

# WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE JOURNAL.

EDITED BY LYDIA E. BECKER.

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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, } Hon. Secs.  
AMY K. COOPER, AGNES TANNER, }

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.

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 will insert in the Representation of the People Bill a clause giving 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.

Or the following:—

To the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled.

The humble Petition of the undersigned

SHWETH,

That a measure is now before Parliament for extending the franchise to all men householders in the United Kingdom.

That by this Bill two millions of the least educated section of the community will be added to the electorate, while educated and intelligent

women, who are heads of households, are excluded from the operation of the Bill, although they contribute equally with men to the taxation of the country.

That among the persons so excluded are women landowners, who form one-seventh of the land proprietors of the country; women of means and position living on their own property, schoolmistresses and other teachers, women farmers, merchants, manufacturers, and shopkeepers, besides large numbers of self-supporting women engaged in other occupations. They believe that the claim of these householders for admission within the pale of the Constitution is as reasonable as that of the county householders, and that they would be at least equal in general and political intelligence to the great body of agricultural and other labourers who are to be enfranchised by the Government Bill.

That the injustice of excluding women householders from representation would be greatly intensified by the operation of the new service franchise, under which the servants of a lady, living in houses for which she paid rent and taxes, would have the vote in right of the occupation of those houses, while she herself, though the head of the household, would have no vote.

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 should be written without mistakes, as no word may be scratched out or interlined, and signatures must be on the same piece of paper. If more room is required, more sheets of paper may be pasted on to the bottom of the original sheet.

## SOCIAL SCIENCE CONGRESS, BIRMINGHAM.

A number of papers were read by ladies during the meeting of the Congress which has just taken place. One on the "Duties of Women as Poor Law Guardians" was contributed by Miss Caroline A. Biggs. Dr. Frances Hoggan read a paper on "The Position of the Mother in the Family," and Mrs. Wolstenholme Elmy another on the same subject; several ladies took part in the discussion, which advocated the superior right of the mother over very young children. Miss Davenport Hill, member of the London School Board, read a paper on the "Laws for Enforcing School Attendance," and Miss Sarah Harland, Mathematical Lecturer at Newnham College, contributed an article on "Educated Women as Technical Workers." Mrs. Kendal's paper on "The Drama" excited great interest.

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OUR friends and fellow workers will be glad to learn that Mr. WOODALL, M.P., who has been suffering from indisposition, is greatly better, and hopes in another week to be able to return to work thoroughly restored in health.

MISS BECKER returned from Canada on the 29th ultimo by the Dominion Line steamer Vancouver, after attending the meetings of the British Association at Montreal and of the American Association for the Advancement of Science at Philadelphia.

BEFORE this month has passed over our heads another session of Parliament will have commenced, and the important issue between the two great parties of the State will be in full discussion. The whole question of the franchise will be again debated, and among other sections of it, that of the claim of duly qualified women to enfranchisement cannot fail to excite an earnest controversy. It is impossible to predict the special manner in which our claim will be brought forward. Mr. WOODALL, after consultation with Parliamentary friends, has decided not to press his amendment in the forthcoming autumn session, but in some other form there will be ample opportunity to urge the claim of more than half a million of capable householders upon the attention of Parliament.

We earnestly entreat our friends not to stand idle or aloof at the present important crisis. If so large a degree of popular indignation is directed towards the House of Lords for "presuming," as Mr. CHAMBERLAIN expresses it, "to stand between two millions of people and their political rights," let the House of Commons, of which he is so influential a member, be told not to stand between half a million of people and their political rights. We urge upon our friends, men and women, to whichever party they may belong, to press unceasingly the justice of our claim on the attention of members, to be untiring in petitioning, to weary the "unjust judges" by our continual coming, and to let minor differences of opinion rest till it is decided whether this Reform Bill shall mete out an equal degree of justice to women as to men, or whether they must wait, helpless, insulted, and embittered, to see the great

drama of national and public life carried on for another generation without their participation. C. A. B.

"KEEP on agitating. Demonstrate, demonstrate, demonstrate!" were the watchwords that came to us from Mr. GLADSTONE's late campaign in Edinburgh. This has always been the advice to men when they want to obtain a right or secure a victory. The advice generally given to women is, "Be patient; keep silence, and in good time it will be given to you." It is our opinion that the first advice is as good for women as for men. The great meetings of the past month do not represent only physical, but also moral force, and this moral force it is incumbent on women also to use. Probably large open-air meetings are an impossibility for them (though they are not necessarily the most effective way to work), but women ought not for this reason to be idle. The season of holiday-making is now over, the evenings are closing in, and the time for lectures, meetings, and discussions has begun. We cannot too earnestly entreat our friends not to let the occasion pass by, and to lose no chance of bringing their views before the public mind. A great injustice may otherwise be done to the women of the country, an injustice none the less flagrant that their claims are ignored under the guise of a profound reverence for the importance of the question.

Women are bound to protest against that injustice, and thus arouse the consciences of the men, who alone have political power in their hands. Every woman who has the opportunity should try to organise a meeting, large or small, according to her means. If a lady has a drawing-room, let her ask her friends to meet together to hear the question discussed; if she have no drawing-room, she may have a schoolroom or workshop. Do not let her be afraid of saying a few words herself; long speeches are not necessary; simple, short utterances go far more directly to the heart than elaborate oratory. There are countless ways of helping in the work. If she can write, she should set her views forward in the public press. If she hears that a meeting is to be held in support of the Franchise

Bill in her neighbourhood, she should write or speak to the promoters of it to ask that women's claims may not be ignored. There are mothers' meetings to be addressed, a word given in season to all one's acquaintance, petitions to be carried round for signature, leaflets to be given away, letters to be written to the members of both Houses of Parliament. There is nothing like endurance; but it must be endurance coupled with action, and not that endurance which consists in sitting still waiting for the fruit to fall into one's mouth. Above all, we must not be afraid of repeating our arguments. Let us take the advice of Mr. GLADSTONE, though not intended for us, and keep on "agitating" unwearied till our end is attained.

C. A. B.

DURING Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE'S late visit to Edinburgh he was waited upon by two deputations of ladies, the one representing the Edinburgh National Society for Women's Suffrage, the other the lady householders of Edinburgh. Miss WIGHAM, Hon. Sec. of the National Society, read a memorial pointing out the injustice of excluding women from the franchise at the time when it was proposed to extend the franchise as already possessed by men. She was supported by Dr. AGNES M'LAREN and Miss S. L. MAIR, who spoke of the difficulties that now beset women, owing to their interests being overlooked by a Parliament in which they are not represented. They concluded by thanking Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE for the help he had already extended to them, and hoping he would exercise his influence on future occasions.

Dr. SOPHIA JEX-BLAKE presented a memorial, signed by 314 women householders of Edinburgh and Mid-Lothian, asking that, as the Government had refused a hearing to their claims and had even made opposition to their enfranchisement a test of loyalty to the Government, Sir STAFFORD would move such amendments to the Bill as would make it a measure of national equity.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE cordially expressed his opinion that it was not fair to exclude women from the suffrage when they were called upon to discharge the duties of other electors and pay the taxes laid upon them. While, he said, it was impossible for him to give at present a pledge to take any particular course, he pointed out that the whole question of the franchise would be discussed again in the coming session, and that, when the principle of the admission of women to the vote came forward, he should maintain the same line that he had already taken.

This is no new expression of sympathy on the part of Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE, who has always shown himself a steady friend to our cause; but it is pleasant and encouraging to receive his renewed assurance of help, and that, not on party grounds, but on the intrinsic merits of our claim.

At the meeting of the Trades Union Congress held last month in Aberdeen a vote for women's suffrage was passed almost unanimously, there being only three dissentients. Such a vote, coming from an assembly of the representatives of nearly every class of skilled labour, is of vast importance at the present moment. The men who composed the Congress were, to a great extent, the men who are included in Mr. GLADSTONE'S Franchise Bill, and their declaration, that they see no difficulty in making the enfranchisement of women a part of that great measure, goes far to prove that the opposition the PRIME MINISTER deprecated, would not arise from the ranks of the new future voters. In those States of America where a women's suffrage amendment has been submitted to the voters, it has been lost through the foreign element of immigrants: in Colorado the Spanish population, elsewhere the German settlers. In Canada the difficulty lies with the French population. Rarely have the men of Anglo-Saxon birth combined against it, and we may confidently predict that the English working men have sense and justice enough to feel that every reason which makes the franchise dear to them renders it dear to women also. They have accepted in good faith Mr. GLADSTONE'S declaration last February, that the principle on which the Franchise Bill proceeds is, "that the head of every household under the conditions of law shall vote, and that it sought to go as far as it could to get the heads of households and enfranchise them;" and they refuse to believe that the vote, which is the charter of personal and political liberty for themselves, becomes a matter for social consideration only when women are concerned.

