

# WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE JOURNAL.

EDITED BY LYDIA E. BECKER.

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Parliamentary Intelligence:—The Franchise for Women, Mr. Gladstone's Speech at Preston. Members of Parliament on Women's Suffrage and the Franchise Bill.

Nottingham Town Council.  
Conservative Associations:—Carlisle, Batley Carr, Sunderland, Wakefield, West Hartlepool, Louth, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Halifax, Huddersfield, Hamersmith, Uxbridge, Chelsea, Kingston-on-Thames, Cambridge, Leicester.

Liberal Associations:—Plymouth, Hove, Bristol, Devonport and Stonehouse.

Public Meetings:—England: Halifax, Stanningley Reform Club, Launceston, Tavistock, Atherton, Tyldesley. Scotland: Dundee, Broughty Ferry,

Ladies' Meeting in Dundee, Gilfillan Memorial Church, Liberal Demonstration at West Calder, Strathpeffer, Opinions of the Press.

Blackwood on Women's Suffrage and the Franchise Bill, Ireland:—Belfast, Ulster, Dublin.

Correspondence:—The Spectator on Women's Suffrage.

Obituary:—Mr. A. M. Sullivan.

Treasurers' Reports:—Manchester, Central Committee, Bristol and West of England, National Fund for £5,000.

Loan Exhibition of Women's Industry.

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Foreign Notes and News.

Paragraphs.

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

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

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

PRELIMINARY NOTICE.  
MANCHESTER NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.—The Annual General Meeting to receive the Report, the Statement of Accounts, to appoint the Committee, and transact any other business which may arise, will be held in the Town Hall, Manchester, at Three o'clock, on Wednesday, Nov. 12th, 1884. William Woodall, Esq., M.P., J. P. Thomasson, Esq., M.P., Rev. S. A. Steintal, Miss Becker, and other ladies and gentlemen are expected to be present. The chair to be taken at Three o'clock by Mr. Alderman HARWOOD. The attendance of members and friends is invited. Admission Free.

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE. A Liberal View of the Situation, by ISABELLA M. S. TOD. Price One Penny. To be had of the Secretary, 29, Parliament-street, London, and of Miss Tod, 8, Upper Crescent, Belfast.

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

UGHT WOMEN TO LEARN THE ALPHABET? By T. W. HIGGINSON. Reprinted from "Atlantic Essays." Price 3d. A. Ireland & Co., Manchester.

OBSERVATIONS ON WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE. By Viscount HARBERTON. Price One Penny. Published by the Central Committee of the National Society for Women's Suffrage, 29, Parliament-street, London, S.W.

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PUBLIC HALL, BECKENHAM.—An Amateur DRAMATIC PERFORMANCE will be given on Wednesday, November 5th, 1884, at Eight o'clock punctually, in aid of the National Women's Suffrage Fund. The pieces for performance will be "Uncle's Will" and "Dearest Mamma." Parts in the Performance will be sustained by Mr. Reginald Craigie, Mr. Westlake, Mr. R. Pryce (ap Rhys), Miss D. Harley, Mr. George D. Lynch, Capt. Ricketts, Miss D. Tuckey, Mr. H. Desvceax, and others. A Selection of Music will be played between the parts by a string quartette. The audience is requested to be seated by Eight o'clock. Tickets: Stalls, 5s.; Reserved Seats, unnumbered, 2s. 6d.; Admission, 1s.; to be obtained at Thornton's Library, High-street.

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

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

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

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

## LOAN EXHIBITION OF WOMEN'S INDUSTRIES.

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TREASURER: Miss Tothill.

It is proposed to hold an Exhibition of Women's Industries in Bristol early in January. We would ask your kind help in rendering the Exhibition useful and attractive.

The promoters are desirous that its principal feature should be specimens of such works as illustrate the progress made by women in industries demanding special technical and artistic training. To this end samples of work done at technical and industrial schools will be welcomed. Painting, Sculpture, Wood-Engraving, Wood-Carving, Modelling, Designs for, and Articles of, Household Furniture, Designs for Decorative Purposes and for Textile Fabrics, Lace, Specialities in Needlework—all come under this head. It must be understood, however, that only professional not amateur work is desired.

It is also hoped that articles may be contributed representing what are termed the "Minor Food Industries," e.g., Bee-keeping, Gardening, Dairy-Work, &c.

In addition to these, the Loan of Ancient Needlework, or other articles representing the occupations of Women in past times, is invited.

Also it is hoped to form a Loan Collection of Portraits of eminent Women, and Relics of Interest associated with them.

Persons desirous of further information or of contributing articles suitable for exhibition are invited to communicate with the Hon. Secs.

HELEN BLACKBURN, EDITH MENDHAM,  
AMY K. COOPER, AGNES TANNER, } Hon. Secs.

20, Park-street, Bristol, Sept., 1884.

Communications should be addressed to the Hon. Secs., Exhibition of Women's Industries, 20, Park-street, Bristol.

Articles intended for sale should have prices affixed.

Any proceeds derived from the Exhibition will be handed to the National Society for Women's Suffrage.

## DIRECTIONS FOR PREPARING PETITIONS.

We earnestly exhort our friends to help the cause by promoting petitions in their several localities. If desired, petitions ready for signature will be forwarded on application to the office of this *Journal*; but it is better that friends should prepare their own petitions according to the following directions:—

Write out the form on a good sized sheet of paper.

To the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled.

The humble Petition of the undersigned

SHWETH,

That your petitioners are of opinion that the exclusion of duly qualified women from the Parliamentary franchise is unjust to those excluded and injurious to the welfare of the nation at large.

Wherefore your petitioners humbly pray that your Honourable House in amending the law relating to the representation of the people will make provision for extending the franchise to duly qualified women.

And your petitioners will ever pray, &c.

The form given above may be signed by men and women of full age, whether householders or otherwise.

Petitions may also be sent to the House of Lords. The following form may be used:—

To the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled.

The humble Petition of the undersigned

SHWETH,

That in the judgment of your petitioners women who pay rates and taxes ought to have votes for members of Parliament.

Wherefore your petitioners humbly pray that in any measure which may be submitted to your Right Honourable House for amending the law relating to the representation of the people your lordships will make provision for the exercise of the franchise by duly qualified women.

And your petitioners will ever pray, &c.

The petition when signed should be sent to the member who is to present it at the House of Commons, accompanied by a letter (post paid) asking him to present it and support its prayer.

## THE BRISTOL EXHIBITION OF WOMEN'S INDUSTRIES.

Writing upon this subject, to which we have already directed attention, Mr. Sala, in the *Illustrated London News*, expresses himself as follows:—"I learn that arrangements are in progress for holding next year, at Bristol, an exhibition of women's industries. The title of the proposed display is rather a harsh-sounding one, but the idea of the promoters of the exhibition seems to be an excellent one—the bringing together of specimens of work requiring skilful training, so as to illustrate the part taken by females in various arts and manufactures. Side by side with the industries of the day, it is proposed to have a loan exhibition of ancient needlework and other objects illustrating the occupations of females in times past. Mem.: The 'other objects,' in addition to ancient needlework, might comprise pickles and preserves, cordials, home-spun linen, stockings, patchwork counterpanes, and embroidered slippers; to say nothing of bead purses, shell-work, feather-work, and 'poonah' painting. Altogether, the exhibition should be a very instructive one, as showing, first, the large number of new industries which are now open to women; and, next, the larger number of industrial pursuits which, through prejudice or the jealousy of male artisans, are yet closed to the better sex. When I first began to look at life there were a very few female wood-engravers, fewer female lithographers, and no female typographers nor watch-makers. Are there very many women pursuing such vocations now? Female clerks and bookkeepers were, at the time of which I speak, rarities; and there were, of course, no lady telegraphic or photographic operators, colourers or mounters of photographs, designers of Christmas and birthday cards, law writers, or copyists. And there were certainly no women doctors, house decorators, or philosophical lecturers. On the other hand, there are at present at least fifty remunerative employments which women might very fitly pursue, but which they are precluded, somehow or another, from practising. The Bristol Exhibition should open many eyes and expose many instances of cruel or stupid injustice to the sex."—*Queen*.

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PARLIAMENT assembled on the 23rd of October for the Autumn Session, and on the same day Mr. WOODALL gave notice that he would, on an early day, move for leave to introduce a Bill to extend the franchise to duly qualified women. This prompt and decided action is an indication that the Parliamentary friends of women's suffrage do not intend to allow the question to sink into abeyance during the discussions on the Franchise Bill, but that they will press the claim of the women householders who are, to use a popular expression, "knocking at the door" to have their case considered and dealt with while Parliament is engaged in amending the law relating to the representation of the people.

The course of Parliamentary business is probably not destined to run smooth during the present session, and Mr. WOODALL may experience some difficulty in obtaining a day for the discussion of his Bill. The action taken in introducing the question in the form of a Bill does not, however, preclude the possibility of raising the issue at some stage of the Franchise Bill, in either House of Parliament, should such a course appear desirable, if it should be found impossible to obtain facilities for the discussion of the question in the shape of a separate and independent measure.

There is every reason to hope that if the question of passing a measure to extend the franchise to qualified women could be submitted to the judgment of the present House of Commons on its own merits, and members were free to vote according to their judgment, that the measure would receive the assent of the majority.

If this be so, there should surely be no insuperable difficulty in coming to an arrangement by which the genuine feeling of the House might be tested, and, if found in favour of the proposal, might be embodied in a measure which could take effect about the same time as the other two great divisions of the reform question, the Franchise and Redistribution Bills.

THE remarkable speech of Mr. GLADSTONE at Preston station, on which we commented in our last issue, was the

subject, on two successive days, of questions in the House of Commons from Mr. TOMLINSON. The hon. member for Preston did not succeed in eliciting from the PRIME MINISTER any very clear exposition of the meaning of the expressions he used on that occasion. Mr. GLADSTONE admitted that the report of the speech, as quoted by Mr. TOMLINSON, was perfectly correct, and consequently that he had asserted that the Tories had tried to bring in a woman's franchise in order to weight the Franchise Bill, and to make the ship carry such a cargo as to swamp it. On being pressed by Mr. TOMLINSON to state whether he referred to the amendment moved by the hon. member for Stoke, and, if not, to what amendment he did refer, Mr. GLADSTONE said he did not refer to the amendment moved by the hon. member for Stoke, who had evinced the sincerity of his convictions by taking a course which he had a perfect right to do, and which with his views he was bound to do. On being further pressed next day by Mr. TOMLINSON to explain to what amendment he did refer, Mr. GLADSTONE said that when he made the speech Preston station was in a state of perfect chaos, so that his reference to the matter was not attended with the explanations which, under other circumstances, he should have been disposed to give. He, of course, referred to the debate on women's suffrage, and to no other amendment in the Bill.

