

VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

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ARMED !

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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.

Easter is over and the House of Commons has returned to work. In a fortnight's time—on May 5—it will be debating the second reading of the Woman Suffrage Bill, introduced by Sir George Kemp.

The Household Franchise.

As our readers are aware, the measure, which has been reduced to its present form in order to meet the views of men of all parties in the House of Commons, gives the vote solely to women householders. The full text is as follows:—

A BILL TO CONFER THE PARLIAMENTARY FRANCHISE ON WOMEN,
 (1) Every woman possessed of a household qualification, within the meaning of The Representation of the People Act (1884), shall be entitled to be registered as a voter, and be registered to vote for the county or borough in which the qualifying premises are situate.

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

The number of women enfranchised will be about a million.

A Democratic Bill.

The household franchise has for long been recognised by men of all shades of opinion as essentially democratic. In 1867, both political parties concurred in the extension of the Parliamentary vote to men householders, and in 1869 the municipal vote was given, with the consent of both parties, to an electorate consisting of men and women householders and occupiers. It should be noted that the qualification of householder is not one of wealth, but of status. The "house" in respect of which the vote is obtained may be rented at not more than a shilling or two a week, it may even not be a house at all in the ordinarily accepted meaning of the word, but simply a tenement of a few rooms or even a single apartment. On the other hand, the qualification ensures that only responsible persons will be enfranchised—women who are fulfilling all the obligations of citizenship, but who had hitherto been denied citizen rights.

A Comparison with Last Year's Bill.

Last year criticism was directed from the Government Bench against the Conciliation Committee's Bill on two counts. Firstly, it was said that the Bill would enable rich men to obtain faggot votes by enfranchising their wives and daughters on account of property in their possession, while conferring no such privilege on the working classes. We are of opinion that this fear was wholly unfounded and that the Bill would not have lent itself to such procedure:

but the Conciliation Committee, anxious to leave no stone unturned to secure universal support for their measure, have met this criticism by reducing the Bill this year to plain household franchise and by prohibiting the enfranchisement of a husband and wife within the same constituency. Secondly, exception was taken to the Bill last year on account of its limited title ("A Bill to give the vote to women occupiers") which would have prevented the moving of amendments to widen its scope in committee. The Bill this year has, as will be seen, an "open" title and all amendments will therefore be in order.

Prospects of the Bill.

After the second reading has been carried a determined effort will be made to obtain facilities from the Government. It is difficult to see on what grounds these can be refused. There are still six or seven weeks to the Coronation recess, and there is only one important Government measure before the House of Commons. The favourite plea of "no time" will therefore be a difficult one to substantiate. Again, Mr. Asquith will find it hard to convince the members of the House of Commons that the Bill is undemocratic. And, finally, the whole-hearted support which the Bill has received from local councils in important cities and towns throughout the country knocks the bottom out of the argument that the Bill has not the backing of public opinion. It only needs determined pressure to get the Bill carried into law this Session.

The "Most Important."

We are glad to see that the Parliamentary correspondent of the *Daily News*, "P. W. W.," recognises the supreme importance of the Women's Bill. In the *Daily News*

Tuesday last he says, in referring to the Fridays reserved for private members' bills...

Grand Committee Procedure. Although the Government opposed the reference to a Grand Committee of the Conciliation Bill for Woman Suffrage...

Cabinet Autocracy. The complaints which the Women's Social and Political Union have made...

Militancy in Other Lands. In two parts of the world (in Mexico and in Albania) political struggles are at the present time being waged...

After enumerating these conditions, the Morning Post continues:—All this makes an eminently reasonable programme...

The Lord Mayor of Dublin and the Bill. The resolution of the Dublin Corporation that a Petition in favour of the Conciliation Bill...

The N.U.T. Conference at Aberystwyth. The defeat of the proposal that the Standing Orders should be suspended in order to permit of a Woman Suffrage resolution being discussed at the Teachers' Conference...

The following list of contributions includes subscriptions and donations received during two days only. Amongst them are a great number of small sums sent by working women and girls...

Even the children share this enthusiasm for giving. The little son of one of the readers of this paper has sent a shilling, having put aside his weekly penny for twelve consecutive weeks in order to be able to make this contribution...

E. P. L.

Contents of this Issue. We are very glad to be able to give our readers this week an article by Lady Robert Cecil on "The Voluntary Worker and the Vote," which has been specially written for Votes for Women...

The American Chemical Society, which last year made Miss Curie an honorary member, has sent her a special invitation to take part in the International Chemical Congress to be held at Washington in 1912.

The London weekly meetings will be resumed at the Queen's Hall, Langham Place, W., on Monday, April 24, at 3 p.m., when one of the speakers will be the Hon. Malcolm M. Macnaghten, M.A., the well-known barrister.

What promises to be a most important meeting has been arranged to take place in the Town Hall, Kensington, on Friday, May 5 (the date of the second reading of the Women's Suffrage Bill).

Procession details will be found elsewhere. Tickets for the great demonstration at the Albert Hall, on Saturday, June 17, can be obtained from Miss Cooke, Ticket Secretary, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C. Prices: Amphitheatre stalls, 2s. 6d.; arena, 1s.; upper orchestra and balcony, 6d.; boxes, 10s., 15s., and 25s. 6d., all numbered and reserved.

Owing to the large number of visitors expected in London this summer, numbers of whom will visit the Festival of Empire, at the Crystal Palace, the W.S.P.U. have arranged to have a special kiosk (between the main stand and the Australian building) where literature and colours will be sold.

The following important meetings are a few of those already arranged in addition to those announced above and on page 480 of this issue—Mrs. Pankhurst at the Festival Concert Room, York, on Friday, April 28; at Doncaster on Saturday, April 29; at the Empire, Bursley, on Sunday, April 30; at the Albert Hall, Sheffield, on Monday, May 1.

All who heard the Rev. T. Rhonda Williams' speech at the Queen's Hall, on Friday, March 27 (published in last week's issue of VOTES FOR WOMEN), will be glad to know that it is being issued as a leaflet and is now in the Press.

The following list of contributions includes subscriptions and donations received during two days only. Amongst them are a great number of small sums sent by working women and girls as the result of special effort during self-denial week.

Even the children share this enthusiasm for giving. The little son of one of the readers of this paper has sent a shilling, having put aside his weekly penny for twelve consecutive weeks in order to be able to make this contribution. He is nine years old. A little girl of ten has collected one pound sterling in small amounts. The first self-denial contribution came (as our readers will remember) from an old lady in Exeter, who sent 6s., the first fruits of the old age pension for which she had just qualified.

E. P. L.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £100,000 FUND.

Table listing names and amounts contributed to the £100,000 fund, including sections for 'For Self-Denial' and 'Total'.

THE HOUR OF SUCCESS.

Extracted from the Speech of Mr. Laurence Housman at the Queen's Hall, London, on Monday, April 10, 1911.

The Census Protest has brought the subject of Woman Suffrage before the public as no other event could have done, and in view of the particular interest roused in it throughout the country...

Thousands upon Thousands. I wonder if Mr. Burns knows as much about it as I know? But though I went a good deal about the country in connection with this Census protest...

Mr. John Burns in a Hurry. They knew that as far as their numbers were concerned they were going to be counted, but they knew that behind them were sheltered an innumerable host. Mr. John Burns, I noticed, was in a very great hurry to have that question asked and answered...

