

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE JOURNAL.

EDITED BY LYDIA E. BECKER.

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AUGUST 1, 1887.

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ENGLISHWOMAN'S REVIEW.—Published on the 15th of each month. Price 6d., or 6s. per annum.

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5. Difficulties of French Marriages.
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PARLIAMENTARY PETITIONS.

HOUSE OF COMMONS. PARLIAMENTARY FRANCHISE (EXTENSION TO WOMEN) BILL.—In Favour. TENTH REPORT, 31 March—5 April, 1887.

- Mar. Brought forward, Petitions 51—Signatures 1,420
©3907 31 ELGIN, Town Council of the city and royal burgh of (Mr. Asher) ... Seal. 1
©3908 ,, PAISLEY, Provost, Magistrates, and Town Council of (Mr. Barbour) ... Seal. 1
April
||3909 1 M. S. BELL and others, There-undersigned (Mr. Alfred Gathorne-Hardy) ... 51
©3910 5 GALASHIELS, Provost, Magistrates, and Town Council of the burgh of (Mr. Laing Brown) ... Seal. 1
©3911 ,, WICK, Provost, Magistrates, and Council of the royal burgh of (Mr. Lyell) ... Seal. 2
Total number of Petitions 56—Signatures 1,476

ELEVENTH REPORT, 6—14 April, 1887. Brought forward, Petitions 56—Signatures 1,476

- April
©4491 6 TAIN, Provost, Magistrates, and Council of the royal burgh of, in council assembled; J. Vass, provost (Mr. Munro Ferguson) ... 1
©4482 7 HAWICK, Provost, Magistrates, and Corporation of (Mr. Laing Brown) ... Seal. 1
*4483 13 DUMFRIES, There-undersigned Inhabitants of (Mr. Lafone) ... 250
©4484 14 DYSART, Magistrates and Town Council of (Sir George Campbell) ... Seal. 1
©4485 ,, WHITHORN, Provost, Magistrates, and Town Council of the royal burgh of, in meeting assembled; William McLellan, provost (Sir Herbert Maxwell). 1
Total number of Petitions 61—Signatures 1,730

TWELFTH REPORT, 18—25 April, 1887. Brought forward, Petitions 61—Signatures 1,730

- April
©4858 18 HELENSBURGH, Magistrates and Police Commissioners of the burgh of, in meeting assembled; H. Brigson, chief magistrate (Sir Archibald Orr Ewing) ... 1
©4859 ,, LONDON, Members and Friends of the North Kensington Debating Society, in meeting assembled in the Lancaster Road Schoolroom, on the 17th February, 1887; W. F. Revell, chairman (Sir Roper Lethbridge) ... 1
©4860 ,, DUMFRIES, Provost, Magistrates, and Town Council of the royal burgh of (Mr. Robert Reid) ... Seal. 1
©4861 ,, LOCHMABEN, Provost, Magistrates, and Town Council of the royal burgh of, in meeting assembled; George Johnstone, provost; J. Blackstock, town clerk (Mr. Robert Reid) ... 2
©4862 19 DUNBAR, Provost, Magistrates, and Town Council of the burgh of (Mr. Haldane) ... Seal. 1
©4863 ,, ROYAL AND PARLIAMENTARY BURGHS OF SCOTLAND, Convention of the, in convention assembled on 16th April, 1887 (Mr. M'Ewan) ... Seal. 1
©4864 ,, KILMARNOCK, Provost, Magistrates, and Town Council of, in meeting assembled; A. McLellan, provost (Mr. Stephen Williamson) ... 1
©4865 20 MONTROSE, Provost, Magistrates, and Town Council of the royal burgh of (Mr. Shiress Will) ... Seal. 1
©4866 22 DUNBAR, There-undersigned Women Ratepayers in, in meeting assembled; Isabella Hope (Mr. Haldane) ... 1
*4867 25 SIDCOOT, There-undersigned Inhabitants of (Sir Richard Paget) ... 39
Total number of Petitions 71—Signatures 1,779

THIRTEENTH REPORT, 28 April—4 May, 1887. Brought forward, Petitions 71—Signatures 1,779

- April
©||6333 28 WORCESTER and other places, Inhabitants of, in public meeting assembled on 19 April, 1887; W. B. Williamson, chairman (Mr. George Allsopp) ... 1

- May
6334 2 KENSINGTON, There-undersigned Inhabitants of (Mr. Woodall) ... 15
©6335 ,, DUNFERMLINE, Magistrates and Council of the royal burgh of (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) ... Seal. 1
©6336 4 LINLITHGOW, Provost, Magistrates, and Town Council of the royal burgh of (Mr. Sinclair) ... Seal. 1
Total number of Petitions 75—Signatures 1,797

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS BILL.—For Alteration. May

- ©6328 5 MIDDLESBOROUGH, Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the borough of, in council assembled (Mr. Isaac Wilson) ... Seal. 1
The petitioners pray that the Bill may be so altered as to extend the franchise to women.

PARLIAMENTARY FRANCHISE (EXTENSION TO WOMEN) BILL.—In Favour.

FOURTEENTH REPORT, 10 May—6 June, 1887. Brought forward, Petitions 75—Signatures 1,797

- May
©*7517 10 NOTTINGHAM Women's Liberal Association, Members of the, meeting at 18, Heathcote-street, on May 6th, 1887; Ann Cowen, president (Mr. Broadhurst) ... 1
©7518 ,, GREENOCK, Provost, Magistrates, and Town Council of (Mr. Thomas Sutherland) ... Seal. 1
©||7519 ,, STRATFORD-ON-AVON, Inhabitants of, and others, in public meeting assembled in the Town Hall, Stratford-on-Avon, on Tuesday, May 3rd, 1887; Arthur Hodgson (Mr. Townsend) ... 1
©||7520 11 KIDDERMINSTER, Inhabitants of, in meeting assembled; W. Blunt, chairman ... 1
7521 12 CARRICK-ON-SUIR, Women Ratepayers of (Mr. Condon) ... 5
7522 ,, CARRICK-ON-SUIR, Inhabitants of ... 21
*7523 16 WELLINGBOROUGH, Female Inhabitants of (Mr. Channing) ... 43
©7524 ,, DUNDEE, Provost, Magistrates, and Town Council of (Mr. Edmund Robertson) ... Seal. 2
©7525 18 BATH, Inhabitants of, in meeting assembled at Russell House, Bath, on the 13th May, 1887; Eveline Portsmouth, president (Mr. Wodehouse) ... 1
*7526 23 BEATRICE BROOKSBANK and others (Mr. Lawson) ... 17
©7527 24 PENGE and BECKENHAM, Members and Friends of the Liberal and Radical Club, in meeting assembled on 13th May, 1887; J. E. Jones, chairman (Mr. Morgan Howard) ... 1
7528 ,, LEICESTER, Inhabitants of (Mr. Picton) ... 20
7529 ,, ,, ,, ,, and others (Mr. Picton) ... 17
7530 ,, WILLIAM SIMPSON, Junior, and others (Mr. Picton) ... 4
June
*7531 6 A. M. DICKER and others, There-undersigned (Sir Henry Holland) ... 23
Total number of Petitions 90—Signatures 1,955

FIFTEENTH REPORT, 10—27 June, 1887. Brought forward, Petitions 90—Signatures 1,955

- June
*8575 10 NORTH LONDON, Inhabitants of (Mr. Lambert) ... 25
*8576 ,, BEATRICE MARY BRISTOWE, 11, Old Burlington-street, and others (Mr. Lambert) ... 24
8577 ,, MARGARET DUNCAN, Fox Hall, Kirkliston (Mr. M'Lagan) ... 1
8578 ,, ANNIE MARY LILLAS JARVIS, Elm Cottage, Kirkliston (Mr. M'Lagan) ... 1
8579 ,, KIRKLISTON, Women Ratepayers in (Mr. M'Lagan) ... 4
8580 13 CARDIFF, There-undersigned Women Inhabitants of (Sir Edward Reed) ... 33
©8581 ,, CARDIFF, Inhabitants of, in public meeting assembled on the 25th May, 1887; Charles J. Thompson, vicar, chairman (Sir Edward Reed) ... 1
8582 17 CROYDON, Women Inhabitant Householdholders of the borough of (Mr. Sidney Herbert) ... 287
8583 ,, CROYDON, Inhabitants of (Mr. Sidney Herbert) ... 219
8584 ,, LILY JONES, No. 2, Chepstow Road, W., and others (Mr. Lawson) ... 18

The Petitions marked thus (©) are signed officially. The Petitions marked thus (*) are similar to that from Middlesborough (App. 1). The Petitions marked thus (||) are similar to that from Southport (App. 2). (Fifteenth Report of Petitions continued next month.)

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EDITED BY LYDIA E. BECKER.

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AUGUST 1, 1887.

PRICE ONE PENNY. BY POST THREE HALFPENCE.

OUR readers will have observed from the reply given by Mr. SMITH to Mr. WOODALL'S plea for the exemption of the 20th of July from the days claimed for Government business, that the hope of obtaining a discussion on that day for the Women's Franchise Bill had to be finally abandoned. Nevertheless the friends of the measure have not given up the effort to secure a hearing for the Bill. A meeting of the Parliamentary Committee was held in the Conference-room on Tuesday, the 19th of July, and a deputation was organised, which waited on Mr. SMITH. They received from him the assurance that while the exigencies of Supply compelled the Government to appropriate the morrow, he would endeavour on some early evening to suspend proceedings in Supply in order to afford an opportunity for taking the second reading of Mr. WOODALL'S Bill.

It remains to be seen whether the course of the business in the House of Commons will be such as to enable Mr. SMITH to redeem his pledge, and the friends of the measure may rest satisfied that the Parliamentary leaders will be earnest and watchful to take advantage of any chance that may be afforded to them of securing a hearing for the Bill before the close of the session.

It is perhaps a not unnoteworthy coincidence that the day after Mr. SMITH had stated his inability to make an exception in favour of the Women's Franchise Bill from the operation of the motion giving precedence to Government orders, the Government itself incurred a defeat and the loss of a whole night on a question about a wrong done to a woman. There is, of course, no connection between these two incidents, yet we think it safe to assume that were women as a class represented, such gross indignity as that suffered by Miss CASS could not be inflicted on even the humblest and most unprotected woman in the land. It is also probable that complaints affecting the interests of one of a represented class would not have been treated with careless indifference by any responsible minister of the Crown.

