

VOTES FOR WOMEN

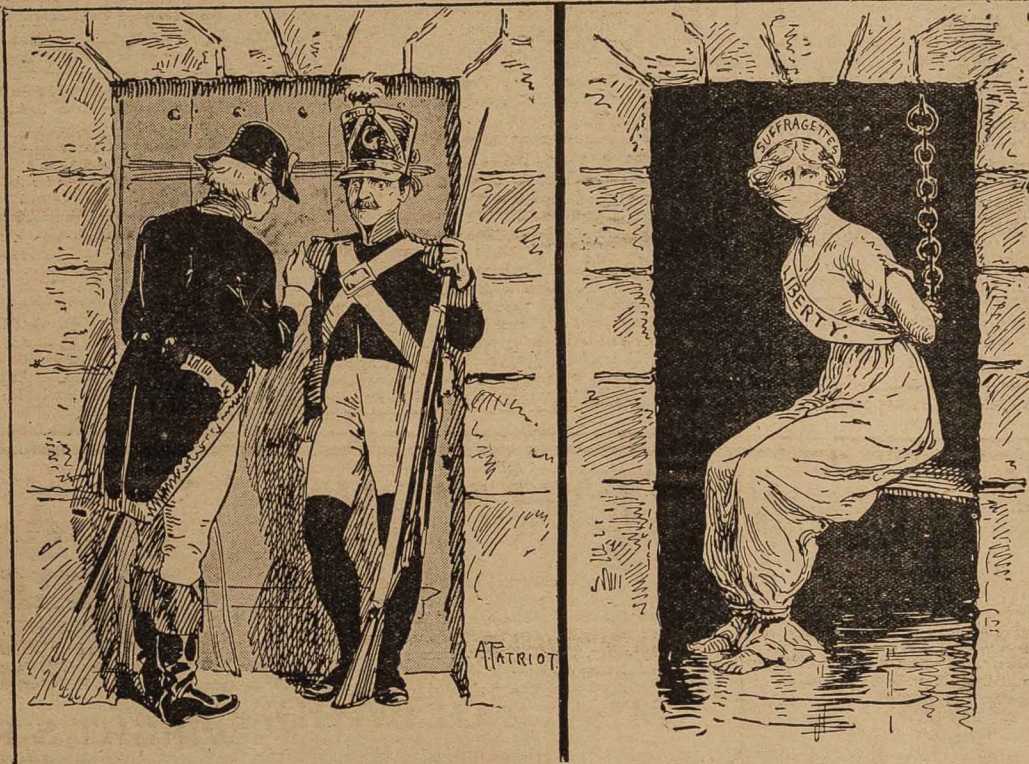
EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

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THE GUARDIANS OF LIBERTY.



Illustrating the method adopted by Mr. Asquith and Mr. Gladstone in guarding the liberty of the people.

(With apologies to the "Westminster Gazette," which adapted this old French cartoon, representing Mr. Balfour and Lord Lansdowne as the soldiers and the House of Commons as the prisoner.)

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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.

Writings have been issued for the election of the new Parliament, the battle has been joined, and to-morrow the first elections are to take place in some sixty or seventy constituencies throughout the country. The questions which are before the electorate are many and various, and involve matters of the utmost importance to the welfare of the State; but standing out clearly above the others is the constitutional issue whether the people of

this country shall have the right to decide upon how their taxes are to be levied and spent and how their laws are to be made.

The Constitutional Issue.

In the name of this constitutional issue we call upon the electors of this country to give their votes against the Liberal candidates, who, if returned to the House of Commons, will go to buttress up the Liberal Government. For this Government has defied the fundamental principles of the constitution. It has set at nought the principle that taxation and representation must go together by taking the money out of the pockets of women taxpayers while refusing to them any voice in deciding how that money shall be raised or how it shall be spent. It has ignored the rights of the people who must obey the laws to have their share in making the laws by refusing to women, who are a part of the people, any share in electing the members of Parliament, who are the law-makers of the country.

Government's Assault on Women.

Not content with this fundamental denial and breach of the constitution, the Liberal Government has cast into prison those women who have made a determined stand for the liberty of their sex. It has treated them there, not as political offenders are treated in every civilised country of the world, but as common criminals, thieves, and pickpockets. When women protested against this injustice by the heroic hunger-strike it has inflicted upon

their bodies the awful torture of forcible feeding and has encouraged the officials of the prison in committing further acts of outrage.

Why Electors Should Vote Against the Liberals.

The electors of the country have upon them to-day a solemn responsibility: by their votes given at this election they have to decide whether they will support or condemn the policy of the Liberal Government towards women. During the past four years the Government, and the Government alone, has been responsible for the ill-treatment of women, because its conduct of this question had not been before the country; but if at this election the Government are retained in power, every elector who votes for a Liberal candidate is making himself conjointly responsible for what may occur in the future; he is giving his vote in support of the Government's action in refusing votes to women; he is giving it in support of the imprisonment of women as common criminals; he is giving it in favour of the outrage of forcible feeding.

What will be the Issue of the Struggle?

It is impossible to forecast the probable result of the struggle which has already commenced. The predictions in the party Press range all the way from the confidence that the Liberal Party will be returned to power by a majority still larger even than at present, to the belief in a substantial majority for their Unionist opponents. The difficulty in predicting the result is enhanced by the fact that there are not two, but four

parties at the present time, and that even if the absolute Liberal majority which existed during the last Parliament were completely wiped out, it does not by any means follow that the Tory Government would reign in its stead. At the close of the last Parliament the House was divided into 367 Liberals, 52 Labour and Socialist, 63 Nationalists, and 168 Conservatives. This gave to official Liberalism an absolute majority of 64 over all other sections of the House combined, it gave to the Liberal and Labour Parties reckoned together a majority of 166 over the Nationalists and Conservatives, and it gave to the Liberals, Labour and Nationalists, reckoned together, a majority of 334 over the Unionists.

Possible Alternatives.

The loss of from one to thirty-one seats will leave the official Liberals still with part of their present majority of sixty-four over the whole of the rest of the House. But if they lose more than thirty-one seats they will be dependent for their majority on the support of the Labour Party; if they lose more than eighty-four seats they will be dependent upon the support of the Labour Party and the support (or at any rate the abstention from hostility) of the Irish Party. But it is not unless they lose as many as one hundred and sixty-seven seats that they will have to give place to a Unionist Government, who require to gain one hundred and sixty-seven seats to place them on an equality with the combined ranks of Liberals, Labour, and Nationalists. From this it will be seen that a very great blow may be administered to the Liberals without an actual return of the Unionist Government being effected. Time alone can show whether the electors are prepared to place either the Liberal Government or a Tory Government in absolute power, or whether they will render government only possible by means of a Coalition.

Enthusiastic Support for Women.

Women are determined to exert every means in their power to break down the tyranny of the great majority by which the Liberal Government has been enabled to defy their just claims to the vote. During the past week the election campaign of the Women's Social and Political Union has been pressed vigorously forward, and from all sides we learn of the enthusiastic support which is being accorded to the women speakers; everywhere the women gather the best crowds. In one constituency the Liberal told his audience to go and hear the Conservatives because their arguments were so poor, "but," he said, "do not go and hear the women." Members of the Union and friends are specially invited to come forward and assist the work which is being done during the last few days of the struggle.

Suffragette Frogmarched in Liverpool Gaol.

The statement published in this paper last week that an unconvicted Suffragette, Selina Martin, had been frogmarched in Liverpool Gaol has been circulated broadcast throughout the country in the form of a leaflet and has aroused universal indignation. Mr. Gladstone, in the hope of averting the anger of the electorate has caused to be issued a denial. This denial is based on a secret investigation of the visiting Justices. Against this we have the written statement of Selina Martin herself forwarded to the head offices of the Women's Social and Political Union. Miss Selina Martin, well known as a reliable woman of high character, wrote as follows:—

"We arrived at Walton Prison on Tuesday, the 21st (i.e., while still on remand), and the following morning I broke my windows, fourteen in all, and barricaded my cell and managed to keep the officials out for some time, but eventually the principal wardress got in with others, when they fell on me and beat me unmercifully. They pulled me off the bed and threw me on the floor. Then the doctor came and told me he would not let me go without food, but would feed me right away. He then ordered me to be dressed in my own wet clothes, and I was taken to a cold damp cell, without ventilation, and was handcuffed behind and left on the floor. At night I was taken to a larger cell and kept in iron. Thursday night I was thrown down, then turned over and frogmarched up some steps, letting my head bump on the steps as I was carried. I was then forcibly fed, after which I was dragged to the top of the steps and thrown down. I have had a frightful struggle every time they have come with the instruments of torture, which the doctor does not hesitate to sneer about; because I ask for a woman doctor. When I complained to the visiting magistrates about the brutal treatment meted out to me, they only replied, 'well the wardresses were justified.' We still, therefore, confidently assert the truth of our statement."

Mr. Gladstone's "Inaccuracies."

Mr. Gladstone has so frequently been proved "inaccurate" before on Suffragette questions that we ask electors to disregard his denial entirely. Among his "inaccuracies" have been the following statements:—That he did not dictate to or influence the magistrates in passing sentences on Suffragettes; that he had no power to alter the division in which they were placed in prison; that a suffragette had bitten a wardress in prison (proved to be false in a police court); that in forcible feeding the doctors acted on their own responsibility (acknowledged incorrect by the Attorney-General in the trial of the action brought by Mrs. Leigh). A letter to this effect has been sent to the daily Press and a leaflet (No. 65) giving the reply of the Union to Mr. Gladstone has been prepared and is available for distribution. It can be obtained

from The Women's Press, 4, Clements Inn, W.C., price ninepence a hundred, or six shillings a thousand, post free. We have received a number of letters on this subject, including one from Mrs. Hertha Ayrton, which, unfortunately, we are obliged to hold over for lack of space.

The Prime Minister at Bath.

An amusing account comes from the local Conservative paper of Mr. Asquith's visit to Bath. Not only were enormous numbers of the police specially drafted for the occasion, but he was conducted by a secret pathway through a cabbage patch to the hall, sawdust was put down to deaden his steps, and he waited in his car for a quarter of an hour after the meeting to allow the crowd to disperse. Meanwhile, the Suffragettes had "better fish to fry," and did not put in an appearance, preferring to work in Bristol against the return of Mr. Birrell.

The Case of Mrs. Haverfield.

On Thursday last week Sir Albert de Rutzen issued a warrant against the Hon. Mrs. Haverfield in connection with the case of the right to petition, dismissing the case of the other ninety-two women on remand. Mrs. Haverfield is at present electioneering in Dundee, and we are informed by the Press that her fine has been paid. If this is so it is against her wish.

Victim of the Hose Pipe.

On Monday last Judge Parry heard the action brought by Miss Davison against the visiting justices for their assault upon her by means of the hose pipe when in Strangeways Gaol, Manchester. Judgment was reserved until Wednesday, January 19, and we accordingly reserve our comment until next week.

Distortions of the Press.

The *English Review* for January, in an interesting editorial note, draws attention to the distortions of the Liberal Press in dealing with Suffrage news. It gives two examples in particular, the first of which has reference to a demonstration in Parliament Square, when the reporter of a Liberal paper deliberately added to an otherwise correct account the lying statement that "the Suffragette spat in the face of the policeman who was bending over her." The second has reference to the polling booth outrage in Bermondsey, in which the fact that the eye of the returning officer was injured, not by the liquid accidentally splashed into it by Mrs. Chapin, but by the ammonia with which he himself attempted to wash it out, was rigorously excluded. Thus the readers of the Liberal Press are allowed to suppose that the woman is suffering imprisonment on account of an outrage which she did not commit. While quoting this statement we would remind our readers that the policy pursued at Bermondsey by another society is not that of the Women's Social and Political Union, who at election time are appealing from the misdeeds of the Government to the good sense of the electors themselves.

Rowdyism at Meetings.