How Does Mr. John Burns Know? But I want now to examine a little the statement made by Mr. John Burns that the numbers of evaders was "altogether negligible." How does he know? Did he only count the people who walked round Trafalgar Square...

Cooked Figures. The Government may have been able to a certain extent to count heads, but if that was their only object, then the preparation of all these figures is a very curious thing. It is up to us to see that there is no squandering and waste of public money.

The Government Feared to Strike. You may ask me if the Government suppressed their knowledge and if they kept the public ignorant of how great this protest has been, what is the good of the protest? The good of the protest is that all over the country women have banded together to resist unrepresentative Government...

A Crime Against Science. Now perhaps there were in a few cases private house watchers. I know of one house which for some particular reason the Government seemed to think was going to be very full indeed, and that house was watched for a couple of hours on the Sunday night.

Mr. Burns, again, said, in answer to a further question, that the collectors found no special difficulty in collecting the details. Well, the collectors found no special difficulty because they made no special difficulty. When they went to a house and were refused all information they took it lying down, like Mr. John Burns.

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and we think a great deal of a monster meeting with one hundred thousand in it; these numbers are regarded by politicians as signs of a great and growing cause. But, my friends, far greater is an agreement of perhaps a hundred thousand women all over the country to incur the risks of pains and penalties, which they did in making this protest.

ONE REASON? "But why is he in such a hurry?" the placid "sympathiser" frequently asks of the Militant Suffragist, when the latter is trying to rouse her to action. The following extract from the Empire Review for April, provides one answer out of many.

"I have seen a baby of two and a half-years looking eyes. . . . Gravely and industriously this baby father took her book in that electricity place on the card, saving a few minutes every hour to the mother who earns 3s. a week at the mill-mono-mono-reary, treating her type of 'woman's work' that has had just thought that Mr. John Burns' word was law, or that the Schedule was the Act. You never saw such astonishment and perplexity as there was on these collectors' faces when they found that they had no power to touch the evaders."

Elizabeth Colley, a girl twelve years of age, was a few days ago in the streets of London, just as she was going to school, when she saw a man who she thought was a thief against whom she was as many as one hundred charges. After two men, who said they had come on behalf of the gas company, had got into the house, she saw the thief with an automatic gas meter had been broken open and the money stolen.

It is all moonshine, said Miss Vida Goldstein at the Albert Hall, "for people to tell you that the vote will be given to women. The Government will not give it. They will only give it to those who are willing to pay for it. They will only give it to those who are willing to pay for it. They will only give it to those who are willing to pay for it."

According to the Berlin correspondent of the Daily Chronicle, the advanced women of Germany have issued a strong protest against the use of the word "Fraulein" as applied to unmarried women. They consider that all women who have reached their majority are entitled to call themselves "Frau," just as a man, whether married or not, calls himself "Herr."

On the evening of the 1st of April a scene took place which left me with that strange sense of having taken part in something of historical import. The audience that filled the Queen's Hall had joined in a chorus. Dr. Ethel Smyth, London Symphony Orchestra and the chorus upon the platform, turned round as she heard the great refrain spreading like fire among her friendly hearers. The regular forces were afield, the tune thundered out, and, like the beacon fire in falling timber, says an Evening News correspondent, "immediately set to work to rescue the inmates, all of whom were got out safely."

In recognition of her brave action, Nurse Helen Elizabeth Wolsley, who at the risk of her own life recently saved that of a patient of the Haswell Asylum, is to be awarded the Albert Medal of the Second Class.

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THE ABSORBING SHEPHERD OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE. Just one last word I want to tell you what I think is one of the most significant signs of the approaching triumph of this cause, and that is that only a very few months ago Mr. Lloyd George said that had it not been for military women would already have got the vote.

EXTENDED HOUSEKEEPING. IN VOTES FOR WOMEN recently we told how Mrs. Curie had been cleaning the towns in Minnesota. We have since heard that at Tarrytown the Women's Civic League is inquiring into the question of what becomes of the town's garbage. They complain that it is not removed regularly, and when it is taken away they want to know what becomes of it.

A NOVELIST'S CHAMPIONSHIP. What has the mere intellectual qualification to do with the matter? The more women differ from men in the point of view the greater the need of their co-operation at the polls. The vote is not a pass in a public examination; it is an attribute of the personality of citizenship. None of us get it because we are virtuous, or none of us are eminent; it is a right which we have as human beings.

FRAU OR FRAULEIN? According to the Berlin correspondent of the Daily Chronicle, the advanced women of Germany have issued a strong protest against the use of the word "Fraulein" as applied to unmarried women. They consider that all women who have reached their majority are entitled to call themselves "Frau," just as a man, whether married or not, calls himself "Herr."

DR. ETHEL SMYTH. On the evening of the 1st of April a scene took place which left me with that strange sense of having taken part in something of historical import. The audience that filled the Queen's Hall had joined in a chorus. Dr. Ethel Smyth, London Symphony Orchestra and the chorus upon the platform, turned round as she heard the great refrain spreading like fire among her friendly hearers.

WOMAN PRESIDENT OF N. U. T. The National Union of Teachers met yesterday at Aberystwyth, and heard its first presidential address from a woman, Miss CLARESON, of Sheffield. The kind of speech to confirm one in the belief that women are even more interested than men in the work of education, and have more understanding of its essentials.

Miss Beatrice Harraden is one of the judges in a series of literary and critical prizes in a novel competition. The prizes are £1,000, £500, £250, and £100. The competition is open to all women who are over 18 years of age and under 45 years of age. The prizes are to be awarded to the author of the best novel published in Great Britain during the year 1910.

THE MARCH OF THE WOMEN.

Saturday, June 17, 1911.

Almost one seems to see the long line of women—all ages, ranks, professions, with the industrial woman, the home-keeping woman—marching through the greatest city in the world.

There is a great deal to be done between to-day and Saturday, June 17. Not only is there the organising of the Procession itself, and the holding of innumerable meetings for making it known, but there are the units who will compose the Procession to be considered.

PROGRESS IN GREECE.

A woman battling with cholera in the hospitals of Egypt attracted the attention of physicians. She was Catherine Panagiotou, the first woman to die of cholera in the country.

THE WOMAN'S ARMY.

The days when Suffragists were jeered at are long since past. Whatever our private opinions are, we take these women seriously as a force to be reckoned with.

PLAIN WORDS FROM LADY CHANCE.

My answer to the question, "What have women, particularly women of the upper classes, to gain by the vote?" is "above all, self-respect."

SANDWICH WOMEN.

You are the very latest thing in modern femininity; You pass a parti-coloured string— Down West, and the vicinity.

And there will be a Historical Pageant, so that he who runs may read something of what women have done and are doing. He will read how in olden days women were Governors of Castles, Abbesses, Freewomen of City Companies, and how they occupied powerful and important positions in relation to great affairs of State.

Members of the W.S.P.U. Everyone is wanted on June 17. Those who acted as marshals or in other official capacities last year are asked to hold themselves free for similar duties this year.

MODERN WOMAN.

The modern woman has ceased to surprise us with her manifold achievements. There is no end to her courage and her sangfroid. She can climb the Dent Blanche, beat off the charge of a rhinoceros with her umbrella, and stand a lion in the face of the thicket of British East Africa.

