

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE JOURNAL.

EDITED BY LYDIA E. BECKER.

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

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

THE WOMAN QUESTION IN EUROPE. A series of Original Essays; edited by THEODORE STANTON, M.A. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York: 27 and 29, West 23rd-street. London: 23, Henrietta-street, Covent Garden; and Sampson Low & Co.

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

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

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Correspondence.

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

PETITIONS.

HOUSE OF COMMONS. PARLIAMENTARY FRANCHISE.—For Extension to Women. FOURTEENTH REPORT, 11—17 June, 1884.

Table of petitions presented to the House of Commons, including entries for Hyde, Haverfordwest, Westminster, Ryde, Ashover, Belfast, Mary Langley, London School Board, Hartlepool, Westow, Clergymen of the Church of England, Brompton, Caroline Richardson, Bristol Branch of the Ladies' National Association, Fanny A. Dunn, Edward William Bridge, Newcastle upon Tyne, Dundee, Hyde, Woolwich, Kelso, Bodmin, London, Luton, London, Marion A. Mills, Ulster, Belfast, Meath, Bedford Park, Penketh, Howth, Ballyroan, and Limerick.

Table of petitions presented to the House of Commons, including entries for Westbury, London, and London Members of the General Committee of the National Society for Women Suffrage.

Total number of Petitions 653—Signatures 35,949

FIFTEENTH REPORT, 18—24 June, 1884.

Table of petitions presented to the House of Commons, including entries for Manchester, William E. A. Oxon, Catherine Eyre Woods, Ilfracombe, Dublin, Wexford, Tulse Hill, Galway, and Middlesbrough.

Total number of Petitions 662—Signatures 36,319

SIXTEENTH REPORT, 25—27 June, 1884.

Table of petitions presented to the House of Commons, including entries for Islington and Barnsbury, Bromley, Kensington, Finsbury, Plaistow, North London, Chelsea, Penzance, Clifton, Portadown, Cambridge, Alice M. Caird, and Sunderland Conservative Club.

Total number of Petitions 675—Signatures 36,469

SEVENTEENTH REPORT, 4 July, 1884.

Table of petitions presented to the House of Commons, including entry for Mary Scarth.

Total number of Petitions 676—Signatures 36,477

EIGHTEENTH REPORT, 26 June—15 July, 1884.

Table of petitions presented to the House of Commons, including entries for Northbrook, London, Camberwell, Clapham, and Clapham Women teachers.

Total number of Petitions 680—Signatures 36,597

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THE session, which has been characterised as the "Session of failures," closed on August 12th. It has been a barren session, truly, in which the interest has centred chiefly round one point, and that point has not been achieved. When the "five-lined" whip brought together a Government majority of two to one against Mr. WOODALL'S clause the chief interest in the session was over for the women who had been working so long for a fair share of representation. The fate of the Representation Bill in the House of Lords had been predicted too openly and frequently to render it a subject for much speculation. Among the Bills, however, which were abandoned by the Government, in which women were very greatly concerned, was the London Government Bill. Assuming the number of women householders to be no greater than the returns given by the Local Government Board about two years ago, the number of women who would have received the municipal vote had the London Government Bill become law would have been over 36,000, no unimportant contingent to the voting power of the great city. When we consider the variety of interests which would come under the control of the municipal body, we can better estimate the immense educational influence that such a vote would give to women in London. It has long been a matter for regret that so many ladies in London should take a much less interest in public matters than the ladies of our large municipal boroughs. The absence of the vote to a great extent accounts for this indifference, for we have invariably found the same result in other towns which have been deprived of the municipal franchise. Women have fewer opportunities than men of influencing public opinion, and it is to them, therefore, even of more importance than to men that year by year questions of public interest should be discussed in their hearing and their opinions asked and taken upon them. Had the London Government Bill not shared in the fate of so many other "innocents," it would not only have been the means of rousing a wide-spread political interest among many classes of women whom the wave of politics now hardly touches, but would have added

another proof of their power of becoming capable citizens as soon as they are given a fair chance. C. A. B.

