

VOTES FOR WOMEN.

EDITED BY FRÉDERICK & EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Dedication	433
The Outlook :—The Educational Work—Women Political Prisoners	433
Woman's Suffrage. From a Man's Point of View. By W. W. H.	434
History of the Suffrage Movement. By Sylvia Pankhurst	435
Mary Phillips	436
T. P. O'Connor on the Liberal Government and Irish Women	436
Women's Citizenship and Women's Punishment	436
N.W.S.P.U. Announcements	437
Programme of Events	437
How We Spent Our Holidays	438
Progress of Women	439
The Autumn Campaign. How We Honour Brave Women.—By Emmeline Pethick Lawrence	440
Title Deeds of Political Liberty—By Christabel Pankhurst	441
Newcastle By-election	442
Opening the Autumn Campaign in London	443
The Women's Press Publications	443
The Campaign Throughout the Country :—	
West of England	444
Lancashire	444
Yorkshire	444
Midlands	445
Demonstration at Rawtenstall	445
Mrs. Pankhurst in Deeside	445
Local Notes	446
Our Post Box	446
Votes for Women in the West Highlands	446
Treasurer's Note	447
Contributions to the £20,000 Fund	447
Scottish W.S.P.U.	447
Mrs. Martel at Liverpool	447

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DEDICATION.

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.

The N.W.S.P.U. is taking an active part in the by-election in Newcastle-on-Tyne, and is pursuing its recognised policy of opposition to the nominee of the Liberal Government. As is frequently the case, the first meeting was somewhat uproarious. Mrs. Pankhurst had a difficulty in obtaining a hearing, but the great crowd which

gathered round her platform was a proof of the interest which the Suffragettes have aroused, and which they have invariably proved themselves able to convert into active sympathy before the close of the campaign. We look forward to interesting developments at this by-election as time goes on.

The Educational Work.

Concurrent with the by-election the more ordinary educational work of the Union has commenced in every part of the country. The two London "At Homes" on Thursday and Monday last were attended by large numbers of people, and give promise of extended interest during the coming months. In Bristol Miss Annie Kenney writes to say that owing to the popularity of the weekly gatherings larger halls have had to be engaged for the purpose, and from different parts of the country similar reports come to hand. The first great demonstration of the autumn was held in the Rawtenstall Valley, when upwards of 10,000 people were present in the afternoon, and listened with attention to the speeches from five platforms, while in the evening an enthusiastic indoor meeting was held in the theatre. This demonstration will shortly be followed by others, on the Durdham Downs, Bristol, on September 19, and in Huddersfield on September 27.

Women Political Prisoners.

During next week all the women who are at present suffering three months' imprisonment in Holloway Gaol for taking part in the demonstration on June 30 will be released from prison, and a hearty welcome by numerous friends is assured them. Those intending to take part in this welcome will find all particulars on pages 437 and 440. We printed last week a letter comparing the treatment of women political prisoners in this country with that of men in Russia, and drawing a conclusion by no means favourable to the British Government. On another occasion we drew attention to the fact that the women were treated far worse than Mr. Ginnell, who during his imprisonment in Ireland in connection with cattle driving, has been allowed, while in Kilmainham Gaol, to write a book on the subject, and to publish the same. This week we reproduce an extract from a book by Mr. T. P. O'Connor, from which it will be seen that this is not the first occasion on which a Liberal Government have treated women political prisoners far worse than they have treated men. The case is that of the Irish Land League agitation in the eighties. Mr. O'Connor shows that while the men prisoners were sentenced under the Coercion Act, and allowed to have communication with each other for six hours out of every day, and to conduct their business, and even plan their campaign, the women were sentenced under an old statute of Edward III., and were treated as common criminals. A full perusal of the extract shows that the same excuses were made in that day as are being made at the present time, and that the whole policy of the Government was directed towards breaking down the spirit of the women and did not succeed. This differential treatment has not received the notice that it merited, but the Liberal Government of the present day will find that their action will not be similarly forgotten, but will be regarded by a future generation with the contempt which it deserves.

WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE.

FROM A MAN'S POINT OF VIEW.

It is man's fault and the country's misfortune that women have had no Parliamentary vote for 76 years. They lost the right to vote because they trusted the men, and neglected to guard their rights when the Reform Bill of 1832 was passed. They have not regained the vote because, until we heard of the militant women, they have not fiercely insisted that they want it.

I have attended Women's Suffrage meetings, and heard women mildly explain why they ought to have the vote, and the good they will do when they get it. This is purely academical. Woman is too reasonable on the Suffrage question. To a man it is merely a matter of business. I get the vote because I am an owner and occupier of rateable property; and I am still waiting to know why an exception should be made in the case of the occupier who is a woman.

I met a lady this week who has been for 15 years the successful proprietor of a large boarding house. I thought, "Here is a Suffragette." No! She knew nothing of politics. She left politics to the men. Fancy a man refusing to be interested in a thing because he doesn't understand it. Wise men! We never give the show away. Do we refuse to travel in a railway train, or electric car, because many of us do not understand the mechanism of the steam engine, or electric traction? Do we refuse to send wireless telegrams because only a few of us can explain the Marconi system? We are satisfied if some of us know. For the same reason the 70,000 illiterate men on the present Parliamentary registers of the United Kingdom do not refuse to vote. They vote as directed, or as they please, and no one proposes to take the vote from them.

Brother and Sister.