NEW YORK WOMAN SURGEON.

Dr. Elizabeth A. Bruyn, who has just been appointed ambulance surgeon in Brooklyn, is only 22 years of age, but has passed a competitive examination in a large class of men.

The British Medical Journal, commenting on women doctors, says they make not only very intelligent but pleasant and admirably loyal colleagues, and that if the degree of esprit de corps habitually exhibited by medical women were universal among men, the difficulties of the medical profession in holding its own against organised bodies of the public, and Government and municipal authorities would be infinitely lessened.

Not till woman and man work together in perfect equality in the ministry, as in other professions, will the Church reach her permanent stature. She is willing to-day, because one alone is trying to effect what the two shall achieve.

Political franchise is now held to be the summit of every woman's ambition. But this ambition is not based on a desire to vote merely for the sake of voting, but rather on the knowledge that it is the only means to accomplish the many ends which women have in view.

They are the very latest thing in modern femininity; They pass a parti-coloured string— Down West, and the vicinity. With sandwich boards the truth they bring Of womanhood's divinity.

MISS SYLVIA PANKHURST.

We have received a gratifying letter from an American sympathiser (Rev. Henry G. Ives, of Andover, New Hampshire) expressing his pleasure at hearing Miss Sylvia Pankhurst speak at Concord.

Miss Sylvia Pankhurst's Eastern tour seems to have been fully as successful as her lectures and meetings were in the Western States. It is encouraging to hear that the English movement is rousing the American woman also to a fuller consciousness of her duties and rights.

A systematic campaign for Votes for Women arranged by the Equal Franchise Society, Boston, roused keen interest in the movement, and a Suffragette procession by torchlight, with music, was a great event.



An Amusing Cartoon which appeared in the "Indianapolis News" after Miss Sylvia Pankhurst's meeting.

keeping. A' towards returning to State Hall, she was in time to take part in the argument which was being held for and against Woman Suffrage.

The Secretary of the Civic Forum Lecture Bureau writes that Miss Pankhurst has had a wonderfully successful tour. In Detroit the committee reported that she had made many converts to the Suffrage cause.

THE W.S.P.U. REPORT.

A perusal of the annual report of the Women's Social and Political Union shows that the committee at any rate are well pleased with the progress made last year.

FRENCH GIRLS.

The Matin of April 2 contains a most interesting article by Mgr. Bolo (whose position in France is much the same as that of Father Bernard Vaughan in England) upon the subject of the French jeune fille.

THE LATEST SUFFRAGE RAID.

The ubiquitous Suffragette, encouraged perhaps by the appearance of Miss Christabel Pankhurst in San Francisco, has planted her banner on an insurgent fortification in Lower California, where fighting has recently been going on.

THE FORUM ON THE HEARTH.

In connection with the great subject of the Suffrage for Women, it is becoming more and more general for those who are interested in it, and who have houses adapted for the purpose, to arrange meetings of a more or less formal character in their private residences.



An Amusing Cartoon which appeared in the "Indianapolis News" after Miss Sylvia Pankhurst's meeting.

the courage to go to public meetings at which it is discussed, and who imagine that to do so is to immediately identify themselves with a militant party.

"VOTES FOR WOMEN."

Ladies interested in the meeting to be held to-night under the auspices of the Women's Reform Association have started the men of Johannesburg by going on their knees and chanting the pavement with coloured announcements of the meeting, prefaced with the words, "Votes for Women."

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RUSSIAN DUMA AND WOMEN.

From the St. Petersburg correspondent of the Morning Post (April 17) we learn some interesting facts about the new Bills adopted by the Russian Duma during the present Session.

One Bill introduced by the Government provides for legal separation, and is of importance chiefly in its bearing on the passport system. Under the present law separate passports may be issued to married women only in cases where the husband gives his consent or where a wife can prove ill-treatment on the part of the husband.

A GREAT WRONG!

We do not doubt for a moment that the brutal spirit which is still so prevalent in modern life is to some extent due to the prolonged and obstinate exclusion of women from their just and natural share in citizenship.

WOMEN HEROES.

Mr. Carnegie's munificent donation to the German Empire which the Emperor William gratefully accepted and undertook to administer, has raised the question whether women are to participate in the awards to be made by the trust, and it seems probable that it will be answered in the affirmative.

The Girl Guide idea is making headway, and in North Toronto alone enough have been enrolled to form three patrols and complete Troop No. 3 of the Maple Leaf Girl Guides.

CONCENTRATE ON 1911. CONCENTRATE ON THESE NEXT DAYS. BUY A SUPPLY OF THESE POSTCARDS

THE CONCILIATION BILL

As revised 1911. A Bill to [confer] extend the Parliamentary Franchise [on] to Women Occupiers.

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

The alterations shown above have been made to allow of free amendment in Committee, and to overcome the objection that the Bill as it originally stood rendered the creation of faggot votes possible.

SEND TO-DAY TO—

THE MEN'S LEAGUE FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE,

159, St. Stephen's House, Westminster, S.W. (Adjoining the old site of the old Palace of Westminster)

who will supply (free) copies of this advertisement for exhibition and distribution by Suffrage workers.

ORDER FORM.

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SPEAKERS' CLASS.

Hon. Election Mistress—Miss Rosa Lee, 45, Ashworth Mansions, Eight Avenue, W. Hon. Secretary—Miss Hale, 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

Members of the Union only are eligible. The Class is held at 4, Clements Inn, Room 72, every Friday, at 7.45 p.m. sharp.

WOMEN MUNICIPAL VOTERS IN SOUTH PADDINGTON.

The W.S.P.U. in South Paddington, under the leadership of the Hon. Mrs. Haverfield, has just completed a canvass of the women municipal voters. The results are—

THE CENTUS CARAVANS.

At the South-Western Police Court on Thursday last week, the summonses against the drivers of the caravans used by the Census resisters on Wimbledon Common were dismissed upon the payment of 2s. costs.

MISS VIDA GOLDSTEIN.

Miss Vida Goldstein will be entertained to dinner by the Men's League for Women's Suffrage on Thursday, May 4, at Pagan's Restaurant, Great Portland Street, at 7.30 p.m.

AT THE THEATRES.

The attention of our readers is drawn to the announcement on page 476 of a special matinee to be given at the Court Theatre, on Friday, April 28, at 2.30 p.m.

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Milliner.

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84, ELSPETH ROAD, LAVENDER HILL, S.W.

THE PARTY SYSTEM.

The failure of the ordinary private member of Parliament to show any real political independence has been for long a favourite theme of speakers of the Women's Social and Political Union, who have been obliged to educate the public in the working of modern political machinery in order to explain to them the policy of the Union. It is rather interesting, therefore, to find a book written by two prominent anti-Suffragists in which this tendency of development in the House of Commons is fully and clearly set out. In "The Party System" (Stephen Swift, 10, John Street, Adelphi, price 3s. 6d.) Messrs. Belloc and Cecil Chesterton go farther than any speaker or writer has gone before. They contend not only that the individual private member has become a mere counter in the hands of his party leaders, but also that there is such an amount of agreement between the leaders of the opposite parties that the whole political warfare inside the House of Commons has been reduced to a sham.

