# WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE JOURNAL.

EDITED BY LYDIA E. BECKER.

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Aberdare Hall.



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Women desirous to sign are requested to send their names and addresses, with a statement of the nature of their qualification whether as occupier or owner of property, to the Editor, Women's Suffrage Journal, Queen's Chambers, 5, John Dalton-street, Manchester. Forms will also be sent for collecting signatures on application.

### NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

## THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE WILL BE HELD AT THE WESTMINSTER TOWN HAI ON TUESDAY, JULY 15TH, 1890,

To receive the Report and Financial Statement, and to elect the Executive Committee for the ensuing year.

ensuing year.

Viscount WOLMER, M.P., The Hon. Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE, Bt., M.P., Sir WILLIAM GUYER HUNTER, M.P., Baron DIMSDALE, M.P., Colonel COTTON, M.P., W. S. CAINE, Esq., M.P., R. U. PENROSE FITZGERALD, Esq., M.P., LEWIS FRY, Esq., M.P., Captain EDWARDS-HEATHCOTE, M.P., WALTER M'LAREN, Esq., M.P., T. W. RUSSELL, Esq., M.P., The Lady FRANCES BALFOUR, The Lady MAUDE PARRY, The Countess of MEATH, LOUISA Lady GOLDSMID, Lady KNIGHTLEY, Lady TRELAWNY, Mrs. FAWCETT, Miss CONS, Miss SHIRREFF, Miss TOD, General STILL, and other ladies and gentlemen are expected to be present.

THE CHAIR TO BE TAKEN AT 3 O'CLOCK BY

#### THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN.

Doors open at 2-30. The attendance of Members and Friends is invited. 10, Great College-street, Westminster.

Englishwoman's Review.—To be published Quarterly from July 15th, 1890. Price 1s.; 4s. per annum.

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4. A June Allegory. Mrs. F. Snoad.

5. English Teachers in Germany.

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Women. Part I. (continued).

3. The Manufacture of Fans in England.
4. A June Allegory. Mrs. F. Snoad.
5. English Teachers in Germany.
Review.
Record of Events.
Foreign Notes. Paragraphs.
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Women's Suffrage Journal. - Communications for the Editor and Orders for the Journal to be addressed to the Office, Queen's Chambers, 5, John Dalton-street, Manchester.

[Pressure on our space compels us to hold over the list of signatures to the Women Householders' Declaration to our next issue.]

(Continued from page 79.) government would receive another shock, and that the system of representative Government would be still further discredited than, regret to say, some recent occurrences have already discredited it. (Cheers.) But if there are these difficulties in the way of the admission of women to the franchise, there can be no doubt whatever that they do and that they ought to exercise a great, although it may be an indirect, influence in politics. (Hear, hear.) The non-possession of the suffrage does not prevent women from exercising any of those means of influencing an electorate which can be exercised by any man. (Hear, hear.) Women can write, and if they wish they can speak upon platforms, and can use all those legitimate arts of canvassing and persuasion by advice, not necessarily given upon the platform, but in the houses of the electors, in the domestic circle, to which, perhaps, they have better means of the domestic circle, to which, perhaps, they have better means of the domestic circle, to which, perhaps, they have better means of the domestic circle, to which, perhaps, they have better means of the domestic circle, to which, perhaps, they have better means of the domestic circle, to which, perhaps, they have better means of the domestic circle, to which, perhaps, they have better means of the domestic circle, to which the domestic circle, to which the domestic circle is th penetrating than are possessed even by men. (Hear, hear.) Women do, can, and ought to do all these things, and are thereby enabled to exercise a great indirect influence on political questions—(cheers) and if this is so, if this considerable force exercised by women in present politics does already exist, then it seems to me to follow as a logical conclusion that these forces ought to be made use of in what we consider to be a good cause, and ought if possible to be so organised as to have their greatest possible effect upon the political questions which we are now discussing. (Cheers.) I do not intend to say much upon the aims and objects of the particular political association the members of which I am at present addressing, but I hope that other speakers will be able to speak in a more practical manner on that part of the subject. It does, however, seem to me that there is more than one direction in which the work of such an association as this might be directed. There are among us great varieties of circumstances. In many centres of great political activity there are already a very large number of women who take an active and intelligent part in politics; and it is extremely necessary and desirable that those women who feel an inclination to take part in political pursuits should, as far as possible, by the agency of such associations as this, be led away from falling victims to that plentiful supply of sentiment which is always on hand in the party of our opponents. (Cheers.) The town of Birmingham is, perhaps, an extreme instance. I have been told that there are already women who have become members of the Liberal Unionist Association there. And surely it would be a great mistake if, while carefully looking after the male electors of Birmingham, that great force—a force which I have no doubt is only representative of a still larger force lying behind—were to be entirely neglected by the Unionist party. (Cheers.) There are no doubt in many other places a very much smaller proportion of ladies who up to the present time have taken an active part in politics. But even where they are few there is no reason why, by the agency of this association, those few should not be gathered together, and trained and organised to assist the working of the Unionist associations in the localities where they live, especially in the work of canvassing and of giving information to the working-men electors of those localities. (Cheers.) I would earnestly endeavour to impress upon all who are taking part in the Liberal Unionist work in every part of the country that they should gladly, zealously, and eagerly avail themselves of any such assistance which may be offered to them by their Liberal female fellow-workers; and I think it will be good, not only in the political sense, but also that advantage will accrue to those ladies who take the part in politics which I am recommending them to take. It will be found that it will not be possible for women to undertake to discuss questions of politics with intelligent working men unless they have previously taken the pains to study and make themselves mistresses of those subjects. (Hear, hear.) I think it will be an advantage in itself, apart from any political object, that women should be induced to study those questions which now occupy so large a share of public attention, involving as they do so many considerations of social and moral importance, as to which no woman ought to be indifferent. (Cheers.)

#### CONFERENCE.

By the kind permission of Col. Cotton, M.P., and Mrs. Cotton, a Belgrave Square, on July 1st, to consult on the best methods of (We are obliged to defer reports of several drawing room meetings.)

developing the work in connection with the Central Committee of the National Society for Women's Suffrage, 10, Great College-street, Westminster. The conference is called by invitation of Louisa Lady Anstruther, the Lady Frances Balfour, Col. Cotton, M.P., Baron Dimsdale, M.P., Captain Edwards-Heathcote, M.P., the Hon. Lady Grey Egerton, Mrs. Fawcett, Louisa Lady Goldsmid, the Countess of Portsmouth, Clara Lady Rayleigh, T. W. Russell, Esq., M.P., Mrs. Henry Sidgwick.

