

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE JOURNAL.

EDITED BY LYDIA E. BECKER.

VOL. XVIII.—No. 206. PUBLISHED MONTHLY.
Yearly Subscription, Post Free, 1s. 6d.

FEBRUARY 1, 1887.

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Vol. III. Edited by ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, SUSAN B. ANTHONY, and MATILDA JOSLYN GAGE. Rochester, N.Y.: Charles Mann. London: 25, Henrietta-street, Covent Garden. Paris: G. Fischbacher, 33, Rue de Seine.

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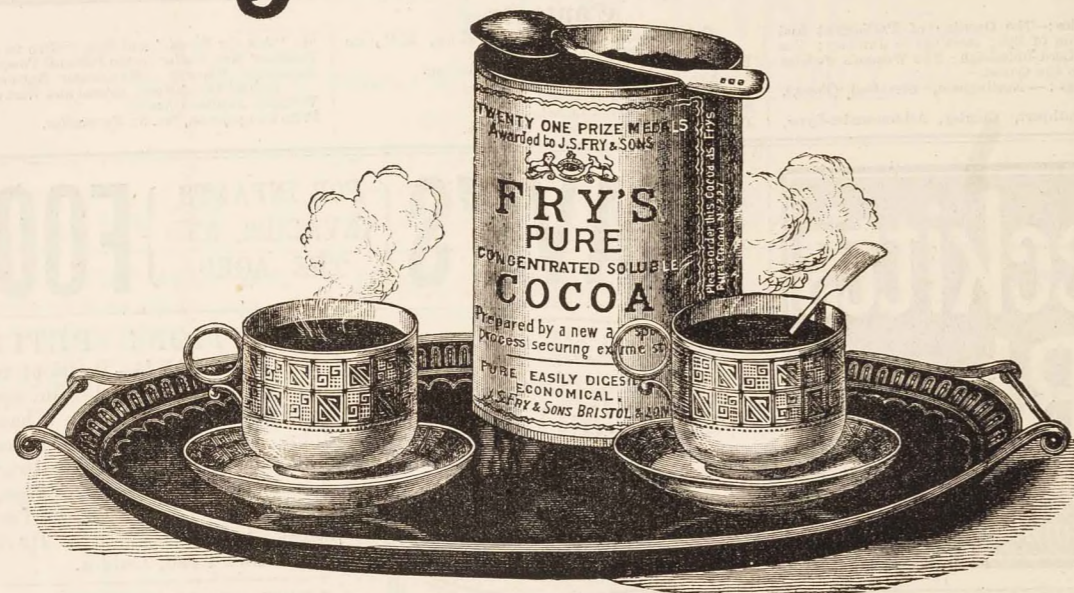


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PARLIAMENT was opened on January 27th, on which day Mr. WOODALL gave notice for leave to bring in the Parliamentary Franchise (Extension to Women) Bill. The Bill is in the same terms as that which passed the second reading in the House of Commons in February last, and is brought in by Mr. WOODALL, Sir ROBERT FOWLER, Mr. HOULDSWORTH, Mr. ILLINGWORTH, and Mr. STANSFELD. These gentlemen's names were on the back of the Bill last year. The Bill was read a first time last night, but owing to the lateness of the hour when such business is done it is not practicable for us to obtain information as to the date of the second reading before going to press. We must therefore refer our friends to the newspapers for their information, and meantime urge them to support the Bill by the diligent promotion and presentation of numerous petitions.

THE annual meeting of the Notts. Branch of the National Society for Women's Suffrage was held in Nottingham on January 19th, under the presidency of the Rev. J. HIRST HOLLOWELL. Mrs. COWEN, hon. secretary, Mrs. SYMES, Miss H. GUILFORD, Mrs. MOLLER, Miss SUNTER, and others took part in the proceedings. Public meetings have also been held at Stratford (Essex), addressed by Major BANES, M.P., Mr. E. RIDER COOK, Mrs. FENWICK MILLER, Mrs. ORMISTON CHANT, Mrs. BENJAMIN CLARKE, and others; at Bedford and at Reading. Lectures have been delivered by Miss BECKER at Chorley and Southport, by Miss TAYLOUR at Gainsborough, and by the Rev. G. E. CHEESEMAN to the Lancashire Ward Liberal Club, Ashton-under-Lyne.

THE sudden and tragical death of Lord IDDESLEIGH has sent a shock of grief and lamentation throughout the length and breadth of the land. The nation is bereft of a wise and trusted counsellor at a grave crisis in its history, and of a statesman universally respected and beloved by persons of all varieties of political opinion.

In addition to the grief which the friends of women's

suffrage feel in common with others, they have to lament the loss of a powerful supporter of the cause. Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE, while a member of the House of Commons, continually supported the enfranchisement of women, and Lord IDDESLEIGH, in his place in the House of Peers, raised his voice to testify to the same effect. Not only by his public speeches did the deceased statesman give help to the cause. He was ever accessible and ready to assist the workers in the cause who sought his counsel, and, even in the midst of official work and anxieties, he found time to receive and advise those who came to him to consult with reference to the movement. His name is now added to those of departed statesmen held in honoured memory by their country who were not afraid to join in the demand for political justice to women. The roll which contains the names of JOHN STUART MILL, BENJAMIN DISRAELI, RUSSELL GURNEY, JOSEPH HENLEY, HUGH CAIRNS, HENRY FAWCETT, is now continued by that of one worthy to rank with the best—that of STAFFORD NORTHCOTE.

OUR readers will have learned from the public press, as well as through the official announcement which we reproduce in another column, that “the women and girls of the United Kingdom, of all ages, ranks, classes, beliefs, and opinions, are asked to join in one common offering to their QUEEN, in token of loyalty, affection, and reverence towards the only female Sovereign in history who, for 50 years, has borne the toils and troubles of public life, known the sorrows that fall to all women, and, as wife, mother, widow, and ruler, held up a bright and spotless example to her own and all other nations.”

This object will commend itself universally to women throughout the whole of the British Empire. The QUEEN has shown by her many messages of sympathy with the afflicted, when some calamity has overtaken some portion of her people, that she feels fully and tenderly with every woman, from the highest to the lowest in the land, in all the trials and sorrows of common womanhood. Many a

poor widow's heart has been soothed in the darkest hour of affliction by sympathetic words from the widow on the throne. Many a bereaved mother has received a message of consolation from one who has herself known the grief of a son's and daughter's loss. And others who have not personally received such comfort know in their hearts that the heart of their QUEEN is with them in their affliction, and that she bears in her own soul the sorrows of all her people.