I often ask the question: Do women realise what little intelligence men require to send a member to Parliament? I am one of those who have more Parliamentary votes than my share, at least, I think so, as long as the women are without. I never asked for a vote. I passed no examination, like some of the University graduates, to get it. I found when I was 21 that I was the half-owner of a little freehold. That was enough. The officials gave me the vote. The other half-owner was my sister. That was enough to refuse it to her, when she was 21, because she was a woman. Afterwards, I went into business and paid office rent. Another vote. In a year I did so well that I married, and my wife and I set up house. Of course, I was given a third vote for that. My conscience never troubled me whether I was wise enough to exercise the vote. No one ever suggested it to me, although possibly when I voted Liberal the Conservatives had their doubts about it. Why should it trouble a woman whether she understands politics or not? How many men do we know who are really politicians? I didn't get three votes because I was a politician, but because I owned rate-paying property in one place, and occupied rate-paying property in two other places.

At election times I looked around. Were the voters left to themselves, like sheep without a shepherd? On the contrary, we were admirably shepherded. Candidates spent a lot of money to guide us. They issued long printed addresses, which few voters read, and none remembered. They called upon us, and were most friendly. If they could do anything for us in Parliament, they would be only too delighted. Then came speeches galore, and election colours: Liberal, red; Conservative, blue. What could be simpler? A child could understand.

The voter, before he entered the polling-station, was given as a specimen voting paper a red card, or a blue card, containing the candidates' names, with a big cross marked against the name of the candidate for whom each of the parties wanted

him to vote. So little does the average voter understand politics, that he always votes for the same party—the same colour he calls it; he does not, as a rule, turn his coat; consequently, party votes neutralise one another, and the turn-coat turns the scale. When the voter enters the polling-station he gives his name to a clerk at a table, who compares it with the printed register and ticks it off, to indicate that he has voted, and gives him a ballot-paper. He is then directed to go to an enclosed desk where, with a pencil provided for the purpose, he puts a cross on the ballot-paper against one of the names, if one M.P. has to be elected, or a cross against each of two of the names, if two M.P.'s are to be elected; or he may plump for one only. Then, having folded the paper so that nobody sees for whom he has voted, he puts it in the ballot-box, and his vote is recorded.

He has by this simple operation done what it is said women are physically and mentally incapable of doing. There is one remedy; if they feel their deficiencies, they can stay away. A large number of the men always do.

Henceforth let women no longer, like Milton's guardian angels, stand and wait. Let them tell men they know the game of politics, and can play it, too. They have found us out. We are not the wisecracks we pretend to be. Remind us, and particularly Cabinet Ministers at home and travelling abroad, in season and out of season, that the vote is exercised by marking a cross, and that all women who are occupiers of rateable property can mark a cross against a candidate's name on a ballot-paper. Remind us that we ordinary voters are not called upon to exercise even the intelligence of selecting and nominating a candidate. The candidate packs his bag and comes. The candidates are all, more or less, representative men, selected by their political parties, and nominated by local supporters.

Remind us that you women who possess the necessary qualification have for a long time been voting in this way for the election of guardians of the poor, for parish councils, for borough councils, for county councils, and so useful have you proved yourselves to be that you are now eligible to sit on these various councils, and are doing citizen's work alongside the men. Demand from us men whether we can point out a single instance in which our interests have suffered in any way through the municipal votes given by women. Insist that to the municipal vote shall be added the Parliamentary vote. It is a question of practical politics. Let mere academical discussion of the subject cease. It has been going on fruitlessly for 40 years. You women are being robbed. You are paying rates, and get no Parliamentary vote in exchange.

No Vote Without Militancy.

Militant women, indeed! I am proud to see you have the pluck to be militant. You will never get the vote without. Can you women imagine for one moment what we men would do if we had a Bill before Parliament to give us the common rights of citizenship, the right to be raised above criminals and lunatics, a Bill which, on February 29 last, actually passed the second reading in the House of Commons by a majority of three to one? Can you imagine what men would do if the Premier refused absolutely to set aside a day for the Committee stage and third reading of our Bill, notwithstanding that, on his own admission, two-thirds of the Government are against him? Women, pause here, and insist on the answer, *What would men do?*

Do you suppose that, if the Government dared to deal with men in this manner, they could brutally imprison over 300 when they voiced their demands? Thank God there are many men in the country like the Haggerston voter who said to Mrs. Drummond, "I have been a Liberal all my days, but I shall not vote for a Government which imprisons women because they ask for a vote. That is a disgraceful thing in liberty-loving England. Tell me, missus, what to do for your cause, and I'll go to gaol myself." When men go to gaol it will be on a more serious charge than breaking two panes of glass or shouting Votes for Women.

W. W. H.

THE HISTORY OF THE SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT.

By SYLVIA PANKHURST. XXIV.—*The Married Woman's Charter of Personal Liberty.*

In March, 1891, came the important legal decision in the "Jackson" or Clitheroe case, which the *Law Times* described as the married woman's charter of personal liberty.

This was the case of a lady living with her sister at Clitheroe, who, when 42 years of age, left the house (on the morning of November 5, 1887), and was married to a Mr. Jackson, of Blackburn, without informing any member of her family of her intention. She came home with her husband in the evening, but he left her and returned to Blackburn the same night, going from thence to London in the morning, and sailing for New Zealand within a few days. Mr. and Mrs. Jackson corresponded for a short time after this, and subsequently quarrelled; and when, in 1888, Mr. Jackson returned to England, his wife refused to have anything to do with him. He therefore commenced proceedings for the restitution of conjugal rights, and obtained a decree in July, 1889.

Now, it had for many years been customary to punish by imprisonment either the husband or the wife who refused to obey the decree of the Matrimonial Court for the restitution of conjugal rights, and there are cases on record of women who have been deprived of their liberty owing to this cause, and who, rather than return to their husbands, have remained in prison for many years, and sometimes even until the day of their death.

Kidnapped His Wife.

By the Matrimonial Causes Act of 1884, however, this power had been taken from the Courts, and so Mr. Jackson determined to take the law into his own hands. Therefore, on Sunday, March 8, 1891, he kidnapped his wife as she was coming out of church, and carried her off to a house in Blackburn, where she was kept a prisoner. The house was closely guarded, and no one was allowed to enter or to leave it without Mr. Jackson's sanction. Those whom he permitted to do so did not go by the ordinary ways, but were let down by ropes from the windows. The necessary provisions for the household were also drawn up by the same means. When Mr. Jackson left the house on one occasion seven men were brought in to garrison it in his absence.