#### PUBLIC MEETINGS.

#### BIRMINGHAM.

The biennial meeting of the Birmingham Society for Women's Suffrage was held at the Midland Institute on June 10th, the Rev. Dr. Crosskey in the chair. The weather militated against a good attendance, but amongst those present were Councillor Martineau, Mrs. A. C. Osler (secretary), Mrs. J. K. Reid (treasurer), Mrs. Dawson, Mrs. H. G. Reid, Mrs. Heap, Mrs. W. H. Ryland, Mrs. Barrow, Mrs. Alfred Southall, Mrs. Sonnenschein, Mrs. Lewis, Mrs. Erie Carter, Miss Martineau, Miss J. Martineau, Miss G. E. Southall, Miss Sturge, &c. Mr. George Dixon, in apologising for his absence, wrote "That the amount of work that is still before the House of Commons is more than can be properly attended to during the remainder of a session of ordinary length, and consequently I voted with the Government against Mr. M'Laren's amendment on the ground that I considered it more important to devote all the remaining time of the House to the consideration of practical legislation rather than give up a portion of it for the cussion of a resolution the division on which would have had little or no practical result. But this vote of mine-and probably that of a great many others on the side of the Government-does not indicate the slightest change in our opinion on the desirability of giving to women householders the same electoral privileges and on the same terms as those possessed by men." Mrs. J. K. Reid read the financial statement, which showed the receipts had amounted to £85, 8s, 7d., inclusive of a balance in hand of £1, 15s, 4d., while there was now a balance of £9. 14s. 6d. in the bank. The Chairman, in moving the adoption of the reports, said it was a matter for congratulation that that society had kept itself successfully aloof from all political parties. He advocated women's suffrage because he was in favour of another empire than that of physical force. Mrs. Dale seconded, and the report and balance sheet were unanimously adopted. Mrs. Osler moved a hearty vote of thanks to the retiring president (Dr. Crosskey) for his "constant and never-failing loyalty to the cause of the progress and freedom of women." Mrs. J. K. Reid seconded the motion, which was carried unanimously, the Chairman briefly returning thanks. Councillor R. F. Martineau moved: "That this meeting is of opinion that the continual postponement by Parliament of the claim of qualified women to political representation is unjust and unreasonable, and urges on all those who honestly believe in the government of a nation by itself to use every legitimate means to help forward the enfranchisement of women." Mrs. H. G. Reid seconded the motion, which was carried. Mrs. Ashford was elected president of the society and the other officials reappointed. A very cordial and unanimous vote of congratulation to Mrs. and Miss Fawcett on the occasion of the latter's University success concluded the business of the meeting.

#### UNIVERSITY INTELLIGENCE (CAMBRIDGE).

The following is the list of women who have come out in the first classes of the tripos :-

MATHEMATICAL TRIPOS .- P. G. Fawcett (Newnham), above the senior wrangler; F. A. Field (Girton), equal to 21st wrangler; M. Lea (Girton), between 27th and 28th wrangler.

CLASSICAL TRIPOS .- M. Alford (Girton), first division. HISTORICAL TRIPOS.—H. Stevenson (Girton), first division NATURAL SCIENCES TRIPOS.—E. Dale (Girton), H. M. Martin (Newnham), M. C. Tebb (Girton). Part II.: L. Martin-Leake (Girton), M. O. Mitchell (Newnham).

## WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE JOURNAL.

Vol. XXI.—No. 247. PUBLISHED MONTHLY.

JULY 1, 1890.

PRICE ONE PENNY. BY POST THREE HALFPENCE.

THE Marquis of HARTINGTON, speaking at the recent meeting of the Women's Liberal Unionist Association in St. George's Hall, appeared so fully sensible of the anomalous position of a statesman who, while appealing to women to organise themselves in support of the policy he represents, would deny them the right to cast their votes in its favour, that he found it desirable to preface his speech on Unionist politics by an explanation or apology for his presence at the meeting. The noble Lord was careful to explain to the assembled ladies that he had never voted for the admission of women to the suffrage. He said any doubts he might feel as to the expediency of their admission were certainly not founded on any uncertainty as to the fitness of women for the privilege. His doubt was as to the practical working of such a measure. Men were stronger than women, and he entertained some doubt as to whether men would, in an important crisis, consent to be governed by women. If a question should arise in which the strong opinion of a clear majority of men were to be over-ruled by the assistance of a majority of women, he doubted whether the end of such a crisis would be that women would have their way. He rather apprehended that the only consequence would be that Parliamentary government would receive another shock, and the system of representative government would be still further discredited than some recent occurrences had already discredited it.

IT appears to us that we should do less than justice to the noble Marquis if we assumed that this alleged ground of his doubts as to the expediency of granting the suffrage to women would stand the test of his mature and dispassionate consideration. There are, it appears to us, obvious fallacies in his argument. Physical strength has never been a qualification for the right to vote, either as regards individuals or as regards classes. The working men in most constituencies are probably physically stronger and certainly more numerous than the rich and professional classes. If Lord Hartington's argument were to be accepted as sound, these classes ought to be

deprived of the suffrage, for it is certainly conceivable that the opinion of a clear majority of working men might be over-ruled by the assistance of a majority of those who are not dependent for their living on daily manual toil. If some future champion of the "masses" were on this ground to propose the disfranchisement of the "classes," Lord Harrington would be unable on his own showing to resist the proposition. But we apprehend that were his own argument pressed home to him in this way, Lord HARTINGTON would find no difficulty in demonstrating its fallacy. He might say that the essence of representative government was that all classes and all interests affected by legislation should share in electing the representatives; and that after the electoral lists were duly prepared according to law, it would be as unsound in theory as it would be futile in practice to try to separate the voters into classes, and to attempt to make out that the views of a majority of a certain section of them had been or might be over-ruled by the assistance of a majority of another

So far from any such attempted classification being probable, it is, on the other hand, rendered practically impossible, by the existing electoral arrangements under the stringent provisions of the Ballot Act. Each vote is given in absolute secrecy, and not even the tellers who count the ballot papers could have the faintest notion as to which of them were the voting papers of women, or on which side a majority of women had voted. Consequently, the contingency which alarms the imagination of the noble Marquis as a practical difficulty in the way of admitting women to the vote, could not possibly arise in the actual process of election, and the spectacle of a majority of men only, refusing to submit to the verdict of a majority of men and women both, is one that could exist only in the imagination of alarmists.

But even assuming that by some unexplained process it were to leak out that in an election the proportion of women voters in the majority was so much greater than

their proportion in the minority that practically the majority of women returned the member, it is difficult to see how the supposed shock to Parliamentary government could be administered, or what steps the aggrieved majority of men could take to manifest their discontent. Elections are decided, for the most part, in single member constituencies, ten or twelve thousand electors choosing between two candidates. It is quite conceivable that in such an election, if the opinions of the men electors were nearly equally divided, that the votes of the majority of women might carry the election. In that case, the only resource of the dissentients would be to petition or protest against the return of the member thus elected. In order to do this, they must be prepared to prove that the said member owed his election to the votes of women, and to this end it would be necessary to have a scrutiny of the whole of the ballot papers, and to find out which way each elector had voted. It is difficult to imagine a condition of things in which such a demand could be seriously entertained.

But in order to make out Lord Hartington's case, we must suppose that not only in some isolated constituencies, but in all the elections throughout the country, the votes of the men were so nearly equally divided that the votes of the majority of the women, who, under the proposed Act, would form only about sixteen per cent of the electorate, had carried the majority of the candidates returned. Even supposing that it could by any possibility be known that such had been the case, it would not be safe to assume either that the women were wrong, or that men would not submit to the verdict of a majority of a mixed electorate. The assumption that they would not appears to us to be one of those libels on their own sex with which good men sometimes seek to oppose the claim of women for the advancement of their position. Women will never be admitted to the franchise except by the assent and consent of men. If the men of the country agree to admit women to electoral privileges, they will assuredly accept the full consequences of the concession. They will never be guilty of the meanness of taking away with one hand what they give with the other, or infringing the freedom of elections by scrutiny into the manner in which women exercise the right accorded to them.

THE House of Lords have again rejected, but by a diminished majority as compared to last year, the Bill

sit on County Councils. The numbers in 1889 were-Contents 23, Not-Contents 108; majority against the Bill 85. This year the Contents were 49, Not-Contents 119; majority against the Bill 70.