It is with great satisfaction that we record the extension of the municipal suffrage to women in Ireland. This has been effected by a Bill for the reform of the Municipal Corporation of Belfast, which has hitherto been elected on a very restricted franchise. An Act has been passed which assimilates the conditions of the Municipal Franchise of Belfast to those which prevail in Great Britain, and this reform includes the extension of the suffrage to women.

The operation of the Act is limited to Belfast, but there can be no doubt that a similar rule must be extended ere long to all Irish boroughs. Meantime, it is at least possible that without special legislation the ordinary law, coupled with the Interpretation Act and the usage in Great Britain, might be found sufficient to sustain the claim of women in Dublin and other districts to be put upon the municipal register when next the lists are revised.

THE annual meeting of the Central Committee took place on July 12th, in Westminster Town Hall. Mr. WOODALL, M.P., presided, and Mr. M'LAREN, M.P., Miss BECKER, Captain COTTON, M.P., Miss TOD, Miss BALGARNIE, and others took part in the proceedings.

Drawing-room meetings have been held in several houses, in which Mr. WOODALL, M.P., Mr. M'LAREN, M.P., Mrs. FENWICK MILLER, Dr. KATE MITCHELL, Mr. CUNNINGHAM GRAHAM, M.P., and others took part.

A drawing-room meeting was held in Eaton Place, Captain EDWARDS HEATHCOTE presiding, which was addressed by Mr. H. S. WRIGHT, M.P., Colonel EYRE, M.P., Miss BECKER, Major RASCH, M.P., Colonel JELF, Royal Engineers, Mr. WHARTON, M.P., and Dr. FARQUHARSON, M.P.

Lectures and other discussions have also been held during the month.

DURING the polling at Coventry on July 9th, at one of the stations a woman presented herself and claimed to vote, her name being on the register as JESSE JOHNSON. The presiding officer at first rejected the claim, but after

obtaining a legal opinion he accepted it, and Mrs. JOHNSON recorded her vote.

The official return gave Mr. BALLANTINE a majority of sixteen over his opponent, Mr. EATON. Mrs. JOHNSON'S vote is of course counted among these votes. Had the election been turned by a majority of one, a not unprecedented circumstance, there must have been a scrutiny, in which case the vote of the woman would have been discounted and cast out. But in the absence of such scrutiny the vote remains and is counted among the valid votes given in the election, though no one can say on which side it was recorded.

DURING the election at North Paddington, Mr. ROUTLEDGE, the Liberal candidate, boasted that a Countess had expressed her intention of going in her carriage and pair to fetch a sweep to vote for him. This incident suggests the reflection that if the Countess in question took so great an interest in the success of the candidate whom she desired to represent her in Parliament, she deserved to have the right of voting for him herself instead of being reduced to the necessity of asking a sweep to represent her at the polls.

A BILL for extending the franchise to women has been discussed during the past session in the House of Representatives, New Zealand. The Bill was introduced by Sir JULIUS VOGEL, the Colonial Treasurer, an office which is, we presume, equivalent to that of Chancellor of the Exchequer, and it was supported by the Premier, Sir ROBERT STOUT. We have not been able to procure a copy of the Bill, but, judging from the debate, it appears to have been a very comprehensive one, giving practically universal suffrage to women.

The debate took place on May 12th, when the second reading was carried by 41 votes to 22; majority 19.

But several members stated that although they would vote for the second reading they did it in the hope that in Committee the Bill would be limited to women who were owners of property. Accordingly Mr. IVESS moved in Committee the insertion of words in the enacting clause which would have effected that limitation. This amendment was resisted by the promoters of the Bill, and defeated by a considerable majority. But this was a fatal victory, for on the question being put, that the clause as printed stand part of the Bill, the Noes proved to be in a majority of two. The Bill being thus virtually killed was not further pressed, and the whole question

was relegated to the new Parliament, the elections for which are we believe now proceeding.

THE history of the New Zealand Women's Franchise Bill is both encouraging and instructive. The encouragement is derived from a comparison with the fate of a similar proposal in 1878. In September of that year in Committee on an Electoral Bill, an amendment was moved by Mr. WALLIS to omit the word male from the clause relating to the qualification of electors. This amendment was rejected by thirty-six votes against twenty-six, showing a majority, in 1878, of ten against women's suffrage. This year the second reading of Sir JULIUS VOGEL'S Bill was carried by a majority of nineteen, an advance of opinion which would seem to be decisive on the question.

THE instruction is to be found from the course of events which led to the loss of the measure. So far as can be gathered from the report of the proceedings in the House of Representatives, there was a clear and decisive majority in favour of giving votes to women who were owners of property, while many who were prepared to go so far would not support the larger measure. Had the promoters of the Bill contented themselves with making the initial step sure, and securing in the first instance that portion of the measure on which all the supporters were agreed, leaving for future consideration the further extension on which there was a difference of opinion, there is every reason to believe that the moderate measure would have been carried in the House of Representatives, and would probably have become law in time to enable the women who would have been enfranchised thereby to vote in the general election which took place after the close of the session. The principle of women's suffrage would have been irrevocably established in the colony, and its further application would simply have been a question of time, and experience of its beneficial effects.

THE debate on the New Zealand Bill presents many of the familiar arguments for and against women's suffrage along with a certain freshness due to the Antipodean atmosphere and environment. We greatly regret that the exigencies of space preclude us from reproducing the debate in full as it appears in the New Zealand Hansard. We have been forced to content ourselves with taking from each speech a few of the most characteristic arguments and expressions, and framing these into as fair and complete an abstract as circumstances permitted. We beg

our readers to believe that any incompleteness or abruptness which they may observe in the arguments used in the debate is to be attributed to the extreme compression we have been compelled to resort to, and not to any deficiency on the part of the speakers themselves.

OF all the modes of celebrating the golden anniversary of the reign of Queen VICTORIA, none seems more completely to link the reign of this day with bygone history, and to bring the present into living touch with the recollection of the country's past, than the lighting of the beacon-fires on three hundred hills.

Watching fire after fire leap into sight on that memorable night, till all the horizon was studded with flame, memory hurried irresistibly back to that other memorable night, when

"Twelve fair counties saw the blaze from Malvern's lonely height."

Then, returning by another route, so to say, memory sees the light of the skill and learning of noble women which brightened the Court of the great Queen of that day, and, passing over the long years in which the prejudices of a narrow fanaticism, and the indifference of indolent frivolity combined to repress all such skill and learning, sees them now revive under the encouragement of a long and steady reign of a woman sovereign, and the lights on the hill-tops start forth as emblems of the lights to human lives with which the reviving energies of women are studding all the land.

H. B.

THE ADDRESS TO HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN.

The following letter has been received by Miss Becker from the Secretary of State for the Home Department:—

"Whitehall, July 2, 1887.

"Madam,—I have had the honour to lay before the Queen the loyal and dutiful address of the National Society for Women's Suffrage on the occasion of Her Majesty attaining the fiftieth year of her reign. And I have to inform you that Her Majesty was pleased to receive the same very graciously.—I have the honour to be, madam, your obedient servant,

(Signed) HENRY MATTHEWS.

"The Hon. Secretary, National Society for Women's Suffrage, 29, Parliament-street, S.W."

THE QUEEN AND THE WOMEN'S JUBILEE OFFERING.

The Queen has addressed the following letter to the contributors to the Women's Jubilee Offering:—

"Windsor Castle, June 22nd, 1887.

"I am anxious to express to all the women of Great Britain and Ireland how deeply gratified I am by their very kind and generous present. I thank them all most warmly for it, and shall value their gift of the statue of my beloved husband very highly as a touching remembrance of this interesting and never-to-be-forgotten day and of their great loyalty and affection.

"VICTORIA, R. and I."

Her Majesty laid the foundation stone of the statue on July 14th. The site chosen is in Windsor Park, on a spot known as

Smiths' Lawn. A large gathering of ladies assembled, who wore favours of different colours, representing the nationality of those who had joined in the gift. The ladies of England wore red, those of Scotland blue; the Irish ladies wore green, and the Welsh white and green. On July 15th, the Queen gave a garden party at Windsor to ladies who had taken a leading part in the offering.

PARLIAMENTARY INTELLIGENCE.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, July 4th.

PARLIAMENTARY FRANCHISE (EXTENSION TO WOMEN) BILL.

Mr. WOODALL asked the First Lord of the Treasury whether he would exempt the Parliamentary Franchise (Extension to Women) Bill, which was down for Wednesday, the 20th inst., from the operation of the motion for giving precedence to Government orders.

Mr. W. H. SMITH said that he feared that if he were to make an exception in favour of the Bill referred to he would at once be met by other demands for exemption from the operation of the rule. He knew the importance which was attached by many members to the subject in which the hon. member was so deeply interested, and if the progress of public business should at some later date render possible the discussion of the measure he should be very glad.

Mr. WOODALL asked whether the right hon. gentleman would consent to waive his right to employ the Government tellers in the division on the motion giving precedence to Government orders. If other tellers were appointed the House would be more free to express its opinion upon the subject of the right hon. gentleman's motion.

Mr. W. H. SMITH could not accede to the request of the hon. member. It would hardly be consistent with his duty as leader of the House to press a motion and not to try to insure its success by every means in his power.

Tuesday, July 5th.

THE ARREST OF MISS CASS.

Mr. ATHERLEY-JONES asked leave to move the adjournment of the House for the purpose of calling attention to a definite matter of urgent public importance, namely the circumstances connected with the arrest of Miss Cass. Upon the Speaker putting the question that leave be given, nearly all the members on the Opposition side of the House rose in their places, and leave being thus obtained Mr. Atherley-Jones detailed the circumstances of the arrest.—Mr. DODDS, in seconding the motion, testified to the thoroughly respectable character of the young lady who had been arrested.

Mr. MATTHEWS thought it was no part of his duty to pass criticism on legally constituted tribunals or to hold an inquiry. The debate was continued by Mr. Chamberlain, the Attorney General, Mr. Caine, Mr. Childers, Sir R. Fowler, Mr. Jacob Bright, Mr. H. Fowler, Mr. W. H. Smith, Mr. Pickersgill, Mr. T. W. Russell, Mr. Picton, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, and Mr. Heneage.

Mr. ATHERLEY-JONES said the assurances of the Home Secretary were so unsatisfactory that he must press his motion to a division.

The House divided, when the numbers were for adjournment 153, against 148, majority 5. The House adjourned at ten minutes past seven.

THE PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE.