Mrs. Jackson's doctor and lawyer both tried in vain to communicate with her, but she was seen by her sister at a window, when she cried out, begging to be released and taken home, and appeared to be greatly agitated and in deep distress.

In the Court of Queen's Bench, on March 16, Mrs. Jackson's relatives applied for a writ of *habeas corpus* to oblige her husband to bring her before the Court, in order to restore to her her liberty.

It was pointed out on her behalf that Mrs. Jackson was kept by her husband under lock and key, and denied all communication with the outside world; that she was prevented from seeing her doctor, and that there was reason to fear that her health, and even her life, might be seriously endangered by this confinement, and that, even if she were treated with the grossest cruelty, she would have no means of stating her case and thus obtaining relief, because she was denied access to everyone, including even her legal adviser.

Yet, in spite of all this (and of the fact that so long ago as 1869 Lord Penzance, in the case of *Kelly v. Kelly*, had recognised the restraint and confinement of a wife by her husband as legal cruelty), the application was refused, and it was decided that nothing that Mr. Jackson had done could be held to be illegal.

The case was retried next day before the Court of

Appeal, where it was heard by the Lord Chancellor (Lord Esher) and Lord Justice Fry. The previous decision was now reversed, and a writ of *habeas corpus* was granted.

In answer to this writ, Mr. Jackson appeared before the Court with his wife on the following March 19.

On his behalf it was now urged that not only did the English law give a husband the right to imprison his wife, but to beat her with a stick no thicker than his thumb.

After counsel on both sides had been heard and the Judges had spoken privately with Mrs. Jackson, in order to satisfy themselves that she was acting as a perfectly free and independent agent, the Lord Chancellor delivered his judgment. He said that Mr. Jackson's case rested upon the assumption that if a wife had wilfully absented herself from her husband's house, the husband had the right to seize his wife by force, and to detain her in his house until she rendered him conjugal rights. He was not prepared to assent to this. Parliament had deprived the Court of all power to imprison a wife for refusing to obey its decree for the restitution of conjugal rights, and even before that power had been taken from it the Court had never been allowed to hand the wife over into her husband's hands. If this assumption were agreed to, it would mean that though the Court could no longer do so, yet of his own motion the husband would have the power to seize and imprison his wife until she consented to render him conjugal rights. "I am of opinion," continued the Lord Chancellor, "that no such power exists in law. I am of opinion that no such power ever did exist in our law."

"No English subject has a right to imprison another English subject,"

and

"There is no power by law such as the husband professes to exercise."

Thus finally and authoritatively the Lord Chancellor clinched his judgment. Lord Justice Fry concurred, and Lord Esher added that if it were the law that a husband had the right to take away his wife's liberty, she would be—

"An abject slave to his will, a mere chattel."

But that was not the law of England, he said, and never had been.

Result of the Decision.

The Lord Chancellor now announced that after this declaration of the law against the supposed power of a husband to imprison his wife, any attempt to exercise it would be serious contempt of Court.

To-day it seems as though it would have been impossible for the Judges in the Court of Appeal to decide otherwise than they did, but on reviewing similar cases tried about the same time, one wonders whether, if Mr. Jackson had striven to attain his object in a less sensational manner, and with less of mediæval barbarism, the decision might not have been different; for, in spite of Mr. Jackson's violent methods, which had horrified the Court, and which Lord Esher had characterised as grossly insulting and brutal, there were many magistrates who disagreed with the decision, and who showed this by their subsequent obstructive procedure.*

(To be continued.)

* In the following April Mrs. Wolstenholme Elmy addressed a series of valuable and interesting letters to the *Manchester Guardian* upon the Clitheroe case decision, and the position of married women generally. These were afterwards reprinted and 10,000 copies of them were circulated in pamphlet form. As an outcome of this she formed, in October, 1892, the Women's Emancipation Union, with the object of securing the political, social and economic independence of women.

HOW WE SPENT OUR HOLIDAYS.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

DEAR SIR,—In this small, quiet village of Braemar, 18 miles from the nearest railway station, 300 or 400 people come in search of health or pleasure. What a field for recruiting! No hasty escape possible from the Suffragette. The beautiful glens, the glorious air, the feeling of rapidly returning health make the horrors of sweating and slumland ever present to one's mind. When I heard that our beloved leader Mrs. Pankhurst could come here a meeting was hurriedly arranged. Numbers of people became enthused, and one lady from Hastings sold 18 tickets. The hall was filled to overflowing, and the audience were deeply interested. Many men and women explained to me that they had never realised the real value of a vote.

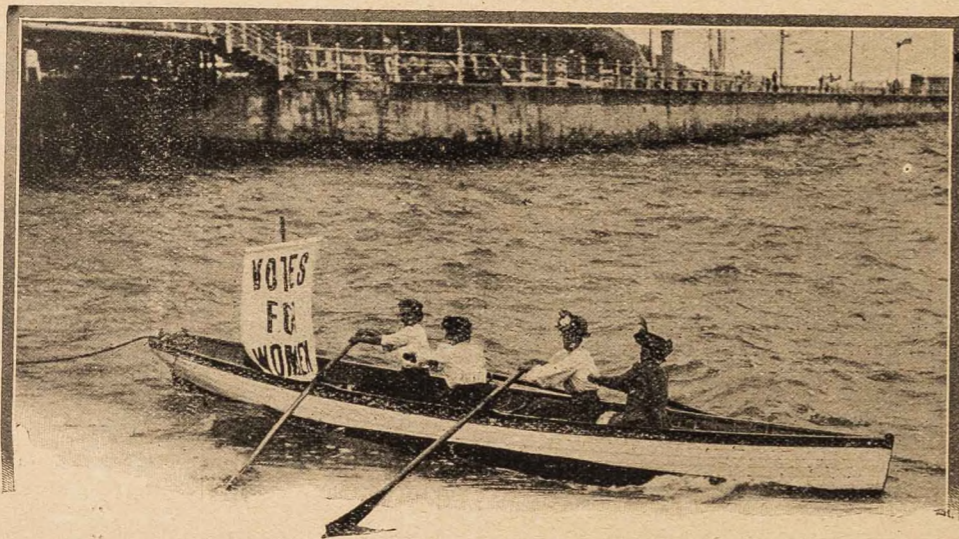
I enclose a cheque for £6 to the funds. We could have sold double the number of tickets if we had arranged for it.