It will be almost a relief to our readers, for whom such numerous meetings have been chronicled through the past winter and summer, that during the month which has just gone by no meetings have been held. Women have been looking on, not unsympathetically, while it is men's turn now to hold demonstrations, to form associations, to pass resolutions.

Millions of throats will shout for civil rights No woman named.

They are doing it in a single-minded way, which would be almost ludicrous were it not also sad, in apparent unconsciousness that women have held just the same meetings, have made precisely the same claim, and like them have been refused justice; not, however, on the plea that another and wider measure should accompany the extension of representation, but on the far more insulting ground that theirs was not a question for the "voter of political contention" at all. Men are now holding their demonstrations in Manchester, Birmingham, Bolton, Hyde Park, and numberless other places. Women, with smaller opportunities and ludicrously smaller means, have held theirs in Manchester, Birmingham, Nottingham, Bristol, Sheffield, Bradford, Glasgow, and Edinburgh, at which thousands and thousands of women have come together to bring forward their claim as "capable citizens" to be included in the representation of their country. Men's voices are louder, they have more money, and better organisation; but, above all, they are powerful in having already three millions of voters among their ranks. Had women even a few thousands of voters among their own sex, their claims could not now be ignored at these great meetings. C. A. B.

ON August 4th the Custody of Infants Bill stood for second reading in the House of Lords, and was brought forward in an able speech by Lord FITZGERALD. Lord

CAIRNS, however, while declining to pledge himself to any opinion upon the necessity for an alteration in the law, advised the withdrawal of the Bill, as he believed it would be impossible to pass it in its present shape. The motion for the second reading was therefore withdrawn, and the cruel inequality of the law, which assigns the entire control and authority over the child only to one parent, and that parent the one who has had the least responsibility and trouble with its nurture, will remain unaltered for at least another year.

When Mr. BRYCE brought forward his Bill in the House of Commons, it received what we may consider an unprecedented degree of support for a measure of so new a character; and, although some of the members who voted for the second reading expressed their intention to uphold the authority of the father in Committee, the hope that this session might see the removal of a great national legal injustice to women appeared to be fully justified.

But though delayed, it is not likely, in our opinion, that the cause of equal rights for the mother will eventually suffer in the House of Lords. We have before us the example of the Bill for Married Women's Property. It is true that in 1870, when the Commons had passed a much more comprehensive and satisfactory Bill than the one which became law, the Peers so modified and restricted its clauses that further agitation became absolutely necessary. Nevertheless the Married Women's Property Law of 1882, more satisfactory than that of any other European country, was introduced first in the House of Lords, and from thence descended to the Commons. Following this precedent, we have no fear that there will be less consideration for the claims of women as mothers in the hereditary than in the representative House. So long as the House of Commons continues to represent only one side of the nation, women have just as fair a chance of getting their claims attended to in one House as in the other.

It is intended to reintroduce the Custody of Infants Bill in the House of Lords, and, if it be found impossible to do this in the autumn session, it will be reintroduced at the earliest possible date in the session of 1885, either by Lord FITZGERALD or by the LORD CHANCELLOR himself. The number of petitions presented during the past session (including those put down under the Joint Custody of Children) were 263, with 27,467 signatures. To the House of Lords at least 160 petitions, with nearly 20,000 signatures, were sent in. We trust that all our friends

who have petitioned last session will do so again for the autumn session, and ask as many as possible to join them.
C. A. B.

WHATEVER diversity of opinion may exist upon the desirability of having a Law of Divorce, or however deeply we may lament that the closest human tie upon which all family happiness rests should ever require to be dissolved, there can be no doubt of the importance of the French Divorce Act which has been obtained through the perseverance of M. NAQUET.