Meetings of the Parliamentary Committee have been attended by the following members:—Mr. Woodall, Mr. Maclure, Captain Cotton, Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Mr. W. McLaren, Sir William Houldsworth, Mr. H. Byron Reed, Captain Edwards Heathcote, Mr. H. J. Wilson, Mr. Thos. Shaw, Sir Rainald Knightley, Baron Dimsdale, Mr. Justin McCarthy, Mr. A. J. Williams, Mr. H. Lawson, Professor Stuart, Colonel Hughes, General Sir Fred. Fitzwygram, Sir E. W. Watkin, Hon. W. Lowther, Mr. Puleston, Mr. H. J. Atkinson, Mr. J. Round, Sir R. Temple, Sir W. Plowden, Mr. W. R. Powell, Mr. A. Lafone, Mr. J. Craven, Mr. C. Wright, Mr. A. Duncombe, Mr. Bradlaugh, Mr. U. Penrose-Fitzgerald, Mr. Seale Hayne, Mr. Murdoch, Dr. G. B. Clark, Colonel Bridgman, Major Rasch.

MEMORIAL TO THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY.

At a meeting of the Parliamentary Committee of friends of the Women's Franchise Bill, held in the House of Commons on June 27th, it was resolved that a memorial, urging the Government to leave Wednesday, July 20th, free for the discussion of the measure, should be adopted and circulated for signature among friendly members. The memorial was presented to Mr. Smith on Monday, July 4th. The names comprise members of all shades of political opinion, and include seventeen not previously recognised as friends of the measure. Other signatures were added at a subsequent deputation. The total number of signatures to memorials asking the Government to afford an opportunity for the discussion of the Bill was 152 up to the present time.

TO THE RIGHT HON. W. H. SMITH, M.P., FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY, &c., &c.

The undersigned members of Parliament desire respectfully to express their hope that Her Majesty's Government may find it practicable, in arranging the business of the House of Commons, to leave Wednesday, July 20th, free for the discussion of the Parliamentary Franchise (Extension to Women) Bill, which stands as the first order of the day.

W. ABRAHAM (Rhondda)
J.T. AGG-GARDNER (Cheltenham)
WILLIAM G. AINSLIE
(Lancashire N., Lonsdale)
L. ATHERLEY-JONES
(Durham, N.W.)
H. J. ATKINSON (Boston)
JOHN AUSTIN
(York W.R., Osgoldcross)
WM. B. BARBOUR (Paisley)
JOHN BARRY (Wexford, S.)
HAMAR BASS (Staffordsh., W.)
JOSEPH E. BIGGAR (Cavan, W.)
ALGERNON BORTHWICK
(Kennington, S.)
CH. BRADLAUGH (Northampton)
F. BRIDGEMAN (Bolton)
JACOB BRIGHT (M'chester, S.W.)
WILLIAM C. BROOKS
(Cheshire, Altrincham)
ALEX. L. BROWN (Hawick, &c.)
THOS. BURT (Morpeth)
W. S. CAINE (Bartow)
CHAS. CAMERON (Glasg. College)
J. M'DONALD CAMERON
(Wick City)
P. S. CHANCE (Kilkenny, S.)
SPENCER CHARRINGTON
(Tower Hamlets, Mile End)
J. J. CLANCY (Dublin Co., N.)
G. B. CLARK (Caithness)
E. DE COBAIN (Belfast, E.)
HENRY P. COBB
(Warwicksh., Rugby)
DOUGLAS H. COGHILL
(Newcastle-under-Lyme)
BERNARD COLERIDGE
(Sheffield, Attercliffe)
FRANCIS COMPTON
(Hants, New Forest)
C. A. V. CONYBEARE
(Cornwall, Camborne)
E. T. D. COTTON
(Cheshire, Wirral)
LEONARD COURTNEY
(Cornwall, Bodmin)
JOSEPH CRAVEN
(York W.R., Shipley)
WM. CRAWFORD (Durham, Mid)
W. CROSSMAN (Portsmouth)
DIMS DALE (Herts., Hitchin)

L. J. JENNINGS (Stockport)
W. JOHNSTON (Belfast, S.)
JEREMIAH JORDAN (Clare, W.)
H. SETON KARR (St. Helens)
COURTNEY KENNY
(York W.R., Barnsley)
H. KIMBER (Wandsworth)
H. S. KING (Hull, Central)
ALFRED LAFONE
(Southwark, Bermondsey)
R. P. LAURIE (Bath)
H. L. LAWSON (St. Pancras, W.)
WILFRID LAWSON
(Cumb., Cockermouth)
ROBERT LEAKE
(Lanc. S.E., Radcliffe)
C. E. LEWIS (Antrim, N.)
THOMAS LEWIS (Anglesey)
FRANK LOCKWOOD (York)
W. LOWTHER (Westm., Appleby)
LEONARD LYELL
(Orkney and Shetland)
CHAS. FRASER MACKINTOSH
(Inverness)
JNO. W. MACLURE
(Lanc. S.E., Stretford)
A. M'ARTHUR (Leicester)
W. A. M'ARTHUR
(Cornwall, St. Austell)
JUSTIN M'CARNEY (London)
JUSTIN HUNTLY M'CARNEY
(Newry)
JOSEPH M'KENNA (Monaghan, S.)
PETER M'LAGAN (Linlithgow)
W. S. B. M'LAREN
(Cheshire, Crewe)
SAMUEL MONTAGU
(Tower Hamlets, Whitechapel)
F. C. MORGAN (Monmouthsh., S.)
C. T. MURDOCH (Reading)
JOHN P. NOLAN (Galway, N.)
R. PEACOCK (Lanc. S.E., Gorton)
WM. PEARCE (Lanark., Govan)
H. FELL PEASE
(York N.R., Cleveland)
W. C. PLOWDEN
(Wolverhampton, W.)
W. POMFRET POMFRET
(Kent, Ashford)
W. R. H. POWELL
(Carmarthenshire, W.)
GEO. P. PRICE (Devonport)
T. P. PRICE (Monmouthsh., N.)
J. H. PULESTON (Devonport)

JAMES RANKIN
(Herefordshire, Leominster)
J. C. RASCH (Essex, S.E.)
H. BYRON REED (Bradford, E.)
HENRY RICHARD (Merthyr)
W. TINDAL ROBERTSON
(Brighton)
THOS. ROE (Derby)
ALBT. J. ROLLIT (Islington, S.)
J. ROUND (Essex N.E., Harwich)
J. ROWNTREE (Scarborough)
EDWARD R. RUSSELL
(Glasgow, Bridgetown)
GEORGE RUSSELL
(Berks., Wokingham)
T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrope, S.)
THOS. SHAW (Halifax)
WALTER S. SHIRLEY
(York W.R., Doncaster)
JOHN SIMON (Dewsbury)
JOHN SLAGG (Burnley)
ERNEST SPENCER (W. Bromwich)
J. STANSFELD (Halifax)
A. COWELL STEENEY
(Carmarthen, &c.)
J. STUART (Shoreditch, Hoxton)
ANGUS SUTHERLAND (Sutherl.)
EDMUND SWETENHAM
(Carnarvon, &c.)
JOHN SWINBURNE
(Staffordshire, Lichfield)
C. R. M. TALBOT
(Glamorganshire, Mid)
THOS. K. TAPLING
(Leicestershire, Harbro)
R. TEMPLE (Worcester, Evesham)
ALFRED THOMAS (Glamorgan, E.)
WALTER THORBURN
(Peebles and Selkirk)
F. TOWNSEND (Warwickshire,
Stratford-on-Avon)
THOS. WARING (Down, N.)
E. W. WATKIN (Hythe)
THOMAS WAYMAN
(York W.R., Elland)
J. BAZLEY WHITE (Gravesend)
A. J. WILLIAMS (Glamorgan, S.)
CHAS. H. WILSON (Hull, West)
H. J. WILSON
(York W.R., Holmfirth)
WM. WOODALL (Hanley)
CALEB WRIGHT
(Lanc. S.W., Leigh)
H. S. WRIGHT (Nottingham, S.)

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 at the Westminster Town Hall on Tuesday, July 12th. Mr. W. WOODALL, M.P., presided, and was supported on the platform by Mr. W. B. M'LAREN, M.P., Captain E. Cotton, M.P., Mr. C. H. Hopwood, Q.C., Lady Hart, Miss Becker, Miss Tod, Miss Sharman Crawford, Mrs. Pennington, Mrs. T. W. Russell, Mr. Jos. Howard, Miss Florence Balfour, and others.

Mr. WOODALL, in taking the chair, said he thought it would be admitted that the signs of the growth of public opinion were quite unequivocal—(hear, hear)—and yet at the same time there must be a feeling more or less of depression in the minds of all present here that while the cause has undoubtedly grown in public feeling, there has been coincidentally with this growth of our cause in public favour some circumstances which seem to show that we are not very much nearer the goal, or the legislative realisation of our

hopes. We feel indeed, but only in common with those who have undertaken other great reforms, the consciousness of the impotence of Parliament to give effect to the well-matured public opinion of the country. (Hear, hear.) Statesmen have agreed with wonderful unanimity that the constitution of this country is best adapted to the ends it has to serve when the House of Commons includes within its portals the largest number of capable citizens; and the interpretation of that word "capable" has been made so wide that, practically, it includes all who may be said to be suffering under no special incapacity. In 1865, this spirit of comprehensiveness was carried so far that the great measure of enfranchisement was made to include the very poorest dwellers in the mud hovels of Connemara, the humblest labourers on the soil of Great Britain. They have gone so far as to do away with the disabilities that until recently attached to civil servants, and within the last few weeks they had enfranchised the members of the police force. It would be observed how very keenly members of Parliament had been looking after the interests of civil servants and policemen. Innumerable questions have been asked with regard to their wages, their hours of work, and their holidays, so that they at any rate have learned that there is something to be gained by being personally represented in the House of Commons. (Hear, hear.) Still, practically, one-eighth of the whole number of rate-paying householders in the three kingdoms are debarred from the franchise, and on account of disability of sex alone. They are not incapable of discharging the obligations of life; they have to bear all the burdens of citizenship without any relaxations whatever, and it is still held by some rather absolute politicians that they are technically unfit for the franchise. Well, the other day one particular class of women were under the consideration of Parliament. In a house in which they have no direct representation as have the civil servants and the policemen, it was proposed to still further restrict the conditions under which women should be allowed to pursue a particular kind of labour in a particular part of the country. That effort in regard to the labour of pit brow women was happily unsuccessful—(cheers)—but it elicited a demonstration that these women were not only able to discharge their duties, to earn honestly their wages, to maintain their reputable character, but that they were able when assailed to vindicate their own rights, and to assert them here in the bureau of a minister of state. (Applause.) Well, we hear a great deal about the unsuitability of employment of that kind. One does hear, continually, a great amount of nonsense about the proper sphere and the proper kind of associations with which a woman should always be surrounded. Unhappily, all this idealism is very different to the rude experience of life. Tom Hood wrote that "A woman sat in unwomanly rags, singing the song of the shirt," and again and again we are reminded of the hardships women have to undergo under all the disadvantages of their position. Happily we have experience to show that while women are called to toil and labour, often of a very unwomanly character, the recent experience at Cambridge has shown—(hear, hear, and applause)—that they are intellectually equal to the very highest possible achievements, and certainly it must have been to those who hold views of the mental inferiority of women a very humiliating experience to find that a woman not only took the highest honour, but stood alone without a challenge in the highest branch of classics. To prove that this is not a mere exception, another lady stood alone in her class for medieval and modern languages. (Hear, hear.) It certainly cannot be a matter of surprise that after such evidence the title of such women to be entered and admitted to university degrees has made considerable progress. (Hear, hear.) They knew, happily, from every-day experience, how every remarkably and successfully women are showing their exceptional capacity for the discharge of work in almost every department of public as well as social and domestic life. What would be the position if we were to eliminate the women workers from the department of education in England, and how very large a portion of the most responsible work in commercial life is done by them? In one respect he could have wished that the annual meeting had been deferred a few days longer. He hoped that this meeting would be useful in many respects, and among others in giving some assistance in Parliament with the Bill this year. It was a forlorn hope; but there still seemed to be a chance for it, and he might be permitted to bring in the measure for discussion next Wednesday week. But whatever might be the difficulties thrown in the way by irritating or Fabian