Yours, &c.,

M. D. MACDONALD.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

DEAR SIR,—I am sure it will interest you to know that on a week's walking tour in Normandy my sister Flora and I encountered at Beauvais a French Suffragette in a draper's shop; when she saw our badges she asked us how we were getting on. It was rather



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SUFFRAGETTES AT THE TORQUAY REGATTA.

"The Suffragettes are no longer content with waging their warfare on *terra firma*. They harangued river lovers from a boat in Boulter's Lock a few Sundays ago, and at the Torquay Regatta last week flaunted their banner from a boat. Afterwards, this gallant "four" engaged in a tug-of-war with another boat, manned by four male scoffers."—*The Bystander*.

an interesting coincidence, for this town is famed for a woman who saved it from falling into the hands of the enemy, and captured the banner by her courage and bravery in the 12th or 13th century. There is a beautiful statue to her memory in the large market square, and once a year they still have a procession in memory of her courage and that of all the women who supported her, and on this day the women lead the way.

Yours, &c.,

IRENE SPONG.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

DEAR SIR,—We should like to tell you about our holidays. My sister and I spent them at Dovercourt, a little seaside town near Harwich. We stayed at the Y.W.C.A. Almost everyone there had either given very little thought to the matter or else they "certainly thought women ought to have the vote, but didn't approve of our tactics." My sister and I set to work to put the case clearly before them, and by the time our holiday was at an end some, at least, were entirely in sympathy with us, while others wished to know more of our movement.

One of the quite converted ones is a nurse in one of the large London hospitals; she has a great desire to hear our speakers at the Portman Rooms, so, of course, we gave her an invitation card, and have no doubt that she will come. Another was a girl who said she could not help thinking that Christianity came before everything else. At first I was puzzled how to answer. Then I

thought of the hundreds of sweated women and starving children working in factories, and of the terrible stories one reads of the sufferings of women. I told her that Christianity went hand in hand with our movement, that Christianity meant the imitation of Christ—*i.e.*, the endeavour to make the world better—that we did not want the vote for the vote's sake, but in order to make the world better by means of it. I do not think I was presuming too much in saying this. She said she had never looked at it in that light before, and she promised not to let others with whom she came in contact misunderstand us as she had done. An old boatman who took us out sailing, and taught us to steer, said: "An' remember this, Missie, the rudder is like a woman's tongue—a little used in the right way is good, but a lot used wrongly is bad, powerful bad." "Yes," we said, "but a lot used in the right way is good." One of the other people in the boat remarked that there was very little women were not able to do nowadays. "They can't get the vote," said the old seaman. "They can, and they will," said my sister, in a tone which completely silenced the old man. We have sent some copies of VOTES FOR WOMEN to the head of the Y.W.C.A. home, asking her, after she has read them, to place them in the general sitting-room, so that others may be interested. A great deal may be done in these homes. The women are the kind who think, and are ready to accept the truth. The next time

we visit Dovercourt we shall go armed with literature and Votes for Women badges.

Yours, &c.

IRENE MCLEOD.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

DEAR SIR,—Two nice little incidents have happened to us since we came over, which I think you will like to hear. A large party of tourists (Co-operators, I think) passed us the other day as we sat by the roadside. My daughter was wearing her "Votes for Women" badge. One of the tourist ladies passed us and then came back. "I saw your badge," she said, "and I just had to come back to greet you." Wasn't that nice, and isn't it a testimony to the bond of union?

Then in our hotel is a lady who, having been absent from England for some years, professes both ignorance of and indifference to "The Cause." We are doing our best to convert her, but so far with no great success. However, one day she said, "Well, I notice one thing amongst all you Suffrage people: the Suffrage women are always so kind and nice to their own sex!" That's good, too, isn't it? and I hope it may become more and more marked. One of the first steps in practical Suffrage work must be to be "loyal to our fellow-women."

I get my VOTES FOR WOMEN regularly from my newsagent at home, and am careful to leave it about in the public rooms here.

With all good wishes,

Yours, &c.,

Finhaut, Switzerland.

A. P.

PROGRESS OF WOMEN.

THE LAST OF THE HAREM.

Reprinted from the "Westminster Gazette."

Those who have read Pierre Loti's romance of the Harem, of which we gave an account when it was first published some time ago, will often of late have marvelled that he also belongs among the prophets. In the Young Turkey movement scene after scene recalls Loti's novel, and one of the most interesting features of the sudden emancipation of the Turk is the part which the women of the country are taking in it. Pierre Loti predicted this, and was mercilessly chaffed in the French Press for possessing himself of the secrets of the harem. But that his prophecies have come almost literally true may be seen by an account of a women's meeting at Constantinople described in the *Neue Wiener Tageblatt* by an eye-witness. Not many weeks ago such a meeting would have been as impossible as that the Church of St. Sophia should take wing and fly beyond the walls of Constantinople.

