

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE JOURNAL.

EDITED BY LYDIA E. BECKER.

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Contents :

Leading Articles:—Close of the Parliament; Women's Suffrage and the Parliaments since 1867; The Chancellor of the Exchequer at Bristol; Incident recorded in *Truth*; Mr. Forster's Speech at Bradford; Return of Women Burgesses; Circular of a Lady to her Tenants; The Custody of Infants Bill; The Rights of Mothers over Illegitimate Children; Cases of No Penalty for Wife Beating; The Criminal Law Amendment Bill; An Appeal to Cæsar; The New Crusade.

Petitions.
The Women's Fawcett Memorial Fund.
Women's Rights in Japan.
Parliamentary Intelligence.
Deputation to the Chancellor of the Exchequer at Clifton.
Election Intelligence:—Bristol West; Shropshire—Newport Division; Scarborough; Gloucestershire—Tewkesbury Division, Thornbury Division; East Cornwall; Oldham; Rotherhithe; Coventry.

Lecture:—Blaina.
Debating Societies:—Yeovil.
Town Councils:—Wigan; Leamington; Dewsbury; Colchester.
A Congregational Minister on Women and Politics.
The Bishop of Durham on Questions affecting Women.
Obituary.
Municipal Boroughs.
Treasurers' Reports:—Manchester; Central Committee; Bristol and West of England.

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CONTENTS FOR AUGUST 15TH, 1885.

1. The Protection of Girls.
2. A Reply to Some of the Objections made against Women's Suffrage, by Edith Harvey. (To be continued.)
3. The Question of Work, by M. T. Scott.
4. A New Society for Women in Denmark.
5. Women and the Income Tax.

Passing Notes:—The only Way to gain her Child—Babies at Exeter.

Correspondence:—(1) Women and Politics; (2) Women and Politics.

Record of Events:—London University Matriculation—Royal University of Ireland—Bristol Venturers' School—Oxford—Girton—Intermediate Education, Ireland—New Women Physicians—Criminal Law Amendment Bill, House of Commons—Meetings and Petitions—Letter from Ladies—Infants' Bill—Abandonment of other Bills—Suffrage, House of Lords—Petitions and Speeches—Another Lady Guardian—Chelsea Liberal Association—Miscellaneous.

Foreign Notes and News.

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MOTHERS AND CHILDREN. By VERAX. Reprinted by permission from the *Manchester Weekly Times*. Price One Penny. May be had from the Secretary, 28, Jackson's Row, Manchester.

THE ENFRANCHISEMENT OF WOMEN THE LAW OF THE LAND. By SIDNEY SMITH. Price Threepence.—London: Trübner and Co. Manchester: A. Ireland and Co. May be had also at 28, Jackson's Row, Manchester.

PETITION! PETITION! PETITION!—Friends of Women's Suffrage are earnestly exhorted to aid the cause by collecting signatures during the recess for petitions to both Houses of Parliament, in support of the Bill for extending the Parliamentary franchise to women, which will be brought forward immediately on the opening of the new Parliament. Petitions from women householders or others who possess the qualifications which entitle men to vote are particularly valuable. Special forms of petition to be signed by such women, as well as general petitions, ready for signature, will be supplied on application to Miss BECKER, 28, Jackson's Row, Albert Square, Manchester; Miss BLACKBURN, 20, Park-street, Bristol; Miss KIRKLAND, 13, Raeburn Place, Edinburgh; or Miss BALGARNIE, 29, Parliament-street, London.

SOUTHPORT.—A Lecture on the claim of women to the Parliamentary franchise, being the first of a series of Lectures on political subjects arranged by the Southport Conservative Working Men's Association, will be delivered by Miss Becker in the Bank Parlour of the Cambridge Hall, Southport, on Monday, September 21st. The chair to be taken at Eight o'clock by THOMAS DALE, Esq., J.P.

LECTURES.—Miss JEANNETTE G. WILKINSON is prepared to give any of the following Lectures in connection with the question of the Extension of the Parliamentary Franchise to Women:—

- Women and Politics.
- The Social and Political Position of Women.
- If the Vote is good for Jack, why not for Jill.
- Women and Temperance Legislation.
- Women and War.

Secretaries of Clubs, Political and other Associations invited to apply.—For particulars, address: The Secretary, 29, Parliament-street, London; or, 20, Park-street, Bristol; or, 28, Jackson's Row, Manchester.

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

"Miss Wilkinson is an eloquent speaker."—*Western Daily Mercury* (Plymouth).

"Miss Wilkinson possesses a clear, telling style of delivery."—*Gloucester Journal*.

"An intelligent and forcible address on Women and Politics was delivered by Miss J. G. Wilkinson."—*Merthyr Express*.

"An eloquent address, characterised by much logical argument and force."—*Western Gazette* (Yeovil).

"A more lucid or logical speech it has never been our lot to listen to. The discourse was full of point from beginning to end, and abounded in apt illustration and racy humour."—*Cambridge Leader* (Swansea).

"Miss Wilkinson spoke very forcibly, and highly interested her audience."—*The Gazette* (Sleaford).

"The lecture was of an admirable character, strong both in facts and logic."—*South Wales Daily News*.

"Miss Wilkinson, who is evidently no novice in the art of public oratory, set forth her reasons in so forcible yet entertaining a style, as to elicit repeated and cordial marks of approbation."—*Iffracombe Gazette*.

"Miss Wilkinson spoke very forcibly, and highly interested her audience. Her thoughts were well guided and her address was sound and logical."—*Lincoln Gazette*.

GREENHITHE.—A Public Meeting (under the auspices of the "Umfreville" Lodge of the National Conservative League) will be held at "The Hall," Greenhithe, kindly lent for the occasion by R. S. Dunbar, Esq., on Wednesday Evening, September 30th, 1885, at Eight o'clock. A selection of music on the organ at 7-30. Doors open at 7-15. An Address by Miss JEANNETTE G. WILKINSON, of the National Society for Women's Suffrage. Subject: "Should Women have Votes?" Dr. LORY MARSH in the chair. Admission free. Discussion invited. A cordial welcome to men and women. A few Platform Seats, One Shilling each.—Thomas Cooke, Secretary.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF SOUTH WALES & MONMOUTHSHIRE.

ABERDARE HALL, CARDIFF, will be Opened on Oct. 5th for the accommodation of the Lady Students attending University College. Sessional fee, £40. Application to be made to the Honorary Principal, the Hon. ISABEL BRUCE, Duffryn, Mountain Ash.

HOLIDAY House and House of Rest for Women in Business, Babbacombe, Devonshire.—For Business Women, Holiday or Rest in Summer or Winter. Beautiful scenery; bathing and boating. Terms 12s. per week, or 5s. per week with subscriber's ticket.—Apply for admission to the Misses Skinner (members of committee), at their own house, Bayfield, Babbacombe, and send a stamped and addressed envelope for reply.

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WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE JOURNAL.—Communications for the Editor and Orders for the Journal to be addressed to the Office, 28, Jackson's Row, Albert Square, Manchester.

PETITIONS.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

(From the Daily Votes and Proceedings.)

- July 28. Women's Suffrage Bill [H.L.], Petition in favour of, of Inhabitants of LIVERPOOL; read, and ordered to lie on the table. Franchise, Petition for extension of, to women, of Inhabitants of EDINBURGH; read, and ordered to lie on the table.
31. Women's Suffrage Bill [H.L.], Petition in favour of, of Inhabitants of EDINBURGH; read, and ordered to lie on the table. Franchise, Petition for extension of, to women, of persons signing; read, and ordered to lie on the table.
Aug. 6. Expiration Laws Continuance Bill, read 3a (according to order), an amendment moved, and negatived; Bill read 3a, and passed.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

PARLIAMENTARY FRANCHISE.—For Extension to Women (No. 2) Bill.

SUPPLEMENT TO THE SEVENTEENTH REPORT, 8—24 July, 1885.

Table listing petitions brought forward to the House of Commons, including dates, locations, and names of petitioners and officials.

Table listing petitions brought forward to the House of Lords, including dates, locations, and names of petitioners and officials.

SUPPLEMENT TO THE SEVENTEENTH REPORT, 3—14 August, 1885.

Table listing petitions brought forward to the House of Lords in August, including dates, locations, and names of petitioners and officials.

SUMMARY FROM 23RD OCTOBER, 1884, TO AUGUST 14TH, 1885.