The English Divorce Act, which dates from 1857, almost before equal rights were talked of for women at all, committed gross injustice to women, an injustice instanced even by Mr. GLADSTONE in 1871 as a reason why women needed representation. We may believe that the work of nearly thirty years has not been without its effect, and that if a law on that subject were now passed in England men and women would be at a greater equality. But we were far from expecting the same result in France. Under the new law, owing to an amendment moved in the Senate by the celebrated Protestant pastor, DE PRESSENSÉ, precisely the same causes that enable a man to get his marriage contract dissolved enable a woman also. We may differ in opinion about the importance of some of the causes for which divorce is allowed, but the grand fact of equality between men and women cannot be overlooked. The miserable doctrine of the inequality of obligation between man and wife in contracting marriage is once for all swept away, and, if domestic unhappiness has become so great that it must seek a legal remedy, the partner who is the weaker, and whose happiness is more dependent upon home comfort and affection, will not be forced to submit to a more stringent law than that which binds her stronger mate. In this respect France has set us an example of justice towards women that we were far from anticipating.
C. A. B.

THERE is a lamentable absence of historical knowledge among the orators who have lately been calling large meetings for the sake of intimidating, or, as they generally phrase it, getting rid of the House of Lords. It is so easy to say "Down with anything," that it is not very surprising that meetings which assemble to help the Government to pass the Franchise Bill should end by passing resolutions that the House of Lords is injurious, unnecessary, and ought to be abolished. It is no part of the business of our journal to enter into party politics, or

we might express our astonishment that the speakers at the last great meeting in St. James's Hall should base their argument on the plea that in 1649 the country got on very well for nine years without a second House, forgetful that during the greater part of CROMWELL's rule it got on also, practically, without a House of Commons, and also without a king, having cut off his head! But the present day has given us no CROMWELL.

Meantime there is a strong similarity between the arguments we hear against the late votes of the House of Lords and those which Admiral MAXSE, and others of his school, employ against the votes of women. "If they are content to vote as men do, it is all very well, but where is the use of only duplicating the vote? If they want to vote differently to men, they shall not vote at all." The *New Toryism* of the present day—to use HERBERT SPENCER's expression—insists upon everybody being Liberal precisely after its own fashion, or else he has no right to be anything at all.
C. A. B.

THE Twentieth Report of Parliamentary Petitions records the fact that 683 petitions, containing 36,686 signatures, have been presented this year in favour of extending the Parliamentary Franchise to women. This does not include a large number which have also been presented to the House of Lords. There is considerable cause for satisfaction in the increase over the number of petitions presented last year, which were 469, with a total number of 13,373 signatures. Much gratitude is due to those friends who have so effectually helped the cause by taking charge of and circulating petition forms. It is at all times a toilsome proceeding, and when undertaken year after year with the knowledge that each time Parliament has rejected the prayer, and that Sisyphus-like we must begin to roll up our stone from the bottom of the hill again, we are not surprised that many have discontinued petitioning from discouragement. But we must earnestly beg our friends to take heart of grace and begin again with renewed energy. It is extremely desirable that during an autumn session, chiefly if not entirely occupied with the Franchise Bill, a large number of petitions should be presented. The injury done to women by their exclusion from all participation in the great measure which brings enfranchisement to two millions more men, cannot be too pointedly insisted on, or too frequently brought before the attention of Parliament. In some respects the holiday season, though it prevents other forms of work, is very favourable to the collection of petitions. New acquaintances are

made, new subjects for conversation arise, and there is more leisure to make converts and obtain signatures than during a busier season. We urgently entreat our friends not to let the opportunity pass, but to begin this most useful work without delay.
C. A. B.

THE country has resounded with outcries against an hereditary House of Lords. Not inheritance of title bound down by old tradition and old ways of thought should make a nation's aristocracy—so the outcry runs,—but inheritance of brain-power full of the newest hopes and aspirations.

Be it so, the "aristocracy of genius and character" is what the world wants now, ever has wanted, and ever will want. If heritage of title fails to produce such an aristocracy, seek a superior way. But let the seekers remember there is one thing in which inheritance of genius resembles inheritance of title—both come of the father's side, both come also of the mother's. In their indignation let them not forget that the hereditary principle has admitted this double line of heritage as no democratic rulers have ever done.