At four in the afternoon (writes a correspondent of the *Tageblatt*) I went with a Young Turkey friend and an Italian colleague to Giostepe (a hill on the east shore of the Bosphorus). It is said that the spirit of Mohammed has blessed this spot with his breath, and comes to it every morning to rejoice, and to drink of the crystal spring of Giostepe. . . . And now, in gay and merry groups, laughing and chattering, the ladies of the harem came, leaving their luxurious prisons, and rejoicing in the fullest liberty. What a strange sight it was! I asked myself what business I, the *giaour*, had among these fragrant blossoms of Allah, and the reality seemed but a dream and a vision. But no, it was all true, and I was a witness of the great moment when these lovely little women, breaking away from the prejudices and laws of thousands of years, were pulling down the walls of the harem, in order that the women of Turkey might obtain their liberty.

My Italian colleague shared my surprise, while our Young Turkey friend looked at us as if to say, "There now, a new era has begun for Turkish women. You are witnessing the reconstruction of woman's life in Turkey."

The ladies—there were over 300—grouped themselves round an improvised platform, which was occupied by the president, Labineh-Hannum, the wife of the physician Rifaat Pasha. The president of the advocates of women's rights in Turkey is young and pretty, and wore a costume which plainly showed traces of the change from Mohammedan to European dress. Her dress had a waist, and her face was unveiled. On her head was perched a pretty little thing, which, however, could hardly be called a hat. The lady spoke quietly and distinctly, but her voice shook now and then with emotion. She said, "The light which has risen over our country is to light everyone, without distinction of sex. We women also must receive its beams, for we too have the right to demand our freedom. We wish to help at the new birth of our race; we wish to help to bring charitable institutions into being, homes for the poor and their children. But we must have the same rights and the same position as those which European women hold. And in aspiring to this we must be strong in virtue and in honour. We want full equality, full freedom. The Turkish woman must in future be able to breathe freely; the intolerable fate of being guarded, the bondage of the harem, which has hitherto made us slaves and degraded our womanly dignity, is a thing of the past. Turkish family life must now be built upon the foundations of right, liberty, and equality. We want to get away from the harem, and our motto must be "Down with the harem! Long life to liberty and to the equality of the sexes!"

The president's speech was frequently interrupted by enthusiastic applause, and when she had finished they lifted her shoulder-high, amid frantic cheers. Indeed, the scene and the sight of the small white hands, sparkling with jewels and

clapping with such enthusiasm, took one to Madison-square, New York, into a meeting of the free women of America. The young women crowded round the president, asking, "How soon shall we meet again?" "Not very soon," the president replied, "but I will call you at the right time." Others called out, "What a fine beginning! But we are also going to the theatre." "And to the *tocattian*," others added. "Of course, of course!" a young beauty cried, "and to dances and dinners in the Town Park; we shall be as the European women."

Our Young Turkey guide added, "The scene which you have just seen will remain historic. After centuries of slavery the day has come for our women. An echo of this will soon come from the provinces. Under the token of Europe the second birth of our race will take place."

The sun was setting; its golden light paled over the hill of Giostepe and far away over the Golden Horn. Gradually, in small groups, the ladies of the harem left the place in which they had proclaimed the day of freedom, and when the last had disappeared it seemed as if a fair dream had come to an end. The movement has meanwhile spread and the news comes from Constantinople of the formation of a club for Mussulman and Christian women.

A Singer's Presence of Mind.

Readers of Miss Elizabeth Robins will remember how in one of her latest novels the passengers of a sinking ship are saved from panic by the singing of popular hymns, led by the heroine Hildegard. A somewhat similar scene was enacted on board the excursion steamer "Queen" during last week's gale. The "Queen," carrying 160 passengers, among whom were many women, from Brighton to Southsea, was driven in shore by the wind. She grounded on a sandbank, from which, however, she got clear after an hour; she then shipped some heavy seas, her helm became disabled, and she drifted helplessly on to the rocks. Signals of distress brought the Selsey life-boat on the scene, and, after many narrow escapes of being washed overboard, passengers and crew were rescued. One of the women passengers, interviewed by the Press, says that when the danger first became apparent a beautiful voice rang out. "Above everything could be heard a lady singing 'Onward, Christian Soldiers.' We all took up the hymn, and when that was finished we sang again, the same beautiful soprano leading, the hymn for those in peril on the sea." One of the male passengers noticed that the women on board were especially calm. The boat, which should have arrived at eight o'clock in the evening of Monday, landed her first passengers in the early hours of Tuesday morning.

A Woman as Probate Judge.

A new office has just been thrown open to women in America. Governor Hoch, of Kansas, has appointed a woman as Probate Judge. The lady, Mrs. Mitchell, succeeds her husband, who died in office. She is, in all probability, the first woman to serve in such a capacity.

Curio Dealing as a Business Opening.

A new occupation for women, and one which many are seriously taking up for a living, is that of curio and antique dealing. More than a hundred women are now the proprietors of shops in the West-End, where they carry on a thriving trade. An American lady, the wife of a prominent Mayfair doctor, is initiating a Curio Dealers' Club exclusively for ladies, to be open to all women who are dealers in curios and antiques, which is designed to be a means of securing appointments for ladies capable of becoming manageresses and buyers for curio shops.

THELMA

Robes et Modes.

59, SOUTHAMPTON ROW, LONDON, W.C.

Lizzie Caswall-Smith,
Photographer.

309, Oxford Street, W. (Close to New Bond St.)

The National Women's Social & Political Union.

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Mrs. TUKE, Joint Hon. Sec. Miss CHRISTABEL PANKHURST, Organising Sec.

THE AUTUMN CAMPAIGN.

How We Honour Brave Women.