The past week has added many instances to the cases of deliberate interruptions by Liberals of Tory meetings performed to the delighted approval of the Liberal Press. On Saturday last, in a leading article surpassing itself for hypocrisy, the *Daily News* sums up its attitude in the following words:—

"We sincerely regret that so many of our opponents should have had their speeches cut short, and we entertain the hope that when, a few hours hence, the Peers return to their customary silence and seclusion, we shall hear no more of speakers being overborne and meetings abandoned. Freedom of public discussion is an invaluable possession, and Liberals should be the very last to allow it to be imperilled. At the same time, it must be recognised that much of the rowdyism of which we hear is not rowdyism at all, but quite legitimate opposition, or, it may be, mere exuberance of spirits. We all agree that within certain roughly defined limits every political speaker is fair game. There is no sense in objecting to an interruption, however diabolically timed, and whether it takes the form of a puncturing question or a challenging watchword. This may be contrasted with the shocked and pained attitude which the Liberal *Daily News* professed when women ventured to interject relevant observations in the midst of Cabinet Ministers' speeches."

Collective Responsibility of the Cabinet.

In an article in support of Mr. Augustine Birrell, the *Western Daily Press* has an interesting note on collective responsibility. It says:—

"There is collective responsibility in a Cabinet. Every member of it is a party to all its deeds, and to Mr. Birrell is therefore due some part of the gratitude felt by the country to the Government that has solved the South African problem, has established Old Age Pensions, and has assisted the principle of asserting the right of the nation to find a source of revenue from a species of wealth which is derived from the general efforts of the community."

Precisely! And the same doctrine of Cabinet responsibility applies where Woman Suffrage is concerned. We note that Mr. Birrell, at Bristol, has been declaring himself in favour of the simple removal of the sex barrier, and suggests that the question should be raised early in the new Parliament. Mr. Lloyd George also declares himself in favour of Woman Suffrage. But such declarations made merely individually are of no value. They are not binding on the Cabinet, and are merely "pious opinions." On the contrary, Mr. Birrell, Mr. Lloyd George, and other professed supporters of Woman Suffrage in the Cabinet are conjointly responsible with other Cabinet Ministers for the continued refusal of votes to women and for all the acts of cruelty and oppression

which have been performed in the prison upon the bodies of the Woman Suffrage prisoners.

Flower Girls.

An example of the wrong that may be done by well-meaning persons by carrying legislation for women without first taking their opinion in the matter is the extension of the regulation concerning factories and workshops to the case of florists' assistants. By this extension women who are employed by florists are forbidden to go to houses in the West of London to arrange flowers after certain hours of the day. It is held very strongly by these girls and those in the best position to know, that this extension will simply mean that men will be employed to do this work (for in their case these regulations do not apply), and the girls will be turned out of work. Whether this is so or not, it is perfectly clear that the regulations ought not to have been so extended by a Government responsible solely to men.

Items to be Noted.

Mr. A. K. Bulley has been formally adopted as Woman Suffrage candidate for the Rossendale division of Lancashire in opposition to the Right Hon. Lewis Harcourt.

Mr. Lloyd George has preserved "as a trophy" the feeding-tube which was thrown at him at the Queen's Hall by a man in the audience.

The Glasgow Parish Council states that of the infants under care of the council 90 per cent. are illegitimate, and the greater number of the mothers are domestic servants. The report says: "It is almost appalling the number of such who have been deserted by the reputed fathers and left to bear the burden themselves."

The paper *Modern Woman in South Africa* reproduces our cartoon of November 5, and assures us that there are Suffragettes in South Africa waiting for the arrival of Mr. Herbert Gladstone.

Preparations are going on apace for the Scottish Exhibition of the W.S.P.U. to be opened by Dr. Garret Anderson late in April. At this exhibition the "Pageant of Great Women," given in London by the Actresses' Franchise League, will be repeated.

Miss Cissie Wilcox, who threw two copies of *VOTES FOR WOMEN* into Mr. Samuel's motor-car at Wallsend, was arrested on a charge of missile-throwing and assault, and remanded until Tuesday last, when for this ridiculous trivial offence she was sentenced to three days' imprisonment.

Preparations are now complete for the meeting of the Drummers' Union in the Rehearsal Theatre to-morrow night, and a few tickets only remain to be sold. They can be had from Miss Janet MacLeod, 9, Thornton Avenue, Streatham. Among the special contents of this issue is the article by Mr. Laurence Housman, also "The Record of the Liberal Government," by Mr. Pethick Lawrence, and the article "Powder and Shot," by Miss Christabel Pankhurst. A full account is given of some of the Election activities of the Union. Owing to the limitations of space, the seventh chapter of the series by Miss Elizabeth Robins is unavoidably held over till next week.

HARRY PANKHURST.

There is an old Greek proverb; "Whom the gods love die young." What does it mean? It means that those whom the gods love are beautiful in body, mind, and soul, and very wise. So wise are they that they know by gift of the gods those great lessons which some of us learn so painfully and slowly. To them is granted all the vision, all the vital joy of youth. From them is withheld the disappointment and the disillusion that come with later years.

There never lived a human spirit on this earth who attained earlier to beauty, than the human spirit whose passing all the members of the Union during the past week mourned. Those, who did not know him, sorrow for his mother's sake; those who did know him, sorrow that the world has lost so rare and beautiful a personality.

Harry Pankhurst was courageous in action and in endurance; he was unselfish, devoted to the public good, and every thought, word, and deed was ruled by the law of love. These great qualities were put through an ordeal of great severity during the last three months of his life. Never before were they so triumphantly victorious.

He was a fighter in the great cause of justice to women. Throughout the last General Election he worked with his sisters in Manchester, giving out bills and helping them in every possible way. He took part in the N.W. Manchester by-election, when Mr. Churchill was defeated. Several times he was thrown out of meetings, and once he was brutally kicked for asking a question of a Liberal Minister. Before the Hyde Park demonstration he worked all through several nights. At the exhibition his services were most valuable. His whole heart was in this and other great movements for Reform.

Harry even in her grief must the mother be who has borne such a son. Sweet is the fragrance that his life has left. His spirit shines like a star.

"Yet, O stricken heart, remember—O remember—How of human days he lived the better part. April came to bloom, and never dim December Breathed its killing chills upon the head or heart."

Mrs. Pankhurst, on behalf of herself and her daughters, gratefully acknowledges the kind expressions of sympathy from her friends, who, she feels sure, will understand her inability to thank them personally as she would wish to do.

THE WOMAN'S CAUSE AND PARTY POLITICS.

A Speech Delivered by Mr. Laurence Housman at St. James's Hall, on January 3.

During the last month it has been my good fortune to look on at party politics at a far remove from the centre of disturbance, in a remote rural corner of England; and as it is said that the looker-on sees most of the game, so from that position of vantage has it come home to me, more clearly than ever before, how largely our party system, in its workings upon the popular mind, depends not on truth and understanding, but on ignorance and half-knowledge. Again and again I have seen leaflets and posters issued by the party organisation quoting sentences or half-sentences from the pronouncements of some of our leading statesmen, which depend entirely for their effect on the ignorance of the reader and the absence of the qualifying or explaining phrase. And it has struck me as very fitting, very natural, and very logical that this half-representative system under which we are ruled—a system which keeps from its counsels the voice of one-half of human nature—should only be capable of giving utterance to half-truths and of securing its effects on men's minds by a frigid and calculated suppression of the other half. And as ignorance and suppression of truth are the greatest hindrance—are, indeed, the basis of all the opposition to the women's movement—is it any wonder that we find in party—this system which thrives on the production of half-truths and the suppression of whole truths—the chiefest impediment to our cause? Is it any wonder that women who are really in earnest have had to come out of party in order to fight for their liberties with courage and with a good conscience?

But though this is a true charge against our party system as a whole, still no party can exist which has not some good arguments and some just claims to advance. And when I read Liberal oratory I often admit that the argument is good so far as it goes, but it is not basically applied: where it ceases to suit the party game there it stops short of completion—awkwardly and abruptly—with an obvious suppression of the context—the context in this case being that cause of woman's enfranchisement, upon which official Liberalism continues to turn its back. Again and again when Liberal leaders speak—and especially when Mr. Lloyd George speaks—you need only change a word—say, sometimes not a word, but only the application—and at once the whole force of the argument is directed with deadly effect against the party which is refusing to grant enfranchisement to women. And the reason is that the best and truest cries of the Liberal Party have now become your cries, and cannot secure their full effect when arbitrarily separated from their true context. And as conscience makes cowards, so it is with Liberals when at their meetings the cry for justice to women is raised. Over Tariff Reform or over Home Rule they may be right or wrong, but there, at least, they have a good conscience, and on those points they can stand interruption and interrogation; but on the woman's question their consciences are bad—their practice is in conflict with their principles—and so you get the cowardice and the violence of Liberal stewards when dealing with Suffragists at public meetings; pricked by consciences which they will not obey, they degenerate into brutality.

The Humanising of Party Politics.

And just as you have taken possession of the best Liberal cries, so have you also on your side the weightiest argument of the Conservative. For the Conservative, I imagine, would say that our Legislature should not be swamped by any one class or interest, but that representation should be in strict proportion to the value of each class to the community; and that where great civic values are insufficiently represented there our representative system is defective. Well, what to-day is the greatest unrepresented value in our political system? The sex-value of women—a value which especially relates to the home, with all its moral and domestic economies. And the sooner the Conservative Party realise the importance of bringing that value to bear on the affairs of State the better it will be for them. Do not think, when I say "better for them," that I mean better in any one-sided or party sense. It is quite a mistake to think that what is good for one party is bad for the other; party politicians are always thinking and calculating on those lines, and that is why justice is so often delayed. No, the enfranchisement of women will be good for all parties—it will improve Liberalism, it will improve Conservatism, and it will improve Socialism, because it will humanise them, making them complete instead of only half-representatives of those various schools of thought. We have every reason to dread any reform devised and carried through for the whole of human nature by the male half alone; and perhaps we have especially to dread reform under male Socialism, because Socialism will be more fundamental in its changes, and will, therefore, be more dangerous under ill-balanced conditions than are the mere timidities and

delays of Conservatism. But again, when I say that, don't think I am asking you to give faith or support to the Conservative Party. As regards the women, Conservatism is tarred with the same brush as Liberalism. The other day, speaking at Plymouth in refutation of the charge that the Unionists would go back upon old-age pensions, Lord Lansdowne had the effrontery to declare that if any party ever withdrew privileges secured to the British subject by statute it would not be the Unionist Party. Yet it was the Unionist Party not so very long ago which deprived women of certain rights of local representation which had hitherto been theirs, and which they have only recovered in the last few years. Lord Lansdowne, like all politicians when it comes to the rights of voteless women, has a conveniently short memory.

No, I am not asking you to trust or to support any party; but all the same, you have got to deal with party, and your danger—like that of all causes that have to be fought independently of party—lies in a large party majority. Under a strong Government the private member tends to forget his own individual pledges to his constituents, and to obey only the crack of the party whip; under a weak and precarious Government he is brought by circumstances closer to his constituents, and pays far more attention to their wishes. It is, therefore, to the interest of women suffragists to keep members of Parliament as near as possible to their constituents, and that condition is best secured when the majority is small.

In that connection, consider the "promise," the renewed promise, made by Mr. Asquith to the Liberal women. He asks for their support on the grounds that their cause and his "Pledge" will stand in exactly the same position in the next Parliament as in the last. But franchise reform is supposed only to come immediately before a General Election, and should the Liberal Party return to power, the larger their majority the longer, in all probability, will be their term of office. If, therefore, Liberal women help to send Mr. Asquith back with a large majority, they are actually helping to postpone the fulfilment even of that poor pale substitute for a promise which is all that Mr. Asquith has accorded them, and which is offered not by a friend but by a grudging enemy. And the spectacle of this unreasonable continuance of party loyalty among the Liberal women, and the manoeuvre by which it is secured, reminds me of nothing so much as the efforts of those clever little performing animals whom we set upon their hind-legs in a begging attitude, and then, balancing bits of bread on the tips of their noses, say solemnly, "Trust! Trust! Trust!" and at last—when we think they can retain their balanced attitude of mendicancy no longer—"Franchise come!" The longer they will remain "on trust," the cleverer and the better behaved we pretend to think them; and if the Liberal women go on allowing themselves to be thus led by the nose to a position which involves all "trust" while securing no franchise, then indeed will they have qualified for entering the ranks of the performing animals.

Cobden as a Suffragist and a Militant.