It is most fitting that women should now combine to offer to their Sovereign a token of love and sympathy. Every woman may now personally approach HER MAJESTY, bringing by name her mite towards the gift. We are informed on good authority that HER MAJESTY is very much touched by the idea, as it is the only offering that has been made to her personally. All other Jubilee schemes seemed more or less based on plans for doing good in the different localities. The names of all contributors will be printed, and handed to the QUEEN in a coffer which belonged to her grandfather, GEORGE III. The contributions may range from one penny to one pound; but the value of the gift will be measured not so much by the amount of the sum as by the number of contributors. A pound made up by two hundred and forty women will be of more worth for this particular occasion than a pound contributed by one. All women and girls will like to join in this offering, and local committees are being formed in most places for the purpose of gathering contributions.

But the readers of the *Women's Suffrage Journal* may be asked to reflect that in addition to the common ground of reverence and affection which they occupy with others, they owe the deepest debt of gratitude to the QUEEN for the bright example she has shown of the capacity of a woman to be a faultless constitutional Sovereign. No limitation on the power of the Crown can do away with the personal influence of the wearer of it. In the course of the QUEEN'S long reign there have been many crises when the perplexities of ministerial changes have left much to be adjusted through the action of the Sovereign. The QUEEN has always proved equal to such occasions, and has always borne her part with consummate wisdom and strict observance of constitutional requirement.

We shall be very happy to receive and transmit to head quarters any contributions from our readers in all parts of the Empire to the Women's Jubilee Offering that may be entrusted to us for the purpose.

PUBLIC MEETINGS.

NOTTINGHAM.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE NOTTS. BRANCH OF THE NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

On January 19th the annual meeting of the Notts. Branch of the National Society for Women's Suffrage was held in the School Board Room at the Exchange Hall, Nottingham. In the unavoidable absence of Mr. Ald. Goldschmidt, who had hoped to preside, the Rev. J. HIRST HOLLOWELL was voted to the chair, and among those also present were the Rev. E. R. Hodges, Mr. Warren, Mr. Shillito, Mr. Douse, Mrs. Cowen (hon. sec. of the Branch), Mrs. Möller, Mrs. Stevenson, Mrs. Symes, Miss Sunter, Misses Guilford, Miss Leavers, Miss Brown, Miss Agnes Cooke, &c.

Mrs. COWEN read the following letter, which she had received from Mr. H. Smith Wright, M.P. :-

"4, Chelsea Embankment, S.W., 17th January, 1887.

"Dear Madam,—I am very much obliged by your letter of the 15th inst., enclosing notice of meetings of the Notts. Branch of the Women's Suffrage Society, and regret that I cannot be in Nottingham on the 19th to attend the annual meeting that afternoon. I believe women are quite as capable of forming a sound judgment on political and Imperial questions as they are in municipal and educational matters, and quite as capable, moreover—if not more so—than a large proportion of the men who now possess the franchise, and it seems to me a great anomaly that duly qualified women, many of whom are large taxpayers, should have no direct voice in the government of the country. The argument that if they have votes they must also be eligible as members of Parliament, appears about as absurd as it would be to say they must also be eligible to serve as soldiers and sailors, and on juries.—I am, dear madam, yours faithfully,
"H. SMITH WRIGHT.
"Mrs. Ann Cowen, hon. sec."

It was reported that a letter had also been received from Miss Wright, of Mansfield, regretting inability to be present.

The CHAIRMAN said he thought the letter read from Mr. H. Smith Wright met a very common objection to the movement in which they were engaged. It was often said that ladies would not be content with possessing the Parliamentary franchise, but would want also to sit in Parliament. He did not see that the one thing followed from the other, but if in course of time some ladies should aspire to represent constituencies, and had their aspirations gratified, he did not think it would be an unmixed calamity for the country. He failed to see how ladies could make worse members of Parliament than some gentlemen had proved themselves to be. (Hear, hear.) The possession of the franchise educated people in the principles underlying it, and he was certain that if lady householders were accorded the privilege of voting at Parliamentary elections, it would not be long before they showed a thorough appreciation of the public interests at stake in the proper discharge of that duty. It seemed to him that some of the greatest mistakes which had been made in political life would never have happened if there had been present the high moral tone which he looked for from the co-operation of ladies in such work. With the admission of women to the Parliamentary franchise, he thought they would get a better class both of municipal and Parliamentary candidates.

The annual report, read by Mrs. COWEN, after giving a summary of the Parliamentary work of the year, proceeded:—The petition, to which signatures had been collected during the previous autumn, and containing the names of 2,278 women householders, was presented by Mr. J. Carvell Williams on February 19th. In answer to a request from the Manchester Committee, that this society should pay a share of the cost of sending the *Women's Suffrage Journal* to members of both Houses of Parliament, and to the Press, the committee of the board had agreed to contribute. On December 16th a conference of friends of women's suffrage was held in the Clifton Down Hotel, Bristol. The hon. secretary of the Notts. Branch attended by request of the committee, and took part in the conference. The meeting was well attended, as was a conversation in the evening, forming a very pleasant reunion of friends of the cause. The triennial elections for the Nottingham School Board took place on November 30th, 1886, and the hon. secretary of the branch was again elected second on the poll. An arrangement had been made by which this society might have a home at No. 18,

Heathcote-street, sharing the room of other women's societies, and having access to it whenever it is not otherwise engaged. It was intended to have a small library there, and it was hoped that members would make use of it as a reading-room. Mr. Woodall had given notice of his intention to introduce the Parliamentary Franchise (Extension to Women) Bill at the earliest possible opportunity on the re-assembling of Parliament next month, and the members hoped that the Parliament of 1887 might carry into law the Bill, the principle of which the Parliament of 1886 had already affirmed.

The balance sheet showed receipts for 1886 amounting to £24. 4s. 11½d., of which £18. 14s. was in the form of subscriptions. The amount due to the treasurer at the last annual meeting was £9. 8s. 7½d., and this adverse balance had been further increased during the year to £12. 19s.

Mrs. COWEN said the death-roll of the past year included the names of several who had shown practical sympathy with the movement. Among the number was Mr. Hugh Mason, who in 1881 took charge of the Bill in the House of Commons, and in 1884 gave it up on account of ill-health. In Mr. Samuel Morley the movement had also lost one of its earliest supporters, he having during the eighteen years he represented Bristol in Parliament steadily voted in support of the proposal. The late Lord Idlesleigh was a former supporter of the cause, and in regard to his lamented death a resolution would be proposed before the close of the meeting. Miss Wilkinson, an active lecturer on behalf of the society, and Mrs. Pattison were also among those who had died during the year. The present position of the movement in the House of Commons was that they had 341 friends, 136 known opponents, and 193 whose opinions on the question were unknown. Thus there was at present a majority in the House in favour of the proposal. Analysing the number of supporters, they found that there were 167 Conservatives out of 316, 101 Gladstone Liberals out of 190, 30 Unionists out of 78, and 43 Nationalists. Several important measures had been passed during the year. Indeed, it had been one of the best working Parliaments and one more in sympathy with useful work that they had ever had.