The destruction of the independence of the private member has come about, they say, through three means. In the first place, through the power of the Executive to confer favours upon those members of Parliament who are their obedient supporters. There are junior places in the Government for those whose talents incline them to political honours. There are judgeships and other positions for the lawyers; there are titles great and small for those who are tickled by them; and there are a hundred and one other benefits of various kinds which the rulers of the country can always give or withhold from their subjects.

Secondly, the Party leaders can punish and exclude those who are disobedient. The control of the party funds and the huge and complicated party organisation throughout the whole country enable them in a large measure to determine the personnel of the House of Commons. "One common test is applied," say the authors, with regard to possible candidates: "the men so chosen must be prepared to defend not only an existing programme settled between the various officials and professional politicians, but any future decision which their superiors may feel inclined to take."

Thirdly, if a few men are at once rich enough to be able to get into the House of Commons without the assistance of the party funds, honest enough not to be bought over by the promise of reward, and determined enough to continue to fight against almost overwhelming odds, they find practically all opportunity for action prevented by the control which the Government possess over the time of the House. Not only have the Government appropriated practically all the time previously possessed by the private member and thereby taken away his power of initiative, but they have also to a large extent destroyed his power of effective criticism by contriving that there shall be no time for discussion of any amendments except those on which they are sure of having a vote taken on party lines.

But the authors, as I have said, are not merely concerned with the destruction of the independence of the private member, they also allege that the party system is in itself an "organised imposture."

Men of all opinions were puzzled, bewildered, and somewhat perturbed by the Conference, not knowing that it was but a more formal type of those thousand private conferences between opposing leaders behind the Speaker's chair and at dinner parties and social clubs which give their real direction to the politics and to the destinies of modern England.

On the rank and file is imposed a rigid discipline which nothing but an extraordinary public crisis could justify, while at the same time the commanders treat the whole affair as the most frivolous of amusements, the keen enjoyment of which need in no way disturb the friendliness of their private relations. That is the situation, and it is becoming to most of us an intolerable one.

This diagnosis of the present condition of the House of Commons will, of course, not be credited by the greater number of people who read it, nevertheless it is for the most part true, and those who have even only a partial acquaintance with the workings of the party machine will come to recognise that it is practically the only hypothesis which explains the facts. In some cases it is perhaps not sufficiently subtle. The authors hardly do justice to the delicate gradations of pressure which the Whips apply to the more honest of the supporters of the Government; how they appeal not always to lower, but sometimes to apparently higher motives in asking these men to sell their independence for the sake of certain important issues which they have at heart; but a picture has to be painted in crude colours if it is to attract attention. Again, the amount of agreement between the front benches is certainly not so great as the authors would have us believe. If it were so, the defeat of Government candidates at by-elections would not

bring about so much disquietude and so marked a change of policy as it actually does at the present time. Messrs. Belloc and Chesterton are right, however, in supposing that it is in this direction that political wire-pulling is moving, and unless a new set of forces comes into play the situation which they have described will very shortly arise.

But though the authors have successfully diagnosed the disease they have failed to trace it to its origin, which lies in natural causes, which they do not so much as mention. Men are not more corrupt to-day than they were a hundred years ago, nor is the Government more greedy of power. But the Executive has succeeded to-day in bridling and biting the House of Commons where it failed to do so in days gone by, because of the increased power which modern civilisation gives to those who are well organised. The telephone and the telegraph have brought the most outlying parts of the country into immediate contact with the centre. Rapid and comfortable transit has made it possible for an official speaker or an official wirepuller to reach any constituency in a few hours, impress the official point of view on it, and return. The London Daily Press (controlled by a few great newspaper men who work hand in glove with the managers of the party machine) goes to-day all over the country bringing the same official message. On the other hand, the business of the country has become far more complicated and detailed than it ever was before, and only those who have at their hand the official sources of information are in a position to know what is going on; amongst this solid phalanx of official facts the little blunt weapon of a private member's criticism is broken to pieces. These are the natural causes which have enabled the Executive, greedy of power, to trample on the independence of the private member.

As to the remedy. The way out of a tunnel is rarely the way you have come in, and when individuals or institutions have got into an awkward place there is generally only one thing to be done, and that is to go forward, not backward, until they get out again. For want of understanding this simple law of life many would-be reformers achieve nothing. Mr. Belloc and Mr. Chesterton seem to be groping about for some means of restoring the private member to his old position. They will not succeed.

In the present case new machinery has taken the place of old, and it is necessary to use the new machinery for the purpose of good democratic Government. The Executive have converted the private member from an independent political force into a mere wire by means of which they hope to wire-pull the constituency. But a pull on a wire can be exerted from either end, and the electors of the country must use these wires to control the Government.

For the first time in our history the Executive—or the Crown as it used to be called—has come into direct conflict with the people, or rather that part of the people who are electors. The struggles of the thirteenth century were between the Executive and the Peers; those of the seventeenth between the Executive and the House of Commons; the fight of the twentieth century will be between the Executive and the people. It is obviously no part of this review to attempt to predict how this struggle will be carried on, or how the victory of the people will ultimately be won. To do so would be to write the history of the century in advance. But the first step in the right direction must undoubtedly be the enfranchisement of women; this will give to the side of the people a broad basis which would otherwise be lacking, and it will introduce into the electorate a body of electors who (as the experience of other countries where women have the vote has shown) are more able to put principle before party, and who are determined at whatever sacrifice to insist upon a high standard of purity of purpose in public life.

F. W. P. L.

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A CHINESE WOMAN DOCTOR.

While the Western woman has burst open so many closed doors, and is now demanding the key to the door which will admit her into the land of political freedom, the Eastern woman has already started on that long road much of which we have left behind us. We recorded recently the progress of the Turkish woman,—now a more Eastern and more tradition-bound nation is also beginning to send its women out into the world, or rather, they are demanding the right to their own lives. And this from no selfish point of view. When a woman claims the right to development, it is usually that she may add to the beauty or to the happiness of the world.

Dr. Yamei Kin is a Chinese lady who has so far broken loose from the tight bands of prejudice in her country, that she has been able to take her medical training in America, and she has used her freedom for the purposes of establishing a hospital in Tientsin in order to give to her native country the benefit of trained nursing. One can imagine what a revelation the tender and skilled care of these women must be to the patients in their hospital. The work progresses slowly but steadily, for naturally Chinese women who have been kept so much to their homes are only slowly converted to new methods. But gradually they are being educated; and in the homes the heaven is working, and imperceptibly freer and wider ideas are being received.

The women who have entered for training as nurses are enthusiastic, and throw all their energies into this new work, and as so frequently happens when a new idea is bravely carried out, prejudice gives way. "There have been no prejudices to overcome," said the doctor in an interview—"in fact, both the Government and the people have taken up the notion of training nurses enthusiastically. So great is the demand for nurses in private practice now that I have great difficulty in retaining my students as long as I could wish."

"I believe in the Vote."

With reference to Woman Suffrage, Dr. Yamei Kin showed herself well abreast with modern thought. "Yes, I believe in the vote," she said, "but there, the vote is but one little thing in the vast work of the emancipation of women!"

Yet the condition of the women of China is far from being a helpless or insignificant one, as the doctor made plain in her lecture at the Lyceum Club recently. The woman occupies a position of dignity and importance. If she is largely confined to the home, within its walls she exercises almost a despotic sway, and the man is ruled by his mother or his wife. And women have exercised and are exercising a great influence, even upon the affairs of State.