And now the Liberal Party is going forth to battle with the great name of Cobden on their lips, while in their hearts they are far from him. For Cobden, as long ago as 1845, when agitating for the repeal of the Corn Laws, had already pronounced himself strongly in favour of Votes for Women. "I wish," said he, speaking in that year in favour of Free Trade, "I wish that they had the franchise, for they would often make a better use of it than their husbands." And, further, he advises and urges women of property to use their power of conferring the vote upon other people, and to present freehold qualifications to their dependents and relatives, as the only constitutional means left to them for securing the great reform for which the Liberal Party was then fighting. At that time Cobden was engaged in manufacturing votes by this and similar means in various constituencies where a few votes were enough to turn the election in favour of the Free Trade candidate; and he justified this violation of "the spirit of the Constitution" by saying that it was the only constitutional method left open to the voteless for securing repeal and the extension of the franchise. By this creation of what Liberals would now describe as "faggot voters," and by the help of the women, the repeal of the Corn Laws was at last secured, and franchise reform was pushed a step nearer; and Cobden, in claiming the use of that one constitutional weapon which remained to his hand, went on to state quite clearly that where that weapon—the vote—was not procurable, militant methods had been in the past, and were still, in other countries, a necessity.

Now that weapon which, owing to the small numbers of the electorate, was available then, is not available now. In the vast extension of our democracy women stand far more powerless politically than they did then, when, by manufacturing votes, they could influence elections; and the justification of militant methods which Cobden pronounced for others who had not that power, applies now equally to them. Sixty years ago Cobden, who won for modern Liberalism its greatest triumph, was pleading the women's cause and the people's cause in the same breath, recognising that they were one and the same; yet to-day, so far is Liberalism from

filling its principles, that under the present Government, for claiming the right so long delayed, a daughter of Cobden has been sent to prison. Yes, my friends, you cry shame, and it is a shame. But remember that any of you who continue to work with a party which permits such things to be done and consents to let justice be delayed, you too share in the shame and cannot be quit of it.

And before I conclude, I would ask you the question which I now ask at all Suffrage meetings where I speak. Do you believe that the woman's right to the franchise is the same as a man's, or do you regard it as only a half-right? If you admit that the woman's right is equal, then ask yourselves how would you regard a Government which continued to exclude from the franchise a million and a quarter of fully qualified men—not only excluded them, but refused to receive their deputations or to admit them to public meetings; and who, when these men came in deputation, or endeavoured to enter public meetings, threw them into prison as common criminals! Would you, I ask, work for such a Government? And if your answer is "No," and if, nevertheless, you are working for this Government, then the only reason can be that you do not really believe that the woman's right is equal to the man's, and when you say that you do you are deceiving your own consciences. If, on the contrary, you do really believe in the woman's equality of right, then the anti-Government policy is the only possible attitude for you to take, because it is the only one which fits in with a clean and an awakened conscience.

TO MRS. PANKHURST.

Woman of dauntless soul and purpose pure,
Whose name is graven on our woman-headers,
Whose fame is built upon a rock more sure
Than lord of battlefields or chief of marts
Dare boast his own (for Sudden Death grows old,
And canker waits upon ill-gotten Gold):
O thou, of dauntless spirit, brave and free,
Too grand to recognise indignity!

A flame so fierce is burning in thine eyes
That, nearing thee, our own reflect the spark!
We burn for freedom, for we recognise
How tied and bound our Past, how dead and dark
The Shade of Liberty we cherish.
We live! we would be free! Not free among the Dead!

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THE RECORD OF THE LIBERAL GOVERNMENT.

Refusal of Justice: Imprisonment: Forcible Feeding of Political Prisoners.

BY F. W. PETHICK LAWRENCE.

The Liberal Government came into power at the end of 1905. They came with the promise of reform.

How Questioners Were Treated.

The first opportunity occurred shortly before the Liberal Government accepted office. Sir Edward Grey was addressing a great meeting in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester.

Throughout the General Election campaign of 1905-6 similar tactics were adopted by the Government. No answer was given to the women.

The Women's Social and Political Union accordingly proceeded to carry on simultaneously a great work of education in the country and of militant action against the Government.

Fifty Thousand Meetings.

Between that day and this countless public meetings have been held all over the country, which have carried resolutions in favour of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

The Largest Political Demonstration in the History of the World.

Other great outdoor demonstrations have been held in all the largest towns throughout the country.

THE OPPOSITION OF THE GOVERNMENT.

Inside Parliament it was soon seen that it was the Government which was standing in the way of Woman Suffrage.

Obstinacy of Mr. Asquith.

Women accordingly determined to approach him by deputation, but he refused to see them.

Women have also been arrested for making protests outside the meetings of Cabinet Ministers from which they have been excluded.

450 Women Sent to Prison.

Altogether 450 women have been imprisoned by the Liberal Government, either for endeavouring to see Mr. Asquith or for demonstrations connected with the meetings of Cabinet Ministers.

TREATMENT OF POLITICAL OFFENDERS.

Not content with imprisoning Suffragettes for persisting in their demand for the vote the Government have refused to treat them in prison as political offenders, and have classed them with common criminals.

of his father, the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, in this matter. In 1889 the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, referring to the Irish political prisoners, said:—

I know very well that you cannot attempt a legislative definition of political offences, but what you can do, and what always has been done, is this: you can say that in certain classes of cases the imprisoned person ought not to be treated as if he had been guilty of base and degrading crime.

The Hunger Strike.

For a long while the Woman Suffrage prisoners contented themselves with written and spoken remonstrances against this treatment. But finding this protest of no avail, in June, 1909, Miss Wallace Dunlop, one of the Woman Suffrage prisoners, adopted the hunger strike with the view of calling attention to this disgraceful state of affairs.

FORCIBLE FEEDING.

Then in September, 1909, Mr. Gladstone, in the vain hope of breaking the spirit and resistance of the women who were his political opponents, determined to employ against them the inhuman practice of forcible feeding by means of a tube passed through the nostrils into the stomach.

"I was sent for to the matron's room, where I found the matron and six to eight wardresses and two doctors. In the centre of the room was an armchair on a large sheet.

"Referring to a blue paper, Dr. Helby (the prison doctor) said, 'I have orders you are not to be released even on medical grounds, and if you still refuse food I have to take measures to compel you to take food.'

"I was then forced back into the chair by the wardresses—three on either side. I resisted. My mouth was forced open by Dr. Helby. He formed my mouth into a kind of punch. The wardresses poured liquid into a spoon and put it into my mouth. The liquid was milk and brandy. I was tied in the chair with a towel.

"When I was fed by the feeding-cup I coughed, and was sick. I had great pain, mental and physical.

When the feeding-cup and spoon were used, Dr. Helby used to prise my mouth open, and also hold my nose, and the wardresses always held my body. I always resisted. Dr. Helby pinched my throat to enable the food to pass.

Many other women who have suffered from it have revolting stories to tell of the torture which it implies.

Sir Victor Horsley says that, apart from the brutality of the proceeding, it has the following consequences:—Pain, congestion of the nose and pharynx, leading in many cases to pneumonia, ulceration of the nasal mucous membrane, retching, vomiting, and depression.

It is absolutely inhuman and unjustifiable. Mr. Hugh Fenton, M.D., says:—It is an absolutely beastly and revolting procedure. In addition to these doctors over one hundred other medical practitioners have petitioned the Government to abandon this disgraceful procedure.

have still continued to adopt it rather than treat their women political opponents as political offenders are treated in every civilized country in the world.

Other Outrages.

In Manchester Gaol the hose pipe was turned on to one woman because she refused to open the door of her cell, and the humanity of the prison officials in that prison has since been commended by Mr. Herbert Gladstone.

In Liverpool Gaol one of the Suffrage prisoners, while still on remand—that is to say, an unconvicted prisoner—was frog-marched (head downwards) from her cell to the doctor's room, where forcible feeding was inflicted.

VOTE AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT.

If the Liberal Government are returned to power at this election they will continue this policy of dealing with women. They will refuse to give women the vote, and at the same time they will treat the women who are agitating and working for it with the cruelty and violence which they have shown them in the past.

There is only one way for the electors of the country to put a stop to this state of affairs. They must vote against the Liberal candidates, and so mark their displeasure at the behaviour of the Liberal Government to women.

QUESTIONS BY THE ELECTORS.

If the Government had carried a Votes for Women Bill through the House of Commons, would not this Bill have suffered the same fate as the Budget at the hands of the House of Lords?

It is quite impossible to tell what attitude the House of Lords would have taken upon a measure for Votes for Women passed by the Commons; but it is not likely they would prove themselves as recalcitrant to the pressure of women as the present Liberal Government. In any case, however, had the Government taken this course, it would have cleared itself of responsibility, and if the House of Lords proved to be the obstacle to Woman Suffrage the Suffragettes would have devoted their energy to breaking down the opposition of the Lords.

Is it a fact that the Women's Social and Political Union are asking for the vote only for a certain class interest, and not for the whole of women?

The Women's Social and Political Union are asking for the removal of the sex disqualification; that is to say, they are asking that the same conditions which qualify a man to vote shall qualify a woman to vote. They ask that women who are owners, householders, lodgers, or university graduates shall be voters.

W.S.P.U. ANNOUNCEMENTS.

To-morrow (Saturday) the first polls take place in fourteen Parliamentary Divisions of London and about fifty-five in the provinces, and by next Thursday, January 20, all the borough polls will be over.

All those interested in the Women's Social and Political Union's General Election campaign will be glad to know that they will have an opportunity of hearing a number of Suffrage speakers every Monday afternoon at the Queen's Hall, Langham Place, from 3 to 5, and every Thursday evening at St. James's Hall, Great Portland Street, from 8 to 10.

A "Votes for Women" Parade.

Details of a "Votes for Women" Parade, taking place in London to-day, will be found on p. 245.

At the Fighting Line.

Miss Leslie Hall, sentenced by Mr. Shepherd Little at Liverpool on December 27 to one month's hard labour, will be released on January 26. Miss Hall's offence was "raising her hand" and having in her possession a catapult and several pieces of iron on the occasion of the Prime Minister's recent visit to Liverpool.

Particulars of Special Election Literature will be found on pp. 248 and 249.

THE HOSE PIPE OUTRAGE.

Judgment Reserved in Miss Davison's Action Against the Visiting Justices.

The case in which a Suffragette was subjected in prison for several minutes to the play of a hose pipe came before Judge Parry at the Manchester County Court on Monday last.

The defence practically admitted all the facts, acknowledging that the use of the hose pipe was suggested by the Foreman of Works of the prison and carried out on the instruction of the Justices, without consulting the Governor, doctor, or matron of the prison.

The particulars of claim set forth that "on or about October 25, 1909, at Strangeways Prison, Manchester, the defendants, by their authorized agent or servant, unjustifiably and violently assaulted the plaintiff by turning on a water hose and directing a violent stream of water upon and against the plaintiff, who was then in a weak state of health, in consequence whereof the plaintiff was drrenched with water, contracted a severe chill, suffered much pain, and was confined to her bed."

Mr. Gordon Hewart was for the plaintiff and Sir William Cobbett for the defendants. Miss Mary Gawthrop and other members of the Women's Social and Political Union were in court, as well as the defendant justices and a large number of prison officials.

The Case for the Plaintiff.

Mr. Gordon Hewart said his client, who was a lady of considerable intellectual distinction, was a member of an association called the Women's Social and Political Union, which maintained that an intelligent taxpayer ought not to be debarred from voting for a representative in the House of Commons merely because she had the good fortune to be a woman.

The work had been going on for a long time, with very little apparent result, and so the society had recourse to certain methods of expressing their resentment and of calling attention to what they considered to be their grievance. It was in pursuance of this policy that when, in October last, a Cabinet Minister was addressing a meeting at Radcliffe, the plaintiff dropped two stones through the window of a Liberal club.

It is being brought at the cost of the Union?—Yes.

Speech for the Defence. Sir William Cobbett, in his speech for the defence, said that within late years there had grown up a class of minor misdemeanants who were disorderly and brawled in the streets and public places, who did what the law called wilful damage, and who when sent to prison to expiate their offences were a source of the greatest difficulty and anxiety to all responsible for the management of prisoners, because they traded upon the weakness of their sex to avoid the consequences of their misconduct.