Mrs. SYMES, in moving that the report and accounts be adopted, thought the society ought to be congratulated that it was not more in debt, seeing that this was a time when so many popular and philanthropic organisations were greatly in need of funds.

The CHAIRMAN said that one of the paragraphs in the report stated that the triennial election for the Nottingham School Board took place on November 30th, 1886, and the hon. sec. of the branch was again elected second on the poll. That, however, did not give the entire facts. It should have been stated that not only was Mrs. Cowen second on the poll, but highest on the poll of voters. The latter meant a good deal, for the gentleman who was highest on the poll of votes at the last election was seventeenth on the poll of voters. He proposed that a paragraph embodying the facts he had stated be added to the report.

The resolution for the adoption of the report and accounts was agreed to, with the addition suggested by Mr. Hollowell.

Miss H. GUILFORD moved that the following be the committee of the branch for the ensuing year, with power to add to their number:—Mrs. Atkey, Miss Agnes Cooke, Mrs. Cowen, Mr. E. S. Cowen, Mr. H. S. Cropper, Mr. Douse, Miss Guilford, Mrs. Jesse Hind, Mr. Jesse Hind, the Rev. E. Rattenbury Hodges, Mr. Shillito, Miss A. Smith, Mr. P. H. Stevenson, Miss Sunter, Mr. Warren, and Miss Wright (Mansfield), with Mrs. Jesse Hind as treasurer, and Mrs. Cowen as hon. secretary.

Mrs. MÖLLER seconded the proposal, which was carried.

The CHAIRMAN, replying to the observation by Miss Guilford, said he thought there was considerable interest taken in the movement, but it was not so generally shown as they might desire. He believed they had the town thoroughly with them in this matter.

Mrs. COWEN moved: "That this meeting desires to record its sincere regret at the melancholy death of the Earl of Idlesleigh, and begs to tender its sincere sympathy with Lady Idlesleigh and family." She remarked that women had lost in Lord Idlesleigh a good friend, who was always ready to support them in Parliament in their just claims. For many years he supported the extension of the franchise to women, and was one of the few Conservatives who in the early days of the movement voted in its favour. The late earl supported Mr. Jacob Bright's Bill in 1873, and had voted for the measure ever since. He had not spoken very often in public about it, but he had expressed very strong sympathy with it

many times. It was very well known that he was decidedly of opinion that the claims of women to be allowed to vote at Parliamentary elections should have been taken into account in the last Reform Bill.

Mr. WARREN seconded the resolution, which was adopted.

On the proposal of Miss SUNTER, seconded by Mrs. COWEN, thanks were accorded to the Rev. J. Hirst Hollowell for presiding, and to the Mayor for granting the use of the room for the purpose of the meeting.

STRATFORD (ESSEX).

On January 14th, a largely-attended meeting in favour of the extension of the Parliamentary franchise to properly qualified women was held in Stratford Town Hall. Mr. W. VOLCKMAN, in the absence of Mr. J. Roland Phillips, stipendiary magistrate, who had been announced to preside, occupied the chair, and amongst those present on the platform or in the hall were Miss Balfour, Mrs. Fenwick Miller, Mrs. Ormiston Chant, Mrs. Benjamin Clarke, Madame Volckman, Major Banes, M.P., Mr. E. R. Cook, J.P., Dr. Vallance, Mr. W. Colman (Chairman of the West Ham School Board), the Rev. J. H. Bodily (Silvertown), Mr. Alderman Phillips, Mr. Alderman Worland, Councillors F. Smith, Mansfield, Hollingsworth, Lewis, Callaghan, Crow, and Robinson, Mrs. and Miss Lewis, Mr. T. E. Williamson, Mr. Hutchinson, and others.

After an address by the Chairman, the following vote of condolence—"That this meeting desires to express condolence with Lady Idlesleigh in the sad loss sustained by her and the country generally by the death of one who was so greatly liked and so highly esteemed as a statesman by all"—was agreed to.

Major BANES, M.P., moved: "That in the opinion of this meeting the Parliamentary franchise should be extended to women who possess the qualifications which entitle men to vote, and who, in all matters of local government, have the right of voting." (Cheers.) He said he was very sorry that his friend, Mr. J. Roland Phillips, was not occupying the chair that evening, because although that gentleman sailed, as one might say, under different colours from his (the Major's) own—Mr. Phillips professing to be a Radical, and he a Conservative—there was so little difference between them on all matters that they respected each other highly, and bore out the remark of the old adage that no good horse could be all of one colour. (A laugh.) He (the speaker) confessed that he had not studied that question so thoroughly as to be able to give the meeting much information upon it. He could only give them his convictions, and when he did that, those who knew him would believe him when he said they were thoroughly honest and sincere. (Applause.) From the time he first came into that parish—and he was a very young man then, and that great borough at that time was a very little hamlet—he had tried to take an interest in all that concerned the welfare of the place. Although it had been his lot to address many meetings, he was very pleased that evening that there could be no question of party politics cropping up. (Applause.) Although, of course, he must be a politician, yet he was not one who cared very much which party brought in a measure; if it was a good measure he would support it, and if it was a bad measure, no matter from whence it came, he was so thoroughly Radical that he would oppose it. (Applause.) On the question of that evening, he was thoroughly at one with the ladies who would address them. Instead of finding a reason why women should have the vote, he was puzzled to know what reason could be brought against their having it. (Hear, hear.) If the proposition was to give all women the suffrage, it would be a debatable question; but to give it to those women who had the same legal rights as men, and were called on to do the same work, and look after themselves and their families just as men did—when they had given them the right to vote in local and municipal elections, why on earth should they not give them the right to vote in Parliamentary elections? He did not know that the representatives they sent to Parliament were any better than those they selected to represent them locally; therefore, if women could exercise the right of voting in municipal elections, they had a perfect right, in justice, and on every other ground, to vote for members of Parliament. He did not know on what grounds the opponents of this measure sought to oppose it. In everything which required thought, judgment, and patience, they would find women possessing the same if not better qualifications than men. In fact there was a lot of human nature about women—(laughter)—and if he had not seen women exercising patience and

fortitude under conditions that very few men could stand, he should say that they were not fit to be in this world. (Cheers.)