The Emperor, Dr. Kin remarked, was regarded as the father of the whole people. The woman's work lay in the household, and her power was in the home; when the man crossed the threshold he came into her domain. Besides the arrangements of the household, they had elaborate social duties to perform. Religion was largely left to the women in China; men only attended the temples on special occasions, such as the New Year. The education of women was steadily advancing, though it was not compulsory yet. Women who were educated married better; people were beginning to realise that mothers ought to be educated. Dr. Kin aroused much laughter by admitting that a wife could be divorced for being too talkative; on the other hand, if a woman, with the consent of the community, divorced her husband, he ceased to exist socially; no one would have anything to do with him.

The Three Obediences.

In an article published in the *Daily Chronicle*, Dr. Yamei Kin discussed the special conditions of China. "The Government is entirely benevolent in its attitude towards the higher education of woman. But that does not mean that her position has been altered. She is still subject to the 'three obediences'—to her father before marriage, to her husband during marriage, to her son in widowhood. But many fathers are enlightened, and wish their daughters to be highly educated. During my present visit to America I brought with me a girl whose father had put her in my charge, and I left her to be trained there in the medical college.

"Broadly speaking," said Dr. Kin, "there is no such thing as medical practice in China, apart from the doctors who have received their training in the West. Anyone may call himself a doctor, and may prescribe, if he can find anyone to employ him. They have simple remedies, which are generally given in very big doses, and if the complaint is a simple one, too, a chill or a slight fever, the medicine is generally effective. If it isn't—well, no one is to blame."

"We hope, through our school in Tientsin, to spread an elementary knowledge of hygiene and sanitation, which is one of the crying needs of the country. But there is already an improvement in this direction. Canton even has a water supply. It will take a long time, necessarily, to replace all the narrow streets and insanitary houses with broad roads and well-built dwellings, but it will be done in time, when the people begin to understand the laws of health. One of the most significant tendencies is the disappearance of city walls in many of the chief towns. That gives them room to grow, and the new suburbs are often planned on broad and generous lines."

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FRIDAY, APRIL 21, 1911.

THE PROCESSION OF 1911.

Every section of our great Empire is sending its delegates to take part in the rejoicings of the nation in this year of Coronation. Every country in the civilised world will also be represented. London will be full to overflowing with colonial and international guests. The prospect presents an opportunity which is unique and may never occur in our lives again, and the great occasion will be seized to show forth in view of the whole world the strength and importance of the Woman's Movement that is not only national in its extent, but is also imperial and international. London in 1911 is the one place in which a worthy and adequate demonstration can be made of the world-wide movement for the emancipation of women.

The necessity of placing the women of the United Kingdom on an equal footing with the women of Australia and New Zealand will be brought home to the public mind in a very special and marked way by the assembling in London of the Imperial Conference. The delegates who represent Australia and New Zealand will represent women as well as men. The anomaly of the fact that the granddaughters of the Empire are to be represented at that conference while the daughters are not represented, will be apparent to all thinking men and women. A special significance, therefore, will be attached to the Women's Procession of 1911. It will be even greater, even more representative, and even more beautiful than that of 1910, which won a tribute of admiration from all the newspapers of the world.

The Coronation year of King Edward the Seventh saw the vote given to women of the Commonwealth of Australia. The crowning glory of the Coronation year of King George the Fifth will be the emancipation of women at the heart and centre of the Empire. To this great event we look forward with hope and confidence, and the march of many thousands of women, representing the womanhood of the civilised world, will be a triumphant and victorious procession.

Every Suffrage Society in the country has been invited to take part. Amongst those societies who have already signified their intention to co-operate with the Women's Social and Political Union are the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, the Women's Freedom League, the Church League for Women's Suffrage, the Catholic Women's Suffrage Society, the Free Church League, the Actresses' Franchise League, the Women Writers' Suffrage League, the Scottish University Women's Suffrage Union, the Women's Tax Resistance League, the Younger Suffragists, and the Suffrage Atelier. England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales will send contingents. The procession that will pass through the streets of the world's greatest city will be wholly National in character.

It will be not only national, but Imperial. Every part of the King's dominions will be represented. "Amongst the special features of interest there will be a Pageant of Empire, which will be most imposing and beautiful in its display. The presence with us of the leader of the Women's Independent Party in Australia, Miss Vida Goldstein, is a happy augury. Other

distinguished representatives of the womanhood of the Over Sea Dominions will also be present, including Lady Stout, so well known both in this country and in New Zealand for her life-long service in the woman's cause, and Miss Nina Boyle, President of the Women's Enfranchisement League of Johannesburg.

Not only national, not only imperial, but also International will be the Women's Procession of 1911. A very large contingent is expected from the United States, which has seen the latest triumph of the Woman's Movement in the enfranchisement of the women of the State of Washington. America, France and Germany are sending delegates, and the flags of every country in the civilised world will be carried in the sections representing the various nationalities. Distinctions of race and language, as well as distinctions of class, and all distinctions of religious and political creeds go down before the overwhelming sense of the solidarity of womanhood and the sisterhood of women.

At the head of our array will march an invisible host, The great spirits who in the past have dwelt amongst us in mortal flesh, those who saw with prophetic vision the day of women's emancipation and lived for it and spent themselves for its realisation and passed on, leaving their faith and hope to be inherited by the succeeding generations; those who died leaving their work to be perfected and fulfilled by us in our turn—they will be with us on our day of high and solemn festival. As they by faith were conscious of the great awakening of women that was to come, as they bade us of the new day welcome, even before we were born, so we shall on this day salute the spirits of these pioneers with reverence, and accord to them with joy and thankfulness the place of honour at the head of our mustered forces. They are a host that no man can number. The names of Mary Wollstonecraft, of Susan Antony, of John Stuart Mill and many others who lived before them and after them and who made an indelible impression of their personality upon this movement, leap instantly to remembrance, while many thousands, forgotten by the world, are living still in the hearts of those whom they inspired to noble ideals, and hundreds of thousands more have become the hidden root and fibre of the waving field now ripening to harvest. Among our own ranks, behind the fluttering of the purple, white and green, shall we not see with eyes once dimmed but now made clear with tears, the radiant presence of those two, who died that women might enter into freedom—Mary Clarke and Henria Williams!

And silently, behind the ranks of all those who carry the banners of liberty will march yet another host invisible to mortal vision. Not with the ears of sense shall we hear the tramp of those thousands of thousands of feet that shall tread after us, the way we go. But we in our turn shall be conscious of women and men who shall be stronger and more upstanding than we in our generation can ever be, who will defy the powers of bondage with laughter that is born of our strife. Between these two armies, all who are working to-day for the emancipation of women will fall into line. Ours is the field of action to-day. Ours it is to prove ourselves worthy of the great task which has been given into our hands. Ours it is on that one day of the year especially to show forth to an unimaginative and preoccupied world the spirit and the scope of this Movement in such fashion that even wayfaring men may see with their eyes and understand with their hearts something of its significance, and may realise that it is a movement irresistible and unconquerable, and that its triumph is sure. To this purpose we call upon members of the Union and upon women in every country who can hear the signal, to throw themselves heart and soul into the work of organisation during the few weeks that intervene between now and June 17. At the W.S.P.U. headquarters, at 4, Clements Inn, the plans are prepared. All that is now wanted is the offer of hundreds of willing hands to carry them out. Those who have never done any work of any kind for this cause have their opportunity now. Let them claim at once their share of the privilege of service. Let them take their place in the ranks, and play their part in the field. It is the entire concentration of energy and thought during the coming weeks that will secure another great triumph of organisation on that day that will be memorable as the date of the victorious March of the Women in the Coronation year of King George V. and Queen Mary, in the year that saw also the crowning of the womanhood of the United Kingdom as a sovereign half of a sovereign people.