Summary table showing the number of petitions signed officially or under seal, and the total number of petitions and signatures.

THE WOMEN'S FAWCETT MEMORIAL FUND.

At a recent meeting of the Committee of the Women's Fawcett Memorial, held at St. John's Lodge, Regent's Park, the hon. treasurer, Louisa, Lady Goldsmid, announced a donation of £50 from the Dowager Countess of Buchan.

WOMEN'S RIGHTS IN JAPAN.

Apostles of the women's rights movement will be interested to learn that the cause is making progress in a country like Japan. The impulse of western liberalism which reached that nation some years ago has not done all that was expected of it.

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THE tenth Parliament of Queen VICTORIA, elected in April, 1880, came to the end of its active existence on August 14th, when it was formally prorogued to the 31st of October.

The measures which in magnitude overshadow all the other legislation which it has accomplished are the great addition to the electorate, and the complete transformation of the constituencies which have been effected during the session which has just concluded.

THE first time the question of women's suffrage was submitted to Parliament after the Reform Act of 1867, the second reading of the Bill was carried by a large majority.

was in power, and no proposal for extension of the franchise either to women or men was entertained by the House or the Government.

In the Parliament now expiring a majority of members appeared to be in favour of including women householders in the Franchise Bill, but they were deterred from giving effect to their opinions by the threat of Mr. GLADSTONE to withdraw the Bill if women were included in it.

The appeal will without delay be made to the Parliament to be elected next November. The claim should be pressed on the notice of every candidate in every constituency, and in case of a Liberal candidate it will be desirable to ascertain not only whether he assents to the justice of the claim as an abstract principle, but whether he will have the courage to support his principles by his votes, without fear or favour, and notwithstanding any pressure that may be attempted, when next the question is submitted to the House of Commons.

THE reply of the CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER to the deputation which waited upon him at Bristol affords good ground for hope that in case the Conservatives should be in power next Parliament the question of the enfranchisement of women who are householders and ratepayers will be seriously taken in hand.

In the Parliament of 1874 a Conservative Government

in securing this he should be quite ready to do so. The CHANCELLOR went on to say that although he had always voted against women's suffrage, the question did not now occupy the same position in his mind. Since the extension of the franchise to the uneducated and intelligent labourer the injustice of depriving an intelligent and educated woman had certainly increased. It was this reason mainly that had caused him to take no part in the division when the question was last before the House of Commons. He had no objection to including in the enfranchised classes those women who possessed the property or the household qualification, but he was of opinion that if this were granted there would be a further demand for the franchise for married women, and he was not prepared to do anything that would give a man and his wife two votes, introducing politics, as it were, between them, and enfranchising all the women of the United Kingdom.

We trust that should Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH be the leader of the new House of Commons he will be speedily called upon to fulfil his promise of assistance in placing the question before the House at the earliest possible moment. In that case we venture to hope that the wisdom of Parliament will find the means of overcoming the difficulties suggested in the speech of the CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER, and will pass a measure for including in the enfranchised classes those women who possess the property and household qualification, and who, in virtue of that qualification, exercise the franchise in all local and municipal elections.

A RECENT number of *Truth* contains the following paragraph:—"The *Globe* gives an account of an agricultural labourer, who, on being questioned as to what he thought of Mr. GLADSTONE, asked whether he was the man who rode round the circus at the Agricultural Hall. I heard of another agricultural labourer to whom an aspirant for his vote was pointing out what Mr. GLADSTONE had done for the country, and who replied, 'I never heard of the gentleman, but be you a friend of a chap called Collins, who's going to give I three acres of land and free muck?'"

If similar stories were related of women farmers or labourers, we should be told that they shewed, first, that women were not sufficiently educated to be trusted with the franchise, and secondly, that women would be liable to be influenced by bribery or the prospect of personal advantage in the disposition of their votes.

Mr. FORSTER, in his farewell speech to the constituents

of Bradford as a whole, said that in the early part of his time in Bradford he led a somewhat solitary life—he had time to think and read, and he attributed to this the fact that he had formed his opinions with much care and thought, and had had hardly to change one of them. Therefore he very early indeed entered on the belief that we ought to have hearthstone suffrage, that every head of a family ought to have his share in the government of the country.

Mr. FORSTER congratulated his audience on the acceptance of that principle, and no doubt the establishment by the Legislature of the principle of hearthstone or household suffrage throughout the length and breadth of the land renders the claim of every head of a family to be admitted to the franchise one which it is daily becoming more difficult to resist.

At the time Mr. FORSTER delivered his address there were, and are now, on the burgess roll of Bradford 6,455 households deprived of representation on the Parliamentary register because they have a woman as head. The total number of householders in Bradford is 36,699; the unrepresented households in Bradford are therefore nearly one-fifth of the whole.

Until the claim of these ratepaying and taxpaying householders to be admitted to the suffrage is conceded it cannot be said that the principle of hearthstone suffrage is carried out, or that the principle that every head of a family shall be entitled to a share in the government of the country is fully recognised.

DURING last session Mr. WOODALL moved for a Return of municipal boroughs in Great Britain, showing the number of persons on the burgess roll, distinguishing men from women. Part I., for England and Wales, was issued as a Parliamentary paper just before the close of the session. We reprint the Return in another page, and have added two columns, namely, the total number of persons on the burgess roll, and the proportion of women to the whole. These calculations are based on the figures given in the Return.

The proportion of women to the total number of burgesses varies greatly in different districts, ranging from nearly twenty-eight per cent in some towns to as low as five or six per cent in one or two exceptional localities. The Return affords interesting and valuable information, and an examination of the figures brings into strong relief the injustice done, not only to the burgesses who are denied the Parliamentary vote, but to the localities which

are deprived of the vote of so large a proportion of their inhabitants in returning representatives to the House of Commons.

A LADY in Hampshire has caused a circular to be sent to all the tenants on her estate to the effect that, while she hopes that they will all exercise their right to vote at the election which will take place in November, she does not desire in any way to influence their votes, and does not propose to tell them even with which side she sympathises. She will, however, allow every one ample time to go to vote, and will, as far as possible, assist in the conveyance of aged and infirm voters, of either side, to and from the poll.

The example of this lady is held up as a model for landlords, and it is impossible to praise too highly the generous and considerate spirit she evinces towards the tenants and servants who are her political masters.

It is probable that many landlords will be as disinterested in their dealings with their tenants and dependants as this exemplary Hampshire lady. But the men landlords have the satisfaction of being the political equals of the tenants whose votes they scorn to influence. The Lord of the Manor, after he has kindly assisted into the conveyance which is to take him to the poll the infirm and possibly illiterate labourer to whom he pays weekly wages, has at least the satisfaction of knowing that he can himself go to the polling place and there give a vote of equal value and power to that of his servant. Moreover, no one would expect a man landlord to refrain from saying with which side he sympathised for fear the knowledge of his political proclivities might influence his tenants. But the Lady of the Manor is not only denied the right to vote which is given to the meanest of her hinds—to the man who, but for her charitable assistance, might not be able to make his way to the polling booth—it seems to be counted to her praise that she should conceal her political sympathies lest her tenants should take them into account in determining their votes.

WOMEN will note with deep and burning indignation the indifference shown by the House of Commons to the fate of the Custody of Infants Bill—a Bill which gave some small modicum of recognition to the right of widowed mothers to some authority over their children. The Bill relating to the Custody of Infants was introduced last year in the House of Commons by Mr. BRYCE. As originally drawn it provided that the parents of any infant

should during the continuance of the marriage be its joint guardians. The Bill was read a second time on March 26th, 1884, by the overwhelming majority of 208 to 73. In the course of the debate the grievous hardship and injustice of the existing law was conclusively shown by many speakers of high legal authority. Many who voted for the Bill said they did not accept the full extent of its principles, but as an amendment of the law was urgently needed they thought the Bill should be considered in Committee.

The Bill was debated at full length in Committee and on Report, and ultimately passed with scarcely any adverse voices. The House of Lords, however, at the instance of Lord CAIRNS and Lord BRAMWELL, refused to consider it on the ground that the session was too far advanced, and Lord FITZGERALD, in whose charge it was, was therefore forced to withdraw it. On the reassembling of Parliament in the autumn, the measure was introduced in the House of Lords by Lord FITZGERALD, in the shape in which it had left the House of Commons (which was a good deal changed from its original shape), and ultimately with further alterations, somewhat limiting its scope, was passed by the Peers, and was brought down to the Commons.