The ancestors of our old noble houses recognised and respected the double lineage, and the honour or office, which should pass from father to son, was not suffered to fall because at times it was passed on by a daughter. Armorial bearings which were the visible signs of ancestral glories were added by the wife to the shield of her husband and passed on to her children. Not as women's rights these, but as families' rights. The rights of the daughters were part and parcel of the family's rights. To this we owe it that Queen VICTORIA is on the throne to-day. This it was that made it possible for a lady to be high sheriff of a county, or to return two "Parliament men" all to herself. Far, and ever far may we continue from the days when a lady of the manor could have power of life and death: far too from those comparatively recent days when a lady of the manor could have the officers of a corporate town in her own appointment, and could manipulate its politics all to the interest of her own party. Such things are evil alike for lord, for lady, and for country: but also it is evil that, while the power of the lord is regulated, the lady should be shorn of even her own individual vote.

The idea of the tools to him that can use them has overshadowed the idea of the tools to whomsoever is born to them, until political ideas have become transformed, and instead of the Commons being humbly submissive to

the Lords, the Lords are vehemently attacked because they venture to differ from the Commons. The highest place in a competitive examination, or at a public election, not the so-called accident of birth, increasingly decides into whose hands the tools of political power shall fall, and the wife or daughter is no longer called to hold places and honours in order to keep the family power. Consequently, while the value for individual capacity is extending the sovereign power of the franchise amongst the men of the people, the women of the people are being pressed further and further away (except in the case of the throne which remains untouched by the new idea), and every successive growth of popular power has placed women politically lower than before. Wherefore *now*, now when a further growth of that power is at hand, women owe it to their country, to their families, to themselves to demand an articulate voice in the great national chorus going up from the hearths and homes of men. Public duty and self-respect command them to claim the franchise on equal terms.

The men about to be enfranchised expect by their votes to rise in the scale of human happiness and human culture. Vain hope if they leave the women without the pale. It behoves men who condemn the right of veto of the Lords to be watchful that they do not themselves usurp a yet worse right of veto, a veto on the hopes and aspirations of the daughters of their country who, taught by their own example and their own words,

“ . . . crave a larger life,
Who love the liberty thou (England) holdest dear ;
Who hands and heart and head would fain employ
Unlimited, except by the Supreme.”

H. B.

WE have the pleasure of announcing that the cause of women is making swift progress in a country formerly closely united to ours in blood, but long since separated by political interests, and national language and customs. Mr. H. E. BERNER, a distinguished member of the Norwegian Parliament, has been successful this past session in opening the entire University privileges of the Christiania University to women. In 1882 Mr. BERNER succeeded in opening the Arts Examination in the University to women; this session, by the extension of the law, they have been admitted to all University degrees, and can enjoy their fair share of all bequests and stipends belonging to the University. The principal opponent to this measure was a priest, but it passed the Storting without any debate.

The same indefatigable advocate of women's freedom and equality has obtained the enactment of a law by which, after passing a due examination, they may practice as apothecaries and pharmaceutical chemists. Some women are already occupied in this useful profession in the capital.

We hear also that a Society has been formed in Christiania, under the active supervision of this same good friend, for improving the position of women. In these efforts towards rendering the *status* of women on an equality with that of men, Norway is returning to her ancient customs, as in early Scandinavia women were much freer and more highly considered than in any of the Latin races. C. A. B.

PARLIAMENTARY INTELLIGENCE.

HOUSE OF LORDS, August 4th. CUSTODY OF INFANTS.

