

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE JOURNAL.

EDITED BY LYDIA E. BECKER.

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Contents :

Leading Articles:—Postponement of the Franchise Bill; The Debate in the House of Lords; Withholding of the Franchise for Women by the Commons and for Men by the Lords; Annual Meeting of the Central Committee; Diversion of Funds from the Education of Girls; Exemption of Women from Taxation in Mexico; Process as to Probate of a Will.
Parliamentary Intelligence.
Mr. Houldsworth, M.P., on Liberals and Women's Suffrage.

Public Meetings:—Annual Meeting of the Central Committee; Child's Hill, London.
Scotland:—Work done in Edinburgh.
Political Associations and Meetings:—City of Edinburgh Conservative Association; Edinburgh Conservative Working Men's Association; Midcaldor and Kirknewton Conservative Association; Wakefield Conservative Association; Southampton Junior Liberal Association; Irish National League; Hyde Park Demonstration; Stamford Hill.

Women's Suffrage in the Church.
Reversal of a Judgment in favour of Married Women's Rights.
Married Women and their Property Rights.
Women's Suffrage and the Payment of Taxes.
The British Association at Montreal.
Treasurers' Reports:—Manchester; Central Committee.
Special Appeal for Fund of £5,000.
Obituary:—Rev. C. H. Collins, M.A.
Petitions.

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CONTENTS FOR JULY, 1884.

1. Women Wanted: Educated Ladies may Apply.
2. Philanthropy in Berlin.
3. Advance of Secondary Education in France.
4. "True Women," by Madame Charlotte Edgren.

Review:—"The Woman Question in Europe."
Record of Events:—Women Graduates in London University; Cambridge; Victoria University; Teachers' Training Society; North London Collegiate School for Girls; Queen's College, Belfast—Representation of the People—House of Lords, Lord Denman's Bill—Meetings—Taxation v. Representation—Married Women's Property Amendment Act—Other Bills in Parliament—Poor Law Guardians—London School of Medicine for Women—A Lady Dispenser—Deaconesses in the Presbyterian Church—Belfast Women's Temperance Association—Women's Protection League—Association for Befriending Young Servants—Training School, Home for South Kensington Students—Obituary, Mrs. H. M. Cadell—Miscellaneous.

Foreign Notes and News.

Paragraphs.

Published by Trübner and Co., Ludgate Hill, and at 22, Berners-street, London, W.

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

CITY OF EDINBURGH CONSERVATIVE ASSOCIATION.

RESOLUTION BY COUNCIL AS TO EXTENSION OF FRANCHISE, INCLUDING THE FRANCHISE FOR WOMEN.

The following Resolution has been adopted by the Council of the City of Edinburgh Conservative Association:—

That it is proper that the Acts relating to the Franchise should be amended to the following effect:—

1. To secure to the inhabitants in counties the enjoyment of a franchise similar to that now possessed by the inhabitants of burghs in virtue of Acts passed by the Conservative Government in 1867 and 1868.
2. To secure such distribution of the representation as shall give just treatment to the several parts of the United Kingdom.
3. To preserve and secure the due representation of the different interests of town and country.
4. TO PROVIDE FOR THE ENFRANCHISEMENT OF WOMEN BOTH IN COUNTIES AND BURGHS.
5. That these objects be all carried out by one Act of Parliament or by Acts of Parliament to come into operation at the same time.

By Order of the Council,

JAMES BRUCE, Secretary.

Edinburgh, 11th July, 1884.

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE JOURNAL.—Volume XIV. January to December, 1883. With coloured cover, price, post free, One Shilling and Tenpence.—London: Trübner and Co.; or at the office of the *Women's Suffrage Journal*, 28, Jackson's Row, Manchester.

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ANNUAL REPORT of the Central Committee of the National Society for Women's Suffrage, presented at the Annual General Meeting, held at the Westminster Palace Hotel. In coloured cover, Price Sixpence. To be had from the Secretary, 29, Parliament-street, London, S.W.

THE DEBATE in the House of Commons, June, 1884, in Committee on the Franchise Bill on the Clause proposed by Mr. Woodall for including Woman Suffrage in the Bill. Special Report, revised and corrected by the authors of the speeches. Reprinted from the *Women's Suffrage Journal*. Price Sixpence. Published by the National Society for Women's Suffrage. London: 29, Parliament-street. Manchester: 28, Jackson's Row, Albert Square.

THE MARRIED WOMEN'S PROPERTY ACTS. With an Introduction and Notes on the Act of 1882. By H. N. Mozley, M.A.—BUTTERWORTH, 7, Fleet-street, London, E.C.

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

NEW PAMPHLET.

WOMEN AND THE NEW FRANCHISE BILL. A Letter to an Ulster Member of Parliament, by ISABELLA M. S. TOD. Price One Penny. To be had of the Secretary, 29, Parliament-street, London, and 28, Jackson's Row, Manchester.

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WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE JOURNAL.—Communications for the Editor and Orders for the Journal to be addressed to Miss BECKER, 29, Parliament-street, Westminster, London, S.W.; or to the Office, 28, Jackson's Row, Albert Square, Manchester.

PETITIONS.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

(From the Daily Votes and Proceedings.)
June 30. Representation of the People Bill, Petitions for amendment of, by extension of franchise to women, of Meetings at BRISTOL, LONDON (2), YORK, and EDINBURGH; read, and ordered to lie on the table.
July 3. Representation of the People Bill, Petitions for amendment of, by extension of franchise to women, of Meeting in LONDON. Inhabitants of LONDON, and persons signing (3); read, and ordered to lie on the table.
4. Representation of the People Bill, Petitions for amendment of, by extension of franchise to women, of Meetings at DUBLIN and YORK, and Inhabitants of YORK, RATHMINES (2), MALVERN, NEWTOWN, GILMEETON, RHYL, &c., BRIGHTON, and FOXROCK, and persons signing; read, and ordered to lie on the table.
7. Representation of the People Bill, Petitions for amendment of, by extension of franchise to women, of Meetings at EDINBURGH, LONDON, SHEFFIELD, and PLAISTOW, Inhabitants of LONDON (7), TROWBRIDGE, LEEDS (3), MANSFIELD, HENLEY, BIRMINGHAM, WELLINGTON, SOUTHPORT, DUBLIN (4), LEAMINGTON, NORWOOD, ROCK FERRY, FRODSHAM, BLACKHEATH, &c., SHEFFIELD, RIFON, PITSMOOR, LUCAN, ARMLEY, CLONTARE, and GREAT YARMOUTH, and persons signing (3); read, and ordered to lie on the table.
8. Representation of the People Bill, Petitions for amendment of, by extension of franchise to women, of Meetings at EDINBURGH (2), and Inhabitants of CLAPHAM, &c., EDINBURGH (6), LONDON, &c. (5), SCARBOROUGH (2), HIGHBRIDGE, HORNCASTLE, HENLEY-ON-THAMES, MARKET HARBOROUGH, DUBLIN (2), HASTINGS, ST. ASAPH, NOTTINGHAM (3), DONNYBROOK, PUTNEY, &c., RIFON, KIRKBY-IN-FURNESS, &c., and MARSKE-BY-THE-SEA; read, and ordered to lie on the table.
10. Representation of the People Bill, Petitions for amendment of, by extension of franchise to women, of Meetings at HYDE (5), SCARBOROUGH and EDINBURGH, Inhabitants of LEEDS (4), TETSWORTH, ST. LEONARDS-ON-THE-SEA, TEWKESBURY, LOCKERBIE, YORK, SKELTON, RICHMOND, ABERMULE (2), DERBY, CUPAR, ARNOLD, LONDON (7), LIVERPOOL, TEIGNMOUTH, BRISTOL, DUBLIN (3), LIMERICK, MALVERN, BELPER, NORWOOD, DRIFFIELD, MARGATE, &c., MANSFIELD, and LEYLANDS, clergymen signing, and persons signing (6); read, and ordered to lie on the table.
11. Representation of the People Bill, Petitions for amendment of, by extension of franchise to women, of Inhabitants of SYDENHAM, &c., and WELLINGBOROUGH; read, and ordered to lie on the table.
14. Representation of the People Bill, Petitions for amendment of, by extension of franchise to women, of Meeting at MANCHESTER, and Inhabitants of MATFIELD, LLANDUDNO, HYDE, BARNET, KETTERING, WINCHESTER, ELSTREE, and LONDON; read, and ordered to lie on the table.
15. Representation of the People Bill, Petitions for amendment of, by extension of franchise to women, of Inhabitants of WATERFORD, &c., CARDIFF, WEXFORD, &c., BRAY, &c., and DUBLIN, Rose Mary Crawshay, and persons signing (3); read, and ordered to lie on table.
17. Representation of the People Bill, Petitions for amendment of, by extension of franchise to women, of Inhabitants of LONDON (3) and HASTINGS, &c.; read, and ordered to lie on the table.
18. Representation of the People Bill, Petitions for amendment of, by extension of franchise to women, of Meetings at ILFRACOMBE, EDINBURGH, and LIBERTON, Inhabitants of LONDON, &c., BRISTOL, BATH, BATLEY, &c., CHARLBUURY, DEWSBURY, &c., DEVONPORT, ST. DAVID'S, BRIDPORT, and LIBERTON, &c., and persons signing; read, and ordered to lie on the table.
21. Franchise, Petition for the extension of, to women, of Meeting in LONDON; read, and ordered to lie on the table.
22. Franchise, Petition for the extension of, to women, of persons signing; read, and ordered to lie on the table.
Representation of the People Bill, Petition for amendment of, by extension of franchise to women, of Inhabitants of SHALDON; read, and ordered to lie on the table.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

PARLIAMENTARY FRANCHISE.—For Extension to Women.

THIRTEENTH REPORT.—Continued.

Table with columns for date (June), petition number, location, and number of signatures. Includes entries for SWINDON, LONDON, MALVERN LINK, HYDE and neighbourhood, WILMSLOW, SWINDON, BIRMINGHAM, WEXFORD, WICKLOW, DUBLIN, BATH, BURNHAM, LEEDS, RINGWOOD, W. A. TODHUNTER, WILLIAM LAPHORN, WATERFORD, MERRION, CLONTARE, DUBLIN, STUTON, BYERS GREEN, LEICESTER, SARAH ANDERSON, MICHAEL S. FORSTER, ALBERT TIPPINS, ELLEN CROWTHER, KENNINGTON, JOHN F. KENNARD, DUBLIN, CHURCH OF ENGLAND, LONDON, ARNOLD, LONDON, BRIDPORT, DUBLIN, MARY TOZER, JOSEPHINE HORSFORD, JANET BRAND, JANE NEWALL, M. J. STOCKER, LEONORA SCHULTZE, C. M. FRASER, CONSTANCE H. MCPHERSON, A. W. JEPSON, T. H. GAUNTLETT, ADA M. BROCKLEHURST, MARY GAYNOR, CLARE.

Total number of Petitions 602—Signatures 30,541

ERRATA.—Omit Nos. 9,964, 11,459, and 14,351. Your Committee observe that there are names written on slips of paper and attached to the Petition from CLERGYMEN OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, presented by Mr. Woodall, on the 10th June; but your Committee, having regard to the orders of the House respecting signatures to Petitions, have not counted such names amongst the signatures.