The Bill as it left the Lords did not trench on the exclusive rights of the father during his lifetime, but it allowed some rights to the mother after the death of her husband—among others, that of appointing a guardian to her children in case of her own death, as well as the right of suggesting to the Court a person to be appointed guardian after her death where the husband's conduct was improper. But although the Bill as thus restricted was opposed by only a very few members, those members were able, by the practice of blocking, to prevent the second reading from being taken till the end of July and the Committee stage from being reached at all. Had facilities been afforded for the Bill it could with the greatest ease and the smallest expenditure of time have been passed through the necessary stages, in the way that many other Bills of much less urgency have been passed during the last few days of the session. But Mr. BRYCE's plea for consideration fell on absolutely unheeding ears, and the Bill was sacrificed without a care or thought.

The special class of persons whose interests were concerned in the measure were widowed mothers with children. We affirm without fear of dissent our conviction that if these widowed mothers had been put on the

register of electors for next November members of Parliament would not have allowed a measure so vitally affecting their interests to be so carelessly done to death.

WE think it has been generally believed, that although the rights of a married mother as to her children are absolutely *nil*, the mother of an illegitimate child was its legal and sole guardian. This belief is dispelled by a judgment delivered by Mr. Justice CHITTY, in the Supreme Court, on August 11th, in reference to an application of SARAH BEGUM to be appointed guardian of her four children by the late SYED MUNSOOR ULLEE, Nawaub of Bengal. The marriage, being a polygamous marriage, was declared not to be binding on a spouse of English domicile, but the question of the legitimacy of the children was complicated by considerations arising out of Mahomedan law. According to the report in the *Times*, Mr. Justice CHITTY, in delivering judgment against the claim of the mother, said he would assume her contention that the children were illegitimate, and thereby reduce the issue to the question as to the position which, according to English law, a mother occupied in respect of children who were not legitimate. It could be stated with correctness that by the English law their mother was not their guardian. The words of Lord CAMPBELL, in a leading case, were—"Although the relation of the mother to her illegitimate child is recognised for some purposes, it is clear that she has not over it all the rights of guardian for nurture."

It would appear that the purposes for which the rights of the mother of a child who is not legitimate are recognised are those which fix upon her the shame of its existence and the responsibility for its maintenance, while those for which it is not recognised are the rights to its guardianship and its services when it begins to be old enough to be useful.

Mr. Justice CHITTY quoted a judgment of Lord ELLENBOROUGH, in which it is declared that it is only when an illegitimate child is under the age of seven . . . that the courts will interfere to protect the custody of the mother.

Another important point raised in the pleading was whether the applicant had parted with any rights of guardianship.

Mr. Justice CHITTY said: "The principle was that a father could not be bound by contract to cede the guardianship of his children, and any such contract by him was void for public policy as calculated to impair

the rights of the children and the obligations of the father. . . . The principle, however, of public policy was not applicable to the case of the mother of an illegitimate child who, as already had been stated, had no rights of guardianship."

The doctrines thus expounded by Mr. Justice CHITTY will probably be novel and startling to many of our readers, and they afford a new illustration of the proposition laid down years ago in the House of Commons by Mr. GLADSTONE that the law of England does much less than justice to women, and of the need that women should be allowed a voice in electing the legislators in order to reform it.

WE observe in a local paper, under the heading—far too everyday and commonplace to incur the reproach of being sensational—"Shocking Brutality to a Wife," the following case:—At the Bootle Police Court, on August 12th, a man named TURNBULL was summoned by his wife for assault. He had come home drunk, seized her by the hair, struck her with his fist, and kicked her about the body. Witnesses were called who gave the wife the character of a sober, respectable woman, and deposed that on several occasions they had had to go into the house to protect the prosecutrix from her husband's violence. The defence strikes us as humorous. After alleging that his wife was drunk, the defendant said he did not deny that he was drunk himself, but asserted his right to get drunk with his own money.

The bench did not appear to consider that the man had committed any offence deserving of a penalty, for they merely ordered him to find sureties to keep the peace for six months; in default, two months' imprisonment. The defendant said he could find sureties, but would not. He was informed that the alternative was to go to gaol, and was allowed one day to re-consider his position. He then left the court declaring that he should continue to thrash his wife whenever he found her drunk.

"THIRTEEN years of married misery" is the heading of a paragraph which appeared in a Manchester paper a few days after the one to which we have just referred. At the Warrington Borough Court, JAMES BETNEY, who had been previously convicted of a similar offence, was charged with assaulting his wife. The wife stated that she went to a public-house to ask her husband to come home. When he had done so she made him some tea, and he threw it on the table, held her by the throat until she was nearly choked, then banged her on the floor and

against various articles till she was sore all over. During the last thirteen years she had not had a single week's comfort with him, as he made a practice of getting drunk and then behaving to her with great brutality. In this case, again, no penalty was imposed.

The husband said he would take the pledge, whereupon the presiding alderman said *if he ever came up again* on a similar charge he would be fined £20, or in default sent to gaol for three months. He would now have to find a surety to keep the peace for three months, and pay 9s. 6d. costs, or be sent to gaol for two months.

If the law permits men to commit these hideous crimes with impunity, the law ought to be amended; if it is the administration of the law that is in fault, the administration of the law should be reformed. Both these objects would speedily be accomplished if those who make the laws and appoint the magistrates were responsible to women for their actions. But the raising of the political and social status of women through their admission to political rights would silently and surely operate in causing such an increased respect for their personal rights as would be in the long run a far more powerful agent in protecting them from violence than increased stringency of purely penal legislation.

THE crowning achievement of the session has been the passing of the Criminal Law Amendment Bill. This measure, designed to protect young girls from the foulest wrong that can be done to them, has been before the legislature some time, and has been more than once passed by the House of Lords. When the Bill reached the Commons they paid it the attention they might be expected to devote to a measure that mainly concerned protection for an unrepresented class, and talked the Bill out. It would in all human probability have shared the fate of the Infants Bill if a courageous editor had not roused a storm of popular indignation, under the impetus of which the measure was forced on the attention of the people's representatives and passed, with amendments in the direction of increased protection for girls, while the dangerous and objectionable police clauses were omitted.

Much has been said in condemnation of the methods resorted to in order to arouse the public mind on this terrible subject, but when all has been said there remains the broad fact that until the disclosures were made and the evils exposed to the full glare of publicity the House of Commons was supine, and seemed inclined to let the remedial measure drop, while instantly that the veil of conventional

secrecy was torn away the passing of the Bill became a matter of supreme importance, and was accomplished without delay. The Act came into force the moment the Royal Assent was pronounced, and, as the records of the police courts show, it has already begun to produce fruit.

THE Parliament which has just expired will probably be chiefly remembered as that which passed the Reform Act of 1884. The principle of that Act, according to its authors, was the enfranchisement of capable citizens. All male householders are now admitted to take a share in the government of their country. Even the felon, when his term of punishment is over, is not to be deprived of his vote; the disqualification up to the present time associated with pauperism has been partially removed. The only class of householders in the United Kingdom who found no favour in the eyes of the Parliament of 1880-5 is that which is disqualified by reason of sex. A male householder may be a criminal, he may be a drunkard, he may be dependent on the rates for medical attendance; but if he is not actually undergoing a term of imprisonment he is held to be a capable citizen, and to him has been entrusted the responsibility of choosing by whom he shall be governed. It is not here contended that this confidence has been misplaced; but it is contended that if this man is a capable citizen, so much the more are the 800,000 women householders of Great Britain and Ireland capable citizens, to whom might safely and justly be entrusted the responsibilities associated with the Parliamentary franchise.

Every Parliament is truly the servant of those who elect it; and we women who have petitioned at the door of the House of Commons for eighteen years now appeal from the servant to the master; we appeal to the people. Is it the will of the people of England that laws affecting deeply the most vital interests of men and women shall continue to be decided by a Parliament chosen by men only? Must it always be necessary to bring about something resembling a moral earthquake before we can get laws amended which, in matters relating to morality, to the guardianship of children, to the laws of inheritance, treat women with revolting injustice? The whole of England has lately been shaken by an agitation which has been compared to a moral earthquake. The state of the law that has been disclosed is the result of centuries of legislation for women and men, by men only. If women had had votes the law would have been amended spontaneously by Parliament without the necessity of blazoning

in the streets the vile deeds of the vilest and most depraved immorality.