LORD FITZGERALD, in moving the second reading of this Bill, said the principle of the Bill was to recognise the mother's right in the event of her surviving her husband to be the guardian of her children either alone, if he has appointed no guardian, or conjointly with any guardian appointed by him. By the common law the father's right to the custody and care of his infant children was fully recognised. It was subsequently, to some extent, affected by statute, especially the Infants Protection Act, 1873, and controlled by the Lord Chancellor, representing the Queen as *Parens Patrie*, where infants had been made wards of Courts in respect of their property. But it was not intended to interfere with that branch of the law as it now existed. By an Act passed in the 12th year of the reign of Charles II., the father was enabled to appoint guardians of his children, who after his death were clothed with very large powers over the infant children, their education, and their property, to the entire exclusion of the surviving mother. If the father did not appoint guardians, then the mother became guardian for nurture during the period of nurture, but full guardianship could only be obtained through the medium of Chancery. The surviving mother had no power to appoint a guardian to act after her decease. When the statute of Charles II. was passed, the rights of a married woman and the claims of a mother had but small recognition in the law. Now, with the light of advancing civilisation, the situation was entirely altered. The last relics of feudal barbarism as to ignoring women's rights were rapidly disappearing. Under the statute power was given to the father to appoint guardians to act after his death. Great cruelty was too often practised on the surviving mother, and it often happened that although she was blameless in conduct and of unblemished character her infant children were taken from her and committed to the charge of strangers during that period of life when they most required that maternal care and maternal love for which there could be no compensation. (Hear, hear.) Their lordships could not fail to recall to memory even within the last few years some instances of the greatest cruelty arising from this state of the law. The great object which the present Bill sought to effect was to redress that crying grievance. Accordingly the effect of the second clause would be to constitute the surviving mother guardian of her infant children in conjunction with any guardian appointed by the father. The third clause permits both parents to appoint guardians to act jointly after the decease of the survivor and enables the father to appoint a guardian to act with the surviving mother; and by the fourth sub-clause power was given in certain grave cases to the mother to apply to the Court during her husband's lifetime to appoint a guardian to act after her decease in conjunction with her surviving husband. The remainder of the Bill consisted of procedure, but of an important and valuable character. It clothed the Court with new and full powers to take

order for the welfare of infants on the application of the mother during the life of the father, "having regard to the welfare of the infant, the conduct of the parents, and the wishes alike of the father and the mother." It gave a new jurisdiction to the county courts, but rendered safe by a right to each party to have the case at once removed to Chancery, coupled with a summary right of appeal from every order made by a county court judge. He had only further to add that the Bill did not interfere with the right of the father during his life or with the rights of property, and left wholly untouched the burning question of religious teaching. (Cheers.)

EARL CAIRNS said that this was a Bill which unquestionably made the largest change in the law of this country relating to families that had been seen for the last 200 years. He desired to point out to their lordships that the Bill had been printed and circulated only on Saturday afternoon, and that on Monday they were asked to assent to the principle by reading the measure a second time. Considering the circumstances in which they were placed at this late period of the session he thought this was rather hard on their lordships. Various Bills had been relinquished on the ground that they would lead to a great deal of debate, and as he was certain this Bill would lead to considerable discussion he did not think it possible to do otherwise than to refer it to a Select Committee of their lordships' House. Every sentence of the Bill would require the greatest consideration. He should like to abstain from offering any opinion as to whether he agreed to the necessity for an alteration of the law; he would say nothing about that; but he held a very strong opinion that it would be utterly impossible to pass this Bill in its present shape. (Hear, hear.) The proposals which it made would lead to squabbles in all the families in the country. It proposed to give a complete blank cheque to the county court judges to act in all cases where the guardians of the children differed. In conclusion, he implored their lordships, before they made a change in the law, to appoint a Select Committee to inquire into the matter.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR was of opinion that the general principle of the Bill was sound, and that its main provisions were defensible. The small amount of consideration now given by law to the mother with regard to her children was in principle wholly wrong, as she had natural rights in her children not less than those of the father.

LORD BRAMWELL expressed his entire concurrence with everything which had been said by the noble and learned lord opposite. The law certainly at present needed some amendment, but he very much doubted whether it required such an amendment as was proposed by this Bill.