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THE postponement of the Franchise Bill by the House of Lords precluded the fulfilment of the hope that their Lordships, in discussing the Bill, would favourably consider the claim of duly qualified women. The measure, though not formally rejected, will, it is understood, not be proceeded with this session, but Parliament will be summoned for an autumn session, when the Bill will be again introduced in the House of Commons, and will, in all probability, be presented a second time for the consideration of the House of Lords. The policy to be adopted under these circumstances by the Parliamentary friends of women's suffrage will be a matter for grave consideration by leading friends on both sides and in both Houses of Parliament. Meantime, our friends in the country should strengthen the hands of the leaders by the diligent promotion, during the recess, of petitions to Lords and Commons, to be presented during the autumn session, and by taking care that meetings and other demonstrations of opinion in favour of including women in the Franchise Bill shall form a prominent feature in the manifestations of political opinion that will occupy the coming season.

DURING the debate in the House of Lords on the Franchise Bill, several references were made to the question of women's suffrage. The Earl of DUNRAVEN said that if the principle of property involving duties, and duties carrying with them privileges of representation going with taxation, was at all considered, there was a good deal to be said for women having votes.

In his speech on opening the adjourned debate, the Earl of CARNARVON said: "When you enfranchise more than 2,000,000 of persons, some of them confessedly illiterate and ignorant, many of them with a very small stake in the country, I cannot conceive upon what principle it is that you exclude a small class of persons who by intelligence and by every quality of fitness are entitled to exercise the vote."

The Earl of RAVENSWORTH said that if there were an

agitation in the country the Government could be reminded of the women occupiers whose case they had refused to decide on its merits.

From these and other indications it may be assumed that if Mr. WOODALL's clause had been allowed to be discussed on its merits and had been adopted by the House of Commons, the clause would not have rendered the measure less acceptable to the House of Lords.

THE great political event of the month has been the loss of the Franchise Bill for the session through the action of the House of Lords in declining to read the Bill a second time until the Government should have brought forward their Redistribution Bill. The action of the Lords in thus exercising the constitutional power they possess has been severely criticised by the Government and the more Radical portion of the press and the people. It has been alleged that the Lords, for party purposes, refuse or delay the enfranchisement of two millions of men whom the House of Commons and the country allow to have a just claim to the suffrage.

It is not for this Journal to enter on the thorny path of party politics, but we may be permitted to observe that the complaints of the Government of the alleged arbitrary exercise of the powers of the House of Lords appear to come with an ill grace from a Ministry, which for party or other purposes arbitrarily interposed to prevent the House of Commons from giving a free vote on the claim of five hundred thousand women householders to the franchise. We see no difference in principle between the postponement of the grant of the franchise to men by the House of Lords and the postponement of the grant of the franchise to women by the House of Commons. There is, however, one difference; the House of Lords gave, rightly or wrongly, a free vote, no Peer voting under menaces or coercion against his principles and professed convictions, while members of the House of Commons were forced to vote against their avowed principles by the coercion of the Government.

In each case the withholding of the franchise has been the act of a legislative body irresponsible to the people whose rights are affected by their decision. We therefore submit to those politicians who are about to engage in demonstrations against the exercise by the House of Lords of alleged irresponsible power that they would do well to see that their own hands are clean by disclaiming for themselves the right to exercise irresponsible power over that half of the people now altogether excluded from the franchise.

The House of Lords, while postponing the operation of the Household Franchise Bill, have affirmed its principle. Household suffrage is to be the basis of representation. Unless that principle is extended so as to embrace every household in the country, it will mean free government for five-sixths of the families of the country, and despotic government for the one-sixth who will be taxed and governed and denied the vote. Let Radicals, then, cast out of their own eye the beam of this absolute denial of the suffrage to one-sixth of the taxpayers of the country—representing that half of the people which has now no political existence—before they proceed to pull out from their neighbour's eye the mote of the mere postponement of representation to more of the householders belonging to that half of the people which has already a monopoly of political power.

THE annual meeting of the Central Committee of the National Society for Women's Suffrage, held last month, was of unusual interest and importance. Mr. WOODALL, M.P., occupied the chair, and said, in reference to the debate in the House of Commons, that it appeared to him that no one could have heard the speeches which were delivered by the opponents without feeling that the cause was practically won. He felt that at the present moment they had practically assured a majority in the House of Commons, and they had the fullest assurances that in the other House they had warm friends of the movement on both sides of the House. In view of the autumn session, it was possible that the Government would endeavour and would succeed in confining the business of Parliament to the narrow lines of the present Franchise Bill; but there remained the session of 1885. He said those who were entrusted with the conduct of the measure would, throughout its future Parliamentary history, be vigilant without being precipitate. If he rightly judged the evidence of public sentiment, they might indulge a reasonable if not a confident hope that

the present Parliamentary struggle would not close without an effective and final blow being struck which would give effect to the claims so long urged by women householders.

Mr. LEONARD COURTNEY, M.P., Financial Secretary to the Treasury, said in reference to the debate on the clause, that they knew, of course, all the arguments which were advanced as to the horrible consequences that would follow if Mr. WOODALL'S clause were carried. The Bill would have been shipwrecked, the responsibilities of the Ministry in respect to it would have vanished, and they would have anticipated a perhaps aggravated crisis by some weeks. But a dreadful and irresistible scepticism afflicted him, so that he utterly disbelieved in the terrors said to be consequential on the adoption of the resolution, and if its opponents had put before themselves the position—"Shall we take the responsibility of throwing up this Bill because our personal considerations are outraged or set aside," he thought they would have consented to go on with the irremediable. The prospect in the immediate future was touched by Mr. WOODALL'S speech, and he would like to say a word upon it, though the matter was of the utmost delicacy. Undoubtedly in the extraordinary session which would be convoked, the aim of the Government, and of all those who put in the forefront the success of the Bill now set aside, would be to reinstate that Bill in its original position; and it would probably be found that an appeal, irresistible to almost all Liberal members, would be made for again placing that Bill as it stood before the House of Lords. But no such duty and obligation would rest upon the Opposition, represented there that day by Mr. KENNARD, and it was possible they might propose, if Mr. WOODALL did not then feel free to propose, a proposition similar to that recently propounded by the Chairman, and in that case it might be found that a distinction might be drawn between the possibility of bringing in a clause on the Liberal side, and of voting for a clause brought on independently.

Mr. COLERIDGE KENNARD, M.P., referring to the fact that in the vote of last year in the House of Commons the supporters of women's suffrage were mainly Liberals, and this year mainly Conservatives, said that he had been twitted by many members of the Liberal party, who had said that the Conservatives had gone into the lobby to embarrass the Government. He admitted that he had pointed out to Conservatives that the proposed extension of the franchise to women might prove a counterpoise in some measure to what had been called the mud hovel

element, but the feeling rapidly grew in favour of the principle on higher grounds, until the fundamental idea of justice got a firm hold—at first it was a finger-hold, but then it became a hand-grasp—in favour of the principle of enfranchising duly qualified women.

Mrs. ASHTON DILKE spoke in support of the resolution, which was supported by Mr. CHARLES B. M'LAREN, M.P., who said there would be large meetings of working men, miners, agricultural labourers, and the like, and at these meetings they ought invariably to make their voice heard and teach those about to be enfranchised that if they claim an addition to the franchise they ought to be willing to join hands in supporting like claims from the women. He was going to attend a large miners' demonstration at Cannock Chase, and he should undoubtedly put in the forefront of what he had to say the argument that women have as much right to the franchise as men.

The second resolution was moved by Mrs. FAWCETT and seconded by Sir RICHARD TEMPLE, who said that in the rank and file of the Conservative party the cause of the enfranchisement of women was gaining ground daily.

Mr. R. S. STEPHEN, member of the House of Keys, Isle of Man, said that women's suffrage had been tried in that country and had worked remarkably well. Her MAJESTY the QUEEN had already acknowledged the principle by giving her gracious assent to the Act of Tynwald that gave women owners of property the franchise. The granting of the claim would be simply extending to a larger sphere that principle which had already been admitted by the QUEEN herself.

The meeting was also addressed by others, and separated after a vote of thanks to the Chairman.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN, in his speech on the Franchise Bill, alleged as a reason for giving votes to agricultural labourers and others, of the poorest classes that their interest suffered through want of representation, and as an example he said that funds had been diverted under the advice of the Charity Commissioners from the uses of the poor for the benefit of the rich.

If this be a good argument in favour of giving to the poor votes to protect their interests, the argument applies with even greater force to the case of women. It is notorious that funds left for the benefit of both sexes have been diverted from their original purpose for the exclusive use of boys. When the funds have been left specially for the education of children of both sexes the girls have been left out, and where funds left for doles or

distribution among the poor of both sexes have been diverted from that purpose and applied to building schools or founding scholarships, the money has been used solely for the benefit of boys.

A notorious case of this kind occurred a few years ago in Leeds, where an endowment named the "Poors' Estate," which had been left by the testator for the benefit of the poor of both sexes, was applied to founding scholarships tenable by boys only, in spite of the energetic protests made by the ladies who were interested in promoting and improving higher education for girls in Leeds and the surrounding districts.

A SIMILAR diversion of funds is now proposed for a school in Rochdale. A lady, named Mrs. HARDMAN, in the year 1769 founded a school for the education of poor children of both sexes, which now under the name of the Moss School Trust provides for the education of about sixty poor boys and girls of Rochdale. The Charity Commissioners have formulated a scheme by which the school is to be closed and the funds used to found scholarships for boys. These arrangements did not find universal favour at Rochdale, and a public meeting was called by the Mayor on July 10th to consider the scheme. The Mayor said that the Commissioners proposed that the fund should be used to found a superior school which would enable boys, he thought boys only, he did not think girls were mentioned, who showed some ability, to go forward and get the requisite education. Mr. J. ALBERT BRIGHT said the money was left for the education of the children—both boys and girls—of the very poor; he believed that it was intended to be used in the future for the education of boys only. He was not a supporter of women's rights, but in this case he certainly did not see why the girls should be deprived of their benefit under the trust. Canon MACLURE said it was an undeniable fact that the Charity Commissioners did propose—as he humbly thought very unwisely—to divert the operation of the Moss School Trust from the education of girls. He did not agree with any such proposition, even coming from so high an authority, for while he should be sorry to see girls pressed too much in examination, he thought if they were gifted with a good physique they should have the opportunity of cultivating their mental powers and advancing *pari passu* with boys. Other questions relating to the trust were discussed by the meeting, which ultimately adjourned; but it is to be hoped that the expression of public feeling elicited may have the effect of preserving for the poor

girls of Rochdale that share in her benefaction which was bestowed on them last century by Mrs. HARDMAN.

THIS description of fraud on the educational rights of girls is not confined to England. In Edinburgh, at the beginning of the present year, the Commissioners appointed under the Educational Endowment (Scotland) Act held a sitting, Lord BALFOUR of BURLEIGH presiding, at which they received evidence regarding the administration of the Douglas Trust, Newton-Stewart. This endowment was founded in 1799 by Mr. SAMUEL DOUGLAS, who left £10,000, the interest of which was to be applied for the education of ten or twelve poor children, and £800 additional were left with which to build a school.

Lord BALFOUR, in examining the Rev. W. INGLIS, who appeared as a witness for the trustees, said: "Have you hitherto carried out the provisions of the trust? I see by the will that the girl foundationers are to march in procession once in each year, to be dressed in white, with each a ribbon sash round her waist, and her hair in ringlets down the shoulders, to be powdered and adorned with artificial or natural flowers. Has this been done?" Answer: "No; we have no girls on the foundation at all, and *never have had.*"

So the dream of poor SAMUEL DOUGLAS of the yearly procession of sweet girl scholars whom he thought to benefit through succeeding generations remains a dream, and no girl has as yet entered into the heritage of culture which he imagined he had provided.