tactics, the committee may be assured that the best possible will be done. (Hear, hear.) It would indeed have been a very happy circumstance if we had been able to achieve this great crowning work during the Jubilee year of the Queen. We have seen how during these last fifty years, and have been reminded of it to a great extent during the last few weeks, how all the delicate organism of an intricate constitutional system has been administered with singular tact and judgment by the woman who, during all those years, has been called upon to guide, in a very large degree by her good sense and judgment, the forces of this realm. We have renewed our acquaintance within the last few weeks with her eldest daughter, who has made herself useful in the great country to which she has gone by marriage and adoption. We have seen the great work of governing the country carried on with advantage to the country and to our time, and it would have been, as I have said, a singularly happy and appropriate celebration of the Jubilee if we had been able to remove this great and glaring disability of the sex of the Queen, which is such a strong and anomalous contradiction to the progress of the reign. (Cheers.) However, we must be content to wait for it and to labour and do our best still further to strengthen public opinion, and to bring that public opinion to bear in Parliament so that it may grant the demand.

MISS FLORENCE BALGARNIE read the report of the executive committee for 1886-7. The financial statement appended to the report showed the income from all sources to be £864, and the credit balance at the end of the year, £13. There were outstanding liabilities amounting to £31.

MR. W. B. M'LAREN, M.P., moved the adoption of the report and statement of accounts. Although it had not been in their power to bring this question to a satisfactory issue, they had done all that was in their power to do. He did not despair of the success of the movement. He believed that in Mr. Woodall they had a leader in whom they might place every possible confidence. (Cheers.) He knew this quite well, that however much they might be disappointed that Mr. Woodall had not succeeded in bringing the subject up for discussion in the House of Commons this session it was through no fault of his. (Applause.) He thought that Mr. Woodall in putting down the second reading for July 20th made a very wise choice, and one showing great foresight, for had he put it down for any other Wednesday his chance would have been inevitably destroyed by the claims of the Government Coercion Bill and other measures. The Government might yet take the 20th July, but there was just a chance that they would leave Mr. Woodall to bring it on. With regard to the enfranchisement of the police, many members were not in favour of it at first; but they knew they would have policemen for their constituents, so they would not vote against that measure for fear of the consequences to themselves when the measure passed. The same thing would happen about women's suffrage. Members knew that it would pass, and they would not think it worth while quarrelling with women who would be their constituents, so they would vote for it. Everything tended to success in this matter. (Hear, hear.) They found that year by year women were taking more interest in politics. They were working hard in political struggles, in general elections and bye elections. He did not wish to ask now whether women were likely to be Liberal or Conservative in their feelings; he did not think it had the faintest connection with the question whether they ought to have votes or not. (Hear, hear.) It was a charge brought against the Conservative party at the time when the county franchise discussions were going on, he did not know whether truly or untruly, that the Conservatives were afraid to give the votes to counties because they were afraid the new voters would be largely Liberal. The Liberal party condemned them for using such an argument; but there were Liberals in the House of Commons at the present day who were doing the same thing that they blamed others for doing in times past. The question had been before the country for twenty years, and now it had taken its place as one of the leading political questions and one of the most important questions that can be brought before the country, and he thought that women should insist that Parliament should pay more attention to it. If women would do that he believed that they had the matter in their own hands. Although they could not vote, they could bring an amount of pressure on the constituencies which could not be easily resisted through the Women's Liberal Associations. There were women working in the habitations of the Primrose League, on behalf of the Con-

servative party. There were also women working in Ireland for the National League; and there was one distinguished lady present who was a worker in the Unionist cause. When women worked so hard for these causes they ought also to devote their energies to securing their franchise, and in other questions in which they are interested. (Hear, hear.) He did not think anything could be more prejudicial to their cause than for women to work for political candidates who would not support their cause. (Hear, hear.) Nothing could injure the cause more than for women to sink the question of their enfranchisement in any question of Home Rule or any other cause. When some months ago there was a great meeting to form a Women's League, under the presidency of Mrs. Gladstone, he said then, and he repeated it now, that it was a melancholy spectacle to see so many women met together for political objects who had not got their own enfranchisement. (Cheers.) Men accepted their help in these contests very gracefully and with smiles, thinking that it was very good of these women to aid them; but they also thought if they were women of sense they would help themselves also to get the vote. They had been wandering from the direct path into the more exciting paths of politics. They must take up a position strongly and decisively on this question of the franchise. They should sacrifice everything else to this, and if they did they would gain their object within a couple of years. They could then turn their attention to the political questions in which they felt an interest. He strongly commended that view to the members of the League. He was convinced that the time had gone by for women to help politicians of every party until they would help women in return. It was only when women took up the position that they did not intend any longer to have their political claims overlooked that they would gain their cause. (Applause.)

Miss TOD (Belfast) had great pleasure in seconding the resolution, because the report showed that a great advance in the work of women's suffrage had been made in England, Ireland, and Scotland. Every year they had been able to make some advance either politically or socially, which might give great encouragement for the future. Nothing succeeds like success, and every success put them in a better position for claiming what was due to them. She was very glad to be able to congratulate the meeting on the extension of the municipal suffrage to women in Belfast. Ever since the admission of women to the municipal franchise in the corporate towns of England, by a clause in the Municipal Act of 1869, the friends of women's suffrage in Ireland had been on the watch to raise a similar claim; especially since the same right was granted to Scotchwomen in 1882. But in the hurry and rush of recent years, it had been found very difficult to get any independent action taken on behalf of Irishwomen. When, however, in the early spring of this year, Sir James Corry brought in a Bill to assimilate the municipal to the Parliamentary franchise in Irish boroughs, the long-sought opportunity presented itself. The North of Ireland Women's Suffrage Committee laid the question fully before a number of leading members of Parliament and others, and received much support; and they are happy to state that Sir James Corry kindly consented to alter the phrase descriptive of the qualified householder from "man" to "person," in accordance with the English precedent. The history of the Bill, in matters not connected with the claims of women, has been peculiar, and more than once it has seemed on the point of being shipwrecked. In consequence of some of these difficulties its operation is limited to Belfast alone. Although they would gladly have seen this undoubted right bestowed in all Irish boroughs at once, yet at least they had the satisfaction of knowing that it will henceforth be impossible to deal with municipal affairs in those boroughs without at the same time acknowledging and securing the rights of women who are householders, as well as those of men. It was not simply or merely by telling of grievances that they proposed to soften the hard hearts of the members of Parliament; but by showing that every step women had taken in this matter had been not only for their own benefit, but for the benefit of the community at large. Everyone was pleased with the very remarkable success which had been achieved at Cambridge by a lady, which would be a great encouragement to every girl who was studying for an examination. She did not feel that the delay in women obtaining the franchise, which was the greatest of their demands, had been an unmixed evil, because undoubtedly the organisation formed for that purpose had been a powerful factor in obtaining other reforms. She felt that

they had at least one right to congratulate themselves. It was her opinion, formed from observation, that in regard to any great public question the expression of the feeling of the House of Commons marked not the high water mark but the low water mark of public feeling upon the question. She meant that they were afraid to adopt a great reform of any kind until they were certain that the great majority of their constituents were prepared to go further than they were themselves. (Hear, hear.) They were then prepared to take a decisive step. She felt much interested in the communications they received daily from the philanthropic workers in the movement. Everywhere they found that men and women were working to advance the cause of their fellow-creatures. The work which so many women had done had undoubtedly brought their claims to the suffrage to the front. In Belfast there were about eight thousand women who would be entitled to the franchise. An effort was now being made to organise these so that their influence might be made stronger in all questions connected with their own well-being and the well-being of the town generally.

Captain COTTON, M.P., felt very much pleasure in supporting the resolution. He felt rather a minnow among the Tritons when in the company of so many advocates of women's suffrage, as he had only been a convert to the support of the movement for a very short time. When the franchise was extended in 1884, he felt that the inclusion of women was the logical outcome of that measure. In municipal elections and in other elections where women had the power of voting given them, they found that the disability of sex did not prevent them voting in a highly conscientious manner. They had heard the great part which women take in Parliamentary elections, and it seemed to him that they should be able to give a direct effect to their political influence by the exercise of the right to vote. (Hear, hear.)

The resolution was then put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

Miss BECKER moved: "That this meeting regards with deep satisfaction the formation of a Committee in the House of Commons of members friendly to the Bill, and pledges itself to support by every means in its power Mr. Woodall's able and persistent efforts to secure a debate and division during the present session." Miss BALGARNIE seconded the motion, which was passed unanimously.

Mrs. SHARMAN CRAWFORD moved, and Mrs. STEPHENSON seconded the election of the executive committee. The motion was carried.

The proceedings terminated with a vote of thanks to Mr. Woodall for presiding.

BRADFORD.

On June 3rd a meeting was held in the Assembly Rooms of the Temperance Hall, Bradford, for the promotion of the objects of the Women's Suffrage Association. Miss Becker and Miss Lupton took part in the meeting.

DRAWING-ROOM MEETINGS.

EATON PLACE.