As we took occasion to point out last year, this vote cannot be taken as an indication of the opinion of the House of Lords either on the general question of women's position or on that of women's suffrage. Among the Peers who voted in the majority are some of the best friends of the Parliamentary suffrage for women, and it is reasonable to suppose that many of these were actuated by motives similar to those avowed by the Duke of RUTLAND, who in a letter to the Editor of The Times last year expressly disclaimed the inference that by the rejection of Lord MEATH'S Bill the House of Lords intended to show hostility to the measure for enabling women ratepayers to vote at Parliamentary elections. He said that his own vote against the Bill was given on precisely the opposite ground, for that in his opinion an attempt to open Parliament and County Councils to women would, instead of helping, prejudice the claim of women ratepayers to vote in Parliamentary elections.

Be that as it may, it is certain that the action of Parliament in so framing the Local Government Bill in such a manner as to give women the right to vote without making them eligible for elections to Town and County Councils is a conclusive answer to those objectors who assume that if women were allowed to vote for members of Parliament they must be rendered eligible for election for the House of Commons.

THE vote of the Lords on the Bill was a foregone conclusion, but the speeches delivered in the debate are of the greatest significance. Earl COWPER, who moved the rejection of the Bill, appeared to be in the position of a man struggling against reasons the cogency of which he was forced to admit. He based his opposition to the Bill on the assertion that the London County Council was a body of the very highest importance, hardly second to the House of Commons itself. He mentioned the enormous sums of money which could be spent by the Council and the great interests involved in their proceedings. On one occasion there was a question debated in which more than £1,000,000 was concerned. In fact the interests were perfectly gigantic and would continually increase.

One would naturally have expected that after this expatiation on the magnitude of the interests involved, introduced by the Earl of MEATH for enabling women to the noble Lord would have continued his argument by

trying to show that women were naturally incapacitated from dealing with such gigantic interests, or from wisely considering the expenditure of enormous sums of money. He might have been expected to argue that although women might be good in dealing with matters of detail in the management of institutions, they were incapable of taking broad views or of grasping general principles, and that although a woman might be trusted to spend a hundred or even a thousand pounds wisely and economically, she could not be supposed able to deal equally wisely with millions. Such, it appears to us, would have been the only course of argument relevant to an objection to the Bill based on the mere magnitude of the interests involved in the work of County Councils. But no, the conclusion Earl Cowper arrived at was simply that the work of County Councils was so like that of Parliament, that if women were admitted on County Councils they must be allowed to enter Parliament. The noble Earl supported this contention by adducing cases of the work of Parliament, in which the assistance of women would be of value, and gave, as an example, the Sweating Committee, which he said might have been much better for the presence of a lady on it; and he went on to say that he was not sure that in debate in that or the other House. light might not be thrown upon the subjects discussed. and great benefit derived from the presence of women. And then the noble Lord urged the House to shut out the possibility of this light being thrown on their discussion, by rejecting the Bill to enable women to sit on County Councils.

The reason given was the old story—in the interests of women themselves, men ought to be willing to forego the advantage of their co-operation in public work. The influence of women for good in the world was generally in proportion to their unobtrusiveness. Those women who have gone to their graves having done most real good were those women whose names have very often never been heard of beyond their own immediate circle. Therefore, said the noble Lord, in effect, for the sake of preserving this unobtrusiveness of women,-for the sake of keeping the names of good women out of hearing beyond their own immediate circle, let County Councils and Sweating Committees and Parliament itself be deprived of the valuable assistance of women in their work, and of the light which the participation of women in their debates might throw on the subject under discussion.

THE Earl of JERSEY, in opposing the Bill, used an argument still more inconsequent. He said that when

the Local Government Act was passing through Parliament it was distinctly understood that women would not be qualified to be elected. The Act was drawn upon the lines of the Municipal Corporations Act, by which a vote was given to women. Then, the noble Lord went on to say that during the twenty years that the Municipal Corporations Act had been in force not a single woman had been elected as a Town Councillor or Alderman. Clearly, therefore, public opinion did not favour the idea that women should be qualified to be elected on County Councils. Practically, the noble Lord first asserted that it was well understood that under the Municipal Corporations Act women were not qualified to be elected as Town Councillors, and then he adduced the fact that no women had been elected to this office as an indication that public opinion did not favour such election.

The argument would have been to the purpose if it had been the fact that women were eligible as Town Councillors, and vet none had been elected for twenty years, but so long as they are ineligible for such posts it is absurd to found an argument on the proposition that they have not been elected to fill them.

THE Earl of DERBY in supporting the Bill placed the question on the only rational footing by treating it as a question, not of the right of women to be elected, but of the rights of electors to return the representative of their choice. He said he did not see why noble lords should put themselves in the place of the electors, and why they were to take out of their hands the decision in a matter which primarily, and, indeed, in questions concerning local affairs, exclusively concerns themselves. The noble Earl concluded his speech by alluding to the question of the Parliamentary franchise, which he said was entirely a separate one, and it would be time enough to deal with it when it arose. At any rate, let them not refuse to do a thing which in itself was harmless and rational because it might be used as an argument in pressing them to do something which they did not believe to be either one or

The Bill was also supported by the Marquis of RIPON and Earl GRANVILLE. The whole of the speeches will well repay careful perusal; they contain admissions and arguments which will be of great value in future discussions, and they appear to us to record a very substantial advance in the tone of public opinion on questions affecting the position of women.

ONE of the arguments by which it was sought in former

#### PARLIAMENTARY INTELLIGENCE.

mutual respect and good feeling between men and women

rest on the nature of things, and not on academical

exclusiveness or political disability, and the participation

of women in the higher and more ennobling pursuits of

men will tend rather to increase than diminish the

chivalrous feeling which true men will always entertain

HOUSE OF LORDS, Monday, 9th June. COUNTY COUNCILLORS (QUALIFICATION OF WOMEN) BILL. (No. 50.) SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading, read.

for true-hearted and large-minded women.

The Earl of MEATH: My lords, as an alderman of the London County Council, and as a member of the Committee upon which two ladies are at the present time sitting, it would be, perhaps, as well if, in asking your lordships to read this Bill a second time, I were to give a very short historical sketch of the position of the question at this moment, as well as a statement of the reasons why I think ladies ought to be enabled to sit upon these County Councils Owing to doubts as to the intention of the Legislature in passing the Local Government Act of 1888, Brixton and Bow elected two ladies to sit on the London County Council, and the London County Council were so aware of the benefit which the presence of women would confer upon them in considering the important questions, especially social questions which came before them, that they were not content with the presence of the two ladies thus elected, but they themselves as a body elected a third lady (Miss Cons) as an alderman, if that is a proper grammatical expression to make use of. When Lady Sandhurst, as your lordships are aware, was unseated, Miss Cobden and Miss Cons retired of their own accord from the Council for a twelvemonth; but, in accordance with advice they received, and trusting in a clause of the Municipal Corporations Act, 1882, to the effect that if their seats were not contested within twelve months their election should be deemed to all intents a good and valid election, they at the end of the twelve months retook their seats. Since then one of their colleagues (Sir Walter de Souza) has challenged their position, and