It was proposed by the trustees to repair in some degree the omission of past ages, but still the girls are not to receive an equal share with boys in the endowment. At present there were *ten boys* on the foundation, five from Kirkmabreck and five from Penninghame parishes, and the capital of the trust was £12,000. The Penninghame trustees submitted a scheme which proposed that twenty boys and girls should receive free education; that *three* bursaries of £10 each should be offered to boys, and *two* bursaries of £7 each should be offered to girls; that a bursary of £15 a year for *four* years should be offered to enable a young man to prosecute his studies at the universities, and a bursary of £10 for *two* years to send a girl to the normal school.

The scheme submitted to the Kirkmabreck section of the trustees proposed to disburse one half of the fund. A number of boys and girls not less than forty should receive free education. They also proposed to give two £15 bursaries for higher education, to give two £10

bursaries to enable successful boys to go into a suitable trade, to give a £20 university bursary to teach two girls dressmaking, and to teach two girls house and dairy work, allowing them £5 a year for clothing. It does not appear from the report that any of the bursaries for higher education are to be open to girls. This is an example of the inequality which prevails in so many quarters, and which may be expected to continue until women are allowed to exercise the political franchise.

WE learn on the authority of a paragraph in the *Echo* that in the State of Guadalajara, in Mexico, a law has been passed by which the "households of, widows, minors, and unmarried women" are free of taxation.

There is some appearance of equity in this arrangement, and if the British Parliament would pass a similar law of exemption from taxation for women, one of the grievances connected with their disfranchisement would be removed.

But there would still remain the deprivation of a voice in making the laws they were required to obey, and the denial in the case of women of the essential basis of free government—the consent of the governed. Therefore the right solution of the question of the political condition of women lies not in the exemption of women from their fair share of taxation, but in the grant to them of their fair share of representation.

A MEMBER of Committee of the Women's Suffrage Society, having recently had occasion to make probate of a will, discovered, unfortunately only after she had incurred a lawyer's bill, that by a recent arrangement at the Court of Probate a will may now be proved at the cost of a little personal trouble, without the need of professional assistance. Many of the readers of this *Journal* who have availed themselves of the Married Women's Property Acts may find the information thus obtained valuable, and be glad to know that it is now possible to prove a will for themselves, in cases where the will is clear and simple; a will which is full of intricacies and obscurities would still be best placed in professional hands. But when a will is simple, the person who has to make probate thereon may apply at a room now established for the purpose at the Probate Court; there, on presenting a statement of the titles and amounts of the property in question, full instructions will be given as to all necessary formalities. This will involve some personal trouble and three or four visits to the Probate Court, but such trouble will be gladly incurred by many in preference to a lawyer's bill. H. B.

PARLIAMENTARY INTELLIGENCE.

HOUSE OF LORDS, Monday, June 30. PETITIONS.

Lord Balfour of Burleigh presented a petition from householders in Edinburgh in favour of extending the franchise to women who are householders.

Lord Kintore presented a petition from attendants at a meeting held at 39, Upper Grosvenor-street, in favour of extending the franchise to duly qualified women.

Thursday, July 3.

The Earl of Carnarvon presented a petition from certain female petitioners, praying that in any Franchise Bill provision would be made for the exercise of the franchise by duly qualified women.

Friday, July 4.

Earl Cairns presented petitions from the Dublin Committee of the Women's Suffrage Association (Rev. Samuel Sandys, chairman), praying that duly qualified women householders should be included in the Representation of the People Bill if passed; also from Professor Aulad Aili, T.C.D., and four others, Rathmines; and from Anna E. Lamb, and seven others, Rathgar, to the same effect.

Earl Beauchamp presented a petition in favour of women suffrage from seventeen residents at Malvern and other places.

Lord Sudeley presented a petition from the inhabitants of Newtown in favour of conferring the franchise on women.

Lord Houghton presented a petition from the York Women's Liberal Association in favour of extending the franchise to all women householders.

Lord Balfour of Burleigh presented a petition from certain householders of Libberton in favour of extension of franchise to women who are householders.

Monday, July 7.

Petitions praying for the extension of the franchise to duly qualified women were presented, by the Marquis of Salisbury, from Miss F. P. Cobbe, M. Furnival, J. Brooks, A. C. Andrews, Rev. J. H. and Mrs. Jellett, R. Shackleton, and others; also from inhabitants of Plaistow and Finsbury, and from a meeting of the North London Club, Pentonville; by Lord Aberdare, from women engaged in teaching, Mrs. W. Grey, Mrs. Rose Mary Crawshay, and others; by Lord Leigh, from Leamington; by Lord Carnarvon, from several ladies; by the Duke of Westminster, from several places in Cheshire; by Earl Manners, from the women inhabitants of Mansfield; by the Duke of Bedford, from inhabitants of London, and from the Principal and students of the College Hall, Nos. 1 and 2, Byng Place, Gordon Square, London; by Lord Norton, from Trowbridge; by the Earl of Hopetoun, from the Edinburgh Conservative Working Men's Association; by the Earl of Lathom, from inhabitants of Southport; by Earl Stanhope, from St. Andrew's School; and by Viscount Midleton, from Great Yarmouth.

Tuesday, July 8.

Petitions in favour of the extension of the franchise to women were presented, by the Earl of Rosebery, from Miss A. M'Laren and Miss A. Millar; also from a drawing-room meeting in Edinburgh, inhabitants of Buxton, female inhabitants of Edinburgh, and the Misses Wellstood; by Lord Carnarvon, from various ladies; by Lord Romilly, from ladies residing in Shepherd's-bush and in its vicinity; by the Marquis of Tweeddale, from the inhabitants of Putney; by the Earl of Aberdeen, from inhabitants of Whitehaven, Ripon, and Edinburgh (2); and by Lord Waveney, from Grandsburgh, Wickham Market, Woodbridge, Framlingham, Halesworth, Lowestoft, and other places in Suffolk.

Thursday, July 10.

Petitions in favour of extending the franchise to women were presented by the Earl of Aberdeen, from Edinburgh and Dumfriesshire; by the Bishop of Winchester, from 268 clergymen of the Church of England; by the Earl of Milltown, from various persons; by Lord Haldon, from the inhabitants of Teignmouth; by the Earl of Camperdown, from ladies resident in London, Ramsgate, and Margate, and inhabitants of Brighouse and Cleveland; by Lord Sudeley, from inhabitants of Abermule; by Lord Romilly, from inhabitants of Glamorganshire; by Lord Belper, from Belper and Mansfield; by

Viscount Powerscourt, from Dublin, Blackrock (Dublin), Kilworth county Meath, and county Tipperary; and by Earl Spencer, from certain persons at Conway.

Friday, July 11.

Lord Mount-Temple presented a petition from Winchester and Cambridge in favour of extending the franchise to women.

Monday, July 14.

The Earl of Lathom presented petitions from the Manchester National Society for Women's Suffrage in favour of extension of the franchise to women.

Lord Mount-Temple presented a petition from Elstree in favour of women's franchise.

Lord Winmarleigh presented a petition from Llandudno in favour of woman suffrage.

Tuesday, July 15.

Lord Aberdare presented a petition from inhabitants of Cardiff in favour of extending the franchise to duly qualified women.

Thursday, July 17.

The Marquis of Salisbury presented petitions from E. Westray, A. M. Reid, and others, and from inhabitants of Hastings and St. Leonards-on-Sea for extension of the suffrage to women.

Friday, July 18.

The Marquis of Salisbury presented petitions from Ilfracombe Conservative Association and from inhabitants of Charlbury, Bristol, and Bath for extension of the franchise to women.

The Earl of Shaftesbury presented petitions from the West of England Society for Women's Suffrage praying for their admission to the franchise, and others to the same effect.

The Duke of Buccleuch presented petitions from ladies of Libberton parish, Mid-Lothian, praying that the franchise be extended to duly qualified women.

The Earl of Dalhousie presented petitions from Newington and Edinburgh in favour of woman suffrage.

The Bishop of Liverpool presented a petition from the Dean of St. David's, and others in the diocese of St. David's, in favour of giving the Parliamentary franchise to women.

Lord Carnarvon presented petitions in favour of duly qualified women exercising the Parliamentary franchise.

The Earl of St. Germans presented a petition from certain inhabitants of Plymouth and Davenport in favour of the exercise of the franchise by duly qualified women.

THE FRANCHISE BILL.

Monday, July 7.

In the debate in the House of Lords on Earl Cairns' amendment to the second reading of the Franchise Bill, the Earl of DUNRAVEN said, in reviewing the omission in the Bill: Then there was the question of woman suffrage. If the principle of property involving duties, and duties carrying with them privileges of representation going with taxation was at all considered, there was a good deal to be said for women having votes.

July 8.

In opening the adjourned debate the Earl of CARNARVON said: But there is another and an important question which though you hope to evade and ignore it now must before long be faced and fairly considered—I mean the question of female suffrage. I am bound to say for myself that when you enfranchise more than two millions of persons, some of them confessedly illiterate, ignorant, and of very questionable character, I cannot understand on what principle of logic and justice you can exclude a small section of persons who by intelligence, by the possession of property, and by every conceivable quality of fitness are entitled to exercise the right of voting. Women take part in municipal and School Board elections; why should they not take part in Parliamentary elections? Nor can I understand the justice of retaining on the register men who are guilty of almost every crime, who steal, rob, break every law, who beat and ill-treat their wives, and yet refuse the suffrage to duly qualified women.

The Earl of DERBY said: In reference to Lord Carnarvon's speech, he mentioned the representation of minorities and the question of female suffrage, both no doubt important topics, and very well deserving the consideration of the House, but topics which

are not brought before us on the amendment of the noble and learned Earl.

The Earl of RAVENSWORTH said: If the supporters of the Government were to excite agitation in the country on the subject of this measure, they would find that the policy of the Government as a whole would be reviewed. They (the Government) would be reminded of the women occupiers whose case they refused to decide on its merits.

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Lord DENMAN moved the second reading of this Bill. In the course of his doing so,

The Earl of REDESDALE said: I rise to order. I do not know whether the noble lord has read his own Bill. (Laughter.) The Bill as printed says:—"Be it therefore enacted by the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, &c., this Act shall come into operation in all parts of the United Kingdom and of Ireland as soon as the usual days for registration shall have arrived." (Laughter.) The Bill, your lordships will see, does not enact anything about women at all. (Laughter.) There is not a single mention of women in it. (Renewed laughter.)

Lord DENMAN: My lords, the Bill is intended to provide that women should have a vote. It is extremely easy to add that in Committee. (Laughter.) He concluded by moving the second reading of the Bill. Lord Redesdale dissenting.

The Earl of REDESDALE: My lords, it is utterly impossible for your lordships to deal with this Bill. It enacts nothing about women. ("Hear, hear," and laughter.)

The LORD CHANCELLOR put the question that the Bill be read a second time, and declared that the "Not Contents" had it.

NOTE.—The action of Lord Denman in introducing this Bill was entirely spontaneous on the part of his lordship. The leaders of the Women's Suffrage Society were not aware of Lord Denman's intention until they observed the notice of the Bill in the newspapers.