Much yet remains to be done in this and other matters before the balance of justice is redressed: and the only remedy that goes to the root of the matter is to extend the political franchise to duly qualified women. The women of England appeal to electors of England to concede to them the invaluable privilege of political liberty. We ask them to give us our share in choosing the law-makers. In the election that is about to take place we earnestly beseech all those electors who love justice, morality and fairplay, to obtain pledges from their candidates which will ensure the early removal of the political disabilities of women.

MILICENT GARRETT FAWCETT.

"A NEW Crusade" has been earnestly and diligently preached during the past weeks, a crusade against hideous evil suddenly displayed to an unsuspecting public, and the outburst of feeling has corresponded to that word which calls to our memories the most remarkable and wide-spreading enthusiasm on record, when the fanatic preachers of the Crusades drew the hosts of Europe after them.

But correlated to crusades as day is to dawn, and far out-lasting their fanatic blaze, there rises also to mind the recollections of the old chivalry and its ideal aims, aims so high, that to say of a man he was true to chivalry was to say he was of incorruptible fidelity, inviolate in word, brave, just, and true.

The old crusades are dead, and the new must die, and all that pertains to its nature of fanatic sensationalism. But—its eccentricities subsided—the spirit of the old chivalry yet abides, and whosoever would be true to that spirit must still, as of old, "flee sin, pride, and villany," defend religion, undertake for the defenceless, and guard the people. It was chivalry that made "honour a social religion, refining the conscience and exalting the sense of moral duty," and those who would hand on the same high spirit in our day, need to mark the highest social aims of their time, and use the weapons which war most effectually against the monsters of this generation. So they will strike down the oppression, not by the stroke of the sword, but by the arm of the law; so they will interpose against the mischiefs of the strong—not the vulnerable arm of a warrior, but the steadfast rights of citizenship; war against unequal statutes instead of castle walls; and clothe the helpless with self-help as with a shield.

To those who failed to perceive it before, the new

crusade should at last make it plain that the new chivalry—carrying the same perennial banner of purity, justice, and honour—must enter the field accoutred with the equal moral code, the equal civil law, the equal rights of citizenship, which form the best armour of to-day, if they are to vanquish the monsters of to-day.

HELEN BLACKBURN.

PARLIAMENTARY INTELLIGENCE.

HOUSE OF LORDS, August 5th.

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

In Committee on the Expiring Laws Continuance Bill, Lord DENMAN moved to insert in the Ballot Act an amendment declaring that all women not legally disqualified, and who had the same qualification as the present electors, should have the right to vote at Parliamentary elections. He submitted that if his amendment were accepted it would set a difficult question at rest for ever. He thought that both sides of the House were satisfied as to its justice, and hoped to see women on the register either this or next year.

The amendment was negatived without a division, Lord Denman being unable to find another teller.

The Earl of Redesdale having stated that it would be extremely injurious to legislation if anyone could get up and move extravagant amendments to existing measures,

Lord DENMAN said he looked upon the principle laid down by the noble earl as most tyrannous, and remarked that he was now eighty years old, and desired to see this measure of justice passed before he died.

Their lordships adjourned at twenty minutes past two o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, August 11th.

On the question of the winding up of the business of the session, Mr. C. KENNARD put in a plea for the consideration of the Police Franchisement Bill. (Cries of "No," and cheers.)

Mr. BRYCE hoped facilities would be given for the consideration of another Bill that was entitled to favourable consideration, namely, the Infants Bill—(cheers and laughter),—which occupied the attention of the House during several nights last session and which had passed through the other House this session, and he earnestly trusted, considering the urgency of the Bill and the general support accorded to it, that the Government would not pronounce sentence of death on the measure.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER, after replying to Mr. Kennard, said: With reference to the appeal of the hon. member for Tower Hamlets (Mr. Bryce), he might say that the death sentence on his Bill had proceeded from the right hon. gentleman the member for Birmingham. It would be his (Sir M. Hicks-Beach's) duty to move the adjournment of the House after the business was completed on Wednesday.

Mr. BRYCE reminded the right hon. gentleman that the Infants Bill came from the House of Lords, and was not opposed like the Police Bill.

The motion to suspend the standing orders was agreed to.

DEPUTATION TO THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER AT CLIFTON.

On August 10th the Right Hon. Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Bart., M.P., the Chancellor of the Exchequer, received a deputation from residents in Bristol West who are in favour of the extension of the franchise to women. The deputation was received at St. Vincent's Hall, the residence of Mr. W. K. Wait, and by whom they were introduced. The deputation consisted of the High Sheriff (Mr. John Harvey), the Rev. Canon Bence, Mr. Alan Greenwell, Mrs. Greenwell, Miss Clifford, Dr. Eliza Dunbar, Mr. J. Williams, Mr.

Williams, jun., Messrs. E. W. Cox, Hargrave, J. G. Thornton, Mrs. Colman, Mrs. Bruce, Misses Estlin, M. Price, Bruce, Tribe, and Blackburn.

The following memorial was presented to the right hon. baronet:

"To the Right Honourable Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH, Bart., M.P., Chancellor of the Exchequer.

"The memorial of supporters of the women's suffrage movement resident in Bristol (West).

"Sir,—We beg to present this memorial on the occasion of your first visit to Bristol as a candidate for the representation of the Western Division, and also as the leader of her Majesty's Government in the House of Commons, that we may urge our wishes on a very important question, which has always hitherto obtained undivided support from the representatives of this city.

"We would submit that, in our judgment, it is of the utmost urgency that a measure admitting women who possess the statutory qualifications to the electorate should be passed during the first session of the new Parliament.

"This question has been before the country longer than any of the measures now pressing for the attention of Parliament; it was introduced in the House of Commons before the extension of the franchise in the counties; therefore it has a claim to an early and impartial consideration prior to any other question now agitating the country.

"Moreover, the Reform Act of last year has materially altered the position of women, and reduced them to a lower relative place in the political scale than before, when at least there were some classes of men who shared the hardship of exclusion. That this is recognised by the Conservative party we may believe from the fact that last year a Conservative whip was issued in favour of Mr. Woodall's clause extending the franchise to women, and that for the first time the number of Conservative members voting in favour exceeded the number of Liberals. Lord Beaconsfield termed the exclusion of women 'an anomaly injurious to the best interests of the country'; the late Lord Cairns steadily supported this principle; Lord Salisbury, Lord Carnarvon, and Lord Iddesleigh are amongst its known supporters.

"We would submit that this question demands settlement before the mass of important and controverted questions which loom in the future absorb the attention of our legislators.

"We therefore earnestly pray that you will give facilities in the next session of Parliament for an early consideration, on its own merits, of a measure to extend the Parliamentary franchise to women, and that you will give such measure the support of your vote."

Mr. W. K. WAIT, who introduced the deputation to the right hon. baronet, said they were ladies and gentlemen who had been deputed by the Women's Suffrage Association of Bristol and Clifton, and all of them were constituents of the Western Division of Bristol. They came to ask him (Sir Michael), in his double capacity, first as a candidate for the division, and in the second place as the leader of the House of Commons, to do what he could to support the movement which every one in that room had so very much at heart. They asked it as a measure of justice to themselves—but he (Mr. Wait) felt that it was more than that, for he felt it to be a measure of justice to the entire community; because he believed that the influence of women was so very useful and advantageous to the community, especially as regarded those questions which so constantly came before Parliament, such as questions connected with education, and the very important social question about which he need not go into detail, and in connection with which his (Sir Michael's) labours had been so happily brought to a close. It was felt that these matters concerned women especially; but he would rather base his argument upon the advantage to the whole community that would arise from women who were occupying the position of male householders being given the right of voting. That right was now exercised so far as regarded school boards, municipal councils, and boards of guardians, and he believed with the greatest possible advantage to the community. The supporters of the movement felt very keenly on the subject, for they considered that they had been treated very hardly, whilst the franchise had been so very widely extended that every illiterate Dorsetshire peasant would be entitled to have his voice heard in the country. More than that, every disaffected mud cabiner in Ireland would have a voice in the legislation, whilst women who were of far higher

intellectual power, and of far higher position in every respect, were compelled to be silent. With regard to his (Sir Michael's) position as a candidate, he (Mr. Wait) might relate an interesting anecdote of a former popular member of Bristol, with whose face he (Sir Michael) was very familiar, the late Mr. Kirkman D. Hodgson. He was opposed to women's suffrage, and said he did not believe that women were in favour of it. The committee of this association differed from him in opinion. Mr. Hodgson said further that if they could show him that the majority of women in the city of Bristol were in favour of suffrage extension, he for one should be happy to vote for it. The society set to work, and the result was that they found that an enormous majority of the women of Bristol were in favour of it. Mr. Hodgson loyally kept his promise, and invariably voted for the measure. He (Mr. Wait) would now introduce Mr. Alan Greenwell, who wished to say a few words.