On Thursday, July 28th, a meeting was held by invitation of Mrs. Edwards Heathcote, at 55, Eaton Place. The chair was occupied by Captain Edwards Heathcote, M.P. Mr. Smith Wright, M.P., Major Rasch, M.P., Miss Becker, Colonel Eyre, M.P., Colonel Jelf, Mr. J. L. Wharton, M.P., and Dr. Farquharson, M.P., were the speakers.

WEST KENSINGTON PARK.

On June 17th a drawing-room meeting was held by invitation of Miss Reid and Miss Guinness at their residence in West Kensington Park; Miss Reid presided. Addresses were given by Miss C. A. Biggs, Miss Tod, and Miss Balgarnie. Resolutions in favour of women's suffrage were adopted.

SLOANE-STREET.

On July 1st a drawing-room meeting was held, by invitation of Mrs. Julia and Kate Mitchell, at their residence, 68, Sloane-street, Mr. Woodall, M.P., presiding.—Addresses were delivered by Mr. Cunningham Grahame, M.P., Mrs. Stanton Blatch, B.A., Dr. G. B. Clark, M.P., Mrs. Tomkinson, Miss Florence Balgarnie, and Mrs. John Holland.

GLAPHAM.

On July 14th, a garden party was given by Mrs. Stapleton, of Holmwood, The Grove, Clapham Common, for the purpose of discussing the question of women's suffrage. Mr. Woodall, M.P., presided, and resolutions in favour of the principle were spoken to by Miss Tod, Miss Balgarnie, Dr. Kate Mitchell, and Miss Sharman Crawford.

CADOGAN PLACE.

On the evening of Tuesday, July 12th, after the annual meeting of the Central Committee, Miss Müller entertained the members of the Society at an evening party at her residence, 58, Cadogan Place. There was a large and fashionable gathering, including many of the most prominent workers in the movement.

LECTURES.

MANCHESTER.

On July 10th, the Rev. Stewart D. Headlam (lecturer for the Guild of St. Matthew, London) gave a lecture in the New Secular Hall, Bloomsbury, Manchester, on the emancipation of women. He treated the subject under three heads, the first the political, then social, and lastly the industrial emancipation of women. He urged all Liberals to help on the movement for the enfranchisement of women as being their first duty.

GAINSBOROUGH.

Under the auspices of the Primitive Methodist Mutual Improvement Association, a lecture entitled "Women and Politics" was delivered by Miss Tylour on May 31st.

BRITISH WOMEN'S TEMPERANCE ASSOCIATION.

At the anniversary meeting of the British Women's Temperance Association at London, in June, a sitting was devoted to the discussion of the women's franchise question. Mrs. Tomkinson presided. A paper was read by Miss Wright, and the discussion was continued by Miss Tod, Miss Balgarnie, the Rev. S. Fisher, Miss Docura, Mrs. Finlay, Mrs. Atkinson, and Mrs. Servanté. Mrs. Atherton, Mrs. Pearson, Mrs. Emmett, Mrs. Margaret Lucas, Mrs. Stewart, and Dr. Kate Mitchell took part in the meeting.

POLITICAL SOCIETIES.

DERBYSHIRE CONSERVATIVE UNION.

Mr. Samuel Leake, at the Conference of the Derbyshire Conservative Union held in July, expressed the opinion that the Government should, as soon as possible, bring in a measure for the enfranchisement of unmarried women who are ratepayers.

NEW ZEALAND.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, MAY 12, 1887.

(Abridged from the official record of debates.)

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE BILL.

Sir JULIUS VOGEL (Colonial Treasurer), in moving the second reading of this Bill, said it appeared to him that the question was one of a very serious character. He was, as hon. members were aware, in general opposed to exceptional reforms. He had thought at times that there was a disposition to give the colony a distinct type by the adoption in advance of measures which sooner or later were likely to find adoption in other parts of the world. In his opinion it was not necessary to exercise haste in this respect, for he was convinced that the fact that the population of New Zealand had been to all intents and purposes a selected one, and the influence of various causes, including the striking scenery of the colony, all must in time combine to give the people a distinct type. He made those remarks to show that he was not proposing this, which seemed to him a large and novel measure, with the mere desire that the colony should be the first to undertake it, with a view to give a distinctive character to the colonials or the colony. He should endeavour to show that this measure was one which could be defended upon logical grounds. He should just ask the House to consider whether there was any reason why women should be excluded from the exercise of the franchise. He should then

ask the House to allow him to show that there are many reasons why women should have the franchise, and he should conclude by endeavouring to ascertain how it was that this emancipation had been so long denied to them. With regard to the question of what reason there might be for excluding women from the franchise, he would ask hon. members would they for one moment say that the intellectual powers of women were so much below that of men that they were not entitled to the franchise? He was one of those who thought the intellectual powers of women were capable of being developed quite as highly as those of the dominant sex. He claimed for women greater power of sympathy and endurance than men possessed. In the sick room and in household work women would work from night till morning and from morning till night if it were demanded of them. For every fifty women who voluntarily devote themselves to works of charity, without the hope of gain, he did not believe there was one man to be counted against them. He claimed for women those qualities which eminently made them fitted to take part in the government of the country. How could they, who were subjects of Great Britain and Ireland, say that women were unfit to exercise the functions of men in respect to government when they rejoiced under the rule of a Queen who was more popular than any other sovereign that had ever been in Great Britain, and who had during fifty years continued to attain more and more the love of her subjects? To deprive women of the suffrage was, in his opinion, to deprive them of their inherent right to share in the government which as much affects their interests as those of men. In almost every walk of life which women have taken up they have distinguished themselves in a most remarkable manner. He recollected that one of the most eminent of living physicians declared that he would rather see his daughter in the grave than that she should practise medicine, but they had not been able to shut women out from the study of medicine. The emancipation which women had so far received reminded him forcibly of the emancipation of a great religious sect, the Jews. Time was when the Jews were shut out from almost every occupation, when, in fact, they were compelled to limit such ability as they possessed to the acquisition of money. It was not until the London University admitted Jews to higher education, which was followed by their admission to other institutions, that their varied faculties became developed, and now, in the professions and as public men and statesmen in all parts of the world, they have eminently distinguished themselves. If that had been the case within living memory, had they not a right to expect that when women had afforded to them the exercise of legitimate power with responsibility, they should find that vast benefit would arise from their assistance? They must not tell him that woman would cease to be as attractive to man as now. What right had man to demand of woman the sacrifice of what might be called her higher intellectual qualities in order that she might be a greater pleasure to him? Granted that a woman might be less soft and pliable, there was no reason to suppose that she would be less able to exercise the domestic virtues. And could anyone declare that woman ought to be the toy of man rather than his helpmeet? It seemed to him that he had proved so strong a case that he was reduced to asking, if the question was so much beyond all doubt, how was it that it had not been settled before? How was it that it was left to that House to be the first British community to grant the privilege? Until recently, in Great Britain, not one woman in five thousand was a holder of property to any great extent. The suffrage in Great Britain had always been more or less dependent on property, and they could understand that a question affecting only one woman in five thousand or one in one thousand would command very little attention. But in New Zealand their qualification was essentially not a property qualification, although they did not leave property out of the question. As far as he could gather from what was taking place in regard to the Representation Bill, there were very few members, if any, who were unwilling to allow that representation should be based on the population of the colony. There might be a difference about the representation of country districts, but essentially they had the population suffrage, and that being the case why had they shut out women from participating in the franchise? What right had they to exclude women from sharing in the government of the country? He asked honourable members who were prepared to vote for the population basis as the means of deciding the representation, how could they dare to deny that women were human beings as much entitled as men to take their share in the government? It was a

common error to define the functions of a government as solely those of the protection of life and property. That was a somewhat ignoble view. They owed to good government the reign of order, the enjoyment of liberty and freedom, and the progress of culture and education. If there was danger to any one of these great objects in the admission of women to the share of power to which, as human beings, they were entitled, then continue to outlaw them, but he claimed the support of every honourable member who was not prepared to assert that the admission of women to the franchise would endanger good government. He moved that the Bill be read a second time.

Mr. J. C. BUCKLAND said that he should like to ask a question of the Colonial Treasurer, which is, whether this is a Government measure in the sense that if the Colonial Treasurer is beaten upon it the Government will resign?

Mr. MOSS said that out of his deep reverence for women he should vote against the Bill. The honourable gentleman who had moved the second reading of the Bill had asked, Have not women the power, the intellect, the endurance to make themselves fit subjects for the suffrage? He (Mr. Moss) did not question it for one moment, but he said they had not the experience, and he hoped they never would have. He believed that the influence for good women now exercise would be weakened, perhaps lost, by their taking men's coarser work on themselves. Believing that woman's mission was to purify and refine man, the coarser animal, he should vote against the second reading of this Bill.

Mr. O'CONNOR said it struck him that the honourable gentleman who had just sat down had introduced an argument against the Bill which was very easily answered. He did not dispute the refining influence of women, but he refused them the opportunity of exercising that influence where it was most required. He (Mr. O'Connor) had yet to learn that it was necessary for any elector to become familiar with the lowest scenes of human life. There was no way in which women's influence could be more beneficially exercised than by their admission to the privileges which this Bill sought to confer upon them. They had to thank the Colonial Treasurer greatly for coming forward on this occasion to lift up New Zealand by placing it in what he believed would be the forefront of civilisation.

Mr. BRACKEN said he thought the Colonial Treasurer had used the very strongest argument against women's suffrage when he told them that there were fifty women to one man engaged in noble works of charity and benevolence. If women were brought into the political arena and mixed up with the turmoil of politics, would they have time to devote themselves to these noble works? He thought not. The case of the emancipation of the Jews was not analogous to the question of women's franchise. It was a very poor illustration indeed, and in proof of that he might state that though the Jews, as a race, were the best fathers and husbands in the world, yet they did not believe in giving women the same privileges that men have in some walks of life. If he was correctly informed, every Jew who was a strict believer in his religion offers up in his daily prayers his thanks to God that he was not born a woman. It was because he had a great respect for women that he should oppose this Bill. He looked upon woman as the light of the home and the genius of the fireside.