MR. HOULDSWORTH, M.P., ON LIBERALS AND WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

At a meeting held at Heaton Park, Manchester, on July 12th, Mr. Houldsworth, M.P., said: The Liberal party were quite prepared to swear anything and to break their faith and their pledges. I ask them to look at the division list on women's suffrage brought the other day before the House of Commons. The great bulk of the Liberal party had promised and pledged themselves to vote for women's suffrage, but they were found in the division lobby opposing that measure. Their friend Mr. Mason—(hisses)—the member for a neighbouring borough, who last year not only advocated women householders having the suffrage but actually championed the resolution in the House of Commons, and spoke in favour of it, went this year into the lobby at the beck and call of Mr. Gladstone, and opposed it, not because Mr. Gladstone had made up his mind upon the subject, but because he had said that he had not made up his mind whether a woman ought to have a vote or not.

PUBLIC MEETINGS.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

On the afternoon of Friday, July 11th, the annual general meeting of the Central Committee of the National Society for Women's Suffrage was held at the Westminster Palace Hotel. Mr. W. WOODALL, M.P., presided, and amongst the friends present were Mr. Leonard Courtney, M.P. (Financial Secretary to the Treasury), Mr. C. H. Hopwood, Q.C., M.P., Mr. Coleridge Kennard, M.P., Mr. C. B. McLaren, M.P., Sir Richard Temple, G.C.S.I., Rev. Wyatt Edgell, Mr. R. K. Stephen (member of the House of Keys, Isle of Man), Mrs. Fawcett, Mrs. Ashton Dilke, Miss Becker, Miss Müller, Mrs. Lucas, Miss C. A. Biggs, Miss Blackburn, Mrs. Charles McLaren, &c.

Miss Becker read the annual report, which has been published in another form. The statement of accounts showed that the income, including a balance in hand from last financial year, was £1,511.

8s. 1d. The expenditure amounted to £1,498. 16s. 11d., leaving a balance in hand of £12. 11s. 2d.

Miss Becker read a letter from the Right Hon. J. Stansfeld, M.P., apologising for unavoidable absence, and the following letter from Alderman Hawkes, of Birmingham:—

Birmingham, 10th July, 1884.

Dear Miss Becker,—I very much regret I shall not be able to attend the annual meeting.

I think no time should be lost in pressing our movement to the front, so that, at the general election, a distinct expression of opinion should be elicited from every candidate before he goes to the poll.—Yours respectfully,

HENRY HAWKES, J.P.

The CHAIRMAN, in moving that the report and statement of accounts be adopted and circulated, said: The report, as you will have observed, tells of the work of an eventful year. It tells of work, too, which leaves us under circumstances which we at any rate do not regard as in any sense discouraging. It tells of work carried on under varying circumstances—in drawing-rooms, in public meetings, in Parliament; but there are some things of which it does not speak. It does not tell you of the self-denial, of the large personal sacrifices, of the untiring exertions of ladies who have devoted themselves to this cause, many of whose names are entirely unknown to the public, and whose services perhaps will go without any kind of public acknowledgment. Nor does it tell you, save by implication, of the indefatigable energy, of the constant attention, and of that sagacity which have made the work of those who have had to discharge such duties as those which have devolved upon me comparatively easy. Before this retrospect of a busy year is dismissed to the limbo of ancient history, I would like to say just a word or two about what has passed in the House of Commons. It appears to me that no one can have read, and no one certainly could have heard the speeches which were delivered by the opponents of this measure without feeling that our cause is practically won—(hear, hear, and applause)—and that it only waits for final legislative recognition. In the course of that debate we found that we had gained new allies, and I hope it will also be proved that we have not estranged any old friends. We feel at the present moment that we have practically assured a majority in the House of Commons—(hear, hear)—and we have had the fullest assurances that there are in the other House warm friends of the movement sitting on both sides of the House. (Applause.) Now, I am quite sure that I only interpret the general feeling which is held by all those who are taking any active part in this movement when I deprecate anything like a spirit of animadversion upon those who have acted independently and, in some senses, adversely to the course which your Committee has taken. Our position, under the special circumstances of this session, was peculiarly difficult. But it is only fair to say also that the position of the Government was equally so. We thought that it would have been better had the Ministry left this question to be determined by the unbiassed opinion and vote of the House—(hear, hear)—and I think the feeling of this meeting will be that, had the Government taken that course, it would have been stronger to-day—that is, if they had been able to appeal to the country in support of a measure which not only proposed to abolish the disabilities attaching to race and to rank, but which had also left not undressed the disabilities of sex. (Applause, and hear, hear.) But again, speaking in the most candid spirit, it would be idle to suppose that that feeling is universally or even generally held. At the meeting yesterday, when Mr. Gladstone addressed and appealed to his personal supporters, he laid great stress upon the fact that the Bill which had been introduced by him, and which had passed the House of Commons, introduced no novelty of principle—that its proposals were merely extensions of that which had been in practical operation since 1868; and I think you will observe that the contest between the two Houses will, so far as the Government and their supporters are concerned, be kept as closely as may be to these lines—that the party which sustains the Government in the House and throughout the country will be asked to give their support to the measure in precisely the same form in which it left the House of Commons and went to the House of Lords. Now, while I say this much, I feel bound to insist that your committee, and those who are entrusted with the confidence of the committee, reserve to themselves unlimited liberty of action with regard to the course which they may think it wise and proper to take during the coming

session. (Hear, hear.) But the old cry of "the Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill," which was absurd a month ago, and which we then resisted, will not unlikely prove to be as irresistible in the constituencies as it proved to be in 1832. I do not pretend, in thus speaking, to express your opinion. I certainly am not claiming for a moment to express the opinions of those gentlemen of opposite political opinions who gave us their support. (Hear, hear.) I am merely speaking from personal experience of what I know to be the temper of the Liberal party in great popular constituencies like that which I have the honour to represent. In view of the autumn session it is possible that the Government will do their best and may possibly succeed in confining the business before Parliament to that narrow line which I have indicated; but there remains before us the session of 1885. It will be occupied with a hardly less important branch of this subject, for the Government is obliged to deal with the large question of redistribution of political power, and Parliament will then have to consider all those indirect and collateral issues appertaining thereto. All I can say, in the spirit of the report which has been submitted to you, that your committee, and those who may be working in their name, will throughout the future Parliamentary history of this question be vigilant without being precipitate. (Hear, hear, and applause.) Indeed, we feel that we can afford to be patient, because we are acting in the consciousness of a strength already great, and which we believe there is evidence is daily increasing in force. (Applause.) But of this I think you may also feel sure, that, if we rightly judge the evidence of public sentiment, we may indulge a reasonable if not a confident hope that the present Parliamentary struggle will not close without an effective and final blow being struck which will give effect to the claims so long urged by women householders. (Hear, hear, and applause.) That done, the ladies to whose work I referred a few minutes ago will be relieved from the duty and the obligation of taking part in the work of political agitation, which has been so much deprecated by the many opponents of their cause. In the meantime, however, there must be no relaxation of effort. (Hear, hear.) There is indeed a call for greater sacrifices, and, as you have heard in the report, for larger funds for the carrying on of this work. In now moving the adoption of the report and accounts, I hope that all who vote for that motion will feel that in so voting they have pledged themselves to do what in them individually lies to further the cause which we all have so much at heart. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

Mr. LEONARD COURTNEY, M.P. (Financial Secretary to the Treasury), said:—Mr. Woodall, ladies, and gentlemen: It is with peculiar satisfaction that I appear before you to-day to second the adoption of this report. It is not a satisfaction due to any sense of personal pride. Quite the contrary. (A laugh.) I come before you rather because I feel that I now have an opportunity of offering an apology for my past. (A laugh.) In the record which has been given to you in abstract in the report, the numbers of those who voted for and against Mr. Woodall's resolution are given. But there is a third class of persons who did not vote at all—(hear, hear)—and I am one of that ignominious band. (Laughter, and hear, hear.) I dare say many of you are acquainted with much of the force which reduced me to this particular position. We know of course all the arguments which were advanced of the horrible consequences which would follow if by any chance Mr. Woodall's resolution had been carried. The Bill would have been shipwrecked, the responsibilities of the Ministry in respect to it would have vanished, and we should have anticipated a perhaps aggravated crisis by some weeks. When I listened to all these terrors, I confess to feeling at times a regret that I was devoid of one of the great political virtues—one of the most useful faculties which any man can have who is engaged in any degree in public life, viz., that of being able to believe what you are wanted to believe. (A laugh, and hear, hear.) I am convinced that no person can attain to any great rank in the political world who has not got that faculty of persuading himself well beforehand to come to the conclusions which are convenient for the hour. But a dreadful and irresistible scepticism afflicted me so that I utterly disbelieved in the terrors said to be consequential on the adoption of your resolution, and if its opponents had put before themselves in its simplest and nakedest form this position, "Shall we take the responsibility of throwing up this Bill because our personal convictions on one point are outraged or set aside?" I think they would have felt that the arguments they are now adducing with such force against other persons would have

applied to themselves, and they would have consented to have gone on with the irremediable. (Hear, hear.) However even scepticism does not always find its fullest fruit in act, and the sacred duty of disobedience has its limits. I was obliged to be content with walking out of the House at the time of the division. I hope you will excuse me, and I trust I may never have occasion to offer another such apology. (Hear, hear, and applause.) But now, when I pass away from this purely personal and petty aspect of the question, let me say how entirely I agree in the language of the report that what has happened is a thing that should not discourage us. We have met—to use the words which the Prime Minister adopted yesterday—with defeat, but we have not met with disaster. Our cause has been delayed, but its triumph is certain. (Hear, hear, and applause.) I gather that not merely from the new votes which were given to us in the late division but also from a review of the arguments which were brought against our proposition. I am glad to say that I speak from experience, and I am not alone in this view. Again and again I had the confession made to me that one of the most convincing points in favour of the justice of the claims put forward on behalf of women is the insufficiency of the arguments adduced against them. (Hear, hear.) In a review of the late debate, to what had we to listen? If we analyse what was said we shall find three currents of thought—if they can be called thought—which met together and contributed to the majority by which we were defeated. There was first of all that strong feeling of passionate prejudice, which is one of the strongest opposing elements to be overcome, but which of itself necessarily dies away when that which is advocated loses the first blush of novelty. The generation of prejudice must pass and a new generation to which this proposition is not so strange and revolutionary is arising. (Hear, hear.) Then there is perhaps a more enduring force—the force of masculine arrogance—a laugh—which causes a large number of men, perhaps the majority, to think that they alone are capable of managing the affairs of this life, that they alone are qualified to offer an opinion, that they alone have the capacity for choosing a representative to vote in the House of Commons. Lastly, there was that force, not to be overlooked, though one of the lowest and meanest—the force of the political "pettifogger," who would refuse the franchise to any class of those, the result of whose enfranchisement would be in any degree to strengthen the forces that will go against him at the poll. Now, I don't believe in the lasting power of these three forces; for, whatever may be their strength, there are stronger influences at work which may be trusted to overcome each and all of them. (Hear, hear, and applause.) I cherish an indestructible belief in the supremacy of reason and of equity, and however stirring the ensuing months may prove to be, or however much there may be of a whirlwind of political passion, I am still persuaded that the still small voice of reason and of justice will prevail. (Applause.) If you women are as certain to succeed as you have just claims to succeed, there need be no fear that the time is coming when Mr. Woodall, or whoever may be the sponsor of this movement, will eventually carry a majority in Parliament with him. The prospect in the immediate future was touched by Mr. Woodall's opening speech, and I would also like to say a word upon it, although the matter is one of the utmost delicacy. I apprehend that between this time and October many things may occur, and it would be rash and inopportune now to suggest what will have to be done; but undoubtedly in the extraordinary session which will be convoked, the aim of the Government, and of all those who put in the forefront the success of the Bill now set aside, will be to reinstate that Bill in its original position, without the alteration of a sentence, or a word, or a letter, or a comma; and it will probably be found that an appeal irresistible to almost all, if not to all, Liberal members will be made for again placing of that Bill as it stands before the House of Lords. Mr. Woodall has said, what is of course clear, that no such duty and obligation will rest upon the party of the Opposition, represented here to-day by Mr. Kennard, and it is possible that they may propose, if Mr. Woodall does not then feel free to propose, a proposition similar to the one recently submitted by our chairman, and in that case it may be found that a distinction may be drawn between the possibility of bringing on a clause on the Liberal side and of voting for a clause brought on independently. I can conceive that the action of many persons will turn on that distinction, and that even in October we may hear more of this matter than some people now think. (Hear, hear.) And now I think I have said almost all that I ought to say. It

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HENRY HAWKES, J.P.