Emmeline Pethick Lawrence.

VOLUNTARY WORKERS AND THE VOTE.

By Lady Robert Cecil.

The sheltered woman, as we are accustomed to designate the favoured being who is not obliged to work for her living, has become, for all her sheltering apparatus, the mark of distinctive criticism both from those who are for advance, and from those who would revert to the old ways. Her narrow, joyless, and obscurantist existence is the constant theme of reforming novelists and playwrights, and from the desperate colours in which they paint her lot, you might suppose there is no such woe-fell being now alive as an Englishwoman with some leisure on her hands. The sages, on the other hand, alarmed by certain aspects of modern life, rebuke her sternly for frivolity, restlessness, and a perverse desire to perform any duty in life but the plain one which is her own.

To be pitted is not an invigorating process, and there is some danger that the homekeeping women of this country, from being continually assured that their lives are futile, are beginning to make them so. Nor can we wonder if the individual woman hesitates to follow the path of private duty when we consider how slight is the practical encouragement given her to do so. The mere knowledge that your business is dull is not a strong incentive to perform it. True the average business of the average man is also dull, and its pursuit may, and often does, turn him into a dull dog, without his seeking, on that account, to escape from it; but it may be said with equal truth that neither do we hear of women neglecting their duty when they are attached to it by enforced habit, an office and a salary.

The fundamental difference between the lives of men and women in the well-to-do classes is not so much in the comparative interest or monotony of their respective tasks as in the wholly different sanctions under which they are accomplished. There is, one may assume, very little purely disinterested work in the world. Roughly the human being works for bread or for honour, or for some definite result anticipated from his effort, and failing these rewards or the hope of them the odds are he does not work, or works as little as he conveniently can. However uncongenial the task of the well-to-do average man may be, he is at least supported by tangible proofs of its value to himself and to the community.

How does she spend her day?

The woman he leaves at home possesses no such comfortable assurance. That part of her business which is most obviously necessary, the care of her house and children, is often in part delegated—and rightly so—to experts, and occupies but a small portion of her day. How does she spend the rest of it? Generally speaking, the more unselfish the use she makes of her time, the less will she be able to give a satisfactory account of herself; the less confident will she be that she has done anything worth doing according to current standards; the less respect will she gain from her acquaintance. The business she has been about will indeed not be very easy to define, for it has no rigid outline. It has not been performed at any fixed hour, or in any particular place, or in any prescribed way. It has needed no office, no uniform, no paid assistants, no machinery of any kind, nor will it ever be recognised by any cheque-book, or on any platform, or in any column of the Press, or in either House of Parliament. One may well ask "What sort of a work is that?" If the woman had been occupied with the figures of a business ledger, or with the parts of some piece of machinery, or with the punctuation of a literary paragraph, she might at the end of the day boast with a clear conscience of her labours. As it is, she will have nothing to say for herself, because she has been dealing with that which has no recognised commercial value—with the raw unsorted material of life, with the incalculable human jobs which hard-pressed humanity will, driven by necessity or hazard, instinctively cast at the feet of any fellow-creature who has the leisure and the will to attend to them. Her fulfilment of these unsought and difficult tasks may have involved much exercise of both mind and body, and much exhaustion of spirit, but because the effort is neither labelled nor organised, she who has worked will not call herself a worker, but will as likely as not regard herself as a social drone.

If one asks, "What does So-and-So do?" the answer will be, "Oh; nothing in particular. She is an ordinary quiet woman." And yet so subject are we to the glamour of names and the test of the visible reward that if such a one were to receive a penny a week under official stamp, a couple of letters to stand after her surname, or some pious title—"Private Trustee of the National Business in Detail," or the like—we should recognise her for what she is, an honourable and indispensable part of the national life.

Most of us at one time or another have come across some of these quite ordinary women, have acknowledged them to be the salt of human life, have marvelled at their inexhaustible devotion, and rebelled against the obliterating indifference with which the world accepts

their service. Nothing but profound idealism can inspire service of this order, and it is one of the serious questions of our day whether this motive force of idealism is being sufficiently maintained to keep women such as these, in all classes, and in all parts of the country, at their voluntary and thankless tasks, or whether they too will be swept away by the commercial spirit and will refuse to spend their time and strength on a kind of labour which brings in no personal profit, too often has no visible result, and even in its perfected and organised forms receives but scant recognition from the state.

Professor Simpson in the "Times."

Professor Simpson, in a recent letter to the Times, has drawn attention to the national neglect of women's services in almost every walk of life, instancing in particular their services on the various councils of men and women which have for their object the betterment of the condition of the people. On these boards he says the hard workers are the women, and without them "the progress would be small indeed." Yet their work remains for the most part unnoticed and unhonoured by the nation. Men who have made their pile in business receive as a matter of course—if only the pile is big enough—titles and distinctions and become our hereditary legislators, but women who have devoted their lives to matters of profound social concern, who possess expert knowledge of these matters, and whose names are household words amongst the poor of our great towns, must look for no other reward than one day, it may be, an obituary notice in the Times.

Conscientious historians have noticed the same tendency to exalt certain aspects of national life at the expense of certain others, perhaps intrinsically more important. "There is no fact," writes Mr. Lecky ("History of European Morals") in those pages on philanthropy in the past which every woman would do well to study, "of which an historian becomes more speedily or more painfully aware than the great difference between the importance and the dramatic interest of the subjects he treats." Religious war, massacre, assassination, receive their tremendous tributes from the pen; but the "vast and unostentatious movement of private charity" slips by barely mentioned by chronicler, poet, or dramatist.

If such a thing could be imagined as a form of epidemic which should incapacitate the "weaker sex" only, we should get curious instruction as to the nature of the special part played by women—ordinary women—in the national life, and perhaps nothing less than such a discriminating visitation would bring home to the minds of the people the great extent to which the outward acknowledgment of religion and the practical support of altruistic enterprise depends upon women. After a period in which we should see ministers of all denominations preaching to emptied churches and chapels, whilst public and private works of philanthropy from one end of the country to the other would be brought more or less to a standstill, the nation might find itself readier to repair that neglect of some of its best citizens of which Professor Simpson complains, and, above all, readier to admit that those who are so deeply engaged in affairs of vital moment to their country might well be entrusted with some voice in the selection of its rulers.

It may be argued that work of the kind under discussion always has been and always will be done from unselfish motives, and that such women as have been described are the last to desire any reward, political or otherwise. This is true enough, but the point is not what even the best of women desire or think they need, but what will be for the good of the nation at large. Moreover, the female part of the community is not composed entirely of saints. It is composed of ordinary human beings who require all the natural human incentives, motives practical as well as ideal, general as well as domestic, patriotic as well as religious, before they will give out what it is in them to give. Anyone who desires to get good work out of a man must first of all convince him that the work is worth doing, and secondly that he is capable of doing it.