Evidence for the Defence. Dr. J. Edwards, senior medical officer at Strangeways, declared that Miss Davison was in quite as good general health when she left the prison as when she entered, but was not quite so strong because of not getting proper food. He stated that he had not been consulted in any way as to the proposed use of the hosepipe.

His Honour: Do you know who that was?

Miss Davison: I don't; it might have been the deputy-governor, but I am not certain. Continuing, she said that the next thing she heard was a noise at the window, and immediately there was a crashing of glass, and she saw the nozzle of a hose pipe being played on to her. The deputy-governor, she thought it was, again asked her to get off the planks, but she did not answer, and then the water was turned on with tremendous force, first of all over her head and then right on to her. The water was played up and down her body, filling her lap and covering the floor of the cell. She had no watch, but she judged that this went on for about a quarter of an hour, and then she began to gasp for breath, the water being icy cold. Her gasps became louder and louder, and then she heard someone call out, "Enough, stop." This was done, and operations were resumed on the door. She could see it swaying, and just as it was moving forward hands caught it and prevented it falling. The space was widened a little, and a warder got through into the cell. He seized hold of her, lifted her up, and said, "You ought to be horse-whipped for this!" Then he removed the planks, the door was opened, and the water rushed out like an avalanche. She was rushed into the next cell, where the matron and wardresses tore off her prison clothes, wrapped her in blankets, and took her away to the hospital.

Cross-Examination by the Defence.

Sir William Cobbett: When you went to prison did you tell the matron that you would conform to no prison rules?

I said that unless we were treated as political prisoners we should not conform to the rules. May I take it that from the very commencement you never did conform to any prison rule? From the commencement of what? From the commencement of your imprisonment on October 25? I did not obey any prison regulations. To begin with you refused to give your name and then you refused to change your clothes? Yes, and I explained all along why. I suppose we may take it that you did it as a protest? Yes.

Would you mind telling me whether you are bringing this action at your own cost? This action is being brought by the Union on my behalf. It is being brought at the cost of the Union?—Yes.

Evidence for the Defence. Dr. J. Edwards, senior medical officer at Strangeways, declared that Miss Davison was in quite as good general health when she left the prison as when she entered, but was not quite so strong because of not getting proper food. He stated that he had not been consulted in any way as to the proposed use of the hosepipe. Cross-examined, he admitted that this method was a mistake. Dr. Judson Bury, who was called in to Strangeways after the incident, on the instruction of the Home Secretary, expressed the opinion that the lady was perfectly well.

Mr. Hewart: Can you tell me why she was released? Witness: I have formed an opinion from what I have heard, but I don't want to express it in court. Sir William Cobbett: He does not want to quarrel with the Home Secretary. Mr. Hewart: It had nothing to do with her physical condition? Witness: Not so far as I can tell. Foreman of Works on Different Treatment for Men and Women. David Lambert Conroy, foreman of works and engineer in the prison, admitted that the hosepipe incident was suggested to the magistracies by himself. In cross-examination, he refused to say that he regretted what he had recommended; on the contrary, he would employ a similar method again.

Witness: Not so far as I can tell. Foreman of Works on Different Treatment for Men and Women. David Lambert Conroy, foreman of works and engineer in the prison, admitted that the hosepipe incident was suggested to the magistracies by himself. In cross-examination, he refused to say that he regretted what he had recommended; on the contrary, he would employ a similar method again.

Mr. Gordon Hewart: Would you recommend it to be applied to a woman?—Yes. To a poor woman weakened by want and privation?—Yes. Would you adopt it in the case of a man?—I do not think I should. Further cross-examined, Mr. Conroy admitted that in this particular instance the method proved ineffective; he also admitted that a man might have entered by the window and opened the door; and that the door could have been secured from falling upon the plaintiff by means of staples, ropes, or chains, only he did not happen to think of that.

Mr. Arthur Haworth and Mr. Hugh Howarth, two of the defendant justices, both declared that the only object they had in view in sending to Conroy's suggestion was the assent of the plaintiff. In cross-examination, Mr. Arthur Haworth admitted that as events had turned out the use of the hosepipe was a mistake.

A number of legal points affecting the duties and rights of visiting justices were raised and argued by Mr. Hewart and Sir William Cobbett.

Judgment Reserved.

Judge Parry finally said that several of these points were so important that he would reserve judgment until January 19.

On Thursday last, January 6, Mr. Musket applied at Bow Street to Sir Albert de Rutzen for the issue of a warrant for the arrest of the Hon. Mr. Selous. Inspectors Wells and Jarvis were present. The magistrate said that the matter was out of his hands, and the warrant would issue in the ordinary course. A barrister appeared on behalf of the Men's League for Woman Suffrage, and applied for the warrant to be withheld pending an appeal by his clients to the Home Secretary for the remission of the sentence. The magistrate, however, said that he had granted every indulgence in regard to the dealing of the charge and the appeal, and that there was no reason why the law should not take its course.

Mr. Musket then applied for leave to withdraw the charges against the other ninety-two women who had been arrested on the night of June 29 last, and said that his clients were of the opinion that as the charges were now six months' old and stale, no good purpose would be served by pressing them. Mr. Marshall, on behalf of the ninety-two women on remand, had written stating that he offered no opposition.

LONDON TAXICAB DRIVERS' SYMPATHY.

A fortnight ago VOTES FOR WOMEN drew attention to the case of Mr. Hartopp, the taxicab driver, who lost his license as a result of keeping his promise to two Suffragettes. As a result of the interest taken by the taxicabmen in this case, an excellent meeting was addressed on Tuesday morning by Miss Jessie Kenney and Miss Cameron at the Panhard Motor Works at Aeton, through the kindness of Mr. George Du Cros. Very great sympathy was shown by the men with the women's movement. Another meeting for taxicab and other drivers will be held at the Cabinet's Club and Institute, St. Martin's Street, W.C., on January 20, at 8 p.m.

It may be added that Mr. Hartopp is still without a situation. Two donations sent by sympathisers who read our account are gratefully acknowledged.

SELLING "VOTES FOR WOMEN." A VOTES FOR WOMEN parade will take place in London to-day (Friday), and volunteers are to be at the W.S.P.U. offices, 4, Cleopatra Inn, W.C., at 10.30 a.m., ready to take part.

MR. ASQUITH AND THE CABBAGE PATCH.

Bath has had a great disappointment. It turned out in thousands on Thursday, January 6, and all for nothing! The local papers appeared with large headlines—HUGE CROWD DISAPPOINTED AT ABSENT SUFFRAGETTES—EXCITING SCENES—PRIME MINISTER CROSSES A CABBAGE PATCH—WILL THE SUFFRAGISTS USE THE SUBTERRANEAN PASSAGE?

The extraordinary spectacle of the Prime Minister of all England piloted by a secret pathway through a cabbage patch to the back door of the hall where he was to speak; guarded through the meeting by constables, detectives, and hawk-eyed stewards; solemnly steered back again over a little sawdust track to deaden the sound of his footfall; smuggled through gooseberry bushes to his motor-car, where he waits for a cold quarter of an hour to give the crowd time to disperse—all this is deliciously described by the Bath Chronicle. Never have defensive arrangements been so extensive—mounted police; the two special detectives who follow Mr. Asquith all over the country; "official chucks-out," men with "muscles braced like those of the village blacksmith, and in their eyes that grim determination to do or die that is the principal prerogative of the British nation," windows boarded up, the glass of the rink covered with timber and wire netting! Preparations, too, at the fire station, at the ambulance station, and heart-burnings and mysterious questionings everywhere—From what quarter will the attack come? By aeroplane? By parachute? By subterranean passage? All through the meeting, we learn, a constant patrol was kept up by police and detectives, while powerful acetylene lights were flashed out into the darkness. The meeting over, the Prime Minister, luddled in fur-lined coat and cap, and well surrounded by trusty followers, slunk into his car, which bounded forward as if relieved to escape without one single cry of "Votes for Women!"

Meanwhile all sorts of rumours had been spread:—The Women's Social and Political Union had hired a house within a stone's throw of the rink and stocked it with empty bottles; there was a subterranean passage from the house that the Suffragists had taken in James Street into the rink grounds. Everyone was certain that the Suffragettes had a rod in pickle for Mr. Asquith! And then to find after all this perishing, that the Suffragettes were far too busy persuading the electors to vote against the Government to have time or attention to spare for argument with or appeal to an obdurate Prime Minister!

"MISSILE THROWING AND ASSAULT."

Mr. Herbert Samuel spoke at Wallend on Monday (3rd) in support of Mr. Robertson's candidature, and a male sympathiser in the meeting made three pertinent interruptions before being carried out. Mr. Samuel was again questioned outside the meeting by members of the W.S.P.U. Miss Clive Wilcox, one of the most ardent workers for the cause in Newcastle, and a champion seller of VOTES FOR WOMEN, threw two folded copies of the paper into Mr. Samuel's motor-car, was arrested on a charge of missile throwing and assault. She was detained at the police station for three hours, and remanded until Tuesday morning, the 11th.

On Tuesday at the Wallend Police Court the charge of assault was withdrawn. The "missile" was produced—two folded copies of VOTES FOR WOMEN. Miss Wilcox objected to the term "missile" as applied to papers, and said she had no intention of doing any harm; she thought it was a good opportunity for Mr. Samuel to learn the truth.

Refusing to pay the costs of the action, Miss Wilcox was sent to prison for three days.

LIBERAL WOMEN RESIGN.

A deputation of the East Fifo Liberal women waited on the Men's Executive Committee recently. They were asked to retire while their claim to have Woman Suffrage considered was discussed, and on returning were bluntly told that while the men were in sympathy, this was not the time for action. The Vice-President, Mrs. Mills, and the Treasurer, Miss Norris, and several members of the Executive resigned office as a result. Their action is being much discussed in Dundee.

MR. LLOYD GEORGE ON VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Speaking at Kenilworth on January 4, the Chancellor of the Exchequer said that he would be glad to see women get their rights of citizenship, and he thought it was about time that they should be called to express their opinions. The hypocrisy of such protestations by individual members of a Cabinet which denies the vote and persecutes women is self evident.

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BOOKS OF THE WEEK. WOMAN AND THE AGES.

The true spirit of inquiry which seeks to get to the bottom of what is known as the "woman's movement" has always, in the last instance, to be directed back to Nature. What is the relation of male and female in biology, and what does science teach of the facts of the question as apart from the many theories that are put forward at present? On this aspect of the question a most interesting little pamphlet has been issued by Mr. and Mrs. Bernard. They trace the subjection of woman from the earliest times, showing that early marriage and motherhood are alone enough to account for any inferiority with which women may be taxed; it was man "who systematically plunged women into their sex functions too early, and thus robbed them of the chance of growing to what they might have been." The authors show rightly enough that the woman's movement is evolution in its truest form.

Going back to the fundamental principle of life, we see how mind gradually developed and every organism adapted itself to its environment. Then in the early days, when men acted as hunters for food and protectors against the enemy, women at a tender age were helping the race to survive by bearing children and taking care of them, and in this way their development was retarded. Gradually, as peace came and the arts and industries entered into life, men began to develop their minds, but women being, as it were, in the inner circle, were only very slowly affected by the new conditions. They had no rights, and their only status was that accorded to them by chivalry. The majority accepted their fate almost automatically, but now, as the authors say:—

The transformation which began long ago among the leaders and the fighters of the community, has reached the very heart of the whole body; now, at last, women have waked up from their age-long torpor and are claiming to occupy a higher place in the community, and to exercise higher functions. They have waked up not a moment too soon; their work lies ready to their hands.

Whatever evil women have wrought in the past by swaying men through their passions or by servile submission, they have wiped out with their sufferings. What they can do now to help the race to higher ideals is well expressed in the last pages of this very interesting pamphlet, which everyone should read for the new light it throws both on the past and on the future of the woman's movement.