Is it too much to hope that every one of these men who have voted for women's suffrage at their own Congress will raise their voices at the franchise demonstrations, in which they will take part before the next session is over, to declare their desire that women should have a share in the benefits of the great Bill?

C. A. B.

BUT, while gratefully acknowledging the cordiality with which the Trades Union Congress passed the women's suffrage vote, it is instructive to see how the want of representation affects the views of most men while pro-

pounding theories of restrictive legislation for the other sex. Mr. JUGGINS repeatedly said that his motion only would restrict girls under fourteen from being employed in the arduous work of nail and chain making, but the whole argument turned on the desirability of excluding women from the trade. Mr. JUGGINS urged that the calling was a disgrace to their sex, and argued that the "trades best adapted for female labour were those that should be encouraged for females;" but he did not suggest how this was to be done. Legislators, whether practical or theoretical, have always found it much easier to suppress than to encourage an industry. We suppose no one would deny that tailoring is a suitable trade for women, but thousands of men are engaged in it. Would Mr. JUGGINS propose that a law should be passed to prevent men crowding women out of this trade? Lacemaking is surely a woman's business, yet the number of men engaged in it is in the proportion of one to three women. Men have long since invaded the trades of dressmaking, stay-making, shirtmaking, and millinery. Such a choice of occupation is regrettable, but no one, neither man nor woman, thinks of prohibiting it by law, and no House of Commons, elected by men, would pass such a law. Are the, so called, degraded women who work in the chain and nail manufacture to be provided with suitable "female occupations," or are they to be left to the doubtful mercies of the fathers and husbands who confessedly drink away the chief part of their earnings? Mr. HARRIS, of Preston, who supported the lady delegates in their opposition to the resolution, pointed out that such a law might interfere with the only means these women had of earning a livelihood, a matter perhaps of more urgent importance than the "delicacy and fine sense of modesty" which ought, according to one speaker, to have prevented the lady delegates from arguing the case at all. The truth is that women who have to earn their living cannot afford to be dainty in their occupations, and if they work at unsuitable tasks it is because nothing pleasanter or better paid presents itself to them.

The real key to the controversy was in Mr. BROADHURST'S argument. He said that Mrs. ELLIS represented that class of the community who were "opposed to any legislation whatever for the restriction of female labour," and, therefore, her amendment must be looked upon with great suspicion. This means that when opposition to restrictive legislation arises—not upon matters of detail only, but from the broad principle that the labour of adults must be free if it is to be profitable or healthy—that op-

position is unsound. Mr. BROADHURST admitted it would be desirable to prevent boys under fourteen from working, but it was "utterly impossible that such a proposal could be carried." Why so? except that Parliament will not sanction an interference with male labour, though it is very ready, in default of the representation of women, to try "protective" experiments on female labour. Mr. JUGGINS'S proposal, if carried, would be another step towards rendering women dependent on men, and towards making their lives harder by placing their work under conditions and restrictions which men would not tolerate for a day; and this meddling interference is only practicable because women have not the constitutional means of defending their own interests by means of their own representatives.

Meanwhile, this discussion affords another proof of the importance of having women delegates at the Congress. If the five representatives of working women had not been there, or if they had studied their "delicacy" by remaining silent when the hardships and trials of their own sex were discussed, the vote in favour of coercion would probably have been even larger than it was.

C. A. B.

THE correspondent of the *Standard* in Madagascar writes that during the engagement between the French and the Malagasy on June 28th, "a lot of Betsimoavah women arrived, some with guns, some with spears. When asked what they were doing there they replied, we have brought food for our soldiers, and also we wish, if need be, to die with them; we cannot do more for our country."

The correspondent rightly speaks of this as a touching incident, but it touches deeper down to the heart of things than he probably realised when he used the phrase. It is an incident which should be commended to the attention of those who maintain that women can have no part in the body politic because physical force lies at the base of law and order. Were it so indeed, how comes this little story of the Malagasy women to recall story after story of women who have taken part in war just when and because the very existence of the body politic depended on arms. Nature in times of national emergency, overflowing the boundaries of its more ordinary economy summons the combative energies, usually buried beneath peaceful avocations, to spring to the surface and assert themselves. It is not simply that women have breathed in the warlike spirit in times when war has been the atmosphere of their people, as when the Teuton women were taught that they should "suffer and dare in

battle the same as men," or when ancient Welsh mothers are said to have given their infants their first mouthful of food on the point of a sword with a blessing, or the lady SCATHACH taught the use of arms at her military college in the Western Isles to the young Princes of Erin. More, much more than this underlies the actions of warrior women recorded by history.

*Inter arma silent leges.* When national existence is at stake, when the outer envelopments of law are torn asunder and physical force is set up as the arbiter of society, then the usual rules of life are silent before the imperative demands of interests deeper than the customs of ordered society. It was the lawless oppression of her people that roused the British woman who "had more than a woman's spirit," "the fierceness of whose appearance struck beholders with awe." It was the shattered state of the English kingdom that drew forth the generalship of the Lady of Mercia. It is the same in India as in Europe: the same for Spain of the fifteenth as of the nineteenth century: the same for JEANNE DE LA HACHETTE as for Madlle. LIX (whose story is told in the *Englishwoman's Review* of August): every tale of women in war has been a tale of national defence, of share in perils which threatened the very existence of the State. Yet—according to the theories of certain politicians to-day—these brave defenders, these women representative of their less prominent sisters, are but as minors without responsibility to their country, to whom not even the most elementary duty of a citizen of a free country can be entrusted.

H. B.

MR. GLADSTONE, during his journey from Scotland on September 26th, said in the course of his reply to the addresses from local Liberal associations:—"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? (Laughter.) 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 Mr. GLADSTONE has been correctly reported, he appears to have overlooked the fact that the effort to bring in the women's franchise emanated from the Liberal ranks.

#### SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE IN EDINBURGH.

On October 18th, at one o'clock, Sir Stafford Northcote received, in the Mid-Lothian Conservative Association Rooms, a joint deputation of ladies on the subject of the extension of the franchise to women. Mr. Reginald Macleod accompanied Sir Stafford. The Edinburgh National Society for Women's Suffrage was represented by Miss Wigham, Miss Hunter, Dr. Agnes McLaren, Miss S. S. Mair, Mrs. Macdougall, Miss Wright, and Miss E. Kirkland; while Dr. Jex Blake, Mrs. D. O. Hill, Miss Walls, Miss Louisa Dougall, Mrs. Newton, Miss E. Kerr, Miss Jones, Mrs. Knox Dick, and Mrs. Balgarnie, were present on behalf of the lady householders of Edinburgh.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE said: I must, in the first place, apologise to the ladies who have done me the honour of coming here, for some little difficulty and loss of time in giving an answer—I believe there was some. The fact is that, within the last two or three days, there has been such a tremendous pressure of engagements and work to be done that it has been rather difficult to keep things straight. I believe I have the pleasure of meeting two separate deputations at the same time. Perhaps I may ask the ladies who are present to be kind enough to say what their wishes are on this matter.

Miss WIGHAM, as secretary of the association, read the following memorial:—

"To the Right Honourable Sir Stafford Northcote, M.P., the respectful memorial of the Committee of the Edinburgh National Society for Women's Suffrage.

"Sir,—Will you kindly permit us to bring before you a subject which appears to us to be of vital importance to the well-being of the community. In a country where government is representative, it seems to us highly essential that all duly qualified persons should be represented, and that to exclude women householders is to deprive the nation of the benefit of a large amount of intelligence, experience, and patriotic interest, as well as to exclude from representation an important amount of property held by women. The injustice of the exclusion of women from the franchise is more keenly felt in the present crisis, when it is proposed so largely to extend the electoral franchise to men. We venture the more boldly to request your interest and influence in this question, knowing as we do that you have already expressed sentiments favourable to the cause of women's suffrage.—We are, sir, on behalf of the committee,

"PRISCILLA McLAREN, President.

"ELIZA WIGHAM, } Secretaries."

"ELIZA KIRKLAND, }

In presenting this brief address, Miss Wigham said she wished to state that, as an association, they had always tried to avail themselves of every friendly influence without respect to political party. They had been so happy as to have the help and countenance of many distinguished men, both in the Conservative and in the Liberal ranks of politics. They had had Lord Beaconsfield as their friend; they had had the venerable Mr. Henley, and Mr. Russell Gurney, and Lord John Manners, and many others whom they could name had helped them. It was not necessary for them to present argument on the subject. He had already himself brought forward the question in a noble manner in the House of Commons. They might just say, in addition to some reasons which had been presented, that it was well known that though many matters of legislation which came before the House of Commons dealt more especially with women—and some were supposed to be in the interests of women—women had not been consulted nor were they represented there. Therefore, in many cases, the interests of women were not protected as they ought to be, and were not promoted. For these and many other reasons which might be urged, they ventured respectfully to lay their case before him. They had to return him their thanks for the noble manner in which on many occasions he had kindly helped them, and they begged that in the future they might have this influence exerted in order that the electoral franchise might be extended to women whenever an opportunity occurred in the House of Commons.