Mr. LANCE said he believed that a measure of this sort would destroy anything like domestic happiness and comfort. Had they any proof that the women of the colony desired this privilege? He must say they had nothing of the sort. It was true that there had been one or two petitions sent to this House requesting that women might have a vote, but if they could analyse those petitions he thought they would find that no credit was due to those who sent them. If the question could possibly be put fairly to the women of New Zealand: "Do you or do you not want this vote?" he conceived there would be practically one answer, and there was very good reason why the answer should be against it. The happiness of the homes would be affected by it. There is some element of discord in every household in the world, and any nation or people that seeks to introduce woman suffrage seeks to supply a fan to fan those smouldering embers into a flame. What is more natural than that women, being human beings subject to the same influences and passions as themselves, and having had some slight difference with their husbands or other male relatives, should, when political feeling is running very high, use their votes and influence against their husbands or brothers, or whoever might be in the

nearest relation to them? It was quite possible that a husband or brother might suppose he had lost his election through the influence of some of his female relatives, and it is possible that a man, going home in a state of ungovernable passion, on that supposition might wring his wife's neck like a chicken's. He admitted that was an extreme possibility, still it was a possibility. Then the husband being brought before twelve of his countrymen to answer for his act, it would not surprise him that those twelve men should decide that it was a case of justifiable homicide; more than that, he thought that the country and society at large would very likely endorse that decision. Then if that were so, he said they would be entitled to blame all who had been the means of passing this measure, because they would then have been directly—he said it advisedly—and with their eyes open, and after receiving full warning of what they were doing, the means of encouraging crime. He had said that women were subject to the same influences, passions, hatreds, and revenges that men were. He would try to illustrate that by a little incident. During the Indian mutiny he happened to be engaged in an action, and after the enemy had been repulsed from the fort they were holding they escaped, taking with them a very large number of guns. It was necessary that these guns should be captured, and a pursuit was ordered, in which he took part. As each gun was overtaken a very desperate struggle took place for its possession; and as they arrived where one of these guns was, they saw what appeared to be two youths defending it. One of them was shot as they approached, and the other dropped quietly on one knee and emptied a saddle, and was then pierced through the breast by a lance. The following day he was asked by the general in command to go over the field and get as correct an account as possible of the number of killed. When he came to this particular spot and saw the bodies of these two youths something in the appearance of one of them struck him, and, on stooping down, he found it was a young woman of eighteen or nineteen dressed in a man's clothes, and wearing a soldier's accoutrements. He saw impressed on that young woman's face, as plainly as if it had been engraved on marble, passion, hatred, defiance. It did not matter for the purpose of his argument what motives had induced her to take up arms and conduct herself as a man; whether it was hatred of a race alien to herself in language, colour, and religion, or whatever it might have been, he said that the brutal instincts in woman had been aroused on that occasion the opportunity had arisen—passion, hatred, and defiance the result. As to those who would not listen to the sort of argument he had used, he would appeal to the selfish part of their nature, and say, Did they want to make peace in the home impossible? then vote for this Bill. Did they not see when they had heated debates in that House they all got very angry? (No.) Well, a great many of them did. (No.) Well, some of them, at all events, got very angry. Then they went home, and their wives and daughters, who did not follow them into politics, engaged them in a little light conversation, gave them a good dinner, and then they came back to the House in the evening at peace with themselves and all the world, and ready to engage calmly and quietly in the business of the country. But once make women politicians, and they would be in the position of men seeking peace and finding none.

Mr. W. F. BUCKLAND said that after the speech of the hon. member for Cheviot he must say a word or two on the other side. He was strongly in favour of the Bill. Man thinks a great deal too much of himself; he is too apt to think he is about the only creature the Lord ever made, and he never thinks about women at all. ("Oh, oh!") Well, he never thinks about giving them the rights due to them. Now, if they went back to the earliest times of which there is any record, they found that women had always taken an important part in the politics of every country. He was very sorry to see many hon. members who called themselves Liberals, and thought they were always supporters of liberal advancement, were trying to keep women crushed down as they had been for hundreds of years. The hon. member who had brought in the Bill put the matter very well indeed, when he said women were equal to men, and if so, why should they be denied the right to vote?

Mr. MOSS: Because they are women.
Mr. W. F. BUCKLAND: That is about the only argument. It is a pity the hon. member for Parnell is not a woman. He (Mr. Buckland) would guarantee that he would be one of the first to struggle for his rights. The hon. member for Cheviot spoke of his female relations. But had they not male relations who did not

always agree with them in their votes, and were they not a great deal more bitter than women? Of course they were. He did not see that they should put on women especially the imputation of bearing all the hatred, malice, and uncharitableness in their hearts. They might, perhaps, begin by letting single women have the vote. He was sorry that some honourable members laugh at that proposal. They would laugh at the other side of their mouths some day when women had the franchise. He for one had maintained for the last twenty years that women should have the franchise, and he hoped that this Bill would be passed.

Mr. BRUCE said those who were prepared to support the measure had at least the appearance of argument on their side, but there was a great difference between theory and practice. That women theoretically considered had a right to a direct voice in the affairs of the commonwealth, no one with a judicial order of mind would be for a moment prepared to deny. But women had already a very large voice in directing the affairs of the country, and he feared if they gave them a direct voice in practice nearly every modest, sensible woman would abstain from exercising her vote, and that means would be found to induce all those who have none of these qualities to come out and vote for the most unscrupulous candidates. He should like to ask the Colonial Treasurer the question, Has any desire for this measure emanated from the women of the colony?

Sir R. STOUT: Yes.
Mr. BRUCE: The Premier says "yes." In some solitary instances it may be so, just as in America one comes across the demand for the franchise by ladies who go about with their umbrellas, ready to dig anybody who differs from them; but the sensible and modest women of New Zealand are not asking for it. The ideal pedestal on which he would place woman was something altogether above her mingling with public life, dragging her into the political arena, into the iniquity of elections; for from the day the writs were issued until they came, then there was more or less iniquity in the contest, and for the reason that he thought it calculated more to degrade than to elevate women he should vote against the second reading of the Bill.

Mr. FERGUS said he intended to vote for the second reading of the measure. He was sorry indeed to think that his friend the hon. member for Rangitikei should have taken such a view of the condition that women would be in should this measure be passed. It was some time since the power of voting in municipal matters was conferred upon the women of Great Britain, also the power of voting and sitting on Educational Boards, and he had yet to learn that their participation in these benefits had tended to make them more masculine. No good reason had been shown in this debate why the privilege of voting at general elections should not be conferred upon women. He for one failed altogether to see the point of the illustration used by the hon. member for Cheviot, when he spoke of the woman who had been killed in that fight on the plains of India. He was not aware that women had any great voice in the direction of political affairs in India. He should vote for the second reading of the Bill.

Mr. DOBBS said the speech of the hon. member for Rangitikei was the speech of a crusty old bachelor whose heart was hardened. He was not surprised at the speech from him, but was surprised at that which had come from the gallant member for Cheviot, who was well known as a ladies' man. He felt it his duty to take exception to the remarks of that hon. gentleman as to the petitions in favour of women's suffrage. He had stated that those petitions had been got up in a manner that was no credit to them. He (Mr. Dobbs) was prepared to say that the Auckland petitions were got up in a manner that was a credit to them. The people came forward voluntarily and signed the petitions. Some honourable members were afraid of women being brought under the contaminating influence of places that they might go into. They had no objection to women going there on an errand of mercy—in fact it was the right place for them to go; but directly the question was raised as to their right to vote it was said they must not do that. He had quite made up his mind that women should have the right to vote, and should support the Bill.

Mr. W. D. STEWART said that on the broad principle that there should be no taxation without representation, women had a just right to have a voice in the affairs of that colony. The question was not a new one; it had been before that House on previous occasions. They all remembered that Dr. Wallis took a deep interest

in the subject, and other members had from time to time endeavoured to enlist the support of other members, but without practical effect. The objections which the hon. member for Rangitikei raised in reference to the franchise were simply the objections which had been raised to the right of women to take part in industrial pursuits. It was attempted to prevent women going into what was called the active occupations of life, and it was said that their proper duty was to stay at home. What was the fact now? In the case of women entering universities, it was now almost inconceivable that the objections should have been so persistently urged. We know that in many universities women are permitted to take degrees. In medicine they were looked upon as altogether out of their element; but what is now the case? Some very distinguished women do practise medicine, and have rendered very considerable service. The measure had his entire sympathy, and he should give it on every occasion he could a push forward, and he hoped at no distant day to see women exercising the franchise.

Mr. PERE said the measure, if it became law, would be a source of trouble to that House. They should look back to the trouble that came upon Adam through his wife giving him an apple, they should bear in mind the evil that befell Samson when his locks were shorn by Delilah, they should also bear in mind the story of Naboth's vineyard—how a woman incited a man to murder another in order to obtain possession of his vineyard. He said in conclusion that if attractive ladies were allowed to come into that House he was quite sure his own wife would never consent to his returning there.

Mr. MONK said that if there was anything that would give him confidence and hope in the future legislation of the country, it would be that women were to be allowed and solicited to use their influence in returning good members to that House. He could not understand how the hon. member for Cheviot could talk of a husband going home and wringing the neck of a wife who had been in opposition to him at the poll. They knew it was a classic saying that a man should not strike a woman, even with a flower, and he could not imagine that there would be any more combativeness between husband and wife, or among families, if women were allowed to exercise their votes on a subject of great importance to them. It had been intimated by the hon. member for Cheviot that by giving ladies this power there would be more combativeness in settling the affairs of the colony than there is at present. He did not think that statement was borne out by experience. They had one distinguished lady author in Auckland at the present time, and her articles were always in the direction of suppressing a too warlike and military spirit. Yet if ever this country were threatened with invasion, he thought the most helpful spirit would be given to its defenders by women.

Dr. NEWMAN said this was a much more serious question than some hon. members appeared to think. Some years ago he was engaged with others in London in fighting for the right of women to enter on the medical profession. He knew the stigma they had to undergo, and how those were sneered at who backed them up in getting into the profession. He believed that the extension of the franchise to women very materially affects their welfare. There could be no doubt that the condition of the colony would be vastly improved if women got the franchise, and just as men had to be educated up to the franchise so will the women.

Mr. IVESS said he would confine himself in his remarks to a common sense rather than a sentimental view of the question. He thought that when they conferred the privilege of voting on the male portion of the community on account of their property qualification, they were not acting wisely in withholding the same privilege from the female portion of the community possessing property. He would not, however, go to the extent of conferring universal suffrage on the women of that colony, because he held that the privilege was one which women required to be educated up to. He thought it would be wiser in the first instance to introduce the thin end of the wedge by conferring the franchise on women possessing the property qualification in order to see how the experiment worked, and with that view he would prefer to vote for the second reading of that Bill in the hope that in Committee it would be so amended as to confine the vote to female property holders in the colony. They now allowed women to give their votes in the choice of the chief magistrates of the different boroughs and cities of the colony. Very large numbers of ladies enter the polling booths on these occasions, and exercised their votes in a dis-

criminating and intelligent manner. If the State recognised their right to vote in that direction, he was sure no harm could result from conferring the franchise in that colony on women who held property. He should vote for the second reading of the Bill in the hope that in Committee it would be amended in the direction he had stated.