votes, half of which sum goes to the informer. Whatever the decision of the courts of law may be in the case of these two ladies, there is no question that in any future election it will be the duty of the returning officer, if a woman's name is put upon the list, to refuse to accept her nomination. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance to those who think it desirable that women should occupy seats on County Councils that this Bill, which I have laid upon the table, should be passed before the next election in 1892. Now, my lords, I do not think this is a political question. If it were merely a political question you would not see me standing here taking a prominent part in the discussion. I look upon it as a social question, and more especially as a question of administration. I will go further and say that I do not think that any subject which is a woman's question can be a party question. Women, in this country at all events, are more than half the population. We all know that women will have their way, and I think it is impossible for any party in these days to oppose the legitimate aspirations of women. I hope, therefore, that this subject will not be made a party question, but that in the decision of it the votes which will be given will come from both sides of the House. Now, my lords. I contend that I am asking for the recognition of no new principle. Women are at present elected to serve on school boards and boards of guardians. They have been elected on school boards since 1871, and as poor-law guardians since 1875. Every year the number of women thus elected increases. In 1871 there were only eight women elected to serve on school boards; there are now eighty. Consequently, I am justified in saying that the administrative capacities of women have approved themselves to the voters, and that their value is now ten times more recognised than it was in 1871. I think there can be no doubt, from the increase in the numbers of women elected, that they have shown their capacity in carrying out administrative work in those two positions, on boards of guardians and on school boards. The Right Hon. James Stansfeld, on two occasions the head of the Poor-law Department, has said that "It is vain and preposterous to imagine that men can administer the poor law as well without as with the assistance of women." The very recent election of a lady as a poor-law guardian in Shadwell, I think, is a proof that electors believe in the truth of that assertion. She was in no way consulted upon the matter, but found one morning that she was elected as a poor-law guardian by the electors of that district. Women have shown in those two departments their capacity for administrative work. I contend that the work of the London County Council, at all events, and of a large number of other councils, is not greatly different from the work of the two bodies I have mentioned—the school boards and the boards of guardians. What is the work of the London County Council which we specially want women's aid in? One of the most important considerations is that we in the London County Council have under our charge a large number of babies, who are placed in what are called baby farms; and I think it is simply ridiculous to expect men to go and inspect these babies and report upon them. We want women to do that kind of work. There are certain kinds of work which women are more capable of doing than men, and I assert that use ought to be made of women in every way in which they can possibly be made useful, and that they should be assisted to take their place in the affairs of local government. Then, besides baby farms, there are female industrial schools. Not only are women more capable than men of looking after girls, but they are more capable of looking after the boys also. Then there are a large number of female lunatics under the charge of the council. There are at this moment 9,280 pauper lunatics under their charge. In Hanwell alone there are 1,900, and of those 1,900, 1,100 are women. One of our Committees went down the other day to inspect that lunatic asylum, and in passing through the wards the members witnessed as usual, the saddest scenes. One of the women patients approached, and, addressing one of the members of the Committee, said, business have you here, sir?" and the gentleman addressed felt the truth of the remark, for he had been witnessing what could only be called very indecent exhibitions, which, of course, the poor women themselves were perfectly unconscious of. He felt, therefore, that there was a great deal of truth in what that poor half-witted woman said to him. In addition to those subjects which are essentially work for women, there are other matters upon which women are quite as competent as men to form an opinion. Those subjects are at this moment the case is in the law courts; and if those ladies lose their seats they will be fined £250 each for having given five of whom are women and children), matters relating to the well-

being of the poorer classes, and social reforms generally. I assert | upon her face as the other members of the Committee. She told that women, as a general rule, are more fitted than men to discuss and determine social questions and matters of detail of that character, and for this reason: There are a larger number of women of leisure who are occupied in going in and out among the poorer classes, and who have practical knowledge of the suffering and needs of those poor creatures. It is, therefore, distinctly i the interests of the poor men and women that women should be admitted to serve on the County Councils. It is not a question for the rich; it is a question for the poor, and I ask your lordships in justice to the poor, to pass this Bill. We have heard it said however, that women have a heart, but not an intellect. I think my lords, that what we have been enabled to read in the newspapers within the last day or two will prove the contrary of that doctrine I think, my lords, the triumphs of Mrs. Butler and Miss Fawcett will show that women are capable of doing all, intellectually that men can achieve. Indeed, I think we may take a higher ground, and say that it is the duty of those who oppose this measure to prove that women are not capable of doing the If there were any force in the arguments used by those who do not desire to see women sitting on the County Councils, they would only show that the electors who have returned the ladies to serve on the school boards and boards of guardians have not known what is the best thing for their own interests. After an experience of eighteen months, you find that the London County Council are sending in a petition, which I have presented to-day, signed by seventy-five members, a majority of the Council, advocating the passing of this Bill. I hold in my hand. also, a list (which I am not going to trouble your lordships by reading through) of all the clubs and associations and public meetings which have sent me petitions and resolutions in favour of the Bill. I find that there are twenty-one in London and thirty-five in the provinces, representing, I venture to say, a very large number of women throughout the country. As another proof that the London County Council appreciate the presence of ladies among them, I may mention that when Miss Cons and Miss Cobden retired for a twelvemonth from the Council they were invited to sit as visitors on the committee on which they were then serving as members for the purpose of giving their advice, as they could not vote. I said just now that I think women are more capable of dealing with social matters than men, owing to their practical experience, and perhaps it may not be generally known how large is the number of educated and refined ladies who are occupied in benevolent and charitable work, going in and out among the dwellings of the poor. In one society alone, of which I know, there are 28,942 women so employed, all ladies of birth or education. That is only one instance, and there are many other societies of a similar character. The fact is that women have more leisure than men. Then it may be said, "Why cannot you ask these ladies to attend as visitors to act and give their assistance in that way?" Of course, it is better they should be there as visitors than not at all; but there is this very great difference: that if they are elected and placed upon the Councils they will be able to visit these institutions with some authority, not as busybodies. and point out with authority what is wrong, and come back and defend in the council chamber the action they have taken. The London County Council passed a resolution not long ago to erect a model lodging-house. Now, I ask your lordships whether you do not think that the advice of women would be invaluable in the arrangement and management of such an institution as that? I will tell your lordships one thing which will show why we members of the London County Council believe we cannot properly do our work without the assistance of women. We are not going to erect lodging-houses for women. We are doing so for men, though lodging-houses are a great deal more wanted for women; but we are holding back because we feel that we ourselves dare not erect lodging-houses for women as long as we have not more ladies on the Council to direct and manage them. The other day one of our Committees went to visit one of our institutions. On that Committee were seven gentlemen and one lady. Part of their duty was to inspect the wash-houses. The seven gentlemen marched through the wash-houses, the lady following meekly behind. Well, the gentlemen admired everything—they never saw anything so magnificent and beautiful, and they praised the officials up to the skies. But the lady hung back a little and examined for herself, and when

them some of the arrangements were not quite so good as they thought, and she brought them back. They found out a good many things which, if allowed to pass, might have led to mischief, especially to contagious diseases and ophthalmia. I think, therefore, that women's aptitude for details would do a great deal to improve our institutions and buildings. Then another consideration is, that we are becoming more democratic. We know from the experience they have had in America that, although democratic institutions have their good points, they have their weak ones. We have seen that in America in municipal elections and in Local Government affairs there has been a great deal of jobbery and corruption. Women are not so open to those temptations as are men, and I venture to assert that if there were more women upon our County Councils there would be less danger in that particular direction. Then again, my lords, I do not think that anyone can be perfectly satisfied with the order, decency, and cleanliness of our streets. I do not know anything more filthy and disgusting than the streets of London. In walking through them on a windy day one is blinded by the flying dust and covered with mud in wet weather. Women's love of order and cleanliness would do a great deal to remedy what may fairly be considered a disgrace to the streets of London. Woman's love of the beautiful, also, would not tolerate miles of houses without trees, shrubs, and flowers. Women, too, would not be satisfied with a merely physical cleansing of our cities; they would undoubtedly, also, do their best to effect a moral cleansing as well. They would also use their influence on behalf of temperance, providing open spaces, the erection of model lodging buses, public baths, the inspection of markets, cow-houses, and dairies, slaughter-houses (and a most important matter in connection with slaughter-houses is the prevention of cruelty there), the suppression of houses of ill-fame, the prevention of indecent exhibitions, enforcing measures with regard to the adulteration of food and the pollution of water, and in many other directions. Those are all subjects on which I feel confident that women could give valuable assistance. Can it be doubted that if we could get such women as Miss Octavia Hill and Mrs. Fawcett elected upon the London County Council we should vastly benefit thereby? My lords, after this discussion is closed, your lordships will consider the great subject of sweating which has been brought to your notice by the noble lord opposite (Lord Dunraven). I venture to say that our municipal bodies did their duty, and if the various local podies of this vast metropolis did their duty-I do not say that they would be able to cure these evils—they could not do that, but at all events they would not be nearly so bad as they are at present. But I do think one way of checking these evils is to obtain the services of as many educated and refined women as you can with leisure on their hands to assist the local vestries, the London County Council. and in the future the District County Councils, to do their duty. My lords, publicans, slum-owners, and jerry-builders have too long held the field. They it is who, as a general rule, have managed to get themselves elected upon the small local bodies; and I do think it is time that those who get themselves elected upon those local bodies. in a great measure for the purpose of stopping reforms, should give place to those who will take their seats for the purpose of promoting and advancing reforms. I think, my lords, in enabling women to take their seats on the County Councils and District Councils you may feel confident that you will not be adding to those who, by reason of the temptations to which they may be exposed, will be disposed rather to hinder reform than to advance it. Women are asking for this privilege in very large numbers, as is shown by the petitions and resolutions which I have placed upon your lordships' table. Whether they succeed this year or the next, of this, at all events, I am confident, that within a comparatively short period they will have gained their object, and it will be a matter of astonishment to succeeding generations that for so many years women should have been excluded from the local government of their country Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(The Lord Chaworth,