Dr. AGNES McLAREN said that, although it was on the ground of simple justice that they sought to recover the ancient right that women had of voting for members of Parliament, she would like to mention incidentally one of the many practical disadvantages which women were placed under in not having a vote. As women doctors,

they encountered great difficulty in getting their election and degrees. They had a great struggle for many years, but after all they had to go abroad to finish their education. Now, she did not believe they should have had anything like the same number of difficulties to contend against if women had had the franchise. (Hear, hear, from Dr. Jex Blake.) These difficulties had been very much overcome, and chiefly owing to the exertions of her friend Dr. Jex Blake. Women were now admitted to degrees; but they were still excluded from receiving education in the State-endowed schools of the country. There was not a single State-endowed school to which they had access. She mentioned that, not as a ground for asking the suffrage, but as an example of the difficulties they laboured under; and they had all the more pleasure in stating this to him, because it was Lord Beaconsfield who first brought the subject before Parliament, even before Mr. John Stuart Mill. She should like to read Lord Beaconsfield's words in a speech he made in Parliament in April, 1866: "I say that in a country governed by a woman, where you allow women to form part of the other estate of the realm—Peeresses in their own rights—where you allow women not only to hold land, but to be a lady of the manor, to hold legal courts; where a woman by law may be a churchwarden and an overseer of the poor—I do not see, where she has so much to do with State and Church, and on what reason, if you come to right, she has not a right to vote."

Miss MAIR said that her interest in this question was not a political one, but rather related to the general education of women and girls. She had long felt that many bequests left for the general education of the country had gone very largely to the education of boys. It was not that they grudged them in the least these bequests, but they did wish to get their fair share, so that they might be able to lend a helping hand to their poorer sisters. The possession of the vote would itself educate women's minds and prevent them taking that narrow party view which they were apt to take when they had no responsibility; and it was felt that if they had the vote they would study questions in a much larger spirit and not be led into side issues, and not influence their friends who had votes in a selfish manner, as some of them were now thought to do. The educational effect would, she thought, be great, and that and the point referred to by Miss Wigham as to legislation for women in Parliament struck her as very important. Men were often found, with the kindest motives, legislating for women in Factory Acts and others of that nature, when they knew that women themselves could advance many arguments against these laws. Women would very much like to express an opinion as to how such laws should be framed.

Dr. SOPHIA JEX BLAKE said she had the honour of presenting a memorial to Sir Stafford, signed by 314 women householders of Edinburgh and Mid-Lothian. She was particularly requested to say that the signatures would have been very much more numerous, but they had been collected within the last week, when nearly everybody was out of town. If Sir Stafford would allow them to send him supplementary signatures, they would, she believed, be able to double or treble the number. In the meantime she would read the memorial, which was as follows:—

"To the Right Hon. Sir Stafford Northcote, M.P.

"Sir,—We, the undersigned, women householders of Edinburgh and Mid-Lothian, beg respectfully to approach you on the following grounds:—

"1. We have habitually paid our full share of taxation, and have in all respects rendered loyal obedience to the laws of our country, although we have had no share in the choice of those who enact them, and who are called the representatives of the nation.

"2. Within the present year a bill has been brought in to extend the electoral franchise to two millions of additional citizens, and we find it loudly proclaimed by the members of the Government that such citizens are entitled to the suffrage as a matter of right.

"3. We have also learned from the lips of the Prime Minister that the extension of the suffrage to the greatest possible number of 'capable citizens' is for the advantage of the nation at large.

"4. We cordially approve of the extension of the suffrage to all capable citizens, but we believe that such extension should be governed by justice and by uniformity of principle; and we deprecate as a great evil its extension to a fresh class of less educated householders, who have a smaller stake in the country, while those who are entitled to vote under the present property

qualification are still to remain disfranchised if they happen to be women.

"5. Trusting to the axiom that 'righteous government rests on the consent of the governed,' we have sought in every way to bring our case before Parliament, and before the Government in particular, in the hope that they would not refuse to us the same privilege of representation which they declare themselves bound in justice to accord to two millions more of our countrymen. In this connection we would particularly draw your attention to petitions on this subject, presented to Parliament by the Prime Minister, and signed by no less than 650 women-householders of Mid-Lothian, who, but for their sex, would be entitled to votes for the county.

"6. We have, however, been refused all hearing by the Government; the Prime Minister has declined even to receive a deputation on the subject of our claims; and when the extension of the suffrage to women was brought before Parliament, opposition to our enfranchisement was actually made a test of loyalty to the Government.

"Under these circumstances, sir, we feel that we have no alternative but to lay these facts before yourself, as leader of the Opposition, and we earnestly pray that when the Franchise Bill is again presented to Parliament, you will move and advocate such amendments as will make it a measure of truly national equity, and not one deformed and crippled, as it is at present, by injustice under the name of expediency.

"We beg in conclusion, sir, to explain that we do not address you as ourselves belonging to either of the two political parties, for opinions on both sides are represented among us, but as women-householders of Edinburgh and Mid-Lothian, claiming your assistance to obtain the justice which has been refused to us by Her Majesty's Government."

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE, rising, said: I hope you will forgive me, because to-day I have a great deal to do. Time is passing, and I have an appointment which I must very speedily keep; and therefore, although I dare say I might have a great advantage from hearing other remarks that might be made, I must ask you to allow me just to say that I receive these communications with very great pleasure, satisfaction, and with great respect for those who have presented them. As you are aware, this is a subject upon which I have always held the opinion that it was not fair to exclude women from the suffrage in those cases in which they are called upon to discharge duties which electors discharge, and to pay the taxes and so forth which are laid upon them. I do not see any fairness in making the exception in the case of the women where property is represented, held in the hands of the women, and which property would be given a vote in the case of men. I have expressed that opinion more than once, and on the last occasion that this question was brought before the House of Commons I supported the proposal to extend the franchise to women, and I gave my reasons and argued it as well as I was able; but, as Dr. Jex Blake has just mentioned, not only did the Prime Minister object himself to that proposal, but he put very strong pressure upon his own supporters to vote against it, and the result was that many gentlemen who had previously supported and voted for the measure felt themselves bound by duty to their party to vote against it. That, I think, is a matter I had better not make any remarks upon now. I am quite aware that this is not to be regarded as a political or party political question, and it is advocated by ladies holding opinions on both sides in politics, and I think they deserve the greatest consideration from those who are connected with the management of business in Parliament on both sides. At the same time, I must point out to you that the question is one of a somewhat difficult and peculiar character, and one upon which I should think I was not doing right in pledging myself to take any particular course, such as, I think, is suggested in the memorial which Dr. Jex Blake has just read, of myself undertaking to make a motion upon the subject. The whole question of the franchise will have to be discussed again in the coming session, and no doubt the principles of representation will be very seriously canvassed and discussed, and amongst those principles will come the question as to the admission or otherwise of the principle of female suffrage; and I can only say, in general terms, that I shall maintain the same line and the same opinion which I have already taken, and which I have already expressed. I think I should not be doing service to the cause itself by going any further at the present moment. I can

assure you that my sympathy is entirely with those who are promoting a measure of justice, as I consider it to be, to the women in this matter, and I shall hope in my future conduct to show that I am not unmindful of the views which I have so expressed.

The interview then ended.—*Scotsman.*

During his speech in the Corn Exchange, Edinburgh, also, Sir Stafford Northcote alluded to women's suffrage. He said: Everybody has a right to be well governed, and you must take care so to pick your machinery of government as to make pretty sure you will get the best government you can. (Cheers.) There are a great many people who will be excluded by the proposed extension of the franchise—a large number of people whose interests ought to be protected. You have to consider not only a numerous class of men, but the whole body of the women of this country—(cheers)—whose interests ought also to be considered, and who have at least a good right to be well governed as any other part of the community.

At Newcastle, on September 23rd, Sir Stafford Northcote again reverted to the question. He said, with reference to the assertion that the majority of the House of Commons were in favour of the Reform Bill, that if they had a different opinion they would not have expressed it, for when the question of women's suffrage was raised, those gentlemen who had always voted and spoken for it and were its great supporters, when Mr. Gladstone said we cannot have it, turned round, and many of them voted against the very proposal they had always supported before.