Mr. E. R. COOK, who was loudly cheered on rising, said he seconded the resolution with a very great deal of pleasure, because ever since he had been able to think upon that subject at all he had been in favour of the course which the resolution declared to be right. And here he must, perhaps, put himself right with his lady friends on the platform, because Miss Balgarnie had sent him a pamphlet containing the division lists on the women's suffrage question in the last Parliament, and he found he was scheduled there as an opponent of the measure. It was quite true that on two occasions he voted for an adjournment of the question, when it was before the House between one and two o'clock in the morning. There were a great many gentlemen who wished to speak upon it, and he, in his innocence—for it was in the early days of Parliament—thought that time in the morning, when everybody was jaded and tired, was not suitable to discuss such an important subject as this. But he had not then learned what he did very soon afterwards: that if one put off a thing which came on for discussion in the House of Commons he never knew when it would come on again. (Laughter.) He had an idea that the question would very soon be on again under more favourable circumstances, and there, he frankly admitted, he made a mistake. But had he voted against the principle of the Bill he should have voted against speeches he had made on various occasions, against his own conscientious convictions, and against the position he was occupying there that evening. (Applause.) The resolution before the meeting did not pledge them to give married women the vote. The principal argument he had heard used against the women's suffrage measure was that it was only the thin end of the wedge, and that if they gave women whose qualifications of property entitled them to vote the franchise under such circumstances in a short time every married woman would be entitled to vote, and also every girl over twenty-one. (Hear, hear.) And then people who talked in this way went on and enlarged upon that, and raised up all kinds of imaginary horrors which he would not go into there. Now this did not follow at all. They had long had women voting in municipal and poor-law matters, and yet the franchise had never been extended to married women. He did not think it ever would be. He thought single women who were householders would have the vote, but he did not think the married women would; he did not think they wanted it. (Cheers.) He was quite sure of this: they had the vote at the present time. (Laughter.) It had been his duty twice within a very short time to do a certain amount of canvassing, and when friends of his told him that so and so was "doubtful" and asked him to call he did so, and on several occasions had the pleasure of meeting the lady of the house in her husband's absence. After that interview he knew perfectly well which way the vote was going. (Laughter.) There were in this country and always would be a very large number of women who had to work for their living accumulated some sort of capital and entered upon the responsibilities and duties of house-keeping, or continued in business. Incidentally remarking that he believed it to be a great deal better for women to have occupation than to be idle, he proceeded to say that as soon as women became householders they were looked upon by the country in all respects, with the exception of one or two, as equal to men. They helped to form the wealth of the country, and they were taxed exactly in the same way as men were taxed; and he could not see what principle of justice or righteousness a person could bring forward to show why, if women contributed to the taxation of the country, they should not have a voice in selecting those who spent the money which they had earned and contributed to the funds of the country. (Cheers.) The principle of taxation and representation was always being put forward. At the present moment this was a matter of great interest to them in West Ham; they had to pay coal dues, and they had no representation upon the bodies which spent them. The people who contributed to taxes ought to have a voice in the selection of those who spent them. (Hear, hear.) There were some things which women could do better than men; and he would include among those the taking stock of character. He very well remembered that his good father, when their

dwelling-house was on their business premises, never engaged a clerk or traveller without first letting his (Mr. Cook's) mother have an opportunity of looking at him. (Laughter.) She only wanted five minutes, and perhaps she would say "I would not have that man. I cannot trust him." In one or two instances in which his father acted contrary to his wife's advice he engaged a rogue and thief, who was afterwards sent to prison for having robbed him. Now, if he was a candidate for a Parliamentary borough, believing that he was a fairly straightforward fellow, he should like to be judged by the women in that respect.

Mrs. FENWICK MILLER supported the resolution, which was carried with three dissentients.

Mrs. ORMISTON CHANT moved: "That a petition to the House of Commons, based on the foregoing resolution, be adopted and signed by the Chairman on behalf of the meeting, and forwarded to Mr. Forrest Fulton, M.P., for presentation to the House of Commons."

Mr. Councillor LEWIS seconded the resolution.

Mrs. BENJAMIN CLARKE, in supporting the motion, expressed her belief that in the future there would be no party Government, and said that it would be for the good of everyone that men should act conscientiously rather than that they should be led by any capable man, who represented the views of a party. They had already heard the murmur of the wave of discontent and misery which had passed all over Europe; and depend upon it they would have the storm. She did not say the giving of the vote to women would avert the storm; but she said it would have the effect of oil poured upon a stormy sea.

The Rev. H. J. BODILY also briefly supported the motion.

The resolution having been unanimously carried, the proceedings terminated with a vote of thanks to the Chairman, on the motion of Mr. Alderman PHILLIPS, seconded by Mr. Councillor LEWIS.

BEDFORD.

A meeting in support of women's suffrage was held at the Girls' Evening Club, Tavistock-street, Bedford, in the afternoon of January 12th, for the purpose of preparing a petition to be laid before Parliament at the next session. The Rev. Canon HADDOCK presided, and there were also present Mrs. E. Ransom, Mrs. Walters, the Misses (2) Haddock, Mrs. Jabez Carter, Mrs. Arthur Scott, Miss Sturges, Miss Lauria, Mrs. Wolsley, Mrs. Muller, Mrs. Abbott, Mrs. Turke, Mrs. Ahlers, Rev. W. P. Beckett, Mr. C. Day, &c.

The CHAIRMAN said there was no need for him to say one word about the cause, because he thought every one present was of the same mind about it. They could not expect that the question could be brought to a successful result without there being a persistent agitation. It was for them to use all their efforts to put the question properly before the public.

Mrs. RANSOM said the streets lists of female householders had been carefully prepared, and they now wanted canvassers to go forward and take charge of those books. Mrs. Walters and Miss Lauria had done all the writing, and the petition was being carried out in a satisfactory manner. There were over 600 female householders on the burgess list. She wished it to be understood that it was a petition of women-householders and not lodgers.

After some observations by the Rev. P. Beckett the Chairman distributed the canvassing books, which were very soon taken up by those present; and it having been announced that another meeting would be held in a fortnight, the proceedings shortly afterwards terminated.

LECTURES.

SOUTHPORT.

A large number of ladies gathered by private invitation at Miss Dixon and Miss Lockhead's schoolroom, 14, Queen's Road, Southport, on the afternoon of January 18th, to hear a lecture by Miss Becker.

Mrs. DALE, who presided, opened the proceedings by proposing the following resolution: "That this meeting desires to express its heartfelt sympathy to Lady Idlesleigh on the death of so noble, so upright, and so true a gentleman as the late Lord Idlesleigh, and deprecates the well-nigh irreparable loss to the cause of women's suffrage, to which he accorded his constant and valuable support."