It certainly seems as if the condition of "perfect chaos," which the PRIME MINISTER describes as existing at Preston station, had permeated the brain of the right honourable gentleman, for, in spite of the explanation offered in reply to the questions of the hon. member for Preston, it is difficult, if not impossible, to gather, by comparison of the two seemingly conflicting answers, what Mr. GLADSTONE really did mean to refer to when he averred that the Tories had tried to bring in a women's franchise in order to weight the Bill, and make the ship carry such a cargo as to swamp it.

MANY large and important meetings have been held during the month. Among these was a great meeting in

Kinnaird Hall, Dundee, under the presidency of Provost MONCUR, which was addressed by Professor LINDSAY, Mrs. OLIVER SCATCHERD, Miss BALGARNIE, and others. The same ladies addressed meetings in Broughty Ferry, Dunkeld, Tain, and other places in the north of Scotland. At Halifax a meeting of ladies was held. Mr. THOMAS SHAW, M.P., who presided, said that although he had felt it his first duty to support the Government on the occasion of Mr. WOODALL'S amendment, he hoped his future action would commend itself to their minds, for he was a firm supporter of women's suffrage. The Right Hon. JAMES STANSFELD, M.P., who also addressed the meeting, said he was strongly inclined to believe that before long the enfranchisement of women would be accomplished with the consent of men of both parties in the State.

A meeting was held at Launceston, under the presidency of the Mayor. Sir HARDINGE GIFFARD, M.P., supported the question. Miss J. G. WILKINSON also spoke at Launceston, and at other meetings, along with Miss EMILY SPENDER, in Devonshire.

Many members of Parliament have taken occasion to refer to the question of women's suffrage in addressing their constituents during the month. The POSTMASTER-GENERAL at Hackney made an earnest and powerful appeal in favour of the cause. Sir HARDINGE GIFFARD supported the question in his annual address to his constituents at Launceston. Col. WALROND, M.P., in opening a Conservative Club at Torquay, said the Conservatives would bring on the question during the autumn session. Mr. H. B. SAMUELSON supported the question in a speech at a Liberal meeting at Frome, and Mr. GEORGE ELLIOT, M.P., spoke in favour at a Conservative meeting at Northallerton.

The Nottingham Town Council have unanimously voted a petition, which was presented to the House of Commons on the opening of the session.

LAST year about this time we had the pleasing duty of recording the strong and widespread support which the question received from Liberal Associations throughout the country, and the numerous resolutions in favour of the question which were adopted by such bodies. This year we have the gratification of recording similar manifestations of support from a large number of Conservative Associations. Such expressions of opinion indicate the growing strength of the cause, and add to the grounds on which we may reasonably hope for the concession of the claim of women before Parliament finishes the

present task of dealing with the general question of reform.

It is stated that by a singular remissness on the part of the authorities, a voters' roll has been issued by the Town Clerk of Greenock which contains the names of a number of women householders who are described as being entitled to vote "in the election of a member of Parliament" for that borough. The list was intended to denote the women entitled to vote in the election of town councillors, but a clerical error has created much perplexity. The women can claim to vote in a Parliamentary election, since their names are on the register, but they cannot until the error is rectified exercise their undoubted right of voting in municipal contests.

The error of the authorities at Greenock is perhaps excusable. They may have been unable to discern any logical reason why the women householders on the citizens' roll should not have the same right to vote in the election of a member of Parliament as the other householders on the roll. This is the question which is about to be put to the Imperial Parliament while it is engaged in settling the question of the franchise, and should the decision be that there is no logical reason for refusing the Parliamentary vote to citizens entitled to the municipal vote, it may yet happen that the women householders now placed on the list of Parliamentary voters for the borough of Greenock by a "clerical error" may be retained on that list by an act of the Legislature.

THE Archbishop of CANTERBURY is said on a recent occasion to have pointed out that the Greek word from which the English word "idiot" is derived was used to signify a person who took no interest in public affairs. This affords a possible explanation of the present legal classification of women and idiots as persons not entitled to exercise the Parliamentary franchise. But whatever may have been the plausibility of the excuse for such classification in former times there is no such excuse now. Public affairs—if under that title we include Parliamentary legislation—are daily extending their operation into matters affecting the private and domestic affairs of women; and women are daily extending their knowledge and their interest in public affairs and in matters which concern not merely their private interests, but the social condition of the people, and the welfare and honour of their country. It is time, therefore, to ask that the degrading classification should be abolished, and that

women be promoted from the legal rank of "idiots" who take no interest in public affairs, to that of citizens who have the same interest as other citizens in the prosperity and progress of the nation.

IN reply to a question from Mr. FORSTER as to when the papers relating to South Africa, which were quoted by Mr. ASHLEY in his speech on October 28th, would be in the hands of members of the House, Mr. ASHLEY said he could not resist the temptation to repeat to the right honourable gentleman the answer he had received from the printers—that as they employed so many women and children they were checked by the operation of the Factory Acts.

Mr. FORSTER then asked whether on receiving that intimation the hon. member had not stated to the printers that, on a matter of this kind, they ought to employ extra men so as to get the work done.

It does not appear whether any such suggestion were made to the printers, but, supposing it to have been adopted, the practical effect would have been that at the hour for the legal closing of the time during which women are permitted to earn wages, they would have been turned out of their shop, and a number of men would have been set to do what we believe is called in trade parlance "women's work" at a greatly advanced rate of remuneration compared to that given to the women. The inconvenience felt in printing offices by the arbitrary restrictions on the labour of adult women is not confined to the Queen's printers. The effect of such restriction, imposed without the consent of the working women themselves, tends to depreciate their value in the labour market as compared with men, who are free agents; to lower their rate of wages, to drive them out of work in occupations which they now follow, and to hinder their entrance into new fields of labour in which they might find the means of earning a livelihood.

THE Japanese, we are told, are occupied in making a new House of Lords, in which the Salic law obtains so far that no woman can succeed to a peerage; but with this modification, that if she is found to be at the head of a noble family she may choose among her relations who shall be her heir, and that heir takes the title with the inheritance.

Such vicarious voting occurs also in some European countries, where the woman, if the head of the household, has the power to delegate authority which she may not herself wield. If we remember rightly, Mr. GLADSTONE

himself in 1871 said he had never heard any conclusive reason why we should not borrow a hint from the Italian law under which a woman was allowed to exercise the franchise, if possessed of the qualification, subject to the condition of exercising it through a deputy. But if a woman is capable of appointing one deputy, why not another? If she ought to have any power at all to delegate authority, what is the logical difference between delegating it indirectly to a man who is to choose a member of Parliament for her, and delegating it directly by choosing one for herself? C. A. B.

### PARLIAMENTARY INTELLIGENCE.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, *October 23rd.*

#### THE FRANCHISE FOR WOMEN.

Mr. WOODALL gave notice that he would on an early day move for leave to introduce a Bill to extend the franchise to duly qualified women.

#### MR. GLADSTONE'S SPEECH AT PRESTON.

Mr. TOMLINSON gave notice for to-morrow to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether the report of the speech he made at Preston railway station, charging the Opposition with trying to bring in the enfranchisement of women in order to weigh down and swamp the Franchise Bill was true, and whether he referred to the amendment to the Franchise Bill proposed by the hon. member for Stoke and seconded by the hon. member for Manchester, and whether he intended to refer to those hon. members as desiring to overload the Franchise Bill; and also whether he was aware that several leaders of the Conservative party have for years been doing their utmost to advocate female suffrage. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. GLADSTONE: I will answer that question now. (Ministerial cheers.) I think the report, as well as I can hear, is perfectly correct, and I did not refer to the proceedings of my hon. friend the member for Stoke, who evinced the sincerity of his conduct on that occasion by doing as he was quite entitled to do, what with his views he was bound to do, and what was very inconvenient to the Government and his party. I did not refer to the hon. member for Stoke, and I do not think any further answer will be necessary. (Cheers and "Oh, oh.")

Mr. TOMLINSON: I beg to call the right hon. gentleman's attention to the fact that he has not answered the last paragraph. (Cries of "Order.") I will put the question down on the paper. (Hear, hear.)

*October 24th.*

Mr. TOMLINSON asked the First Lord of the Treasury with reference to the following paragraph in the speech made by him on the platform of the Preston railway station on the 26th of September last, viz: "Well, I have shown that the Franchise Bill was a very simple measure, but everything was done by the Tories, whenever they could, to make it complicated. Why, what did they do? They tried to bring in a woman's franchise. What was the object of that? Do you suppose they were very fond of the woman's franchise? If they were so fond of a Woman's Franchise Bill, why did not they bring one in when they were in office for six years? No, gentlemen, their object was to weight the Franchise Bill, and make, as I have said, the ship carry such a cargo as to swamp it;" if he would state to what amendment to the Franchise Bill of last session he referred; and whether he was aware that many members of the Tory party, including some of the leaders, had supported female franchise for some years past.

Mr. GLADSTONE: I answered a portion of this question yesterday, and I am now asked if I will state to what amendment I referred. Perhaps I ought to say that on the occasion referred to the station at Preston was an absolute exception to all the other stations which I visited on my journey northwards. It was in a state of perfect chaos. My observations were very curt, and did not contain the

explanation on this matter which under other circumstances I might have been disposed to give. If the hon. gentleman had witnessed the chaos, I am sure he would be satisfied with the answer now given. I, of course, referred to the woman's suffrage debate, and to no other amendment.

Mr. TOMLINSON: To what amendment does the right hon. gentleman refer?

Mr. GLADSTONE: I have answered that question. I may also say that I am under the impression that some members of the Tory party, like a great many members of the Liberal party, are determined and convinced supporters of women's suffrage, quite apart from political exigencies.

#### MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT ON WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE AND THE FRANCHISE BILL.

