compromise, which could all have obtained votes as joint occupiers with their husbands under the £20 qualification, while the workers' wives would have been excluded.

need not be paid by the tenant direct but may be paid by the landlord. Among the householders are included those who live in a house provided for them by their employer, even though they do not actually pay any rent for it because it forms part of their wages; these are generally referred to as possessing the service franchise.

Occupiers other than householders are those who occupy lands, farms, offices, shops and other buildings otherwise than for residence. In their case the occupied premises must be of the clear yearly value of at least £10.

In Boroughs any number of persons may be joint occupiers of either kind, but the value of the premises occupied must be such as to give £10 (or more) for each occupier claiming the franchise. In Counties not more than two persons may claim the vote as joint occupiers for the same premises unless they have derived the same by descent, succession, marriage, marriage settlement, or unless they shall be bona fide engaged as partners carrying on trade or business.

(2) Owners, in order to obtain a vote, must be possessed in a County Constituency either of freehold estate valued at not less than £5 per annum, or under circumstances of leasehold property.

(3) Lodgers in order to obtain a vote must occupy apartments of the value of not less than 3s. 10d. a week. (The apartments may be let furnished, but in either case the minimum rental of 3s. 10d. a week—i.e., £10 a year—is reckoned on the unfurnished value.)

(4) University graduates are those who have graduated in the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, London, Dublin, Edinburgh, St. Andrews, Glasgow or Aberdeen, and their votes are for special members of Parliament who represent their Universities.

It should be noted that the distinction between inhabitant occupiers of part of a house and lodgers is a very narrow one, and depends on the degree of control which the tenant possesses over his apartments. A lawyer could on this point give the following opinion:— "In 1881, Jessel, M.R., said in the case of Bradlaugh v. Wallis, 50 B.D.: 'I have been quite unable to find any method by which united action could be taken by all supporters of woman suffrage. The municipal register as it exists in England and Wales was finally suggested as the basis of compromise, and on this proposal a remarkable unanimity of support was secured.'

Further, it should be noted that class (1) (occupiers) is by far the largest, accounting for about 90 per cent. of the total, while all the other classes together only account for about 10 per cent.

WHO WOULD GET THE VOTE UNDER THE BILL.

The effect of the passage of the new Bill would be to give women occupiers the vote while continuing to withhold it from women owners, lodgers, and graduates. From the foregoing it will be seen that women occupiers are many times more numerous than all the other classes put together. The estimate of the Conciliation Committee is that about one million women will be enfranchised under this Bill.

THE NEW BILL.

A letter has been sent to the leading daily papers by the Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement in support of the Conciliation Committee's Bill. The letter points out the opportunity the Bill affords the Government of putting an end to its record of "indifference and unfairness towards a measure of which the great majority of thinking people had long approved."

CONSERVATIVE & UNIONIST WOMEN'S FRANCHISE ASSOCIATION.

The Kensington Committee held a most successful social evening on Friday, May 27, at 57, Bedford-gardens. The chair was taken by Miss Gertrude Eaton, the speakers being Mrs. Campbell Lethbridge, Miss Hartley, and Miss Cecily Wroughton. The committee are deeply gratified at the response to their appeal for help in connection with the scheme for canvassing women municipal electors. A meeting of volunteers was held on the 28th, the result of which is that half the names on the register are already portioned out to different workers, who have undertaken to deliver leaflets and forms to, and to canvass, the women electors in the districts allotted to them.

NORTHERN FABIAN SOCIETIES AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

The principal subject discussed at the Annual Conference of Northern Fabian Societies at Huddersfield recently was the following resolution proposed by Mr. A. S. Rosshaw, president of the Liverpool Society, and seconded by a woman delegate from Sheffield:— "That inasmuch as Fabian Societies generally have signified their adherence to the demand for the removal of the sex disability by the granting of votes to women on the same qualification as they are or may be granted to men, local Societies are urged definitely to offer lectures and debates on this topic in leaving their syllabus of lectures from time to time." An amendment on Adult Suffrage was defeated, and the resolution was carried nem. con. Some 200 lectures and debates on woman suffrage will be held by the Liverpool Society next winter.

A GREAT LONDON MEETING.

The new Suffrage Bill and the prospects which it opens out for women, were the chief subjects discussed at last Monday's great meeting in the Scala Theatre. The scope of the Bill, which will enfranchise women householders and occupiers, and its chances of success, backed as it is by leaders of all Parties, formed the subject of Miss Fankhurst's speech. She referred to this time of trials, which had been a hard one, as time of waiting always is, and she spoke with deep emotion of the trust and loyalty of the members of the Union towards their leaders. If the Bill were carried, what a prospect of usefulness would open before every woman; but if it were not carried, then, with the Union stronger in numbers and determination, the women would carry the opposition by storm, and legislators would see such a revolution and such times as they had never seen before.

Mrs. Pettick Lawrence called upon members to realise that if the Bill were passed and it was peace, the work of the W.S.P.U. would not be at an end, rather it would only have begun. It would set women's power of service free; it would raise their whole moral status and their self-respect, and it would give them their share in the responsibilities of Government.

Mr. Nevison described the Bill for granting the vote to women as the greatest measure of political reform that had ever been before the country since the great Reform Bill, and it was the duty of every one who supported the cause of Woman Suffrage to do all in their power to ensure the passage of the Bill. The one essential thing was co-operation. The root of the whole matter, the root of the whole controversy, was that no human being was really good enough to be entrusted with the welfare of another, and just as that was true of the individual, so it was true of the community. No class was good enough to be entrusted with the welfare of another. And this was why the women were coming out to demand the right of self-government, and if this Government persisted in refusing this right, there would be a time of riot and revolution in this country, and there were few people who would say for one moment that the women were wrong. They had given the Government every chance; they had gone to the utmost limit of reason. The Government had now an opportunity of doing justice such as seldom came to any administration, and if they would not give effect to the Liberal principles which they professed, then they would be destroyed, and swept away in ruin.

WHAT TO DO WITH THE VOTE.

At a very enthusiastic meeting at St. James' Hall last Thursday, the scope of the Conciliation Committee's Bill was explained by Miss Christabel Fankhurst and by Mrs. Pettick Lawrence. "We as a Union," said Miss Fankhurst, "are prepared to see this Bill carried. We have moved on a very long way, and we have reason to feel that all the sacrifice we have made, and all the work we have done, has brought a very substantial result. We have brought politicians to see that something must be done; it only remains to do it." Whether the Prime Minister gave facilities to the Bill or not, all was absolutely well with the Union. If facilities were given, the work of the last four years would end in a peaceful manner. If not, the nation would have the most striking objection possible as to the necessity for recommending militant methods, but until the Prime Minister himself declared war on the women, they would conclude that he was willing to enter into an honourable peace.

Women! Come Forward!

Every member of the W.S.P.U. is a recruiting sergeant. Only sixteen days remain. Not a minute must be lost. Let Miss Christabel Fankhurst know, at 4, Clements Inn, what time you can give.

The Woman's Press, 156, Charing Cross Road.

Readers will be glad to know that the Votes for Women novel, "Intellectual Mansions," by Mr. Philip Gibbs, which was reviewed by "E.P.L." in last week's paper is on sale at the Woman's Press, price 6s. The Woman's Press has a number of new summer goods in white and the colours: call and see them!

In the Press.

"Women's Fight for the Vote," by Frederick W. Pettick Lawrence, price 1s. net cloth, 6d. net paper, is being printed in book form and will be ready about June 15. "Rebel Women," by Evelyn Sharp, price 1s. net, about June 20. "The Purple, White and Green March," by R. H. E., music arranged for the pianoforte by Mr. Hatch, will be on sale shortly at the discount price of 6d. (The chorus will be found on p. 585.)

THE DIVORCE COMMISSION.

In the evidence before the Royal Commission on Divorce, Mr. Cecil Chapman, the Metropolitan magistrate, gave as his opinion that juries ought to consist of men and women in equal numbers. He also advocated that a wife should be legally entitled to a portion of her husband's wages during marriage, and to a portion of his estate after death. Replying to a question about amendments in divorce laws, Mr. Chapman had thought there should be absolute equality of treatment between the sexes, thus putting an end to what he called "the present atrocious position of women under the Matrimonial Causes Act, who have to submit to the persistent infidelity of their husbands in their own homes." Mr. Chapman also said he believed much immorality would be checked in illegitimate children were registered under the names of the father when paternity had been proved.

ACTRESSSES' FRANCHISE LEAGUE.

At the next At Home of the League to-day (Friday, June 3), in the Grand Hall of the Criterion, there will be a debate on the question of Women's Franchise. The chair will be taken punctually at 3 o'clock by Mr. M. Campbell-Johnston. The speakers "for" are Miss Adam and Miss Cicely Carbett—"against" Mr. Macdonald and Mrs. Colquhoun. The guests will be received by Mrs. Frederick Moulton and Miss Alice Crawford.

W.S.P.U. ANNOUNCEMENTS.



June 18; Embankment, 5.30!

These words are engraved on the mind of every member of the W.S.P.U. The day is one of the most momentous in the history of the suffrage agitation, and everyone must be there!

Notice as to Tickets.

Tickets issued for the Albert Hall meeting, dated May 28 (printed before the postponement on account of the King's death) hold good and need not be exchanged. Members having passed tickets on to friends are requested to inform them of the alteration in time and date—i.e., from May 28 at 4.30 p.m. to June 18, at 5.30 p.m. Those holding tickets which they are unable to use may, if they please, return them to the ticket secretary, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, who will refund the money.

Making the Procession Known.

