

# WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE JOURNAL.

EDITED BY LYDIA E. BECKER.

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## CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

The ANNUAL REPORT, presented at the Annual General Meeting of the Central Committee of the National Society for Women's Suffrage, held in Westminster Town Hall, July 9th, 1889. To be obtained at the Society's office, 10, Great College-street, Westminster. Price Threepence.

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PRIZE COMPETITION No. 10.

ANAGRAM.

"The Nineteenth Century Ladies who do not want to vote."

ANSWERS.

Denote when counted a very thin total, then 'tis too new.  
MRS. BLACKBURN.

The worthy inane noodles that veto it we needn't count.  
BODOH.

They should atone to wit endow a convent then enter it.  
GUELDER ROSE.

O turn, they intend that no one elect, and we wish to veto.  
O note the set, on what wild contention they adventure.  
SATIS VERBORUM.

Now woe to the tendency untried, that hate is not novel.  
On tho', we have the risen tide, ton, cult, and twenty to one.  
TYRO.

When victory seen at hand e'en Hottentot would note it.  
VICTORY.

O cannot we then do't, win in that duty? Let those e'en rove.  
OAK LEAF.

And when twenty cradle tunes veto it O then hoot "no lie."  
NOVIAN.

Answers have also been received from Ghyllead, Nemo, L. R. Mar, Ita est, and Maude, whose anagrams contained more or fewer letters than those in the original sentence. Anagrams other than those printed were also received from Mrs. Blackburn, Tyro, Guelder Rose, and Satis Verborum.

The result of the competition is, we think, highly creditable to the ingenuity of our readers, who have succeeded in forming many sentences of more or less aptness out of the letters in the original sentence. We have found some difficulty in deciding between the very creditable productions of Mrs. Blackburn, Guelder Rose, Bodoh, Satis Verborum, and Tyro. The three last named have violated strict rule by taking one word, "the," bodily from the original sentence; but we may note that in the case of the anagram sent by Bodoh the word is not required to make sense either in the original sentence or in the anagram, and its omission in both cases would leave Bodoh's a perfectly correct and amusing specimen. But as three of the competitors have complied strictly with the rules of the game, we must choose between the contributions of Guelder Rose, Satis Verborum, and Mrs. Blackburn, and not without some hesitation we decide in favour of the latter, whose sentence, if it does not run quite so connectedly as others, appears most apt in its application to the original. The prize of five shillings is therefore awarded to Mrs. BLACKBURN, 57, Withington Road, Manchester, for the anagram which appears at the head of our list of answers.

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5, John Dalton-street, Manchester.

SPECIAL APPEAL.

Sir Edward Watkin, Bt., M.P., has generously offered to give ONE HUNDRED POUNDS to the funds of the Manchester National Society for Women's Suffrage if nine hundred pounds shall be contributed by others. No time has been named as a limit to this offer, but as soon as promises to the required amount have been received, the committee will be able to obtain the hundred pounds kindly offered by Sir E. Watkin. Sums promised towards the £900 may be paid at any time within twelve months, either as a whole or by instalments. As the committee are urgently in need of funds, they trust that such friends as do not desire to see their work suspended will come forward with promises of help.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

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Office: 10, Great College-street, Westminster.

Mrs. Frank Snoad has very kindly offered £10 to the Central Committee on condition that twenty others will collect or give a similar sum before October 1st.

The vigorous prosecution of the work of the society must largely depend on the financial support it receives. The Committee, therefore, earnestly request the help of friends to enable them to profit by this offer.

Sums already given or promised:—

Mrs. Frank Snoad . . . . . £10
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Louisa, Lady Goldsmid . . . . . 10
Miss Mordan . . . . . 10
Miss Eccles . . . . . 10

Obituary.

MAJOR DICKSON, M.P.—We record with great regret the death of one of the oldest supporters of women's suffrage in the House of Commons, in the person of Major Dickson, M.P. for Dover. Major Dickson voted for women's suffrage in 1871, and has supported on various occasions since that time. He signed the memorial in its favour in 1888. Major Dickson sat for Dover continuously since 1865, and died on July 4th, aged 55 years.

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THE House of Commons, in the discussions in Committee on the Scotch Local Government Bill, disposed without hesitation of two of the difficulties which have been raised in connection with women's suffrage. Opponents have urged that the right to vote in an election carries with it the right to be elected, and therefore that if women are allowed to vote for members of the House of Commons they must also be allowed to enter Parliament. But this fanciful and imaginary objection was conclusively disposed of when the House of Commons passed, by a majority of 70 to 38, the clause moved by the LORD ADVOCATE declaring that no woman shall be eligible for election as a county councillor. We do not pretend to regret this result, for, without prejudice to the merits of the question as to the desirability of women being chosen to serve on Town or County Councils, we believe, with the SOLICITOR GENERAL for SCOTLAND, that there is danger that the pressing of this question may drive people from allowing them the Parliamentary vote, and that those who resist such demands may very reasonably believe that in doing so they acted in the best interest of women so far as regards the paramount question of the Parliamentary suffrage.

THE second difficulty was even more decisively negated. It is alleged by opponents of the Women's Franchise Bill that if unmarried women and widows are admitted to vote married women must also be enfranchised. Yet the House of Commons, by 111 votes to 56—a majority of two to one—affirmed the principle of excluding married women from the vote for County Councils, which the Bill extends to unmarried women and widows. We have, therefore, the right to expect that whenever the House shall be called upon to deal in Committee with the details of the Women's Franchise Bill, it will not find the smallest difficulty in deciding how far it will or will not go, or in limiting the provisions of the measure within such moderate and reasonable bounds as may seem best calculated to secure its acceptance by the Legislature.

AN examination of the division lists shows that out of the

70 members who supported the Government in maintaining the exclusion of women from County Councils 30 were friends of women's suffrage, 9 were known opponents, and 31 were members whose opinions have not, so far as we are aware, been declared. Among the 38 members who voted in favour of their admission we find only one known opponent of the franchise movement, 30 friends, and 7 unknown.

Among the 111 who voted against extending the County Council franchise to married women were 51 friends of the Parliamentary franchise for women, 10 opponents, and 50 unknown. The 56 members who voted in favour of including married women consisted of 37 friends of the Parliamentary franchise for women, 5 opponents, and 14 unknown.

THE annual meeting of the Central Committee of the National Society for Women's Suffrage took place in the Westminster Town Hall, on July 9th, the COUNTESS of PORTSMOUTH presiding. The adoption of the report was moved by Sir RICHARD TEMPLE, Bt., M.P., seconded by Sir W. T. MARRIOTT, M.P., Judge Advocate General, and supported by Miss EMILY DAVIES. A resolution affirming the opinion of the meeting that the principle of women's suffrage as now established by common and statute law for unmarried women and widows in local elections should be extended to Parliamentary elections was moved by Captain EDWARDS-HEATHCOTE, M.P., seconded by Sir J. H. PULESTON, M.P., supported by Miss TOD, and adopted. The Hon. Mrs. COLBORNE, Directress of Needlework in the Education Department, Whitehall, proposed, and the Rev. J. VERSCHOYLE seconded, the election of the Executive Committee for the coming year. A vote of thanks to the COUNTESS of PORTSMOUTH for presiding, moved by Mrs. BYERS, principal of Victoria College, Belfast, and seconded by Miss MORDAN, concluded the proceedings.

AT a meeting of the Council of the Lancashire and Cheshire Division of the National Union of Conservative Associations, Mr. F. S. POWELL, M.P., in the chair, a resolution in favour of women's suffrage was moved by Mr.



WAINWRIGHT, seconded by Dr. ROYLE, and supported by Mr. FULLAGAR. The chairman deprecated the introduction of the resolution, and made some remarks bringing forward objections to the proposal, but notwithstanding this expression of opinion the resolution was carried with only one dissident.

The publication of the list of ladies in favour of women's suffrage in the *Fortnightly Review* of last month has been supplemented by the separate publication by the Central Committee of the National Society for Women's Suffrage, 10, Great College-street, Westminster, and by the Central National Society, 29, Parliament-street, of the full list of signatures sent to their respective offices. The former Society publishes as a pamphlet the list of names sent to their office. This list includes 600 of the 642 names published in the *Fortnightly Review*, together with 653 others. Among names sent to the Central Committee's office in Great College-street were the Dowager MARCHIONESS of HUNTLY, the Lady FRANCES BALFOUR, the Dowager COUNTESS of SHREWSBURY, the COUNTESS of CARLISLE, the COUNTESS of PORTSMOUTH, the COUNTESS of MAR, the Dowager COUNTESS of BUCHAN, the COUNTESS of MEATH, the COUNTESS of CAMPERDOWN, the Lady MAUD WOLMER, the VISCOUNTESS HARBERTON, the Lady DOROTHY NEVILLE, the Lady MAUDE PARRY, the Lady AGATHA RUSSELL, the Lady RACHEL HOWARD, CLARA Lady RAYLEIGH, the Lady RAYLEIGH, MARGARET Lady SANDHURST, the Lady MOUNT TEMPLE, and others. Among the wives of clergymen and Church dignitaries are Mrs. BENSON, wife of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Mrs. THOMSON, wife of the Archbishop of York, Mrs. TEMPLE, wife of the Bishop of London, Mrs. GOODWIN, wife of the Bishop of Carlisle, and Mrs. ATLAY, wife of the Bishop of Hereford. The general list contains the names of the wives of many M.P.s, including Mrs. COURTNEY, Mrs. COTTON, Mrs. EDWARDS-HEATHCOTE, and Mrs. C. E. SCHWANN, Mrs. HENRY SIDGWICK, Mrs. ARTHUR SIDGWICK, Mrs. RHYS, Mrs. ARTHUR TENNYSON, Mrs. ADAMS, Miss BALFOUR, Miss CONS, and others, for which we refer our readers to the list itself, which may be obtained at the office, 10, Great College-street, Westminster.

The list of names sent to the office of the Central National Society, at 29, Parliament-street, which includes 42 out of the 642 published in the *Fortnightly Review*, is included in the quarterly statement issued to their members by

that society. Among these are the secretaries of ten women's trades unions. Among the more noteworthy of the names sent through 29, Parliament-street, and which are published in the *Fortnightly*, are Lady KING-HALL, Mrs. KARL BLIND, Mrs. J. E. ELLIS, Mrs. HUGH MASON, Mrs. MARGARET PARK (Wigan), Mrs. WYNFORD PHILLIPS, Mrs. KITCHENER (Newcastle-under-Lyne), Miss MATHILDE BLIND, Miss OLIVE SCHREINER, Miss F. MABEL ROBINSON, &c. The supplementary list of names sent to 29, Parliament-street, for which the Editor of the *Fortnightly Review* could not find space, contains 883 names, including a large proportion of working women. It may be had on application to the secretary.

THE total number of names appended to the declaration in favour of women's suffrage sent to the two offices up to the present time appears to be to 10, Great College-street, 1,553, to 29, Parliament-street, 985, total 2,538. Had mere numbers been aimed at these totals could have been indefinitely increased. But it was thought desirable to limit the issue of the forms so as to obtain, not an exhaustive, but a representative list of all sorts and conditions of women in favour of the Parliamentary franchise.