Mr. HOLMES said he would give the reason why he should vote against giving woman the franchise. It was a very short one. He first laid down this theory: that no persons in the State who were in a dependent and subsidiary position—in a position absolutely dependent for their subsistence, social condition, and opinions on somebody else—should have the franchise. Hence it was that they did not give the franchise to children or to women, because, taking that broad rule, there was hardly a woman in the country—of course every general rule has its exception—who was not dependent in those particulars upon either a father, a husband, a brother, or a clergyman; and that father, husband, brother, or clergyman absolutely controls her opinion upon such matters, and would continue to control it. Therefore her opinion as an independent voter would simply be the opinion or vote of the husband, father, brother, or as the case might be. And that was one of the strong reasons why he would not support any proposition to give the franchise to women who were in a dependent condition. But it might be said that there were some women who were not in a dependent position, who had means which would enable them to be independent of either husband or brother. He said in answer to that that the woman might be monetarily independent, but in questions of voting she would be as absolutely dependent upon husband, or brother, or parson, or priest, as if she were under their absolute control. The reason of the reigns of our Queens being successful was that, having no independent action or thought of their own, they were completely and absolutely dependent upon the thoughts and opinions of the great men who surrounded their throne. They were entirely influenced through them, and were actuated and controlled by them, and so it was that the affairs of England, during those years, were successfully conducted. For the reasons given he should vote against the Bill.

Captain RUSSELL said they had been told by the hon. member for Christchurch that woman occupied a dependent position, and would not dare to vote against the wishes of the father, the husband, or the brother. At the same time others had told them that the life of the husband, father, and brother would be made so wretched if their women folk voted that it was far better that women should not be allowed to interfere in politics at all. But they should consider that the whole of them were dependent to a very great extent; that there were very few who exercise the franchise who were not very considerably dependent on those who employed them; and therefore if they were not to allow their wives or daughters or the women employed in warehouses to vote, surely the same argument would apply equally to the son or servant who was dependent on the will of a father or employer. Surely they were as much dependent as the woman who worked in a warehouse.

An HON. MEMBER: There is the ballot.

Captain RUSSELL: There was the ballot for the woman as well as for the man. He thought that by allowing women to mix in the affairs of every day life they should at the same time improve the condition of women and improve the delicacy and refinement which should characterise all true men. The honourable member for Cheviot had told them a story about the Indian women fighting like men for their country, and the moral he wished them to draw was that because the Indian girls could die for their country English women were not fit to take part in the government of their own. A more illogical conclusion it was impossible to conceive. He told them about the daring, defiance, and hatred which were depicted on the faces of those two women. Well, as to that, there would be defiance depicted on the face of the woman who would dare to do right, and hatred only of all that was mean. Let them have those women there.

Mr. J. C. BUCKLAND said that while he thought, after he had finished, that the Colonial Treasurer had made a very good speech, the speeches since made by other hon. gentlemen had led him to the conclusion that the Colonial Treasurer had hardly put his case in as good a light as he might have done. He (Mr. Buckland) should have liked him to elaborate the disabilities under which women suffer in the matter of education, and he might have instanced the opportunities now offered them, and how they had taken

advantage of those opportunities. It was only yesterday that they read that a young lady at the examination in Christchurch had passed all the male scholars, and in many recent examinations they had seen female students taking an honourable place beside male students. The hon. member for Parnell was very much afraid that woman's purity and gentleness would be tarnished by her becoming acquainted with social questions. Why, until woman has a fuller acquaintance with the laws of physiology she would not be able to take her proper place in society as a wife and mother. He must touch upon the remarks of the hon. member for Cheviot. A more illogical speech he never heard in his life. The hon. member suggested the possibility of a husband twisting off his wife's head as he would a chicken's, owing to the passing of this Bill, and he said a jury would probably say it was justifiable homicide. He would remind the hon. member that in such circumstances the decision might not rest with twelve men—it was quite possible the other sex might have something to say in the matter. Of course he knew that sitting there, calm and placid in his green old age, the hon. member for Cheviot was a very different man from the daring young officer who, he had no doubt, was always to the front of the battle in India thirty years ago; but he wished to say that he (Mr. Buckland) thanked the hon. member for the story he related to-night. He felt a better man for having heard it, and hereafter, whenever he thought of great stories of bravery such as that at Thermopylae and other places, he should associate with them the hon. member's story of those two brave women dying for their country. No doubt the hon. gentleman thinks he saw the passions he has stated depicted on their countenances, but then he looked at them through the smoke and grime of a battle. But supposing they had been seen by a father, a husband, or a brother, who would gladly have changed places with them, would he have seen hatred, malice, and revenge in their dead faces? I venture to say he would have seen a halo round them such as poet has never depicted nor painter portrayed. As to women showing passions when fighting in defence of their homes, let him ask to what depths did men sink even when they were not fighting in defence of their homes, but who were invading the homes of others? Did they not commit deeds which were a disgrace to humanity! There was no excuse for them, but these poor women were defending all that was dear to them in the world. He should not dwell on the allegation that women, if endowed with the franchise, would not use it rightly. They were always prone to judge of what people would do when they were entrusted with a responsibility by what they are and what they have done before they have had it, and therefore in totally different circumstances. That remark applied to the Irish question, which they discussed yesterday; and it was too often forgotten, when assertions were made as to what the Irish would do if given the responsibility of governing themselves, that people with responsibility became very different persons from what they were when they had been ignorant of the sense of responsibility. Even in childhood a boy saw the disabilities under which the opposite sex were, as was shown in the anecdote of the lady tract distributor speaking to some children, and, reading the passage about being born again, she asked one little fellow if he would like to be born again, and the boy replied, "Na! na! I might be born a lassie." An honourable native member had referred several times to Biblical stories, and told them the incident of that miserable man, Adam—a story of which every man ought always to be ashamed. Here was a man no doubt longing for the fruit close to his lips, yet afraid to touch it, but he takes it when he sees his wife has more courage than himself, and when he is shown the consequences he whines out, "The woman tempted me, and I did eat." He hoped that story would never be given as an example of manliness. He should support the second reading of the Bill.

Mr. M. J. S. MACKENZIE said the proposal was really one for giving plural votes to a large number of men in the colony. It would give an unfair advantage to some men as against others. Either women would act independently as voters or they would not. They did not act independently; they would be giving plural votes to their husbands and other male relatives, and if they did act independently the measure would introduce discord into families. Suppose a husband asked his wife to vote for some candidate whom she might think a bad representative. If she studied what she believed to be the public interest, and went against his will, dissension was introduced, and she broke her marriage vow of obedience. If she did not study the public interest her husband became a

plural voter—he had one more vote than the law would allow. He held that the sole result of the Bill, if it became operative, would be that they would be doing a great deal of mischief in the way of aggravating the evil of plural voting and destroying domestic peace, in the destruction of the deference they paid to women whose functions were to supply counsel to men in difficulty, sympathy in distress, and encouragement in every kind of exalting effort. And all for what? To get bad votes and bad legislators, inferior voters and inferior legislators. There was nothing clearer in the world than that not only did women not want this Bill, but that they absolutely loathed and repudiated it.

An HON. MEMBER: No.

Mr. M. J. S. MACKENZIE: It was so. He made the statement as the result of conversation he had had with enlightened and instructed women on the subject. He regarded the Bill as a want of confidence in the eternal laws of nature which had made women so different from men, and on that ground he objected to the Bill.

Mr. KERR was satisfied the Bill would not work in practice, and therefore he should vote against it.

Sir R. STOUT said he was well pleased with the change in the feelings of the House since he had the honour of bringing the subject forward some nine years ago. When it was discussed then it was only lost by a few votes, but then there were not so many able advocates for the measure as had appeared that night. He thought that one of the things that had injured woman in the past had been that they had not felt that they had a mission in life. If they had been trained to political duties, if they had felt that they were factors in the state, they would see them now, politically, on a far higher platform than they occupied to-day. What had the whole training of English law been, but that woman is a chattel?

An HON. MEMBER: No.

Sir R. STOUT: The whole of their past training had been that. It was their duty, if they could do it, to get women to take an interest in political questions, and to take an interest in social questions, and to think that the State is something to them, and that they are something to the State. If they did that they would raise their politics to a higher plane—they would raise their women to a higher plane, and they would raise their men to a higher plane as citizens. He hoped that after it had passed in that House that night, the measure would become law, and he had no doubt that in the future they should never regret having passed such a Bill.

Mr. PYKE said he should have had no desire to speak that night but for a prior injustice which he committed some years ago when he struck out the word "person" from a Bill introduced by the Minister of Lands with that word in it, intended to achieve that object. He had had occasion since then to see the error of his ways, and he was there that night to make honourable reparation. He had come to the conclusion upon mature consideration that women were quite as capable of judging of the merits of political candidates as the men were, and perhaps more so. An objection was that the Bill would virtually give a man several votes. So it might, but then they had got a scientific rectification of the frontier in the shape of an electoral Bill, and that scientific rectification of the frontier proceeds on the basis that all men, women, and children are to be estimated in the quota. He failed to see why the basis of representation should be population, unless you allowed the population to vote; and therefore women should have a vote. On every ground, if it was only to educate the children and to teach them that there is something beyond the mere grasping of money, that there is the public welfare to consider, the future prosperity of the country to be considered, he thought women should have a large voice in the direction of public affairs. He was sure the country would be none the worse if women were allowed to vote before the next election.

Mr. MONTGOMERY said it was not the first time this matter had come before Parliament. In 1879 a motion to insert the word "person" for male in an electoral Bill was carried, and on the re-committal of the Bill the word "man" was substituted for "person." Had the word "person" remained in the Bill, women would have had the right to vote. The then member for Rangitikei (Mr. Ballance) moved in Committee that the word person be inserted in the Bill. There were no speeches made in the House, nor any reasons given; simply the vote was taken. He was under the impression that he (Mr. Montgomery) voted for it at that time. He thought it was coupled with a provision that the women were to be ratepayers. He had given the matter a good deal of attention.