Earl Cowper: My lords, it is with great deference to your ordships and to my noble friend that I venture to move that this Bill be read a second time this day six months. In dealing with this subject I hope to treat it in a serious manner. I think it has too often been the case, when female suffrage and other matters of that kind have been alluded to, that it has been attempted to put she came out she had not quite such a seraphic look of contentment | them aside with a joke or a sneer, and to treat them in an unbe-

Certainly I will not fall into any fault of that kind. My lords, I do not think that the noble earl who has brought forward this measure has quite done justice to the great body to which he belongs—the London County Council. His speech would lead one to believe that the duties of County Councillors are, to a great extent, to go about and personally inspect lunatic asylums, male and female; to superintend baby farms, and to superintend reformatories—in fact to act the part of district visitors throughout the metropolis. But the London County Council is a body of the very highest importance; hardly second in importance to the House of Commons itself. I think the difference between the London County Council and the House of Commons is more with regard to the magnitude of the interests involved and the universality of the interests involved in the one case compared to the other than in any difference actually in kind. Though, of course, the interests with which the London County Council are concerned are not so great as those dealt with by the House of Commons, yet they are undoubtedly enormous. One has only to look through the eloquent address which was made by my noble friend Lord Rosebery to the body over which he so worthily presides to see how great those interests are. We have only to look casually at the newspapers in order to see the enormous number of meetings they held in the year, the number of Committees appointed, the enormous sums of money which can be spent by those Committees, and the great interests involved in their proceedings. We saw on one occasion there was a question debated in which more than £1,000,000 was concerned. In fact, the interests are perfectly gigantic, and they will continually increase, because I have no doubt that in a short time the County Council will have to exercise a more direct influence over paving and lighting matters, and those sort of things. There is no doubt that they will have more entirely the business committed to them which is now transacted by local bodies, as well as much of that now undertaken by Government; and great as their business now is it will be much greater in a few years; in fact, it will certainly become nothing less than the administration in all branches of the affairs of more than 4,000,000 of people. My lords, I cannot but think that if we admit women into the London County Council there will be really no valid reason why we should not admit them into the House of Commons. I do not think anybody can show that there is much difference between the two cases; perhaps some attempt to do so may be made in the course of this debate. The County Council, like the House of Commons, do a great deal of their work in open assembly; but they also do a great deal of their work by Committees, and many of those Committees are concerned with subjects in which women and children are most intimately interested; and I believe that on many Committees of your lordships House and the other House of Parliament there are subjects discussed, with regard to which it may be said that the presence of women upon them would be most advantageous. I daresay, for example, that Committee of which we have heard so much lately—the Sweating Committee-might have been much better for the presence of a lady on it; and I am not sure that in debate in this or the other House light might not be thrown upon the subjects discussed, and great benefit derived from the presence of women. My lords, my object in making these remarks is to show that the subject which we are to-night discussing is only part of a larger question; and if we go so far as is suggested by the Bill before us we must, I think, logically go a great deal further. In fact, the great question is forced upon us, to a certain extent, whether we are or are not to undertake the gigantic experiment of placing women on a political equality with men. Now, my lords, I, for one, must say that I am opposed to this, and I am opposed to it chiefly in the interests of women themselves. Nobody is more aware than I am of the enormous influence for good of women in this world. It would be foolish to deny it; but I think this influence, great as it is, is generally in proportion to their unobtrusiveness. I think most of us, from our own personal experience, may well say that those women who have gone to their graves having done most real good—having exercised the best, the highest sort of influence, and performed best those purposes for which a human being is sent into the world—are those women whose names have very often never been heard of beyond their own immediate circle. My lords, I will notice an historical fact, and I do it for a certain purpose, which I will explain. It is obvious to everybody that the great influence of women for good in this world arose very much with the dawn of Christianity, and was very closely associated

with it. We may see this by comparing the position of women in Christian countries with that held by them in Pagan and Mahomedan communities, and in countries where other religions than Christianity prevail. From the time of the New Testament downwards women have filled a great place in human history. There has been as many women as men among the saints. But from the time of the Apostles women have been most strenuously discouraged in making an appearance as preachers and speakers upon public platforms. This tends to prove that the best and highest influence of women is perfectly consistent with abstaining from publicity. I am very desirous that those who take the line I do should not be accused of wishing to treat women as mere dolls, and that any nonsense of that sort should not be attributed to them. I would repudiate any suggestion of that sort. On the contrary, we take that line because we are so conscious of the present high position of women, and because we are so anxious that they should not be contaminated by the deteriorating influences of political life, the struggles and enmities, and bitterness, and, I might almost say, the vulgarities of public life, that we wish to guard women from them. I am not quite sure whether the rough and tumble of political life always exercises the most ennobling effect even upon men. I am not sure that the violent party animosities, the one-sidedness, the virulent personalities, and the misrepresentations which often distinguish even the best people in political life when their passions are excitedand all these distinguish political life perhaps more frequently in the present day than in former times—do not sometimes exercise a rather deteriorating effect upon the men. Men, must, of course, take part in the affairs of the country, and in carrying on the public business must submit themselves to these things, though there is no doubt that only a strong nature can shake off what I may call the dirty part of the business without its leaving any permanent traces behind. But for Heaven's sake, my lords, let us shield women from this as long as we possibly can. Some people say that women would exercise an elevating effect upon public life, and would raise it and free it from many of those evils. I am by no means sure of that. On the contrary, I fear that women with their more excitable natures, and their tendency to look at things more from a personal and concrete than an abstract point of view, would be liable, even more than men, to the deteriorating effects of the platform. It is very likely, and I believe it will be the case, that even if this Bill should pass the best and highest of women will, with few exceptions, still prefer the shade; but even if the best women could be dragged forward into the glare of publicity I do not think their presence would enable us to take a calmer or more philosophic position in our discussions. But, my lords, all the objections which I have mentioned would have to give way if it could really be shown that it was necessary for the good conduct of affairs, either in the House of Commons or in the County Council, that women should take part. I do not think this has been shown, or can be shown; and for these easons I beg to move that this Bill be read this day six months. Amendment moved to leave out the word "now," and add at the

end of the motion the words "this day six months."—(The Earl

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE JOURNAL.