Every meeting—great or small—is a preparation for the great Procession. Among more important meetings in London are those in the parks; the Queen's Hall (not Scala Theatre) free meeting on Monday next at 3 p.m., when Mr. Mansell-Moulin, M.D., F.R.C.S., Miss Christabel Fankhurst, and Miss Mary Gawthorpe will speak and Mrs. Pettick Lawrence will be the chair; and the St. James' Hall free meeting on Thursday at 8 p.m., when Mrs. Morgan Dockroft (President of the L.C.C. Mistresses' Union) and Miss G. Brackenbury will speak. Mrs. Pettick Lawrence will speak in Sheffield on Wednesday and at Scarborough on Thursday. Miss Christabel Fankhurst will address civil servants to-day; and Mrs. Pettick Lawrence will address shorthand typists (both at Winchester House), next Friday. Particulars of these and a very large number of other meetings will be found in the Programme on p. 585.

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### THE CONVERSION OF PENELOPE'S MOTHER.

By EVELYN SHARP.

"In converting the heathen," I told Penelope, "never make the mistake of converting your friends. There is nothing so unconquerable as the immortal grudge that your friend owes you for having had the impertinence to interfere with his opinions. You see, friendship, being a rare and elusive and provoking condition of the soul, has nothing to do with opinions. It matters what your casual acquaintance thinks about the subject of the hour, because you have to talk with him; it doesn't matter in the least what your friend thinks, because there is no conversation among friends—there is only intercourse, which has nothing to do with opinions. Naturally, I am not talking of eternal truths, because if your friend does not see eye to eye with you about those no friendship is possible. One never converts people to eternal truths, only to the particular manifestation of these that is being revealed to the age through which we are passing."

"According to that," objected Penelope, "there is no possibility of converting people to anything unless they are already converted without knowing it?"

"Exactly," I said. "That is why it is waste of time as well as impertinent to convert the person who is your friend. And as your mother is one of the few mothers I know who is also a friend to her children, I strongly advise you not to—"

"That is all very well," again objected Penelope; "but mother has not yet discovered that she is converted to the particular manifestation of eternal truth known as Votes for Women; and, to put it plainly, you can't go on living with some one who thinks all Suffragists are hooligans, when you are one of the hooligans."

"Theoretically," I argued, "you could if—"

"But I don't live with mother theoretically," interrupted Penelope; "and if you seriously mean that you cannot convert her because of the immortal grudge she would owe you for doing it, I suppose I shall have to take that risk myself. It is not at all easy to convert an old lady to eternal truths at the mouth of an ear-trumpet," she added, insinuatingly.

In the end I was persuaded to undertake the conversion, being no wiser than other apostles of great movements who have bartered friendships for causes since the world began, and Sarah's greeting when she opened the door to me, the day I called upon Penelope's mother by appointment, was therefore disconcerting.

"Miss Penelope said would you please wait in the back drawing-room till she's finished converting the mistress?" said Sarah in the impassive tone of one whom no message, however strange, could disconcert. "It's the Suffragettes' I think," she added for my enlightenment. To Sarah all manifestations of eternal truths rest on the level of rheumatics and other mortal infirmities.

I suggested that, folding doors not being sound-proof, I had better wait downstairs. Sarah led the way up to the back drawing-room without giving this proposal a moment's serious consideration.

"You can hear anything that's said to the mistress from the top of the house to the bottom—that is, if the mistress can hear it," she explained, unemotionally.

The controversy had reached the acute stage when I arrived in the back drawing-room, an unwilling eavesdropper. This could be gathered from the significant circumstance that both speakers were talking at once. Presently there came a calm, in the course of which Penelope seemed to be getting on rather well. She was keeping her temper wonderfully, I thought, and was apparently convincing the enemy beyond the power of retort. The absence of retort became, indeed, astonishing, until it was explained by a sudden interruption from Penelope's mother, just as her daughter reached a fine pitch of persuasive eloquence.

"I can't hear a word you are saying, my dear. I wish you would pick up my ear-trumpet," said Penelope's mother, breaking unconsciously into the middle of a sentence.

Evidently the ear-trumpet was found and adjusted, for retorts came thick and fast as soon as Penelope began patiently to say it all over again.

"What rubbish, child!" was an early interruption. "I have never done anything to hinder your development as you call it. I drew the line at Jiu-jitsu, I admit, because I didn't like the appearance of the unpleasant little yellow person with the pigtail. He had no pigtail? Well, he was the style of person to whom one expects to find a pigtail attached. That is neither here nor there—"

"No, mother, darling, it isn't," interposed Penelope, firmly; "and I never said you hindered my development. We are not Suffragettes because we have personal grievances, but because of the general attitude towards women—"

"You will never persuade me, my dear, that you can cure anybody's attitude towards women by knocking off policemen's helmets—"

"We don't knock off—"

"I am convinced, Penelope, that I have seen a picture—in the *Daily Illustrated*! I think it was—of a woman knocking off a policeman's helmet. Her mouth was wide open, and she was doing it with an umbrella—a dreadful, ill-bred, unwomanly creature. I remember it distinctly. The *Daily Illustrated* is a most respectable paper; it would never—"

"Darling, you know you have told me over and over again how all the respectable papers of the day called Florence Nightingale a dreadful, unwomanly creature for

wanting to go out to the war to nurse grown-up men, without a chaperon, instead of staying at home to nurse the baby she hadn't got," shouted Penelope down the ear-trumpet.

"And so they did," cried her mother, as though her veracity were being called in question. "All sorts of wicked and untrue things were said about that noble woman, for whom I have the utmost veneration, because she taught me to air a room by opening the window a few minutes at the bottom, instead of opening the door. Oh, it was shocking the things they said about her! But now—"

"Now," said the wily Penelope, "no woman in England is more honoured. That shows, doesn't it, that we should not believe everything in the papers—"

"Penelope," said her mother, abruptly, "I have dropped my ear-trumpet again, so you had better ring the bell for tea."

Signs of the fray were still evident when Sarah admitted me to the front drawing-room. The ear-trumpet was sticking out of the coal box, always a sign of mental disturbance in Penelope's home; and both she and her mother were looking for the spectacles which had been swept momentarily out of existence.

"I cannot think what I did with them," complained Penelope's mother, as though her loss were not an hourly occurrence; "if you had not upset me so dreadfully, Penelope—"

Then she looked up and saw me, Sarah's lusty announcement of my name having passed over unheeded through the temporary disablement of the ear-trumpet. With a royal gesture of her hand she banished eternal truths and their tiresome topical manifestations to oblivion, and received me in the grand manner that was designed, fifty years ago, to hide from visitors and servants alike that the head of the house ever had any private feelings or any public interests. Now, as then, it deceived nobody; but it bridged the gulf between eternal truths and afternoon tea very pleasantly.

"How charming of you to look in just as Penelope and I were going to have tea! Come and sit near me," was the gracious greeting I received. She turned a serene countenance towards Penelope, who showed no inherited instinct for bridging impassable gulfs. "My dear, can you find my ear-trumpet? I am sure I had it a moment ago."

"You had," murmured the rebellious Penelope. "It might just as well have stayed in the coal-box the whole time for all the good it was to either of us."

It was only when, at the conclusion of a blameless discourse on ribbon embroidery (Penelope had been sent upstairs to look for a piece of needlework) that Penelope's mother stopped being my Early Victorian hostess and became the mother of all the ages.

"I suppose," she said, with the true motherly mixture of appeal and disapproval in her tone, "it is you who have converted Penelope to all this nonsense."

"No," I said. "The age has converted her. Penelope is the child of the age."

"She has no business to be anybody's child but her mother's," was the indignant reply. "When I was a girl, daughters were their mother's own children—"

I interrupted to ask her if she were sure that this had ever been true. The ear-trumpet was describing furious circles in the air—another danger signal, as I knew from experience.

"When I was a girl," said Penelope's mother once more, "we had the good sense not to let our mothers-guess that we knew more than they did—even if we did."

I asked a depressed Penelope on the way downstairs why she had not taken my advice and left me to risk my friendship with her mother instead of imperilling her own.

"It was idiotic of me," confessed Penelope. "She said something unfair about 'those dreadful women' so I had to say I was one of them. And after that I had to go on, naturally. But if I haven't converted mother in the drawing-room, I seem to have succeeded incidentally in converting Cook in the kitchen. It's a pity there were not a few more Antis concealed about the house while I was at the ear-trumpet, isn't it?"

"Listen!" I interrupted.

Sarah was clearing away tea, and through the open drawing-room door came scraps of conversation.

"It is only right to study both sides of a question, Sarah." "Yes, m'."

Florence Nightingale, the noblest Englishwoman who ever lived—I hope you open the window and not the door, when you wish to air your bedroom, Sarah?—Florence Nightingale was misrepresented just in the same way."

"Yes, m'."

"I think I shall stop the *Christian World* and order a suffrage periodical for the kitchen instead."

"Yes, m'. We have two of Miss Penelope's already. Thank you, m'am!"

Penelope and I fled downstairs to escape detection. "She was converted all the time; I told you she would be," I remarked on the doorstep.

"Now for the immortal grudge!" sighed Penelope.

The above is one of the sketches in Miss Evelyn Sharp's new book "Votes for Women," which is now in course of publication, and will be on sale at the *Woman's Press*, 156, Charing Cross Road, W.C., on and after June 30, price 1s. net.

#### BOOKS RECEIVED.

"Woman Suffrage and Electoral Reform." By the Right Hon. Sir Charles Dilke, Bart., M.P. (The People's Suffrage Federation. 2d.)

"Anti-Suffragist Anxieties." By Bertrand Russell, M.A., F.R.S. (The People's Suffrage Federation. 2d.)

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## Women's Fight for the Vote

BY

F. W. PETHICK LAWRENCE.

The series of Articles appearing under this title in "Votes for Women" is being printed in book form.