HAS LIBERALISM A FUTURE?†

A refreshing little book, bringing a scathing indictment against the Government, has been prepared by S. D. Shallard, which is to be recommended to all those who are willing to see removed the veneer of political hypocrisy with which the actions of the party leaders are covered by Government and Opposition Press alike. This is how Mr. Shallard deals with Mr. Herbert Gladstone's record with regard to women:—

Mr. Gladstone will be principally remembered to posterity for the petty and malignant persecution of his political enemies, the militant Suffragettes. No methods have been too cowardly or too loathsome for him to adopt in his desire to gratify his spite against those who have again and again convicted him publicly of falsehood or made him ridiculous in the public eyes.

The book is written from the Socialist standpoint, but as a piece of straight talking is worth reading by all.

CONSERVATIVE SOCIALISM.‡

Another book, written from an entirely different point of view, urges the importance of listening to the claims of women. The writer, while finding in Socialism, as preached by its practical apostles, an almost unmitigated evil, recognises that there is very much in our present state of society which is in need of drastic change. The powers that be are accordingly urged to take in hand the necessary reforms with the least possible delay, so as to avert the danger of catastrophic action. The writer concludes with a picture to be realised, not at once, but in the happier future:—

In the Hague Council we foresee the peace of the world. . . We picture our Colonies bound solidly to us by the strongest of all ties, mutual interest. We picture India an independent Colony, self-governed, and bound to us by similar interests. We picture our Colonies and India represented in a Home Parliament made up of men and women with equal rights, though varied interests. We picture a Parliament unswayed by the curse of party politics. We picture the British Empire, the greatest and most glorious the world has ever seen, built upon the solid rock of liberty and fraternity, and professing above all a sound and lasting religion, without which no Empire can hope to prosper; not the religion of backbiting and greed, but the true religion of Christ as embodied in His own words: "Do unto all men as you would they should do unto you." That is Socialism in its highest sense, as taught by its greatest Teacher, who also said, "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's."

The book represents a great deal of independent thinking, and a refusal to accept opinions ready made from persons in political authority.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

"English Review" (January), 2s. 6d. net. "The Humane Review," 1s. net.
"The Irony of Marriage." By Basil Tozer. (London: Robman, Limited, 1s. net.)
"The Prince of Destiny." By Sarath Kumar Ghosh. (London: Robman, Limited, 6s. net.)
"The Englishwoman's Year Book and Directory." (London: A. and C. Black, 2s. 6d. net.)

* "Woman and Evolution." By H. M. Bernard, M.A., F.R.S., and M. Bernard. London: Frank Palmer, 4, Red Lion Court, E.C. Price 3s.
† "Has Liberalism a Future?" By S. D. Shallard. Frank Palmer, London, 6d. net.
‡ "Conservative Socialism." By Y. Knott. Swan Sonnenschein, 1s. net.

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THE WORLD WE LIVE IN. At the Time of the Sales.

Although many of the sales at the great drapers have now been in progress for something like a week, they are still in comparative infancy, for there is no clearance so marked as that which comes at the beginning of the year, when a complete change of stocks is regarded as necessary.

That a sale does not mean the getting rid of out-of-date goods is plain at Messrs. William Owen's establishment in Westbourne Grove. Here the claim is made that not a single article has been purchased for this occasion, and that everything on view belongs to the ordinary stock. Thus the goods offered are genuine bargains, many of them being marked at about half the usual price. There is, for example, an exceedingly pretty wrap in French faced cloth, neatly trimmed, and adaptable for either day or evening wear. It is offered in many shades at 39s. 9d., but those who prefer to have it in the colours of the W.S.P.U. can have one made to order at 49s. 9d. Another notable bargain is a nixon evening gown, in all the newest shades, at 49s. 6d., or 10s. more with a silk lining. These are but two articles that are being cleared from a stock which, it is rightly stated, includes "everything for ladies', gentlemen's, and children's wear."

No firm has been quicker to seize the possibilities of the Suffrage movement than Selfridge's. At the great establishment in Oxford Street a large amount of goods is being specially prepared to meet the demand for articles in the colours. Thus, there is promise of blouses in a silk which is being made with the familiar purple, green and white in delicate stripes. Ribbons and badges are also being got ready. In the meantime there are some dainty wrist bags, in which the white kid is broken by stripes of sueds in heliotrope and green. These can be purchased at 2s. 6d. and 3s. 6d. each. In gloves there are some very cheap qualities, fine kids in black, white, and other colours being offered at 2s. 6d. a pair, while a heavy kid costs no more than 1s. 11d. In the fancy department are some pretty notepapers with the "Votes for Women" stamp, engagement tablets, and articles for the writing table. It would be impossible to mention a thousandth part of the bargains that are offered in each of the hundred departments of the great store. Suffice it to say that there seems to be something to fill every want.

"High-class goods at prices that are usually only associated with cheap articles." That is the note of the sale at Peter Robinson's in Oxford Street, which will continue until the end of January. Everything is marked down. Special attention is certain to be given to furs and mantles in view of the fact that we have by no means exhausted the winter as yet, while prices in these goods show an almost startling drop. A great attraction to the woman with the money to spend will be a long coat in sealoney at 29 9s. There are also some beautiful stoles and muffs in all the popular furs. In cloths one may have a well-cut coat from 21s. upwards, while an opera wrap in satin is offered at 24 18s. 6d. This is a stylish and up-to-date garment. In the costume department is a range of choice that will meet any purse, from a blouse suit at 27s. to a rinking dress in black velvet at 26 12s. 6d., this last being a novel and striking costume. Each item in the vast stocks has, it is claimed, undergone the same reduction in price which is exhibited by the articles that have been specially mentioned.

Although there is no sale at Madame Bowditch's, at 11, Baker Street, a special feature at the moment are some tailor-made costumes at 35s. These are being made up of lengths of cloth of the finest quality, which have been left over in the course of the season. There could be nothing better or more serviceable for canvassing or electioneering wear. Those who prefer to have a dress to measure can obtain one of these costumes, silk-lined, at 25 5s. Madame Bowditch makes a speciality of millinery, and has some great bargains in this department. A thoroughly neat and effective turban in beaver cloth is offered at 15s. 6d., the price being increased 3s. if velvet is preferred. Such a hat has a distinct fascination of its own and that daintiness that comes from French taste in design.

The special feature of the "Acta" corset is the adjustable belt which reduces the lower part of the figure. An elastic web is attached to an arrangement of running laces, and by this means a single movement is made to regulate the opening on either side, while supporting the figure and giving the effect of perfect flatness in front. The corset is made in many patterns to cost from 8s. 11d. to 29s. 11d., the highest price being for a beautiful model in white figured coutil.

There is a special artistry in all the garments made by Miss Maud Barham, of 135, Regent Street, whether it finds an outlet in the exceedingly convenient djibahs, one of the most pleasant of all dresses for indoor wear, or in a full evening gown. A beautiful specimen of the latter in shot silk with green and copper shades predominating suggests in its lines the simplicity and elegance of early Saxon times, a hint which is continued in the girdle that encircles the figure and in the stole effect of the front. The embroidery is in gold, copper thread, and shaded silk, and is extremely beautiful, giving a note of elegance to the whole costume. Another original idea is seen in the artists' overalls for work in the studio. These are made in various shades, with embroidery about the square opening of the neck, and with a useful outer pocket, for 17s. 6d. The special taste of this artist in dress also finds notable expression in some wraps for the evening. Miss Barham has shown how dress may be original without being bizarre or startling.

WILLIAM OWEN, WESTBOURNE GROVE, W.

SALE OFFERS.

We want this week to clear our remaining stock of Fur and Fur-lined Coats, and with this object in view are still further reducing the prices.

We have many other bargains, of which the garments here illustrated are typical.



21/-

Carriage Paid.

Patterns on application.

All Wool Moss or Blanket Cloth Coat, Body and Sleeves lined Glace Silk, semi-fitting with Motor Collar, turn up or down, 52 ins. long. In Purple, Green, White, and all leading shades. Beautifully Soft, Warm, and Light. Sale price, 21/-

SPECIAL VALUE,
8/11



Tailor-made Skirt, as sketch, with or without pocket. Length 38 in., 40 in., and 42 in., in various coloured Tweeds and Serges, including Navy and Black. Sale price, 8/11

WILLIAM OWEN, Ltd., Westbourne Grove, London, W.

Sale Bargains at Peter Robinson's OXFORD STREET.

Coats and Skirts for Young Ladies.

Ladies will find many surprising bargains among the extra values we offer in every department this week. The offerings, particularly in the Children's Costume Department, are indeed remarkable. Every item of wearing apparel for young ladies has been further reduced in price—and the splendid values obtainable in School Outfits will be very welcome to every Materfamilias. Here is a typical example of the bargains in this department:



Coats & Skirts

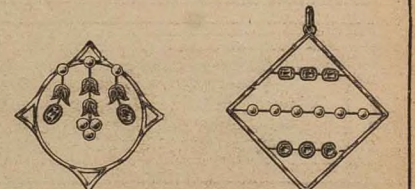
for Young Ladies of about eleven years—in dainty styles similar to picture—made of coloured Serges and Tweeds in good wearing qualities—well-cut and well-fitting—they were sold regularly at from 35/6 to 63/-. We have Sale Priced them all at 21/-

Peter Robinson's OXFORD STREET, W.

Mappin & Webb

SUFFRAGETTE JEWELLERY

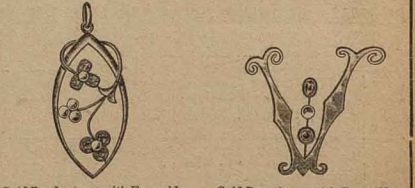
in ENAMELS and GEMS.



Gold Brooch, set with Emerald, Pearls, and Amethysts, £2 10 0.
Gold Pendant, set with Emeralds, Pearls, and Amethysts, £3 13 6.



Gold Brooch, set with Amethysts, Pearls, and Emeralds, £6 0 0.



Gold Pendant, set with Emeralds, Pearls, and Amethysts, £3 12 6.
Gold Brooch, set with Emeralds, Pearls, and Amethysts, £2 0 0.

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LONDON ADDRESSES:
158-162, OXFORD ST., W. 220, REGENT ST., W.
2, QUEEN VICTORIA ST., E.C. (Opposite the Mansion House).
New Showrooms: 1, Rue de la Paix, Paris.
Also at 23, Boulevard des Capucines, Sheffield. Manchester. Nice. Biarritz. Johannesburg. Buenos Aires.

Suffragette Colours

Blouses and Material

can now be obtained in a full range of Exquisite Designs, all composed solely of the well-known Suffragette Colours,

PURPLE, GREEN, & WHITE.

These garments are manufactured from

KREMLAINE

the ideal Blouse Material, which possesses all the exquisite softness and fastness of colours so essential in a Blouse Material. It is all wool, ABSOLUTELY UNSHRINKABLE, and extremely durable.

KREMLAINE

may be obtained in the piece or made up in the most fashionable

BLOUSES & SHIRTS

from WM. OWEN, Westbourne Grove, LONDON, W.

NURSING APPLIANCES, SURGICAL DRESSINGS, &c., at Wholesale Prices. CORY BROTHERS, 54, Mortimer St., W.

A. CHEESLEY, Late ORRIDGE, Ltd., Fruit, Flower, and Vegetable Salesman, 7, HAREWOOD PLACE, HANOVER SQUARE, W.

PRINTING Posters, Programmes, Cards, Circulars, &c. BURT & SONS, 55, PORTFESTER ROAD, BAYSWATER, W.

National Health Society, 53, Berners St., W. WOMEN Sanitary Inspectors, Health Visitors and Lecturers. SPECIAL TRAINING LECTURES FOR LADIES, JANUARY, 1910.

SUNLIGHT LAUNDRY (LOND AND WESTERN, LTD.), BROUGHTON ROAD, FULHAM, S.W.

Victory & Co EXPERT FURRIERS. Famous for their Exquisite at Strictly Moderate Prices. Remodelling Fur Garments to the Present Fashion a Speciality.

IMPERIAL FUR STORE, 162, Regent St., W.

SPECIAL ELECTION LITERATURE.

Sold by THE WOMAN'S PRESS, 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

LEAFLETS.

- No. 27. Why Women Want the Vote. No. 24. Some Questions Answered. No. 58. Mr. Asquith's "Pledge." No. 59. Treatment of the Suffragettes in Prison. No. 60. Women's Demand. No. 61. Woman This and Woman That. No. 62. A Letter to Liberal Women. No. 63. Militant Methods. No. 64. Atrocities in an English Prison.