Mr. ALAN GREENWELL said he would not detain Sir Michael long, as he knew his time was very valuable, and the memorial they had presented set forth the points in favour of the proposal. There were only one or two others to which he wished to refer. It was an established axiom in Parliament and the country that, when any large section or class of the people pressed their claims for any length of time, the claims were not only entitled to consideration, but to be granted, unless the granting of them would be prejudicial to the interests of the country. Granting the suffrage to women would not be prejudicial, and it was supported by a very large class of women in England. Many measures had been granted by Parliament without much application, and in some cases the people had been worked up to claim them. This was a spontaneous act on the part of women. He had worked in the cause a great many years, and he had had frequent opportunities of judging, and he could say distinctly that this movement was got up by, and worked by, women themselves. It was an entirely spontaneous movement. He thought he could prove, too, how much women were interested in the cause. He would first of all draw attention to the letter written to members of the House of Lords. That letter was signed by more than 200 ladies of every class and position in life. There were members of the aristocracy, literary ladies of high eminence, and ladies who had taken great interest in social matters. He mentioned this because some of their adversaries said that women did not want the franchise. That alone ought to prove that there was a strong desire on the part of influential women that this request should be granted. He should also like to refer the right hon. gentleman to the immense number of petitions that had been sent to the House of Commons. He need not dwell upon them, for no doubt he (Sir Michael) was perfectly aware of them. Another aspect of the question was well worth considering. At one time their meetings were attended by men and women, and their opponents then said that the meetings were not the expression of the opinions of women, and that women did not care about it. They asked for the expression of the opinion of women themselves, and they got it. The women demonstrated in all the large towns, and in Bristol they had a meeting of 4,000 women in Colston Hall. All that showed that women were in favour of the extension, and were anxious that it should be granted. Another point was of great weight in his opinion. The best way to grant a privilege was to grant it on the old lines of the Constitution, on antiquity and continuity. They were not asking for a new thing, but only for a lapsed privilege, for in Saxon and Norman days women were summoned to the councils of the nation. They only asked that women should be placed in the same position as they were in an age which was said not to be so enlightened as the present. It had been said that granting the suffrage would be detrimental to the womanly character of women's nature. He did not think so; and supposing there should be that danger, it would not be so great a detriment as that which would be caused by the irritation of being kept from the franchise.

The Rev. Canon BENCE said the question of women's suffrage was coming to the front. It had been debated over and over in the country, and increased interest was manifested in every quarter in favour of the movement. There was this great argument in favour of it, that politics of the present day were not confined to imperial matters, but were coming more and more to important social questions. All around them, in every phase of society, they were met by great questions of social improvement, and no one was better calculated to go into such questions, and to give a fair and right opinion upon them, than women. It had been said that men, in coming to a conclusion on any particular subject, often had to use

circuitous reasoning, whilst women came to it by intuition, and many questions of a moral character would be considered and decided by the quick acumen of women. Allusion had been made to the admission of the agricultural labourer to the franchise, and one of the arguments used for his admission was that education had made great progress of late years. If that was true of the young men, what should they say of the ladies. Only this year a lady at Cambridge became senior wrangler. In his young days such an idea would have been treated with levity, but now it was taken as a matter of course. They saw improvement in every particular in the intellectual progress of women. As times went, he thought they could not deny them what he would not call a boon, but an act of justice.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER, in reply, said: Ladies and gentlemen,—I am very willing indeed to receive you here to-day, and to consider the address you have been kind enough to present to me; but I am afraid that I do so under great disadvantage, because the subject you put before me is one of great importance, and not one that I can properly deal with in the very short time that I can devote to the few remarks I shall address to you. You ask two things—first of all, that in my capacity as leader of the House of Commons I should hold out at any rate some hope that I would use such influence as I may possess to ensure an early consideration of this subject by the next Parliament; and, secondly, that I should myself express an opinion in favour of your views. Well, as to the first proposition, I think I may say this, that if women are to be admitted to the franchise, it is only fair they should be admitted in time to express an opinion on the great topics which the Parliament of the future may be invited to deal with. I agree with you that it is most desirable Parliament should be called upon to answer this question at the earliest possible moment, and so far as it may be in my power to assist in securing that I should be quite ready to do so. You must remember that this has never been a party subject. It has never been a subject, so far as I remember, that has been considered as other than an open one by any Government. In the late Government, as in the present, there were colleagues who did not hold identical opinions upon it. I am sorry to say, in reference to my own opinions, I cannot say that they agree with yours. I have always voted against women's suffrage. I do not mean to say that in my mind this question occupies quite the position now that it formerly did. I think there is force in the argument used by Mr. Wait that, looking to the fact that a very great extension of the franchise has been given to the more ignorant and less educated classes, the injustice of depriving an educated and intelligent woman of the vote given to the uneducated and less intelligent labourer has certainly been increased. It was mainly owing to this reason that, on the last occasion when this matter was brought before the House of Commons, I did not take any part in the debate or the division upon it. More than that I cannot say; my feeling in the matter has always been that, although I have no objection to including in the enfranchised classes those women who possess the property or the household qualification, I doubt whether you could safely include—looking to the condition of a large class in our large towns, and especially in London—those who possess the lodger qualification. But that is only an incidental objection. I have always viewed this matter as one that could not be dealt with merely from that point of view. It seems to me, I confess, that, looking at the arguments used by some of the most prominent advocates of women's suffrage, it will not be possible to stop where your memorial would stop. Parliament has legislated of late years so as to put men and women on an equality in the matter of property—I mean husband and wife. I am strongly of opinion that if the request included in this memorial were conceded you would have at once a further demand on behalf of married women. I confess I am not prepared to do anything that would give a man and his wife two votes, introducing politics, as it were, between them, and enfranchising all the women of the United Kingdom. I won't dwell now on the objections that weigh heavily with me against any proposal of that kind. I think the objections would commend themselves to not a few in this room. (Hear, hear.) I am quite aware that you may tell me in reply that my view of this matter is a view which has been urged against many reforms before—that we must not let in the thin end of the wedge. I do think there is this difference in this case, that the extension I have referred to has been urged by persons who have been very

prominent in this movement, and I cannot see myself how it could be logically refused, feeling as I do that a very large proportion of the best of their sex—the most intelligent, and most educated—are married women. Well, I have placed before you, I hope with complete frankness, my views on this matter. I am very sorry that I cannot agree with you, but I thought it would be better to state my views at once.

The HIGH SHERIFF said he had been very much impressed by the points in the interesting reply of Sir Michael, and the deputation cordially offered him their warmest thanks. They agreed that this question was by no means a party one, and that it was outside party politics altogether. If it were not, he should not have felt justified as High Sheriff in being present. He could only rejoice that such a representative deputation should have been called together to hear his (Sir Michael's) views upon it. They felt the force of the arguments used by him, but at the same time they naturally had their own strong feeling upon the subject. They could only hope that the good work that women were doing in various ways, as members of school boards, boards of guardians, and otherwise, would win their cause. The weaker sex were now showing themselves so strong in usefulness, so forward in support of every great and good institution in the country, that he (the High Sheriff) sincerely trusted that their cause would more and more commend itself to the right hon. gentleman, and that hereafter it might have his support.

Mrs. COLMAN supported the vote of thanks, and urged that what they asked for was simply a question of justice. They had justice on their side, and the good feeling and justice of men must eventually give what they asked. They had no right to consider the ultimate end of the thing if what they asked was just. Once let it be acknowledged that the claim was just, and the question was solved. Both sides of the House had acknowledged that they had justice on their side. Still women, who felt as keenly and as strongly on the great questions of State as men, found it impossible to get their views attended to, except in a roundabout way.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER, in acknowledging the vote, said he hoped that he had not intimated anything but admiration of women's work, or any desire to look at the subject otherwise than as an important matter, and one to which he should give his very best consideration.

The deputation then withdrew.

ELECTION INTELLIGENCE.

BRISTOL WEST.