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### THE PASSION PLAY.

I shall never forget the valley and the village of Oberammergau as I saw it for the first time in September of last year. We had come over the Fern Pass from Innsbruck, had crossed the frontier between Austria and Germany, passing from the Alps of the Tyrol into the highlands of Bavaria. The day was crowded with visions of wild and glorious nature. We halted at Garmisch, encompassed by its mountains, and there we met one who said to us, "If you are going to Oberammergau do not stay at the inn, but call on my friend Anton Lang, who played the part of Christus in 1900, and will probably play it next year. I am sure that he and his wife will put you up in their delightful home." We continued our journey over the Oberau Pass to the monastery and village of Ettal, and there we entered the Oberammergau valley, the valley of peace, the valley of green pastures and of running waters, guarded by the rocky towering peak called "The Kofel," crowned with the cross that catches and reflects the rays of the sun. Under this crag nestles the pretty village with its white, red-roofed houses, the river on the one side, and on the other a dancing mountain torrent. As we stopped in front of Anton Lang's home, he came out to the gate to meet us in the blue linen overall which he wears in the workshop; a man of the most dignified and gracious presence, with a smile of welcome even more expressive than the kindly and courteous words of greeting.

Since that day I have seen Anton Lang enact his great rôle upon the stage. Last Whit-Monday I witnessed those moving scenes by which the story which transformed the world is made to live again before our very eyes; but no scene has made so vivid and so indelible an impression upon my mind as that first moment of arrival. In one flash the spirit in which the *Passion Play* is carried out was revealed in the personality of the man who smiled and bade us welcome. Anton Lang does not merely act a part every ten years, but he lives in closest imitation of the life which the Carpenter of Galilee might have lived during the years before he began his public ministry. He closely resembles the pictures of Christ familiar to us in childhood. At Oberammergau one lives and moves in a world apart, a world which we have seen in our dreams, but which we never thought to find in actual life.

At 5 o'clock on Whit Monday morning the church bells began to ring, calling the people to worship. At 8 o'clock in the morning every seat in the great auditorium of the theatre was occupied. The stage is in the open air, and beyond it can be seen the mountains and the blue sky with sailing clouds. The sunlight pours down upon the beautiful garments of scarlet and purple, of blue and green and gold, that are worn by the singers of the chorus. Birds fly across the scene, and sometimes the storm bursts, but the players heed it not. Of the wonderful *Play* that has evolved for centuries from the heart of the people, the most wonderful thing to me was the spirit of universal humanity in which it is conceived and carried out. A member of the Roman Catholic community, a Salvation Army officer, an adherent of the Jewish faith; and one who holds no creed at all, might sit side by side throughout the long day, finding nothing to jar upon their senses of fitness and of beauty and nothing to arouse opposition between them.

Most amazing in its detached point of view is the portrayal of the high priest, the judges and the elders of the Sanhedrim who condemn the Christ to death. These are represented as dignified, highly reputable men, with a great zeal for order and for what they conceive to be the public good, and a genuine belief that they are serving the God of their fathers in ordaining the death of "the agitator" and "the innovator," who is a disturber of the public peace and a menace to the social order. It is with strict accordance with the decrees of the violated law that the arrested prisoner is condemned to death. "You stand accused," says the judge and high priest, Caiaphas,

"of inciting the people to disobedience, of scornful of the traditions of the fathers, of repeatedly violating the regulations of the Sabbath, and of allowing yourself many times to utter blasphemous speeches and to do blasphemous deeds. Here stand some trusty men who are ready to vouch for the truth of these accusations with their evidence. Listen to them that you may answer them if you can." One after another the witnesses give evidence.

"I testify before God that this man has incited the people, openly denouncing the members of the Council and the scribes as hypocrites, as hungry wolves in sheep's clothing, and as blind leaders of the blind."

"I also have been witness to what he has done on the Sabbath without fear though forbidden by the law of God. He has urged others to desecrate the Sabbath."

"You have, for I was present," says another, "taken unto yourself the power to forgive sins, a power belonging only to God. You have thus blasphemed God."

In summing up, Caiaphas says:—"Neither I, nor the High Council, but the holy law itself pronounces the sentences of death upon him. You teachers of the law, I bid you give me answer. What says the holy law of him who is disobedient to the ordained authorities of God?"

"Whoever is presumptuous and does not hearken to the commands of the high priest, or to the commands of the judges, shall die, and the evil be speeded from Israel."

"Keep then my Sabbath, for it is holy; whoever profanes it shall be put to death. Who does any work thereon, that soul shall be cut aloof from the people."

"What punishment does the law impose upon the blasphemer?" "Whoever blasphemes the name of the Lord shall be put to death."

"Accordingly," says Caiaphas, "is the sentence spoken over this Jesus of Nazareth in conformity with the law."

Alas! The blind leaders of the blind are not to be excused responsibility for their sin by reason of their blindness, but where are the rulers and the judges of this world who could throw a stone at Caiaphas and the judges of the Sanhedrim? How often are similar scenes enacted in our

own day in the police courts and law courts of a Christian country?

"And if Christ came again to-day?" I said to Anton Lang.

"He would be treated in the same way," he answered gravely. "Not crucified, of course, but judged as a criminal and treated as an outcast. The world hates 'the Innovator,' and people will always find base reasons to explain what they cannot understand." Then, with a smile, he added, "Newspapers say the *Passion Play* is a money-making concern." "Yes," I answered, "and they say that we are paid to go to prison." This he could scarcely believe.

Those who have been to Oberammergau once will often hear the call of its church bells falling across their dreams, will often see the cross uplifted upon the crag, and many a time they will quiet their soul by the remembrance of that little community, far away in the Bavarian hills, who breathe continually the air of peace and the atmosphere of faith, and hope, and love and simple human fellowship.

E. P. L.

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**THOUGHTS FOR THINKERS.**

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**TO THE READER:**

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**VOTES FOR WOMEN**  
4, CLEMENTS INN, STRAND.  
FRIDAY, JUNE 3, 1910.

**PROSPECTS OF THE NEW BILL.**

Last week we were able to announce that a Conciliation Committee had been formed for the purpose of pressing for the early enactment of a Woman Suffrage Bill, to be drafted on lines acceptable to members of all parties, and to be carried by general consent in the House of Commons. Judging by the reception accorded to the Conciliation Committee's scheme, the prospects of the new Suffrage Bill are very bright. Not only the Women's Social and Political Union, but Suffragists in general, are well disposed towards the Bill. They will welcome its enactment as an instalment and an advance. Among members of Parliament the Conciliation Committee is making progress, and we learn that during the past few days the Committee has gained several new adherents of influence in their respective parties. We also learn, on the authority of the *Manchester Guardian*, that, in addition to Sir Edward Grey, two other members of the Cabinet, Mr. Winston Churchill and Mr. Augustine Birrell, have signified their approval of the Conciliation Committee's proposals.

In view of the fact that the Bill is receiving this great and growing measure of support, it becomes more and more obvious that its fate depends, not upon the support of the country and of Parliament—for that support is already assured—but upon the Government's answer to the request that time shall be provided for the discussion of the measure. Mr. Asquith, in deciding to allow the Bill to be carried, will certainly have all the support he needs from his own party. The Liberal papers, with a wonderful degree of unanimity, approve the new Suffrage Bill. The *Morning Leader*, in deciding to allow the Bill to be carried, welcomes the Bill as "an advance, sufficiently cautious and sufficiently justified by actual experience, to shock none but those whose timidity deserves another name."

The *Star* also approves the Bill, and declares that "It is high time that some advance was made in the direction of satisfying the unanswerable claim of women to the rights of citizenship."

The *Daily News* supports the Bill, provided that its consideration will not interfere with the consideration of the House of Lords question, which it obviously will not do.

The *Nation* gives its blessing to the Bill in the following words:—

"We hope that this measure, the fruit of a sincere desire for conciliation on the part of politicians of all parties, may be received by the members of Parliament generally favourable to the cause of Woman Suffrage, as a step of immediate advance, and that, after the first reading has been carried, the Government will give it the full opportunity of becoming law."

The *Manchester Guardian*, in a weighty and convincing leader, hails the Conciliation Committee's scheme as holding "the possibility of a great reform," and unhesitatingly calls upon the Government to provide the necessary facilities for the Suffrage Bill. Speaking of the unworthy treatment which the Votes for Women question has had in the past at the hands of the Legislature, the *Manchester Guardian* asks:—

"Is it wonderful that the people whose claims are thus trifled with should grow impatient, or that in certain cases this impatience should have found expression in extreme and undesirable forms? And is it not time that an honest and serious attempt should be made to grapple with the difficulty which this movement, like every other Franchise Movement, involves, and to find a solution which, even though it may not satisfy all demands, shall at least relieve Parliament of the reproach which has too long rested upon it?"