##### THE POSTMASTER-GENERAL AT SHOREDITCH.

The Right Hon. H. Fawcett, M.P., and Mr. John Holms, M.P., addressed their constituents in Shoreditch Town Hall, on October 13th. In the course of his speech Mr. FAWCETT said:—

On occasions like these, when a constituency is asked to form a judgment on the conduct of their representatives, I think, at any rate, it may be more practically useful to refer to questions on which there may be, perhaps, some difference of opinion between us than to confine our consideration solely to those points on which I know there is complete agreement between us, and this being the case I think it is only fair some of you may reasonably expect that I should without reserve tell you the reasons which induced me during the last session on one important question which was raised on the Franchise Bill not to follow the course which was supported by almost all my colleagues in the Government and by a great majority of the Liberal party. You will probably remember that Mr. Gladstone, without opposing the principle of women's suffrage, made a strong appeal to his supporters to vote against the proposal which was brought forward by Mr. Woodall to enfranchise women householders. But Mr. Gladstone did not say a word to show that he was opposed to the enfranchisement of women. Although I recognise fully the obligation which such an appeal imposed on the Liberal party, and especially on the members of the Government, yet after mature consideration my opinion, both as to the expediency and justice of Mr. Woodall's proposal, was so strong that I felt it was absolutely impossible for me to oppose it by my vote. (Cheers.) In saying this nothing is farther from my intention than to question the perfect sincerity of the motives of many supporters of women's suffrage who adopted a different course. But, with every desire not to separate myself from my party, I could not bring myself to believe that the carrying of this amendment would have endangered the carrying of the Franchise Bill, or that if admission of qualified women to vote had been left an open question the Bill would have been imperilled. If a majority of the House of Commons had decided against it matters would have remained as they were. If a majority had accepted it, what reason is there to suppose that the Franchise Bill with this amendment in it would have been less acceptable to the House of Lords, and especially in view of the well known fact that some of the most influential Conservative peers have strongly advocated the enfranchisement of women? But if the Bill had been less acceptable to the Lords with this amendment in it the Lords might have rejected the amendment, and if they had done so I know no one who would have been so unreasonable as to have imperilled the Bill by insisting on the rejected amendment being restored. Search through the speeches that have been delivered in favour of the enfranchisement of the rural householder, and I say there is not an argument or an appeal that has been made which does not bring into striking relief the injustice of saying that no woman shall be admitted to any share in the government of her country. (Hear, hear.) How often have we heard it said, be just and fear not. Does this maxim apply only to men? On a thousand platforms we have declared that taxation and representation should go together, we have denounced the injustice that if war is being waged the agricultural labourer should have a portion of his hard-won earnings taken from him without any power of expressing his opinion on the policy for which he is taxed. Is it more just that women should be taxed without their consent? Have they a less severe struggle for existence? Are

their earnings so much more easily won that increased taxation means for them a less keenly felt sacrifice? There is not a subject which is discussed in Parliament in which women are not as deeply interested as men. (Hear, hear.) War not only brings to them its burdens, but it often brings the sorrow and the anguish of a desolated home; the widowed mother may be made childless, the sister may mourn a brother who will be seen no more. Social questions are probably likely to engage an increasing share of the attention of Parliament, and is there any social question in which women are not deeply concerned? Education is not a less priceless blessing to them than it is to men. If the Church is to be disestablished—(loud cheers)—the very intensity of the interest which you manifest shows that the wishes of women on such a question are entitled to the fullest consideration; if restrictions are imposed on their employment, are they to be deprived of all power of resistance if they believe that fresh difficulties will be thus thrown in the way of a woman earning her living by honest toil? I have said I think it is not less expedient than it is just that the claim of women to vote should be considered on its merits. I well remember Mr. Henley, who was the very embodiment of shrewd common sense, at the time when the Liberal party was involved in a labyrinth of proposals about a £6 rating and a £7 rental franchise, said, "Why don't you go to household suffrage at once? (Cheers.) You will have to go there sooner or later, and sooner is better than later." (Cheers and laughter.) These were the words of a Conservative, but they were the words of wisdom and sagacity. Depend upon it that the claim of women householders to vote will be so irresistible when the suffrage has been conferred upon every man who is a householder, however poor and uneducated he may be, that I believe the demand of women householders to be enfranchised will not rest until it is conceded. You will have to do it sooner or later, and sooner is better than later. (Hear, hear.) No one who watches the signs of the times can doubt that this demand will not alone be urged by women. As illustrating the amount of popular feeling in its favour, I may refer to the fact that at so representative a gathering of working men as the Trades' Union Congress, a resolution in support of women's suffrage was, much to their credit, a few weeks since passed with only three dissentients.

##### SIR HARDINGE GIFFARD, M.P., AT TORQUAY.

Sir HARDINGE S. GIFFARD, Q.C., M.P. for Launceston, in his annual address to the constituency on the evening of Saturday, October 4th, in the Central Subscription Room, said: Let me give one example of this subserviency of the present day. I am of opinion that women should vote in Parliamentary as well as municipal elections, and as far as I am concerned it is no new theory. (Cheers.) I maintained it when a member of Lord Beaconsfield's Government, and do so still. Mr. Stansfeld took the same view, and so did the present Postmaster-General (Mr. Fawcett) and Mr. Courtney. But what happened? I should like to call attention to what would be the inevitable result if the Franchise Bill were to be passed without this question being determined—the chance of not raising the question in twenty-five years if female suffrage were not included in the Bill. Mr. Woodall proposed a clause which would bring the franchise to female voters in other respects qualified. It is not a question whether they should be disqualified by reason of their sex, and I have never heard of any terrible consequences coming from females voting. You may have heard of terrible things in this borough; I have heard of some—(laughter)—but it has always been the doing of the males, not the females. (Laughter and cheers.) But what happened when Mr. Woodall's clause was proposed, why all those gentlemen who were pledged more than I was to female suffrage, although I voted for it in the last division, Mr. Gladstone gets up and prohibits their voting for it. Now where is the Caesarism, the Imperialism, the personal government? (Cheers.) With very few exceptions, like a flock of sheep, all did the bidding of the idol they fall down and worship. (Loud cheers.) So far there is an end of the matter, but was not that an example of the personal influence of the Prime Minister on a question which they were devoted to overwhelming the private opinions of his followers? (Loud cheers.) Will any gentleman give a parallel in the course of Lord Beaconsfield's Government? (No.) What is the result? Why, that a man of singular eloquence and power in influencing masses of men asks for renewed power by means of the Franchise Bill from the uneducated masses so that he shall be the dictator of the country.

##### COL. WALROND, M.P., AT TORQUAY.

At the inauguration of the Torquay St. Mary Church, and Cockington Conservative Working Men's Club, on Oct. 10th, Col. WALROND, M.P., said: He was perfectly convinced that when they again considered the Franchise Bill in the House of Commons at the end of next month, there would be a great deal of discussion, because the Conservatives would have an opportunity of bringing forward their grievances, and there were one or two matters connected with the measure which they should try to alter. One was a matter in which he took a great deal of interest, and that was the subject of female suffrage. He thought if they were going to admit two million capable citizens to the franchise, they ought also to admit to the same privilege females who paid rates and taxes. (Applause.) There was no doubt whatever that this proposal could have been carried in the present House of Commons if the Liberal party had been allowed to act independently. There were over 100 members of the Liberal party who had promised to support a motion in favour of female suffrage, but Mr. Gladstone made it a question of privilege, and then those 100 members put their principles in their pockets, and so the motion was lost. But Conservatives would bring on this question again during the autumn session, and would try and run the Government a little closer. (Hear, hear.)

##### MR. H. B. SAMUELSON, M.P., AT FROME.

On October 7th, at a soirée and demonstration in connection with the Frome and District Liberal Association and Club, Mr. H. B. SAMUELSON, M.P., in moving the second resolution, said: He congratulated the organisers of that meeting on having secured such a large attendance of those who doubled life's pleasures—the ladies. (Applause.) He had always noticed in that borough what an intelligent interest was taken in political affairs by the fair sex, and that was a fact which they were not unwise in showing, because they were certainly as much interested in the welfare of the country as the men were. (Applause.) He only wished that the time had arrived when those who shared the burdens of the State by paying taxes might also have a direct share in the representation. (Hear, hear, and renewed applause.)

##### MR. GEORGE ELLIOT, M.P., AT NORTHALLERTON.

On October 15th, at a crowded meeting of Conservatives in the Town Hall, Northallerton, in support of the action of the House of Lords in approving the extension of household suffrage, but insisting that the measure should be accompanied by redistribution, Mr. GEO. ELLIOT, member for the borough, said: One matter in connection with the franchise was the right of women to vote. Whilst he would not go for every woman to have a vote, hundreds of thousands of them were doing men's work. They had no trades unions, as the men had, and it was unfair and unjust that these women should be unrepresented, therefore his advice was, give these women votes. (Loud cheers.)

##### MR. THOMASSON, M.P., AT CHORLEY.

At a Radical demonstration in support of the Government, held at Chorley, Lancashire, on October 13th, Mr. THOMASSON, M.P., who was one of the speakers, in concluding his address, reminded the meeting that there were women householders in the country fulfilling all their obligations who equally with the men were entitled to the suffrage. (Loud cheers.)

##### COL. KINGSCOTE, M.P., AT WOTTON-UNDER-EDGE.

At a Reform demonstration at Wotton-under-Edge, Col. KINGSCOTE, M.P., in supporting a resolution, said: He was delighted to see so large an assembly, and glad to see ladies present. (Voice: "Women's rights.") He had not voted for the ladies yet, but it might come to that. (Hear, hear.)

##### NOTTINGHAM TOWN COUNCIL.

###### WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

At an adjourned special meeting of the Town Council, held at the Exchange on October 18th,

Mr. YOUNG moved "That petitions be prepared in favour of the extension of the franchise to women, and when prepared sealed with the common seal of the corporation, and presented to both Houses of Parliament." Everyone who had heard the arguments in favour of the extension of the franchise must feel that those

arguments applied equally to women householders. Every extension of the franchise did women greater injustice. Many wrongs under which women laboured would have been removed years ago if they had been directly represented in Parliament. Birmingham, Manchester, and Leeds had already petitioned in favour of the disabilities under which women laboured. Mr. Young went on to speak of what he considered the unfairness of the divorce laws, and to state that the extension of the franchise which he advocated would add to the roll five hundred thousand electors, or one woman to every seven men.

In answer to the Mayor, Mr. YOUNG said he only wished the petition to advocate the extension of the franchise to women who possessed the present household qualification.

The motion was seconded by Mr. LOVERSEED, and supported by Alderman BURTON, who urged that if women were not to be represented they should be exempted from taxation.

Mr. COWEN also supported the proposal, instancing the unfair working of the Factory Acts, and the fact that Sir Richard Cross, while receiving deputations from bodies of working men, declined to see any from working women.

The proposition was adopted without dissent.

#### CONSERVATIVE ASSOCIATIONS.

##### CARLISLE.

At a meeting of the Carlisle Conservative Association, held on September 19th, it was unanimously resolved, "That the Parliamentary franchise should be extended to all women who possess the qualifications which entitle men to vote."

##### BATLEY CARR.

At a meeting of the Batley Carr Conservative Club the subject of the franchise for women was recently debated at considerable length. It was ultimately arranged by resolution that the club would get up a petition to Parliament in favour of the object.