In her remarks in proposing the resolution, Mrs. Dale said that they should take as their motto, "Cohesion is the supreme duty of all."

The resolution was seconded by Mrs. CRAWFURD LOGAN and carried.

Mrs. SHERBROOKE, honorary secretary of the local "Guild of the Unrepresented," gave some account of the origin of the organisation. She said: Shortly after the two successful public meetings held in November last, a few of our number who had been instrumental in organising and defraying the cost of these meetings, decided that the formation of a guild would be the best way of keeping alive the interest awakened in the matter, and accordingly we established the guild, which already embraces fifty-one members. Our committee consists of eight ladies—Mrs. Dale, Mrs. Crawford Logan, Mrs. Hammers, Miss Tatham, Miss Feugh, Miss Nicholson, Miss Banks, who acts as treasurer; and myself as secretary.

Miss BECKER read, "Twenty Years of the Women's Suffrage Movement, with notes on its present position and prospects."

On the motion of Miss SMITHERS, seconded by Mrs. SHERBROOKE, a vote of thanks to Miss Becker for her address was carried by acclamation.

Miss BECKER having briefly returned thanks, a vote of thanks was accorded to Miss Lockhead and Miss Dixon for the use of their schoolroom, and the proceedings then terminated.

CHORLEY.

On January the 6th, Miss Becker delivered a lecture on the claim of women to the Parliamentary franchise, on behalf of the National Reform Union and the Chorley Liberal Club, in the Town Hall, Chorley. The chair was occupied by Mr. Kirwan. The lecture was well received, and after a lively and interesting discussion, the proceedings concluded with the usual votes of thanks.

ASHTON-UNDER-LYNE.

On January 12th the Rev. G. E. Cheeseman lectured to the members of the Lancashire Ward Liberal Club, Ashton-under-Lyne, on women's suffrage. Mr. ELIAS WILD presided.

The LECTURER, at the onset, said he should like to express his sense, and he was sure of the meeting, of the loss which the country had sustained in the tragical and touching death of Lord Idlesleigh. The speaker went on to say he was convinced of the unwisdom as well as the injustice of the electoral disability of women. It was as absurd in practice as it was wrong in theory. It violated one of the fundamental principles of our constitution, that taxation and representation must go together. If working men had not been represented in Parliament the measures for their benefit which were now on the statute book would never have been passed. Working men could now act directly on the Legislature, and therefore their mandates were obeyed, for they had the power of enforcing their claims if they were still unheeded. Look, too, at the result of extending the franchise to the labourers in counties. Questions reaching to the root of matters affecting the people of the counties had been for the first time raised, and candidates for county seats inscribed on their banner, "Three acres and a cow." In virtue of their direct representation the labourers in counties, like their neighbours in the towns, had now the chance of having their voices heard, because their votes enforced their voices. These analogies applied to women. Some Liberals were frightened at the progress which the Primrose League was making, and seemed to think that all women were Tories. This was not true; but the fact was that women had been too long neglected by the Liberals, and had been courted assiduously by the Tories. The question of party had, however, nothing to do with the case. Most of the agricultural labourers in the counties were supposed to be Tories, but was a single Liberal hand or voice lifted up against their enfranchisement because of this? Let them act justly, irrespective of class, or sect, or party politics. Let the same measure of representation be meted out to only qualified women as to only qualified men. It was absurd to speak of one system of government as thoroughly representative so long as one whole sex was excluded simply and solely because of their sex. This question could not be sneered or laughed down; it would have to be reckoned with. (Applause.)—A discussion followed, and the meeting closed with votes of thanks.

GAINSBOROUGH.

On January 18th, a lecture was given in the Wesleyan school-room, Gainsborough. The lecturer was Miss TAYLOR, and the theme chosen for treatment was introduced under the title of "The Open Page." Miss Louisa Thompson took the chair at eight o'clock. The attendance was good, and the auditory, which was a highly intelligent one, evinced a thorough sympathy and appreciation of a subject presented under what at first seemed an enigmatical heading. The subject when laid bare was an able exposition of the necessity that exists for striking off the present disabilities that hamper and impede the advancement of women in social and political life.

MR. W. S. SHIRLEY, M.P., ON WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

On January 3rd, in connection with the Thorne Liberal Association, a soirée took place, and at the subsequent public meeting an address was delivered by Mr. Walter Shirley, M.P. for the division. Mr. Shirley took the opportunity of speaking at length on the question of giving votes to women. Whatever might be done as to household suffrage, undoubtedly universal suffrage was for men and not for women. Those champions of female suffrage, who went for all or nothing, and who wanted to have women placed on an absolute equality with men, were making a mistake, and he would venture to remind them of the proverb which said that half a loaf was better than no bread. He would suggest to the ladies that they should adopt a compromise, and he would ask them whether it would not be wise to accept—as an instalment, if they liked, and not in settlement of all their claims—an educational franchise? A well-educated person was presumably a "capable citizen," and he did not see why anyone who had proved himself to be a well-educated person should not have a vote. The necessity of requiring an educational qualification was thought much of by the late Mr. John Stuart Mill. The two principal subjects of which they should require a thorough and accurate knowledge were political economy and the history of England in the nineteenth century, and special text books like Mrs. Fawcett's "Political Economy for Beginners," Mr. Justin M'Carthy's "History of our own Times," Mr. Sydney Buxton's "Manual of Political Questions," and Fonblanque's "How we are Governed," might be from time to time prescribed for examination. He would not make any distinction between married and unmarried ladies. Any lady, married or unmarried, who was over twenty-one years of age, and who had resided twelve months in any constituency, should be entitled to present herself for examination, and if she passed should receive a certificate of having done so. This certificate she should afterwards produce before the Revising Barrister, and her name should then be inserted amongst the list of voters, and remain there as long as she resided in the constituency. But it might be said, "Why do you only examine us poor women? Why not examine the men, too?" Persons, however, who raised that objection must be very dull. They ignored the plain and simple fact that there was no going back in politics. The men had got the franchise, and it was silly to expect that they were not going to keep it. He would only say, in conclusion, that, if the ladies of the Doncaster Division desired him to do so, he would draft a bill on the subject, embodying the principles he had been placing before them, and would try to agitate the matter in the House of Commons and in the country. He had no party interest in the matter to serve, and agreed entirely with what had been said by Mr. Mill, "If ever there was a political principle at once Liberal and Conservative, it is that of an educational qualification."

EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN IN COTTON SPINNING.