Speaking of the prospects of the Bill, the *Manchester Guardian* asserts that as it is a very short one its discussion need take no long time, and that if, as in all probability will be the case, the Bill is carried in the House of Commons with something like general consent, it would almost certainly not be rejected by the House of Lords. The article concludes by a call to the Government to grant facilities to the Bill, couched in the following terms:—

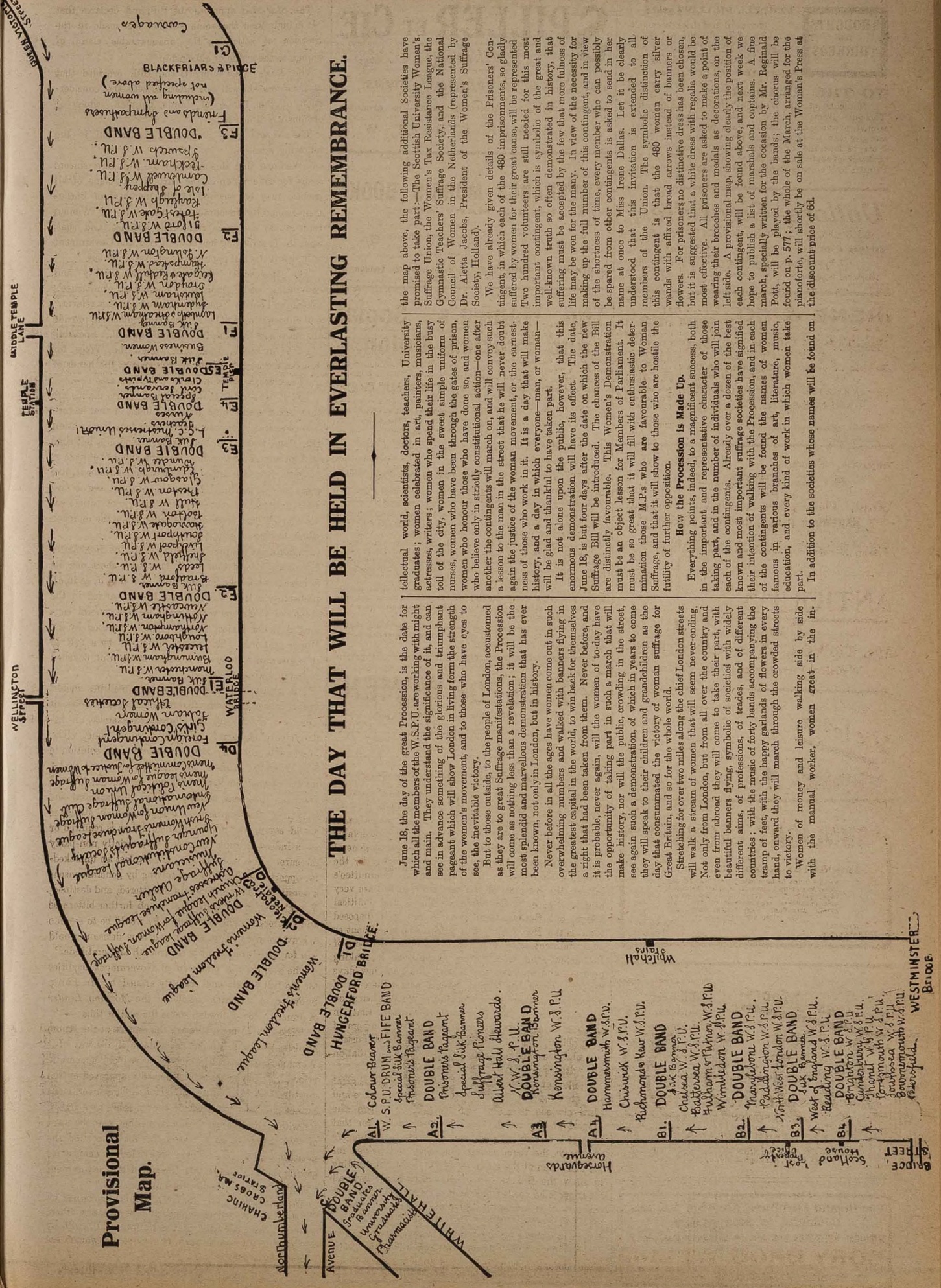
"Is there any sound reason why facilities should not be given and why the members of the House of Commons should not be allowed to exercise an independent judgment? We can discover none. The question is not only ripe for solution; its solution is long overdue. And if the objection be raised that a matter of such importance should be brought forward only on the responsibility of the Government, the answer is that by granting Government time, Ministers would assume as much responsibility as is required or as is indeed possible in regard to a strictly non-party measure. The truth is that at long last an unlooked-for opportunity has arisen of solving by general consent a question already sufficiently embittered, and destined, if neglected, to be fruitful of much further bitterness and trouble. Lightly to pass it by would be to assume a grave responsibility, and a generous decision would win for the Government both strength and gratitude."

The case for the provision of Government facilities for the Bill is well and cogently argued by Mr. Philip Snowden in a leading article in the *Morning Leader* of June 1. Mr. Snowden states the matter thus:—

"The Government, through the mouth of the Prime Minister, is pledged to put no obstacle in the way of a Woman Suffrage Bill which is based on democratic principles. This new Bill is heartily approved by the most democratic members of the House. The Government cannot plead the character of the measure as a reason for withholding support from it, neither can the want of time be urged as a reason for not supporting the measure. . . . There is a splendid chance for getting the Bill passed this Session if the Government will give the small amount of time required."

The conviction grows that Mr. Asquith, governed by the same considerations which prompt so many others to desire the enactment of the Suffrage Bill, will, by letting the Bill go through, throw open to women the doors of citizenship.

Christabel Pankhurst.



the map above, the following additional Societies have promised to take part:—The Scottish University Women's Suffrage Union, the Women's Tax Resistance League, the Gymnastic Teachers' Society, and the National Council of Women in the Netherlands (represented by Dr. Aleeta Jacobs, President of the Women's Suffrage Society, Holland).

We have already given details of the Prisoners' Contingent, in which each of the 480 imprisoned, so gladly suffered by women for their great cause, will be represented. Two hundred volunteers are still needed for this most important contingent, which is symbolic of the great and well-known truth so often demonstrated in history, that walking must be accepted by the few that more fitness of life may be won for the many. In view of the necessity for making up the full number of this contingent, and in view of the shortness of time, every member who can possibly be spared from other contingents is asked to send in her name at once to Miss Irene Dallas. Let it be clearly understood that this invitation is extended to all members of the Union. The symbolic distinction of this contingent is that the 480 women carry silver wands with affixed broad arrows instead of banners or flowers. For prisoners no distinctive dress has been chosen, but it is suggested that a white dress with regular would be most effective. All prisoners are asked to make a point of wearing their brooches and medals as decorations, on the left side. A provisional map, showing clearly the position of each contingent, will be found above, and next week we hope to publish a list of marshalls and captains. A final match, specially written for the occasion by Mr. Reginald Pate, will be played by the bands, the colours will be found on p. 577; the whole of the March, arranged for the piano forte, will shortly be on sale at the Woman's Press at the discount price of 6d.

the day of the great Procession, is the date for which all the members of the W.S.P.U. are working with might and main. They understand the significance of it, and can see in advance something of the glorious and triumphant pageant which will show London in living form the strength of the women's movement, and to those who have eyes to see, the inevitable victory.

But to those outside, to the people of London, accustomed as they are to great Suffrage manifestations, the Procession will come as nothing less than a revelation; it will be the most splendid and marvellous demonstration that has ever been known, not only in London, but in history.

Never before in all the ages have women come out in such overwhelming numbers and walked with banners flying in the greatest capital in the world, to win back for themselves a right that had been taken from them. Never before, and it is probable, never again, will the women of to-day have the opportunity of taking part in such a march that will make history, nor will the public, crowding in the street, see again such a demonstration, of which in years to come they will speak to their children and grandchildren as the day that consummated the victory of woman suffrage for Great Britain, and so for the whole world.

Stretching for over two miles along the chief London streets will walk a stream of women that will seem never ending. Not only from London, but from all over the country and even from abroad they will come to take their part, with beautiful banners flying, symbolic of societies with widely different aims, of professions, of trades, and of different countries: with the music of forty bands accompanying the tramp of feet with the happy gleams of flowers in every hand, onward they will march through the crowded streets to victory.

Women of money and leisure walking side by side with the manual worker, women great in the in-

**THE DAY THAT WILL BE HELD IN EVERLASTING REMEMBRANCE.**

SATURDAY, JUNE 18.

Procession Secretary ... Miss Olive Smith
Chief Marshal ... Miss Jessie Kenney
Chief Steward ... Miss Hambling
Banars & Colours Secretary ... Miss Irene Dallas
Vices for Women Sellers on the route ... Miss Annie Ainsworth

Organisers of Contingents.
Women Graduates-Medical... Miss L. Garrett Anderson, M.D., 114a, Harley St., W.
Science & Arts Miss Effie Marsden, 82, Bedford Gardens, S.W.
Teachers ... Miss Cameron.
Gymnastic Teachers ... Mrs. E. Adair Impy, Copthorne, King's Norton, Birmingham.
Nurses ... Miss Buckley, Hon. Sec.; Miss Pine; Miss Townsend.

Civil Servants, Stenographers and Clerks ... Miss C. A. L. Marsh.
Young Ladies in Business Houses ... Miss Vibert and Miss Fergus.
Musicians ... Lady Constance Lytton and Miss Esther Palliser, Hon. Secs.
Pharmacists ... Miss Gilliat, Western Hospital, Fulham.

Sanitary Inspectors and Health Visitors ... Hon. Sec: Mrs. Fisher, 26, Denning Road, Hampstead, N.W.
Foreign Contingents ... Mrs. E. Adair Impy, Copthorne, King's Norton, Birmingham.
Irish Contingent ... Miss Lennox.
General Sympathisers and Friends ... Miss Olive Smith.
Girls' Contingent ... Hon. Sec: Miss Downing, 30, Title Street, Chelsea, S.W.
Outdoor Campaign ... Miss Hasler.

Preparing for the Procession.
Throughout London W.S.P.U. members are working their very hardest to make sure that not a single person—man, woman, or child—shall fail to realise the tremendous significance of June 18.
Although it is impossible to state in detail all that is being done, some idea of the energies being put forth may be gathered from the organisers' reports.