A NEW LEAFLET

No. 65. A Reply to Mr. Gladstone. A justification of Leaflet No. 64 disputed by Mr. Gladstone. POLLING HANDBILLS.

VOTES FOR WOMEN 4, CLEMENTS INN, STRAND. FRIDAY, JANUARY 14, 1910.

WHY WE ASK ELECTORS TO VOTE AGAINST LIBERAL CANDIDATES.

Our policy of opposing the Liberal Government is being widely and enthusiastically accepted by those who are bent upon securing a speedy settlement of the Votes for Women question.

Before we announced our General Election policy, we considered well each of these three points, and we are therefore ready with our answer to them.

That the Government are at the same time trying to limit the power of the House of Lords does not wipe out their sin against the Constitution, because the fundamental right of the citizen to elect his or her Parliamentary representative is far more important and more urgent than the present dispute between the Houses of Parliament.

short, there is no denying that the disfranchisement of women is a much more serious breach of the Constitution than anything that the Lords have done, or are trying to do. What makes some people blind to this fact is that the denial of votes to women is a Constitutional wrong of such long standing that the country has grown accustomed to its existence.

Further, we would point out that it is not the Suffragettes who have decided that the electors must choose between supporting Votes for Women and supporting the Liberal Government.

As to the argument that the Liberal Party is more likely than the Unionist Party to enfranchise women, this is quite fallacious, as the political history of our country proves. If we look to the reforms granted by the Liberal and Conservative Parties respectively, we find that the one party has as much to its credit as the other.

The fact is that every Government, by whatever name it may call itself, is compelled either to obey public opinion or to renounce office. The important factor, therefore, is, not the professions of principle made by the various parties, but the amount of pressure in favour of a particular reform which its advocates in the country can exert upon whichever party is in power.

Finally, we are asked to explain why, since Mr. Balfour, like Mr. Asquith, does not promise to enfranchise women, we are taking sides against the Liberal Government. To begin with, the Government deserve our attack, because, while we do not know how a Liberal Government will meet our demand for the Vote by methods of violence and coercion.

Let it be noticed in passing that Lord Randolph Churchill, who was so largely responsible for this violence and bloodshed, was not brought before a court of law, nor even censured in Parliament.

Such, then, are the methods of violence, a recurrence of which is threatened by Mr. Long. The Morning Post makes matters clearer still by describing in its issue of the 12th inst. the preparations which are even now being made in Ulster in view of a possible measure of Home Rule.

One instructive effect produced by the late Mr. Gladstone was to start rifle clubs in Ulster in connection with the Orange Lodges, each Lodge turning itself into a military unit in preparation for civil war.

POWDER AND SHOT FOR THE CAMPAIGN. By Christabel Pankhurst, LL.B.

Militant Methods.

The militant methods of the Women's Social and Political Union are sometimes severely condemned by men who express strong disapproval of unlawful or violent action.

Thus we have Dr. Clifford declaring that if the Liberals are defeated at the General Election they (the minority) will, in dealing with the House of Lords, do as their forefathers did in the reign of King Charles. Again, a Parliamentary candidate strikes an insolent opponent, and defends his action by saying that he is an Englishman before he is a gentleman—with which plea his fellow-men seem well satisfied.

As to the argument that the Liberal Party is more likely than the Unionist Party to enfranchise women, this is quite fallacious, as the political history of our country proves. If we look to the reforms granted by the Liberal and Conservative Parties respectively, we find that the one party has as much to its credit as the other.

To understand all that is implied in these words we must turn to the history of what happened in Ulster in 1886. The Home Rule Bill was then before Parliament. Lord Randolph Churchill went to Ulster and made an inflammatory speech against the measure, in the course of which he expressed the opinion that "the struggle is not likely to remain within the lines of what we are accustomed to look upon as constitutional action."

This he followed up by addressing to a Liberal-Unionist member of Parliament a letter containing the following passage:— "If political parties and political leaders should be so utterly lost to every feeling and dictate of honour and courage as to hand over coldly... the lives and liberties of the loyalists of Ireland to their hereditary and most bitter foes, make no doubt on this point, Ulster will not be a consenting party."

The campaign of violence which ensued is well described by Mr. Winston Churchill, who says, in his "Life of Lord Randolph Churchill": "The jingling phrase, 'Ulster will fight, and Ulster will be right,' was everywhere caught up. It became one of the war-cries of the time, and spread with spirit-speed all over the country. The attitude of the Protestant North of Ireland became daily more formidable. The excitement in Belfast did not subside. Dangerous riots, increasing in fury until they almost amounted to warfare, occurred in the streets between the factions of Orange and Green. Firearms were freely used by the police and by the combatants. Houses were sacked and men and women were killed."

Let it be noticed in passing that Lord Randolph Churchill, who was so largely responsible for this violence and bloodshed, was not brought before a court of law, nor even censured in Parliament. Mr. Johnson, M.P., who said that Ulster would declare civil war for the purpose of overthrowing Home Rule, also went unpunished, as did the Ulster landlord who wrote to the Times to say that he had provided his employees with a rifle range, and that they were arming and drilling in order to assert their political views by forcible means.

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In a leading article the Morning Post strikes the same note. Now the campaign of protest and violence in Ulster which is thus prophesied may be right or may be wrong, but those who are prepared to justify the use of such

Mr. Asquith Self-Convicted of Illogical and Dishonest Behaviour.

How does Mr. Asquith reconcile his present conduct in treating women political offenders as common criminals with his denunciation of the similar treatment accorded Mr. William O'Brien, M.P., in 1889? Speaking in that year at a meeting in Birmingham he said:— "It would have been strange and scandalous indeed if the voice of Birmingham had been silent at the policy of a Government which, by striking at freedom and justice, struck at the very foundations of the Liberal creed."

Remembering that some members of this Union have undergone three months' imprisonment for seeking to interview the Prime Minister, we are disposed to say that the present Government have invented artificial and unknown crimes, and that they deserve all the condemnation expressed by Mr. Asquith himself in earlier days.

John Bright on Militant Methods.

"If meetings have no effect—if the open and almost universal expression of opinion has no power on the Administration and the Legislature, then inevitably the minds of the people will seek other channels, with a view to obtain and secure the rights which are so contemptuously denied them."

"If I am wrong in believing this, then history is a lie from the beginning, and we have all been mistaken in our estimate of the causes out of which many of the great and deplorable transactions it has recorded have sprung."—February 16, 1867.

ELECTION LITERATURE.

A large quantity of special literature for distribution and sale during the General Election is on sale by the Woman's Press, and members are invited to send for supplies of posters, pamphlets, leaflets, postcards, badges, etc. Special attention is drawn to the poster "The Right Dishonourable Double-Face Asquith," in three sizes (for hoardings, palings, and windows), printed in the colours of the Union.

Mr. Gladstone Answered.

Mr. Gladstone, in a letter to the Press on January 12, denied the truth of the statements about Miss Martin and Miss Hall contained in leaflet 64; a new leaflet (No. 65) has therefore been issued by the Woman's Press justifying the statements, and entitled "A Reply to Mr. Gladstone." Members and friends are asked to write to the Woman's Press at once for copies of this leaflet (price 9d. per hundred, 6s. per thousand, post free), and to distribute it far and wide, especially among electors.

TREASURER'S NOTE.

A working woman has sent to-day one shilling to the General Election Fund. It is all she can do to make two ends meet. But once a week she is obliged to go to a town which is six miles from her home. She intends to walk this distance, twelve miles there and back, and thus to save the shilling from railway fare and procure "the pleasure of seeing her name in the subscription list." Every item on the subscription list has its own story, fully known only to the giver, sometimes partly known to the Treasurer. These gifts represent the spirit of devotion and self-forgetfulness that constitute the staying power and the driving force of this Union.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £100,000 AND GENERAL ELECTION FUND.

Table listing contributions to the £100,000 and General Election Fund, including names and amounts.

THE FIGHT AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT.

News from some of the Country Constituencies.

Every vote given against the Liberals, says the Liverpool Daily Courier, is a vote for justice and liberty to women.

Why the W.S.P.U. is Going to Win.

There are, as you know, four political parties—the Liberals, the Conservatives, the Socialists, and the Suffragettes—said Mr. C. McCurdy, speaking in the Liberal interest at Northampton last week, and this recognition of the women's party as a political force is going on all over the country.

How the People are Helping the Women.

From a mass of news from many divisions we can only make a very inadequate selection. From Hull comes the news of excellent meetings addressed by Miss Helen Ogston and the Rev. J. M. Lloyd Thomas.

In Portsmouth, as the result of the interest shown by a resident, the editor of the Evening News published the story of Selina Martin in two consecutive issues, and VOTES FOR WOMEN has a splendid sale.

Among many letters received from Liberal electors may be quoted one from Mr. Charles Allen, of Bradford, who in writing to his Liberal member to state his intention of voting against the Government referred to the "abominable treatment of the women by the Government."

BRADFORD (East).

Polling Day, January 13. Candidates.—Sir W. E. B. Priestley (L.), J. H. Balfour Brown, K.C. (C.), E. R. Hartley (Lab.). W.S.P.U. Comm. Rms.—560, Leeds Road.

The women's campaign has aroused tremendous interest and enthusiasm. Especially heartily do the Yorkshire women respond to the call of the W.S.P.U. to join in the great fight, and they can be fully trusted to deal adequately with the few interrupters at meetings.

BEKDGWATER (Somerset).

Polling Day, January 22. Candidates.—Harold Hicks (L.), R. A. Sanders (C.). W.S.P.U. Comm. Rms.—33, Church Street.

The campaign here is being carried on under Miss Barrett, and a Suffrage friend has sent a cheque for ten guineas for the cost of hiring a motor-car to help the workers to cover the constituency.

BRIGHTON (Two Seats).

Polling Day, January 18. Candidates.—E. A. Villiers and M. Nickalls (L.), Captain Tryon and Hon. W. Rice (C.). W.S.P.U. Comm. Rms.—4, North Street, Quadrant.

In Brighton, which polls next Tuesday, interest in the election is very keen; among the various colours being shown the Suffragette tricolour is everywhere in evidence, and the shopkeepers are finding it profitable to keep it in stock.

At Preston (Lancashire) electors are putting the women's question to the candidates at a very large number of meetings, and some sharp lessons have been taught the Liberals.

At Preston (Lancashire) electors are putting the women's question to the candidates at a very large number of meetings, and some sharp lessons have been taught the Liberals.

BRISTOL (North).

Polling Day, January 17. Candidates.—Right Hon. A. Birrell, K.C. (L.), M. H. Woods (C.). W.S.P.U. Comm. Rms.—182, Stapleton Road, Bristol.

should be paid to the Liberal nominee for Bristol (North), the Hon. Augustine Birrell. And Mr. Birrell from all accounts is feeling very nervous about the Suffragettes.

EXETER.

Polling Day, January 17. Candidates.—H. St. Maur (L.), H. E. Duke K.C. (C.). W.S.P.U. Comm. Rms.—16, Longbrook Street.

The exceptionally bright and attractive committee rooms continue to gather interested crowds, and throughout the constituency friendly interest is taken in the Suffragettes, while expressions of encouragement and admiration are everywhere heard.

GLASGOW (Central).

Polling Day, January 19. Candidates.—Rt. Hon. C. Scott Dickson, K.C. (C.), Professor Morrison (L.). W.S.P.U. Comm. Rms.—520, Sauchiehall Street.

The poster in the W.S.P.U. Committee Room window was examined and criticized, and Sandy, raising his glasses to his eyes, said: "A' ken't fine the women wad go one better than any other yer."

DUNDEE (Two Seats).

Polling Day, January 18. Candidates.—Right Hon. W. Churchill (L.), J. Glass (C.), J. S. Seymour Lloyd (L.), A. Wilkie (Lab.), E. Scrymgeour (Prohibitionist).

The women of Dundee are coming out well in their campaign against the Government. Many who have never done public work before are selling VOTES FOR WOMEN in the streets, and among them one lady (Mrs. Foreman) at her first attempt sold 120 copies in one day.

LEICESTERSHIRE (Loughborough).