The CHAIRMAN, in moving that the report and statement of accounts be adopted and circulated, said: The report, as you will have observed, tells of the work of an eventful year. It tells of work, too, which leaves us under circumstances which we at any rate do not regard as in any sense discouraging. It tells of work carried on under varying circumstances—in drawing-rooms, in public meetings, in Parliament; but there are some things of which it does not speak. It does not tell you of the self-denial, of the large personal sacrifices, of the untiring exertions of ladies who have devoted themselves to this cause, many of whose names are entirely unknown to the public, and whose services perhaps will go without any kind of public acknowledgment. Nor does it tell you, save by implication, of the indefatigable energy, of the constant attention, and of that sagacity which have made the work of those who have had to discharge such duties as those which have devolved upon me comparatively easy. Before this retrospect of a busy year is dismissed to the limbo of ancient history, I would like to say just a word or two about what has passed in the House of Commons. It appears to me that no one can have read, and no one certainly could have heard the speeches which were delivered by the opponents of this measure without feeling that our cause is practically won—(hear, hear, and applause)—and that it only waits for final legislative recognition. In the course of that debate we found that we had gained new allies, and I hope it will also be proved that we have not estranged any old friends. We feel at the present moment that we have practically assured a majority in the House of Commons—(hear, hear)—and we have had the fullest assurances that there are in the other House warm friends of the movement sitting on both sides of the House. (Applause.) Now, I am quite sure that I only interpret the general feeling which is held by all those who are taking any active part in this movement when I deprecate anything like a spirit of animadversion upon those who have acted independently and, in some senses, adversely to the course which your Committee has taken. Our position, under the special circumstances of this session, was peculiarly difficult. But it is only fair to say also that the position of the Government was equally so. We thought that it would have been better had the Ministry left this question to be determined by the unbiassed opinion and vote of the House—(hear, hear)—and I think the feeling of this meeting will be that, had the Government taken that course, it would have been stronger to-day—that is, if they had been able to appeal to the country in support of a measure which not only proposed to abolish the disabilities attaching to race and to rank, but which had also left not unredressed the disabilities of sex. (Applause, and hear, hear.) But again, speaking in the most candid spirit, it would be idle to suppose that that feeling is universally or even generally held. At the meeting yesterday, when Mr. Gladstone addressed and appealed to his personal supporters, he laid great stress upon the fact that the Bill which had been introduced by him, and which had passed the House of Commons, introduced no novelty of principle—that its proposals were merely extensions of that which had been in practical operation since 1868; and I think you will observe that the contest between the two Houses will, so far as the Government and their supporters are concerned, be kept as closely as may be to these lines—that the party which sustains the Government in the House and throughout the country will be asked to give their support to the measure in precisely the same form in which it left the House of Commons and went to the House of Lords. Now, while I say this much, I feel bound to insist that your committee, and those who are entrusted with the confidence of the committee, reserve to themselves unlimited liberty of action with regard to the course which they may think it wise and proper to take during the coming

session. (Hear, hear.) But the old cry of "the Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill," which was absurd a month ago, and which we then resisted, will not unlikely prove to be as irresistible in the constituencies as it proved to be in 1832. I do not pretend, in thus speaking, to express your opinion. I certainly am not claiming for a moment to express the opinions of those gentlemen of opposite political opinions who gave us their support. (Hear, hear.) I am merely speaking from personal experience of what I know to be the temper of the Liberal party in great popular constituencies like that which I have the honour to represent. In view of the autumn session it is possible that the Government will do their best and may possibly succeed in confining the business before Parliament to that narrow line which I have indicated; but there remains before us the session of 1885. It will be occupied with a hardly less important branch of this subject, for the Government is obliged to deal with the large question of redistribution of political power, and Parliament will then have to consider all those indirect and collateral issues appertaining thereto. All I can say, in the spirit of the report which has been submitted to you, that your committee, and those who may be working in their name, will throughout the future Parliamentary history of this question be vigilant without being precipitate. (Hear, hear, and applause.) Indeed, we feel that we can afford to be patient, because we are acting in the consciousness of a strength already great, and which we believe there is evidence is daily increasing in force. (Applause.) But of this I think you may also feel sure, that, if we rightly judge the evidence of public sentiment, we may indulge a reasonable if not a confident hope that the present Parliamentary struggle will not close without an effective and final blow being struck which will give effect to the claims so long urged by women householders. (Hear, hear, and applause.) That done, the ladies to whose work I referred a few minutes ago will be relieved from the duty and the obligation of taking part in the work of political agitation, which has been so much deprecated by the many opponents of their cause. In the meantime, however, there must be no relaxation of effort. (Hear, hear.) There is indeed a call for greater sacrifices, and, as you have heard in the report, for larger funds for the carrying on of this work. In now moving the adoption of the report and accounts, I hope that all who vote for that motion will feel that in so voting they have pledged themselves to do what in them individually lies to further the cause which we all have so much at heart. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

Mr. LEONARD COURTNEY, M.P. (Financial Secretary to the Treasury), said:—Mr. Woodall, ladies, and gentlemen: It is with peculiar satisfaction that I appear before you to-day to second the adoption of this report. It is not a satisfaction due to any sense of personal pride. Quite the contrary. (A laugh.) I come before you rather because I feel that I now have an opportunity of offering an apology for my past. (A laugh.) In the record which has been given to you in abstract in the report, the numbers of those who voted for and against Mr. Woodall's resolution are given. But there is a third class of persons who did not vote at all—(hear, hear)—and I am one of that ignominious band. (Laughter, and hear, hear.) I dare say many of you are acquainted with much of the force which reduced me to this particular position. We know of course all the arguments which were advanced of the horrible consequences which would follow if by any chance Mr. Woodall's resolution had been carried. The Bill would have been shipwrecked, the responsibilities of the Ministry in respect to it would have vanished, and we should have anticipated a perhaps aggravated crisis by some weeks. When I listened to all these terrors, I confess to feeling at times a regret that I was devoid of one of the great political virtues—one of the most useful faculties which any man can have who is engaged in any degree in public life, viz., that of being able to believe what you are wanted to believe. (A laugh, and hear, hear.) I am convinced that no person can attain to any great rank in the political world who has not got that faculty of persuading himself well beforehand to come to the conclusions which are convenient for the hour. But a dreadful and irresistible scepticism afflicted me so that I utterly disbelieved in the terrors said to be consequential on the adoption of your resolution, and if its opponents had put before themselves in its simplest and nakedest form this position, "Shall we take the responsibility of throwing up this Bill because our personal convictions on one point are outraged or set aside," I think they would have felt that the arguments they are now adducing with such force against other persons would have

applied to themselves, and they would have consented to have gone on with the irremediable. (Hear, hear.) However even scepticism does not always find its fullest fruit in act, and the sacred duty of disobedience has its limits. I was obliged to be content with walking out of the House at the time of the division. I hope you will excuse me, and I trust I may never have occasion to offer another such apology. (Hear, hear, and applause.) But now, when I pass away from this purely personal and petty aspect of the question, let me say how entirely I agree in the language of the report that what has happened is a thing that should not discourage us. We have met—to use the words which the Prime Minister adopted yesterday—with defeat, but we have not met with disaster. Our cause has been delayed, but its triumph is certain. (Hear, hear, and applause.) I gather that not merely from the new votes which were given to us in the late division but also from a review of the arguments which were brought against our proposition. I am glad to say that I speak from experience, and I am not alone in this view. Again and again I had the confession made to me that one of the most convincing points in favour of the justice of the claims put forward on behalf of women is the insufficiency of the arguments adduced against them. (Hear, hear.) In a review of the late debate, to what had we to listen? If we analyse what was said we shall find three currents of thought—if they can be called thought—which met together and contributed to the majority by which we were defeated. There was first of all that strong feeling of passionate prejudice, which is one of the strongest opposing elements to be overcome, but which of itself necessarily dies away when that which is advocated loses the first blush of novelty. The generation of prejudice must pass and a new generation to which this proposition is not so strange and revolutionary is arising. (Hear, hear.) Then there is perhaps a more enduring force—the force of masculine arrogance—(a laugh)—which causes a large number of men, perhaps the majority, to think that they alone are capable of managing the affairs of this life, that they alone are qualified to offer an opinion, that they alone have the capacity for choosing a representative to vote in the House of Commons. Lastly, there was that force, not to be overlooked, though one of the lowest and meanest—the force of the political "pettifogger," who would refuse the franchise to any class of those, the result of whose enfranchisement would be in any degree to strengthen the forces that will go against him at the poll. Now, I don't believe in the lasting power of these three forces; for, whatever may be their strength, there are stronger influences at work which may be trusted to overcome each and all of them. (Hear, hear, and applause.) I cherish an indestructible belief in the supremacy of reason and of equity, and however stirring the ensuing months may prove to be, or however much there may be of a whirlwind of political passion, I am still persuaded that the still small voice of reason and of justice will prevail. (Applause.) If you women are as certain to succeed as you have just claims to succeed, there need be no fear that the time is coming when Mr. Woodall, or whoever may be the sponsor of this movement, will eventually carry a majority in Parliament with him. The prospect in the immediate future was touched by Mr. Woodall's opening speech, and I would also like to say a word upon it, although the matter is one of the utmost delicacy. I apprehend that between this time and October many things may occur, and it would be rash and inopportune now to suggest what will have to be done; but undoubtedly in the extraordinary session which will be convoked, the aim of the Government, and of all those who put in the forefront the success of the Bill now set aside, will be to reinstate that Bill in its original position, without the alteration of a sentence, or a word, or a letter, or a comma; and it will probably be found that an appeal irresistible to almost all, if not to all, Liberal members will be made for again placing of that Bill as it stands before the House of Lords. Mr. Woodall has said, what is of course clear, that no such duty and obligation will rest upon the party of the Opposition, represented here to-day by Mr. Kennard, and it is possible that they may propose, if Mr. Woodall does not then feel free to propose, a proposition similar to the one recently submitted by our chairman, and in that case it may be found that a distinction may be drawn between the possibility of bringing on a clause on the Liberal side and of voting for a clause brought on independently. I can conceive that the action of many persons will turn on that distinction, and that even in October we may hear more of this matter than some people now think. (Hear, hear.) And now I think I have said almost all that I ought to say. It