##### SUNDERLAND.

At a meeting of the Sunderland Habitation (No. 255) of the Primrose League, held on September 22nd, 1884, it was unanimously resolved, "That in the opinion of this habitation the exclusion of duly qualified women from the franchise is unjust to them, and the injustice ought to be removed by immediate legislation." (Signed) Henry Kitson, Ruling Councillor.

##### WAKEFIELD.

A letter from the Women's Suffrage Society was laid before the Committee of the Wakefield Conservative Club, who, in reply, intimated their approval of the object, and undertook to promote a petition in its favour.

##### WEST HARTLEPOOL.

The Committee of the West Hartlepool Conservative Club, in response to a letter asking their support to the extension of the franchise to women, decided to take action in favour of the object when the subject again came before Parliament.

##### LOUTH.

At a meeting of the Louth Conservative and Constitutional Association and Club, held on October 1st, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:—"That in the opinion of this association it is highly desirable that in any extension of the franchise duly qualified women should be included."

##### NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.

A circular from the Manchester National Association for Women's Suffrage was laid before the Walker Conservative Association, Newcastle, on October 2nd. In reply they directed the hon. secretary to say that the cause advocated had their entire sympathies and that they would do all in their power to advocate and assist the same. A petition from the district would be undertaken by the association.

##### HALIFAX.

At a meeting of the King Cross Conservative Club, held on October 6th, the following resolution was adopted:—"That the

exclusion of duly qualified women from the franchise is a great injustice, particularly in face of the proposed increase of the electorate."

#### HUDDERSFIELD.

The following petition has been adopted by the central council of the Huddersfield Working Men's Conservative Association:—

"To the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled:

"The humble petition of the members of the central council of the Huddersfield Conservative Association

"Sheweth,

"1. That your petitioners are the representatives of twenty-five distinct wards or districts within the borough of Huddersfield.

"2. That this petition is formed in accordance with a resolution passed on the 14th day of October, 1884, at a meeting of the above council, which consists of seventy-two members.

"3. That, in view of the addition of 2,000,000 to the electorate, your petitioners are of opinion and now respectfully represent that the exclusion of duly qualified women from the Parliamentary franchise is both unjust and unwise. And, further, that the conferring upon women possessing the necessary qualification of the power to exercise the Parliamentary franchise will be found to be a source of strength and conducive to the best interests and welfare of the country at large.

"That your petitioners therefore humbly pray that means may be adopted to secure the insertion in the Representation of the People Bill of a clause to confer upon duly qualified women the right so justly theirs of exercising the Parliamentary franchise. And your petitioners will ever pray, &c.

"Signed on behalf of the central council of the Huddersfield Working Men's Conservative Association,

"CHARLES WILLIAM KEIGHLEY, President.  
"ROBERT WELSH, Secretary."

#### HAMMERSMITH.

At a meeting of the Council of the Hammersmith and Shepherd's Bush Conservative Association a letter addressed to the president was submitted, and Mr. W. F. Ainsworth, chairman, was instructed to enclose the same to the secretary of the Working Men's Conservative Club, requesting that petitions in favour of women's suffrage be drawn up and that they should receive the support of the association. The club was referred to as the most numerous body.

#### UXBRIDGE.

At the annual general meeting of the Uxbridge branch of the Middlesex Conservative Association, held on October 23rd, it was resolved, with one dissident:—"That petitions to both Houses of Parliament in favour of women's suffrage be signed."

#### CHELSEA.

A letter relating to the franchise for women was submitted, having been laid before the executive committee of the Borough of Chelsea Conservative Association. Mr. Gray, the secretary, was instructed to say that the committee sympathised with the object, and will further it to the best of their ability as circumstances may admit.

#### KINGSTON-ON-THAMES.

At a meeting of the committee of the Kingston-on-Thames and District Working Men's Conservative Association a resolution in favour of the enfranchisement of women was adopted, and it was resolved to petition Parliament in favour of the object.

#### CAMBRIDGE.

The committee of the Junior Conservative Club, Cambridge, have authorised the use of their name in any way as being in favour of women's suffrage. They have already passed a resolution on the subject this year.

#### LEICESTER.

The committee of the Working Men's Conservative Club, Leicester, in response to an application, assure the Women's Suffrage Society of the sympathy and support of the club in their movement, and offer their services in assisting the promotion of the movement for the extension of the franchise to women.

### LIBERAL ASSOCIATIONS.

#### PLYMOUTH.

On Thursday, October 23rd, at a meeting of the Plymouth Working Men's Liberal Association, the following resolution was passed unanimously:—"That in the opinion of this meeting the exclusion of duly qualified women from the Parliamentary franchise is unjust to those excluded and injurious to the welfare of the nation at large."

#### HOVE.

At a meeting of Hove Liberals, in connection with the Brighton Liberal Council, Mr. J. Thornton Hoskins, who presided, moved the following resolution, which was agreed to:—"That this meeting respectfully requests Her Majesty's Government to encourage Liberal representatives to vote in accordance with their own unbiased conceptions of right and wrong, should the question of enfranchising women householders be raised in Committee on the Franchise Bill; that if the House of Lords, on its own initiative, carry an amendment in favour of that limited concession to the principle of woman suffrage, this meeting earnestly desires its acceptance by the House of Commons, in deference to general considerations of justice and of the importance of nourishing public spirit amongst persons morally responsible for the guardianship of the young, and also on account of the impropriety of excluding 'capable citizens' from unobtrusive political duties, which they would fulfil with unalloyed advantage to themselves, and for the benefit of the whole community."

#### BRISTOL.

At the mass meeting of Liberals on Durdham Down, Bristol, on October 18, the motto "Justice to all," exhibited by the Women's Liberal Association, was seen among the display made by the division comprising the Bedminster and Redcliff Wards. As the procession passed up Park-street no one could have failed to see the big-lettered appeals which the advocates of women's suffrage had suspended across the road—"Lend a hand to 800,000 women." A few well-known members of the ladies' association occupied seats in an overlooking window, and as they cheered those below by waving their handkerchiefs, the pedestrians returned the compliment by waving their hats and heartily hurrahing for those who have so long worked in the interests of women householders.

#### DEVONPORT AND STONEHOUSE.

On October 27th Miss J. G. Wilkinson gave an address, entitled "Women and Politics," to the Devonport and Stonehouse Junior Liberal Association. After the address the following resolution was unanimously carried:—"That in the opinion of this meeting the exclusion of duly qualified women from the Parliamentary franchise is unjust to those excluded and injurious to the welfare of the nation at large."

### PUBLIC MEETINGS.

#### ENGLAND.

##### HALIFAX.

##### ADDRESS BY MR. STANSFELD, M.P.

On October 20th, a meeting of ladies was held in the room of the Sunday School Institute, Mechanics' Hall, Halifax. Mr. THOMAS SHAW, M.P., presided, and the room was full.

The CHAIRMAN assured his audience that he felt proud of his position as chairman of that meeting, one reason being that it was a women's suffrage meeting, and another reason was that they were met to hear such eminent ladies as Mrs. Scatcherd, of Leeds, and Miss Tod, of Belfast. In the eyes of those ladies he felt that he was rather under a ban, because he had not shown the courage of his convictions by supporting Mr. Woodall's amendment to the Franchise Bill last session. Still, along with many other genuine supporters of Mr. Woodall's resolution, he considered it his first duty to loyally support the Government; at the same time, he hoped his future action on that question would commend itself to their minds, for he was a firm supporter of women's suffrage. (Applause.)

Mrs. Scatcherd, of Leeds, then addressed the meeting, and

moved, "That the principle of the present Franchise Bill ought to be extended to all householders—women as well as men."

Miss TOD, of Belfast, said there was a large number of people affected by the disadvantage of a want of representation; there was not one woman or girl throughout the three kingdoms who was not worse for being in that position. In reply to a statement by Mr. Bright, she said they did not look upon themselves as a class, but as half of the nation. Women householders would also represent married women as well as their own class. She pointed out that by far the larger part of women's work was done without any payment whatever. The great mass of the wealth of the world, including the comforts and refinements of life, was made up by the work of both men and women. It was not that a man earned the money and women distributed it. She asked what would be the reduction of a man's wages if he had to get his own meals ready, clean the house, get the children off to school, do the washing and so forth. If women did this work it should be counted as women's earnings. There were in England 370 female blacksmiths, 9,138 women employed in nail making, 10,592 engaged in binding books, and 2,302 employed in printing them. In intellectual occupations there were a great many women. There were 123,995 teachers, who were training the future citizens of our State, and there were engaged as missionaries and preachers 7,162. There were in the Civil Service perhaps 3,260 women. There were 1,180 painters, 1,000 students, 64 engravers, 37,910 engaged in medical and surgical and nursing work, 452 in writing books, and 1,309 in various departments of photography. There were 20,000 women farmers in England and 60,000 in Ireland. Seeing that women had so great an interest in the country, both material and moral, the representation could not be complete until they were admitted to the suffrage; and if women were left out of the franchise, it would not only be an injury to women, but to the whole community. (Applause.)

The Right Hon. J. STANSFELD, M.P., who was cordially received, said they had heard lately that the question of the right of women householders to vote was a new question, and was not ripe for legislation. That statement was a kind of half truth. It was not true as a matter of fact, for the agitation had been proceeding for seventeen years. But in one sense it was true. He would like to say a word about the extraordinary progress which was made during the last seventeen years, in the public and parliamentary mind, and the best indication he could give was this. When Mr. Woodall's amendment was moved in the House of Commons, last session of Parliament, it needed the interposition of the Prime Minister to prevent such a Liberal vote in its favour as might possibly have added it to the Bill. That progress had been assisted by progress of women in other fields. Women now had forced their way, not within the walls of the Universities, but they were enabled in the London University to take degrees with young men; they had made their way in the medical profession, and he had had much to do with the measure enabling them to take this advance. Women had been and were still advancing all along the line. When he was president of the Poor Law Board, he appointed a woman to be a poor law inspector. He had to judge how best to conduct institutions in which women, children, and infants were gathered together, and he said it was folly to expect him to see through the eyes of men alone; they wanted the assistance of women in matters of this kind, and he called in the assistance of a woman. In another matter in which he had borne the labouring oar, women had assisted in that, and acts which were extremely obnoxious to the religious sentiment of the country were suspended, condemned, and certain to be repealed. Mr. Stansfeld proceeded to argue that women had a right to be heard on the labour question, on temperance, education, &c., and said it was really monstrous that men—only one-half of the community—should be passing laws concerning the other half, who had no say with regard to these laws. He believed in representative principles really; some people believed in them, but not really. If they would have household suffrage throughout the country, he did not understand how they should stop short at men and not include women. He did not mean to say that the right of women to the franchise had been accepted as part of the Liberal creed. It had been very largely accepted in Liberal constituencies, but it had not been adopted as part of the creed of orthodox Liberalism, though he contended it was involved in the principle of Liberalism. If it had not been adopted it was because Liberals had not given their mind to the subject, and it was impossible, on the ground of principle, to refuse the vote to women house-