Candidates.—Sir M. Levy (L.), Sir C. MacLaren (L.), W. Smith Carrington (C.). W.S.P.U. Comm. Rms.—68, Baxtrigate, Loughborough.

All parties, our organizer reports, "are working furiously." Loughborough being the largest town in the constituency, the greater number of meetings are being held there, and the W.S.P.U. has many friends and supporters in the town.

MANCHESTER (Salford West).

Polling Day, January 18. Candidates.—G. W. Agnew (L.), C. Bellairs (C.), A. A. Purcell (Lab.). W.S.P.U. Comm. Rms.—75, Broad Street, Pendleton.

who is anxious to get the election leaflets and address into the hands of every elector before polling day. Part of Sir Morris Levy's constituency is in Leicester, and members and friends there are invited to make known the fact that weekly At Homes are held in the Old Town Hall on Thursdays from 4.30 to 6.30.

MANCHESTER (S.W.).

Polling Day, Jan. 18. Candidates.—M. Muspratt (L.), Leslie Scott, K.C. (C.). W.S.P.U. Comm. Rms.—28, Berry Street.

Friday.—Lecture Room, Miss D. Pethick, Mrs. Pemberton Peake (Chair), 8.

Saturday.—Castle Donnington, 8.

Sunday.—Jewish Social and Literary Society, Leicester, Miss D. Pethick, 1.

Monday.—Market Place, 1.30; Shephard, 4.30 and 7.

Tuesday.—Quorn, 3.30; Market, 8.

Wednesday.—Town Hall, Loughborough (women only), 5.30, and Public Meeting, 7.30, Mrs. Pankhurst, Whitwick, 1.

Thursday.—Leicester At Home, Old Town Hall, 4.30; Leicester, Belgrave, 8.

Friday.—Town Hall, Public Meeting (Women only), Miss Mary Gawthorpe, Miss D. Pethick, 3.30 and 8 p.m.

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Wednesday.—Town Hall, Loughborough (women only), 5.30, and Public Meeting, 7.30, Mrs. Pankhurst, Whitwick, 1.

who is anxious to get the election leaflets and address into the hands of every elector before polling day. Part of Sir Morris Levy's constituency is in Leicester, and members and friends there are invited to make known the fact that weekly At Homes are held in the Old Town Hall on Thursdays from 4.30 to 6.30.

FORTHCOMING MEETINGS.

Friday.—Lecture Room, Miss D. Pethick, Mrs. Pemberton Peake (Chair), 8.

Saturday.—Castle Donnington, 8.

Sunday.—Jewish Social and Literary Society, Leicester, Miss D. Pethick, 1.

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LIVERPOOL (Abercromby).

Polling Day, January 13. Candidates.—Rt. Hon. Colonel Seeley (L), Colonel R. G. W. Chaloner (C).

LIVERPOOL (Exchange).

Polling Day, Jan. 18. Candidates.—M. Muspratt (L), Leslie Scott, K.C. (C).

Liverpool polls next Tuesday, and in the meantime the women are the only party holding outdoor meetings, the candidates being apparently content with indoor, or is it as the organizer suggests—that they are afraid to face the opposition of the women, who are to be found in every available space in these large and busy constituencies?

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Saturday.—Castle Donnington,

John Burns in married women's labour is well understood, and wins many converts. Although until the advent of the W.S.P.U. many had never even heard the name of John Burns, it now never fails to raise a hiss. The Suffragettes are the only party in West Salford who are holding an open-air campaign, and it is enormously appreciated on all hands. The women are greeted as they pass through the streets with the cry, "Keep the Liberal out," and the policy of the W.S.P.U. is understood by men and women alike. Cheer after cheer is sent up for "Votes for Women," by crowds of women in cloaks and shawls. Among the speakers are Miss Una Dugdale and Miss Davidson. Several teachers who are occupied in school all day have given up their evenings during the campaign to speaking for the W.S.P.U.

Forthcoming Meetings.
Friday.—Ledley Bleach Works, Miss Hewitt, 12.45; Arm tage, Whitlam, Miss Ayrton, 1; Clock School, Whitlam, Miss Davidson, 1; Hankinson Street and Broad Street, Miss Dugdale, Miss Ayrton, 1.30; Unwin Square, Miss Dugdale, Miss Gawthorpe, 7.15; Salford Hippodrome, Miss Hewitt, Miss Dugdale, 7.15; Clock School, Whitlam, Miss Davidson, Miss Gresham, 7.30; Top of Whitlam, Miss Ayrton, Miss Hewitt, 7.30; Ledley Reservoir, Miss Smith, Miss Williamson, 7.30; Hankinson Street and Broad Street, Miss McGrath, Miss Ayrton, 7.45.

NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE (Two Seats).
Polling Day, January 17.
Candidates.—E. Short (L.), G. Renwick (C.), Sir W. R. Plummer (L.), W. Hudson (Lib.).
W.S.P.U. Comm. Rms.—77, Blackett Street.
W.S.P.U. Organiser.—Miss Williams.
Result in 1905.—C., 12,863; L., 11,780; Lab., 9,971. Con. Maj. 2,113.

The outrageous arrest of Miss Cissie Wilcox at Wallasey for throwing two folded copies of VOTES FOR WOMEN into Mr. Samuel's motor car has done much to advance the cause in the Newcastle constituency. The speakers, especially those hitherto unexperienced, are delighted with the sympathetic hearing given them everywhere. Miss Williams and Mrs. Atkinson have held splendid meetings at Joseph Cowen's statue, Byker's Bank, and North Shields, the latter a Liberal stronghold, and many promises have been received from electors who intend giving their votes to the women. Tynemouth and Gateshead poll on

January 17; Tyneside on January 25; and Jarrow on January 28.

NORTHAMPTON (Two Seats).

polling Day, January 18.
Candidates.—H. B. Loe (L.), E. R. Orlebar (C.)
Gorelli Barnes (L.), H. Quelch (Lab.).
W.S.P.U. Comm. Rms.—13, Bridge Street.
W.S.P.U. Organiser.—Miss Corson.
Result in 1905.—L., 4,479; C., 4,078; 3,402;
Lab., 3,344; 3,206. Maj., 171.

In this constituency, where there is only a slight majority of 171 to be wiped out, tremendous interest is taken in the women's campaign against the Government. As a result of a meeting where a disturbance was made by some hooligans there has been extensive correspondence in the local Press, and at the New Year's meeting of the Northampton Town Council Alderman Yarde asked the chairman of the Watch Committee to do his best to see that such occurrences should not take place in future, and that the police should do their duty by preventing roughs from interfering with the ladies—many of whom were the daughters and wives of ratpayers—and in preserving the right of free speech. Through the help of the police this is being done, and Miss Marie Brackenbury and others have held most orderly meetings in the town. The people of Northampton—like all English men and women—admire pluck, and fully appreciate the perseverance of the Suffragettes. The children have been very quick at learning the election songs. Four meetings are being held daily by the women, and each time the crowds are larger, and more enthusiastic. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence had a splendid meeting at the Town Hall on Saturday, when her review of the political situation was punctuated with applause. Miss Dorothy Pethick's account of her experiences in Newcastle Gaol was received with cries of "Shame!"

Those who say that the militant tactics have killed the cause should take to heart the reception of the women at Towcester Town Hall, when Mrs. Weller presided over the first Suffrage meeting ever held in that town. The speakers, who included Miss Burgess and Miss Strangeways, had an enthusiastic reception, and invitations are coming in from all round Northampton for W.S.P.U. speakers to address meetings.

Forthcoming Meetings.
Friday.—Factory Gate Meetings, Miss Corson, Miss Evans, 1; Wolverton, L. and N.W. Works, Miss M. Brackenbury, Miss Strangeways; Market Square, Miss Corson, Miss M. Brackenbury, Miss Strangeways (Chair); Miss Evans, 1.30.
Monday.—Factory Gate Meetings, Miss Corson, Miss Evans, Miss Brackenbury, Miss Strangeways, 1.30; Market Square, Miss M. Brackenbury, Miss Evans, 7.30.
Tuesday.—Dunbarton, Miss Brackenbury, Miss Strangeways; Wolverton, L. and N.W. Works, Miss Evans, Miss Corson, 1.
Wednesday.—Grimsbury, Miss Evans, Miss Corson.
Thursday.—Towcester, Miss Evans, Miss Strangeways; Wolverton, L. and N.W. Works, Miss Corson, Miss M. Brackenbury, 1.

NOTTINGHAM (East).

polling Day, January 19.

Candidates.—Sir H. Cotton (L.), Capt. J. A. Morrison (C.).
W.S.P.U. Comm. Rms.—6, Carlton Street.
W.S.P.U. Organiser.—Miss Crocker.
Result in 1906.—L., 6,090; C., 4,890.—Maj., 1,200.

The numerous meetings held, as well as the results of canvassing, have revealed an amount of sympathy with the cause—especially among women who have been visited in their own homes—which is most encouraging. Members of the Men's League have been giving valuable help in bringing the recent atrocities in Walton Gaol to the notice of candidates. An interesting sidelight was thrown on the attitude of leading Anti-Suffragists at a meeting held by the W.S.P.U. when a man in Oriental dress endeavoured to give expression to Oriental ideas on the position of women. The source of Lord Cromer's and Lord Curzon's attitude to the women's question was amusingly laid bare, and a man in the crowd advised the Oriental to go back to his own country.

Forthcoming Meetings.
Friday.—Alfred Street North and Woodborough Road, Miss Douglas Smith, 7.30; Alfred Street Central and St. Ann's Well Road, Miss Crocker, 7.30; Back of Baths, Sneinton Market, Miss Masters, 7.30.
Saturday.—Trinity Square, Miss Crocker and Miss Masters, 7.30; Broxtowe Street and Mansfield Road, Miss Douglas Smith, 7.30.
Monday.—Broad Street and Parliament Street, Miss Masters, 7.30; Alfred Street North and Woodborough Road, Miss Crocker, 7.30; Alfred Street South and Carlton Road, Miss Douglas Smith, 7.30.
Tuesday.—Alfred Street Central and St. Ann's Well Road, Miss Masters, 7.30; Trinity Square, Miss Douglas Smith.
Wednesday.—Gosety Theatre, Worksop, Mrs. Pankhurst, 8.



Free!
A Dainty Perfumed Blotter with CALENDAR FOR NEXT YEAR, together with a SAMPLE BOTTLE OF WINCARNIS, the World's Greatest Wine Tonic and Nature's Great Battering and Nerve-Foresting Tonic. Write plainly, and address COLLECTOR'S OFFICE, 51 & 52, PAR ST., REGENT'S PARK, N.W.

ALFRED DAY,
51 & 52, PAR ST., REGENT'S PARK



The Opening of a Progressive Era.
1910 opens with a general re-arrangement—an Election—a fresh start for the country. Commerce will prosper, depression will disappear, and trade will this year swing right merrily along, and we are always in the forefront with dependable goods to offer, bargains to give, values to put forward, such as have seldom, if ever before, been presented to the people of Britain.

- These are a few Examples of Exceptional Worth:
- Wrist Bags, in the colours, made of a soft but durable kid, pull top, cords and tassels, most handy for shopping - 2/6 and 3/6
 - 20 Sheets Notepaper and 20 Envelopes, in box, each sheet and envelope stamped in diamond relief tricolour (purple, green and white) - 10jd. box
 - Desk with Engagement Diary and Blotting Pad, which is standard size so that it may be refilled with paper from any stationer. The whole is covered with art cloth, and can be had in various art shades - 2/8
 - 30 Dozen Ladies' French Printed Silk Handkerchiefs in the nearest of designs and colourings - 6d. each
 - 100 dozen Nightgowns, some in Nainsook and some in Longcloth, trimmed lace or embroidery, made in different styles - 5/- each
 - Ladies' fine quality, hand-matched, all-linen Handkerchiefs. Sale price, 6/1 r 2/11.

We pay postage throughout U.K.

Selfridge's

OXFORD ST., LONDON, W.

Suffrage Badges, Ribbons, etc.

SCARBOROUGH.

polling Day, January 15.

Candidates.—W. Russell Rea (L.), Hon. G. V. A. Monckton-Arundell (C.).
W.S.P.U. Comm. Rms.—12, Huntriss Row.
W.S.P.U. Organiser.—Miss Adela Pankhurst.
Result in 1906.—L., 5,198; C., 2,619.—Maj., 639.