The summer holidays are over. To some people this may be a realisation tinged with regret. Not so to the members of the Women's Social and Political Union. Enriched though our life has been by the beauty of long summer days, by the wealth of light and sweeping shadow upon hill and sea and moorland, by the joys of open air life, by the laughter of merry comrades, by all the endless gifts with which Mother Earth loads her children; we know this, that we come back to enter into the greatest inheritance that can fall to the lot of any human soul. We have gloried in the wonders of the created earth. We turn now to enter into living union with the great creative forces at work upon human destiny. There is to be a new spring and a new summer for the human race; and we are of the sap that is to transform deadness into life. We lie at the roots of living things that are yet to appear and become visible; we feel the stirring which is made by the breath of the word of God upon the void. This is, after all, the great joy, the real rapture of existence, and that joy is the inheritance of those who take part in a great world movement such as ours: a movement for the quickening of the life-forces dormant in the soul of women. It is sweeter to give than to receive; it is better "to strive towards making, than rejoice in aught found made." Forth then, to the labour and the pain and the joy of giving birth to a vital hope which will renew and make beautiful the life of humanity.

But we grow prodigal in our delight and elation at coming home again. We hardly need to dive right down to the bottom of our heart to fetch up our shining treasure—our best and most priceless jewel of joy. For there are joys enough lying all around upon the surface. To come back to our comrades, to see the smiles of welcome in their eyes, to hear their hopes and thoughts and plans, to plot our ambitious schemes together, and hatch sweet surprises for the old world, laughing to think how it will rub its silly eyes. To feel endless scope for the renewed energies of body and mind, to think of the risks and adventures we shall encounter in the guerilla warfare which we wage against the stupid obstinacy and blind tyranny of the pompous old-fashioned gentlemen, named collectively, the Government. To think how every latent faculty of mind and body is going to be called out in the development and extension of our great movement. To think of all the great forces and agencies that are on our side; to count amongst these agencies our great ally Time, whom not one of our opponents can resist. Surely these things alone are enough to account for "the W.S.P.U. smile," even more than usually in evidence at this particular season of the year.

Smiles, as well as words, have to be turned into action by Suffragettes. We have long ago decided that action alone is for us the medium of expression. Thoughts, principles, beliefs, and emotions must be expressed by deeds, and by deeds

only. Joy, sympathy, love, and wrath are forces too precious to waste. They have to be turned into wearing the colours, winning new adherents every day for the Union, giving money to the Campaign Fund, selling our paper, holding forth at street corners, and filling the greatest halls in every important town in the country with enthusiastic crowds of people demanding constitutional liberties for women; they have to be turned into smashing Cabinet Ministers' meetings, fighting the Government at by-elections, and making effective demonstrations of public protest in Parliament-square.

That is the programme of our autumn campaign. "Now then, who is ready?" I can read the answer in the eyes of every Suffragette that I see: "Here I am; what is the next thing?"

The Next Thing.

The next, the very next, thing is to prepare for our dear, brave comrades who are to be released from three months' imprisonment next Wednesday a welcome that shall be not altogether unworthy even of the greatness of their spirit, and the greatness of their service to our cause.

At eight o'clock next Wednesday morning every member of this Union not absolutely prevented by imperative duty should be waiting outside the gates of Holloway. They should come, if possible, in full uniform, for this in itself is an expression of respect and honour. Everyone, I think, knows by this time what full uniform means—a white dress with belt and regalia in the colours.

The horses will again be taken out of the traces, and the released prisoners will be drawn to Queen's Hall by a team of Suffragettes harnessed to their State carriage. The longer this team is the better. We could arrange for 50 to take part in this service of love. Names of volunteers must be sent in at once to Mrs. Drummond at 4, Clements Inn, so that every one may have her own special place allotted to her, and be definitely instructed in a letter as to her precise duty.

One of our great banners will be carried on this joyous occasion. Names of those who will volunteer to assist in carrying it must be sent in at once, as a little practice would be desirable, and a rehearsal in one of the unfrequented squares near Clements Inn can be arranged. Mrs. Drummond would like names of those who will sell the paper to the people in the crowd. There is need for all and work for each one. Purple and white flowers are wanted in great quantity to decorate the carriage. Will our friends send them to arrive at Clements Inn next Tuesday?

A very great effort should be made by every one of the members to push the sale of breakfast tickets amongst their friends, for no better opportunity could possibly be afforded for making converts and enthusiastic adherents to our cause. Of all our meetings this breakfast party is the most significant. The sight of the women who have suffered so bravely, and their words of greeting to the world as they come back to it, must go straight to the heart of everyone present, whether previously friend or foe to the woman's movement. It is incumbent upon all our members to bring, if possible, at least one stranger with them.

On the following Friday, September 18, we carry out very much the same programme again. For on that morning we welcome Mary Phillips. The only difference in the ceremony is that, as she is a Scotswoman, we will give her a real Scotch welcome.

Her flowers will be heather and thistles. Her fellow countrywomen will wear the tartan, with Glengarry caps. Instead of an ordinary band, we shall have the bagpipes. We hope that all our Scotch friends in London and elsewhere will make a special point of being with us on Friday, September 18, to do honour to Mary Phillips.

On both these occasions the processions will form up again after the breakfast, and our dear heroines will be drawn in full state from Queen's Hall to the Headquarters at Clements Inn.

After these festivities are over we settle down to real solid hard work, bearing in view our next all-important date, which is October 13.

This day is the anniversary of the first imprisonment in the annals of the Women's Social and Political Union. It was on October 13, 1905, that Christabel Pankhurst and Annie Kenney were sent to prison as a punishment for their persistence in demanding an answer to their question from Sir Edward Grey, at a Liberal meeting in Manchester.

On October 13, 1908, we shall again demand an answer to our question, and shall seek an interview, not with Sir Edward Grey, but with the Prime Minister of this country. As usual, we shall meet in Caxton Hall to formulate our demand.

Before this day dawns, the men and women of London have to be roused; in the provinces the women especially have to be awakened and inspired to do their duty and take an honourable share in the business that will be enacted. Fortunately, the West of England, the North and the Midlands, are now in the hands of capable and experienced organisers. We look for great results in those directions.