can be no secret to you that the events of the last two or three days have rather crowded the lives of us officials, and that we have not had much time to spare for giving thought to speeches on other matters. But there are two things I should like to refer to before I resume my seat. One of them is that I should like to call attention to the labours during the session of those who may be called your official representatives. This has been a session of excitement and of agitation, as well as of hard work. Upon none has the work been harder or more pressing; upon none have the demands for instantaneous action been more incessant; upon none has the call for prudence and judgment been more imperative than upon the officials of this society; and I confess, from the knowledge which I myself have of their action, I am not aware that in any moment, however trying, or under any call, however short, have they been backward or deficient in doing precisely what they should do, and what the circumstances required. In particular I may be permitted to say that throughout the whole of the trying occasions of this session, I have never found Miss Becker wanting in that unrivalled political sagacity which we must all have admired in that lady. (Applause.) Her keen sense of the practical and her steady adherence to your principles are both constantly to the fore, so that whatever may be the new combination of circumstances demanding her judgment, I for one should always rely on her judgment as being ready, and as being right and sound. (Hear, hear.) There is only one other observation I should like to offer. The last paragraph of the report refers to the retirement from Parliament of Mr. Peter Taylor. I am sorry to say that Mr. Peter Taylor might be almost described as *Ultimus Romanorum*. He was almost the last survivor among us of that band of sturdy independent Radical reformers who were the creation and the glory of the period immediately following the Reform Bill of 1832—men who seem in my judgment to be supplanted by a generation much more uncertain in their grasp, much more feeble in their apprehension of principles, much less resolute in their determination to carry these principles into practical life. Mr. Peter Taylor had many beliefs in which I did not share, but it is impossible to allow him to disappear from the scene of political life without offering, for my own part, my tribute of admiration for his unflinching adherence to what he believed to be right and true and just, to his high-mindedness, to his thorough independence, and to his indomitable courage. (Applause.) He was a man not much, I apprehend, beloved of the official world. My noble colleague at the Treasury could, in fact, never persuade him to go against his will or against his opinions; but I am inclined to think that even if one could search the innermost depths of the mind of every successive Liberal whip you would find there lurking a feeling that after all those were not the worst of men of whom it was known beforehand exactly what they would and would not do. (Hear, hear.) The worst are those troublesome people who have no mind of their own, and with regard to Peter Taylor that objection never could be raised. I believe that, if Lord Richard Grosvenor were here, I could induce him to accept and repeat what I have said of Mr. Taylor, and what I commend to your acceptance. I hope he is not altogether retiring from public life, and that at all events his influence will not be lost in the political world. Despite the disappointing view I am sometimes disposed to take of the successors of those who are passing away, I hope we may look forward to many in the future in this cause and in other causes equally ennobling who will follow his example and keep his image before them. (Applause.)

Mr. COLERIDGE KENNARD, M.P., in supporting the motion, said: I have first to thank you, ladies and gentlemen, for the honour you have recently done me in electing me as a member of the Executive Council of your Society. I have also to thank our excellent chairman, Mr. Woodall, for the opportunity that he lately afforded me of recording my vote in the House of Commons in accordance with the hopes and wishes expressed when last I had the pleasure of meeting you. With regard to your policy in the future, may I venture to suggest that you should part as far as possible with any feelings of indignation or petulant resentment against those who, for causes which have been alluded to by Mr. Courtney, felt themselves unable to do that which many of them wished to do on the occasion of that division. (Hear, hear.) We have heard a good deal in recent years of reversal of policy, and there is some allusion in your report to a certain reversal of circumstances and events. I

find by that report that, on the occasion of the previous vote, your supporters were mainly Liberal, whereas this time there has been a reversal of all that and your supporters were mainly Conservative. Upon that subject I have been twitted by many members of the Liberal party—with whom of course I always endeavour to keep on the best terms—(hear, hear)—and they have said, “Oh, you Tories only went into the Lobby with Mr. Woodall on purpose to embarrass the Government. You thought you had a chance, and of course as tacticians you availed yourselves of it.” Well, I frankly admit that when Mr. Woodall first asked me whether I would see what could be done under the pressure of circumstances among the Conservatives, I did, as it were, heave-to the ship for a “parley,” and I pointed out to Conservatives that the proposed extension of the franchise to women might probably prove a Conservative set-off and counterpoise in some measure to the enfranchisement of what has been called the mud hovel element. Now, although it is true that this idea may have caught Conservatives for a moment, and although, as a Parliamentary opposition, the defeat of the Government is what we live for, yet the feeling rapidly grew in favour of your principle on higher grounds, until the fundamental idea of justice got a firm hold—at first it was a finger hold, but then it became a hand grasp in favour of the principle of enfranchising duly qualified women. Concerning the future, it seems that there is going to be a complete autumn session. I do not understand that it is to be confined entirely to this Franchise Bill. I suppose other matters than are now in the Bill may be introduced, and I was delighted to hear what even Mr. Courtney seemed to shadow forth on that subject. I am one of those who do not believe that the Prime Minister himself has any fundamental objection to the eventual extension of the franchise to women—(hear, hear)—and I think that the friends of the movement on the Liberal and Conservative sides of the House might reasonably and profitably and wisely confer together, with a view to strike out some distinct line as to what is best to be done at the autumn session. I can only say that I will never leave a stone unturned—be it what it may, a large rock or a small pebble—in promoting your aims; but will continue to work earnestly in its support as the follower of your gallant champion, Mr. Woodall, in whom you have found the man with the lion heart. (Applause.)

Mrs. ASHTON DILKE: I am extremely glad that the gentlemen who preceded me have said all the unkind things that are to be said about gentlemen, as I particularly dislike that sometimes necessary but often invidious part of the business left to the ladies. (A laugh, and hear, hear.) One excellent thing about the Women's Suffrage Society is that it may be said, using a familiar illustration, to keep a sponge to wipe out things that had occasionally better be forgotten, or may I put it more clearly and say that we keep a red-letter book for lists of our friends and their services; but we do not keep any black list of our enemies and opponents. (Hear, hear.) And now we are supposed to be entirely defeated—(no, no)—we are supposed to have no hope left; we are supposed to be going to be all swallowed up in this whirlpool of a fight between the two Houses of Parliament! And yet we are able to gather here in considerable numbers, to hold up our heads and to say, “We are not defeated yet and do not mean to be.” It is said that some of the extremely valiant gentlemen who are opposing the Government in the House of Lords have shown some signs of giving in; but we do not mean to follow their example in that respect. Whatever the majority which may appear to be against us, the Women's Suffrage Society means still to push the cause forward until the great day of victory arrives. (Hear, hear, and applause.) A kind friend who was talking to me the other day said he was extremely glad that I should have such an excellent ideal before me, for it was extremely important that women should have a good ideal before them even though it was never likely to be attained. He seemed to think it so admirable in us to work for a thing which could never be attained—perhaps the more admirable in proportion to its distance and unlikelihood of attainment. (A laugh.) I do not feel, however, as if that was a great thing to be desired in an ideal, and I believe that our ideal is by no means so far away in the future as many people seem to think. Some of our friends were very much opposed to our taking a division recently in the House of Commons; they tried to persuade us that it would be most inopportune to divide at all this year. I for one always professed to be an opportunist, and I cannot see, even from that point of view, that we have in any way injured ourselves—indeed I believe we have gained much by

going to a division and thus proving ourselves in earnest on this great question. (Hear, hear, and applause.) If the advice to dissuade us from taking a division had come from hon. members who meant to vote with us whatever happened, we might have paused for a moment to listen to the suggestion, but unfortunately the advice came either from known enemies or from those who knew that they were going to be placed in a fix and wanted us to get them out of it by not taking a division at all. Many things are said to the disadvantage of the poorer class of new voters who are going to be placed on the register before long; and it is said that if we wait till they are enfranchised we will never get our votes, because they will all go against us. Now speaking for myself—as on this point some of our warm supporters disagree with me—I believe that by the passing of the Franchise Bill even as it stands we shall only have gained new friends. (Applause.) I for one mean to remain in sympathy with those who are going to get the franchise, and I believe that very many of them will help us women to get votes. I have spoken this year to large popular audiences all over the country, in many cases almost entirely consisting of those men who are going to get votes under the new Bill, and from them I have received such sympathy and such promises of help that I do not believe they will be against us when they are enfranchised. (Hear, hear, and applause.) Another point I may mention is that whilst in this society we women are absolutely united on the women's suffrage question, we are absolutely disunited on almost every other question. (A laugh, and hear, hear.) I think this fact is of importance as showing that we women do not politically form a separate *clique* who would work against men or oppose their ideas and institutions, but that we would be divided on all political questions as Radicals, Liberals, Conservatives, and Home Rulers—(a laugh)—just as men now are. (Hear, hear.) At all events I should be disposed to do my best to help the proposed new electors to get their votes, regardless of the fact that we women are left out of the Bill. (Applause.)

Mr. C. B. M'LAREN, M.P., said: I can only say in responding to the chairman's invitation that my principles remain unchanged. I regard this question as one of the utmost importance—of far greater importance than most of those which many newspapers and politicians would probably place in the forefront. Nothing can better show the progress this question has lately made than the debate on the Franchise Bill in the House of Lords, where a large number of the speeches alluded in very favourable language to the admission of women to the suffrage. Now that the question has got to the length of being debated in the House of Lords, it is one that must interest the country. (Hear, hear.) You may be quite sure that one of the Houses of Parliament would never enter into reasons for and against it unless the members were satisfied that the subject was one which deeply stirred the feelings of people outside of the House. (Applause.) The report now submitted to you by your committee is, I think, one of the most interesting issued by this Society for many years, indeed perhaps since its foundation, because it tells our supporters and subscribers for the first time that women's suffrage has come within the sphere of what is known as practical politics. Now that it has reached that position, it is only a question of time as to when it will be carried. (Hear, hear.) We are going to have an autumn session, when the Franchise Bill will be discussed again. It will probably be discussed once more in the spring, and, indeed, I should not be surprised if the final settlement of the household suffrage were eventually left over to another Parliament. We shall, therefore, have plenty of opportunities, and I hope, in the course of these great agitations in favour of the extended “household franchise,” that women's claims will not be forgotten. There will be large meetings of working men, agricultural labourers, miners, and the like, and at these meetings we ought invariably to make our voice heard, and teach those who are about to be enfranchised and made our masters that, if they claim an addition to the Parliamentary franchise, they ought to be willing to join hand in hand in supporting like claims from the women. (Hear, hear, and applause.) I am going to attend a large miners' demonstration next week on Cannock Chase, and I shall undoubtedly put in the forefront of what I have to say the argument that women have as much right to the franchise as men. (Applause.)