#### MR. JOHN MORLEY, M.P., AT NEWCASTLE.

Speaking at Newcastle, September 15th, Mr. MORLEY said: One question I have in my hand, and I think a gentleman in the audience wished to ask me something on the same point; it will not take me a moment to answer it, and it is important that it should be cleared up. The question is—Why I did not vote for Mr. Woodall's amendment? (Hear, hear.) Well, Mr. Woodall's amendment, as you know, was in favour of female suffrage, and I had said on this platform that I should vote for female suffrage; but I never said and I never meant that I would vote for female suffrage at all costs and at all hazards, upon any Bill whatever. It was perfectly clear from the Prime Minister's own words that if that amendment had been carried he would have felt bound—that is his opinion, which I do not agree with—to drop the Bill. He might have been right, or he might have been wrong, I do not say; but as he said that, was I going to endanger the giving of the franchise to two millions of men for the sake of not giving it to a much smaller number of women? ("No," and cheers.) I only want to remind those who think I might have acted differently on that occasion that a vote on Mr. Woodall's amendment was supported by Conservatives who were not ashamed to say in the debate that they hated female suffrage, and that they would never vote for it again, but that they did vote for it on that occasion because they hoped it would be a spoke in the wheel of the Bill. It was because it might have been a spoke in the wheel of the Bill that I voted against it, and that I felt I should be doing what you would like me to do in so doing. (Cheers.) I will just have one sentence about a word I used on that occasion, and for which I was called to account by some virtuous Catos in the House and out of it. I used the word opportunism. Now, if you mean by opportunism the sacrifice of a principle or a conviction of the public good, in order to do something for your own ease or personal advancement or party interest, then I say that opportunism would deserve the contempt and the disgust of all honest men. I am not going to say, I will not condescend to say, that was not my opportunism. Opportunism in the sense in which I used it means a regard for times and seasons; it means taking one question at once; it means measuring your action with a view to your resources; it means shaping a policy with a view to the most fruitful practical results.—*Tyneside Echo.*

#### MR. JOSEPH DODDS, M.P., ON WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

At the great reform gathering at Stockton, on August 30th, Mr. JOSEPH DODDS, M.P., said: The present measure was a good instalment of reform. No doubt the true ideal of Parliamentary repre-

sentation was the complete representation of the people in the people's House—(hear)—in other words, manhood suffrage—(cheers)—and if Mrs. Jones so willed it, coupled with woman suffrage—(renewed cheers)—for which he (Mr. Dodds) had invariably voted, with the one exception, that, when it was brought in by Mr. Woodall, he did what he could to dissuade his hon. friend to abandon his intention lest it imperilled the safety of the Government Bill—(hear)—which was already overweighted.

#### THE BISHOP OF CARLISLE ON WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

The following letter was written privately to a friend, who had asked his opinion, by the Bishop of Carlisle. The Bishop has been good enough to yield to a request that it might be made public:—

"Rose Castle, Carlisle, August 9, 1884.

"My dear E——,—I should not like to write a leaflet for publication on the subject of women's suffrage, but I have no objection to tell you my opinion. While the number of voters was comparatively small I consider that those voters were trustees for the general population. This was pre-eminently the case before the first Reform Bill, but it continued to be so after that Bill had become law; there could be no justification of the principle of giving a vote to £10 householders and not to poorer folks, except the assumption that a vote implied a trust to be exercised by the better educated and more substantial class for the good of all. While this was the principle of legislation, I consider that there was no wrong committed in not permitting women to vote; the question was simply one of the extent of a trust, and my own opinion used to be that, upon the whole, women were happier and the government of the country better carried on without the admission of women into the political arena. When, however, the arbitrary £10 line was done away with, and the borough franchise made to extend to every man who had anything which could be fairly called a home, this view of trusteeship was immensely weakened, and, as soon as the vote is extended beyond boroughs, as undoubtedly it will be, I consider that the notion of a man as a voter holding a trust for his neighbours will be well-nigh exploded altogether. I do not say that a vote will not be, in any case, a trust, and an important one, but this will not be its chief characteristic; it is inconceivable that it should be. Consequently, the question of female suffrage assumes, to my mind, an aspect which it never had before. If a woman be a householder, still more if she be an employer of labour and one through whose employment a number of men possess votes, what is there in the mere accident of sex to make it right to to say she shall have no political influence? I do not in the least desire that married women should vote. This seems to me undesirable and impossible. The husband and wife must be one in this as in other things. But when the woman satisfies every condition but that of sex, then it seems to me impossible in reason, and I believe it will soon be impossible in fact, to deprive her of a vote. These, in brief, are the opinions which I hold on the subject of female suffrage.—Believe me, yours sincerely,

"H. CARLISLE."

#### LECTURES.

##### HOYLAKE, CHESHIRE.

On August 5th, in connection with a bazaar in aid of the Children's Convalescent Home, Hoylake, Miss Balfour, of Scarborough, held a debate with Mr. Brandreth on the question of extending the Parliamentary franchise to women. After a somewhat sharp and lively discussion, the vote of the audience resulted in a draw. The following evening the debate was resumed and joined in by others; on a vote being taken a majority was found in favour of Miss Balfour's motion supporting women's suffrage. There were many present from Birkenhead, Liverpool, and other parts of Lancashire, and considerable interest was excited. Admission to the debate was by payment, the results of which were handed over to the bazaar funds.

##### CLONES.

A lecture was delivered in Clones a few days ago by Miss Tod, of Belfast, on "Women's Rights." The chair was taken by Mr.

George Knight, Deputy Grand Master of the Orangemen of Ireland. In the course of her lecture, Miss Tod alluded to the remarkable fact that, while there are little more than 20,000 women farmers in England, there are, according to the last census, 60,000 in Ireland. No doubt, the majority of their holdings are small, but they are only the more vitally important to the holders, who thereby become, in an unusually strong sense, "hostages to fortune" for the peace and security of the community. The necessity for moral and social reforms, and their dependence upon the enfranchisement of women, was also received with special appreciation by the audience. The lecturer's speaking was excellent; the lecture was instructive and eloquent, and was listened to with great attention by the audience. A hearty vote of thanks, proposed by the Rev. James Henry and seconded by the Rev. Henry Cowan, was given to the lecturer for her admirable lecture.

#### TRADES UNION CONGRESS, ABERDEEN.

At the Trades Union Congress, which met at Aberdeen during the middle of September, about 140 delegates were present, of whom five were women. These were Mrs. Paterson, representing the Women's Trades Council, London; Miss Addis, milliners and dress-makers, London; Miss Wilkinson, upholstresses, London; Miss Whyte, bookbinders, London; and Mrs. Ellis, weavers, Huddersfield.

On the first day the discussion turned upon the necessity for the extension of the franchise. After several speakers had declared their approval of the Franchise Bill.

Miss WILKINSON (London) asked the male delegates to remember that every argument they used in favour of the extension of the franchise to men was also an argument for the extension of the franchise to women. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. ROWLAND (Cleveland) suggested that the following words be added to the resolution: "And earnestly calls upon the masses of the people to continue to do all in their power, by vigorous and continued agitation, to assist the Government in their efforts to enfranchise 2,000,000 of intelligent and loyal citizens."

Mrs. ELLIS (Huddersfield) hoped that the men, when they all got their votes, would stand by the women, whose political claims also called for due consideration.

On the fifth day of the Congress the consideration of the Parliamentary Committee's Report was taken. The twelfth resolution submitted by the Standing Orders Committee, and carried with but three dissentients, was: "That this Congress is strongly of opinion that the franchise ought to be extended to women ratepayers at the first opportunity." This was proposed by

Miss ADDIS (London). She said her reason for submitting it was this. Seeing that women had been successful on the School Boards and as Poor-Law guardians, she asked why they should be any longer debarred from the Parliamentary franchise? She trusted she would enlist the sympathy of her fellow delegates on this question. (Applause.)

Mr. ALLAN GEE (Huddersfield) had very great pleasure in seconding the resolution. This was a subject that he had been in full sympathy with ever since he began to be a politician, and he might say that their executive were strongly of the same opinion. The society he represented was half composed of women and half of men, and he thought that in all fairness when a woman paid rates the same as a man did she ought to have a right to say who should represent her in Parliament. (Applause.) He did not think that if the Legislature were to grant this right it would be such a sweeping measure as they had just had submitted to the Congress and passed practically unanimously. It was simply extending the right that the women ratepayers at present enjoyed in School Board and municipal elections. The proposal had been before Parliament during the discussion of the franchise question, and he was strongly of opinion that if Mr. Gladstone had not put his foot upon it it would have been practically added to the Franchise Bill that was likely to be passed before very long. (Mrs. Ellis: "Will be passed.") He hoped that the Congress would, in a practically unanimous way, adopt the resolution.