The practical difficulties were very great. Take a county district where a husband and wife, if this Bill passed, would each have a vote. Perhaps they would have to go eight or ten miles to the polling booth. It was a matter of difficulty as to who would be left behind to mind the house. If there was difference of political opinion, would not the husband dominate and say to the wife that she must stay and mind the children? He would like to point out that in large towns there was a class of women who would not be valuable additions to those who would exercise the franchise. Was it wise to pass this measure in its entirety? Believing that there were women who had a right to exercise the franchise as taxpayers, he should like to see the second reading of this Bill carried in order that these women should have votes. He should like to see women graduates of universities vote. The Married Women's Property Act would make a great many women property holders. If they gave the vote to these in the meantime they would see if they valued the privilege sufficiently to go to the poll. If these neglected to exercise the franchise, then they might well allow the matter to rest. If these women valued and exercised the privilege, they might then determine that it would be a good thing to extend it.

Mr. BARRON said his honourable friend had made reference to the Married Women's Property Act. Honourable members would recollect the debates which preceded the passing of that Act: how confidently it was predicted that great social disturbances and domestic troubles were certain to follow if they conferred on women the legal recognition of their rights, which they have since obtained under that Act. So with this Bill. They might be quite sure that whether they passed the second reading of the Bill that night or not, the time was within measurable distance when the privilege which this Bill intended to confer on women would be conferred upon them. Fifty years hence the curious student of history who looked back on the recorded debate of that night would find almost such another evidence of the manner in which human thought shakes itself free of narrow prejudices as we now find when we look back to that portion of history which tells us of the troubles of Galileo. He could see no logical argument against giving women the right which this Bill sought to give them.

Mr. WALKER said he thought it only fair to say a few words to those honourable members who, like the hon. member for Akaroa, seemed to be willing to vote for the second reading without conceding the principle that women had a right to the suffrage. He thought that unless one was prepared to go the whole way in this matter and vote for the second reading as agreeing with the principles of female suffrage, it was a mistake to pass this Bill and limit it to women who had the property qualification, because it was quite certain as a matter of logical sequence that if the property qualification were now granted the full suffrage would be given in the immediate future.

Mr. F. H. FRASER said he intended to vote for the second reading of the Bill. He had heard several times of the love and admiration and respect which honourable members had for women, and yet they appeared not to have sufficient respect and admiration for them to trust them with a vote. That was a thing he could not understand. One reason given for not allowing women to have the vote was that they were dependent upon others, but he thought that a most fallacious argument. Men themselves were dependent upon one another. They were all dependent upon one another. The servant was dependent on his master, the working man on his employer, so that the argument would not hold water. It was also said that they would have bad women going to the poll. Possibly they might at first, but he was sure the good women very largely preponderated over the bad in that colony. He thought it a right thing to pass this Bill, and they would not only honour women but honour themselves by doing so.

Mr. LEVESTAM said that many of the speeches were of a very sentimental character, and it struck him that hon. members were speaking more to Hansard and to their constituents than to the common sense of that House. The arguments against the measure were very easily answered. He supported the Bill because he held that those who pay taxes should have a voice in the government of the country. Still he thought it undesirable that any great change should come suddenly, and therefore he should try in Committee to insert a clause providing that women should not be eligible for seats in that House. He should also like to see the franchise confined to widows and spinsters, because married women could

hardly be said to be taxpayers, as their husbands pay the taxes. He should support the second reading of the Bill, and in Committee he should move amendments in the direction he had indicated.

Mr. JONES said he should support the second reading of the Bill. There was a considerable number of women who performed the functions of constituents by paying taxes and rearing up their families and looking after their education and training as the best males do, and he considered that such persons were entitled to all the privileges exercised by male citizens even to the extent of voting for members of that House.

Mr. WHYTE said he should vote against the second reading of the Bill. He was quite certain that nine out of ten of the good women of the colony had no desire to possess this privilege.

Mr. GORE said it had been stated that women were not sufficiently educated to receive the franchise. That reminded him of the early days of Victoria, when the agitation for manhood suffrage was very strong.

Mr. FISHER said if a woman had a mission in life, it was to superintend her household, and mould the character of her children, and if she had any leisure after doing these things, it could not be better employed than in performing works of charity, and rendering aid to the sick and distressed.

Colonel TRIMBLE: If the Act is to be a dead letter, I do not see what harm can be done.

Mr. FISHER: I said as regards a large part of them.

Colonel TRIMBLE said that even if it were a dead letter as regards a large part he did not see what harm could be done. He once formed one of a party which conducted an election that stretched over twenty-eight days. It was a parish election at Liverpool.

Mr. MONTGOMERY: I said I would give female freeholders the vote. Colonel TRIMBLE: They had two qualifications on the roll in addition to the residential qualification—freehold and Maori.

that the Bill as now framed would pass the Legislature. He had no doubt it would pass in that House, but it would be killed somewhere else. He believed they should take a practical view of the subject, and have a Bill which would pass in the road they all wished it to travel.

Mr. BEVAN said he had come to the conclusion that this was legislation gone mad. It was a most serious question. He warned hon. members that they were legislating not only for the lady in her carriage, with her silk dress and gloved hands, but for those who walk the pavement, and on a day of great excitement their vote would be as good as that of the lady who steps down from her carriage.

Mr. FISHER: No dinner that day. Mr. BEVAN: No dinner that day, but misery and sorrow. He strongly protested against the Bill.

Mr. FITZHERBERT said that after the fearful nightmare the hon. member for Hokitika had suffered from he could not refrain from saying a few words. He did not know what had been troubling the hon. gentleman, but it was about the time for nightmares—a quarter past twelve. Although when the debate began he was quite undecided, yet after hearing all the arguments pro and con he intended to vote for the second reading of the Bill.

Mr. SAMUEL said it was a very important subject, and, as the hour was late, he moved the adjournment of the debate.

The House divided: Ayes, 29; noes, 32; majority against adjournment, 3. Motion negatived.

Sir J. VOGEL: If the House will be better satisfied, I will allow the division to be taken at once, without replying on the debate. The House divided on the question, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

AYES, 41. Ballance, Fraser, W., Monk, Steward, W. J. Barron, Fulton, Montgomery, Stout, Bryce, Gore, Newman, Thompson, T. Buchanan, Hislop, Peacock, Trimble, Conolly, Ives, Reese, Vogel, Cowan, Jones, Peacock, Wilson, Dargaville, Joyce, Reid, Dodson, Lake, Rolleston, Teller. Duncan, Macarthur, Ross, Buckland, W. F. Fitzherbert, McKenzie, J., Russell, O'Conor, Fraser, F. H., Mitchellson, Smith.

NOES, 22. Bevan, Larnach, Pratt, Walker, Bracken, Mackenzie, M., Richardson, G., Whyte, Bruce, McMillan, Seddon, Fisher, Moss, Taylor, Teller. Guinness, O'Callaghan, Thomson, J. W., Lance, Hamlin, Pearson, Tole, Samuel.

PAIRS. For. Against. For. Against. Buckland, J. C., Turnbull, Locke, Ormond, Cadman, Richardson, E., Levestam, Holmes, Hatch, Sutter, Stewart, W. D., Kerr, Hobbs, Moat, Stuart-Menteath, Hirst.

Majority for, 19. Bill read a second time. The House adjourned at twenty minutes to one o'clock a.m.

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE BILL. IN COMMITTEE.

Mr. J. W. THOMSON moved, That progress be reported. The Committee divided: Ayes, 19; noes, 26; majority against, 7. Motion negatived. Colonel TRIMBLE moved, That progress be reported. The Committee divided: Ayes, 19; noes, 22; majority against, 3. Motion negatived.

Clause 2.—Sub-sections (1) and (2) of section 2 of "The Qualification of Electors Act, 1879," amended so as to include women.

Mr. IVES moved, That the words "and two" be struck out, so as to make the clause apply only to women who are owners of property.

The Committee divided on the question, "That the words be retained."

AYES, 28. Atkinson, Hursthouse, S.-Menteath, Vogel, Ballance, Newman, Sutter, Walker, Conolly, O'Callaghan, Taylor, Wilson, Duncan, Pearson, Thompson, T., Fisher, Reese, Thomson, J. W., Teller. Fraser, F. H., Ross, Tole, Barron, Fraser, W., Russell, Turnbull, Monk, Fulton, Stout.

NOES, 11. Bracken, Jones, Moat, Teller. Bruce, Lake, Peacock, Ives, Guinness, McMillan, Steward, W. J., Montgomery.

PAIRS. For. Against. For. Against. Buckland, W. F., Hirst, Hislop, Bevan, Bryce, Lance, Locke, Garrick, Dargaville, Samuel, Mitchelson, Allwright, Fitzherbert, Whyte, Pyke, Ormond, Grey, Richardson, G. F.

Majority for, 17. Words retained. The Committee divided on the question, "That the clause as printed stand part of the Bill."

AYES, 19. Atkinson, Fraser, F. H., Reese, Vogel, Ballance, Fraser, W., Ross, Wilson, Barron, Fulton, Russell, Teller. Conolly, Monk, Stout, Hursthouse, Duncan, Newman, S.-Menteath, Steward, W. J.

NOES, 21. Bracken, Joyce, Pearson, Walker, Bruce, Lake, Sutter, Fisher, McMillan, Taylor, Teller. Grace, Moat, Thomson, J. W., Ives, Guinness, Montgomery, Tole, Seddon, Jones, O'Callaghan, Turnbull.

PAIRS. For. Against. For. Against. Buckland, W. F., Hirst, Hislop, Bevan, Bryce, Lance, Locke, Garrick, Dargaville, Samuel, Mitchelson, Allwright, Fitzherbert, Whyte, Pyke, Ormond, Grey, Richardson, G. F.

Majority against, 2. Clause struck out. Progress reported. On the question, That the Committee sit again on Friday, Mr. O'CALLAGHAN said: Sir, I beg to move, That the Committee sit again this day six months, instead of on Friday next. Mr. TURNBULL: I second the proposition, but I do not know

whether I entirely agree with the honourable member. I would point out to the Colonial Treasurer, in the interests of the Bill, that he should accept this day month, because next week we shall be actually in the throes of a discussion not less important than any that have ever taken place in the colony—a debate in which every member of the House will no doubt express his mind fully and earnestly. I feel that the country is waiting impatiently for that debate, and will brook no delay.

Mr. SEDDON: May I ask the honourable member for Lincoln to withdraw his amendment? Now that clause 2 is struck out, the Bill is virtually dead.

Mr. O'CALLAGHAN: The only reason I proposed that amendment is, that I think the Treasurer has been completely misled by what I would call a fictitious majority on the second reading of the Bill. I feel confident of that, and should therefore be glad to see the whole matter relegated to the new Parliament, and there will be every opportunity for bringing it before the country at the general election, and then we shall hear the opinion of the country. I will withdraw the amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn, and motion agreed to. The House adjourned at twenty minutes past one o'clock a.m.

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