SELECTION OF A LIBERAL CANDIDATE.

On August 7th a meeting of the Liberal 250 for the West division of Bristol was held in the Maudlin-street Schoolroom to consider the representation of that electoral district. There was a large attendance.

Mr. F. J. FRY presided, and said the sub-committee of the Liberal organisation of that district, in conjunction with Mr. Charles Townsend, had made inquiries with respect to the selection of a candidate for the West division of Bristol, and they were fortunate that evening in being able to place the name of a sound Liberal before them, Mr. Brinsley Nixon.

In the course of his address Mr. NIXON said: Another question which had been discussed, but had not yet come very prominently forward, was whether women should have the right to vote. It seemed to him that if a woman—a widow or spinster—performed all the duties a man did who was entitled to the franchise, if she paid rates and taxes and was a householder, it was a monstrous and unjust thing that that woman should be disqualified on account of her sex. (Cheers.) A great obstacle, it seemed to him, to the enfranchisement of women was that they themselves, as a body, did not appear to be very much interested in it. They never heard of any great movement among women; but upon abstract principles of justice he did not see how the thing could be refused.

A resolution adopting the candidature of Mr. Nixon was passed by the meeting.

SHROPSHIRE: NEWPORT DIVISION.

MEETING AT SHIFNAL.

On July 28th Mr. Bickersteth, Liberal candidate for the Newport Division of Shropshire, addressed a largely attended meeting

of the electors of the Shifnal District, in the Town Hall. Amongst those present were Mr. T. E. Horton, Dr. Proctor, Messrs. J. P. G. Smith, J. Pugh (Prior's Lee), W. Scott, W. Smith (Wellington), R. Masfield, J. Leake, A. Young (Newport), W. Massey (Newport), Mrs. and Miss Phillips, the Misses Leake, Miss Wilcox, Miss Tudor, &c., &c. The chair was occupied by the Rev. W. B. GARNETT-BOTFIELD.

After addresses by the Chairman and by Mr. Bickersteth, Miss PHILLIPS asked the candidate whether he was in favour of the extension of the franchise to women householders. He replied, "I am not for women's rights," and resumed his seat. He afterwards got up again, however, and said it was only due to her that he should make his answer a little longer. The reason why he was not for women's rights was because he held that women had a higher mission than to come down and mingle in political warfare. (Applause.) He held that it was to women they looked for the purest joys of their hearts and homes, and he maintained that any advantage they should gain by women taking part in political conflicts would be quite outweighed by the disadvantage it would be to bring them down from the pedestal they occupy in our hearts to mingle with us on the fighting ground of political warfare.

The following letter appeared on August 1st, in the *Newport and Market Drayton Advertiser*:—

Sir,—Will you kindly allow me space for a few words concerning the question put by me to Mr. Bickersteth at Shifnal Town Hall last night? In reply he based his objection to extend the suffrage to women householders, on the ground that women are too good and exalted to be allowed to take part in political matters; they should be "placed on a pedestal" and worshipped from afar. Although this "pedestal" argument, if I may so designate it, is sometimes used to veil a secret contempt for female intelligence, I give Mr. Bickersteth credit for perfect sincerity in his adoption of it.

I must, however, appeal to the good sense and honesty of Englishmen to tell me if they really believe that a man can be too good to take part in politics and to be entrusted with a vote. If they do so believe, where do they draw the line of demarcation between such men, and those whom, by their numerous failings, they consider fitted to vote? If, on the other hand, they think, as I trust the majority of them do, that the nobler and more high-minded a man is the better is he entitled to possess and to use the franchise—does not the same remark apply to women? I feel confident that the working men of England will use that power which they have so long desired, and which is in their hands to-day, in helping ungrudgingly to bestow on those women who desire it a similar privilege. Of one thing they may rest assured: that the evils which lie like canker-worms at the heart of modern society will never be eradicated, save by the united action of men and women, and sooner or later the will of women must be brought directly to bear upon members of the House of Commons.

If Mr. Bickersteth should ever take his place in that assembly, let us hope that he will learn to appreciate this.—Faithfully yours,

EMMA PARSONS PHILLIPS.

North View, Shifnal, Wednesday morning, July 29th, 1885.

SCARBOROUGH.

SELECTION OF A LIBERAL CANDIDATE: ADDRESS BY MR. GLOVER.

On July 31st, a crowded meeting of Liberal electors was held in the Old Town Hall, St. Nicholas-street, to hear an address from Mr. J. Glover, of London, who had been selected by the Council of the Liberal Association to recommend to the party as a candidate for the representation of the borough in Parliament. Mr. D'ARLEY, J.P., presided, and he was supported on the platform by Mr. Glover, Mr. W. Rowntree, J.P., Mr. Michael Hick, J.P., Mr. Whittaker, J.P., Alderman Hick, Alderman Fowler, J.P., Dr. Horne, Rev. R. B. Baggins, Rev. R. Cheeseman, Rev. E. D. Green, Rev. W. J. Packer, Councillor J. Barry, Councillor Hutton, Councillor J. Rowntree, Councillor T. P. Whittaker, Captain Lister, Messrs. T. Hick, J. Stephenson, M. T. Whittaker, John Rowntree, W. H. Shawcross, W. B. Richardson, A. J. Tugwell, J. Fitch, T. Walker, J. H. Smethurst, Jas. Ellis, W. M. Wright, J. Smith, and others.

After addresses by the candidate and others questions were invited, and a large number were handed up. On rising to answer them Mr. GLOVER was again hailed with cheers. He said: The first question is—"Are you in favour of extending to women householders

of this country the same vote which has just been extended to two millions of men and on the same condition?"—This is put so well I presume it must have been put by a lady. (Laughter.) I have the greatest pleasure in answering "Yes." (Cheers.)

GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

TEWKESBURY DIVISION.

On July 31st, Mr. Godfrey Samuelson, Liberal candidate for the representation of the Tewkesbury Division, addressed a large and practically unanimous meeting at Staverton, Captain SEARLE, of Pittville, in the chair. Other gentlemen present included, besides the candidate, Major Price, J.P., Mr. W. N. Skillicorne, jun., J.P., Mr. S. Onley, Mr. Chance (of Gloucester), Mr. Skemp, &c.

After addresses from the chairman, the candidate, and others, Mrs. M'ILQUHAM desired to question the candidate: first, whether he was in favour of female suffrage, and, second, whether he would support legislation tending to give greater justice to women, especially in the care of children. In putting these interrogations, this lady, who is a member of the Tewkesbury Board of Guardians, instanced a case of hardship to a mother with reference to the custody of her children, and argued that in these, and other matters, such as a married woman's inability to appeal against the income tax, justice was not at present done to her sex. With reference to the franchise, she said that Mr. Gladstone had alienated the sympathies of a large number of women by not availing himself of the recent opportunity of giving to them their due political power. She was a Liberal, but she did not believe in the worship of Mr. Gladstone, and thought a political pope almost as objectionable as a religious one. Nor did she think that Liberals were fair to their opponents, when they made a sweeping denial as to the passing of useful measures by Conservatives. Lord Cairns' Land Act was, she considered, a most excellent piece of legislation. Reverting to female suffrage, she again expressed disappointment at the Reform Bill, and believed that the women of England would not support the Liberal party at the next election.

Mr. SAMUELSON, in reply, complimented Mrs. M'Ilquham upon her pluck in the observations she had just made, and in answer to her questions said that he was in favour of female suffrage upon principle, but was not strongly anxious to promote it in practice. Mr. Gladstone had, he considered, acted with great wisdom in excluding it from the Franchise Bill, because he would have been endangering the measure by making it too sweeping and comprehensive. With regard to the second question, he entirely sympathised with what had been said, and should always support any wise measure for giving to women their just domestic rights. (Applause.)

GLOUCESTERSHIRE: THORNBURY DIVISION.

MR. E. STAFFORD HOWARD, M.P.'S, CANDIDATURE.

On August 24th, a meeting in support of the candidature of Mr. E. Stafford Howard, M.P., for the representation of the Thornbury division of Gloucestershire, was held in the Assembly Rooms, Westbury-on-Trym. There was a good attendance, Mr. S. DERHAM presiding.

With regard to giving the suffrage to women, Mr. HOWARD said he was at present opposed to it, but he was prepared to vote for it if they had a purely occupation suffrage.

On August 26th, Mr. Stafford Howard, M.P., addressed a meeting of electors in the schoolroom, Winterbourne Down. Mr. W. HARDWICK presided over a large attendance.