On December 8th an important delegate meeting of the Operative Cotton Spinners' Association was held at the Operative Spinners' Hall, St. George's Road, when amongst other business the action of the association with regard to female labour in cotton mills was considered, having reference to the Lostock Mills dispute, in consequence of which 170 hands are on strike, the men objecting to female labour on the grounds of morality and decency. After some discussion it was resolved "That no member of this association shall in future teach or cause to be taught the trade of a piecer to any female child." This resolution does not affect the girls at present employed in cotton mills, the association preferring to allow the evil to gradually die out.

THE LATE EARL OF IDDESLEIGH.

It is with the deepest regret that we record the death of the Earl of Idlesleigh, which took place with tragic suddenness at the official residence of Lord Salisbury in Downing-street on the twelfth of January. His lordship called by appointment, in order to have an interview with Lord Salisbury, but before the messenger could announce his arrival Lord Idlesleigh sank in a fatal paroxysm from which he never recovered, and in a short time breathed his last in the presence of Lord Salisbury and one or two other gentlemen. The sad event sent a shock of grief throughout the length and breadth of the land. Political friends and opponents combined to testify by every means in their power their sense of the loss sustained by the nation, and of the high qualities which rendered the deceased nobleman universally respected and beloved.

The first Earl of Idlesleigh will be best remembered as Sir Stafford Northcote. He was born at Portland Place, London, 27th October, 1818, and was the eldest son of Mr. Henry Stafford Northcote, M.P., who was himself the eldest son of Sir Stafford Henry Northcote, Bart. The Northcotes are one of the best-known families in the West of England. In 1855 Sir Stafford Northcote entered the House of Commons, as M.P. for Dudley. Sir Stafford, in 1857, offered himself as a candidate for North Devon, but was defeated. He did not re-enter Parliament until July, 1858, when the appointment of the Right Hon. J. Inglis as Lord Justice Clerk of Scotland, caused a vacancy at Stamford. Sir Stafford was elected without a contest, and in like manner re-elected in 1859 and in 1865. In May, 1866, he was elected M.P. for North Devon without a contest, and in November, 1868, was placed at the head of the poll. He continued to represent this constituency until his removal to the House of Lords. In addition to his Parliamentary duties, Lord Idlesleigh was a justice of the peace and deputy-lieutenant for the county of Devon. He was also an Elder Brother of the Trinity House. In 1843 he married Cecilia, daughter of Mr. Thomas Farrer, of Lincoln's Inn, and has six sons and two daughters. The eldest son, Viscount St. Cyres, succeeds to the title.

During the whole of his political life Lord Idlesleigh supported the enfranchisement of women. His first public declaration on the subject was contained in a letter to a constituent, in reply to a resolution passed at a meeting in Tiverton in 1873, in which he said, "I have long been of opinion that women possessing the necessary qualification as ratepayers ought to be admitted to the franchise, and I have voted and shall continue to vote for such admission." The next occasion on which he expressed his sentiments was in 1877, when, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, he received a deputation of ladies, headed by the late Lady Anna Gore Langton, in support of the Bill. At that time the general question of Parliamentary reform was in abeyance, and the Government of the day did not see their way to support any measure in the direction of re-opening it. In conveying this intelligence to the deputation, Sir Stafford Northcote said he thought women had the same right as men have to exercise any right which is to be treated as a right belonging to the English people.

In 1879, in the debate on Mr. Courtney's resolution, Sir Stafford Northcote, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, in giving his vote for what he called the previous question, said he wished to state his own opinion, and that for his part, at a fitting time and under fitting circumstances, he should be prepared to support the proposal that the same rank should be given to women as to others.

When a deputation of ladies waited on Sir Stafford Northcote, on the occasion of his visit to Belfast, in October, 1883, he said that the question was one upon which he had often had occasion to press his opinions. He felt that, as long as the representation and suffrage of this country was based upon property, there was no substantial reason, when it was in the hands of women, why they should be disqualified from exercising its proper influence on the representation of the country any more than if it was in the hands of men.

The fitting time and circumstance referred to in 1879, in his judgment arrived in 1884, when the House was engaged in preparing for the extension of the franchise in counties. In the course of the debate on Mr. Woodall's amendment on the Franchise Bill in June, 1884, Sir Stafford Northcote, Leader of the Conservative party in the House of Commons, said: "Now this question of the admission of women to the suffrage we have had before us, as we are reminded, for a good many years. I myself have continually

supported or at least have never opposed the motions that have been made for that purpose. It cannot be supposed that in all those sixteen or seventeen years during which the question has been before us, we have been so inattentive or so careless as not to consider the objections which are made, and which are made so plausibly against the proposition which is laid before us. We have continually had before us all these considerations with regard to married women and the difficulty as to their losing the vote after having had it before marriage; and the lodger difficulty. All these matters have had to be considered, and we have had to consider the arguments of a more sentimental character which have been brought to bear on the relations between the two sexes, and the effect which the influence of women might have on elections. We have considered all these matters, and I think we are pretty well satisfied with the answers that can be made to the complaints and suggestions that have been made. I will only say a word with regard to one of the principal of them, that of those who say that by giving this new right to women you are about to change the character of the woman, and in a way which is unfortunate, and which deteriorates her. Let me point out that everything you suggest as to the effect of making women politicians you have at present. At present women have power to take any amount of interest in elections short of one little act—that, the most important of all in one sense, but by no means the one which affects most the feminine character. You may have women taking part in your contests, joining committees, taking part in public meetings, making speeches and canvassing as any man would do throughout an election. To all that you make no objection; but when it comes to going into the polling booth to give a vote in a peaceable manner, protected by the ballot, then you say you demoralise and lower her character. Is that common sense?"

THE LATE MRS. ABEL HEYWOOD.

We record, with great regret, the death of Mrs. Abel Heywood, wife of Mr. Alderman Heywood, one of the earliest supporters of the women's suffrage movement in Manchester. The deceased lady was closely connected by her personal history with the city of Manchester, which she enriched from time to time with munificent gifts. In 1828 Mrs. Heywood, then Miss Grime, took a prominent part and had an alarming experience in a ceremony in Manchester which had a sad ending. The New Quay Company had announced their intention to float a new boat—the Emma—from their wharf on the Irwell. The ceremony of "christening" the vessel was performed by Miss Grime and her sister. The boat, crowded with people, glided into the river, struck the opposite or Salford bank, and turned on her side with the whole of her living burden struggling frantically in the water. The two young ladies who had played their part in the ceremony of launching were quickly rescued and brought to shore, but thirty-eight of the ill-fated pleasure seekers were drowned.