1. Holding of meetings, both for the public and for groups of professional and other women, e.g., teachers and nurses.
2. Taking active part as speakers, taking the chair, selling VOTES FOR WOMEN, and giving out handbills at open-air, dinner-hour, and Sunday afternoon meetings in streets, parks, etc.
3. Canvassing women householders, boarding-houses, factories, laundries, hospitals, nursing-homes, schools, and shops, in addition to house-to-house canvassing.
4. Lending drawing-rooms for the special meetings referred to above.

and contributions are coming in both from those who are giving actively and from those who for any reason are prevented from doing so, and who wish to further the cause in this way.
Will every W.S.P.U. member communicate with the organiser of her district or group, or with "General Drummond, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C.," saying what time she can give to helping in any of the above ways?

Reports from Organisers.

University Contingent.
Hon. Sec. Arts and Science: Miss Eric Marsden, 82, Bedford Gardens, London, S.W.
With the fate of the new Suffrage Bill hanging in the balance, the Procession of June 18 will have an even greater object than it had before, and it is essential to impress upon women graduates the urgency of having an influential and impressive section. Names of those wishing to take part are coming in well, and everyone is working very hard in order that the women who are now the lauders in the institutions they may be represented as fully as possible.

Gymnastic Teachers.
Mrs. E. Adair Impy, Copthorne, King's Norton, Birmingham.
Names are coming in well, and a new blue and white banner with the words "Gymnastic Teachers' Suffrage Society" is being made for the occasion. It should be clearly understood that this contingent is managed independently, and will not carry the colour of any suffrage society except the one above mentioned.

Nurses.
Organiser: Miss Buckley, 4, Clements Inn, W.C.
Hon. Secs.—Miss Pine and Miss Townsend, 4, Clements Inn, W.C.
Nurses have been sending in their names very well to take part in the great Procession if their work permits. From the big metropolitan hospitals, as well as from the nursing homes and from private nurses, much support has been received, and it is hoped that this contingent, representing such an essentially womanly work will be a very effective one.

Sanitary Inspectors and Health Visitors.
Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Fisher, 26, Denning Road, Hampstead, N.W.
A number of Women Sanitary Inspectors are forming a contingent to take part in the Procession, and all Sanitary Inspectors and Health Visitors are invited to join. This group will march in Section C, which forms up in Whitehall Place at 5.30 p.m. For further information apply to Mrs. Fisher.

Civil Servants, Stenographers and Typists.
Organiser: Miss C. A. L. Marsh, 4, Clements Inn, W.C.
CIVIL SERVANTS.—To-day (Friday, June 3), at 5.30 p.m., the special free meeting for Civil Servants will be held in Winchester House, Old Broad Street, E.C.4. All Civil Servants will be welcome. The speakers are Mrs. Bates (chair) and Miss Christabel Pankhurst, L.L.B. The silk banner with the motto, "Fair Play, Fair Pay! for all who serve the State!" will be displayed. The cost is 3 guineas, and 5s. (for poles). Already acknowledged, £2 12s. 7d.; Savings Bank clerk (second subscription), 3s.; total, £3 2s. 7d.

their special banners, will march in Section B of the Procession. This section will form up close to the Temple Station. The special handbill giving particulars for women in these professions can be obtained on application.
Wanted, names of processionalists! Will all Civil Servants, Typists and Stenographers, etc., intending to march on June 18 send in their names without delay to Miss Marsh, so that a definite idea of numbers may be obtained? During the short fortnight that remains will friends work their hardest to make these contingents worthy of the professions they represent?

Young Ladies in Business Houses.

Miss Vibert and Miss Fergus, 4, Clements Inn, W.C.
Canvassing of houses in the West End is being continued. The hon. secretaries have received £1 2s. towards a banner, bearing the words "Who would be free, themselves must strike the blow," to be carried at the head of the contingent. If sufficient contributions are received it will be silk, costing 3 guineas and 5s. for poles. Subscriptions can be handed to Miss Vibert at St. James's Hall on Thursday evening, or sent to the hon. secretaries at Clements Inn.

Musicians.
Hon. Secs.: Lady Constance Lytton and Miss Esther Palliser, 4, Clements Inn, W.C.
Most encouraging progress is being made. The musicians will have a special banner, and towards the cost of this subscription are invitations. The cost is £4 4s., and already, without any public appeal, 10s. has been received from Madame Larkom, who is also helping in other ways. The following ladies have kindly given their drawing-rooms for meetings: Mrs. Stoddart, Saturday, June 4; Mrs. Mrs. Mackenzie, Monday, June 6; Mrs. Webb, Tuesday, June 7. For further details please see Forthcoming Meetings. Will all interested who would help by attending and bringing friends kindly communicate with Lady Constance Lytton, or with the hon. secretaries, at the Royal Academy of Music, Royal College of Music, or Guildhall School of Music, communicate with the Hon. Secs., Lady Constance Lytton and Miss Esther Palliser, who will also acknowledge subscriptions towards the banner?
Miss Downing, Smith and Miss Phyllis Potter are assisting the Hon. Secs.

Women Pharmacists.
Hon. Sec.—Miss Gilliat, Western Hospital, Fulham.
This contingent's banner bears the words "Women Pharmacists Demand the Vote." The cost has been met, and the list of names is being completed. Friends are invited to send donations to Miss Gilliat at once. A good number of women have expressed their intention of walking in the Procession, including those most prominent in the pharmaceutical world. All who have not yet communicated with Miss Gilliat do so as soon as possible, in order that she may send them full particulars for June 18.

Foreign Contingents.
Hon. Sec.—Miss Foxall, 1a, Striling Mansions, Canfield Gardens, N.W.
The American contingent is "getting on famously." Members of the Society of American Women in London are responding splendidly to Miss Freeman's invitation to take part in the Procession. A drawing-room meeting will be announced later.
In addition to many other nations, the Netherland Suffrage Society is being officially represented, and Mrs. de Ferrer, vice-president of the Nice branch of the French Suffrage Union, will take part.

Irish Contingent.
Organiser: Miss Lennox, 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C.
Two weeks more! Irishwomen, be true to the traditions of your race, and come out to do your part in the noblest contest for justice for women. Members are wanted at once to act as recruiting sergeants among their friends and acquaintances, for distributing proposition bills, and for chalking. Chalking parties are being arranged for each evening. This is a splendid form of advertisement, as well as a grand way of meeting your countrywomen away from home. At last Friday's meeting several new names were given in, and everyone went home with a bundle of bills to distribute. We want you to come along and work too. Will all your names, and as to being late to the Procession, this should be done at once. Irish members meet at Cleopatra's Needle at 5.30 on June 18. They are asked to wear green if possible. Those who want to ensure a seat in the Albert Hall must make speedy application for tickets to Miss Lennox, 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

about June 18. All the principal shops must be visited in the mornings. Good places are outside Selfridge's, Peter Robinson's, Swan and Edgar's, Bourne and Hollingsworth's. This requires a large number of people, and they must volunteer at once. Their read in your daily paper each morning what important function is taking place that day. Be there and give away handbills.
If any one member or friend is seen walking in the streets between now and June 18 without a Procession bill in hand, that one is not playing the game. Don't forget!!!
(1) Give away handbills—thousands of them!!!
(2) Come and chalk the pavements!!!
Special chalking parties to advertise the Procession on systematic lines are being organized each day, and additional workers are badly needed. Bands of women, in charge of a captain, will leave Clements Inn every fine morning and also at 6.30 p.m., and every district on the procession route will be thoroughly chalked. If sufficient contributions are received it will be silk, costing 3 guineas and 5s. for poles. Subscriptions can be handed to Miss Vibert at St. James's Hall on Thursday evening, or sent to the hon. secretaries at Clements Inn.

Hammermith.

Shop and Office—100, Hammermith Road, Organising Sec.—Mrs. E. L. Butler.
Miss Cather is organizing a teachers' meeting for June 8. Helpers are needed for this and a nurses' meeting on June 11. Three open-air meetings will be held each evening up to June 18. Speakers should be at the office at 7 p.m., when little parties will sail forth to the respective pitches. Miss Powell's interesting speech at the At Home, and Miss Vera Wentworth's stirring address on Sunday to a sympathetic audience, mainly of men, have been greatly appreciated.

REPORTS FROM THE LONDON DISTRICTS.

General Offices: W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C.
Every meeting between now and June 18 will be a means of bringing the great Procession to the knowledge of fresh recruits, and members are asked to invite their friends to next Monday afternoon's meeting 3 p.m. in the Queen's Hall, (near Scala Theatre), when Mrs. Peckick Lawrence, Mr. Mansell-Moullin, and Miss Mary Gawthorpe will speak. On Thursday a very important meeting, to which teachers are specially invited, will take place at St. James's Hall at 8 p.m., and the applications for grants from the W.S.P.U. Members are specially asked to make Wednesday's meeting known among their friends; cards may be had from the shop. Miss Caggis gratefully acknowledges: Miss Pan, 8s.; Mrs. George Gullick, 10s.; Miss Rowley (collected), 7s. 6d.; Miss Saul Solomon, 10s.; Miss B. Rowatt, 2s.; Mrs. Rose Is. 6d. Towards the banner: Mr. John Gullick, 10s.; Mrs. Gullick, 10s.; Mrs. Rees, 2s. 6d.; Mrs. John, 2s. 6d.; Miss Smith, 10s.; Miss Johnstone, 1s.

Battersea.
Hon. Sec. (pro tem)—Mrs. Halsey, 15, Cambridge Mansions.
Will Battersea members wish to walk under the teachers' banner on June 18 send in their names by June 8 to Mrs. Periwé, Ward Agent, 4, Title Street, S.W.7.
BOWES PARK.
Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Neal, 63, Goring Road.
Weekly open-air meetings in Finbury Park are being held by Miss Gilliat, and similar meetings in Wood Green will, it is hoped, soon be held. In every way Bowes Park members are working splendidly.