Mrs. ELLIS (Batley, Yorkshire) said that, like Mr. Gee, she did not see why she, as a ratepayer, allowed to vote in School Board and town council elections, should not be allowed to vote for a member of Parliament—(hear, hear)—for, in her opinion, a member of a town council was of as much importance as a member of Parliament,

for he dealt with matters closely connected with their homes—(applause)—and therefore she said she had a perfect right to be asked what laws should be passed—she had as much right as a man, that was as far as she went. She was never asked at present what she wanted or what she did not want, but she was simply told that they would represent her along with the rest, but that many times included things that were injurious to women, and that not because the men wished that this should be so but simply because they had never asked her opinion, and for that reason did not know her wants. (Applause.)

Mr. FREAK (London), in rising to oppose the resolution, said he was sorry that he had to oppose anything proposed by a lady—(hear, hear)—but he opposed the resolution because it merely extended the property qualification. If Miss Addis had moved that they should have universal adult suffrage he would have been with her, but he would never agree to the principle at present acted upon that a woman or man paying rates should have a vote, while others who did not pay rates, or were assumed to pay rates, should not, for he contended that every person that toiled in the country paid the rates and taxes of the country indirectly—(applause)—and it was wrong in principle to say that, because a person happened to be one that handed the rates over to the rate collector, they, and they alone, should vote, while lodgers and other people had no vote.

Miss WILKINSON (London) said Mr. Freak began by saying he was to oppose the resolution. She begged to differ from him—(hear, hear)—for he spoke exactly her own opinion. What she would say was that precisely the same arguments that applied to giving the vote to men applied to giving the vote to women. (Applause.) She did not believe, and had never believed in the property qualification. Had the vote been given to women on the same condition that it was given to men, she herself would have had a vote for the last ten years; but simply because she was a woman, and for no other reason, she had been debarred from having a vote. She was quite aware there were a great many things to be said on this question, she was quite aware that it was new ground, but still she thought they ought to take it into their earnest consideration, for it was a question well worthy of this. One thing often said against women in reference to this question was that practically they would all vote together. She begged to tell the Congress they would do nothing of the kind. (Applause.) If they had to deal with her committee for some twelve months, they would be quite of opinion that women did not all vote together, and she could assure them it was the same in every women's committee that they met. They had there just the same difference of opinion among women that they had among men. (Hear, hear, a voice—"Rather more," and laughter.) It was therefore quite absurd to suppose women would all vote Conservative or all vote Radical. They would do nothing of the kind, though the more Radical they voted the more she would be pleased. (Laughter and cheers.) She thought therefore they should dismiss the idea against which she spoke, and which she dealt with, because in her experience among the working men she often found this was the view that obtained. "Oh," it was said, "if you give the women a vote they will all vote according to Conservative or clerical influence." They would, she repeated, do nothing of the kind, and let it be remembered that the vote had been given to men who had understood nothing more about it than the women had. (Hear, hear, and applause.) They asked for no educational and no moral qualification from men, and why should they ask for such qualification from the women? Let them give the women the vote on the same conditions as they give the like privilege to men, and she thought they would find in the long run that the very fact of having the vote would educate the women as it had educated the men. (Applause.)

Mr. CLARK (Liverpool) pointed out that Mr. Freak's argument that the Parliamentary franchise should not be extended to women unless there was universal adult suffrage told with equal effect against the present proposed extension of household suffrage. Personally he believed in universal suffrage, but because he saw it was impossible to get that, in the meantime he supported what he thought could be got, and advocated the general principle that ratepayers were entitled to the franchise. (Applause.)

Mr. WILLIS (London) said he had never been able to see why women should not be placed on a perfect equality with men in the matter of the franchise. Women, equally with men, were expected to obey the laws of the country, and why, then, should they not

have a voice and a vote in the election of those who made the laws. (Applause.)

Mr. ROWLAND (London) suggested that the resolution should read:—

“That this Congress is strongly of opinion that the franchise ought to be extended to women on the same conditions as men.”

He thought that if there was to be any disqualification it should be that the men or women were single. (Laughter.) Bachelors and spinsters, he believed, were the most unfitted to exercise the franchise. (Cries of “Oh,” and great laughter.)

The amendment was accepted, and, on a division, the resolution, as altered, was carried by an overwhelming majority, only three voting against it.—*Daily Free Press*.

#### WOMEN IN THE CHAIN, NAIL, AND BOLT-MAKING TRADE.

On the fifth day of the Trades Union Congress there was a discussion on the employment of young girls as ironworkers.

Mr. JUGGINS (Darlaston, Staffordshire), who moved the resolution in regard to the employment of girls under fourteen as ironworkers, pointed out that the same question had been brought up at the Congress in Nottingham last year. It had not been an uncommon thing for years past in South Staffordshire and East Worcestershire for girls of seven, eight, and nine years of age to be engaged in the manufacturing of nails, chains, rivets, bolts, and so on, a calling which was a disgrace to their sex. This had been allowed to go on, and without some extraordinary exertion on the part of the Parliamentary Committee or the bringing to bear on it the influence of the Congress, it must continue to go on unless it was stopped by legislation. It would no doubt be remembered that Mr. Broadhurst, their esteemed secretary, acting under the instructions of the Parliamentary Committee, paid a visit to the district in order to ascertain its particular requirements as regarded the Factory Act, and how far it was necessary to legislate in the interests of young female children in the district. After making that visit Mr. Broadhurst was convinced, as were also the Parliamentary Committee, that an alteration in the law was required. They at once set to and brought a Bill into the House of Commons for the purpose of preventing children working at forges or in shops making nails, rivets, and bolts, after the manner of blacksmiths. In submitting the resolution, he did not wish to interfere in the slightest degree directly with female labour. He had not the slightest doubt he should be charged with the intention of as far as possible preventing the introduction or carrying on of female labour. He considered that the trades best adapted to female labour were those that should be encouraged for females, and not those that were adapted only to males, such as those of blacksmiths and of working in shops. He had spoken several times in his own district on the immorality of the system against which his resolution was aimed—(hear, hear)—and he repeated that where boys and women worked in one shop in an almost nude state, each being exposed alike, it was a disgrace to civilisation and a disgrace to this country—(applause)—and he contended that it was the duty of that Congress to get some law passed, or instruct the Parliamentary Committee to put its foot upon a system of immorality which alone could be put down by Act of Parliament. (Applause.) He had travelled through the district, he had made some of the strictest inquiries, and could tell of a state of matters that would shock the modesty of every man and woman in that Congress, but he would forbear doing so, and trusted the delegates would believe him when he said that great immorality, depravity, and pauperism prevailed, and everything that was calculated to lower and disgrace the sex in whose interests he was speaking, and the raising of whom in the social scale he advocated. He was as much interested in, and had as much sympathy with, the female sex as any man in the Congress, and he wished to see them delivered from the thralldom in which they were placed and set in a position that would make them good wives and daughters, and so help them to be useful in the sphere for which by nature they were intended. (Applause.) There was no doubt that labour or wages had something to do with the object he had in view in bringing about this resolution, and it was in this direction—here was a husband who worked as a pitman, ironworker, or otherwise, while his wife was engaged in a calling which was only fitted for men. This but encouraged the man in his drunken and idle habits—(hear, hear)—and this state of matters would never be improved till there was some Act of Parliament to remove it. He

hoped that ere the next Congress met, the Parliamentary Committee would find they had sufficient time to attend to this subject, and that the evils of which they complained would be remedied.

Mr. JOSEPH ARCH said he would second the resolution with very great pleasure. He could confirm every word that Mr. Juggins had spoken. He had travelled through the nail and chain making districts of the country, and his heart had ached to see young girls of nine, ten, and eleven years of age as black as soot and smoke could make them, and thought they would be doing a great act of justice if they called the attention of the Parliamentary Committee and Parliament itself to this most disgraceful procedure. (Applause.)

Mr. HOLMES (Barnley) thought their friends were hardly taking the best course to obtain some redress. He knew there were districts in the cotton trade in which, before asking Parliament to interfere, they took care to establish their case themselves. (Applause.) It would be much better if they instructed the Parliamentary Committee to obtain a Royal Commission to inquire into the cause of the complaints, and if the case was made out he was sure the committee would have little difficulty in getting complete redress. He would propose the following amendment: “That it be an instruction to the Parliamentary Committee to obtain a commission to inquire into the cause of complaints made in reference to the employment of females and young persons in the trades named in the proposition.”

Miss WILKINSON seconded. She thought in taking up this question they should remember that the boys wanted protection quite as much as the girls, and if there was a Commission of Inquiry that would be brought out. Mr. Juggins had said he had no intention of directly leveling this motion against female labour, but indirectly he had, because he would keep them from work under fourteen, knowing that would be as good as keeping them from work after fourteen. She had always understood that the majority of those children worked at home with their fathers and mothers, and, if so, what she wanted to know was, how their surroundings were to be altered by simply preventing them from working at home. Of this one thing she would warn the Congress, and that was unless they could teach people themselves how to get out of those surroundings, and bring about an alteration in the surroundings, merely stopping female labour would not do it. It was all very well to talk about making good wives and mothers. It would require something more than merely stopping female labour to do that.