holders if they granted it to men. When the Franchise Bill came before the House of Commons he had two things to consider. First of all, it was his duty as a Liberal to do nothing to damage or endanger the passing of the Franchise Bill; and secondly, his duty was, as far as he could, to take care that the introduction of the Franchise Bill and its passing, excluding women, should not damage or endanger, so far as he could prevent or avoid it, the cause of female suffrage, of the justice of which he was deeply convinced. He was guided by those two views, and with a sense of a double duty he believed he reconciled the two. (Applause.) In his opinion, if Mr. Woodall's motion had been withdrawn, and if the Franchise Bill had been allowed to pass without a word on the part of the women's cause, it would have been thrown back for a considerable time, and its leaders would have been stamped with the stamp of cowardice. In his opinion it was an absolute duty to that cause that some one should make a claim for them, that some one should enter a protest against their exclusion. (Applause.) He took that course, and, in doing so, he believed he did his duty. (Hear, hear.) He was perfectly certain he did no damage to the Franchise Bill, of which he was as ardent a supporter as any man. He would be guided by the same principle in future. The necessity for that double duty might never occur again. The Franchise Bill would be passed, and the women's claim might not arise until that had become part of the law of the land. When that took place then the women's cause would have obtained a new vantage ground. From the passing of the Franchise Bill it would become a question of practical politics. Henceforth the agitation would be more real in character, the friends of the agitation would be more strictly known and more reliable. Men and women alike were more determined that the question should become one of practical politics, and if they could, they would carry it into law. It might become a party question. Questions of practical politics were apt to become party questions. He hoped it might never be necessary to make it a party question, but the advocates of it were bound henceforth to do their duty to it. It was no longer an academic question. They were bound to push it in the House of Commons and out of the House. There were men on both sides of the House who from various reasons were coming more and more to the conviction that the enfranchisement of women householders would be an act alike of national justice and national expedience, and he was pretty strongly inclined to believe that before very long the enfranchisement would be accomplished with the consent of men of both parties in the State. (Applause.)

The resolution was passed.

Miss MULLER (member of the London School Board) proposed that a petition to both Houses of Parliament, embodying the principle of the previous resolution, be signed by the chairman.

Mrs. BLAKEY seconded the motion, which was carried. The meeting concluded with the usual votes of thanks.

#### STANNINGLEY REFORM CLUB.

The members of the Stanningley Reform Club on October 11th held a tea and public meeting in the clubrooms in favour of woman's suffrage. The attendance at the meeting was good. Mr. C. Dobbis, of Stanningley, presided, and gave a short address.—The first resolution, which was submitted to the meeting by Mrs. Scatcherd, of Leeds, invited women to take more interest in municipal questions, believing that the health, happiness, and prosperity of the people would be benefited thereby.—Mrs. Sunley seconded, and it was carried.—The second resolution, "That, in the opinion of this meeting, women who pay rates and taxes ought to have a vote for members of Parliament," was proposed by Mrs. Eva M'Laren (Poor-law Guardian), of Bradford.—Miss Ford (Leeds) seconded the resolution.—Mr. Henry Smith and Ald. Firth also spoke in support of the resolution, both these gentlemen, along with the chairman, favouring the admission of women as members of the club.—The resolution was carried unanimously.

#### LAUNCESTON.

##### SPEECH OF SIR HARDINGE GIFFARD, M.P.

On the evening of Tuesday, October 14th, a public meeting in support of the Parliamentary franchise to women householders and ratepayers was held in the Central Subscription Room, Launceston. There was a crowded attendance, the audience consisting to a great extent of ladies of the town and neighbourhood. The MAYOR (Mr. Treleaven) presided.

The MAYOR said women already voted at elections for school boards and town councils, and in his experience he found that they came forward nobly to exercise the right of voting to the best of their ability, and he had no doubt they would exercise the Parliamentary franchise with equal fidelity. (Hear, hear.) As there were many speakers to address the meeting he would not detain them with further remarks, but call on Dr. Ralph to move the first resolution. (Applause.)

Dr. RALPH, Principal of Dunheved College, who was cordially received, said the fact that the question of conferring the franchise on women could be brought forward for public discussion was a remarkable sign of the times. They were moving much faster than men did long ago on the lines which tended to the development of the race. Every State in an improving condition was marked by two things, the cultivation of the individual or the national life. The Greek nation was remarkable because the individual man was cultivated in a way never seen elsewhere. The Romans suppressed the cultivation of the individual in the development of the nation. It belonged to these times to combine them both. As the individual became more prominent in modern life in science, religion, and other things, it became a necessary part of it that woman should come more to the front. (Hear, hear.) Some might think that was a misfortune, and that woman should be kept behind the storm of life because it was a sphere for which she was unfitted. But that notion was getting antiquated, and the fact of that meeting and their presence there to hear Sir Hardinge Giffard and Miss Wilkinson spoke of the rising of the tide of public opinion. What the promoters of this movement desired was the increase of public opinion. They did not think they could get its influence so much felt as to get the franchise immediately granted to women, but it would be exerted so far as to make it felt that it was a grievous injustice to women not to be entitled to vote, although as well qualified to do so as men were. (Cheers.) The real injustice of the thing was founded on old feudal notions. In ancient days the boy and the woman were alike held to be unfitted for public affairs, because the great business of the State involved the going into battle. It was a happy circumstance that owing to the influence of Christianity conflicts in the State at the present day did not resolve themselves into the great question of war, but there were other matters of great national and social importance to be discussed. (Cheers.)

Sir Hardinge Giffard here entered the room, accompanied by Lady Giffard, Judge Giffard, and others, their arrival being greeted by a loud outburst of cheering.

Dr. Ralph, resuming, remarked that he was saying that while in ancient days one of the most important functions attached to men was that of being called into the field to fight, but happily in modern times a large part of the life of individuals did not consist in going to war. (Hear, hear.) They had, it was true, conflicts, unfortunately, but women had power to engage in them in such a way as to ameliorate some of its evils. If it was said that women could not take part in actual war, there was a part which they took in it very ungrudgingly and devotedly. To refuse women the franchise was an act of injustice. When the American colonies fought for liberty one great reason of their doing so was that they were being taxed when they were not represented in Parliament. Five hundred thousand women in England to-day were being taxed for the support of the State, and were called to bear burdens without having any voice in public matters. Our kinsmen in America, and they were not many more than those interested in this question to-day, fought because of the principle involved; and the women of the present day and the men who supported them in the endeavour to obtain those rights of representation to which they were entitled, were also going on the same principle. (Cheers.) Dr. Ralph concluded by moving the following resolution:—"That in the opinion of this meeting the exclusion of duly qualified women from the Parliamentary franchise is unjust to them as individuals and injurious to the welfare of the nation at large."

Sir H. S. GIFFARD, who was received with loud cheers, said he had the satisfaction, in seconding the resolution, to know that the subject was one with reference to which what were called party politics were not divided into sharp and angular lines. (Hear, hear.) But while on his side in politics there were many who took the same view as he did, there were on the other side persons who took a different view. They might take part in the proceedings of that evening without being stamped as belonging to one political

party or the other, and it gave them the great advantage of speaking their own minds on the question, as neither would win or lose by what was said. (Hear, hear.) He was, occasionally, a strong party man, and he did not deny the imputation—(laughter, and hear, hear)—but they might meet and discuss a question on that occasion in the desire to find out the truth and not seek a mere party advantage. (Hear, hear.) The resolution proposed so ably by his excellent friend Dr. Ralph asserted that the alteration in the law would be a just one. If they could convince their fellow-countrymen that the alteration would be just they need not trouble themselves any more, because on that principle the whole business of the State was conducted. He was really surprised that they were not overwhelmed by the declaration that taxation without representation was tyranny. (Hear, hear.) He was not prepared to go quite so far as that, but it was a good argument that because you tax women and women's property they should have the exercise of the franchise. What was the answer to the argument? It was said in answer to the statement that they were not represented, that they were represented by their husbands. (Laughter.) But they did not all get husbands—(laughter)—and they hadn't all got brothers, and they hadn't all those who stood in the relation of those who protected their interests. That was an obvious answer. (Hear, hear.) Then it was said there was such a feeling among mankind that the interests of women would be represented even in their absence, and might safely be committed to a body of English politicians, who would not neglect them. That was a delightful proposition—(laughter)—but it was wrong to go on the assumption that no reason could be offered. If so no law would be necessary, and one profession (the law) would not be needed. (Laughter.) That was the *a priori* aspect of the matter. But was it true? It would go a long way, but he was bound to say that in many things the position of men and women was not equal, and the difference was not in favour of what was called the weaker sex. There was some difficulty in discussing this in a mixed audience, but he would only throw out blanks which they might fill up themselves. In conjugal matters the law made distinctions which were not warranted by the Christian religion nor by the principles of abstract justice. (Hear, hear.) Until recently the law made distinctions which were both irrational and unjust. There were laws in practical operation which were not equal. But let him come to the argument in the matter, the statement to which his friend had referred, that the exercise of the franchise would unsex women. If he thought that he would be the last person to be in favour of any alteration in the law which would have such an effect. But what was that solemn and wonderful thing called politics? If it involved deeds of violence, evil speaking and slander, envy, hatred and malice, and all uncharitableness, he quite agreed that women should not meddle with it—nor should men either. (Laughter, and hear, hear.) But in politics, which in etymological science comprehended the whole science and practice of human life, there were included the consideration of what was right and those finer aspects of humanity, which involved the relations of parties, which were not governed by laws, but by a finer tone of feeling. Why should not women have that influence which would enable them to show what in their opinion was right or wrong? (Hear, hear.) They were got into the way of using the term politics in an exceptional sense, and it had come to mean in some cases that if you disagreed with a person he must throw a stone at you or make use of violent and abusive language. That was not the true view of politics at all, but that which enabled people to say what they thought would be best for the welfare of the whole of the State. (Cheers.) If women were asked to subscribe to a bank or a railway would they say that they would not have the right to vote with reference to their management? Why then in politics should they exclude women whose influence would certainly tend to make things better, and certainly not to make them worse. (Cheers.) He saw no reason why women should not join in politics. That taking part in public affairs would vulgarise them was contrary to experience. They all knew that women voted in municipal affairs, and could any one point out where in any case the effect had been bad? (Hear, hear.) He had heard of some questionable things being done in municipal affairs, but he did not think it was by women. (Laughter.) As a rule they were orderly and intelligent, and they paid taxes to the State. Why then should they be excluded from the franchise? (Cheers.) His ideal of public life was that woman should have a particular influence on it and give tone to the nation.