In 1867 Mrs. Heywood, then the widow of Mr. Alderman Goadsby, presented to the city of Manchester the fine statue of the Prince Consort, which is now enshrined in the canopy in the centre of Albert Square. In the same year she presented a marble bust of her late husband to the sculpture gallery of the Town Hall. In 1868 she vested in trustees a sum of £500, the interest of which was to be given to deserving students in the Manchester School of Art. Eight years subsequently she gave a commission to Mr. Noble for a statue of Oliver Cromwell, which now stands in a conspicuous position in a leading thoroughfare. Her munificence was again displayed in 1886 by the presentation to the city of a valuable collection of Japanese metal work of great interest and value.

By her will, the late Mrs. Heywood left among other legacies to the Owens College the sum of £10,000, to be invested, and called the "Elizabeth Salisbury Heywood Endowment." The will directs that the income arising from such endowment shall be applied for the purpose of making proper provision for the instruction of women and girls in the college, or for assisting women and girls who shall be students in or desirous of entering the college, in such manner as the governors of the college think fit. In case women or girls shall not be admitted as students of the said college at the time of her death, the testatrix directs that the income of the said endowment shall be accumulated and added to the principal until women or girls shall have been so admitted, or until the end of five years from her death; and in case women

WE "ASK FOR BREAD," AND THEY "GIVE US A STONE."

A letter from a Liberal lady, with the above heading, has recently appeared in the *Manchester Examiner and Times*. We commend the following extract to the consideration of the Liberal leaders:—

I see from a paragraph in your paper that arrangements are in progress for the establishment of a Ladies' Liberal League, with its paraphernalia of lodges and distinguished lady vice-presidents, &c. I ask myself, what means all this? Is it that the heads of the Liberal party, who have for so long denied the tax-paying women of Britain admission to the franchise, have at last been awakened by the action of the much-ridiculed Primrose League to the conviction that, after all, women may come to count for something politically, and so decided to encourage them, after the fashion of children in a nursery, to play at politics? Who has not heard their pretty prattle? "You shall be the queen, mamma," "Dolly, the baby princess," "Like as if it was a proper house." 'Tis real enough to them; but no "like as if" will satisfy us. If we have sense enough to form lodges and act on political committees, we have surely wit enough to be entrusted with a vote, giving us a real status, not a child's pretence at politics, pulling check strings to order.

The League is to be, I am told, on the lines of the Primrose, but "divested of its follies." . . . If the Liberal party imagine that they are going to throw dust in our eyes by beguiling us into a heavy imitation of this pretty bit of Primrose foolery, I trust they will find themselves mistaken. We don't want to spend more of our precious time on lodges and committees, of which latter there be more already than women can cope with, without risking failure in some home claims. Give us an honest, straightforward vote, the right use of which we can study and ponder over in the quiet of our own firesides, and the giving of which will involve, not a wearying round of public life, but a possible short walk and the quiet dropping of a bit of paper into the ballot box. To ask women to join in such a league as the one proposed whilst denying them the franchise, is anything but flattering to either their hearts or their intellects. Surely every member at least of the Women's Suffrage Association will, if asked to join it, reply, "No, thank you; we need all our energy, all our effort, to gain for ourselves substance, not shadow, and we intend to assert it so long as we 'ask for bread' and you 'give us a stone.'"—Yours, &c.,
MATER.

Bowdon, January 24.

PROFESSOR MAX MULLER ON THE POLITICAL POWER OF WOMEN.

A recent number of the *Indian Spectator*, published in Bombay, contains a letter from Professor Max Müller respecting the horrors of infant marriages and infant widowhood in Hindostan. He makes a vigorous protest against that non-interference, saying government does not deserve the name of government if it declares itself unable to protect each individual subject against personal torts, whether sanctioned by custom or not. Now infant betrothal is a tort—it is a contract made without the consent of one of the parties. If, therefore, that party suffers and wishes to be released from an unjust contract, the government ought to protect him or her. . . . Do you not invoke the aid of the government to stop drunkenness or Thuggee? The Thugs appealed to custom and their protecting goddess, but the government did not listen but did its duty.

The learned professor goes on to say, "However, depend upon it, justice will be done. Write a short pamphlet, containing nothing but well-authenticated facts, and send it to the women of England. They begin to be a power, and they have one splendid quality; they are never beaten. If they once knew what is going on in India, tolerated by an English Government, they will tell every candidate for Parliament 'Unless this blot is removed from the escutcheon of England, you shall not be re-elected.' Women, at all events, have courage, and when they see anything hideous they do not wait for orders from home before they say what they think. Socially educate your own women and depend on it this matter will soon be set right, in spite of temporising governors, or half-hearted reformers among your own countrymen."

or girls shall not at the end of five years from her death have been admitted, then the governors may apply the income of the endowment and of the accumulations which shall have been added thereto for such purposes as they may think fit; but in all cases it is her desire that, so far as the regulation of the college will permit, the income of the endowment shall at all times be used for the benefit of female students. Also to the Owens College Mrs. Heywood bequeaths three white marble busts, by Matthew Noble, one being the bust of her late husband (Alderman Thomas Goadsby), another of herself, and a third "of our late youngest daughter, Marianne Elizabeth Goadsby," to be placed in perpetuity within the college.

Mrs. Heywood also left a legacy of £50 to Miss Becker, in recognition of her advocacy of the rights of women.

SCOTLAND.

DUNOON.

On December 27th, a lecture on the franchise for women was delivered by Mr. Edward Graham, president of the Literary Society, and chairman of the School Board, in the Burgh Hall, Dunoon.

LANGHOLM.

At a meeting of the Mutual Improvement Society, Langholm, Eskdale, in December, Mr. W. D. Currie, opened a discussion on "Female Suffrage," expressing himself strongly against granting women a vote, on the ground that they were not made to be rulers, that the qualities they possessed were not suitable for coping with great political questions, that the addition of a large number of female voters would not strengthen the Government of the country, that if women had a share in the Government they must share its responsibilities, and they were not fitted to take the field. A good discussion followed. No vote was taken.

THE PRESENT EMPRESS REGENT OF CHINA.

A correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, in an article entitled "Chinese Politics from the Interior," which appeared in that paper on January 10th, says that it is well that Englishmen should understand who the guides of this vast empire are. He says:—At the head of the Government of China at the present moment stand the Empress Regent, the widow of the last Emperor but one. The Emperor has just reached the age at which Chinese monarchs attain their majority, but on account of his youth, and apparently under pressure from the Ministers, the Empress continues to rule China for some time longer. It is almost impossible in a country like China to gauge the personal influence of a monarch, more especially when that monarch is a woman, but the general opinion with regard to the Regent is that she is a person of extraordinary resolution and force of character. And there are many public circumstances which conspire to show that the popular estimate is a just one. Her decrees and decisions on questions of policy coming before her may in most instances be the work of her Ministers, but there have been many occasions in the past twelve years when the higher officials in China have been in two opposing camps, warring against each other with memorials, petitions, and state documents of various kinds, all of which have been published in the *Pekin Gazette*. Here the Empress must have decided the points at issue herself, and in these cases she appears to have acted with judgment and resolution. A pragmatic and troublesome censor is put aside (as one was quite recently) with the remark that his memorial is not worth consideration, and will be returned to him; a high officer of State is told to attend to his business and not trouble about the doings of some other high official, on whom, the Empress observes, she has also got her eye. This official is reprimanded—it may be punished—and that commended, obviously by the Empress herself, and there can be no doubt that much of the recent policy of China, and especially the fall of the Ministry of Prince Kung three years ago, and the creation of that of Prince Chun, was due to her personal initiative. In any event, the ruler who presides over the despotic Government of a vast country like China at a very critical period in its history, during which it has advanced by leaps and bounds in the estimation of the rest of the world, has successfully resisted a foreign invasion, and has made itself feared and respected, can be no ordinary person.

MANCHESTER NATIONAL SOCIETY.

SPECIAL EXTRA FUND OF FIVE HUNDRED POUNDS.

On behalf of the above society we desire to make an earnest appeal to the friends of women's suffrage to raise, in addition to the regular subscription list, a Special Extra Fund of Five Hundred Pounds for the present help of the work.

ROBERT ADAMSON, Treasurer. LYDIA E. BECKER, Secretary.

Queen's Chambers, 5, John Dalton-street, Manchester, February, 1887.

SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS, JANUARY, 1887.

Table listing names and amounts for subscriptions and donations in January 1887, including Miss Edith Brooke, Mrs. Stephenson Hunter, etc.

ROBERT ADAMSON, TREASURER, Queen's Chambers, 5, John Dalton-street, Manchester.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

SUBSCRIPTIONS FROM DEC. 28TH, 1886, TO JAN. 28TH, 1887.

Table listing names and amounts for subscriptions from Dec 28th 1886 to Jan 28th 1887, including Mrs. F. Pennington, Mrs. Garnett, etc.

LAURA M'LAREN, TREASURER, 29, Parliament-street, S.W.

BRISTOL AND WEST OF ENGLAND SOCIETY.

SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS FROM DEC. 23RD, 1886, TO JAN. 22ND, 1887.

Table listing names and amounts for subscriptions and donations from Dec 23rd 1886 to Jan 22nd 1887, including Mrs. Hallett, Mr. W. Mills Baker, etc.

ALICE GRENFELL, TREASURER, 26, College Road, Clifton. Office: 20, Park-street, Bristol, renumbered 69.

WOMEN'S JUBILEE OFFERING.

The following circular has been extensively distributed:-

17, Grosvenor Gardens, London, S.W.

Madam,—We venture to bring to your notice a project which we believe will enlist your sympathies, and we hope you may feel disposed to assist us in carrying it out.

GENERAL COMMITTEE (with power to add to their number):

Duchess of Beaufort, Duchess of Cleveland, Duchess of Bedford, Duchess of Buccleuch, Duchess of Grafton, Duchess of Marlborough, etc.

PRIZE COMPETITION, No. 5.

FAVOURITES.

The result of this competition has been disappointing as regards the number of replies. Only eighteen answers have been received, a number far too small to afford anything like a generally representative list.

The result of the scrutiny is as follows:—For the most popular Living Statesman there were for Mr. Gladstone, 16 votes; Prince Bismarck, 2. Orator: Mr. Gladstone, 13; Mr. Bright, 4; Mr. Spurgeon, 1. Preacher: Mr. Spurgeon, 8; Canon Liddon, 5; Canon Farrar, 3; Mr. Ward Beecher, 1. Poet: Lord Tennyson, 14; Mr. Browning, 2. Novelist: Mr. W. Black, 3; Mr. W. Besant, 2; Mrs. H. Wood, 2; Miss Braddon, 2; Mrs. Oliphant, 2; Miss R. Broughton, 1; M. Dumas, 1; Ouida, 1; Jules Verne, 1; Mr. Wilkie Collins, 1; Miss Muloch, 1; Mr. George Macdonald, 1. Monthly Magazines: Nineteenth Century, 5; Good Words, 3; Contemporary Review, 2; Harper's Monthly, 2; Quiver, 1; English Illustrated, 1; Chambers's, 1; Cassell's, 1; Temple Bar, 1; Scribner, 1. Weekly: Illustrated London News, 5; Spectator, 4; Christian World, 2; Lloyd's, 2; Pall Mall Budget, 1. Daily: Times, 9; Daily News, 4; Daily Telegraph, 3; Pall Mall Gazette, 2; Morning Post, 1. Institutions: British Museum, 5; Hospitals, 5; South Kensington Museum, 2; Dr. Barnardo's Homes, 2; Board Schools, 1; School Board, 1; Charity Organisation, 1; Post Office, 1.

The list obtained by tabulating the above results shows that in the judgment of the competitors the best or most popular

- 1. Living Statesman is Mr. Gladstone. 2. Living Orator is Mr. Gladstone. 3. Living Preacher is Mr. Spurgeon. 4. Living Poet is Lord Tennyson. 5. Living Novelist is Mr. William Black. 6. Monthly Magazine is the Nineteenth Century. 7. Weekly Newspaper is the Illustrated London News. 8. Daily Newspaper is The Times. 9. Most Useful Public Institution {The British Museum. Hospitals.

In awarding the prize we have compared each list with the standard, and given one mark for each number that agreed with it. In the case of No. 9, where there was a tie, half a mark has been given. The highest possible number of marks was eight and a half. The nearest approach to this is seven marks for the list sent by C. Brown, who is therefore the winner of the prize of two guineas, and from whom we shall be happy to receive an application for the amount. The next highest sent was that of Margaret, six and a half. Competitors may have their lists returned on sending stamped and directed cover during February.

WINNERS OF PRIZE No. 4.

RIFTY.—Miss E. H. Jarvis, Staverton, Cheltenham, 10s. 6d. MARY MATTHEWS.—Mrs. Matthews, The Villa, Sharnington-cum-Gresty, Nantwich, 10s. 6d. CATERING.—Mrs. Wallis, Kettering, 10s. 6d. MAX.—Miss A. E. Brown, 3, Upper Tollington, Holloway, N., 10s. 6d.

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