Mr. WILSON (Durham) said if measures had to be passed to prohibit female labour in their mines and factories to a large extent, and if it were right to prohibit females from working in the mines, it must be right to prohibit them from the arduous work of forging.

Mrs. ELLIS (Batley) moved the omission of the word “female,” and that the resolution should apply to all young children. If, as was said, the resolution was not directed at women's labour, there could be no objection to that course.

Mrs. PATERSON seconded the amendment. The argument that all working men ought to support their wives would strike against women's employment altogether; that would be a very desirable thing, but she was afraid it was very far from attainment.

Mr. THRELFALL (Southport) entreated that the ladies especially, with their fine sense of modesty and their delicacy, would let this matter go as Mr. Juggins had placed it before the Congress.

After some other remarks, Mr. ROWLAND (London) hoped Mr. Juggins would accept the amendment that the word “female” should be struck out.

Mr. BROADHURST, M.P., said that the amendment of Mrs. Ellis was representative of that class of the community opposed to any legislation whatever for the restriction of female labour; therefore an amendment of this sort must be looked upon with the greatest suspicion. If the object of the mover of the amendment was to make the proposal contained in the resolution ridiculous, that would be obtained by the acceptance of the amendment. However desirable it was to prevent boys working under fourteen years of age, they knew perfectly well that it was utterly impossible that such a proposal could be carried. With regard to the suggestion that there should be a Commission appointed to inquire into the matter, the gentleman who made that suggestion would, if he turned back a few years, find that there had been a Commission, and that every possible tittle of evidence necessary for legislation on the question was fresh in print, or very nearly fresh, and had not been carried into law. He was at a loss to know how it was possible

#### BATLEY CARR.

A letter, September 20th, was received from the Secretary of the Batley Carr Club, in answer to Miss Becker's circular, stating that the matter was discussed at considerable length, and a resolution was ultimately passed to send a petition to Parliament for women's suffrage.

#### PARLIAMENTARY REVISION COURTS.

BELFAST.—John Hardstaff, of 201 and 203, Durham-street, was objected to by the Liberals on the ground of short occupation. Mr. Criglington stated that, as he had lodged a claim on behalf of Mr. Hardstaff by marriage, he was entitled to reckon the occupation of the lady he married as his own, and pointed out that Mr. Hardstaff was entitled to register under the 53rd sec. of the 13th and 14th Vic. His Worship said that, taking into consideration an Act entitled the Married Women's Property Act recently passed into law, which provided that, although a woman married her property remained vested in her own right unless she made it over to her husband with her own hand, he could not admit the claimant to the franchise except some conclusive evidence was forthcoming to prove that this woman had done so. Mr. O'Hare said that as Mr. Hardstaff's name appeared on list of claimants for same ward Mr. Criglington could, if the necessary evidence was forthcoming, establish his right to register when the claims came on for hearing, and asked his Worship to strike the name off List 7. This was done.

CHELSEA.—On September 29th, Frederick Herbert, Peabody Buildings, claimed as occupier of a separate dwelling-house. It appeared that about ten years ago the house was taken in the name of his mother, but for several years the son had paid the rent and supported her. He omitted to have his name inserted in the books of the company as occupier. The Revising Barrister said that Mrs. Herbert's name being on the rate books she was technically the occupier. The claim must be disallowed. [If the law had been equitable, and not disfranchised the house because the occupier was a woman, the vote would not have been lost.]

Also in Chelsea, on September 22nd, another person named Gowley was objected to on the ground that he had been dead ten years. The Overseer said he had no information of the death. The rates were paid in the name of Gowley. It transpired that his widow lived in the house and the objection was allowed. [On what principle of right do the same rates at one time carry a vote with them, and at another time confer no such privilege?]

PENZANCE.—Mr. Chilcott, who appeared for the Conservatives, Sept. 22nd, objected to Mr. E. H. Williams, whose name was on the old list, on the ground that the property was the wife's, set aside for her private use. Mr. Trythall contended that it devolved upon Mr. Chilcott to prove this. Mr. Chilcott answered that it did not. Mr. Trythall said that the voter resided in Dawlish, and the notice of objection was not delivered until Thursday. It would, of course, have been inconvenient for him to come there for such a purpose. The Revising Barrister: I had to stay off the register for a whole year because it was inconvenient for me to attend. Mr. Chilcott again declared that the property was settled on the wife, and Mr. Trythall asserted that it was not. Mr. Chilcott had not produced evidence to support his statement. Mr. Chilcott: You can produce your deeds. Mr. Trythall argued that Mr. Chilcott should produce the deeds. The Revising Barrister (to Mr. Trythall): If objected to you must produce your right to vote. Mr. Trythall: If settled to her private use the objector must prove it. I say it is no such thing, because if it were so I should know. The Revising Barrister struck off the vote.—*Western Mercury*.

#### REFORM PROCESSION AT STANNINGLEY.

On September 6th, at the great reform procession at Stanningley, near Leeds, two of the banners bore the words: “Women who pay taxes ought to have votes,” and “Women claim equal justice with men.” They were carried by Mrs. Scatcherd and Miss Sunley, but many women crowded round them, and finally a large number took part in the procession. Warm expressions of goodwill and cheers were heard from men as the banners passed along.

that Mrs. Ellis—the mother of a daughter—and other ladies could for a moment stand there, or anywhere else, and oppose any proposal that had for its object the elevation of their own sex. He would ask Mrs. Ellis, and he would ask Mrs. Paterson, to go into these blacksmiths' shops and look at the women of mature years, and he would appeal to them whether it was not a disgrace to this boasted civilisation of ours that women should be found in the degraded position in which they were—whether they were not ashamed to see the mothers of families having to work for 2s. 6d., 5s., and 7s. per week. If they were not ashamed to see such a state of things, he would appeal to them in the interests of the dear little ones at home, who could not protect themselves, to stretch forth their hands and save the rising generation from the life-long misery, labour, and degradation devolving on the class referred to in the resolution. (Applause.) He appealed to the Congress as men and fathers not to listen for one moment to the amendment that had been suggested in this very reasonable and very moderate proposal. (Applause.)

Mrs. PATERSON said she had been to the district, and had seen the girls working away merrily. She saw nothing objectionable, and the girls, who were singing hymns nearly all the time, seemed quite jolly. (A laugh.)

Mrs. ELLIS remarked that if there was work for women at the forges, and no other work for them in these districts, they had a perfect right to take it.

Mr. MACKAY (Edinburgh) said that if Mrs. Paterson had waited longer in the forges she might have heard the children not only cheering themselves with a hymn, but praying to their Maker to be delivered from such a state of bondage.

Mr. HARRIS (Preston) supported the amendment, and said they would all agree that they should take every means to prevent females being employed in such kinds of work as were indicated. Still it might be that they would interfere with the only means they had of earning a livelihood. The evidence that had been given with regard to females employed in ironworks and the like had been that of Government inspectors, and was not like the evidence of an open local inquiry. Until that was done it would be impossible to know the privation and immorality and degradation that the female labourers, in those iron counties especially, had to undergo.

Mr. CORBET (Nottingham) said he had seen girls carry away 3,000 bricks in a day, and the distance they had to go was about twenty-five miles and the weight carried about twenty-five tons in all. Moreover, they would be wet through with sludge from the chin to the toes, and without a bit of a shoe on their feet. He thought it was time that female labour was done away with under fourteen years of age. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. JUGGINS, in replying to the discussion, said he accepted no amendment to his resolution. One strong argument for the resolution was that they considered that under the age of fourteen children had not sufficient strength to work at the occupation mentioned. He had to state also that there had been a Royal Commission and a public inquiry, and, notwithstanding that, the thing remained as it was, and he thought that it was only constant agitation that would bring about the reform that was needed.

The vote was then taken. For the rider to the resolution, 15 voted; for the amendment, 5; and for the original resolution, a large majority.—*Daily Free Press*.

#### ENTERTAINMENT TO THE LADY DELEGATES.

The following afternoon the lady delegates attending the Trades Union Congress were entertained to luncheon by Mrs. P. Esslemont at her residence in Albyn Place. The lady representatives were: Mrs. Paterson, Women's Trades Council, London; Miss Addis, milliners and dressmakers, London; Miss Wilkinson, upholstresses, London; Miss Whyte, bookbinders, London; and Mrs. Ellis, weavers, Huddersfield.

#### CONSERVATIVE ASSOCIATIONS AND CLUBS.

##### 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.”

## WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE IN CANADA.

The following memorial has been addressed to Sir John Macdonald, Prime Minister of Canada:—

British Association Montreal, Sept. 3rd, 1884.