The best men admitted that the best lessons they learned were at the mother's knee. (Cheers.) But the circumstances of the time were such that women were found acting as capable citizens, earning their own living, without aid from the masculine element, and one of the strongest arguments in favour of the present movement was that they had a large industrial class of persons without representation. Was that right or just? (No.) If it applied to classes of the other sex would not every one be up in arms about it? It was good to make an admission and say that he had never seen a wonderful difference in the intelligence of men and women, and he was bound to say that sometimes he was struck by the fact that the difference was in favour of the women. (Laughter and cheers.) As to politics, it was said that women would talk; and so would men. (Laughter.) As a member of that distinguished talking assembly the House of Commons he did not think they would have had more talk there if all the members had been ladies. (Laughter.) If women had a right to be represented what was the argument to prevent their exercise of the right of being represented? He knew that some of his friends, and among them the Attorney General, had pictured the farce of listening to a "shrieking sisterhood." He (Sir. H. Giffard) had had occasion to protest against the use of such language before. If it was intended to hold up any person to ridicule, could it not be done in such a way as to make any person appear ridiculous? As to the agricultural labourer, for instance, whose interests had become one of the questions of the day, would it not be possible to depict him in such a way as to make him appear ridiculous as deciding obtuse questions of State? Let them picture an agricultural labourer deciding the momentous questions of war and peace. (Hear, hear.) Although they did exclude people on account of sex, they did not on the score of ignorance, and special machinery was employed for such cases. The claims of classes of people to vote were not to be decided by ridicule of that sort. It was not right to take particular persons who might occupy prominent positions and fasten on them the violence and extravagances of other people. It was idle to talk of excluding persons because a picture might be raised, of Mrs. A. and Mrs. B. addressing the House of Commons and not being of the most amiable or good-looking description. Questions of that sort were beneath the dignity of the thing altogether; the real question was one of truth, justice, and right. (Cheers.) He had discussed the question of women being unsexed by voting, and of their being unable to do so with a due exercise of reason and common sense, an argument which appeared to rest on no adequate reason. It was said that boys did not vote, and they did not want them to do so. Let them not be misled by sophistry of that sort. Women did not fight? Was that a reason for excluding them? In England they had voluntary soldiers, and neither did his excellent friend or himself fight, but preferred to pay others to do so, and paid them badly too sometimes. (Laughter, and hear, hear.) But that was by the way. What argument of any reason or weight was applicable to that? Did they take the vote from any man who was physically disabled? Was a man of sixty disqualified on account of his age? Did they make the qualification a physical one? It was the merest colourable pretence to say that because women did not fight in the field therefore they were not entitled to vote. They can pay for others to do so as in old time, and what right had anyone to say they should not? In fact they did pay for others to do so. If they meant to say that in case of some great public necessity women were not competent to take their part, all history was against such a contention, and there were many examples of women being equal to men in times of danger, and in point of endurance, which was the highest form of courage, women were quite equal to men. (Hear, hear.) The resolution affirmed that the exclusion of women from the franchise was unjust, and that an alteration in the law was desirable; under these circumstances he would second the resolution with the utmost pleasure. He was only sorry that he had not heard Dr. Ralph from the beginning of his address, as what he said was always so sound, solid, and full of good sense. He heartily concurred in the resolution which he begged to second. (Loud cheers.)

Miss WILKINSON, who attended as a deputation, said she came to address the meeting, not from pleasure, but something more—duty. Allusion had been made to physical reasons why women were not entitled to vote, but for her part she would rather go into a fight than suffer at home. At every victory the cry was heard, "Has my husband or my son fallen?" Women had more interest than

any other person in war, because her whole heart went out into the conflict, and she also had to help to provide the sinews of war, besides being left behind to bring up the fatherless children until they reached the age of manhood. (Hear, hear.) Men said they would represent women; but what were the rights of women? Why only so much as were given to them by their husbands. Wherever there was a domestic dispute the father had the right to take charge of the children. That was a man-made law, and the injustice of a law was not known until it was felt. Only those who wore the shoe knew where it pinched. (Hear, hear.) It was said that women could not go out to work to earn a living; the fact was that men did not want them to do so. She held that where there was but one loaf the woman had a right to half of it. (Hear, hear.) It was said that it was bad for a woman to be out late at work, but whether it was right or wrong they were allowed to work for so many hours, but at home a woman might work at washing until two in the morning. (Laughter.) In certain trades where men and women worked, the men would ask the member of Parliament to try and stop the women from working, and such men were listened to because they had a vote. Parliament had passed the Married Women's Property Bill and the Infants Bill, but these were only small instalments, and in reality arose from this movement. (Hear, hear.) As to the laws affecting morality, when a certain Bill came before the House of Lords she thought that the men had made themselves out to be very bad. She was not married herself—(laughter)—but she must say she had no idea that men were going to make themselves so utterly bad as they had. The argument was that men were tempted and they would therefore put the Bill aside, and that it would punish the women and not the men, and that although the Bill might pass the Lords it would not pass the Commons. So they saw that women must have different laws to men, that men might go "scot free." Laws would not be made equal until women were enfranchised. They did not ask for the suffrage because of the attainments of Queen Bess, Miss Herschell, or other ladies, but as a question of right. She appealed to women not to rest satisfied until the right to vote was conceded to them. The suffrage would not unsex women; that could only be done by their own actions. It remained with women to decide the question. Very often they had finer sensibilities than men, and possessed equal capabilities, and therefore they asked to be allowed to represent themselves. (Cheers.)

The resolution was declared carried unanimously amid cheers.

The "Song of the National Society for the Women's Suffrage" was then sung by a choir, Mr. C. H. Hayman leading with a harmonium. The song was encored.

Rev. J. BAMFORD moved a resolution requesting Messrs. Borlase and Acland to present a petition to the House of Commons in favour of female suffrage, and support its prayer, the petition to be signed by the Mayor on behalf of the meeting.

This was seconded by Mr. R. PETER, Carboth Villa, and carried unanimously.

The proceedings closed with votes of thanks to Sir Hardinge Giffard and the Chairman, and by singing the National Anthem.

#### TAVISTOCK.

A public meeting was held in the Guildhall, Tavistock, on 22nd October, in support of the extension of the Parliamentary franchise to women. Mr. J. J. DAW, J.P., Portreeve, presided. There was a large attendance.

The CHAIRMAN, in opening the meeting, said it gave him great pleasure to take the chair that night. When he was first asked to do so he did not exactly see his way clear to do it. He had, however, thought the matter over, and he should go as far as he could in supporting the ladies in the object they were seeking to attain. (Applause.)

The Rev. C. SHERGALD (Congregationalist) moved the first resolution, to the effect "That, in the opinion of the meeting, the exclusion of duly qualified women from the Parliamentary franchise was unjust to those excluded and injurious to the welfare of the nation at large."

Miss J. G. WILKINSON, of London, and who was the representative of the London Upholsteresses at the recent Trades Union Congress, seconded the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

Mr. W. WINNEY moved that a petition to Parliament based on the foregoing resolution should be adopted, and that a memorial be sent to Lord Arthur Russell, M.P. for the borough, and also to the

members of the county, urging their support in favour of the enfranchisement of duly qualified women.

Mr. T. W. GREENFIELD seconded, and Miss SPENDER supported the motion, which was carried *nem. con.*

A vote of thanks to the chairman closed the meeting.

#### ATHERTON.

A public meeting was held at Atherton, 21st October, under the auspices of the Atherton and Tyldesley Branch of the British Women's Temperance Association, at which Miss Tod (Belfast) delivered an address on the duty of women to claim the electoral franchise. Mrs. Frankland presided; and Mr. Wright, J.P., Mr. Abraham Burrows, J.P., and Rev. Mr. Dyer took part in the meeting, which was unanimous and cordial.

A drawing-room meeting in connection with the above society was held, 23rd October, by invitation of Mrs. Southworth, West-houghton, at which Miss Tod, Mrs. Carter Hollins, and several other ladies spoke on the great importance of the social questions which cannot be rightly legislated for until duly qualified women are enfranchised.

#### TYLDESLEY.

A public meeting was held at Tyldesley, in the Temperance Hall, on the evening of 23rd October, Mrs. Burrows presiding, at which Miss Tod delivered an address on temperance, and the special duties of temperance workers to the women's suffrage cause. Mr. Wright, J.P., Mr. Diggle, and Mr. Dean also took part in the meeting.

#### SCOTLAND.

##### PUBLIC MEETINGS.

##### GREAT MEETING IN DUNDEE.

A public meeting in favour of the extension of the franchise to female householders was held on October 24th, in the Kinnaird Hall, Dundee. There was a full attendance, the galleries and orchestra being crowded, as well as the body of the hall. The majority of the audience were women. Provost MONCUR presided, and was supported on the platform by Mrs. Oliver Scatcherd, Leeds; Miss Florence Balmorie, Scarborough; Mrs. McCormick, Manchester; Miss Wigham, Mrs. Forbes, Miss A. Paterson, and Miss Kirkland, Edinburgh; Mrs. Moncur, Mrs. Henderson, Mrs. Walker, and Mrs. James Steel, Dundee; the Rev. Professor Lindsay, Glasgow; the Rev. C. M. Grant, the Rev. James Ewing, the Rev. David Macrae, Professor Gilray; Bailies Hunter, Norrie, and Doig; Dean of Guild Henderson, Councillors Smith and Adamson, Messrs. John Robertson, P. G. Walker, W. D. Latto, Charles Scott, James Logie, J. Steel, &c.