Under our present system educated women are greatly apt to doubt their own capacity and the worth of what they are doing. This is not surprising. In a nation so incurably political as the English, political disability cannot fail to involve loss of credit. In one important, ever-prominent aspect of life women have been taught that they do not count and they have been very ready to believe it. If they have gone on to better the instruction, this, also, is quite natural, for the human mind cannot be kept in water-tight compartments. Depend upon it, when you have persuaded a woman that she is incapable of exercising the Parliamentary vote you will have persuaded her that she is incapable of a great deal else besides. If such questions as the housing of the poorer classes, the education of children, and infantile mortality are beyond her sphere, when they are being agitated in the country and in the Houses of Parliament, she may easily conclude—aided by the indolence common to us all—that they are equally beyond her sphere when they make

private demands upon her time, intelligence, and purse. That this is, in fact, the decision of numbers of leisured women is, unfortunately, too true; but those who have restricted women to an artificially limited field of action have only themselves to blame for the result. They cannot have it both ways. They cannot say to women, "Mind your own business at home; national affairs are no part of it," and then again, "Come out from your homes, and do for us this, that, and the other piece of national business."

They have destroyed the atmosphere in which such suggestions could thrive. Under their teaching the welfare of the State has formed no part of a woman's life or thoughts, and consequently she is not prepared to make any regular sacrifice for it. The works of public utility in which her aid is invited she has hitherto regarded as belonging to a dim back-water of life known as "good works," in which some oddly constituted women take pleasure, presumably because they have nothing more interesting to do. That these same "good works" have an intimate connection with the great, highly difficult, and highly important social problems on which Prime Ministers and ex-Prime Ministers dilate eloquently from political platforms she has not the least idea. Why, indeed, should she? She may learn from Mr. Balfour that "Social reform is and must be a great part of the programme of any living, active, vital party in the State," and that it is "in some respects the most difficult, in many respects the most important," of the problems with which a statesman has to deal, but neither from Mr. Balfour, nor from Mr. Asquith, nor from any other prominent statesman is she likely to gather the fact that the practical consideration and advancement of these great social reforms depends greatly upon women, without whose labour "the progress would be small indeed."

The Need for the Vote.

From depreciation of the worker has followed the inevitable consequence—depreciation of the work. It is impossible to doubt that much of the noblest and most unselfish work of our day is discounted simply because it is woman's work, in precisely the same way that women's professional and industrial work receives lesser pay because it is woman's work. The idealism of the nation, because its expression lies chiefly in the hands of women, is by so much starved and restricted, for the worker depreciated in one field is depreciated in the other. Religion and patriotism should go hand in hand. In the case of the woman, recognised by religion, ignored by the State, they are arbitrarily divorced. No amount of blank verse about the "higher" duties of the home, and woman's "nobler" part will convince women that their part, though ill-defined, has civic significance so long as the refusal of the franchise stands in plain proof, that when they have done their utmost, they are still regarded by the State as no better than hewers of wood, and drawers of water.

GETTING NEW READERS.

We hope that no one has gone for a holiday, however brief, unprovided with copies of VOTES FOR WOMEN. The temporary cessation of meetings affords a splendid opportunity for introducing the paper to new readers. The moment is particularly ripe for the Census Protest has made Woman Suffrage the topic of the hour everywhere, and we urge upon our readers—CARPE DIEM!

We have received a number of interesting letters from various quarters of the globe, showing how VOTES FOR WOMEN is forging ahead. Mrs. Finland now sends a dozen to eighteen copies weekly to the U.S.A., Canada, and Sweden.

The following paragraph from The Woman Voter (Melbourne) is another instance:—

In consequence of the campaign by the Suffragists in Great Britain, it has been decided that a certain number of Votes for Women should be sent for, and these will arrive in two months after you have read this issue. Would those who wish to have a copy every week give their names in at the W.P.A. Club, and pay by the month, in advance? Remember that this is the only way by which you can be sure of getting a copy. There are rumours that the next few weeks will see something worth recording.

A correspondent in Calcutta, too, has been organising drawing-room meetings, as a result of which she has secured three new members and three subscribers. She sends a copy weekly to a public library in India. Many other letters tell of similar efforts.

The following list is made up only to Thursday in last week, and therefore represents only three days' work:—

Table with 2 columns: Name and Amount. Includes Mrs. J. B. Ruthven, Mrs. B. Jones, Mrs. A. C. Jones, Mrs. H. Abbott, Mrs. C. L. Reeder, Mrs. H. C. Jones, Mrs. J. B. Jones, Mrs. A. C. Jones, Mrs. H. Abbott, Mrs. C. L. Reeder, Mrs. H. C. Jones.

The following members have promised subscriptions in order that the paper may be sent for the next two months to editors of papers published in America:—

Table with 2 columns: Name and Amount. Includes Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Mrs. G. D. Jones, Mrs. A. C. Jones, Mrs. H. Abbott, Mrs. C. L. Reeder, Mrs. H. C. Jones.

The following members have obtained new readers who prefer to get their papers locally:—

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MRS. PANKHURST'S TOURS.

Mrs. Pankhurst concluded her Irish tour with a meeting at Belfast on April 7, when she addressed two gatherings at the Irish Women's Suffrage Society's new rooms, 2, Wellington-place.

Dealing with the question of the movement raised by women who said that it was their pleasure and business to manage their homes, Mrs. Pankhurst said she did not know a single woman in the movement who thought less of home than the most domesticated woman outside. They had a deeper and more real conception of the value of the home than a great many women who sometimes saved their consciences about the movement with talk about the home.

At the evening meeting, which was opened with the singing of the "March of the Women," Mrs. Pankhurst referred to sweating, and said that Belfast had come to be one of the stock examples of bad industrial conditions for women.

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CENSUS ECHOES.

Echoes of the Census Resistance continue in the Press and to arrive in the form of letters at the W.S.P.U. offices, 4, Clements Inn, The Northborough Weekly Post, April 7 gave considerable space to an account of the Suffragettes' Census boycott, and a correspondent tells us that the enumerators worried the police and the Salvation Army officers to find out where the Suffragettes had mysteriously secreted themselves.

"I shan't go!" The British Consulate in Lisbon has asked British subjects to be good enough to furnish to the Consul information, either personally or by means of letters or lists.

A Press Explanation. It will be absolutely impossible for any enumerators to find out particulars as to numbers and statistics. The protest has been carried throughout the United Kingdom.

THE BILL.

In the course of a leading article on the prospects of the Women's Bill The Christian Commonwealth of April 13 says: "The Women's Franchise Bill will be debated in the House of Commons on Friday, May 5.

IN NORTH WALES.

Mrs. Pankhurst's Welsh tour opened on Tuesday, April 11, with a meeting at the Guildhall, Carnarvon, arranged by Mrs. M. Evans.

On Wednesday a most successful meeting was held at the Town Hall, Rhyl. The arrangements for the meeting, which was addressed by local members, who are to be congratulated on having carried them out so well.

On Thursday afternoon and evening Mrs. Pankhurst spoke at Denbigh and Eghwaston respectively.

On Friday Mrs. Pankhurst spoke at Eghwaston and the resolution was carried with tremendous majorities in both cases.