To the Right Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald, K.C.B.,  
&c., &c., &c.

Sir,—The undersigned ladies, who are interested in the movement in the United Kingdom for the extension of the Parliamentary franchise to women, desire to express their earnest thanks to you for having introduced provisions for enabling women to exercise the franchise in the Electoral Bill which you have on behalf of the Government submitted to the Parliament of the Dominion of Canada. They beg to assure you of their high appreciation of the just and generous spirit which has actuated you in proposing this measure of political justice and of the great interest with which its progress has been followed in the mother country, and they trust that your efforts to secure the political enfranchisement of women may be speedily crowned with success.

Signed by the following lady members of the British Association at Montreal:—

CLARA F. L. RAYLEIGH (The Dowager Lady Rayleigh).

LYDIA E. BECKER, Sec. to the Central and Manchester

Women's Suffrage Societies.

MABEL SHARMAN CRAWFORD.

LILLIAS ASHWORTH HALLETT, Hon. Sec. to Bristol and

West of England Society for Women's Suffrage.

MAY C. COOKE-TAYLOR.

REBECCA MOORE.

WILHELMINA HALL, F.R. Met. Soc., Poor Law Guardian  
for Eastbourne.

JEAN MORISON CAMPBELL MILLER, Edinburgh.

HELEN BROWN, Member of St. Cuthbert's Parochial  
School, Edinburgh.

PHOEBE BLYTH, Member of the City Parochial Board,  
Edinburgh.

MARIE S. RYE, Niagara.

Mrs. Ashworth Hallett had some conversation with Sir John Macdonald, who told her that the only difficulty they expect in Canada as regards passing that Bill is from the French population.

## MISS BECKER INTERVIEWED.

On her arrival at Montreal Miss Becker was, according to universal American custom, "interviewed" by representatives of the *Montreal Star*, *Witness*, and *Gazette*. The following is the account published by the representative of *The Star*, which must be taken as his version of the interview:—

Among the party of British Association members who arrived by the four o'clock North Shore train from Quebec yesterday afternoon was Miss Lydia Becker, who stands at the head of the agitation now going on in England for the purpose of securing equal political rights for women as for men. Miss Becker comes from Manchester, which city has the reputation of taking a leading position on the political opinions in England, being famous as the centre of the movement which resulted in the abolition of the Corn Laws, and being in the front on the question of the abolition of the Stamp Duty, as well as on other movements of a reforming character; in fact, there is a trite saying in political circles that "What Manchester thinks to-day, England thinks to-morrow." It is to this city that Miss Becker, the exponent of what are even yet considered very advanced ideas, very properly belongs. A representative of *The Star* called upon Miss Becker at the committee rooms very shortly after her arrival, and had a very pleasant and interesting conversation with her. She said that although of course she had frequently heard of this system of interviewing, this was the first occasion that she had experienced it practically, no representative of a newspaper having as yet called upon her. Her object in coming over to America was simply to have a thorough holiday and to enjoy a rest, which was needed after the worries and fatigues of the last session of Parliament. She did not intend to try and advance her views on this side of the Atlantic at all, though

she should endeavour to obtain information as to the position of women in the Dominion with regard to the suffrage. The present time she thought most favourable for introducing women's suffrage, as the country was practically engaged in a revolution, for the effect of the Franchise Bill would really amount to that, and when the franchise was being extended to reach the agricultural classes, it ought also to be made to include women. It was intended to have had a clause to this effect introduced in the Franchise Bill, but Mr. Gladstone said that its presence would endanger the passing of the Bill, so the House of Commons rejected the clause, one hundred and four members turning faint hearted, who should have supported the clause. The result had proved that the Bill was rejected, even after the noxious clause had been withdrawn. The Liberal leaders having refused to take up the subject of women's suffrage in the Franchise Bill, the leaders of the Conservative party had agreed to take it up. Lord John Manners raised the objection to the Franchise Bill that although it gave the farm labourer a vote, it did not give his mistress one, and Sir Stafford Northcote and the other leaders of the Conservatives followed on the same lines; consequently, the Conservative leaders were committed to the advocacy of the measure and what the Conservatives advocate, the Liberals could not long resist in the matter of reform. If the Franchise Bill is read again by the House of Lords in the autumn session, she understood on good authority that a prominent Conservative peer would move the addition of the clause in question. She had no doubt at all that if the Commons had only accepted this clause in the Franchise Bill, the House of Lords would have accepted the whole Bill. The present agitation, which the House of Lords had brought on themselves, was very unfortunate and regrettable, as they had raised, by the rejection of the Bill, a storm which might prove very disastrous. Still the agitation hardly seemed as spontaneous as many previous ones, but more as if it were arranged and worked from the political centres. A Scotch Liberal member of the House of Commons had told her that he had been asked to work up his constituents to take part in the Hyde Park demonstration; there appeared to be no real strength or depth of feeling in the affair. She had heard a humorous tale of a charwoman saying she could not come to work on that day because a friend had invited her to go and see the "funeral of the House of Lords!" The object of their agitation was to obtain the Parliamentary franchise for women who were householders or owners of property in their own right. Such women at the present time had equality in the franchise in all except Parliamentary elections, and it was to secure this for them that they were working. The number of women who would be affected by this change, if it had been carried with the Franchise Bill, was estimated by Mr. Gladstone at half a million. They did not, at all events at present, contend for extending this to married women, as there was a barrier in the common law which proved an obstacle to their having a vote in any elections. The advocacy of the question in the House of Commons was in the hands of Mr. Woodall, member for Stoke-on-Trent.

## BRITISH ASSOCIATION, MONTREAL.

## FACTORY LEGISLATION.

In the Economic Section, September 1st, Mr. Cooke Taylor read a paper on "Factory Legislation," the object of which was to discuss both the proper sanction for factory legislation and the means of making it most efficient and useful.

Mrs. HALLETT took part in the discussion. She was of opinion that unless legislation was applied to men it should not be applied to women. Women, she considered, should have a direct influence on the Legislature, and she was glad to learn that the Premier of the Dominion, Sir John A. Macdonald, had proposed to admit women to the franchise in Canada.

The CHAIRMAN (Sir Richard Temple), in summing up the discussion, said that the great question to be considered was whether women could restrict their labour as men can, or must the Legislature help them to do so.—*Gazette*, Montreal, Sept. 2nd, 1884.

ROYAL UNIVERSITY OF IRELAND.—Fifteen ladies have passed successfully in the First University Examination (the one which comes between Matriculation and the B.A.).

## WOMEN VOTERS IN IRELAND: LOCAL ELECTIONS.

At a special meeting of the Warrenpoint (co. Down, Ireland) Town Commissioners, on September 23rd, the question whether women can vote at elections of Town Commissioners was discussed. There was a full attendance, and the Chairman (Mr. G. W. Francis) presided. In reply to Mr. McConville, the Clerk read the Act of Parliament relating to the matter, which was to the effect that every person of full age who was properly qualified was entitled to vote, and that any householder or person of full age who had the necessary qualifications was eligible to be elected as town commissioner. Mr. M. Conville (Nationalist): I hope we will get our nice little Franchise Bill before we have the ladies here. (Laughter.) The Clerk said that in Newtownards and Coleraine the women exercised the right of the franchise. Mr. Jones proposed that the Clerk should make out a list of rated occupiers, including in it the ladies. Mr. Pedlow: I second that. Mr. McConville: Only think of having the ladies here. (Laughter.) The Chairman: Are you not a ladies' man? Mr. McConville: I am at home, but not here. (Great laughter.) Mr. Courtney: Well, what about the ladies? let us hear that. The Chairman: I think it is very uncharitable to deprive women of their rights. Mr. M'Murray: If it is legal why not let them vote? Mr. Jones: Hear, hear. Mr. M'Murray is a ladies' man. (Renewed laughter.) The Clerk: The ladies are elected to sit at the boards in England. Mr. McConville: I'll resign, and put a lady in my place. (Laughter.) Mr. Courtney: She might make a better man than you. Mr. M'Murray: I saw in the papers that three ladies were returned as poor-law guardians in England some short time ago. (Laughter.) The Chairman put the motion and declared it carried. Mr. Courtney: We will soon have all the ladies over from London setting up as town commissioners. (Laughter.)

## GOOD RESULT OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE IN WASHINGTON TERRITORY.

The *Union Signal* says:—"Since the election at Olympia, Washington Territory, at which time the united votes of good men and women delivered that capital city from the legalised saloon, there has been no more watched-for day in the territory than July 14, when Seattle, one of its largest cities, was to test the question of licence at the ballot box. The day dawned, men and women came early to the polls, carriages were driven everywhere for voters. One woman with her span of horses brought many other women to vote who lived at a distance. 'I never before saw so many men walking out with their wives as there are this morning,' remarked one of the 'oldest inhabitants.' 'That is because it is election day, and of nearly 3,000 registered voters about one-third are women,' was the reply.