THE editor of the *Nineteenth Century Review* returns to the charge this month with a list of names to the protest against women's suffrage which occupy twenty-eight pages of the *Review*. The original list appears to have been republished with the additional names collected during the two months that have elapsed since the protest was issued.

The publication in a high-class monthly magazine of pages and pages filled with mere lists of names is a new departure in political controversy. Up to recent times it has been assumed that grave political and social questions must be determined by argument and reason, and not by mere lists of names. The friends of women's suffrage need not fear the result of such a test as comparative lists of names, if the patience of editors and their readers would permit it to be exhaustive. But they place their contention on higher grounds, and, while not neglecting to take such steps as may seem desirable to meet the new attitude of their opponents, they trust for the accomplishment of their object to the same methods as they have hitherto pursued, namely, by reasons and argument to present their case before Parliament and the

country in such a manner as shall convince the public mind of the justice and expediency of recognising their claim.

## PARLIAMENTARY INTELLIGENCE.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, July 12th.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT (SCOTLAND) &c. BILL.

New clause (Disqualifications for being Councillor.)—(The Lord Advocate,)—brought up, and read the first time.

Mr. FIRTH: I move to leave out the first part of the clause, "(1.) No woman shall be eligible for election as a county councillor; and." The Government must have made up their minds on the question of women councillors, or they would not have taken up so strong a negative position. For my own part, I regard the question as by no means settled. The Government have struck an entirely new note, there being no other Act of Parliament in which a disqualification by reason of sex is distinctly stated as it is here. They have raised the standard of disqualification; but I hope the question will not be decided by this Committee on bare sentimental considerations, but on the main ground on which the Bill itself is based—that is, of general utility and advantage. The question of the rights of one sex as against another, or of the occupation of public places of profit, is a wider question than it is desirable to raise in a Bill which is going through with such speed as this, and with such concession whenever an obstacle is presented. The question I would address myself to is the advantage which would accrue to the County Councils from having the services of women upon them. This is a matter upon which I can speak with a certain amount of knowledge and experience, having watched for some weeks the way in which three ladies of peculiar competence and ability have discharged functions on the London County Council of a kind which the County Councils under this Bill are to have to discharge. I am not alluding to the whole of the functions of the London County Council. So far as I see, the County Councils in Scotland will not have the control of baby farms; but under section 11 they will have to appoint visitors to lunatic asylums, and it is just in respect of that jurisdiction that I would illustrate what seems to me to be the true position in this matter, and why women should be admitted to the County Councils. It must be recollected that unless a large number of the electors come to the conclusion that a woman can usefully discharge functions on the County Council, she will not be elected; but if, in the opinion of a Scotch electorate, there are functions on the Scotch County Councils which might be usefully discharged by women, then in conscience is this House to take on itself the strong negative position which the Lord Advocate would adopt of saying that under no circumstances, so long as time shall last, shall women render those services which they have shown themselves so fitted to render? In the matter of lunatic asylums there are certain difficulties met with, in regard to which it is in the highest degree desirable that an opportunity for investigation should be given to perfectly independent persons. On the London County Council we have under the control of a single committee 10,200 lunatics, half of which number are women, and the advantage which accrued to the Council from a knowledge of the existing state of things at the asylums amongst the female part of the patients from having them visited by competent ladies, was so great that it could only be appreciated by those who had experience of it. In regard to lunatic asylums, even more than in regard to industrial schools, it is desirable that there should be in positions of authority ladies able to investigate these institutions. Everybody knows that there are many things that female patients will not confide to their ordinary officers, or to other persons, except members of their own sex visiting them with the power and position of authority which ought to be confided to them. It is impossible without the assistance of ladies to know positively that all the regulations laid down are properly carried out, or that difficult and complex systems are properly worked. On the London County Council we have arrived at the conclusion that the assistance of women in these matters is most essential; and I think it is to be regretted, from a public point of view, that the Government

should have taken up a negative line of this kind. I hope the Lord Advocate will, with that skill which characterises him, indicate to the House how these difficulties can be better or equally well met by the absence of ladies from County Councils, so far as lunatic asylums are concerned. I hope, also, he will tell us whether or not it is on the ground of the simple disqualification of sex, or on some sentimental ground, that he has put this motion on the paper; and whether he is able to defend his motion on the only ground upon which such a proposition can be rightly defended—namely, the practical ground of utility. I move to omit the first part of the clause.

Amendment proposed at beginning of clause to leave out the words "(1.) No woman shall be eligible for election as a county councillor, &c."—(Mr. Firth.)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."

Mr. CUNINGHAME GRAHAM (Lanark, N.W.): I wish to support in the strongest manner what has been said by the hon. member for Dundee, and it seems to me that the description he has been able to give of the work done by women who had seats on the London County Council should induce the Lord Advocate to withdraw his proposal. What argument can there be in favour of women sitting upon School Boards which does not equally apply to their sitting upon County Councils? This is a matter which touches the interests of the working classes very keenly, as there are 50,000 questions which may come before County Councils on which women, and women alone, are able to give proper opinions. I would put it straight across this House to the Lord Advocate, whether he thinks that the functions of women in Scotland are to be confined to their ball of thin cotton and No. 8 needle, and the production of little sinners, or whether he does not think that women are capable of expressing opinions as well as men on such small matters as the Government have left to the Councils? The proposal of the Government is the most reactionary and retrograde proposal in this, which is the most reactionary and retrograde Bill of the kind we have been favoured with from the other side of the House. If the question were not ripening both in England and Scotland, I could understand that the Lord Advocate might have had some grounds for his proposal, but on every side we see women asserting their right to interfere in public matters. As I have said, they have seats on the School Boards, and I would ask the eminent member of the London School Board whom I see opposite (Sir R. Temple) whether he sees anything in the way. His colleagues, Mrs. Ashton Dilke and Mrs. Besant, have done their duty, which should induce him to vote for this extraordinary proposition of the Government. I really think we have a right to expect some explanation from the Lord Advocate as to why he proposes this insult to the intellect of the women of Scotland.

Mr. CALDWELL: I think a question of this nature should be determined by the feeling of the people of Scotland themselves. I am bound to say I have found no desire on the part of the ladies of Scotland to sit on the County Boards, any more than I have found any desire on their part to sit on Parochial Boards, for which I believe they are qualified. There is the greatest difference between School Boards and County Councils, as the first relate to education, where the services of ladies may be of the greatest value; but the work of the Councils is of a highly administrative nature, which will be best performed by people who have had business experience. Then, again, what ladies would be got to stand as candidates in Scotland? You would require ladies of leisure and ability; but I venture to say that in Scotland you would not get such ladies to devote their time to these matters. Altogether, in the absence of any expression of a desire on the part of the ladies of Scotland to have seats on the County Councils, I think it would be premature to admit a principle merely because it is said that it has been tested and found to work well in another country.

Notice taken, that forty members not present: House counted, and forty members being found present.

Dr. CLARK: I am very much afraid that the Lord Advocate, in attempting to solve this question, overlooked some of the arguments which would otherwise have had some weight in his mind, and I trust he will reconsider the matter, and allow the people a little more liberty in regard to it. I was under the impression that the hon. member for St. Rollox would be a strong supporter of the clause as it stands on the ground of liberty; but, curiously enough, he says he is going to support the amendment so as to prevent the



people from expressing their views on the question. For my own part I am, on every ground, opposed to the amendment, because I think the question is one for the people themselves to determine; and we ought not to prevent the electors, if they think fit, from electing any lady who may be eligible, who has plenty of time on her hands, and who would like to perform the work to which the people of the county chose to call her. By passing the Lord Advocate's amendment the Committee will be arbitrarily tying the hands of the electors in this matter; and it is not as if the proposal to allow women to be elected were without precedent, for in Scotland we have had both poor-law guardians and lady members of the School Boards, who have performed very useful functions with reference to poor-law administration and educational matters. In point of fact, so beneficial have these services been, that in one of the largest towns in Scotland—the fifth in point of population—the School Board actually elected a lady as chairwoman. Apart from my objections to this attempt at restricting the liberty of the electors, I regard it as a very important point that we should have the advantage of obtaining the valuable services which many women of talent and education are able to render. I like to trust the people, and let them exercise their own free choice in these questions. Moreover, looking at the growing interest manifested in matters of this kind, I say that you have no right to tie the hands of future generations by this sort of legislation. In these democratic times I should have thought hon. members on both sides of the House would have agreed to trust the people on such a point. I might here refer to the important consideration which was raised by the hon. member for Dundee (Mr. Firth), who spoke of his experience with regard to certain lunatic asylums over which the County Councils will in future have the control. In those asylums no female inspectors or visitors are allowed, for although, on different occasions, attempts have been made to get lady inspectors appointed, the Local Government Board has always opposed the proposition. If the electors were allowed to have female county councillors they could then be appointed as asylum inspectors, and would thus be enabled to have matters brought before them by the female patients that are not, and cannot, be brought before inspectors of the other sex. This would be an improvement of the present condition of things that would be of great value to the unfortunate female inmates of the asylums. Upon *a priori* grounds—on the grounds of liberty and desirability—I oppose this unjust limitation of the freedom of the electors.

Mr. M. STEWART: Having had upon the paper an amendment very similar in point of principle to that now under discussion, it gives me great satisfaction to witness the course the Government are taking on this matter, and I trust they will adhere to their proposal. My hon. friend who has just sat down seems to think we are limiting the privileges of future generations as well as of the present by denying them the right to elect lady county councillors. For my part, I consider that we who sit this side, and I may say on both sides, of this House, represent the people generally, and have trust in the people, and that in regard to these questions we indicate what is the opinion of the people. This being so, we are satisfied that it is not the desire of the people that ladies should sit on the County Councils. With regard to one statement made by the hon. gentleman opposite (Dr. Clark), I think I have had as much experience of public business in Scotland as the hon. member, and that I may have attended as many Parochial and School Boards as he has, and, probably, have visited as many asylums; and I must say that I never even heard it suggested that ladies ought to be placed on either of the Boards he has alluded to. I can imagine that ladies would be very competent to act as visitors to the female patients in the asylums; but as regards their being made members of the County Boards, I can see no real use that would be served by dragging them from the privacy of their homes and obliging them to travel long distances to and from the places of meeting, which in the country districts frequently involve very lengthy journeys. Very often I have had to travel as much as 100 miles to attend a Board meeting. With all respect for their powers of endurance, I should not like to subject ladies to such an experience; and I think it would be unfair to ask them to undergo it. Beyond all this, I cannot see the use of putting ladies on Parochial Boards; and the suggestion of the hon. gentleman opposite, that ladies are well fitted for the discharge of such duties is altogether foreign to my own experience, and I have never even heard of their attending country School Boards, as to which matter I very much question

whether the hon. gentleman can give me an illustration. Ladies are much better at home, discharging the numerous domestic duties they have to perform in their peculiar sphere. For these reasons, I think Her Majesty's Government ought to hold fast by the amendment they have placed upon the paper.