The Marquess of Ripon: My lords, I am quite sure that nobody can have listened to the speech of my noble friend and have thought for one moment that he was actuated in the course which he has taken to-night by anything except the deepest respect for the women whose interests are being discussed upon this occasion, and for those who are desirous to uphold their rightful position. But, my lords, it seems to me that the arguments of my noble friend have been based throughout his speech upon the principle of principles obsta. That is a principle which we have heard applied to a great number of reforms thoughout our lives; but I venture to think my noble friend is in error in the close comparison he has instituted between the duties of the County Council and the duties of the House of Commons. It is because my noble friend thinks that the duties of these two bodies are so similar, and because he greatly desires to debar women from the Parliamentary franchise and from the House of Commons, that he is so fearful of their being admitted to the County Council. My lords, it seems to me that it is a mistake to select the Houses of Parliament as the public bodies which County Councils most resemble. The business of the County Council is not legislative business; the business of the Houses of Parliament is, in the main, legislative. The County Councils are almost entirely administrative bodies. They carry on their adminis-

tration, no doubt, mainly in committees, which report to the Councils, who then pass resolutions; but almost the whole of their functions are of an administrative character, and it is because of that administrative character that it seems to me that the assistance of women upon those bodies would be so valuable. My noble friend has very much deprecated the meddling, if I may so call it, of women in political life. Well, my lords, we see a good deal of the interference of ladies in political life in these days, and I am bound to say I do not think that that interference is always precisely of the kind that we should most desire. I think it would be far preferable that they should take such a part in the administration of local affairs in County Councils as they already do upon school boards and boards of guardians, than that they should take the part they sometimes do in the keen contests of political life. My noble friend who has moved the second reading of this Bill has touched so largely upon the functions of County Councils, in which he thinks women might take a useful part, that there is no need for me to go over that ground again; but as he has spoken mainly from his point of view as a member of the County Council of the greatest city in England, I may be, perhaps, permitted to say a word from the point of view of the Provincial County Councils. feel very strongly that there are portions of the duties which fall to Provincial County Councils in which the assistance of women would be a great advantage. There is one subject especially which my noble friend has alluded to, namely, the management of lunatic asylums. I do think that there, particularly in regard to female lunatics, the assistance and inspection of ladies would be of the greatest advantage. But to be thoroughly useful it must be an inspection combined with authority, and it is only as members of the body managing those asylums that they could really take an effective part in supervising and controlling the administration. My noble friend who has just sat down spoke slightingly, by-the-bye, of the inspection of lunatic asylums, reformatories, and other institutions of that kind by members of County Councils, and he seemed to hold that it was not the duty of members of the Council to undertake any such inspection. I am sorry to say I entirely differ from my noble friend in that respect. I do not think our lunatic asylums in the country would be well administered unless they were inspected regularly by the Asylums Committee; and if the Asylums Committee and the County Council take that part, which the old bodies used to take, of inspecting minutely all that goes on in those asylums, I venture to say that in that respect the assistance of women, having the full authority of the County Council, would be of great advantage. But, my lords, there is one portion of the question which we are discussing to-night upon which my noble friend touched very slightly, and upon which I should like, if I may be permitted, to say a few words. At the present moment, under the Act of 1888. you have included a large number of women among the electors of members of the County Councils. That was deliberately done. There was a great deal to be said in regard to taking the Parliamentary franchise instead of the municipal franchise; it would have been much more convenient in many ways if you had taken the same franchise for the County Council as for members of Parliament, but you deliberately chose to take the municipal franchise, and thereby to place a large number of votes in the hands of women. Now, my lords, is it consistent in that case that you should say to those female electors, who are quite numerous enough everywhere, I take it, to turn a closely contested election, "You may vote, but you shall not be yourselves elected." I think, my lords, that if ever the day comes (though I wish to keep off that discussion to-night) when the Parliamentary franchise is given to women there will be a strong argument in favour of extending their right beyond the franchise. But it is not only in that respect that this matter is to be considered. We have been reminded that women are elected as members of school boards, and boards of guardians. Are you going to prevent women sitting upon the District Councils when created when they sit already on the boards of guardians? If the District Councils take over the duties of boards of guardians, are you going to let a woman sit on them? If you are going to keep up the two bodies separately, are they to sit on one body and not on the other? At the present moment, sitting on the boards of guardians, they deal with sanitary questions; they are members of rural sanitary authorities; are you going to turn them off from dealing with those subjects in regard to which they have shown themselves to be very useful? I think that is a consideration of great weight. I defy you to keep them off the County Councils if you admit them to the

District Councils. I say, therefore, do the thing graciously when you have the opportunity, and do not wait to be forced by the logic of the situation into granting that which in the end you will find you must grant. My noble friend has told us that there are now eighty women members of the school boards in this country. Well, t has taken twenty years to get eighty women on the school boards. I do not know the total number of the members of those boards. But eighty is not a very large number, and there need be no fear that if you give the county electors the power of choosing women they will do so to an excessive extent. I do think it is unwise, in dealing with the administration of those local matters with which County Councils are intrusted, that you should deny to the electors the power of selecting women members if they think fit.

The Earl of JERSEY: My lords, the noble marquess has touched upon the question of the District Councils, but I think it will be time enough to consider the question whether women should belong to those Councils when a Bill on the subject is brought forward. Considering that most of the County Council elections are conducted upon political grounds, I do not see how the ladies would have much chance of getting in, unless they were to take a very active part in public matters, and they would then be liable to those evils to which the noble earl opposite has alluded. Now, I quite admit what the noble lord who introduced this Bill has said with regard to the work of women in many capacities. I think many of those ladies whose names he has mentioned, like Miss Octavia Hill and others, have been doing good work, and work in which men might well be proud to follow their example. I will not attempt for a moment to minimise the value of women's influence, but the question before us is whether it will be to the public advantage that they should be qualified to be elected as County Councillors and aldermen. I wish to point out to the House that when the Local Government Act was passing through Parliament it was distinctly understood that women would not be qualified to be elected. That Act was drawn upon the lines of the Municipal Corporations Act, by which a vote was given to women. During the twenty years that the Municipal Coporations Act has been in force not a single woman has been elected as a town councillor or as alderman. Clearly, therefore, public opinion does not favour the idea that women should be qualified to be elected to the County Council, and the recent decision given by the courts only gave the stamp of the law to what has been the common opinion and wish on the subject. The measure has been introduced, as the noble earl has said, on behalf of certain ladies who have been elected to the London County Council, and though I have, on behalf of the Government. to ask your lordships not to support this Bill, I should be very sorry to say a single word which would imply any want of courtesy or respect for those ladies. They no doubt were impelled by a strong sense of duty to take the course they did, but I do not think any hardship has been caused by the interpretation of the law to which I have referred, because it has merely laid down what everybody originally intended. Now, the noble marquess and the noble earl have spoken with regard to the duties which belong to County Councillors, and which, in their opinion, might be very well carried out by women. There are a few special cases, no doubt, in which the advice and help of women would be useful, but I would point out, with regard to asylums and reformatory schools, that in the first place County Councils have matrons in those institutions, and if those matrons are not suitable or qualified to carry out the objects of the asylum or schools, they should be changed. Then also they could get advice by the aid of paid or unpaid women officers, or by the aid of lady visitors. There is not really so much difficulty in getting help in looking after asylums and schools on account of the want of women upon the County Councils as has been stated. Then again, as women have votes for the County Councils, they can in the ordinary way exercise influence over their representatives; and I can quite understand that on any Council on which the noble lord the Earl of Meath served there would be plenty of kind sympathy towards those objects on which he has spent so much of his time and talent and for which he has done so much good. We must remember also that it is not sufficient to show that there are certain ladies who wish to belong to the County Councils, but we must consider whether there is any general desire on the part of women and the public that women should be upon those Councils. We have given them votes for the election of representatives, but admitting that women are quite capable of making a good choice of representatives,