The CHAIRMAN having briefly opened the proceedings, Mr. E. STAFFORD HOWARD, M.P., who was received with applause, said that he would begin by addressing them as electors, which he could not have done some little time ago. He noticed some ladies present, but they had not yet given them a vote, although he thought before many years were over women householders would have a vote, and he hoped they would. (Hear, hear.)

The following letter has been received by Miss Blackburn, secretary of the Bristol and West of England Society for Women's Suffrage:—

"August 25th, 1885. Thornbury Castle,
Thornbury, Gloucester.

"Madam,—I am in favour of giving the franchise to women householders, whether married or single.

"But I should not wish to see the various qualifications for the franchise, which have unfortunately been retained under the Reform Act, extended to women, as it would lead to the indefinite multiplication of 40s. freeholds held for the purpose of a vote only, which is quite possible in spite of the provisions of the Act against faggot votes.

"I am in favour of an occupation franchise pure and simple for men and women. If a married woman lives in her own house she ought to have the vote, and not the husband, unless she chooses to have his name put in the rate book instead of her own.

"I do not think it necessary to trouble you to attend with a deputation to discuss the matter, but of course, if you still desire it, I shall be happy to meet you.

"I shall be away in September, but back here in October. Mr. H. M. T. C. Curzon has the arrangement of my meetings.—I am, madam, yours faithfully, (Signed) E. STAFFORD HOWARD.
"To Miss Helen Blackburn."

EAST CORNWALL.

MR. LEONARD COURTNEY AT ST. NEOT.

On August 8th, Mr. Courtney, M.P., addressed a meeting at St. Neot, near Liskeard, in his capacity of candidate for South-East Cornwall. Mr. Courtney, on arriving in the village, was received by a large number of the inhabitants, including a party of handbell ringers. The meeting was held in the square fronting the Carlyon Arms Inn, a waggon being used as a platform. Captain PASCOE presided, and among those present were the Rev. E. Steele, Messrs. J. Rowe, T. H. Hicks, Boraston, Cole, Williams, Kent, Oliver, Cawrse, Marks, Bolitho, Burnett, Keast, Andrew, Cocking, Gerry, Crapp, and Axworthy.

The CHAIRMAN briefly opened the meeting, remarking that a political gathering was a rare occurrence at St. Neot.

Mr. COURTNEY said this was perhaps the first time a political meeting had been held in St. Neot. He had been often in the neighbourhood, and had once visited St. Neot to see the famous church windows, but he had never before addressed the inhabitants on political questions. Very soon, however, they would have something to do of even greater importance than attending meetings. They would have to help in the choice of a member to represent them in the House of Commons, and that, they would all agree, was a high privilege and a great responsibility. Every householder could now vote, and vote in absolute secrecy. He had said "every householder" had a vote, but it was not yet quite true. Some people might think it a crotchet, but for his part he should never be satisfied until every woman householder, as well as every man householder, was enfranchised. (Cheers.) We had heard a great deal lately about the women, and rightly so—(cheers)—but the wrongs of women—and they were still not a few—would never be properly redressed until we had the women themselves voting, and able to exercise their influence upon members of Parliament. (Hear, hear.) Just to take one little case. During two or three sessions efforts had been made to pass a Bill enabling a wife to join with her husband in appointing guardians of their children, or enabling a widow to appoint guardians of their children, or enabling a widow to appoint guardians of the children left under her care; but in spite of the manifest justice of the proposal the Bill had been obstructed and delayed, and another session would pass without its becoming law. He called upon the men who had obtained their electoral rights and privileges to remember that women also had their claims to attention. These claims had been to a great extent neglected in the past, and they would continue to be neglected until the women as well as the men had the vote given them. (Hear, hear.)

OLDHAM.

On August 21st, Mr. J. T. Hibbert and the Hon. E. L. Stanley, the members for Oldham, addressed a meeting of their constituents in the Co-operative Hall, Greenacres, Oldham. The meeting, which was well attended, was presided over by Mr. GEORGE SWALES. In the course of his address, Mr. HIBBERT said: The people were also indebted to the last Parliament for a most important measure of enfranchisement and redistribution. He only felt sorry that that measure had not been extended to women, for he saw no difference between a man and a woman so long as they were occupiers of a house or engaged in business. (Applause.)

LECTURE.

BLAINA.

On August 3rd, Miss Wilkinson, of the Bristol and West of England Women's Suffrage Society, lectured on "Women and Temperance Legislation," in Hope Chapel, Blaina, Monmouthshire, to the members of the Independent Rechabites' Society, who held their annual demonstration that day. Dr. James Bolger took the chair, and there was a good attendance. The lecture was listened to with marked attention, and a resolution proposed by Miss Wilkinson, and ably seconded by a gentleman in the gallery, "That in the opinion of this meeting it is desirable for the promotion of temperance legislation that the franchise be conferred upon women," was carried unanimously. A hearty vote of thanks to the chairman and lecturer concluded the proceedings.

DEBATING SOCIETIES.

YEovil.

CONSERVATIVE WORKING MEN'S DEBATING SOCIETY.

At the first quarterly meeting of this Society, held at the Club-rooms, on Wednesday evening, July 15th (Mr. John Edwards in the chair), after the Treasurer had presented his report, and Mr. F. G. Style had been appointed hon. reporter, in the place of Mr. Edgar, resigned, the following subject was discussed—"That the Parliamentary franchise should be extended to those unmarried women and widows who possess the qualifications which entitle men to exercise it." The debate was opened by Mr. Shaker, who was followed on the negative side by Mr. Catford, who read an interesting address, showing the chief arguments against the motion. Amongst the subsequent speakers were Messrs. Greenham, Foan, Manley, Edwards, and Wilkins. The debate was very animated and exciting at times, and much interest was taken in the division, which showed that the motion was carried by a majority of one.—*Pulman's Weekly News.*

TOWN COUNCILS.

WIGAN.

The quarterly meeting of the members of the Wigan Town Council was held on August 5th, at the Council Chamber, Borough Courts. The MAYOR (Alderman Park) presided, and there were also in attendance Aldermen E. Smith, S. Alker, R. F. Hopwood, and J. Smith; Councillors E. H. Monks, C. M. Percy, J. Hilton, R. Richards, R. Layland, W. Platt, T. Airey, J. Nevill, W. Halliwell, J. Johnson, W. Topping, E. Heyes, W. J. Lamb, R. Halliwell, R. Blaylock, R. Lea, M. Benson, W. B. Johnson, T. Stuart, J. Edvardson, C. Oldfield, J. Phillips, A. Barlow, and J. Marsden, the Town Clerk (Mr. Darlington), and the rest of the borough officials.

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

The MAYOR said the first business of the meeting would be to receive the Mayor's communications.

The TOWN CLERK then read a letter with regard to women's suffrage.

The MAYOR said he should be glad to know what was their wish as to the communication which had just been read.

Mr. NEVILL (after a pause) said, as there did not seem to be any intention on the part of any members of the Council to move in the matter, he had no objection to propose that the common seal of the borough be affixed to the petition in favour of extending the franchise to those female voters who were eligible for votes.

Mr. Alderman J. SMITH said he had great pleasure in seconding the proposition, because he was acquainted with many ladies who were quite as able to exercise the franchise as himself. (Laughter.)

Mr. Alderman HOPWOOD: Back up the ladies.
The resolution was then put and declared to be carried.

LEAMINGTON.

A monthly meeting of this body was held on Monday, July 13th. The members present were: The Mayor (Alderman S. Flavell), Aldermen Lyas Bishop, J. Massie, T. Muddeman, and T. Southorn;

Councillors C. I. Blaker, William Davis, jun., F. Glover, W. Gilbert, F. H. Haynes, M.D., John Lund, R. A. Orton, C. Purser, Herbert Stanley, John Stanley, Joseph Stanley, J. Staite, J. S. Salmon, T. W. Thursfield, M.D., S. T. Wackrill, E. Waring, and Eardley-Wilmot, M.D.

A letter from Miss Becker having been read asking the Council to forward a memorial to Parliament in favour of the enfranchisement of women, Alderman MUDDAMAN proposed that the Mayor should sign the petition to Parliament in favour of that object.

Mr. WARING seconded.

Mr. GILBERT would be pleased to support it.

A discussion ensued, and several divisions were taken; ultimately the Council divided, when ten members voted in favour of women's suffrage and six against.