As to the great city of London, we shall divide it as before into seven districts, and shall pursue in each division a vigorous street and market-place propaganda, calling upon the men and the women who sympathise with us to show their sympathy actively, by insisting that women get fair play. Women have as much right to make known their need to the rulers of the country as men have, and since they do not, as yet, possess the vote, there is all the more reason why their deputation should be received. We earnestly hope that on October 13 Mr. Asquith will deign graciously to receive his humble and obedient and patiently tax-paying servants.

There is one more outstanding event which looms up like a great mountain bounding our present horizon. We must not forget it. The Albert Hall meeting on October 29. Write this date, not in your diary but in your heart and upon your brains. Let us all remember that there are 6,000 tickets to sell before the success of that meeting is assured. Of course, we shall all do our individual share in this great undertaking. This is the sole secret of our triumphs in the past.

Let me recapitulate the red-letter days, each one of which is of great significance to our members all over the country: the 16th and the 18th days of September, the 13th and the 29th days of October. Upon these particular days we have to storm and take and occupy strategic positions, which will command the battlefield, and determine the success of the Autumn Campaign.

Emmeline Pethick Lawrence.

TITLE DEEDS OF POLITICAL LIBERTY.

Five women will be released from prison on September 16 and 18, after serving the term of three months' imprisonment, to which they were sentenced for having taken part in the recent Votes for Women demonstration outside the House of Commons. No one will deny that it is a most serious matter that responsible and educated women, who have all their lives been perfectly law-abiding, should now, in consequence of political discontent, come into conflict with the authorities, and should undergo prolonged imprisonment. It is time that the public realised their responsibility in this matter, because it is in their name and on their behalf that the authorities are acting when they arrest and imprison the women who are demanding political enfranchisement. The public are, therefore, in duty bound to consider of what offence these women are guilty, and for what reason that offence was committed.

The three months' sentence is apt to make people argue that the Suffragettes must have done something very wrong, or they would not have been so heavily punished. It is well, therefore, to explain that what they actually did was to walk into the midst of the great crowd which assembled at Westminster on June 30, and attempt to move onwards to the House of Commons itself. Prevented, however, from doing this by the large force of police (nearly 1,700), they spoke to the people surrounding them of their cause. For this they were arrested; for doing this, and nothing more. The magistrate, on learning that it was the second time they had taken such action, decided to try whether harsh measures would avail to crush their determination, and required of them that they should either promise for twelve months to give up this form of agitation or serve three months' imprison-

ment. They chose the latter alternative, and every one of them has gone through with her sentence to the very end. The Government hoped, no doubt, that depression, discouragement, or physical weakness would overcome the purpose of these women, who at any moment during the long months could bring their imprisonment to an end by a single word of surrender. For this to have happened would certainly have given the Government a marked advantage, but our friends, through all the hardship and weariness of mind and body which are the lot of a prisoner, could see the vital importance of doing their part to maintain the resistance which is being made to the Government, and of proving to the world that the will of women to be politically free is as strong as tempered steel.

A knowledge of the action for which these five women were arrested, and of the disproportionate penalty they have suffered, will make it plain that what they are being punished for is their persistence in demanding the vote, and that the object of the authorities is to crush their determination by the use of measures of increasing severity. This has always been the hope of tyrants, who seem never to remember that the human spirit is stronger than any force which they are able to exert.

In showing how slight was the offence committed by the five women, there is no intention to disguise the fact that theirs was an act of revolt, but it is by acts of revolt, if history has anything to teach us, that the limits of freedom are extended. The title deeds of their political liberty the British people owe to the militant attitude of the Barons who forced King John to sign Magna Carta. In Stuart times the Parliamentarians took violent measures which are to-day entirely forgiven because of the purpose they had and the work they achieved. Each extension of the franchise to men has been the outcome of violent agitation or the fear of it.

Great constitutional changes are necessarily hard to make. Those who are outside the Constitution have no ordinary means of securing admission, and therefore they must try extraordinary means. One who is locked out of his own house, as a matter of course, breaks the window and climbs in through that. Just in the same way British women, who find the doors of the Constitution barred against them, are prepared to force their way in as best they can. Hence the adoption of the present militant methods.

The Character of Militant Methods.

At the outset, these methods were denounced on the ground that anything in the nature of violent action on the part of women was unbecoming. Our reply to that was that milder methods had failed to bring about women's enfranchisement; that the new methods which we had been forced to adopt were moderation itself compared with the deeds of men reformers; and finally, that the militant methods have been justified by their success in bringing Woman Suffrage to the forefront of British politics.

Unable to refute these arguments, our critics change their ground, and proceed to say that since women are physically weaker than men, they cannot hope to achieve anything by militant measures. Those who argue thus are misled by the fallacious idea that Suffragettes are attacking men as a whole. At the same time, if that were the only way of winning the vote, then inferior strength would not exonerate women from the duty of making their revolt against injustice. Better that it were made in vain than not made at all. But we may be sure that men, on finding that this movement could not be stamped out except by brute force, would decide to give women the justice they demand. However, the situation holds no such grim possibility as this. The Suffragettes are not at war with the men of the nation; their enemy is the Government. They make war only upon Cabinet Ministers, and to overcome such resistance as these gentlemen can offer is certainly not beyond the power of our determined and resolute band of women.

Christabel Pankhurst.

LOCAL NOTES.

Barnes W.S.P.U.—We held our last open-air meeting for the season on Wednesday last on Barnes Green, when Mrs. Drummond came and addressed us.

Hammersmith W.S.P.U.—Although a great number of our members and workers have been away on their holidays, we have been able to hold our open-air meetings every week all through August, and we shall continue to hold them every Wednesday evening at seven o'clock as long as the weather permits.