Camberwell and Peckham.
Organiser—Miss Elson, 4, Clements Inn, W.C.
Hon. Sec.—Miss Dawson, Red House, Newlands, Peckham, S.E.
In addition to the regular evening meetings, a Demonstration is being planned for Sunday, June 12, on Peckham Rise, when Mrs. Drummond will be one of the speakers. Drawing-room meetings will be held at 8 p.m. on Monday, June 6, at Miss Bevan's, 19, St. James's, Hatcham, at 7 p.m., and one at Dr. Ross Ford's, 26, Queen's Road, Peckham, on Thursday, June 16, at 7.30 p.m. A meeting for shop assistants will be held at 65, Church Street. Shops are being canvassed by Mrs. Mockett and Miss Stokoe. "A Sympathiser's" 10s. is gratefully acknowledged.

Chelsea and Kensington.
Shop and Office—303, King's Road.
Hon. Secs.—Miss Hall and Miss Barry.
Eighteen open-air meetings have been arranged so that all parts of the district may hear of the great Procession. People passing the shop cannot help seeing the great poster right across the window, inviting women to come in and give in their names. Miss Ada Moore is kindly giving a drawing-room meeting, the first of four, one being the shop-waitress on June 9, when Mr. Laurence Houseman will speak, and Miss Whitford Mayo will recite. Miss Francis Forbes is collecting names of artists, who will carry their palettes with ribbon streamers in the colours, in the Procession.

Chiswick.
Shop—79, High Road.
Hon. Sec.—Miss C. K. A. Coombes.
Open-air meetings are a strong point here. A teachers' drawing-room meeting has also been held in Mrs. Mast's drawing-room, when Mrs. Massey spoke. At Saturday's jumble sale there were addressed at intervals by the Misses Siskins and Freeseon handbills were given out. These will also be given out on the High Road during shopping hours. Members are actively chalking, etc.

Forest Gate.
Hon. Sec.—Miss V. H. Friedlander, 129, Earham Grove.
Printed lists of women voters are being supplied to canvassers. Procession bills are everywhere eagerly accepted, and Mr. Bright's splendid Stratford meeting the record of sales of Votes for Women was again broken. Hundreds of handbills were distributed in Victoria Park on Sunday, where Miss Agnes Kelly's admirable speech drew a large crowd. Mrs. Ballock is working towards a special nurses' meeting; Mrs. Cottle is circulating schools. Mrs. W. Randall is cordially thanked for her contribution. Help towards postal and other expenses will be welcomed.

Hammermith.
Shop and Office—100, Hammermith Road, Organising Sec.—Mrs. E. L. Butler.
Miss Cather is organizing a teachers' meeting for June 8. Helpers are needed for this and a nurses' meeting on June 11. Three open-air meetings will be held each evening up to June 18. Speakers should be at the office at 7 p.m., when little parties will sail forth to the respective pitches. Miss Powell's interesting speech at the At Home, and Miss Vera Wentworth's stirring address on Sunday to a sympathetic audience, mainly of men, have been greatly appreciated.

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Islington.
Office—319, Upper Street.
Organiser—Miss F. M. Fagg, 4, Clements Inn, W.C.
Extensive plans were made at a members' meeting addressed by Miss G. Brackenbury. In addition to the meetings in the Programme, it is hoped to arrange one at the Drovers' Hall, on Saturday there will be a poster parade; will volunteers be at the shop at 6.30? On Sunday afternoon, June 12, there will be a demonstration in the Highways Fields, with two platforms. Mrs. G. Brackenbury, Miss Marsh, and Miss Ada Wright will be among the speakers. A banner fund has been opened. Funds are also wanted for the shop. Members are specially wanted this week to canvass for the women's meeting; this can be done in the evenings. The following are gratefully acknowledged: For the shop—Miss Thompson, 2s.; Miss Hopkins, 7s.; Miss Parker, 2s.; Miss Asley, 2s.; Miss Strachan, 7s.; Anon., 9s. For the banner: Miss G. Brackenbury, 1s.; Miss Pesse, 1s.; Miss Ashley, 1s.; Miss Andjah, 1s.; Miss Lewis, 2s. 6d.

Islington.
Shop and Office—143, Church Street, Kensington, W. Tel. 2118 Western. Joint Hon. Secs.—Mrs. Eates, 7, Wrentham Avenue, Willesden, and Miss Worthington, B.A.
There is room for many more canvassers. The Misses Wylie, who are canvassing shops, are meeting with great success. Teachers have also been visited and invited to drawing-room meetings. The numerous nurses' meetings are being canvassed for the special nurses' meeting on June 8 (see programme). Other drawing-room meetings are for Westbourne Grove district, June 10, at 88, Porchester Terrace, by kind permission of Dr. Christine Murrell, and for the High Street neighbourhood on June 14, at 4, Argyle Road, by kind permission of Mrs. Bred. Cards for drawing-room meetings and tickets for the Town Hall meeting (June 10) may be had from the shop.

Lambeth.
Organising Sec.—Miss Leonora Tyson, 37, Dredwood Road, Streatham, S.W.
Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Bartels, 21, Acadia Grove, Dulwich.
The W.S.P.U. Drum and Fife Band will march on Saturday evening from Streatham to Kennington. Special help is needed in selling Votes for Women, and in giving away handbills. Miss A. E. Willson has very kindly consented to entertain the Band before it starts on its march, and this in addition to the Garden Meeting which she is having on the same afternoon. An active outdoor campaign will be started by this Union on June 6, and meetings will be addressed in different parts of the "constituency" every evening up to the great day in addition to the usual Sunday meetings on Streatham Common, Brockwell Park, and Clapham Common. Fuller details next week. The new Lambeth banner, designed and embroidered by Mrs. Duval, is now ready.
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Table listing names and times for meetings on Sunday, 5th.

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Table listing names and times for meetings on Thursday, 9th.

Table listing names and times for meetings on Friday, 10th.

Table listing names and times for meetings on Saturday, 11th.

Table listing names and times for meetings on Sunday, 12th.

The Series of meetings in the Queen's Hall will be resumed on Monday, June 6, Saturday, June 18—PROCESSION. Demonstration at Westminster, Embankment, at 5.30 p.m., start 6.30 p.m. Demonstration, Albert Hall, 8.30 p.m.

Mrs K. Tyson, will be finished in time to decorate the platform at next Wednesday's At Home in the Hatfield College Hall...

LEWISHAM. Shop and Office—107, High Street, Lewisham. Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Bouvier, 32, Mount Pleasant Road, Lewisham.

Street corner meetings and Sunday meetings on Blackheath and Hilly Fields are being held with the greatest success. Miss Billinghurst is organising teachers. Hospitals, nursing homes, factories, and laundries will be visited.

NORTH ISLINGTON (LATE HORSEV). Hon. Secs.—Miss Clara Browne, 11, Gladsmire Road, Highgate; Miss Jackson, 68, Langdon Park Road, Highgate.

Women householders found to be in sympathy with the movement during the General Election and the Women's Mission are being specially canvassed.

NEW LONDON. Shop and Office—215, High Road, Kilburn. Tel. 1183 Hampstead. Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Peñ Gaskell, 13, Nicoll Road, Willesden.

Daily outdoor meetings have been held for weeks past. These are now increased to two, three, and, where possible, four daily.

PADDINGTON. Hon. Secs.—Miss Louise Higgins; Hon. Mrs. Havenfield, 31, Bedford Street, Strand, W.C.

The workers are meeting with great encouragement. It is being promised if a shop can be opened in a year, another £10 will be promised for the same object.

PUTNEY AND FULHAM. Shop—98A, Fulham Road. Hon. Secs.—Miss Curtis, 43, St. Mark Road, Fulham, and Mrs. H. Roberts.

An extensive open-air campaign has been planned in the factory and laundry districts, all of which are being canvassed.

RICHMOND AND KEW. Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Clayton, Glengarf, Kew Road, Richmond.

Special indoor meetings for professional women and extra outdoor meetings are planned. Thousands of leaflets are being distributed in the streets, from door to door.

READING. Organiser—Miss Margaret T. Lorne Street.

ST. PANCRAS. Organiser—Miss Gabrielle Jeffery, 22, Upper Bedford Place, Telephone, 912 Gerrard.

SEVENHAM AND FOREST HILL. Hon. Sec.—Miss A. M. Pollard, Marshwood, 6, Burghill Road, Sevenham.

As this Union has no office, a shop window is being hired for a week in which to display the local banners, posters, &c.

WIMBLEDON. Shop: 6, Victoria Crescent, Broadway. Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Lorisignol, 27, Neton Hall Road.

The weekly At Home are an important feature. Members are asked to bring friends, especially to hear Miss Evelyn Sharp to-day.

SOME PRACTICAL POINTS. All should be on the Embankment by 5.30 p.m. sharp.

A group of general sympathisers in the last section has been arranged for those who do not wish to walk with any of the special contingents.

Volunteers for selling the paper along the route—a most splendid opportunity—are urgently wanted.

THE CAMPAIGN IN THE COUNTRY. Home Counties. BEDFORD.

Hon. Sec.—Miss O. Billinghurst, 16, Grove Place. It is hoped that as many as possible for Bedford will avail themselves of the cheap excursion ticket.

BRIGHTON, HOVE AND DISTRICT. Office—4, North Street, Quadrant. Tel. 483 (Nat.). Organiser—Mrs. Clarke.

More names are invited for the Brighton and Hove contingent for June 18.

CONTERBURY AND THANET. Organiser—Mrs. F. E. M. Macaulay, 2, York Terrace, Ramsgate.

All the box tickets for the Albert Hall have been sold and balcony tickets (6d. numbered and reserved) are rapidly disappearing.