DEWSBURY.

At the monthly meeting of the Council of Dewsbury, held on July 9th, a letter was read from Miss Lydia Becker.

Alderman MACHELL said he had great pleasure in moving that the Council petition in favour of the Bill.

Councillor REUSS had great pleasure in seconding the resolution. Like Mr. Alderman Machel, he did not see why a "lackey" should have a vote, whilst a lady who might employ him should be deprived of such a right.

Councillors WILLANS and KERSHAW supported the motion, which, on being put, was lost by eight votes to seven.

COLCHESTER.

A communication was read from the Manchester National Society for promoting Women's Suffrage soliciting the influence of the Corporation.

Mr. WHITE thought this was a matter of considerable importance. The time was almost within measurable distance when the suffrage would be given to women, and he defied any man to urge any reasonable objection to their having it. Therefore he would like the Corporation to present a petition in favour of it. He asked them to think of the number of ladies of position and education living in houses and paying large rents and rates for this borough alone, and he contended it was unreasonable in the extreme that those ladies should not have a voice in returning representatives to Parliament. He moved that a petition be presented to Parliament in favour of the conferment of Parliamentary suffrage upon women. He did not mean married women, of course, because they had to some extent extinguished themselves. (Laughter.) But women already had votes for municipal and other purposes, and women were elected on school boards and boards of guardians, although he regretted there were none on his own board. (Laughter.)

Mr. COLE seconded the motion.

Mr. WATTS supported the motion, observing that there were many ladies, occupiers of large houses, and admittedly quite as capable of voting as many who had been admitted to the franchise at the present time.

The MAYOR said he held the same opinion as Mr. White. At the present moment he knew a lady, a tenant of his, and a widow, who was asked for a list of the new voters on her farm—the cottagers, labourers, and so on—and she had to fill up a list of seven or eight names, but she had not the pleasure of putting her own name to it, and he thought that was very hard. These men whom she employed, and who took her money in wages, had votes, but the lady herself—and others like her—who paid rent and taxes and wages, had no votes.

After some further discussion the resolution was carried.

A CONGREGATIONAL MINISTER ON WOMEN AND POLITICS.

Preaching recently in Wycliffe Church, Sheffield, the Rev. John Hunter said that there was one thing about the Hebrew Deborah which the women who heard him might imitate, and that was her patriotism—only let it be wiser, more righteous, and humane in its character. The noblest women they read of in the Bible took a deep and serious interest in their national politics; they felt that they were citizens of a nation, and that their life was bound up with the life of their people. Give the women of England the

sense that they too belonged to a people, the feeling that they owed something to their country, and that its uplifting and reform were also part of their work, and they would not be degraded but ennobled—their life would not lose one atom of its real worth and beauty, but would gain immeasurably in breadth and depth and power. The domestic life was not the whole life of a woman, any more than it was the whole life of a man. It was not only a woman's right but a woman's duty to be political. The daily life of young women of the upper and middle classes needed a large infusion of something that would give mental and moral stimulus to their characters. It was time many of them were ashamed of their frivolity and ornamental uselessness, and were aroused to a more serious conception of the purpose of life. They might talk as they liked of the higher education of women. Nothing would educate them so much as an intelligent, serious, and practical interest in great national concerns. Nothing enlarged and ennobled the being of man or woman like the inspiration of great ideas, lofty sentiments, and pure enthusiasms. Not, perhaps, zeal for their own rights, but certainly zeal for the removal of others' wrongs would mean the elevation and transfiguration of the womanhood of our country. There was so much to be done in the way of social reform, which only women could do, and which pressed heavily on an earnest minority, that no woman with leisure in these days had any need to sigh for work worthy of her powers, and work which would directly help to make the life of England purer, sweeter, and happier.

THE BISHOP OF DURHAM ON QUESTIONS AFFECTING WOMEN.

The Bishop of Durham, in an article entitled "The White Cross," in the *Contemporary Review* for August, says:—

"May we not hope that henceforward our legislators will no more expose themselves to the reproach that, being men, they legislate in the interests of men; and that, while they are careful enough to shield their own sons and brothers from the consequences of their vices, the daughters and sisters of their poorer neighbours find no compassion for their wrongs? *Pudet hæc opprobria nobis.* Here is the strength of the agitation for woman's suffrage. Not unnaturally it is claimed that the woman's voice shall be heard to redress the woman's wrongs, where the man is silent. Can we reflect with any self-respect that the championship and protection of the young and weak of their own sex from the foulest wrongs has been left to a few courageous women, who have ventured publicly to lay bare these iniquities, facing obloquy and despising shame? As their reward, they are denounced as unwomanly. Truly, it is not a woman's part; but is it many of us men to force them into a strange position by our silence, and then to taunt them with occupying it? If men refuse to speak, women must. There are times in the world's history when the crisis demands a Catherine of Siena or a Joan of Arc."

Obituary.

We record with great regret the death of Lord Houghton, which took place at Vichy, on the 10th of August, at the age of seventy-six years. As Richard Monkton Milnes, the deceased nobleman made a name in the literary and social world, which will be long remembered, while his kindness and geniality, and his great sympathy with all efforts in the direction of improving social conditions, endear his memory to a wide circle of friends and sympathisers. Lord Houghton was interred on the 20th of August in the family vault of the ancient parish church of Fryston, Yorkshire, which is situated near his principal and favourite residence, Fryston Hall. The funeral was attended by representatives of many societies in which he took an interest. The National Society for Women's Suffrage, to which Lord Houghton had rendered valuable help during his lifetime, was represented by Mrs. Oliver Scatcherd, of Leeds. In 1876 Lord Houghton presided at a meeting in the Festival Concert Room, York, in support of the franchise for women, and in 1879 he was in the chair at a great meeting for the same object in St. James's Hall, London.

MUNICIPAL BOROUGH.

RETURN to an Address of the Honourable The House of Commons, dated 13 April, 1885;—for, RETURN of Municipal Boroughs in England and Wales, showing the Population, Number of Inhabited Houses, Number of Persons on the Burgess Rolls, distinguishing Men from Women. The Boroughs to be arranged in Alphabetical Order:—

Table with columns: Name of Municipal Borough, Census, 1881 (Population, Inhabited Houses), Number of Persons on the present Burgess Roll of the Borough (Men, Women), Total, and Percentage of Women on Burgess Roll.

This column is not part of the Parliamentary return, but a calculation based upon the figures given.

Continuation of the Municipal Boroughs table, listing boroughs from Crewe to Lynnington with their respective census and population data.

(a) As regards so much of the parish of Croxson as is included in the Borough, taken at the census of 1881, the figures are stated to be: Population, 78,805; inhabited houses, 13,748. The medical officer of health estimates the population of the borough at Lady-Day last at 88,000, and the number of inhabited houses at 15,000. (b) Estimated present population is stated to be about 25,000; number of inhabited houses about 4,500. (c) Estimated present population, 26,000; number of inhabited houses, 5,805. (d) The borough has been extended since the census was taken in 1881.

Continuation of the Municipal Boroughs table, listing boroughs from Macclesfield to Walsall with their respective census and population data.

(a) Estimated present population, 15,000; number of inhabited houses, 3,000.

Table listing various boroughs and their population figures, including Warrington, Warwick, Wells, Wexham, etc.

* The Boroughs marked thus (*) have been incorporated since the Census of 1881, the particulars as to Population and Number of Inhabited Houses refer in each instance to the pre-existent Urban Sanitary District, and are taken from the Census; the additional information supplied in some cases by the Local Authority being placed in a foot-note.

MANCHESTER SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS, AUGUST, 1885.

Table listing names of subscribers and donors to the Manchester Society for Women's Suffrage, including Mr. Philip Goldschmidt, Mr. Pankhurst, etc.

S. ALFRED STEINTHAL, TREASURER, 28, JACKSON'S ROW, MANCHESTER.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS FROM JULY 28th TO AUGUST 28th, 1885.

Table listing names of subscribers and donors to the Central Committee, including Mrs. Nichol, Mrs. Marten, etc.

LAURA M'LAREN, TREASURER, 29, PARLIAMENT-STREET, S.W.

BRISTOL AND WEST OF ENGLAND SOCIETY.

SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS FROM JULY 21st TO AUGUST 21st, 1885.

Table listing names of subscribers and donors to the Bristol and West of England Society, including Mrs. Bruce, Miss C. Sturge, etc.

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