"The result of all this activity and the large vote, three times as large as any before polled, is a complete victory for law and order in two of the three wards of the city."

## OPINION OF A NORWEGIAN STATESMAN ON WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

We have received a very interesting article maintaining the importance of the question from the pen of Mr. H. E. Berner, a distinguished member of the Norwegian Storting, of whose energetic efforts in the cause of women we spoke last month. The present article is in the *Nyt Tidsskrift*, an important Norwegian magazine, and is one of a series on the most prominent women's questions. "To the Women of Norway" was written with a firm hand on the title page of a heavy American book in yellow leather binding which was presented to the University Library by Elizabeth Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Matilda Gage, authors of the *History of Women's Suffrage*. The time will come when Norway's women will respond to the confidence which the book's well-known donors have placed in their sympathy for freedom and progress. It may be that Norwegian women will also share in the political emancipation which, for the last hundred years, since the great French revolution, has been the chief blessing of the world. Norwegian women already see their sisters in many places in unrestrained possession of the powerful weapon of freedom, the vote, which decides the fate of nations and lands in the undisturbed quiet of peace and order, determines the course of progress, and has done so much to assure human happiness

on earth. Can the true woman, the enfranchised wife, the mother of the growing race ever be without feeling for human happiness, or without the sentiment of responsibility for what touches the fatherland deepest, the well-being and honour of her fellow men, or without comprehension of the importance of public concern, or be less interested than man in the good guidance of the State, a true form of worship, an enlightened system of education, an honest poor law; in short in all that the humane and enlightened spirit of this century undertakes within or without.

For it cannot be eternally true of Norwegian what the priest says in the funeral sermon of Ibsen's "Peer Gynt" over the "bad citizen, a barren tree for state and church."

Outside the ring  
Of those who nearest stood, he nothing saw  
For him rang meaningless, like tinkling bells  
The words which loudly should approach each heart  
Folk, Fatherland, the luminous, the grand  
Were ever veiled and cloudy to his sight.

If we admit that woman can think, we must also admit that she can vote; for if we admit that she has thoughts, we cannot prevent her from devoting them to the interests of that society of which she is a member.

The difference in sex is, when speaking of political rights—to use Mill's words in "Representative Government"—as unimportant as a difference in height or complexion. All human beings have the same interest—a good Government. The welfare of all is concerned in the same degree, and all to the same extent are needed to use their influence in order to secure their share in its advantages. If there is any difference it should be that women need it more than men, because, with their lesser physical strength, they are more dependent on the protection of law and society.

It is not difficult to name those public questions in which women's votes would be of great practical importance. The management of girls' schools, the common property of married couples, the independence of the wife in her personal concerns, the admission to take part in a multitude of professions and employments from which they are now excluded, participation in the important affairs of School and Poor Law Boards—all these prove how many of our State and society functions bear closely on women's lives. We doubt if even the war budgets and war taxes would be so shamelessly large all over Europe if women had influence on the guidance of the State.

What are the chief reasons for keeping women out of active participation in public life which concerns her so deeply? It is contrary to womanhood, they say. . . . No one can better judge what is in unison with woman's nature than woman herself. Leave it to herself to judge whether she will hurt womanhood more by two or three times a year—or, perhaps, only every third year—putting a vote in the ballot-box than by reading day after day the *Morning News* or the *Daily News* political articles, and becoming as good a party woman as Sedmer or Sverdrup are good party men. For women have not remained outside party struggles any more here than elsewhere; some persons even maintain that women are greater partisans than men. But if politics with their noise and unseemliness are so incompatible with womanly fine feeling, one of two things will happen—either her elevated feelings will drive her away from the ballot-box, or she will drive away all those political excesses which are incompatible with her noble nature from the polling booth. Let us try how it will be.

"But she will neglect her housekeeping and maternal duties if she votes." To give in a voting paper, if the elections were managed as they should be, is so quickly done that the porridge would not be burnt in many pots on that account. It is no worse for women than for men. Most men who vote are, like wives and mothers, compelled to place family or professional considerations above public considerations. They are no less tied to their desks or their workshops than women are to their household duties. If it must be an objection to the granting of the franchise that one has some sort of business, the consequences must be that "only idlers have votes."

"Women care far more about being married than for possessing authority," said a member of the Storting during the discussion on married women's independence. The same foolish estimate of women's understanding and heart would assume that she cared for no other election than the election of a husband, to whose will she must submit all her life. But even if it were true that a majority

of women are vague about the good a vote will do them, it cannot be denied, as Mill says, that it is always good for human beings to be freed from bonds, even if they do not themselves desire it.

After tracing the course of the political liberty of women in England and America, Herr Berner continues:—The question meets us everywhere. It is discussed in Italian railway carriages, for it has been on the Orders of the Day in the Italian Parliament.

Our countrymen in Iceland have sanctioned a law (May, 1882) by which widows and unmarried women over twenty-five, and being householders or possessing other independent property, have a vote in communal and clerical elections.

It is not surprising that Swedish women have been found worthy of inclusion in the enfranchised class. And it will not be long before the first blow of women's suffrage is struck in the Rigsdag.

Also in Finland, under the Emperor of Russia's sceptre, women have the vote in Church and communal elections, and here as elsewhere the system works extremely well. For the best means of educating women to self-government is the same that has always been the best for educating men to self-government—namely, a share in government.

We flatter ourselves on being an eminently practical people, who will not undertake a harder day's work than we are capable of. The quick advance the woman's cause has hitherto had is owing not least to the circumstance that we have taken practical questions which lay within everyone's, even the most near-sighted, comprehension.

it will be with women's suffrage. We must be resigned to begin by coming alongside with Sweden and Iceland, and securing a vote for women in municipal, school, and poor-law elections.

FRENCH MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS.

The Times says: "Boulogne-sur-Mer, September 19th. The village of Nielles-les-Bléquin, between Desvres and St. Omer, in the Pas-de-Calais, has just distinguished itself by the returns of its élections municipales.

The Gazette des Femmes says: "During the late municipal elections we mentioned that two candidatures of women had been presented, one at Houquetot, in Seine Inférieure, the other in Lot and Garonne.

ADMISSION OF LADIES INTO THE KINGSTON (CANADA) UNIVERSITY.

The following letter from Professor Marshall gives some interesting information relating to the admission of women into the university:—

Queen's University, Kingston, Canada, 30th August, 1884.

Dear Madam,—The following facts are the important ones in the history of the admission of ladies into our university. In 1876, a Miss D. St. Remy, who had a school in Kingston, wrote to the Senate to ask if she and some other ladies might be admitted to the classes.

In 1880-81, lady students were first admitted to the College of Physicians and Surgeons, which is the medical department of the university, but two sessions were sufficient to show that their presence produced so much friction that mixed medical classes would not do here any more than in Edinburgh.

something we feel that we have done well in opening the university to them, independently of the great advantages which must undoubtedly flow from the increased spread of higher education.

If there be any further information I can supply you with I shall be glad to do so.—With much respect, I am, dear madam, yours very sincerely, D. H. MARSHALL.

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

Table listing subscriptions and donations for the Manchester Society for Women's Suffrage in September 1884, categorized by region (Durham, Sunderland, Ripon, Thirsk, Northallerton, Stockton-on-Tees, Penrith, Kendal, Hartlepool, Bishop Auckland).

S. ALFRED STEINTHAL, TREASURER, 28, Jackson's Row, Manchester.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS, FROM AUGUST 28TH TO SEPTEMBER 28TH, 1884.

Table listing subscriptions and donations to the Central Committee from August 28th to September 28th, 1884.

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

BRISTOL AND WEST OF ENGLAND.

SUBSCRIPTIONS FROM AUGUST 22 TO SEPT. 22, 1884.

Table listing subscriptions from August 22 to September 22, 1884, for Bristol and West of England.

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

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

Subscriptions are received by any of the following:—

- List of names and addresses of subscribers to the National Society for Women's Suffrage Special Appeal, including Mentia Taylor, Lydia E. Becker, S. A. Steintal, Alice Scatcherd, Lillias Ashworth Hallett, etc.

Table showing subscriptions already acknowledged, totaling £1,151 3 0.

Table showing subscriptions collected by Mrs. Scatcherd, including Mrs. Luccock, Mr. Isaac Holden, etc.

Table showing subscriptions collected by Bristol, including Mr. Samuel Morley, Miss Rooker, etc.

Table showing subscriptions collected by Mrs. Haslam, Dublin, including Mrs. Hamilton, Mrs. Maurice Brooks, etc.



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<p><b>FENNING'S EVERY MOTHER'S BOOK</b> sent post free on application by letter or post card. Direct Alfred Fennings, West Cowes, I. W.</p>		

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