CANTONBURY AND FULHAM. Hon. Sec.—Miss Louise Higgins; Hon. Mrs. Havenfield, 31, Bedford Street, Strand, W.C.

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HULL, WITHERSEA AND DISTRICT. Organiser—Mrs. Balnes, care of Miss Harrison, 14, Welbeck Street.

In addition to most successful open-air meetings, a splendid public meeting, in the Royal Pavilion, Withersea, resulted in new members being gained.

NEWCASTLE AND DISTRICT. Office—77, Blackett Street. Organiser—Miss A. Williams, 203, Westgate Road.

Reports of excellent meetings are unavoidably crowded out. The Organiser's thanks are due to the Rev. A. B. Cornbe for donation of £1. 1s.

LEICESTERSHIRE. Office—15, Bowling Green Street, Leicester. Tel. 115 Leicester. Organiser—Miss D. Peacock, Miss D. A. Bowker.

"Will women get votes this year?" "Yes they will," say the passers-by, reading last week's poster.

NORTHAMPTON AND DISTRICT. W.F.P.U. Organiser—Miss Gordon, 16, Holly Road.

Open-air meetings are being continued. Lady Leab' Margeson presided over a meeting at Wellingtonborough on May 31, kindly given by Mrs. Parr of Willyo Grange.

NOTTINGHAM. Office—4, Carlton Street, Tel. 4511. Organisers—Miss Crocker and Miss Roberts.

Tickets are going rapidly for the half-day trip on June 18 (see p. 585). Names should come in at once.

SCARBOROUGH. Organiser—Miss Adela Pankhurst. Hon. Treas.—Dr. Marion Mackenzie, 7, The Valley, Hon. Sec.—Mrs. G. H. Howard.

It is hoped that a weekly Saturday afternoon meeting will be held, and Yorkshire speakers will be offered week-end hospitality.

SHEFFIELD AND DISTRICT. Organiser—Miss Adela Pankhurst, 46, Marlborough Road.

Tickets for Mrs. Lawrence's At Home are selling well. Members are invited to bring a party of four or five to the open-air meetings.

SCOTLAND. GLASGOW AND WEST OF SCOTLAND. Shop and Office—302, Sauchiehall Street. Tel. 415, Clarendon House.

Organiser—Miss Barbara Wylie. Miss Allan, 21 (part proceeds of entertainment); "A Medical Friend," per Dr. Marian Gilchrist, 25; Miss Soga (promised), 21.

EDINBURGH AND EAST OF SCOTLAND. Office—8, Melville Place, Queensberry Street. Tel. 412 Central. Organiser—Miss Burns.

Members are urged to make the last indoor meeting of the season (see below) a great success.

MANCHESTER AND DISTRICT. Central Office—164, Oxford Road, Manchester. Tel. 3631 Manchester City.

Organiser—Miss Mary Gawthorpe, Miss Rosa Robinson. Now that Mrs. Pankhurst's campaign is over members are asked to concentrate on the open-air meetings.

WINDANCOTON, SOMERSET. Local Organiser—Mrs. Mansel, Bayford Lodge.

A meeting for women only was held at the Mill Street Schoolroom on Thursday last.

EASTERN COUNTIES. IPSWICH AND DISTRICT. Organiser—Miss Grace Roe, Northgate House, All Saints' Road, Ipswich.

The Misses Steward, Miss Margaret Pison, Miss Phyllis Pease, Miss Elvy, and other local members, who for the first time sold Votes for Women in the Market Place, are to be congratulated.

BRADFORD AND DISTRICT. Organiser—Miss Mary Phillips, 169, Valley Drive, Harrogate.

For train facilities on June 18 see p. 585. Those wishing for Albert Hall tickets should apply to Miss Phillips at once.

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A most successful meeting was held on May 22, at Alton. Speakers: Miss Fowkes and Miss Valentine.

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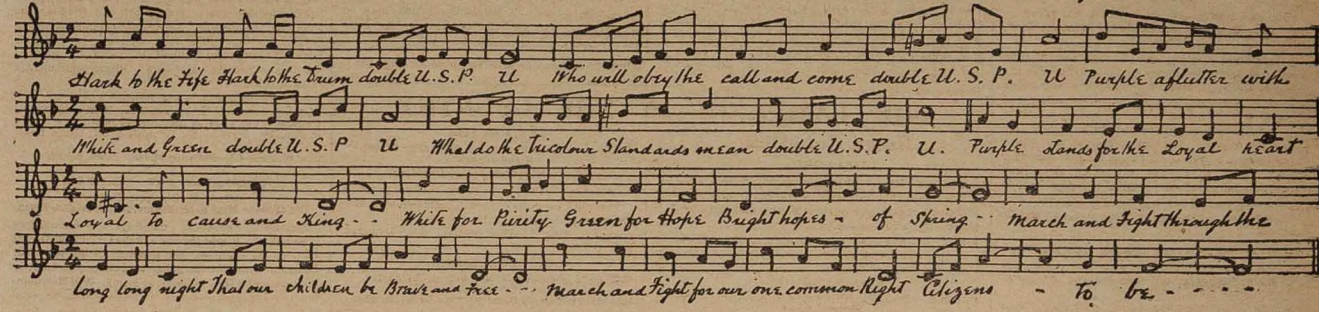
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# Chorus of the PURPLE, WHITE, AND GREEN MARCH.

Music and Words by R. H. P.



The Complete March, arranged for the Piano-forte by Mr. Hatch, will shortly be on sale, Price 1s. (discount price 6d.) at the Woman's Press, 136, Charing Cross Road.

## PRESTON, ST. ANNE'S-ON-THE-SEA AND DISTRICT.

Organiser—Miss Margaret Hewitt, 41, Glover's Court, Preston. "Ye Mariners," Church Road, St. Anne's-on-the-Sea; the Hydro, Lytham.

Arrangements are going well for the At Home this (Friday) afternoon in Lytham, and for the meeting to-night in St. Anne's-on-the-Sea.

SOUTHPORT. Office—13, Nevill Street. Organiser—Miss Dora Marsden.

Miss Whitaker has arranged for the display of six posters advertising the Procession.

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## SOME EXCURSION FACILITIES.

Bedford ..... Excursion, 3s. 6d.

Birmingham ..... Reserved carriages on the 11.25 G. W. H. train, 1s. 6d. Fare, 7s. return.

Bolton and Bury ..... Manchester excursion extended. Probable fare, 12s. Start midnight June 17, return midnight June 18.

Bournemouth ..... Week-end, Friday to Tuesday.

Bradford ..... Excursion train leaves Exchange Station at 2.25 a.m., returns 10.45 p.m.

Brighton ..... Day excursion, 3s.

Bristol, Weston-super-Mare, Clevedon, Yatton, Bath, and Chippenham ..... Day excursion. Fare from Bristol, 5s. 6d.

Canterbury ..... Passengers will join the Birlington train at Faversham.

Coventry ..... Day return, 6s., leaving 9.15. Half-day return, 4s., leaving at 12.24.

Dover ..... Day excursion, starting 8.5 a.m. Fare, 7s. 6d. Half-day excursion, starting 1.45 p.m. Fare, 4s. 3d.

Durham ..... Passengers will join the Birlington train at Faversham.

Dundee ..... Excursions are run by all railways on Thursday evenings at 2.30 return.

Edinburgh ..... Four or eight-day excursions, leaving 2.50 p.m. on June 16, 27s. return.

Harrogate ..... Six-day excursion, leaving 10.10 a.m. on June 17, 20s. return.

Ipswich ..... Cheap week-end tickets are available at 7s. 5d. return.

Liverpool ..... Excursion, leaving June 17, 11.20.1s. Two days, 12s. 6d.; 4 days, 16s.

Leeds ..... Excursion train leaving on June 18 at 7.50 a.m., returning 10.45 p.m.

Leicester ..... June 18, special train from Sheffield calling Leicestershire about 1 p.m.

Manchester ..... Great Central, excursion on June 17, return on June 18, leaving at 8 p.m.

Newcastle ..... An excursion train will be run, particulars of which will be given later.

Newport (Mon.) Day excursion, 7s. return.

Northampton ..... Saturday half-day excursion, leaves 1.23. Fare, 2s. 9d. return. Reserved carriages.

Nottingham ..... Saturday half-day excursion, reserved carriages. Fare, 4s. 3d. return.

Preston ..... See Manchester.

Rayleigh (Essex) A week-end ticket, 2s. 9d. Return Sunday or Monday.

Reading ..... Excursion ticket, June 18, 2s. 10d. return.

Redhill ..... Fare, 2s. 1d. return, for party number exceeding 10 or more.

Sheffield ..... Half-day excursion, leaving 11.30 a.m., arriving 3 p.m., 6s. 6d. Return midnight. Great Central. Also Saturday to Monday, 16s. 6d.

## MEN'S POLITICAL UNION FOR WOMEN'S ENFRANCHISEMENT.

Office: 13, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C. Hon. Organising Sec., Victor D. Duval.

Many of the members will be engaged in carrying banners and helping in other ways on June 18.

Members are specially requested to attend a meeting at these offices on Monday, June 13, at 8 p.m., when final arrangements will be made for the men's contingent.

Thanks are due to Miss Winifred Mayo, for so kindly reciting at Monday's At-Home.

The following report comes from Birmingham: Members are shaking and attending all the outdoor meetings of the W.F.P.U. The Secretary will be pleased to hear from men interested in the cause and willing to help.

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## THE DRUMMERS' UNION.

Owing to the presence of the Prime Minister at the Liberal Garden Party at the Botanical Gardens on June 4, the authorities cancelled the arrangement for the Drummers' Union entertainment.