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I think that some of the arguments employed by the hon. gentleman who has just spoken can hardly be regarded as very strong. To my mind his argument, based on the distances lady councillors would have to travel and their relative powers of endurance as compared with those of the other sex, falls to the ground when we remember that no one proposes to compel women to become members of County Councils, and that they ought to be the best judges of their own powers of endurance. If I were to give utterance to the first criticism that occurs to me with regard to the proposal of the Government, I should say it is somewhat peremptory, if not brutal, in its tone. It says that "no woman shall be eligible for election as a county councillor." But, on the merits of the question, there are good reasons why ladies should sit on the School Boards and Parochial Boards which do not apply to County Councils, and I may add that I am not aware that within the limits of Scotland any desire has been expressed by the Scotch people that women should be elected on the County Councils. Much has been said with regard to the usefulness of their services on the School Boards and Parochial Boards, and there are obvious reasons why it is desirable that they should discharge those functions; but these Boards do not afford the true analogy to the County Council. The real analogue to the County Council is the Town Council, and what I wish to ask—and I merely ask the question for the purpose of obtaining information—is this: has any public desire been expressed that ladies should be made members of Town Councils? Let us settle this question before we determine whether they should be made county councillors. Let us do all things decently and in order. We are now conferring on the counties the municipal authority we have hitherto given to the towns. That system has so far worked well without the presence of ladies. Why, then, should we be so anxious all of a sudden to have ladies on the County Councils? That is really the point at issue; and unless I learn that there is something in the County Councils which altogether alters the aspect of the case and makes it more desirable that we should have women among those bodies than that they should be on the Town Councils, I shall be prepared to say that the County Councils shall be placed in the same category as the Town Councils, and that the work of the County Councils shall be done exclusively by men.

Sir G. CAMPBELL: I am very glad that the Government have submitted this issue in a clear manner, that it may be decided one way or the other. My hon. friend (Mr. C. Graham) has given the very reasons which induce me to take the other course. He says that all-round women are seeking and praying to interfere with political matters. That is just why I oppose the amendment. We want a defence against these aggressive women. The mass of women cannot and do not want anything of the kind. It is only a certain number of aggressive women who are advancing upon us in a most dangerous way. I admit it may be difficult to draw the line at whether they are to sit upon School Boards or upon County Councils. But you must draw the line somewhere. And if we have them in the County Councils, the next thing will be that we will have them here; and if we have them here, then I prophesy that our independence would be gone. I admit I have the pleasure of the acquaintance of some of the most charming women who are now of the London County Council; but what I am afraid of is this, that if they come among us we would either succumb to the charm of their influence or we would be forced to treat them as "the women" to be hated. Let women behave as women, and let men perform the functions of men. I want to draw the line at the County Council. My right hon. friend (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) mentioned Town Councils. These women who enter public life are very aggressive and very persuasive, but, of the various women's rights they have claimed, I have never yet heard that they suggested they should be on Town Councils. Town Councils may petition in favour of women's rights, but they do not admit women amongst themselves. I would exclude women from the County Council in order that they may not get any further, and that we may not have them here.

Mr. S. BUXTON: The speech of my hon. friend behind me might have been a second reading speech on the Women's Franchise Bill;

it did not really affect the question before us. He argues that if women obtained seats on the County Council, the next thing would be that we would see them in this House, and I suppose we would have a Chairwoman of Ways and Means. I am afraid the speech of the hon. member is too late. Women are already on Boards of Guardians and on School Boards, and it seems to me that the question of the County Council is placed in the same category. It is a question for the ratepayers, whereas the question of entrance to this House is one for the general taxpayers and electors of the country. I am very glad the Government have raised the question in a specific way. I think it much better that the question should be argued on its merits than that it should be left so indefinite as in the case of the English Act. In England a case has been brought before the courts of law, and it has been decided in the most unsatisfactory manner. I believe the decision in the case of the London County Council was that the lady could not resign her seat nor vote—a position like that of Mahomet's coffin, suspended between heaven and earth. That is a reason for the debate this night. I do not believe that any member of this House would say for a moment that the presence of a female on the London County Council was not an advantage to the working of the institution. There are many questions put to us on the School Board on which women are able to give valuable advice, and I for one think we ought not to exclude them in these specific terms, but that we should allow the ratepayers an opportunity of electing women to serve them in matters affecting them. The argument used by the hon. member for St. Rollox, and by the hon. member opposite, was that we would tear women from their homes and make them travel at night many miles in order to serve on these County Councils. They seemed to have argued throughout as if it would be compulsory on women to serve. The whole matter is this—if the ratepayers of a district deem that their interests would be better served by electing women, then they should have the opportunity of so making their choice. We have heard something of the excellent work of women on the London County Council and on the London School Board, and I very cordially support the omission of these words.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR SCOTLAND (Mr. M. T. Stormonth Darling, Edinburgh and St. Andrew's Universities): I shall state the point with very great brevity, because the arguments have been fully gone into. I do not entirely share the view of the hon. member for Kirkcaldy, who regards the advance of women with horror and aversion; nor, on the other hand, are we in entire agreement with the right hon. gentleman (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman). He spoke of the proposal of the Government as rude, peremptory, and brutal, and then in the same breath he said that the true analogue of the County Council was the Town Council. It so happens that these two observations of the right hon. gentleman will hardly stand together, because under the *régime*—to which he at least will be the last to take exception—of the year 1881, Parliament passed an Act relating to municipal elections in Scotland by which women were for the first time admitted to the municipal franchise; and in that Act I find the very same "rude, peremptory, and brutal" words. The second clause of that Act concluded thus—"Females shall not be eligible for election as Town Councillors." He calls them "females." He is, therefore, even more rude, more peremptory, and more brutal than we are on the present occasion. After all there is nothing in the work of the County Council which specially calls for the services of women. They have rendered satisfactory service on the School Boards, but it is impossible to draw any analogy between that and the work of the County Council, the business of which will be essentially of an administrative character, and will resemble the work of Town Councils much more than the work of School Boards. There is no demand, as has been pointed out, for the presence of women on Town Councils. Let me add that, in my opinion, they are the very worst friends of the Parliamentary enfranchisement of women who advocate their intrusion into spheres for which they are not fitted, and into which I believe they do not themselves desire to enter. That is the kind of thing which would drive people from allowing them the Parliamentary suffrage, and I believe that we are acting in the best interests of women when we resist such proposals.

Mr. J. E. ELLIS (Nottingham, Ruscliffe): Sir, I support this proposal on the ground that it is a matter for the ratepayers, who should have the utmost freedom of choice. It seems to me that the question is one to be settled by the electors. If women are not

likely to be useful on the County Council or in Parliament the electors will not return them. No woman would have a chance of occupying a seat in either sphere if she could not occupy it usefully. On the simple ground of absolute freedom of choice on the part of electors I cordially support the amendment.

Dr. CLARK: Sir, I congratulate the hon. member for Kirkcaldy on being with regard to this question more Tory than the Tories. His speech was a good old-fashioned Tory speech, with the Tory ring and the Tory prejudices about it. I am not prepared to go to the extreme of the Solicitor General's *reductio ad absurdum*. I want to see women perform every public duty a man performs. I have seen Amazon regiments—women who enter the war dance and who fight. I have seen women who till the field and do all the work, while the man is the lordly animal, doing nothing except a little fighting occasionally. And I have noted that in proportion as civilisation develops the disabilities of women are removed. If you want to make a strong nation you must develop the powers and talents which its women possess, instead of trying to restrict them. To do the one is to develop, to do the other is to retard, the progress of humanity.

Mr. DE LISLE (Leicestershire, Mid): I would not have intervened in this debate but for the concluding remarks of the Solicitor General for Scotland. The hon. and learned gentleman seemed to imply that, by voting against this proposition we should be retarding the possibility of extending the principle of Parliamentary voting to women. That is precisely what I wish to do, as a determined opponent of woman suffrage. I am going to support the clause of the Lord Advocate, because there is nothing I have a greater objection to than the intrusion of women in the sphere of men. I do not know what is the kind of civilisation the hon. gentleman (Dr. Clark) has just been hinting at, but if the Amazons fight like men, surely that is not a sign of high civilisation, but rather of the wildest barbarism. I cannot help thinking that if once you put women on contentious ground with men, you aim a great blow at the peace and comfort of society. At present politics are to women a work of supererogation. If they agree with their man friends and relations they assist them. If they differ, they remain silent. Once placed political duties in their hands and they must go their own way independently like men. As an opponent then of all unsexing of women I support the Lord Advocate's amendment.

The Committee divided:—Ayes 70; noes 38.—(Div. List, No. 201.)

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I wish to move an amendment to this proposed new clause in order to give married women the same right to the franchise as unmarried women. I do not know that there are any arguments required to support the amendment. I think rather the burden of proof should rest with those who would exclude married women. There may be a good deal to be said for and against the proposal, whether women should vote at all; but if women are allowed to vote, I cannot see any ground for restricting the privilege to unmarried women, and those who, being married, have separated from their husbands.

Amendment proposed, in line 75, to leave out the words "who is not married, or who, being married, is not living in family with her husband."—(Mr. Campbell-Bannerman.)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."

Mr. J. P. B. ROBERTSON: There are, no doubt, many considerations of interest attending the point the right hon. gentleman has raised, but I must say for the Government that we prefer to consider this question from a practical rather than an abstract point of view. We are not here incidentally to revise and reconsider all possible objections as to who ought or ought not to be qualified in this case. We have in this instance followed a precedent of quite a modern character. The law relating to the rights of women in municipal elections in Scotland is so recent as 1881, and constitutes the latest decision of Parliament on this matter. I think it would be unfortunate if we were incidentally to enter upon this question, and the right hon. gentleman will excuse me if I decline to do so. We simply transfer to County Council elections what we find to be the existing state of the law in regard to municipal elections.

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I should have thought that of all female members of the community a woman living with her husband was most deserving of this trust. But I admit the Lord Advocate has slain me with my own weapon. I have always urged that we should follow the precedent of municipal government; the right



hon. gentleman says this section is taken from the Municipal Act, and I will not persist.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL: I should have been content to avoid all difficulty of discriminating between the classes of women who should vote, by providing that no woman should vote at all. But we have allowed the tide to advance so far, and can only make a barrier to prevent further progress. I think it would be better to get over the difficulty in the way suggested by the right hon. gentleman, though possibly dissensions might arise in some families through the adoption of this course. I remember hearing of a case in America, however, in which a woman stood against her husband as a candidate for a municipal office. I was told that there was no jarring over family duties. I asked who won, and was informed that the man did. I was not surprised at the absence of dissensions, for if the contest had gone the other way, difficulties might have arisen. I am in the hands of the right hon. gentleman the member for Stirling Burghs; if he does not wish to press the matter, I am sure I have no desire to.

Mr. HALDANE (Haddington): I approach this question in a position of greater freedom and less responsibility than many hon. members, and I deprecate this appeal to precedent made on the part of the Government. We cannot forget it is only a short time since that the Government, on the question of free education—notwithstanding the example set them by the front bench opposite—chose to throw that example overboard and announce that the precedent was not binding. We have advanced on many questions, and I believe that in this House we have advanced in our conception of the position of women, particularly in the question of local government. I well remember a speech by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1885, at a time when he was a candidate for the Eastern Division of Edinburgh. Somebody asked him if he were prepared to support the admission of women to the suffrage in a form proposed in a Bill then before Parliament. He announced that he was not, because the proposition was one which would exclude married women, and he certainly was not prepared to exclude from the franchise those who were the most distinguished and presumably capable of their sex. I would ask why, in a question of municipal government such as this—why in the choice of the electorate for the County Councils—we should select single women and refuse the suffrage to married women. Of all subjects in which women are interested surely it is those which will come under the direction of the County Councils. I do not know what course my right hon. friend intends to take, but I shall claim my right to press this matter to a division.