On Saturday afternoon with an enthusiastic audience composed mainly of townspeople, Easter visitors, and members of the National Union of Teachers.

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CHELLENHAM BY-ELECTION.

Candidates.—Mr. Gardner (C.), Major Mathias (L.), W.S.P.U. Committee Room, 64, High Street. W.S.P.U. Organizer, Miss Platman. Miss Alice Heale, 3, 846; Vicar. Dunoon (L.U.), 3, 753;—Mag., 33.

A very healthy sign of the progress of the campaign at Cheltenham is the active opposition by organized bands of youths, who attempt to break up the meetings addressed by the Suffragettes.

On what terms would women get the vote? The Conciliation Bill which is now before the House of Commons would give the vote to women householders of whom about eighty per cent. are working women, and would add about one million women to the electorate, which at present consists of seven and a half million men.

Why is the W.S.P.U. opposing Major Mathias? Last year the Woman's Suffrage Bill was supported by an overwhelming majority in the House of Commons; the second reading was carried by 110 votes, but the Bill did not become law because the Government put its veto on it.

Mr. Asquith that the Government will grant time for the Woman's Suffrage Bill to be fully discussed this Session so that it can become law if the House of Commons wishes, the Women's Social and Political Union will retire from the contest.

FACTS FOR THE ELECTORS.

Why Women Want the Vote. Women want the vote because, as taxpayers, they want to join with men in deciding how the tax shall be raised and how they shall be spent.

WEARING THE BADGE.

DEAR SIR,—I should like to say that I agree most heartily with your correspondent who speaks of the importance of wearing the badge.

A WOMEN'S DEMONSTRATION IN VIENNA.

Above is a snapshot of the Demonstration in Vienna on March 19, to which we alluded in Votes for Women at the time. It is reported that 4,000 women gathered and marched down the Ringstrasse to the Rathaus, where they sang the Woman Franchise song.

FACTS FOR MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL.

We propose to publish each week a few facts from the Pamphlet containing the evidence collected by the Conciliation Committee with regard to the treatment of the Women's Deputations of last November.

AN UNPROVOKED ASSAULT.

MRS. LEIGH. (NO. 127.) I was leading a small deputation down Parliament Street before three o'clock on November 18, and it reached Bridge Street. I saw an inspector, whose name I afterwards learned was.....

SCHOLARSHIPS FOR WOMEN.

The late Miss Mary Anne Ewart, who died last February, aged 90, left £20,000 for the foundation of scholarships and other benefits for the benefit of women students at Newnham College, Cambridge, or elsewhere, and £10,000 in the same way for the benefit of women students at Somerville College, Oxford, or elsewhere. The trustees of the first bequest are to number three, and include a woman.

A GENEROUS OFFER.

Mr. James A. Adis has a certain number of leaflets of his poem, "Faith of our Mothers," printed in Votes for Women of August 6, 1909. It will be glad to receive the names and addresses of any Suffragettes whom the leaflet may be acceptable either for sale or for free distribution. Will any who would like to make use of them write to Mr. Adis, 4, 1/2, Victoria Road, W. 2, 4, Clements Inn, W. C. 2.

OUR POST BOX.

THE CENSUS PROTEST ABROAD. To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN. DEAR SIR,—I am a subscriber for VOTES FOR WOMEN, and not only take it regularly myself and read it from end to end, but also send copies to different friends who are interested.

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To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN. DEAR SIR,—I am told by my anti-suffrage women friends that it is not necessary for women to have the vote, as their brothers and husbands can fight their battles for them, political or otherwise.

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Mrs. Pethick Lawrence has received the following letter from Mr. T. W. Howe:—"Allow me to pay a tribute of respect to you and your friends for the wonderful political insight you display in these days of unblinking political trickery and shameless deceit—practical to the point of belief in the worst cases.

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A correspondent sends us the following extract from a letter from her sister at Tehran, Persia:—"We enjoyed the fancy dress ball. I went as Suffragette. I cut the headings of my Votes for Women which I got regularly, you know, and gummed them round the bottom of my white net dress, then I got some purple, white and green ribbons and had them sewed on to the net.

NEWS FROM SWEDEN.

A Swedish lady, Madame Gerda Planting-Gyllenborg, a city councillor, writes:—"As a Swedish Suffragette I am, of course, greatly interested in the English women's struggle for full freedom in political rights, and I have tried to follow your movement by reading the Votes for Women, which has given me a feeling of admiration for your work."

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Our first Speaker's Class will be held at 7.45 p.m. on Monday, May 1. Members desiring to attend should write at once to the Meeting Sec. at above address.

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In view of the pending appeal in the Hawkins Case and our intention to take action with regard to the illegal and forcible ejection of several of our members from Mr. Churchill's meeting at the Queen's Hall, it is imperative that our war-chest should be generously replenished.

Table with 2 columns: Name and Amount. Total £282 2 10.

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Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, woman-suffrage advocate, recently instituted a contest among students of art for the best posters and sculpture prizes in this contest was woman's suffrage. The artist who won was Mrs. Saxe, and she was, and Carol M. Sax, a promising young Jewish artist who comes from the West, won the first prize. Mrs. Saxe has been the most successful organiser of the Artists' League for Woman Suffrage. His poster was painted in oil, and showed a woman in a long dress, with her hands on her hips, and a banner in her hand, with the words "WOMAN SUFFRAGE" written on it.

TAX RESISTANCE.

One of the weapons of opposition which will be used by women will be "tax resistance." Those who are proposing to do this will do well to make themselves acquainted, as far as possible, with the law on the question, and we recommend them to apply to the offices of the Women's Tax Resistance League at 10, Talbot Street, London, W. 1. Mr. J. Talbot, secretary, will be pleased to supply them with information. The League has taken over the work in connection with this form of protest, and the Secretary will gladly give all particulars from the offices of the League.

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MEN'S POLITICAL UNION

For Women's Enfranchisement. Offices: 13, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.G. Telephone: City 6672.

Members are urged to register to keep in mind the following fixtures and to their utmost to secure a good attendance at all meetings. April 28. Matinee at Court Theatre in aid of M.P.U. Plays by Bernard Shaw and M. Cunningham. Tickets (10s., 5s., 4s., 2s., 6d. and 1s.) may be booked at the M.P.U. office, the Woman's Press, and the Actresses' Franchise League.

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CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS.

ADVERTISEMENT RATES. Single insertion, 24 words or less, 2s.; 1d. per word for every additional word. (Four insertions for the price of three.)

BOARD RESIDENCE, Rooms, Holiday Homes, Etc.

A FEW Paying Guests received in superior Private Residence. Partial board (full on Sun-days). Near trains and buses. Best part of St. John's Wood. -W. VOTES FOR WOMEN Office, 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

A PARTMENTS—A home from home. Well furnished. Lovely part of Crowthorough. Pure air; open country; quiet.—Whitethorn Villa, Pilmer Road, Crowthorough. Miss Edwards.

BOARDING ESTABLISHMENT; near Sea and Pine Woods. Tennis, excellent Golf Links. 80s. weekly.—Apply Managers, Frieden, Pine Tree Glen, Bournemouth.

BRIGHTON.—Board-Residence or Apartments, in home of Sunningdale, W.S.P.U. Recommendations by members. Special care to those needing rest.—Mrs. Wright, 209, Preston Drive.

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