The Provost, in opening the proceedings, expressed the satisfaction it gave him to be present at the meeting, and went on to say: How does this matter stand in the country and in Parliament, and what are its prospects of success? The question has been before the country for seventeen years—in fact, since the last Reform Bill was passed giving household suffrage in burghs. At that time many thought it should have been household suffrage in reality, and that women householders should not have been excepted. Thereupon an agitation began with the object of removing this disability, and the movement spread with wonderful rapidity. Again and again has the question been brought before Parliament, and, though at first it received little support, latterly it has met with much favour from both sides of the House. Some sixteen months ago 110 supporters of the Government declared in a memorial that no new Reform Bill would be complete which did not recognise the rights of women householders. (Hear, hear.) Shortly thereafter a resolution to the same effect moved in the House of Commons was lost by only sixteen votes. On the 10th of June last Mr. Woodall, M.P. (who last night gave notice of a Bill on the subject), moved in committee that a new clause extending the franchise to duly qualified women householders should be inserted in the Franchise Bill. Up to the last moment it appeared as if this clause was to be carried, as it had many supporters among Liberals and Conservatives alike; but, if I may so express myself, Mr. Gladstone "put his foot in it," and perhaps not unwisely, as it turned out. He did not condemn the principle of the clause, which is important, but he thought it highly inexpedient. ("Hear, hear," and laughter.) I quite approve of that "hear, hear." (Renewed laughter.) Mr. Gladstone did not think the Franchise Bill should be weighted with such a clause. In fact, he distinctly stated that he dis-

claimed all responsibility for the measure if this clause were inserted in it. He said, "The cargo the vessel carries is in our opinion" (*i.e.*, the opinion of the Government) "a cargo as large as she can carry with safety." This opinion seemed to have been well founded, as the vessel has run aground at the mouth of the harbour. (Laughter.) Whether it is because the ship is too deep in the water, or because the bar has silted up and needs dredging out, I won't say, (Laughter.) Although the settlement of this question is deferred there is every reason to be hopeful. Mr. Gladstone admits that it deserves full consideration. He also admits that several members of the Government are "friendly to the proposal," and we know that not only are there a large number of Liberals favourable to it, but many Conservatives as well, including Sir Stafford Northcote. Altogether we have every reason to hope that the movement will ere long meet with that success which it deserves. (Applause.) I repeat which it deserves, for surely if taxation and representation go together the female taxpayer ought to be represented as well as the male taxpayer. (Hear, hear.) If we have household suffrage the woman householder should have a vote as well as the man householder. Both have it as regards the election of school boards and town councils; why not as regards the election of members of Parliament? One objector says, "But women don't want the franchise!" Has that been proved? Possibly it may be true as regards some; but that is no good reason for withholding it from the many who do wish it. Give the vote to all, and let those who don't want it stay at home on the polling day. A second objector says, "To give women a vote is but the thin end of the wedge," as by and by, according to the *Spectator* of last Saturday, they will demand to be admitted "into Parliament and Ministries, and heaven knows what unsuitable positions." (Laughter.) My answer to that is this: If it is right and just to give women householders a vote, let justice be done though the heavens should fall. (Applause.) A third objector does not think women have heads for politics. Now, as chairman of the school board, I find that the girls of our board schools hold their own with the boys. Last night I was distributing prizes to pupil-teachers in these schools, and again I found the ladies quite as successful as the gentlemen. To go no farther than this platform, I will leave you to judge at the close of the meeting if the ladies are behind the gentlemen in mental capacity. (Applause.) But another objector says, "In no other country have women the franchise." That may be; but are we not in the van among the nations in most respects? And why should we not lead the way in emancipating women householders from their disabilities? (Applause.) But, says another, "Women's sphere is home, and there she should remain." True it is that she shines brightly in that sphere, but it does not follow that she may not also wield a beneficial and healthful influence in other spheres as well. On the throne itself woman has exercised an influence for good which is simply incalculable; while in humbler spheres of a public and semi-public character she has often proved an angel in disguise. Let us then to-night ask that the Government should as soon as practicable take up and settle this important question. (Applause.)

Professor LINDSAY then moved the first resolution: "That, in the opinion of this meeting, women who pay rates and taxes ought to have votes for members for Parliament." (Applause.) He said he first began to take an interest in this question when he began mission work in the lowest parts of Edinburgh, and since that time he had seen the great need of women's votes. He believed the admission of women to the franchise would do good not only to their own sex, but to the whole community. Many ladies, he was aware, did not want the franchise, but he never knew a working woman—one who toiled for weekly wages—saying that. Unequal justice was dealt out in our laws to men on the one hand, and to women on the other. In many parts of our legislation, where it touched most intimately on modern society, it pressed lightly on men and heavily on women; and just in those places where the weaker vessel ought to be protected our laws came down more heavily on woman, perhaps because she was weak. There were great social problems confronting us in this country. Drink and social impurity were eating out the life of the nation, and he should like women to have votes, so that they might influence Parliament in regard to these and other questions.

The Rev. C. M. GRANT, who was received with hisses and applause, seconded the motion. He expressed the conviction that this claim which was being pressed on their attention was grounded

on justice, that it was fortified by argument, and that it was opposed only by prejudice. The objection was raised that if ladies were allowed to elect members of Parliament they must also be allowed to sit in Parliament, and that as Parliament virtually determined matters of peace and war it was only fair that they should take a share in carrying on the war. (Laughter.) There was a constitutional fallacy involved in this, for Parliament did not make war. That was the prerogative of the Sovereign. In the next place, although ladies did not carry a musket, they were as virtually interested in all questions of peace as those who did carry the musket. Another argument was based on the momentousness of the movement, but he was not at all prepared to admit that it was of a revolutionary character. The entrance of women into political life would, in his opinion, have a beneficent influence; and as this movement was founded on justice it must prove successful. When that triumph was achieved, it would be a force added to those already existing towards sweetening and fortifying our political life and our social life also. (Applause.)

Mrs. SCATCHERD (Leeds) supported the resolution. She said women were accused of not having business habits. Whenever at a public board anything particularly abusive was said, or anything disgraceful occurred, the papers described that conduct by the phrases "lively scene," "lively proceedings," and so on. A board of guardians in an English town recently sat up all night because they could not decide who should be chairman, and the wives of these guardians had to take them their food. (Laughter.) And women were accused of want of business habits. In Dundee there were 3,000 women householders. She ventured to say they would compare favourably with any 3,000 men householders she could pick out. (Hear, hear.) She dared say that these women found it quite as hard to find the money to pay their taxes as did the men. (Hear, hear.) She did not say that women were never foolish; that there were no silly women. In the words of George Eliot she might say "I'm not denying there are foolish women in this world; God made them to match the men." (Great laughter and applause.) Reference had been made by Mr. Grant to the argument that because women could not fight they ought not to have a vote. They had too much sense to fight—(laughter)—and she believed that in virtue of his calling the reverend gentleman who spoke was exempted from being called upon to fight, and yet he was not deprived of his vote. (Laughter and applause.) Women could do as the majority of the citizens of the country did—pay others to fight for them. But this argument made brute force the basis of citizenship. She claimed to be stronger than a good many men she knew. (Laughter.) But if brute force were to be the basis then animals were stronger than men. It was only when reason guided force that it was useful. Moreover, science supplied to women the means of doing just as much mischief as men could do. Mrs. Scatcherd concluded with an eloquent appeal for the support of the people of Scotland to the movement for getting the franchise granted to women householders.

The resolution was put to the meeting and carried unanimously. Bailie HUNTER moved the second resolution—"That petitions to both Houses of Parliament in favour of conferring the Parliamentary franchise on all duly qualified women be signed by the chairman on behalf of this meeting and forwarded by him." (Applause.)

Miss WIGHAM (Edinburgh) seconded the resolution. She said that they had petitioned in favour of women's suffrage. The agricultural labourer, who had been so much before the public, had scarcely petitioned at all. Women had petitioned for this right by thousands, if not by millions. Miss Wigham claimed that by the way they had exercised the franchise in educational matters women had proved their capacity to aid in the management of the affairs of the country. Women might suggest matters from their own experience and knowledge and their instincts which might help the whole body politic. (Applause.)

Mrs. JAMES STEEL (Dundee) briefly supported the resolution. Miss FLORENCE BALMORIE, whom Provost Moncur introduced as a member of the Scarborough School Board, said she had very great pleasure in supporting the resolution moved by Bailie Hunter.

The resolution was then put and carried unanimously. On the motion of Dean of Guild HENDERSON a vote of thanks was given to the Provost for presiding; and on the motion of the Provost a very cordial vote of thanks was given to the speakers.

The proceedings then terminated.

#### BROUGHTY FERRY.

A public meeting was held in the Volunteer Hall, Broughty Ferry, October 23rd, for the purpose of considering the question of an extension of the Parliamentary franchise to women. There was a large attendance, the majority of those present being ladies. The Rev. W. W. PEYTON, of Free St. Luke's Church, presided, and there were also on the platform Mrs. Oliver Scatcherd, Miss Balmorie, Mrs. Forbes, Mrs. McCormick, Miss Paterson, Miss Kirkland, Rev. John Lyon, Mr. William M'Kenzie, Mr. James Cunningham, jun.; Mr. William Hay, Town Clerk, &c.

The CHAIRMAN said they might hear what the ladies had to say for themselves in their demand for the political franchise of the country. If women were to get the franchise he hoped it would tend to sweeten politics. They had seen how controversies had raged of late. Members of Parliament were supposed to be gentlemen of the first standing, and they had been abusing each other as pickpockets, which was very demoralising to the country.

Mrs. OLIVER SCATCHERD then addressed the meeting. Miss BALMORIE moved that they petition both Houses of Parliament in favour of giving the franchise to duly qualified women, and that the petition be signed by the Chairman on behalf of the meeting, and be forwarded by him. At some length she addressed the meeting, going into the history of the country in order to show that the question before them was a Constitutional one. She asked why 800,000 women should be left out and not have the right to vote.

Mr. WM. HAY seconded the resolution, remarking that he took the general principle that representation should go along with taxation.

The Rev. JOHN LYON admired the abilities of the ladies. When asked to admit the ladies to the franchise Mr. Gladstone did not say he would not do it, but he did not want to burden his present Bill. When the ladies' Bill came up, however, he had no doubt Mr. Gladstone would support it. (Applause.)

The Rev. Dr. MACKNESS also made a few remarks in support of the resolution.

A vote of thanks was, on the motion of Miss BALCARRES, awarded the Chairman.

#### LADIES' MEETING IN DUNDEE.

A large and influentially-attended ladies' meeting was held, on October 23rd, at Rockfield, the residence of Mrs. Moncur. Mrs. Moncur presided, and addresses were given on "Women's Suffrage: what it means, and the great good it would do," by Mrs. Alice Scatcherd, of Leeds, and Miss Florence Balmorie, of Scarborough. Short addresses were also given by Mrs. James Steele and Mrs. R. Watson. Petitions were unanimously adopted to both Houses of Parliament in favour of conferring the franchise upon duly qualified women. Great interest was manifested in the public meeting which was to be held in the Kinnaird Hall that night in support of the movement for conferring the Parliamentary suffrage on women.

#### GILFILLAN MEMORIAL CHURCH.

An open conversation in connection with this congregation was held in the Kinnaird Hall on October 23rd. During the evening Mrs. Scatcherd, of Leeds, and Mrs. McCormick (who were at that time in Scotland in connection with the women's suffrage movement) visited the meeting, and, in addition to singing two songs, Mrs. Scatcherd made a few remarks in reference to the immediate object of her visit.