The adoption of the report having been unanimously agreed to, Mrs. FAWCETT moved the next resolution, as follows:—“That the best thanks of this meeting be given to Mr. Woodall for moving a

clause in committee on the Franchise Bill in the House of Commons for extending its provisions to duly qualified women; to Lord John Manners, Mr. James Stansfeld, Viscount Folkestone, Baron de Worms, Colonel King-Harman, General Alexander, Mr. J. Cowen, Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Sir Stafford Northcote, and Mr. S. Storey for speaking in support of the clause, and to the 135 members who voted in its favour in the division; and this meeting requests their Parliamentary friends to take steps for bringing forward the measure at the earliest practicable period.” In supporting this resolution, Mrs. Fawcett said: I am pleased that it has fallen to my lot to propose so agreeable a resolution, and I am sure you will all agree with me in most heartily expressing our gratitude to those members of Parliament and other friends who have so faithfully and loyally supported the cause represented by this society. (Hear, hear, and applause.) Moreover, I am sure that I only express the feelings not merely of those present, but of all throughout the country who take an interest in the progress of this movement, when I say how heartily we congratulate ourselves on the great good fortune which has bestowed upon us so excellent and able a Parliamentary leader as Mr. Woodall. (Applause.) This gratitude must end in words at present, but I hope the time is soon coming when we shall be able to show our gratitude by supporting at the poll those gentlemen who have been so faithful to our cause whilst we were still unrepresented. (Hear, hear.) I propose this afternoon to call your attention,—and if there is any mode of reaching those Liberals who still withhold their support from women suffrage, of also recalling to them an old story—a story at least a thousand years old, which is best known by the version given of it in the Divine Comedy of the great Italian poet. You know that Dante visited the three regions which are assigned as the dwellings of the dead, and when he came to Paradise he found that among the souls there was one, and one only, that was a Pagan, viz., the Emperor Trajan; and on inquiry how so unusual a circumstance had come about as that a Pagan should be found in Paradise, he was told the reason was the high degree of justice which had characterised Trajan,—justice so great that it even led him to be just to a woman. This poor woman met the Emperor and his retinue as he was proceeding out of the city, and begged him to stop in order that he might do her justice in the case of a great wrong. He answered, as Liberals sometimes answer us, that he had no time to grant her request. She said “If you have no time to do justice, then cease to govern.” He stopped a little longer and said “Those who come after me will do this act of justice for you,” and she replied once more: “Good deed of others, what boots it thee, if thou neglect thine own?” The Emperor then stopped and did what the poor woman demanded; and for this signal act of justice the Pope Gregory prayed that the soul of Trajan might be released from that abode which is usually considered the proper place for Pagans—(a laugh)—and be transferred to the realms of bliss, where he was found by Dante. There is at least one very well-known and leading statesman in the Liberal party who we know is a great student of Dante. If we could get him to lay to heart this story and apply it to our case, I think our time will not have been wasted. (Hear, hear.) What those among us who are Liberals have to do is to impress on our Liberal friends in every way in our power that this movement on the part of women is simply and solely a development of the great democratic movement which has arisen during the present century. Some gentlemen in speaking against us in the House of Commons rather laughed at this growth of the women's suffrage movement, and said it had not been seriously taken up in any country except in England and in America. Why? Because the representative principle and the principles of democracy are stronger in this country—(hear, hear)—and in America than in any other country, and it is owing to this fact that the question of women's suffrage occupies here a position vastly superior to that which it occupies elsewhere. (Applause.) I think we must beg our Liberal friends to look to their principles and see whether they are not consistent with the justice of our claims. We would beg to refer them to that very excellent and weighty speech made the other day in the House of Lords by the Archbishop of Canterbury, who especially begged his clerical brethren not to oppose the extension of the franchise to the agricultural labourers, urging the Bishops to do their duty, and the danger, if there was any, could be met when it came. We must apply these words to our own case, and beg all friends of justice to support our claims. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

Sir RICHARD TEMPLE, in seconding the motion, said: I entirely agree with Mrs. Fawcett that your gratitude is due to Mr. Woodall, but your gratitude must also partake largely of that quality which has regard to further favours to come. I am much impressed with what fell, especially from Mr. M'Laren, as to the opportunities which will await our chairman and his coadjutors, not only during the autumn session but also during the next regular session, when you might perhaps, if so advised, bring forward a separate measure for the enfranchisement of women. After what fell from Mr. Courtney it will obviously be unwise to attempt an amendment of the Franchise Bill as it passes through the House of Commons; but as a substantive and separate Bill to meet your case would necessarily be a short one, there might even be time to try and get it passed during the autumn session. If you ask an opponent why women should not have the vote, the only real answer you get is just this—that you women ought not to have it because you are women—(laughter, and hear, hear)—or, as it will be stated in a more official form, because legislation cannot efface the distinctions of sex. But these distinctions of sex are not regarded in elections for local purposes or in the owning or management of property, or in the payment of rates and taxes, or in other public duties. When your opponent is thus driven from pillar to post, to what argument will he resort at last? Probably to this—that the Parliamentary franchise is in its nature different from all other social and public duties. It will be for you, then, to ask him to state in what that difference consists; and you will find that in the end he will not be able to show any real or substantial explanation of the alleged difference. (Hear, hear.) In fact the difference amounts simply to this, that the Parliamentary franchise is of more importance. After all it comes to this, that though the Parliamentary franchise may somewhat differ in degree and importance, yet it is essentially the same in kind. One of the lady speakers this afternoon spoke of us on this platform as being united in favour of women's suffrage only and disunited on every other subject. Now, I venture with all deference gently to demur to that statement, for I think that, however great our differences may be as party politicians regarding foreign policy or regarding this or that institution, or the balance of power, &c., yet in respect to everything that relates to the moral and material welfare of the British people we are not disunited but united. (Hear, hear, and applause.) In reference to what fell from my friend Mr. Coleridge Kennard regarding Conservative tactics within the walls of Parliament, that is a subject upon which I am not as yet capable of forming an opinion, but I will venture to say that outside the walls of Parliament, and in the rank and file of the Conservative party, the cause of women enfranchisement is gaining ground daily—(applause, and hear, hear)—and gaining ground for obvious reasons. The Conservatives throughout the country are appreciating the fact that owing to the non-enfranchisement of women a vast amount of property is remaining unrepresented, and it is natural to the Conservative party to desire that property should be represented. Again, the Conservatives naturally desire that intelligence, that status, that culture, that the performance of public and social duties should carry due weight in the representation of the people. Hence, they perceive that at present one of the most desirable and most excellent classes of citizens is excluded from the franchise, and that, if some hundreds of thousands of lady electors should be added to our electoral rolls, there would be a new power added to the State in respect to the preservation of everything that relates to law and order and to social progress. (Hear, hear, and applause.) These are the reasons why I believe your cause is gaining ground daily among the Conservatives; and, therefore, in concluding what I have to say in support of this motion, let me counsel you above all things to persevere, and not to be downcast. (Hear, hear.) Even in times of temporary defeat, remember the old saying that it is better to have fought and lost, than never to have fought at all. (Cheers.)

The resolution of thanks to Mr. Woodall, and those gentlemen who supported his motion in Parliament, was then put to the meeting and cordially agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN: I have now the pleasure of introducing to you Mr. Stephen, a gentleman to whom we have been much indebted for what he has told us and will tell you of the practical experience of women's suffrage in the Isle of Man.

Mr. R. S. STEPHEN then moved: "That the executive committee for the ensuing year consist of the following persons, with power to add to their number:—Mrs. Ashford, Miss Becker, Alfred W.

Bennett, Esq., M.A., Miss Caroline Ashurst Biggs, Miss Bigg, Miss Helen Blackburn, Miss J. Boucheret, Hon. Emmeline Canning, Miss F. Power Cobbe, Miss Jane Cobden, Miss Courtenay, Leonard Courtney, Esq., M.P., Mrs. Cowen, Miss Mabel Sharman Crawford, Mrs. Ashton Dilke, The Hon. Mrs. Maurice Drummond, Mrs. H. Fawcett, Miss Agnes Garrett, Rev. C. Green, Mrs. Ashworth Hallett, Viscountess Harberton, Thomas Hare, Esq., Mrs. Haslam, Miss K. Hill, Frederick Hill, Esq., Mrs. John Hollond, C. H. Hopwood, Esq., Q.C., M.P., Mrs. John Hullah, Coleridge J. Kennard, Esq., M.P., Mrs. Lucas, Mrs. E. M. Lynch, Robert Main, Esq., Mrs. M'Laren, Mrs. Charles M'Laren, Mrs. Eva M'Laren, Miss Muller, Frederick Pennington, Esq., M.P., Mrs. F. Pennington, Miss Reeves, Mrs. Savile, Mrs. Oliver Scatcherd, Mrs. Shearer, Miss Lillie Stacpoole, Mrs. James Stansfeld, Rev. S. A. Steinthal, J. S. Symon, Esq., Miss Helen Taylor, Sir Richard Temple, G.C.S.I., J. P. Thomasson, Esq., M.P., Mrs. Thomasson, Miss Tod, Miss Williams, W. Woodall, Esq., M.P. He said: In proposing this resolution I have been requested to add a few words by way of supporting it. I certainly was not aware when I received the honour of an invitation to assist at this meeting that I was to have the privilege of addressing so large and influential an assembly. Therefore I beg your indulgence if I am unable, through being unprepared, to make my remarks so interesting as I would wish. But I may say a few words which may prove of interest to you who in this country are struggling for women's suffrage, for I come from a happy island in the midst of Her Majesty's dominions where we have already got women's suffrage. (Hear, hear.) I am happy to be able to tell you that in the Isle of Man women's suffrage has been tried for the last few years and has worked remarkably well. (Hear, hear, and applause.) It has acted without any of those disadvantages and without any of those drawbacks and difficulties which the enemies of the movement were always so ready to predict would happen when it was carried into practical effect. You know that the answer usually given to your claim is something like this—"You may be quite right theoretically, but practically the scheme would not work, and you would find if you gave women the suffrage that there would be difficulty at the poll. They would be hustled about on the day of election," and they add that there would be numerous other disadvantages which I need not repeat to you now. Well, I had the honour to be elected a member—indeed as one of the first members—of a little parliament under women's suffrage—(applause)—and I can only say that ladies of gentle birth and breeding were able to attend and to witness the proceedings at the poll at a very fiercely contested election with the same safety and freedom from insult as if they were in their own drawing-rooms, or walking in the row, or at Hurlingham. (Hear, hear.) Therefore, so far as that argument goes, it is found in our experience to be quite without foundation. (Applause.) Perhaps I ought to explain that the Isle of Man is an ancient kingdom, and has a constitution of its own, governed indeed by the same gracious Sovereign as reigns over you, but with its own Parliament, for we have our House of Keys elected by the people. In this way it was that we were able to obtain in the Isle of Man the women's suffrage, for which you are now struggling here. I mention those facts as giving you some little hope from the fact that Her Majesty has already acknowledged your principle by graciously giving her Royal assent to the Act of the Tynwald which gave women owners the franchise. The Queen has thus already acknowledged in principle that women have a right to the suffrage, and, therefore, your claim would simply involve extending to a larger sphere that principle which has already been admitted by the Queen herself. And that, if I may be permitted to say so, reminds me that to my mind one of the strongest proofs of the capacity of women to exercise the franchise and to take part in the government of the country is afforded by that amiable and accomplished lady who for so many years has presided with such incomparable grace over English society, and with such diplomatic skill has governed the destinies of this great country. (Hear, hear.) Her Majesty herself is a woman, and no better loved or more illustrious name will go down to posterity than that of Queen Victoria. (Applause.) I will add nothing at this late hour of the afternoon to what I have said, except this, that in the Isle of Man, having gained what you are trying for, and found it good and useful, and such as to stand the test of practical experience, we are naturally anxious that you should have the same advantages. We have watched with interest your struggles to succeed. We see the noble, though sometimes perhaps ill-directed, zeal of some who struggle in

this good cause, and we foresee that at no distant date the same good fruits will be shared by the women of England, and the same privileges enjoyed as are now shared and enjoyed by their more favoured and happier sisters in Mona. (Hear, hear, and applause.) That this may soon be the case is, I believe, the ardent wish and earnest prayer of almost every good man and woman. (Applause.)