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wish to be intrusted with the carrying out of administrative and executive functions. On the contrary, as I have stated, the fact that no woman has keen elected upon the Borough Councils shows that there is no desire on the part of women generally to take over those public burdens which have been hitherto borne by men. If this Bill were passed it would be quite necessary that it should be extended, in order that women should sit upon Town Councils. In order to make a change of that kind we should require some very strong public reason. It is admitted that this is a sort of Relief or Endowment Bill for certain ladies, but that is surely hardly a strong enough ground to make a change which, as far as we can possibly tell, would not be well received by the public. Of course, one is always sorry to in any way appear ungracious or not to desire the presence of ladies, but I am sure if your lordships refuse to receive this Bill, if you close this avenue of distinction to women, there are more congenial spheres of work where their quick intellects and kindly sympathies can be better exercised than by serving in the somewhat heated atmosphere of the County Councils. Therefore, my lords, I beg to support the rejection of the Bill.

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The Earl of DERBY: My lords, I never spoke or voted on this question before, and, therefore, before we go to a division, I should like to say a few words. I shall support the Bill of the noble earl; but I am bound to say that in so doing, although I accept his conclusions, I do not arrive at them precisely by the same process of reasoning. The noble earl has said much as to the valuable services which women can render upon these County Councils. I am not disputing that; but that is not the ground I should go upon, for my own part. I am not sure that in the majority of cases women will be as fit representatives upon County Councils as men are. think it would be a very exceptional case and a very exceptional qualification that would induce me to vote for a female candidate, but that is not the way I look at it. What I cannot see is why we are to put ourselves in the place of the electors, and why we are to take out of their hands the decision in a matter which primarily, and, indeed, in questions concerning local affairs, exclusively co cern themselves. My noble friend who spoke last said that public opinion had not favoured the election of women to the Borough Councils, but that seems to me to be an argument which cuts both ways. If public opinion does not favour the election of women, women will not be elected either for Borough Councils or for County Councils, and the danger you apprehend will not arise. If, on the other hand, the electors, knowing the persons, knowing what they want, think the female candidates are the fittest to be chosen, they are the persons concerned, and I do not see how it can be our business to say they shall not have the members whom they desire to vote for. We should, of course, be justified in objecting if it could be shown that there were any case of absolute and universal disqualification applicable to every female candidate, but I know nobody in this House will say that. If the electors choose badly, if they choose a person who is unfit or who will be an obstruction to business, they alone are responsible, and they alone will suffer. My lords, I quite agree in what has been said as to the importance of the work done by the County Council, but the very fact that you have entrusted them with these great powers shows that Parliament has some confidence in their judgment and in their capacity; and it occurs to me rather contradictory to say that, although they are perfectly fit to decide upon matters of the gravest importance, yet, if it be a folly to elect women, they will, nevertheless, do so upon a great scale. My lords, if that were so, I think it would show not that this particular measure is a mistake, but that they have been entrusted with powers for which they were not fit. My noble friend behind me expressed a wish that women should be kept clear from the rough work of politics. I sympathise entirely with that feeling, but is it not rather late in the day to speak of that? You have women addressing public meetings; you have women—ladies of high rank—not unfrequently appearing on public platforms; and I must say that one of the best speeches I ever heard on that much disputed Irish question of which we hear so much was delivered by a woman. But nobody supposes that women generally will desire to serve upon these County Councils; and if they do not wish to do so, nobody will compel them. Those who are willing to put themselves forward are presumably those who find the duties congenial and who will not, therefore, object to undertake them. My lords, I will not repeat what has been already said; but I think the argument of my noble friend was absolutely

that by no means proves that the majority of them are fitted for or wish to be intrusted with the carrying out of administrative and executive functions. On the contrary, as I have stated, the fact that no woman has keen elected upon the Borough Councils shows that there is no desire on the part of women generally to take over those public burdens which have been hitherto borne by men. If this Bill were passed it would be quite necessary that it should be extended, in order that women should sit upon Town Councils. In order to make a change of that kind we should require some very extreme public reason. It is admitted that this is a sort of Relief or

Earl Granville: My lords, I am anxious not to give the perfectly silent vote which I gave last year upon this question. I entirely agree with the noble lord the Earl of Meath that this is not a party question, and I merely offer my own opinion upon the subject. I thought it was to be lamented last year that upon his measure, which occupied public attention a good deal, and which was backed up on a division by, I think, two to one of a great municipal body interested in the question, your lordships should have divided without one word having been said against the measure which has now been explained in so very satisfactory a way by the noble earl. The result was a very large majority against it and a small minority for it; but I think that a very large majority is not very discouraging on a question of this sort. Very much younger members than myself have had opportunities of seeing the enormous changes which have taken place in public inion upon the question of the position and usefulness of women. When I was a boy, a great statesman, who has since become a very brilliant man of letters, took his daughter into Devonshire on a visit. On his return to London he received a letter from his hostess, enclosing a copy of verses, and suggesting that very likely the modesty of his daughter had prevented him seeing the copy which she then sent him. The statesman at once sent for his daughter and criticised the verses, pointing out some unsuitable lines, praising the beauties of others, and on the whole greatly approving of the poem. But, having done that, he then appealed to her affection for him, and made a request to her never to write verses again. He was not afraid of her becoming a good poetess, but he was afraid of the disadvantages which were likely to be suffered by her if she were supposed to be a lady of literary attainments. Since that time I think matters have greatly changed. The noble earl who has just sat down and myself have been a good deal mixed up with the question of female education, and I think we can remember every argument which has been used to-night being put forward at every step, whether the question was the admission of women to the universities, or their eligibility to medical degrees, or to degrees in arts. What has been the result? The result is, that you have at this day, as has been so aptly said by Lord Meath, as compared with fifty years ago, the most universal expression of pleasure at the success of the daughter of another and more modern statesman, who has shown that even in the least sentimental and most reasoning branch of study women can be equal to, if not superior to, men. My lords, I need not go over the ground as to the functions given to women since that time, the fact of their having been given votes in municipal affairs, or the fact of their increasing numbers as members of school boards and boards of guardians. I believe it is the fact that within the last ten or fifteen years the increase has chiefly taken place on the boards of guardians. I have been told, and I am rather inclined to believe it, that in a great many cases as guardians, women have shown exceptional energy, tact, and sympathy; and I believe that has been exactly the experience also in the school boards during the short time that the influence of women has been exercised upon them. Now, my lords, it occurs to me that it is really a waste of power to refuse arbitrarily their assistance in such useful public work as is performed by the County Councils. Lord Meath has explained that many of these ladies have abundant leisure, besides having the wish to make themselves useful. With regard to the councillors in general, they represent the average candidates for the post; but with regard to the women, it should not be forgotten that they are nearly all a picked lot, and very superior in attainments to the majority of the men whom they meet. I think, my lords, it is a real waste of power, when you have this fund of useful work for public purposes, that you should deprive yourselves of it. I entirely agree with the noble earl that one of the principal items in this matter is the question of the constituencies and their liberty to choose whom they think will