The secretary of the Drummers' Union, Miss Hazel Roberts, 65, Hagford Street, E., would be very glad if any W.F.P.U. member would lend a garden for a performance towards the end of July.

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DE PROFUNDIS.

A year ago I roamed the hills, So light of heart and free, And now the endless aisles of pain Have called and captured me.

SOME PRESS COMMENTS.

It is right that woman should be allowed to preserve and to stamp her own individuality upon the nation's work; it is just that she should have a voice in deciding the expenditure of revenue to which she has to contribute her share; it is politic that she should be allowed to express her opinion on the wisdom of legislation which affects her welfare.

give them the vote, but to remove some of them. We fancy the Times sighing to itself. "Ah! if only we could get Miss Pankhurst removed!"

The Woman's Press Shop.

This successful venture gives some indication of the growth of interest in the women's cause. It also affords a striking contrast to the character of middle-class girls of leisure as described by the Countess of Carlisle.

A SUFFRAGETTE IN AUSTRALIA. The true story of the suffrage movement is now being told in Australia by Miss Aitken, who worked as a nurse in England for nine years. To a large audience in Adelaide she told the history of the Union, and explained what English women were fighting for, and what tortures they had had to go through.

INTERESTING ITEMS.

As an example of the change of feeling in the country which is permeating even our great schools, the Canterbury and Thanet Organiser sends us some suggestions for banners sent her by a public schoolboy who is looking forward to helping in the summer campaign in Thanet.

ADVERTISEMENT RATES.

Single insertion, 1d. a word; minimum, 2s. (four insertions for the price of three). All advertisements must be prepaid. Address, the Advertisement Manager, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

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A BEAUTIFUL HOLIDAY HOME (altitude 600 feet)—Dean Forest, Severn and Wye Valleys. England's finest forest and river scenery. Spacious house; 25 bedrooms; billiard room; bathroom. Extensive grounds. Tennis. Conveyances. Vegetarians accommodated.

A BOARDING HOUSE, West Central District. Newly decorated and furnished. Convenient for Students and Visitors. Telephone. Moderate Terms.—6, Endsleigh Street, W.C.

A "SIMPLE LIFE" GUEST HOUSE AND RETREAT for Rest and Healing. Swimming, Sun Bath, Golf, Tennis, Swedish Gymnastics and Massage.—The Leasowes, Halesowen, Worcestershire.

A BOARD RESIDENCE for Ladies.—Cubicle, breakfast, late dinner, full board Sunday, 15s. 6d. and 15s. 6d. Central and comfortable.—69, Gower Street, W.C.

A BOARD RESIDENCE, for short or long periods, recommended, excellent table, 29s. Close Tube, Met. Exhibitions and Hyde Park.—Arago, 57, Leicester Square, Baywater.

Bournemouth, Central.—Sitting-room, 15s. 6d. and 15s. 6d. Bed-sitting-rooms from 12s., inclusive terms. Bath (h. & c.).—125, Southcote Road.

BRIGHTON.—Titchfield House Boarding Establishment, 21, Upper Rock Gardens, off Marine Parade. Good table. Cheerful society. Terms from 25s., inclusive.

CHARMINGLY Restful Manorial Residence. Tennis parties accommodated; vegetarians received; good excursion centre; near train. Terms from 25s.—Miss Blane, Henley Grove, Henleaze, Durham Down, Bristol.

CLIFTONVILLE, MARGATE.—APART MENTS. Catering if desired. Clean, comfortable. Near sea. Board-residence, 25s. per week; 12s. 6d. week-end.—Miss Adams, 41, Atholton Road.

CLIFTONVILLE, MARGATE.—SUPERIOR APARTMENTS. Board optional. Large rooms. Home comforts. Good cooking. Minsie sea. Reasonable terms. Suitable for invalids, ladies.—"Cloughton," 28, Edgar Road.

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DARTMOOR.—Dousland Grange. Near Yelverton. Magnificent Tor and Valley scenery. Bracing Air. Billiards. Golf. Fishing. Tennis. Vegetarian catering by arrangement. Well recommended.—Gilmore Watson.

FURNISHED COTTAGE to Let, 25s. weekly, on Children's Hill. One hour from Town. Five rooms; water laid on.—Mrs. Church, 16A, Lissenden Mansions, N.W.

HEADQUARTERS to Let, 25s. weekly, in excellent house, near Victoria Station. Terms, 25s. weekly inclusive. Station West Moor—Moor Cottage Farm, Three Cross, Wimborne, Dorset.

LADIES farming receive Paying Guests. On Moor, close to New Forest. Bournemouth 11 miles. Excellent Cycling and Sketching centre. Terms, 25s. week inclusive. Station West Moor—Moor Cottage Farm, Three Cross, Wimborne, Dorset.

LONDON.—Rodney's Hotel, 34, Tavistock Square, W.C. Three-minute King's Cross, Euston, and St. Pancras Railway Stations. Bed, attendance, and breakfast, from 4s. 6d.—Telegrams, "Rodneydon, London."

LONDON, W.C.—Lady receives Students, Teachers, and other Ladies in her private home. Partial board. References exchanged.—"Espoir," Votes for Women, Clements Inn.

"MANNA MEAD," The Grove, Blackheath, S.E.—Established 1855; charmingly situated; for "Rest Cure" or permanent home; highly recommended for skill, special diet, and home comforts; massage. Prospectus on application to the Principal. Telephone: 908, New Cross.

NEAR Baker Street.—BEDROOM, Cubicles, for Ladies use; sitting-room. Full board, 15s.; partial, 10s.—N., 1, Osborne House, High Street, Marylebone, W.

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NURSING HOME, 32, Bassett Road, North Kensington. Medical, Surgical, and Maternity cases taken. Terms moderate, quiet situation. Only thoroughly trained nurses engaged.—Telephone No. 2764 Paddington.

NUREMBERG.—SMALL FURNISHED FLAT, July-September. Suit two ladies. Sunny, central. Moderate terms. Not far from Ober-Ammergau.—Miss Edgewood, Ludwigs Str. 70, Nuremberg.

PAYING GUESTS received, or Furnished House to Let, 9 bedrooms, 3 reception. Good references.—35, Sinclair Road, W.

RESIDENTIAL HOME for Nurses, Students, and Lady Visitors. Cubicles with board, 17s. 6d. per week. Rooms moderate.—Mrs. Campbell-Wilkinson, 49, Weymouth Street, Portland Place, London, W.

RESIDENTIAL UNFURNISHED CHAMBERS for Ladies. Large Room, 7s. 6d. weekly. Attendance from Housekeeper can be arranged. Near Notting Hill Station, in nice square.—Box 598, Votes for Women Offices, 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C.

"SABREZZE"—Isle of Whithorn, Wigtownshire, Scotland. Seven Apartments. For June, July, August. Seaside, very bracing. Without attendance; terms moderate.—Apply, Mrs. Bie.

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EXPERIENCED and fully qualified Gymnastic, Swimming, and Games Mistress, disengaged during June, July, and August. Could undertake Temporary Work in School, College, Settlement, or Convent. Remedial Gymnastics. Would organise Caravan, Cycling, or Walking Tour.—Address X., Votes for Women, 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

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BECHSTEIN Upright Grand Piano, exceptional bargain; also Piano with interior Player, to be sold, a bargain.—11, Parkhurst Road, Camden Road.

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BOYCYCLE. Lady's Humber, Free Wheel. First-class condition. Very little used. All accessories. £2 or offer.—Miss Kerr, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C.

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BRACELET.—Fine Gold flexible Braid Bracelet for Sale, £4 4s. original cost £10.—Mrs. Sanders, the W.S.P.U. Treasury, Votes for Women Offices, 4, Clements Inn, Strand.

COSTUMES and DRESSES.—BUSINESS with a good private connection, for SALE, situated in one of the most important thoroughfares in the West End. Splendid opportunity for any Lady wishing to start or enlarge a Business. Satisfactory reasons for disposal of same.—Box 604, Votes for Women Offices, 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C.

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SPECIAL LADY REPRESENTATIVES wanted by an important British Company to introduce to the Needs of Women and for the Education of Children. No cutting or expense necessary. Liberal terms of remuneration.—Apply Manager, Box 808, Votes for Women.

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**SMART'S**  
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**EVERY DRAPER SELLS THEM**  
AVOID SHOPS WHICH OFFER YOU IMITATIONS  
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From 20 gns. cash.



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In stock at Bargain Prices, Bechstein, Blüthner, Broadwood, etc.  
**PLAYER-PIANOS**  
SIMPLEX PLAYERS.  
Special terms to Members W.S.P.U.  
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SMART HATS from 4/11. Hand-made, trimmed to order, from 6/11.  
A good selection in stock.  
Feathers Curled and Dyed. Orders by post receive prompt attention.  
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Special Schemes for Women's Pensions and Annuities.  
Every kind of Insurance effected.  
**MISS RANSOM,**  
**195, EDGWARE ROAD, W.**

1s. 6d. lb. **TEA** 1s. 8d. lb.  
The Woman's Press, 156, Charing Cross Road,  
can supply carefully-selected tea. Daintily  
packed in 1 lb. and ½ lb. packets.

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SPECIAL SHOW FOR THE SEASON.  
Lessons given. Materials supplied. Mounting of all kinds undertaken.

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Icons, Pottery, Lace, Embroideries, Toys, and Tartar Jewellery.  
Goods Sent to Bazaars, on Sale or Return.  
**MISS MILDREN,**  
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Write for ...  
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DELIVERIES ANYWHERE. ESTABLISHED 1842.

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WEDNESDAY, June 8th, 8.30 p.m.—Can we act contrary to our own Nature?  
**ALL SEATS FREE.**

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