Enormous interest is being roused in the town by the meetings held by Miss Adela Pankhurst, Miss Blanche Smith, and others, and any slight opposition is speedily crushed by the crowd itself. Many turned votes are reported, and offers of help for the women's cause are being constantly received.

Forthcoming Meeting.
Friday.—Londesborough Theatre, Mrs. Pankhurst.

TORQUAY.

polling Day, January 22.

Candidates.—Sir F. Layland Barratt (L.), Sir H. Butler Lopez (C.).
W.S.P.U. Comm. Rms.—32, Victoria Parade.
W.S.P.U. Organiser.—Miss Mills.
Result in 1906.—L., 4,856; C., 4,396.—Maj., 460.

There is plenty of evidence of keen interest in the women's cause among the electors. "Good luck," and "I hope you will soon get the vote," are remarks frequently heard in this constituency, especially among the fishermen. Miss Gladice Keovil will go from Exeter to Torquay for the latter days of the election, and volunteers will be gladly welcomed at the Committee Rooms, 32, Victoria Parade, Torquay. Large meetings are being held in Dartmouth, Brixham, Paignton, Torre, Torquay, and elsewhere, and election literature is being widely distributed.

PROGRAMME OF EVENTS.
(Other than Election Meetings.)

Jan. 14	Birmingham, Bull Ring..... Dudley.....	Dr. Helena Jones..... Miss Borkitt.....	7 p.m.
Friday, 14	Manchester, At Home, Onward Buildings, Deansgate..... Wolverhampton.....	Miss Helen Ogston..... Mrs. Beattie Ogston.....	7 p.m.
Saturday, 15	London, Bethnal Green, Maiden Lane Strand..... Brighton.....	Mrs. Helen Ogston..... Drummers' Union Entertainment.....	8 p.m.
Monday, 17	London—Queen's Hall, At Home.....	Miss Helen Ogston..... Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Miss Deanna Moore (Reclinations).....	7.45 p.m.
Tuesday, 18	Birmingham, At Home, Queen's College, West Croydon, 2, Maiden Buildings..... Derby, At Home.....	Miss Nelligan..... Dr. Helena Jones..... Mrs. Helen Ogston.....	5-5 p.m.
Wednesday, 19	London—Highbury New Park, St. Augustine's Literary Society..... St. James's Hall, At Home.....	Miss Helen Ogston..... Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst.....	5.30 & 7.30 p.m.
Thursday, 20	3 p.m.
.....	8 p.m.
.....	8 p.m.


THROAT TROUBLES

Hoarseness and Nasal Catarrh.

Nearly choked, but cured by VENO'S LIGHTNING COUGH CURE.

Mrs. E. Wood, 75, Bold Street, Northwood, Hanley, Staff., writes: "I was very bad with Catarrhal Bronchitis, and nothing did any good. I was confined to bed, and thought every minute I would choke with the accumulation of phlegm in the head and throat. I could not breathe through my nose, and tried Veno's Lightning Cough Cure, and after six bottles I was radically cured."

Veno's Lightning Cough Cure is the purest, safest, and most reliable remedy extant for coughs and colds, bronchitis, asthma, catarrh, sore throat, hoarseness, old-age coughs, children's coughs, and all chest and lung troubles. Price 9/6, 1/3, and 2/9 of all Chemists.



VENO'S LIGHTNING COUGH CURE.

January 14, 1910. VOTES FOR WOMEN. CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS.

BIRTH.
BUDGET.—On Sunday, January 9, at Elmfield House, Elmfield Road, Bromley, Kent, Mrs. T. Martinez Budget (sister of Mrs. Fethick Lawrence), of a son.

BOARD RESIDENCE, Rooms, Holiday Homes, Etc.
AT CROME HOUSE, 44, Tavistock Square W.C. (10,435 Central).—Newly opened English Private Hotel. Freshly decorated and furnished. Under a staff of English servants of many years standing. Central situation, overlooking private gardens. Near tubes and railways. Dining-room (separate tables). Elegant Drawing-room, Smoking-room. Suitable for a long or short visit. Good Cooking. Terms from 22s. single, 22 12s. 6d. double. Visitors can be shown over the house at any time.

ARTIST'S WIFE would be glad to let you bed-sitting room, suitable for two, 6s. each weekly. Use of piano—8, Harrington Square, N.W. (Near of Euston Station.)

BOARD-RESIDENCE FOR LADIES.—Cubicle, breakfast, late dinner. Full board Sundays. From 15s. 6d.—Stainback House, 69, Gower Street, W.C.

BOARD-RESIDENCE.—Member W.S.P.U., highly recommended; excellent table; close tube (Queen's Road). From 20s. daily, 6s. 6d.—Aragon, 67, Leinster Square, Bayswater.

BRIGHTON.—"Lohengrin," 3c, Marine Parade. Boarding Establishment; comfortable home; liberal table. Pacing sea and Palace Pier. Central. Vegetarians catered for from 22s. weekly.—Proprietress.

FURNISHED Country Cottage offered to single woman or widow (no children) for nominal rent and occasional services.—For particulars, apply, E. W. Allen, 39, Lombard Street, E.C.

LADY wishes to share chambers in Gray's Inn Square with two others or with lady and maid. Electric light; gas; bathroom.—All particulars from E. S., 5, Salter's Hall Court, E.C.

LARGE, Handsomely-furnished Rooms (Two Sharing), 12s. 6d. each, inclusive terms (fires, lights, attendance, cooking).—34, Tavistock Square, London, W.C.

LARGE ROOM to let, suitable for Meetings, At Home, Dances, Lectures. Refreshments provided.—Apply, Alan's Tea Rooms, 293, Oxford Street.

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

LONDON.—Two ladies receive others in their flat; full or partial board. References. "Espero," VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

MEMBER W.S.P.U. recommends 3 nice rooms. Pleasantly situated; near Chalk Farm tube and motor bus route; Haverstock Hill.—S. C., VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

MRS. MITCHELL, 137, West End Lane, N.W., receives Paying Guests; comfortable home, well-appointed bedrooms from 21s. Near three stations, buses pass the door.

RESIDENTIAL HOME for Nurses, Students, and Lady Visitors. Cubicles, with board, from 12s. 6d. per week. Rooms moderate.—Mrs. Campbell-Wilkinson, 49, Weymouth Street, Portland Place, London, W.

RICHMOND PARK (seven doors from).—Two sitting, five bedrooms, bathroom, conservatory and shady garden. £9 per week to reliable tenant.—Letters only to E. No. 107, King's Road, Kingston-on-Thames.

SOUTHPORT RESTING HOME, 3, Albany Road, Promenade. Vegetarian diet. Refined home. 25s. weekly. Board-residence, 2,000 books in library.—Write, Warden.

SUFFRAGIST wishes for another to share small Cottage at Hampstead Garden City. Apply by letter, "Liberty," New Reform Club, 10, Adelphi Terrace, W.C.

TO LET Two Furnished Rooms. Attendance. Suitable for one or two ladies.—Strauss House, Shirley Road, Bedford Park.

VEGETARIAN BOARD-RESIDENCE, temporary or permanent. Homelike. Ladies and gentlemen. Convenient situation. Also country house near Reigate.—Madame Veigelé, 63, Hereford Road, Bayswater, W.

LYNETTE AVENUE, OLAPHAM.—Widow wants two boarders (friends preferred). No others in house. Full or partial board. Terms moderate.

PROFESSIONAL & EDUCATIONAL.
ANSTRY Physical Training College, Erding. A. N., offers the best English professional training for gentleman. Ling's Swedish system; all its branches thoroughly taught. Also Athletic and Morris Dancing, Games, Swimming, Anatomy, Hygiene, etc. Students introduced to posts after training. Send for prospectus.

PARISIAN LADY (diploime) visits or receives pupils; highest references; receives boarders.—Write, M. C., 29, St. James' Square, Holland Park.

SOCIETY has been formed for helping Progressive Thought.—For particulars apply to Secretary, Cosmos Society, 40, Chandos Street, W.C.

PROLOCATION.—MISS GLETA GARNIER teaches thorough Voice Culture and Strengthening for Public Speaking; Reading; Physical Culture; Gesture; Recitation; SPEECH DEFECTS and NERVOUSNESS CURED. Amateurs and Professionals Privately Coached.—32, Wigmore Street, W.

GOD'S WORD TO WOMEN has never been a word of disapproval and suppression. The Bible encourages the development of woman, and stands for her perfect equality with man, in spite of the teachings of theology to the contrary. Do you wish to equip yourself for meeting the arguments and teaching of those who attempt with sacrilegious hands, to throw the Bible in the way of woman's progress? Do you wish to know WHERE and HOW they mistranslate and misrepresent it? ... "A Woman's Catechism, prepared purposely to solve your perplexities."—Katharine Bushnell, 49, Walnut Street, Southampton.

LADIES who are thinking of taking singing lessons should consult Advertiser upon her simple and successful method of voice production. Free voice trials (by appointment), West-End Studio.—Box 539, VOTES FOR WOMEN Office, 4, Clements Inn.

LESSONS in China Painting given by a lady (medallist) at 40, Chelsea Gardens, S.W. Wednesdays 2 to 4. Six lessons 30s.

MISS IRENE SPONG gives Lessons in Singing and Voice Production at Studio, 66, Adelphi Road, N.W. Tel: 4247 P. Stampeded. Recommended by Mons. Edouard de Beaulieu and Mr. Frank Broadbent. Audition free. Special terms to members of W.S.P.U.

MISS KATHIE GLIDDON (formerly of the Slade School, University College, London), teaches Drawing and Painting, privately and in schools. Slide certificates and Abriet examinations. 70, Cromham Road, South Croydon.

PIANOFORTE.—Elements and Harmony Lessons, given at St. George's and pupil's residence. Excellent references.—Miss Rita Forbes, 219, King's Road, Chelsea.

PRactical TRAINING IN DAIRY FARMING a healthful, profitable vocation for ladies. A limited number of Pupils taken for reference. Term begins January 20. Write now for particulars.—Mrs. Dorothy Dutton, Springall Farm, Sawbridgeworth, Hertfordshire.

TO SUFFRAGETTE SPEAKERS.—MISS ROSA LEO trains pupils in Voice Production for Public Speaking—Open-air Speaking a speciality. She has had great success with members of the N.W.S.P.U. Miss Barbara Ayrton says: "It is entirely owing to Miss Leo's training that I am able to do through bye-election campaigns, speaking for hours daily in the open-air without suffering any fatigue or effects of voice."—For terms, apply, 45, Ashworth Mansions, Elgin Avenue, W.

VOICE CULTURE FOR ALL.—Mr Charles Mabon (composer of "The Happy Wanderer," "Thin Eyes," etc.) gives tuition at 50, St. George's Road, Glasgow.

SITUATION VACANT.
WANTED by two ladies in small country house, capable woman as Cook-General, who young man-servant in kept.—Apply, Mrs. Howey, 78, Abingdon Road, Kensington.

SITUATIONS WANTED.
LADY seeks post as companion-help where maid is kept. Household duties; sewing; dressmaking.—I. S., Box 562, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

LADY with a little time to spare, would be glad of some occupation, with remuneration, for two hours daily.—W., 111, Abingdon Road, Kensington.

LADY, Young, seeks post as Kindergarten Mistress or Help in High-class Private School. Some experience. Excellent needlewoman.—Miss Gwendolen Judd, 13, London Road, Canterbury.

KNITTED CORSETS.—Improved, support without pressure. Lists free.—Knitted Corset Co., Nottingham.

LOST PROPERTY.—Miss Kerr is in charge of this department. All communications in reference to property Lost or Found, and all articles found, should be sent direct to Miss Kerr, Lost Property Department, VOTES FOR WOMEN Office, 4, Clements Inn, Strand.

MISS C. WALLACE DUNLOP asks for contributions of old clothes and books (adults' or children's), to help a poor woman to start a little business in second-hand clothes. Goods to be sent to Mrs. Dutton, 92, Queen Street, Hammersmith.—Further particulars from C. Wallace Dunlop, Ellerslie Tower, Ealing, London, W.C.

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