The Committee divided:—Ayes 111; Noes 56.—(Div. List, No. 203.)

## DIVISION LISTS.

Numb. 201.—9h. 35m.

A clause (Disqualifications for being councillor.)—(The Lord Advocate.)—brought up, and read the first and second time:—

Amendment proposed, at beginning of clause, to leave out the words "(1.) No woman shall be eligible for election as a county councillor, and."—(Mr. Firth.)—

Question put, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause?"—The Committee divided; Ayes 70, Noes 38.

## AYES.

Agg-Gardner, James T.  
Anstruther, H. T. (St. Andrews)  
Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J. (Manch'r)  
Balfour, Rt. Hon. J. Blair (Clackm.)  
Baring, Thos. Chas. (London)  
Bolton, Jos. Cheney (Stirlingsh.)  
Bolton, T. D. (Derbyshire)  
Bright, John A. (Birmingham)  
Brodrick, Hon. St. John  
Brooks, Sir William Cunliffe  
Burghley, Lord  
Caldwell, J.  
Campbell, Sir Arch. (Renfrewshire)  
Campbell, Sir Geo. (Kirkcaldy)  
Campbell-Bannerman, Rt. Hon. H.  
Clarke, Sir Edward (Plymouth)  
Coghill, Douglas Henry  
Colomb, Sir John Chas. Ready  
Corry, Sir James Porter  
Darling, M. T., Stormonth (Edin.)  
Davenport, Harry T. (Staffsh.)

De Lisle, Edwin  
De Worms, Rt. Hon. Baron Henry  
Dixon-Hartland, Fred. Dixon  
Duff, Robert William  
Dugdale, John Stratford  
Dyke, Rt. Hon. Sir William Hart  
Elliot, Hon. Hugh F. H. (Ayrsh.)  
Farquharson, H. R. (Dorsetshire)  
Field, Admiral  
Forwood, Arthur Bower  
Goldsworthy, Major-General  
Gray, Charles Wing (Essex)  
Grove, Sir Thomas Fraser  
Hamilton, Rt. Hon. Lord G. (Midx.)  
Herbert, Hon. Sidney  
Hill, Lord Arthur Wm. (Down.)  
Hill, Col. Edw. Stock (Bristol)  
Hornby, William Henry  
Hozier, James Henry Cecil  
Jackson, William Lawies  
Kelly John R.

Kerans, Frederick Harold  
King, Henry Seymour (Hull)  
Lewisham, Viscount  
Long, Walter Hume  
M'Donald, Peter (Sligo)  
Madden, Dodgson Hamilton  
Malcolm, Col. John Wingfield  
Mathews, Rt. Hon. Henry  
Maxwell, Sir Herbert E.  
Mayne, Adm. R. C. (Pembroke)  
Northcote, Hon. Sir H. Stafford  
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary)  
Parker, Hon. Francis (Oxfordsh.)  
Plunket, Rt. Hon. David R.

Tellers for the Ayes, Mr. Akers-Douglas and Sir William Walrond.

## NOES.

Acland, A. H. Dyke (Yorks.)  
Allison, Robert Andrew  
Biggar, Joseph Gillis  
Brown, Alex. Laing (Hawick)  
Buxton, Sydney Charles  
Channing, Francis Allston  
Clark, Dr. G. B. (Caitness-shire)  
Conway, Michael  
Corbett, Archibald C. (Glasgow)  
Cotton, Col. Edw. Tho. D.  
Cremer, William Randal  
Dimsdale, Baron Robert  
Ellis, John Edward (Notts.)  
Ellis, Thos. Edw. (Merionethshire)  
Esslemont, Peter  
Evans, Francis Henry  
Farquharson, Dr. R. (Aberdeensh.)  
Gourley, Edward Temperley  
Hunter, Wm. Alex. (Aberdeen)

Tellers for the Noes, Mr. Firth and Mr. Cuninghame Graham.

Numb. 203.—11h. 5m.

Another amendment proposed, in line 75, to leave out the words "who is not married, or, who being married, is not living in family with her husband."—(Mr. Campbell-Bannerman.)—

Question put, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause?"—The Committee divided; Ayes 111, Noes 56.

## AYES.

Allsopp, Hon. Geo. (Worcester)  
Anstruther, H. T. (St. Andrews)  
Anstruther, Col. Lloyd (Suffolk)  
Baird, John George Alexander  
Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J. (Manch'r)  
Baring, Thos. Chas. (London)  
Bazley-White, J.  
Beach, Rt. Hon. Sir M. H. (Bristol)  
Birkbeck, Sir Edward  
Bolton, Jos. Cheney (Stirlingshire)  
Bolton, T. D. (Derbyshire)  
Bright, John A. (Birmingham)  
Bristowe, Thomas Lynn  
Brodrick, Hon. St. John  
Brooks, Sir William Cunliffe  
Bruce, Lord Henry (Wiltshire)  
Burghley, Lord  
Caldwell, J.  
Campbell, Sir Arch. (Renfrewshire)  
Campbell, James A. (Glas. Univ.)  
Chamberlain, Rich. (Islington)  
Clarke, Sir Edward (Plymouth)  
Coghill, Douglas Henry  
Colomb, Sir John Chas. Ready  
Cotton, Col. Edw. Tho. D.  
Cremer, William Randal  
Cross, Herb. Shepherd (Bolton)  
Hamilton, Rt. Hon. Lord G. (Midx.)  
Herbert, Hon. Sidney  
Hill, Lord Arthur Wm. (Down.)  
Hill, Col. Edw. Stock (Bristol)  
Hornby, William Henry  
Hozier, James Henry Cecil  
Jackson, William Lawies  
Dixon-Hartland, Fred. Dixon

Provand, Andrew Dryburgh  
Quinn, Thomas  
Rasch, Major Frederic Carne  
Reed, Henry Byron (Bradford)  
Ritchie, Rt. Hon. Chas. Thomson  
Robertson, Rt. Hon. J. P. B. (Bute)  
Smith, Rt. Hon. Wm. H. (Strand)  
Stewart, Mark (Kirkcudbrightsh.)  
Sutherland, Thomas (Greenock)  
Taping, Thomas Keay  
Theobald, James  
Webster, Sir R. E. (Isle of Wight)  
Whitley, Edward  
Wood, Nicholas

## NOES.

Kilbride, Denis  
Kinloch, Sir John George Smyth  
Knatchbull-Hugessen, E. (Roch.)  
M'Donald, Dr. Roderick (Ross)  
Morgan, Octavius V. (Battersea)  
Nolan, Colonel (Galway, N.)  
Nolan, Joseph (Louth)  
Pickersgill, Edward Hare  
Pinkerton, John  
Power, P. J. (Waterford, E.)  
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)  
Rowntree, Joshua  
Russell, T. W. (Tyronne)  
Sullivan, Donal (Westmeath)  
Sutherland, A. (Sutherlandshire)  
Temple, Sir Richard  
Will, John Shiress  
Wilson, John (Lanark)  
Woodhead, Joseph

Tellers for the Noes, Mr. Firth and Mr. Cuninghame Graham.

Lefevre, Rt. Hon. George Shaw  
Lewisham, Viscount  
Long, Walter Hume  
Madden, Dodgson Hamilton  
Malcolm, Col. John Wingfield  
Mathews, Rt. Hon. Henry  
Maxwell, Sir Herbert E.  
Mayne, Adm. R. C. (Pembroke)  
Mills, Hon. Charles William  
More, Robert Jasper  
Murdoch, Charles Townshend  
Northcote, Hon. Sir H. Stafford  
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary)  
Parker, Hon. Francis (Oxfordshire)  
Plunket, Rt. Hon. David R.  
Quinn, Thomas  
Raikes, Rt. Hon. Henry Cecil  
Rasch, Major Frederic Carne  
Ritchie, Rt. Hon. Chas. Thomson  
Robertson, Rt. Hon. J. P. B. (Bute)  
Robinson, Brooke (Dudley)

Tellers for the Ayes, Mr. Akers-Douglas and Sir William Walrond.

## NOES.

Allison, Robert Andrew  
Asher, Alexander  
Atherley-Jones, L.  
Balfour, Rt. Hon. J. Blair (Clackm.)  
Balfour, J. Spencer (Burnley)  
Biggar, Joseph Gillis  
Birrell, Augustine  
Brown, Alex. Laing (Hawick)  
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn  
Burt, Thomas  
Campbell, Sir Geo. (Kirkcaldy)  
Campbell-Bannerman, Rt. Hon. H.  
Channing, Francis Allston  
Clark, Dr. G. B. (Caitness-sh.)  
Corbett, Archibald C. (Glasgow)  
Crawford, Donald (Lanark, N.E.)  
Dimsdale, Baron Robert  
Ellis, James (Leicestershire)  
Ellis, John Edward (Notts.)  
Ellis, Thos. Edw. (Merionethshire)  
Fenwick, Charles  
Firth, Joseph Firth Bottomley  
Fuller, George Pargiter  
Gedge, Sydney  
Gourley, Edward Temperley  
Grove, Sir Thomas Fraser  
Hunter, Wm. Alex. (Aberdeen)  
Illingworth, Alfred

Tellers for the Noes, Mr. Haldane and Mr. Cuninghame Graham.

## LETTER FROM MR. BUCHANAN, M.P.

House of Commons, July 22nd.

Dear Miss Kirkland.—We divided to-night unsuccessfully, I am sorry to say, but better than last time. It is a retrograde step to exclude women from the County Councils, when part of the duties of the Councils is to be the administration of sanitary and other matters at present under Parochial Boards, for which women are eligible.—Yours truly,

T. R. BUCHANAN.

## PUBLIC MEETINGS.

## ANNUAL MEETING OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

The annual general meeting of the Central Committee of the National Society for Women's Suffrage was held on Tuesday afternoon, July 9th, at the Westminster Town Hall. The Countess of PORTSMOUTH presided, and was supported on the platform by Sir Richard Temple, Bt., M.P., Mrs. Fawcett, Sir W. T. Marriott, Bt., M.P. (Judge Advocate General), Miss Emily Davies, the Hon. Mrs. Colborne, Captain Edwards-Heathcote, M.P., Sir John Puleston, M.P., Miss Becker, the Rev. J. Verschoyle, Miss Tod, Miss Mordan, Mrs. T. W. Russell, Miss Helen Blackburn (secretary). There were also present the Dowager Countess of Buchan, the Hon. Lady Grey Egerton, Mrs. R. U. Penrose Fitzgerald, Mrs. Shaen, Mrs. Edwards-Heathcote, Mrs. E. T. D. Cotton, Mrs. Byers, Miss Wynne, Miss

Charlton, Mrs. Magnusson, Mademoiselle de Wolska, Miss H. M'Kerlie, Mrs. C. H. Hodgson, Miss Helen Ogle Moore, Mrs. Bellot, Mrs. Hunting, Mr. Eiloart, Miss Dorothea Roberts, Mrs. Charles, Miss Lidgett, Miss Edith Lupton, Mrs. Müller, Rukhmabai, Miss Emily Hill, Miss Drew, Mrs. Chamberlayn, Miss Agnes Garrett, Mrs. Heberden, Miss Andrews, Mrs. and Miss Phillott, Mr. C. Hartung, Miss Florence Davenport Hill, Miss Hampden, Miss A. Pauline Irby, Mrs. and Miss Hall, Mrs. Rowe Bennett, the Hon. Mrs. Pereira, Mrs. Stephen Spring Rice, Miss H. E. Robertson, Miss Vernon, and others. The platform was beautifully decorated with bow-pots of roses and lilies sent by friends from the country.