Mr. WATES seconded the motion, and it was passed. Mr. Woodall then vacated the chair, which was taken by Sir Richard Temple. Thereupon, on the motion of Mrs. LUCAS, seconded by Miss BLACKBURN, a vote of thanks was heartily and unanimously accorded to Mr. Woodall for having presided over the meeting. After some remarks from Miss BABB, Miss MULLER, and Miss BECKER, the resolution was passed *nem. con.*

Sir R. TEMPLE said: I am sure that in communicating your resolution formally to Mr. Woodall I may congratulate both him and you on the remarkable success of the meeting, the largeness of the audience, the merits of the speeches, and the excellence and soundness of the advice with which Mr. Woodall himself prefaced your proceedings to-day. (Applause.)

Mr. WOODALL, in response, said: I will only ask leave to say that I accept this vote of thanks, so kindly conveyed, in the sense referred to a little time ago by Sir Richard Temple, viz., as the expression of a lively sense of favours to come. Although I have no consciousness at present of having earned your thanks, I trust I may be enabled to do something in time to entitle me to your confidence. What has already passed will show how extremely important it is that our course should be prudently and carefully considered; and I hope if I have not spoken with that perfect confidence which would seem to imply a sense of infallibility not only in our cause but also in our action, that you will only accept it as an evidence of the sense of serious responsibility which I feel, and of my anxious desire that what we do may be wisely directed with a due regard to all the circumstances in which we are called to act, and with the effect of eventually securing the triumph of the cause we have at heart. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

The proceedings then concluded.

CHILD'S HILL, LONDON.

On July 14th there was a public meeting in the National School-room, Child's Hill, N.W., at which Mrs. Fenwick Miller delivered a lecture on "Women and the New Reform Bill." The vicar, the Rev. J. H. Clay, occupied the chair, although he stated that his own views were in opposition to the movement. After a vote of thanks to Mrs. Fenwick Miller had been carried, a resolution affirming that all women who pay rates and taxes should be entitled to the franchise was moved by Mr. Addy, seconded by Mr. Clarke, supported by Mrs. R. O. Carter, and carried.

SCOTLAND.

WORK DONE IN EDINBURGH, JULY, 1884.

During the last three weeks fifteen drawing-room meetings have been held in Edinburgh, at all of which petitions to both Houses of Parliament were passed unanimously. The following are the names of the ladies and gentlemen who kindly consented to hold meetings at their residences: Mrs. M'Laren, Newington House; Miss Burton, Liberton Bank; Miss Simpson, Alva-street; Miss Wells, Granville Terrace; Miss Blyth, Mansionhouse Road; Mrs. Balmorie, Drummond Place; Mrs. Wigham, South Gray-street; Mrs. Forbes, Royal Terrace; Mrs. Raeburn, Manor Place; Miss Walls, Heriot Row; Rev. Mr. Henderson, Ventnor Terrace; Miss Hunter, Great Stuart-street; Mrs. Balfour, Bruntfield Crescent; Mrs. Stewart, Mayfield Gardens; Mrs. Crawford, Windsor-street. Numerous other petitions from inhabitants of Edinburgh and from different parts of the country have also been presented this month in the House of Lords.

WOMEN RATEPAYERS OF MID-LOTHIAN AND THE FRANCHISE BILL. Among the very many largely-signed petitions in favour of Mr. Woodall's amendment perhaps the most important and remarkable is that just presented by Mr. Gladstone from 425 women ratepayers and landowners in the county of Mid-Lothian, representing rentals ranging from £530 to the £4. 10s. occupier. It may be remembered that the first instalment of this petition was presented by Mr. Gladstone on the eve of Mr. Hugh Mason's resolution last July, signed by 225, thus making a total of 650 women ratepayers in Mid-Lothian, who, in this way, express their dissatisfaction with the anomalous and unjust position they now occupy.

POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS AND MEETINGS.

CITY OF EDINBURGH CONSERVATIVE ASSOCIATION.

The City of Edinburgh Conservative Association have issued a manifesto or programme, dated 11th July, containing their views of Parliamentary Reform. After enumerating various provisions, including one to secure to the inhabitants in counties the enjoyment of a franchise similar to that now possessed by inhabitants of burghs, article 4 runs: "To provide for the enfranchisement of women both in counties and burghs."

At a meeting of members of the Edinburgh Conservative Association on July 24th, Mr. Addison Smith said: On the question of female suffrage, he was, to quote Mr. Disraeli on another subject, on the side of the angels. He declared for the ladies, for the principle having been conceded that unmarried ladies and widows paying rates should vote at municipal and school board elections, he did not see why they should not be allowed to vote at Parliamentary elections also.

EDINBURGH CONSERVATIVE WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION.

In a letter published in the Edinburgh papers, addressed by Mr. T. Usher, Secretary to the Edinburgh Conservative Working Men's Association, to the Secretary of the Edinburgh Trades' Council respecting a proposed demonstration in favour of the Franchise Bill, the following sentence appears: "It may be added that the committee have already petitioned Parliament in favour of the enfranchisement of women, on the presumption that the Bill might pass, without which no enfranchisement measure is complete."

MIDCALDER AND KIRKNEWTON CONSERVATIVE ASSOCIATION.

At the annual general meeting of the Midcalder and Kirknewton Conservative Association, held last month, a resolution was passed in favour of extending the franchise to duly qualified women.

WAKEFIELD CONSERVATIVE ASSOCIATION.

The Central Committee of the Wakefield Conservative Association have adopted a petition in favour of women's suffrage, which has been forwarded to Earl Cairns for presentation.

SOUTHAMPTON JUNIOR LIBERAL ASSOCIATION.

At the fortnightly meeting of this association, held at the Reform Hall on Friday evening, July 11th, Mr. W. H. Purkis presiding, a discussion was opened by the secretary, Mr. Howard Pain, in a very able manner. A good discussion followed, the majority of the speakers favouring the views set forth by the opener, who in his reply thanked the meeting for their almost unanimous support of the question, and trusted that they might shortly see the franchise accorded to women, who, he felt sure, would show themselves worthy of it by using it to the benefit of themselves and the country at large.

IRISH NATIONAL LEAGUE.

CARRICK AND NEWTON BRANCH.

The following resolution, proposed by Mr. Wm. Dunne, seconded by Mr. Wm. Foley, was carried at a meeting of the Carrick-on-Suir and Newton Branch of the Irish National League: "That we recognise the injustice of denying to women who are taxpayers a voice in the disposal of the money they pay; and that we call upon Her Majesty's Government in their Franchise Bill to extend the Parliamentary and municipal franchises to female householders."

HYDE PARK DEMONSTRATION.

The procession on July 21st passed along Parliament-street, under the windows of the offices of the Central Committee of the National Society for Women's Suffrage. A banner was displayed from the offices bearing the inscription, "Women claim equal justice with men." This device attracted much attention from the crowd; a few groans were heard, but there was a great preponderance of cheers.

At Platform G in the Park, Mr. F. Ford, chairman of the Finsbury Clubs Radical Association, who presided in the absence of Mr. Rogers, M.P., in the course of his address pleaded in favour of the political rights of women.

STAMFORD HILL.

At a great open-air meeting at Stamford Hill, on July 6th, Mr. Ford presiding, Mrs. Fenwick Miller supported a resolution in favour of the Franchise Bill, but said she hoped to see it amended by the insertion of women householders. Her remarks on this subject were warmly received.

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE IN THE CHURCH.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, in opening the proceedings of the Diocesan Conference, which was held on July 15th in the Library of Lambeth Palace, spoke upon the reorganisation of the Conference.

Convocation of the Province of York assembled in York Minster on July 15th, the Archbishop presiding. The Dean of Chester moved, "That the establishment of a ministry of women, in general harmony with the system of deaconesses in the primitive Church, adapted to the conditions of modern times, is an urgent need of the Church of England."

REVERSAL OF A JUDGMENT IN FAVOUR OF MARRIED WOMEN'S RIGHTS.

The Married Women's Property Act of 1882 undoubtedly made a wife capable of holding property as if she were still single. A will speaks from the death of the testator and no sooner, and until that date arrives it can have no operation.

construed according to the law in force at the time it was made, or according to the law as it stood when the document took effect? If the intention of the testator is to be considered, it may be argued on one side that he must be presumed to have meant the property to go as it would when he executed the will.

MARRIED WOMEN AND THEIR PROPERTY RIGHTS.

At the Liverpool County Court, on July 21st, judgment was given by Mr. T. P. E. Thompson in the case of Bretherton v. Bretherton, heard a few days ago. The plaintiff, Henry Bretherton, who is a shopkeeper in Walton Lane, brought the action against his wife Sarah, to compel her to deliver to him a Mersey Dock bond for £1,000, which he alleged he had entrusted to her for safe keeping, but which stood in their joint names as an investment by them.

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE AND THE PAYMENT OF TAXES.

Miss Müller's goods, at her residence in Cadogan Place, were, on July 2nd, distrained on on her refusal to pay the Queen's taxes as a protest against her exclusion from representation in Parliament. A writing-table and escritoire were seized by the sheriff's officers and removed. The articles were appraised at £19, the amount of the taxes with costs, and at this valuation they were offered to Miss Müller, to avoid removal, but she did not fall in with this proposal.

The Royal Microscopical Society of London has just passed a new bye-law admitting ladies to the full right of fellowship, except that they are not entitled to attend the ordinary meetings of the Society.

THE BRITISH ASSOCIATION AT MONTREAL. MISS BECKER'S VISIT TO CANADA.

The British Association having this year fixed to hold its annual meeting at Montreal, Miss Becker, who has for some years been in the habit of attending these gatherings, sailed for Quebec yesterday, in order to be present.

MANCHESTER SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE. SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS, JULY, 1884.

Table with 2 columns: Name and Amount. Lists donors and their contributions for July 1884, totaling £88 17 6.

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

CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS, FROM JUNE 30TH TO JULY 24TH, 1884.

Table with 2 columns: Name and Amount. Lists donors to the Central Committee from June 30th to July 24th, 1884, totaling £113 19 0.

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

NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE. SPECIAL APPEAL FOR FUND OF £5,000.

The postponement of the Franchise Bill by the House of Lords renders it certain that Parliamentary reform will be the subject of prolonged discussion in and out of Parliament before the question is finally settled.

It is hoped that the interval before a Reform Bill is passed may be used to bring the question of women's suffrage prominently before the constituencies. To do this effectively an extensive organisation and considerable funds are needed.

Contributors may designate any of the committees to which they may desire that their donation should be appropriated. Contributions not specifically allotted will be apportioned among the various committees according to the exigencies of the work by the vote of the signers of the circular, who are to be the Special Fund Committee.

- MENTHA TAYLOR. MILLICENT GARRETT FAWCETT. LYDIA E. BECKER, Secretary Central Committee, 29, Parliament-street, London; Secretary Manchester Committee. S. A. STEINTHAL, Treasurer Manchester Committee, 28, Jackson's Row, Manchester.

Table with 2 columns: Name and Amount. Lists donors to the Special Fund, totaling £50.

Obituary.

REV. C. H. COLLYNS, M.A.—We regret to record the death of this earnest friend and worker in the cause, which occurred last month. Mr. Collyns was a clergyman of the Church of England formerly resident in Wirksworth, but latterly in Sheffield. He has been a member of the society since the commencement of the movement, and rendered great service by his able and earnest advocacy of the cause.

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