Liverpool W.S.P.U.—A very successful "At Home" took place on the afternoon of the 9th inst., in the Temperance Hall at Southport, when a large and sympathetic audience listened to a most eloquent and convincing address from Mrs. Martel.

Newcastle W.S.P.U.—A new branch of the W.S.P.U. has been recently formed at Newcastle-on-Tyne, by the two hon. secs. and eleven members of the North-Eastern Society for Women's Suffrage.

Stoke-on-Trent W.S.P.U.—The incessant downpour of rain prevented our holding the open-air meeting in Wolfe-street on Thursday last, as had been arranged.

Reatham W.S.P.U.—On Friday, September 4, another successful outdoor meeting was held. Miss Fraser and myself were again the chief speakers.

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OUR POST BOX.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN

DEAR SIR,—Until this year I have never reclaimed income-tax, though able to do so, feeling that as I could afford to leave the money in the hands of the Government it was well to do so.

Yours, &c., "CITIZEN NON-CITIZEN."

THE CASE OF DAISY LORD.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

DEAR SIR,—Why not have petition forms at all our meetings for members of the audiences to sign? In this way we might get many signatures which would otherwise be lost.

Yours, &c., BESSIE SMITH.

Birmingham [We shall be pleased to send petition forms to any organisers of meetings who apply for them.—Ed., VOTES FOR WOMEN.]

VOTES FOR WOMEN IN THE WEST HIGHLANDS.

Mrs. Pankhurst and Mrs. Drummond, who have been staying on the West Coast of Scotland, addressed a meeting in the Schoolroom at Pirn Mill, Arran. There was a crowded audience, many having come several miles.

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TREASURER'S NOTE.

Since May, 1907, when the £20,000 Campaign Fund was started, we have raised over £16,000, and the whole of this sum has been expended upon the ever-developing rapidly extending organisation of the Votes for Women Movement.

The Treasurer, who more than anyone else realises what this sum means of personal devotion and self-sacrifice, who knows the hidden story of these pounds, shillings, and pence, wishes she could adequately express her appreciation and admiration of the generosity of women.

The needs of the work are great. The Newcastle by-election calls for immediate extra expenditure. Will all those friends who can help send in their contributions at once? Will new friends especially realise how much they can help by taking their full share of the financial burden.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £20,000 FUND.

Table with 2 columns: Name and Amount. Includes entries like Mrs. Shurmer Sibthorp £16,650 19 10, C. Herbert, Esq. £1 0 0, Miss Ella Stevenson £0 10 6, etc.

SCOTTISH W.S.P.U.

Our first opening "At Home" will take place on Saturday afternoon, September 19, at 3.30, at 141, Bath-street, Glasgow. It is hoped that all our members will endeavour to be present.

On Saturday afternoon, September 26, Miss Dugdale has kindly consented to read a paper on "Children and the Police," after which there will be a general discussion.

The "At Homes" will now be held every Saturday afternoon, and it is expected that members will take this opportunity of introducing new members. As our work develops we intend to have "At Homes" on other afternoons and evenings of the week.

In October we are arranging for a special series of big meetings in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Paisley, Helensburgh, &c., to be addressed by our leaders and others. Details will be given later.

By-election. As there is to be a by-election in Newcastle, Mrs. Pankhurst will be glad of the help of any of our Scottish members who are willing to give their services. By-elections afford an opportunity to our workers of gaining much experience.

Funds. We are urgently in need of money for our winter's work, and members are asked to do all they can to help the committee in this matter. Small and large subscriptions will be gladly received by our treasurer, Miss Burnet, 2, St. James-place, Glasgow.

Mrs. Martel at Liverpool.

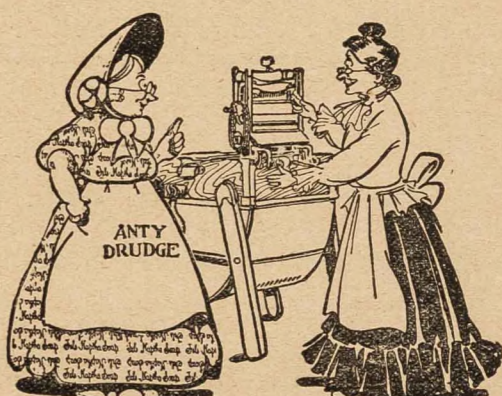
Miss Annie Marks writes a graphic description of the visit of Mrs. Martel to Liverpool, and of the splendid meeting of women who listened to the brilliant address of the "invader," as Mrs. Martel was called on the Liverpool posters the day following.

On Tuesday afternoon there was a most successful "At Home," and Mrs. Martel's speech was punctuated with applause. The writer concludes by saying that Liverpool only needs to hear more of the leaders of the W.S.P.U. to become enthusiastically favourable to the movement.

Miss Whittaker, N.W.S.P.U., lectured last week to Bath working women in the rooms of the Social Democratic Federation on the importance of votes for women from the citizen, the industrial, and the sweated worker's point of view.

Among other wreaths placed on the Cromwell Monument at Manchester on Thursday (the 25th anniversary of his death) was one from Miss Mary Gawthorpe and a number of other Manchester Suffragists "to the honour of a statesman who, when the welfare of the Commonwealth was at stake, in the interests of human justice did not hesitate to break the fetters of Parliamentary convention."

A member of the N.W.S.P.U. who visited Maskelyne and Devant's entertainment the other evening, during a thought-reading exhibition when members of the audience were asked to think of various subjects of interest to them, of course thought of her badge, "Votes for Women."



The Labour-saving Washboard.

Mrs. Simple—"There was a man here a few minutes ago with a patent labour-saving wash-board. I don't believe in these new-fangled things—but he was such a nice talker, I let him leave one."

Anty Drudge—"Fudge! That's just like some foolish women. Change one form of labour for another—and call it labour saving. Labour-saving washboard! Nonsense! Get a bar of Fels-Naptha soap!"

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