The following letters were received in reference to the meeting:—

51, Lennox Gardens, S.W., June 19th, 1889.

Madam,—I am directed by Earl Compton to acknowledge the receipt of your letter asking for his support at the annual meeting of the National Society for Women's Suffrage, to be held on Tuesday, 9th July, and to express his regret that he will not be in London on that day. He will, therefore, be unable to attend the meeting. He begs me add that he cordially agrees with the object of your society, and hopes you will have a successful meeting.—I am, madam, your obedient servant,

Miss Helen Blackburn. HERBERT WILLOUGHBY.

87, South Lambeth Road, S.W., June 27th.

Dear Mrs. Fawcett,—I am sorry to say that I am already engaged on the afternoon of the 9th July, or I should have been very glad to have been present at your annual meeting.—Yours sincerely,

MARK BEAUFAY.

Brampton Tree House, Newcastle, Staffs., June 27th, 1889.

Dear Madam,—Your letter of the 25th inst. reached me here this morning. After the election of 1886 I wrote to Miss Becker that I was in favour of the Parliamentary franchise being conferred on duly qualified women. Since then it has been made plainly apparent that the movement will not stop there, but that married women will also want to be included. Under these circumstances I have been obliged to reconsider the whole question, and I regret to say that I can no longer consider myself amongst the supporters of women's suffrage.—Believe me, yours truly,

DOUGLAS H. COGHILL.

Mrs. Fawcett.

73, Elm Park Gardens, S.W., 21st June, 1889.

Dear Madam,—I must apologise for not sending an earlier reply to your note, which has been overlooked by accident. I shall not be able to attend your annual meeting, and I think it right to state that I am in favour of the extension of the suffrage to such women only as pay rates and taxes in their own right.—Yours truly,

L. J. JENNINGS.

9, John-street, Berkeley Square, June 20th.

Dear Madam,—I am sorry to say that my engagements will not make it possible for me to take part in your annual meeting on the 9th July.—I am, yours faithfully,

WOLMER.

Miss Helen Blackburn.

Lambeth Palace, S.E., June 27th, 1889.

Dear Mrs. Fawcett,—I am very sorry to be unable to be present at the meeting, on July 9th, of the Society for Women's Suffrage. I have engagements the whole afternoon which I am obliged to keep.—Believe me, yours sincerely,

MARY BENSON.

Telegrams expressing regret at inability to attend were received from Mr. Lewis Fry, M.P., and Sir Albert Rollit, M.P.; and letters to the same effect from Lord Francis Hervey, M.P., Sir Algernon Borthwick, M.P., Mr. Seager Hunt, M.P., Col. Hill, M.P., Mr. Haldane, M.P., Mr. A. H. Dyke Acland, M.P., Miss Alice Balfour, Lady Mary Aldwith.

The Countess of Portsmouth called upon the Secretary, Miss Helen Blackburn, who presented the report and financial statement, which were taken as read. The financial statement showed that the receipts from December 13th, 1888, to June 30th, 1889, had been £336. 18s. 1d., and the payments £266. 15s. 7d., leaving a balance in hand of £70. 2s. 6d.

The Countess of PORTSMOUTH said: Presiding as she had the honour to do at their annual meeting that day, she should not fail to remember that it was her duty to call upon others to address



them, whom they would hear with pleasure and profit, and not to try to impose upon the meeting her own views at any length. And yet, by their kind indulgence, she should like to say something about the most recent procedure in the controversy upon women's suffrage—she referred to the appeal which had lately appeared in one of the periodicals against the extension of the suffrage to women, an appeal to which was appended many feminine signatures. It was not the argument contained in that appeal upon which she would enter at all, but rather upon what appeared to her a particular aspect which it would bear. When she heard that there was such an appeal she felt that a new departure had been begun, one which she was assured all the women on their side of the question would regard with considerable gravity as coming from other women, and one to which they would give, if their grave, still their respectful consideration. In the appeal itself there were many arguments which she would not specially touch upon, and she was ready to confess, frankly, that she should have liked to have seen such a goodly array of honourable and respected names cast conscientiously and cordially into the scale with them, instead of into that apparently against them. She used the word "apparently" with some intention, for, after reading and studying the appeal itself with a good deal of care, she came to the conclusion that it was destined to afford another illustration of the truth of the adage which said, "All things shall come to him who knows how to wait." (Applause.) Certainly, they on that side knew how to wait. There were veterans in their ranks, men and women who had waited a great many years, were still waiting, and were, she believed, prepared to wait a great deal longer yet without lowering their colours or forsaking their post. They all knew that a cause which would not bear waiting, was a cause which would not stand debating. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) Though it might be thought too strong a thing to say, she believed that there was no knowledge in life, not only so important, but which bore the fruit of so much success, as the knowledge of how to wait. They had only to maintain and profit by this knowledge of patient waiting, fair, faithful, vigilant waiting, they had only to remain firm in the position they now held in thought and debate on the matter, and those feminine opponents whom they would like to have on their side then, and all who argued on the same lines, would come over to them. They were bound to do so, because they were on the same road then. They had made a great deal of progress, and their progress meant nothing more nor less than the attainment of their present standpoint—the standpoint of the advocates of women's suffrage. She wished to justify this view of the case to the meeting. When she first heard of the appeal, and before she was able to read it, she felt certain that she must find in it what she was sure she should have found in any such appeal twenty or thirty years ago. She was convinced she would find a narrow definition—within hard and fast lines—of a woman's duty, rights, and privileges. She felt that she should, sooner or later, in that appeal—probably influencing the whole of it—come across some severe denunciation of the principles by which, in the last few years, women had been invited to take a prominent part, and had come forward and taken a prominent part, in national work and national life; and, through the medium of different organisations, most distinctly in political work. She thought she should find expressed regret, even strong regret, at the very much higher, wider, more liberal-minded and varied education which young women were now receiving in every part of the kingdom than formerly. Lastly, remembering what was written twenty or thirty years ago, she thought she should not fail to find some expression of opinion that politics were entirely unfitted to have any place or part in woman's mind; that politics were wholly beyond and without her sphere, and that the "undersigned" would not imperil their womanliness by entering upon politics at all, either practical or speculative, either with the pen or voice. But in the year of grace 1889, and in the nineteenth century, the "undersigned" were themselves much too highly educated for this. They were too cultured, too liberal-minded, far too deeply imbued with the spirit of the age to entertain any idea of this sort, or to make any declaration of the kind. Where she looked for narrowness she found width; where she expected the severest denunciation she found, on the one hand, very decided approval, and, on the other hand, absolute silence. Where she expected to find regret, there was welcome and rejoicing, and, from the beginning of the appeal to the end, there was the strongest evidence to her that the "under-

signed" thought a great deal about politics, and expressed decided opinions about political matters. (Applause.) If they only recalled the appeal to their minds, they would remember that, after it was said that all questions of finance, commerce, of foreign and colonial policy, grave constitutional change, were unfitted for women to decide so far as a vote went, they were told that the question of women's suffrage was not yet ripe for legislative solution; and, farther on, they found that it was said party considerations were always of a temporary nature; that they had made great electoral changes, that large masses had been added to the constituency, that the new element must be assimilated, and that the new voter must be trained to national work. Then was discussed the different component parts of the State proper, and the State whose aspect was financial, military, and administrative was decided to rest upon force. The very last words of the protest, which she looked upon as a kind of summing up of the appeal was the mischief which would be done to the State by granting women's suffrage. If it had been possible for such an appeal to have appeared in the beginning or the middle of the last century, she had no doubt it would have borne one of those quaint titles by which authors sought in those days to attract the public reader to any new treatise or pamphlet. It might now be described as "An appeal against political rights for women made by women on political grounds." (Laughter.) She was inclined to think that, whenever they wished to present or to form a sound doctrine upon relative subjects, they must do exactly as they would do if they desired to solve correctly a problem in Euclid; they must remember the axiom that things equal to the same thing were equal to one another. And, though she would be the first to declare that the appeal contained eloquence, sentiment, and thought, yet it was in its nature illogical. Because she held it to be illogical, she believed their cause had received at its hands the thrust only of a friendly and guarded foil, and not the deadly thrust of naked steel. The appeal itself was followed by a few sentences from the pen of the able and popular editor of the periodical in which it appeared. While she was unable to share the views of her old friend, Mr. Knowles, she could in a peculiar degree sympathise with his alarm that women's suffrage might invade the sanctity or, as he called it, the tranquillity of home life. The zeal of converts was, as they knew, proverbial. She was a convert to that cause, but of her zeal she would say nothing at all. She wished to defend herself from the shortness of memory as proverbial of converts. When she was obliged to surrender the opinions she formerly held against women's suffrage, she retained all the prejudices which generally accompanied those opinions with unabated strength. She looked forward with a great deal of apprehension to the first meeting on the question which she attended—a private meeting held in a private house where she came in contact with women who were supporters of the cause. She thought, in her ignorance, that good sense and good taste would be outraged. She thought she should be called upon to experience that pang which, though it might be short, was one of the sharpest men or women could endure—the pang that followed a severance even for a little time of one's sympathy from one's opinion. But she soon found that her fears were groundless. She found a number of women—young, middle-aged, old, married, and unmarried—of different fortunes and different education; but there was nothing dangerous, nothing alarming in any of them. They were quiet in manner even to gentleness, though their perception was keen and clear enough upon the subject which had brought them together. Most of them belonged to the middle class and had suffered inconvenience—some of them at least—by the disability which the law imposed upon them. Their perception was, as she had said, keen and clear upon the subject of women's suffrage; but their advocacy of it had in no way impaired their common sense or general intelligence. She found upon inquiry that there was not the slightest reason to believe that those women could not have produced records of domestic life as happy, as tender, as devoted, as useful as any other women in the world. (Applause.) She did not mean to say that on the question of women's suffrage as on every other question there had not been women who had written or spoken with violence or extravagance, women upon whom the saving grace of common sense had not yet descended, persons who had the misfortune to espouse a cause, and by their indiscretion and violence serve the other side. They knew since the world began that there had never been a religious sect or political party which had not included members who did it more harm than good, but neither men nor women had possessed a

monopoly of hot tempers and weak brains. (Laughter.) If it were just possible to imagine that women could never and had never committed a breach of the common law of human nature, that they had always formed opinions with deliberation, expressed them with calmness, and carried them out with unvarying self-control and wisdom, why they would not be there nor should she be there to consider the extension of the suffrage to women, but they would be present, or ought to be present, seriously to consider whether the suffrage should not be confined to women. (Laughter.) There was a keynote of alarm running through all the appeal in the *Nineteenth Century*, from beginning to end, and it was that, in giving the suffrage to women, they would give them direct political power. She had always thought, and thought still, that the term "direct power" was not synonymous with greater power, and that it might even signify curtailed power. The pages of history taught them, and close observation would confirm it, that women by indirect means had constantly been able to acquire very great political power, and that they now at times—not so rarely as they might think—ruled where men only reigned. She believed that direct power was good, because its cause was simpler to trace; and, she thought, in the long run they would always find its effects nobler. She was quite certain that direct power, conscientiously exercised, had more ennobling effects upon those who possessed it. The superstructure of all character and ability, whether in man or woman, could never be guaranteed for safety and continuance unless it rested upon the foundation of truthfulness and of courage. (Applause.) Power by indirect means might be able to assume great proportions and be beneficent, but it was often destitute of these qualities. Direct power could always be tested for and by these qualities. In a word, direct power was responsible power, which indirect could never be. (Applause.)