best represent them on these Councils. I quite agree that it would be tyrannous and cruel to force women even to exercise the votes they now have in electing County Councillors if they do not wish; but it seems to me it would be equally tyrannical to prevent the constituencies choosing these persons to represent them, and to prevent the women themselves who wish to be useful to their fellow-citizens from contributing their assistance to the performance of public duties. Of course, there are things to be said for and against. but one thing that strikes me very much is that I do not think I have heard one single word yet about its being a disadvantage to have women on the County Council. I may have missed it, but I do not think one word was said to that effect. The argument was, that if you give women seats on the County Council, you must give them seats in Parliament afterwards. Now, it appears to me that those who are so very much afraid of contaminating women by allowing them to do this sort of work, forget the part they already play. I am afraid that is a very dangerous admission, and I believe the noble marquess has expressed himself on one occasion as not altogether unfavourable to some enlargement of the franchise to the other sex. When we are called upon to allow them to sit on County Councils, it is only logical to say that, as we have given the women votes for the County Council, we must give them the Parliamentary franchise. That is rather a dangerous argument, therefore, from the quarter whence it comes. I hold myself in these matters, if there is a doubt, it is always better to give the benefit of it to the side of freedom and liberty. I do not think there is any fear of the Government of this country being entrusted to women if this Bill passes, but I think it would be of immense advantage that they should be allowed to deal with those subjects with which they are so well qualified to deal. Some people talk about the danger of contaminating women by contact with politics, but I think it is a little too late to speak of that when we consider the work that is done by the ladies of the Primrose League, and at Conservative as well as Radical meetings, and too late to expect the women to keep themselves—to use a popular phrase—"to their proper sphere." In fact, I think it is hopeless; and I think it might be judicious if those who are afraid of too much political action on the part of women were to afford them the means of making themselves useful in administrative work where party politics ought not to enter, and to give them that vent for any superabundant energy which they may have.

On question, whether the word "now" stand part of the motion, the House divided:—Contents 49; Not-Contents 119.

Resolved in the negative; Bill to be read 2\* this day six months.

Moved that the Bill be now read 2a—(The Lord Chaworth, E. Meāth); objected to; an amendment moved to leave out ("now") and add at the end of the motion ("this day six months")—(The Earl Cowper): On question, whether ("now") shall stand part of the motion?

 Contents
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 49

 Not-contents
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 ...
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Canterbury, L. Archp. Saint Albans, D. [Teller]. Westminster, D. Northampton, M. Ripon, M. Bradford, E. Camperdown, E. Carlisle, E. Derby, E. Ducie, E. Granville, E. Kimberley, E. Northbrook, E. Spencer, E. Strafford, E. Leinster, V. (D. Leinster). Powerscourt, V. Strathallan, V. Carlisle, L. Bp. Ripon, L. Bp. Aberdare, L. Basing, L.

Brassey, L. Chaworth, L. (E. Meath), [Teller]. Dorchester, L. Dormer, L. Hamilton of Dalzell, L. Herschell, L. Kensington, L. Kinnaird, L. Lamington, L. Lawrence, L. Leigh, L. Lingen, L. Manners, L. Northbourne, L Ribblesdale, L. Romilly, L. Rowton, L. Sandhurst, L. Saye and Sele, L. Sudley, L. (E. Arran) Thring, L. Wenlock, L. Windsor, L. Wolverton, L.

#### POLITICAL SOCIETIES.

WOMEN'S LIBERAL UNIONIST ASSOCIATION.

On June 11th the second annual meeting of this association was held in the St. George's Hall, Langham Place, with the Duke of Westminster in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN, in moving the adoption of the report, in the course of his remarks said that it was a great thing that the Unionists were already in possession of the citadel, but they would have to man the walls with every man they could command and with every woman also. (Laughter and cheers.) Though the Women's Liberal Unionist Association might not be as large as some other women's associations, yet in point of intellectual quality it could compare favourably with any. Though they had not Lady Aberdeen as a member, yet they had Lady Portsmouth, Lady Jersey, and Mrs. Fawcett—(cheers)—and he could not mention the last name without taking the opportunity of offering to Mrs. Fawcett the hearty congratulations of all present on the great intellectual power evinced by one of her family. (Cheers.) They could only regret that Mr. Fawcett had not lived to see the triumph of his daughter, and to give his aid to the Unionist cause. He

moved the adoption of the report. The Marquis of Hartington, who on rising to second the adoption of the report was received with great enthusiasm, the entire gathering upstanding, said :- My Lord Duke, Ladies, and Gentlemen.- I do not know whether I shall be exposed to the charge of inconsistency for appearing at this meeting this afternoon. I have never taken a prominent or, indeed, any part in the movement for what are called women's rights, and I have never voted for the admission of women to the suffrage. It may seem somewhat inconsistent that I, holding these views, should be called upon to take a part in a meeting composed almost exclusively of women, and convened for an exclusively political object. This is not a fitting opportunity for discussing the question of women's rights or the expediency of their admission to the Parliamentary suffrage, but I may make two observations on that point which are not altogether out of place. I do not think that there is any one now, whatever may have been the case formerly, who would for a moment deny that there are a very large number of women who are as fitted for the intelligent and patriotic exercise of the franchise as men, and who, in a great many stances, are more fitted than many men. (Hear, hear.) And any doubts which I may feel as to the expediency of their admission are certainly not founded on any uncertainty as to the fitness of women for the privilege. We all rejoice to see that women are daily making progress in obtaining admission to every profession, and are obtaining distinction in almost every profession which is open to men. I cordially re-echo the congratulations which have been so well offered by your noble chairman to one of the most distinguished members of your association—(cheers) for the distinguished and unprecedented triumph which has lately been achieved by her daughter—the daughter of the illustrious statesman who, we know, if he had been alive, would have been among our ranks. (Cheers.) The second observation which I desire to make is that if I hesitate to vote for the admission of women to the suffrage, the reasons that prompt me to do so are exclusively of a practical character, and, though not identical, they are altogether similar in character to those which induce me to hail and welcome the action which women are taking in this cause. I think that in politics we ought to make our action coincide as nearly as possible with actual facts and realities, and not base our political conduct solely, or even mainly, upon a priori arguments or considerations of sentiment. You may prove as conclusively as you like that women are equally entitled to the franchise with men; that they would use it as wisely and patriotically; you might prove that it would be just and advantageous to them that they should be so admitted. But my doubt is as to the practical working of such a measure. I think we must all admit that although men may not be wiser, they are, at all events, stronger than women, and I do entertain some doubt as to whether men would in an important crisis consent to be governed by women. (Hear, hear.) If a question should arise in which the strong

opinion of a clear majority of men were to be over-ruled by

the assistance of a majority of women-I doubt whether the end of

such a crisis would be that women would have their way. I rather

apprehend that the only consequence would be that Parliamentary (Continued on page 70.)

## MANCHESTER NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

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TE OL II Hawmood OC	- 69	6)	0	Miss Crewel 0 2	6
Mrs. Langdon Down	2	0	0		
				Miss Nathan 0 2	0
				Mrs. R. Stevenson 0 2	6
Miss Ellis	1	1	0	Mrs Arnold Glover U 2	O
Miss Sharman Crawford	1	0	0		
Miss Larges	0	10	6	Mrs Williams U 2	O
Miss Spokes	0	10	0	Miss Pinkerton	U
Miss Amy Mander (2 years)	0	10	0		
Mrs. Owen	 0	5	0		
Miss Peppercorn	0	5	0		
Mrs. Brock	. 0	5	0		
Mrs. Brock	. 0	3	6		
Mrs. Morgan brown	. 0	3	0	Mrs. Partridge 0 2	0
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Miss Mordan		£1		0	Miss Borchardt					
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Lady Waldie-Griffith			2 0	0	Miss Curry	 	 0	5		
					Mrs. Holiday	 	 0	5		
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					Miss Wainwright	 	 0	5		
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Miss E. M. Bakewell			0 10	0	Miss Keene	 **	 0		6	
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Miss Crump			0 10	0	Miss H. M. Wilson		 0	0	0	
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