#### LIBERAL DEMONSTRATION AT WEST CALDER.

At a meeting in support of the Franchise Bill, held at the United Presbyterian Church, West Calder, on October 18th, Mr. Robert Douglas, in seconding a resolution, said that at the time of the first Reform Bill the watchword was "The Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill;" now it echoed again, "We will have nothing but the Bill." At that time "civil and religious liberty" was a favourite toast. Now it was civil and religious equality, and to make the platform complete let this plank be added—no woman to be debarred from voting on account of her sex. (Cheers.)

#### STRATHPEFFER.

A meeting to discuss the question of giving the Parliamentary vote to women was announced to be held in the Pump Room, Strathpeffer, at 4-30, on the afternoon of September 25. Before the

hour of meeting the place was so crowded that an adjournment had to be made to the Pavilion. On the motion of DUNCAN M'LAREN, Esq., ex-M.P., the Rev. J. M. MACKENZIE, of Liverpool, was called to the chair.

The CHAIRMAN, who in the course of his opening remarks congratulated the promoters on the large audience assembled, called upon Mrs. Duncan M'Laren to move the first resolution.

Mrs. M'LAREN delivered a most able and interesting address in support of the movement with which her name has been identified for the last eighteen years.

The resolution was seconded by Mr. WILSON, one of H.M. Inspectors of Schools, and supported by the Rev. Mr. MACEWEN, Edinburgh.

The CHAIRMAN, having put the resolution to the meeting, declared it to be unanimously carried.

The meeting, which was large and enthusiastic, was brought to a close by a vote of thanks to the chairman, moved by Mrs. FORBES, Edinburgh.—*Ross-shire Journal, Sept. 26.*

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

*Dundee Advertiser.*

The *Dundee Advertiser* the next day contained the following article:—

"The eloquent ladies who are now on circuit pleading for the admission of women to the franchise may be assured that in this district their cause has few opponents and many supporters. The meeting they held here last night should satisfy them that in Dundee at least they have none but friends. The arguments which they use are too strong and too well put by speakers like Mrs. Scatcherd and Miss Balmorie to be resisted by constituencies which pride themselves on their liberality; and though in the present crisis Ministers will not be pressed to enlarge the scope of their Bill, and to endanger its safety even for the sake of the gentler sex, they will if necessary be called upon to do the ladies justice at the first possible opportunity. The admission of ladies to the municipal franchise was a surrender of all the barriers which stood between them and the Parliamentary suffrage. For several years the ladies who pay rates have voted for town councillors and members of school boards, they have been members of school boards with great advantage to the public, they have attended and have spoken with effect at meetings of the ratepayers, and there has been no sign of that domestic revolution, and those neglected homes, husbands, and children that filled so large a space in the "Noodles Orations," by which the extension of the suffrage to women was opposed. Why the ladies whom Mr. Woodall calls "properly qualified women" should vote for town councillors and not for members of Parliament is one of those things which neither man nor woman can understand."

*Edinburgh Daily Review.*

The advocates of women's suffrage do not let the grass grow under their feet. They are seen everywhere actively prosecuting their movement. This week Dundee and district have had the benefit of the presence of some of the most distinguished of the lady advocates, and they cannot but be gratified by the encouragement they have met with. The clergyman who presided at the Broughty Ferry meeting expressed the hope that the admission of women into Parliamentary privileges would sweeten politics. There is not the slightest doubt such an effect would be produced. We need only point to the experience of school boards and parochial boards, of which ladies are members, and contrast their proceedings with those of some other boards from which ladies are absent. There are no unseemly rows or degrading squabbling in boards of which ladies are members. It is often said that election contests are too rough for ladies, that they would expose themselves to insult by going to the polling booth. Curiously enough these critics have never a word of concern for the ladies who, it may be, with a courage which few can match, explore the wildest parts of great cities on missions of mercy, seeking to help the fallen and to recover the lost. Compared with the danger attendant on such explorations, appearance at a polling booth is so trifling as to show at once the ridiculousness of the arguments of the super-sensitive gentlemen who profess so much alarm for the comfort and the feelings of women. In the speeches which have been delivered this week

there is little that is new. All the arguments against the movement have been refuted a thousand times, and among practical politicians the question is now almost reduced to one of expediency, and it is the business of the ladies to drive the expediency home, not to the consciences only, but to the necessities of the Government—to let our rulers know that there is a greater question than that of what is called the prudence of admitting 800,000 women to the electorate, viz, the injustice of excluding them from their rights on the flimsiest of pretexts. The ladies must not be deceived by the last cry of the impotent—"It will come, don't push it." That is a dishonest plea. In the world of politics nothing will come that is not pressed, and that persistently; and the politicians are the truest to their party and to their country's cause who insist on doing what is right and just, undeterred by the scoffs and the sneers of the most contemptible of all kinds of time servers—the political wire-pullers and the subservient writers who are known as the "expediency" men. The women have a righteous cause, but if it were ten times better than it is victory could only be secured by the exercise of dogged determination to miss no opportunity of contributing to the desired result.

"BLACKWOOD" ON WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE AND THE FRANCHISE BILL.

The following passage occurs in an article on "The Second Autumn Session" in the October number of *Blackwood's Magazine*:—

"On the one hand, if it be determined to fight the battle on the actual ground occupied in July, and simply repeat Lord Cadogan's amendment to the second reading of the Bill, we should apprehend that it would be a mere waste of time to attempt improving the Bill in Committee of the Lower House: in that case, the sooner the blow is struck, the better for all parties. On the other hand, if it be thought wiser to read the Bill a second time in the House of Lords, and then in Committee insert a clause similar to or analogous with that moved by Colonel Stanley in the House of Commons, it would be necessary to insert all the amendments of which, in the opinion of the House of Lords, the Bill is susceptible; for they must assume the possibility, at any rate, of the Government and the House of Commons accepting that reasonable condition. In that case it would probably be thought expedient that all the principal amendments should be proposed, in the first instance, in the House of Commons. Foremost among them stands the proposal for enfranchising female ratepayers. This, it is true, is in the hands of a Liberal member, Mr. Woodall; but the organisation of which he is the mouthpiece is essentially non-political in its character, and he courageously resisted last summer the importunities of the Government to abandon it. If, therefore, the House of Lords, as there is good reason to believe, is not indisposed to give a favourable consideration to the question, Mr. Woodall will doubtless be willing to reopen it in the House of Commons."

IRELAND.

BELFAST.

An important conference of friends of the cause in Belfast and neighbourhood was held at 8, Upper Crescent, Belfast, on 7th October, by invitation of Miss Tod, to consider the next step to be taken in the present crisis. After a very interesting and practical discussion, in which Mrs. Byers, Miss Tod, Mrs. H. Thompson, Dr. Arnold, J.P., Mr. Gordon, Inspector of Schools, and other ladies and gentlemen took part, the following resolution was moved by Vere Foster, Esq., seconded by J. M. Calder, Esq., and carried unanimously:—"That those present pledge themselves, by all means in their power, to press upon political associations and others that they shall ask the Government to give a promise to deal with the question of women's suffrage as soon as the present Franchise Bill is carried."

ULSTER.

At a meeting of the executive committee of the Ulster Liberal Association, held at Belfast, 17th October, Lord Waveney in the chair, it was moved by Mr. T. A. Dickson, M.P., Co. Tyrone, seconded by Mr. John Shaw Brown, J.P., chairman of the Belfast Liberal Association, and carried unanimously:—"That this asso-

ciation, believing that the principle of the present Franchise Bill ought to be extended to all the householders of the United Kingdom, requests the Government to undertake to bring in a measure enfranchising women as soon as the Franchise Bill is carried."

DUBLIN.

DEGREES OF THE ROYAL UNIVERSITY CONFERRED ON WOMEN.

The conferring of degrees of the Royal University took place on October 22nd, at the University Buildings, Dublin. Dr. Joseph Smith presided at the organ in the large hall, and at three o'clock played a march. The candidates for degrees, including several ladies, walked in procession through the hall. After them came the Examiners, Fellows, and officers of the University, and, last of all, the Duke of Abercorn, the Chancellor of the University. When the Chancellor took the chair the proceedings opened with the performance by the choir of a setting of the 57th Psalm. The arrangement was composed by Miss Taylor as a test of competence to receive a musical degree.

The Duke of ABERCORN, in the course of his address, said: To-day also for the first time in the history of Irish education members of the fair sex came before them as candidates for degrees, realising the poetic aspiration of Tennyson, "Sweet girl graduates with their golden hair," and he need hardly say that they would hail with no less pleasure those that came to them, not with the golden hair of the Saxon, but with the darker and more luxuriant tresses that adorn the fair sex of the Milesian race. He would have as Chancellor to confer the degree of Bachelor of Arts upon the mystic and classic number of nine ladies, who had fairly and earnestly striven in the intellectual competition which the course of Studies in the University enjoined. The number of ladies presenting themselves for examination had rapidly increased. The number who matriculated in 1881 was 20, while this year there were 80, and he should add that the answering of the majority of these candidates was of a high quality, and at both the second University examinations in art and the degree examination each candidate who presented herself was so highly prepared as to satisfy the examiners—a result that was not obtained by the competitors of the sterner, and, he might add, less industrious, sex. The degree in music, too, was, he believed, for the first time in the United Kingdom conferred on a lady.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE "SPECTATOR" ON WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

To the Editor of the Women's Suffrage Journal.

Madam,—The *Spectator* of the 25th inst. has a letter advocating women's suffrage. The editor in a footnote says: "Our contentions are that the indirect representation of women through men is a far more effective and complete representation than they could ever attain in any other way." Turning to the article in the same issue on Mr. Trevelyan, I find: "He believes—what, indeed, is becoming more and more the belief of wise men, in spite of Carlyle's clumsy ridicule—that no goodwill on the part of statesmen is enough effectively to fix the attention of the Legislature on the miseries of the unrepresented,—that adequate representation does a great deal more to bring to light what is evil in the condition of the people than any amount of rightmindedness that is not reinforced by the stimulus of political power." Comment is needless.—I am, madam, faithfully yours,

E. M. LYNCH.

Beckenham, 29th Oct.

Obituary.

MR. A. M. SULLIVAN.—We regret to record the death of Mr. Alexander Martin Sullivan, formerly member for Louth and afterwards for Meath, at the age of fifty-four. Mr. Sullivan spoke in the debate on Mr. Courtney's motion in 1879 in favour of women's suffrage, and voted in the division. In 1882 he withdrew from Parliament on account of the state of his health. Mr. Sullivan was a Home Ruler in politics, and much respected on all sides.

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