Sir R. TEMPLE, Bart., M.P., in moving the adoption of the report and financial statement, said he had appeared before the friends of that movement at their meetings on several previous occasions, and he would not disguise from them that he had reflected very carefully as to what he need and need not say upon the question. He need not stop to show that women who did the work of and managed households, who paid taxes, administered the affairs of municipalities, and who took their share in local burdens, were fit also for the political franchise. He need not stop to show the rapid progress which had been made in the education of women in the past, nor to dwell upon the fact of the growing and increasing number of young women who had to fight the battle of life by their brains and energies. To explain these things to such an audience would be like carrying coals to Newcastle, or, if that metaphor was not sufficiently refined, he might say like carrying silk to Lyons, or porcelain to Dresden. There were, however, certain practical points which related to the existing situation, especially with reference to Parliament and to the effect of their movement upon public opinion, upon which he desired to offer a few observations which occurred to him as likely to help them in prosecuting their cause to a successful termination. First, he wished to point out that if they were to be successful they must be united. Union was strength. That was a trite saying, but, nevertheless, it was pertinent to the present situation, because, as their noble chairman had pointed out, there was a slight dissension in what should be the general camp. He thought they would find that the protest, to which reference had been made, chiefly emanated from married ladies who could not, under any circumstances, participate in the franchise. He must say it was very hard on their part to oppose the franchise which would not benefit themselves, which would not be of any importance to them, but would be of great advantage to their widowed or unmarried sisters. He was confident if they could poll on this question the women whom it was proposed to enfranchise, they would find the overwhelming majority were in favour of taking this justice at the hands of the legislature. Of course, there would be found, even among the unmarried ladies, some who did not care for the franchise; and, perhaps, if they had the franchise they would not vote at a general election but would abstain. In that, however, they would not be singular. Among men, they calculated upon ten to fifteen per cent of abstentions upon the whole register. If those women who were desirous of having the Parliamentary vote tried to consolidate and organise their strength they must, in the long run, win. He had never known an instance, in which large numbers of women united, in which they had not sooner or later carried the day. He advised them

to make it quite clear to the sceptical outside public that their demands were of a limited and moderate character. As they were aware, the Bill which that society supported, was strictly confined to unmarried women and widows who possessed the same qualifications which entitled men to the franchise; but even if the measure were made to include certain classes of married women, the number so qualified would be extremely limited. Anything like the universal enfranchisement of women had never been contemplated by any section of any political party or any branch of any association. What he urged on their behalf was that, at the very utmost, their demand was extremely limited and moderate; that there was no fear whatever of a social or political revolution following the concession they asked; and that it was strictly limited to those who were justly entitled to receive it. He entreated all ladies who were at all inclined to take part in public affairs, to remember that the political duty as well as the enfranchisement of women were upon their trial, that there were considerable classes outside who regarded their movement not only with no favour, but almost with ill-natured eyes, who were disposed to find every fault, and to pick every hole they possibly could in their armour. Hence, if by any chance any woman, placed in a position of administrative power or responsibility, should prove at all extreme in her speech or action, or if any society put forward views which might be considered extreme or which could be made to appear so, harm would be done to the cause, because in these days every woman was a representative person. It might be very hard to say that this rule should be applied to women and not to men, but they must remember that male suffrage was of considerable antiquity, that it was no longer upon its trial, whereas women's suffrage was, and, during their period of probation, he submitted that they must redouble their precautions, so that the enemy might have no justification for fault-finding. (Applause.) He advised them to make it clearly known that their movement was not designed to further any political or party purpose. Their friends were found in all the political parties of the State, as were also their opponents. Their opponents were to be found sometimes amongst the most advanced Radicals and occasionally amongst the highest and driest of Tories. Let them make it clear that if the suffrage were granted to women it would not be likely to help one party more than another. Particular parties or politicians might, of course, flatter themselves that if women were enfranchised they would get their votes; but perhaps they would be disappointed. (Laughter.) In certain parts of the country—he believed in his own division, in Worcestershire—the Conservatives might gain by women's suffrage; but, speaking generally, he thought men were proverbially apt to buoy themselves with futile hopes whenever they had reckoned upon the ladies. (Laughter.) Among the lady leaders of that movement, he believed they would find quite as many Liberals as Conservatives, if not more Liberals than Conservatives. Be that as it might, he thought there would be a tolerably even balance of women votes distributed amongst the various political parties; and that, so far as the women were concerned, the balance of political power would remain undisturbed. But if there were no difference experienced in political parties, would there be no difference anywhere? Yes, there would be very much with respect to all legislation that concerned the welfare of women. Numerous as were the disabilities of women which had been removed, there remained many more yet to be abolished when women achieved the Parliamentary franchise, and they would be removed then, and not until then. (Applause.) Concerning their Parliamentary difficulties, he said they were very considerable. Their question of women's suffrage must, he said, be a matter of private member legislation until the happy day arrived when the force of public opinion compelled the Government to take the matter up. In the present Parliament the greatest difficulty was experienced in carrying private member legislation unless there was a favouring breeze from every quarter. The Government necessarily monopolised the major part of the session, and, allowing for the prevailing obstruction which was not confined to one party but pretty well distributed amongst several parties, there remained an almost imperceptible margin of time which could possibly be devoted to the consideration of women's suffrage. That being so, they must take stock of their Parliamentary friends. It was not enough that such and such a member had said something in favour of women's suffrage in his election address or during his candidature which occurred several years ago. They must canvass the members and find out who were prepared to make



some sacrifice and put forth some force in the cause. If they could get together a really influential meeting of their House of Commons supporters they might then ask them all to ballot for a day for the Women's Suffrage Bill. Personally he could not do so, as he would always be weighted with one or two School Board Bills which had an absolute claim upon him; but if the course he advised were adopted they were certain to secure a favourable day, one which would not slip away as Mr. Woodall's day did last Easter. Second reading was not the only fence they had to surmount. There was the committee stage, and opposition might be raised on the third reading. They were sanguine, after the declaration of Lord Salisbury, that they would encounter no difficulty in the House of Lords if once their Bill passed the Commons. The Government could, if they choose, push forward a private member's Bill—as was shown in the case of the Coal Dues Bill. The Government would, however, only do this if there was a strong wave and current of public opinion both inside and outside the House in favour of a particular measure; and, until they could bring such a force to bear, it would be impossible for the Government to interpose in this stringent, effective, and cogent manner on their behalf. If they got up a memorial signed by one hundred and fifty members asking that facilities might be afforded for passing the Bill, he was afraid they would be met by a counter petition against their demand, and the Government would decline between the two stools to be the animal that fell to the ground. Nothing would avail them but persistent and regular effort. It was not enough for sections of public opinion to have declared on their side. They must work, work, until they obtained a real majority and a potent majority of public opinion in their favour. That they would do so sooner or later, he had not the slightest doubt. He noted the remarkable progress they had made during the last eight years. The subject of women's suffrage was never mentioned during the election of 1880, but in 1885 it occupied a conspicuous place. In 1886 the election turned solely upon the Irish question; but, having regard to the remarkable advance they made in 1885 over 1880, he was sanguine that at the next general election their cause would be much more to the front, much more to the surface if, indeed, the privilege they asked was not granted in the meantime, as he hoped it might be. (Applause.) Be that as it might, he was sure they would in their conduct evince that resolute patience, that grand and courageous confronting of danger and difficulty, and that confidence in the justice and ultimate triumph of their cause, in which the women of England had never been found wanting. (Applause.)

Sir W. T. MARRIOTT, M.P., who seconded the motion, said he regarded it as a great privilege to have been present on that occasion to hear the extremely able, logical, argumentative, and common-sense speech of Lady Portsmouth. (Applause.) He thought that speech should be printed and distributed amongst the people of the land. Reading it would do a great deal of good, though, doubtless, hearing it even did more. With respect to the report, he thought its main characteristic was a most desirable one, namely, its extreme moderation. That was a quality which they were not told by the enemies of women's suffrage to expect on the part of the ladies. The report was to his mind an argument against many of the accusations which were preferred by the opponents of women's suffrage. They were always told, "Oh! you would give the ladies the franchise. They are enthusiastic, emotional, hysterical. You can never count upon their reason or judgment, and reason and judgment are the two chief functions which are required in those who have to decide political questions." That was a common argument. Well, in their report there was no great enthusiasm, certainly it contained no hysterical shrieks such as certain weekly newspapers associated with that movement, but it was as moderate as the most moderate of mankind could have written. Adverting to the protest in the *Nineteenth Century*, he said he was not sure that the fact of certain ladies having signed a counterblast was a bad thing. (Hear, hear.) It defeated one of the arguments of the opponents of women's suffrage. What did the ladies say? They used the same argument against women's suffrage which was employed against the extension of the franchise to artisans, working men, and labourers. It was said in the old days that if the franchise were extended to artisans and labourers they would vote as a class against other classes, and the government of the country would be in their hands. The supporters of the extension of the franchise to the artisans in towns and the agricultural labourers in the country were not

frightened by these prophecies, and they found they had not been fulfilled. They found amongst artisans, working men and labourers, as much division of opinion as amongst the richer, the professional, or any other class. So with regard to ladies. It was said if they were given the franchise they would all vote on one side; that they would all go together, and would vote as women, and they would have the whole of the women opposed to the men. He thought that very protest showed they would not. Women had their differences of opinion as well as men, perhaps sometimes stronger and more pronounced than those who were called occasionally the stronger sex. The protest he regarded as a healthy and wholesome sign, showing independence of opinion, and the courage to express it. As to the general arguments in favour of women's suffrage they had, as Sir Richard Temple said, been repeated over and over again. Happily, in this country, whenever any change was proposed, there was sure at first to be great opposition. We did not like changes as a rule in England. The English nation, as a rule—he said this in no party sense—was very conservative, the lower orders—the poorer people—were very conservative. Their prejudices and feelings were averse to change. Hence every great change which had taken place in this country had, in the first instance, been opposed by feeling and prejudice, and had only been effected when feeling and prejudice yielded to argument and reason. In this, however, there was the advantage that, though changes were not quickly effected in England, when they were made they were permanent. This did not apply to other countries. He could point to a country not many miles distant across the channel where legislative change was very rapid, but unstable, one Government soon succeeding another, and altering what their predecessors had done. Progress in England might be slow, but it was steady, and we never—hardly ever—retraced a step once taken in political matters. He felt perfectly certain with regard to their women's suffrage movement that if it were—as he believed it to be—founded upon reason, and if it could be justified—as he believed it could—by argument, though there might now be strong prejudice and feeling against it, in the end argument and reason would prevail, and when once victory was achieved it would prove lasting and permanent. (Applause.) Of course, in arguing the question they might do so on grounds of pure reason, but he thought the most convincing arguments to all rational people were, in practical matters, those based upon experience. If they lacked experience they were doubtful, and naturally doubtful, after all. Without experience they were like children in the dark fearing what might be there. So they feared what might be the consequences of any great change; and, in relation to women's suffrage, he could quite understand and almost sympathise with the feelings of opposition which the movement aroused twenty-five or thirty years ago. But now they were in a very different position to what they were then. He recollected when the subject was first introduced the general feeling or general prejudice was that, by taking part in public affairs, women would be stepping out of their sphere, their sphere being home, and their sole duty the duty of making that noble creature man perfectly comfortable by his own fireside. He did not wish to detract from the merit of a wife's care for the comfort of her husband. Long experience showed that women had taken part in political life without losing their feminine nature. Before twenty or thirty years ago England was luckily governed by Queens, and, strange to say, the most prosperous and successful periods of English history, when England enjoyed the utmost material prosperity, when she had never been regarded with greater honour abroad and happiness had never been more widely diffused amongst her people at home, were in the reigns of Queens, especially under Elizabeth and her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria. (Applause.) Take the present reign. Everybody knew the real interest which the Queen took in everything connected with political life in this country, and yet there was no woman who had a more tender care for her family and every member of her family than her Majesty. But during the last twenty or twenty-five years they had more experience of what women could do than formerly, because in that time they were given and had exercised the franchise with regard to School Boards and municipalities. Well, he did not think anything had proved that the ladies who had exercised these franchises were in any way more unfeminine, more undomestic, made worse wives or attended less to home affairs than those who had no votes. Women had voted and voted in large numbers and, in the majority of cases, on the sensible and right side. (Hear, hear,

and laughter.) Recently ladies had begun to take part in politics. There were the Primrose League, the Women's Liberal Federation, and the Women's Radical Association, whose members came to the front and worked hard in political matters, and he defied anyone to say that they were more unfeminine than all the rest of their sex. He had had practical experience of how the dames of the Primrose League worked. He had seen hundreds and thousands of them at work. He appreciated their value, their common sense, and the energy they brought to bear in furtherance of the cause they approved. This proved that women had an interest in political life as strong often as men, and, when they had it, they could carry their views with moderation and good sense. He thought the action of the three associations he had named showed that women of all ranks could take a very strong interest in politics and yet remain quite as good and as feminine as the rest of their sex who evinced no interest in politics. They could not expect all women to be politically inclined. All men were not interested in politics. Some took more interest in sport than politics. He did not think anyone should, because a woman was interested in politics, regard her with less favour on that account. The proposal before them was really a moderate one. It was that all women who paid rates and were householders should have the Parliamentary vote. Not only had a great change come over the condition of the women of this country, but the franchise itself had been entirely changed. The franchise had become practically that of household suffrage, that was, every one who held a house was entitled to vote. As a rule, one person held the house—the husband—but he contended that where the occupier was an unmarried woman or widow, who might be rich or poor, but had an equal interest in the good government of the country with men, it rested with the other side to show why she should be disqualified. The onus rested upon those who denied the franchise to women and not upon the women who, possessing the necessary qualifications, asked for it. Household suffrage was now universal. Why then was the franchise withheld from women in respect of the houses they held and occupied and in respect of them alone? That was an argument for the other side to answer. He felt perfectly certain that if they continued their agitation with the same moderation, good sense, and perseverance which they had hitherto exercised, their efforts would be crowned with success. (Applause.)

Miss EMILY DAVIES, in supporting the resolution, said they had a great deal of work to do as missionaries and propagandists, and she desired to direct attention to one or two considerations which seemed to her to weigh chiefly with their opponents, and to suggest arguments by which they might be met. They must all have noticed the extreme reluctance which their opponents evinced to meet them on their own ground, and to argue the question on the proposal contained in the Bill, namely, to extend the franchise to unmarried women and widows only. Whenever their opponents discussed women's franchise they went off on the question of married women, and it appeared to be a great tribute to the soundness of their position and the strength of their case that their opponents were so reluctant to argue it on its merits, and preferred to discuss something else which they did not propose. It was said that if the limited extension asked for was conceded, it would be followed by a demand that the Parliamentary franchise should be extended to married women also; but unmarried women and widows had long had the right to vote in local elections, and yet there was no cry for conferring the like franchise upon married women. To this it would be replied that the Parliamentary franchise was more important, and likely to be more keenly desired, and this was true. But suppose an agitation for it followed, was it likely to be successful? For two reasons it seemed unlikely. First, because the case for married women would be much weakened by being separated from that of the enfranchisement of unmarried women and widows. As Sir W. T. Marriott had excellently said, the case of the latter appealed to the sense of justice of all sorts of people, and, if their claim were met, an injustice would be removed of a sort which did not exist in the case of married women generally. And it would be found that the case of married women, taken by itself, would be much more difficult to argue. Besides, they knew that a considerable proportion—no one could say exactly how many—of those who were strongly in favour of extending the franchise to unmarried women and widows were opposed to going further. And as it would require the utmost efforts of the party generally to obtain the smaller concession, it seemed that with a greatly diminished party of advocates

for the extension to married women, its success must at any rate be distant and doubtful. But another argument might be used. They might fairly ask their opponents what good measure would ever be passed if it were rejected on the ground that it might be followed by something else which was objectionable? Let them first support what they believed to be right, or at least unobjectionable, and afterwards resist, with a clear conscience, what they believed to be wrong. (Applause.) Fears were expressed as to the effect upon legislation of the admission of a great mass of untried voters to the Parliamentary franchise; but the unmarried women and widows who sought this franchise, although as regarded intelligence, culture, and social status a considerable body, were not a very great mass numerically. It was calculated, she believed, that they were about as one to seven of the male voters—surely not a very formidable proportion. It could not be said they were untried. They had voted for many years in the School Board and municipal elections without producing any disastrous effect. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) As to the idea that women would not vote independently, but would vote *en masse* under the direction of the clergy, the various names of clergyman, priest, and minister indicated what divergent views were held by the clergy; and how unlikely it was that all the women whom they might influence would vote in one particular way. She did not expect any very marked and immediate effect upon legislation from the introduction of women voters; but she did expect a gradual change in the direction of the removal of grievances, and the fact that women were recognised as having a voice in legislation might make the framers of fresh measures more alive to the just consideration of women's interests. (Applause.) Apart from its effect upon legislation, they desired the suffrage for the sake of women themselves. It seemed to her that they might fairly expect that, if women possessed the franchise, they would consider political questions with greater earnestness and with a more stringent sense of responsibility than hitherto. And also, she thought they might expect that women as such, women without the rank or wealth or cleverness which command deference, would gradually be treated with more consideration and respect than they were now. (Applause.) And thus their social status and the condition of their lives would be improved. For these last reasons mainly she urged upon everyone present to work more zealously than hitherto. She thought it had been made plain to them how great the need for work was. There were various means by which they could all work: by having meetings, by getting people to listen to argument, and also by taking part in discussions in the press. She hoped no one in the room would fail to do something to help forward the cause. (Applause.)

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

Captain EDWARDS-HEATHCOTE, M.P., moved: "That in the opinion of this meeting the principle of women's suffrage, as now established by common and statute law for unmarried women and widows in local elections, should be extended to Parliamentary elections. This meeting therefore respectfully request their Parliamentary friends to take steps for the re-introduction of the Parliamentary Franchise (Extension to Women) Bill in its present form at the earliest period of the next session, and pledge themselves to support such action by every means in their power." As the secretary on his side of the House of their Parliamentary Committee he might, he said, point out the difficulties with which he was principally met in his canvassing duties in favour of their Bill in the House of Commons. He did not think it was the least good shirking the difficulties which lay in their path. The best way to overcome those difficulties was by facing them and devising means by which they might be removed. The difference of opinion and difficulty arose in the word "unmarried." Their dangers were the result of their unhappy divisions on the question as to whether or not wives should vote. That was their great stumbling-block in the House of Commons, and also in the country. They had had, no doubt, one other check in the unfortunate error of judgment by which the 17th of April was selected as the day for the second reading of their Bill, an almost impossible day for the purpose, as was seen from the first. Everything was done which could be done to get over that difficulty, but none of them were very sanguine of success. They knew that the Government must have very great difficulty in keeping the House for the express purpose of discussing the Bill on the 17th April, when they were able to say, and their opponents were able to say, that they had had the choice of a much better



day, if they had been quick enough to perceive their mistake. That had been a drawback, for, of course, a debate in the House invigorated and refreshed the public, who were almost weary of waiting for the measure, and it would have been a very good thing if a discussion and a division could have been obtained. He hoped that next session they would be more fortunate and make a better use of their opportunities. He again alluded to the difficulty they were in by their unhappy divisions. The efforts of that society were retarded, were at any rate rendered less efficient, in consequence of rival societies being started. There was, no doubt, a great difference of opinion between them, and that was what the secretaries on either side met with when they asked members to sign petitions and memorials to the Government. Some members said, "Are you going to let married women in as well? because, if you are not, I will have nothing to do with it." Other members asked, "Are you going to let married women have a vote, too? because, if you do, I will have nothing to do with it." (Laughter.) He thought they must discuss this question fairly. He was not going to express an opinion either way on the principle of admitting married women or not. He would only say this, that so long as taxation and representation were held to go together, so long at any rate it would always be a subject of fair discussion whether a married woman's own separate property should have separate representation. That was not exactly his own opinion, but he thought they must not attempt to taboo discussion on this point. They must meet their opponents fairly in debate. What, he asked, were the practical difficulties in the way of granting the suffrage to married women as compared with the difficulties of granting it to unmarried women? He believed that the difficulties at present existing in regard to married women were well nigh insuperable, whereas those which obtained in the case of unmarried women were practically nil. Let them think what the franchise to married women meant. He knew some people said women were absolutely independent of their husbands in their political opinions. He would not argue that point, but he asked those present to recall the political opinions of their own immediate circle of friends and acquaintances, and say whether, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, the political colour of husband and wife was not identical. He did not say how this came about, but the fact was so. That being admitted, what must be the result of giving a married woman a vote? It would be conferring a plural vote upon every married man. A married man would have two votes and an unmarried man only one. Besides a rich married man would have the opportunity of creating faggot votes. He would only have to make her a forty-shilling freeholder, and she would at once become entitled to vote. This would act most unfairly in the direction of assisting the rich and not the poor. To the rich man it would be as nothing to give his wife a field or two and make her a voter, but the poor man would have nothing to give in landed property. He thought these objections should be urged and put in the strongest light before their friends who favoured the admission of married women to the Parliamentary franchise. Some of them said they would wait ten years for the enfranchisement of married women and, meanwhile, they would give the unmarried women nothing. He did not think that was a position which could possibly be defended or which would ever commend itself to the great majority of the people of this country. He compared it to a man having a loaf of bread when appealed to for relief by two starving men, and declining to relieve them until he had collected enough loaves to feed the whole starving poor of the metropolis. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) It was a monstrous proposition. They must ask their friends whether they were prepared to withhold the franchise from unmarried women until married women had got it, whether they were prepared to give it to married women with the difficulties before them that by giving it to married women they would introduce an enormous system of plural and faggot voting; and, if their friends said "no" to that, then they had a right to ask them "By what means do you hope to give the franchise to married women and yet avoid those evils?" That seemed the question which they might fairly put to their opponents not in any combative way but in a conciliatory spirit. At any rate, whatever might be their differences of opinion, as far as unmarried women were concerned their principles lay on the same line. Therefore he asked the meeting to use their influence with their friends to help them to push the coach on the path upon which they were all willing to tread, reserving perfect liberty of action as to which path they would take

when they found their paths diverge. He asked them by the way in which they received that resolution to strengthen the hands of their Parliamentary friends in taking steps for the re-introduction of the Bill in its present form at the earliest period of next session. (Applause.)

Sir J. H. PULESTON, M.P., in seconding the resolution, said he came there not to speak, but rather by his presence to justify his earnestness in a cause for which he had tried to do something during the last twenty years. He congratulated them very heartily upon that interesting gathering, and especially upon the fact that they had in the chair a lady so distinguished and so well able to speak to them on this question as Lady Portsmouth. She was a lady who was universally esteemed by all people, and all the political parties of this country. She had not only the question of women's suffrage earnestly at heart, but many others to which she devoted a large portion of her time. He might also say how much they esteemed her distinguished son in the House of Commons. Adverting to the object of their meeting, he said it was only by earnest and united effort, by a recognition of the fact that union was strength, that they could hope to succeed. They had had some very favourable opportunities in the House of Commons to carry their measure to a successful result. One such opportunity was the time of the last Reform Bill. He thought if ever there was an opportunity of engraving the principle of their society upon the statute book it was on that occasion. So far from there being any difficulty, so far from this interfering with the progress of the Franchise Bill, it was perfectly evident that a large consensus of opinion of both Houses of Parliament would have made it unnecessary to have occupied more than a single night on the subject. But the curious spectacle was presented of scores of members of the House of Commons—particularly on the side of the Government of the day—going into the lobby against the principle of a measure which they had themselves advocated, and which, in many instances, they had been returned to support. He regretted that incident from the standpoint of public honour, and he should regret any similar incident which might occur. He only mentioned this in order that he might urge upon them the necessity of seeing that they were all in the House of Commons in earnest about women's suffrage. They must not be satisfied with mere statements on the part of members to their constituents that they were in favour of women's suffrage, but they must require their Parliamentary friends to do active and zealous work in the cause. This year, unfortunately, an unfortunate day was selected, but notwithstanding this, he believed that, save for the disunion which existed amongst the associations on the question of married and unmarried, such pressure would have been put upon the leader of the House as would have induced him to give them that night of the 17th April. Many of those who petitioned in favour of having that evening did not hesitate to express their regret that they signed the memorial, when they subsequently read the reports of proceedings in this and other places in favour of the enlargement of the scope of the Bill.

Miss BECKER: Not in this place, or in this Society.

Sir J. H. PULESTON (continuing) said he could not imagine that those who were in favour of the extension of the Parliamentary franchise to married women were really sincere when they refused, in the first instance, to be satisfied with a three-quarter loaf instead of no bread. Surely it would be to their advantage, and on the line of their ultimate interest, to have the measure carried as it now stood. He was bound to say that he suspected the absolute sincerity in the cause of those who raised side issues, and urged the enlargement of the scope of the present Bill. (Applause.) However sincere they might be the effect of their action interfered, and interfered very materially, with the progress of the present measure. It was not wise to attempt to swop horses when crossing the stream. (Hear, hear.) They had a difficult stream to cross, but he felt sure that, if they worked steadily on as they were now doing, they would, notwithstanding the difficulties of the past, achieve success at a very early day. They had the important utterance of the Prime Minister—and that Prime Minister Lord Salisbury—to help them onward, and a greater number of the Government were now more heartily than ever in favour of their measure. Hence they could look forward with satisfaction despite the disappointment of the past. They must, however, adopt the principle suggested by Sir Richard Temple and band themselves in the House of Commons at the very beginning of the next session, so that they might with some certainty secure a day at the early part of the session when

## CONSERVATIVE ASSOCIATIONS.

NATIONAL UNION OF CONSERVATIVE ASSOCIATIONS:  
LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE DIVISION.

## RESOLUTION IN FAVOUR OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE CARRIED.

On June 29th, a meeting of the Council of the Lancashire and Cheshire Division of the National Union of Conservative and Constitutional Associations was held at the Conservative Club, Lancaster. Mr. F. S. POWELL, M.P., presided.

In the course of the proceedings Mr. WAINWRIGHT moved: "That this meeting desires to express its opinion that the time has arrived when the Parliamentary franchise should be extended to women householders." He said he advocated the extension of the Parliamentary franchise to women as a matter of justice. Many of them might have read the very influential protest which appeared in the *Nineteenth Century* last month; but he must say that he did not see why, because a few ladies holding influential positions did not agree with the proposal, that the vast majority of women should be excluded from the privilege. Parliament had recognised the right of women to vote at municipal elections, School Board elections, and elections of boards of guardians, and the very last measure of importance passed by Parliament allowed women to vote at County Council elections, and why should women not be allowed to vote at Parliamentary elections? Those who had had any experience in connection with elections in Lancashire must admit that women took a very deep interest in the proceedings. They were very straight-forward; there was no difficulty in getting them to go to the poll at municipal and other elections; and they were able to exercise their judgment quite as well as men. He did not agree with the writer of an article which recently appeared in the *Times* that the extension of the franchise to women householders implied that it would be necessary to extend it to all women. He was not in favour of universal suffrage for women, and he believed the leaders of the movement advocated that it should be extended simply and solely to women who were householders, rate and taxpayers. He believed in the old principle that representation and taxation should go together. It had been said that if they gave the franchise to women at all they would have to include married women. Mrs. Fawcett dealt with that question very ably in the present number of the *Nineteenth Century*. She said she did not advocate the extension of the franchise to married women because a woman was bound to obey her husband, and if married women were allowed to vote it would simply mean that two votes would be given to the husbands. The measure before Parliament did not propose to extend the privilege to married women, but to widows and spinsters. Look at the anomalous position in which women were placed by not being able to vote. Some thousands of women were owners of land and other property, and while the men to whom they gave employment were able to vote they themselves were not allowed to do so. The same remark applied to many thousands of principals of establishments and teachers who trained up and educated others who afterwards had the privilege of voting. He pointed their attention to the Primrose League and other similar organisations in which women took an active interest, and said that, as it appeared to be the object of their political leaders to make women to some extent politicians, they ought to be allowed to exercise the franchise. He did not think there was any ground for the notion that if women were granted the franchise they would have to be allowed as a consequence to sit in the House of Commons. If he thought that the result of the movement would be to introduce women into Parliament he would strenuously oppose it. (Applause.) He thought they would all agree with him that justice demanded that the franchise should be extended to women. (Applause.)

Dr. ROYLE seconded the motion, and it was supported by Mr. FULLAGAR.

The CHAIRMAN said he thought it would be wise not to press the resolution at the present meeting. They must bear in mind how enormously the register would be extended by placing women upon it. If they gave the franchise to women householders, he thought the matter would not rest there. As to the admission of women to Parliament, it must be borne in mind that if they granted the suffrage to women men would not have that question entirely in their own hands; and he doubted very much whether the new class of voters would be willing to have ladies excluded from Parliament. The resolution was carried, there being only one dissident.

their Bill could be brought before the House. He did not think it would be opposed by the Government as the Government. They would feel disposed to afford facilities for the discussion of the measure just in proportion to the efforts made by the friends of the measure. He hoped they would work unitedly and continuously in the hope and belief that they would accomplish in the next session of Parliament the result for which they had been vainly looking in so many past sessions. (Applause.)

Miss TOD (Belfast), who supported the resolution, said the anxieties and difficulties of the present seemed exceedingly small compared with the anxieties which they had overlived and the difficulties they had overcome. Their way lay straight before them. All they had to do was to get their Parliamentary friends to secure an early day next session for the discussion of the Bill, and then for them not only to do their part in the London society but for the members of the provincial societies to urge upon their members of Parliament to vote for the measure. If they united their forces she believed that success would be attained in the next session of Parliament. Her experience taught her, as it doubtless did other women supporters of this movement, that unmarried women and widows had a mass of difficulties and trials to overcome which required their representation in Parliament and from which married women were free. The latter had the protection, help, and support in her husband's affection and husband's vote which she lost the moment she became a widow. Unmarried women and widows required the protection and support and recognised position of citizenship; and in this the rich and the poor woman were exactly alike. It was one of the advantages and satisfactions of that women's suffrage work that they were working for the rich and the poor woman alike and that that wretched division of classes, which threatened to poison society, found no place in their movement. She thought the bogey of the married woman was not to be regarded as an insuperable obstacle in their way, but rather as a matter which scarcely deserved to be considered. By the latter part of the resolution they pledged themselves to support their Parliamentary friends, and she hoped they would all regard this as a personal responsibility. (Hear, hear.)

The resolution was passed *nem. con.*

The Hon. Mrs. COLBORNE proposed: "That the Executive Committee for the ensuing year consist of the following persons, with power to add to their number, and of delegates of associated societies: Professor Adamson, Mrs. Ashford, Mrs. S. A. Barnett, Miss Becker, Miss C. A. Biggs, Miss Helen Blackburn, Miss Jessie Boucherett, Miss Frances Power Cobbe, Colonel Cotton, M.P., Miss Courtenay, The Right Hon. Leonard Courtney, M.P., Miss E. Davenport-Hill, Miss Emily Davies, Captain Edwards-Heathcote, M.P., Mrs. Henry Fawcett, Louisa Lady Goldsmid, Mrs. Hallett, The Viscountess Harberton, Mrs. Haslam, Miss Mordan, T. W. Russell, Esq., M.P., Mrs. Stephen Spring-Rice, Mrs. Sterling, Miss Tod." She said that connected as she was in an official position with a great many teachers in public elementary schools, and with authorities in training colleges, it had often occurred to her what a very important part people entrusted with the training of the rising generation might play if they were given some practical power by voting for those who could best express their views in Parliament. Their training and education had awakened their reasoning powers, but the daily toil and worries of life were apt to crush down those reasoning powers, and deaden the interest which they should take in questions affecting the moral and physical good of the rising generation; but she was sure if they felt they could have a vote and personally take part in questions concerning the good of those in whom they were interested, that would give a new impetus to their lives and would prove a most valuable element in influencing the opinions and the questions which most touched the interests of women and children. (Applause.)

The Rev. J. VERSCHOYLE, in seconding the motion, said because of their sex simply women laboured under a disability in regard to the franchise in common with lunatics and others whom he need not name. This was an insult to womanhood. He denied that women would be degraded and coarsened by recording their vote in a polling-booth. Those who urged this objection did not object to women canvassing for votes or otherwise actively bestirring themselves in contested Parliamentary elections. (Hear, hear.)

The resolution was then carried unanimously.

A vote of thanks to Lady Portsmouth, moved by Mrs. BYERS and seconded by Miss MORDAN, concluded the proceedings.



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