LORD FITZGERALD had hoped that he should have been able to remove all the objections which his noble and learned friends had raised to the Bill in Committee. He must, however, rest content with having drawn public attention to this important subject. He begged to withdraw the motion for the second reading of the Bill.

The motion for the second reading was then withdrawn.

When Parliament was prorogued on August 12th two Bills still stood on the minutes of the House of Lords as "waiting for second reading." These were the Representation of the People Bill and Lord Denman's Women's Suffrage Bill.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, August 7th. THE LADIES' GALLERY.

MR. GOURLEY asked the First Commissioner of Works whether, during the recess, he would favourably consider and adopt measures for an increase of space and improved ventilation in the ladies' gallery; also, for the removal of the screen; and farther, if any order of the House existed which left about one-third of the gallery with a divisional partition under the control of the Speaker.

MR. S. LEFEVRE said he would consider the question, but he would not hold out any prospect that he would be able to do anything as to the partition. It was raised there to appropriate a portion of the gallery, under the recommendation of a Committee, which sat after the House was opened, and which conferred the right of admission on the Speaker, not as a place of private patronage, but with a view to making provision for distinguished persons.

MR. PULESTON asked him to state the reason why the grating could not be removed.

No answer was given.

MARRIED WOMEN'S PROPERTY AMENDMENT BILL, VICTORIA.

We rejoice to hear that there is a near prospect that a Bill similar to the Act of 1882 will be carried in Victoria on June 24th. The *Melbourne Argus* says:—

In the Victorian Legislature Mr. THORNLEY moved the second reading of the Married Women's Property Act Amendment Bill, stating that it was an adaptation of the Imperial Act of 1882. It repealed all existing statutes, and enacted that a married woman might hold or dispose of by will or otherwise any real or personal property. She would also be able under it to contract, sue or be sued, and incur liability to the extent of her separate property, whether in her possession when the Act was passed, or coming to her subsequently. If a woman who was married before the Act came into force became possessed of property afterwards she would be able to deal with it as she chose. Provision was made for a married woman lending her husband money for the purposes of his business, but in such cases her husband's creditors would have a prior claim to her. The existing laws as to deposits of married women in institutions were continued. The present provisions as to insurance were also continued, with the addition that a married woman might insure her life for the benefit of her husband on the same terms as he can now insure his for the benefit of her. A married woman would be able to sue either civilly or criminally for the protection of her property. Provision was made for joining husband and wife as defendants in ante-nuptial liabilities, and for determining questions arising between husband and wife as to property claimed. Powers were expressly conferred by the Bill on married women to act as trustees or executrices. The necessity for some such change as was proposed by the Bill was felt by every person. Already fifty or sixty different cases had been before the courts for directions, and he might mention, as showing how ripe the question was for settlement when it was before the House of Commons in England, that the Bill there must have occupied the House only a very short time, judging from the few remarks reported about it in *Hansard*. The Bill was framed upon the resolutions agreed to by the Imperial Parliament, and followed its Act as closely as possible.

DR. HEARN believed the Bill was substantially the same as the English Act. That should be sufficient to induce hon. members to pass it, because it was most advisable for them to follow the law of England as much as possible in regard to all marriage laws. He had not, however, had time to read the Bill through great pressure of other matters, and he would therefore ask the hon. member proposing the motion to allow him time, and not press it this day beyond the second reading.

The motion was agreed to, the Bill was committed *pro forma*, and progress was reported to the House.

POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS.

CONSTITUTIONAL CLUB, HULL.

At a meeting of the Political Committee of this Club in July it was decided to sign a petition for women's suffrage.

CONSERVATIVE ASSOCIATION, SCARBOROUGH.

The above association, July 8th, adopted, signed, and forwarded to Lord Denman for presentation a petition in favour of extending the franchise to women.

JUNIOR CONSERVATIVE ASSOCIATION, HASTINGS.

At a meeting of the above association on August 6th Mr. R. E. SMITH said he thought it was not right to pass the Franchise Bill without redistribution, but it was not right to give a lot of uneducated people the vote, when such men as the police and post officials were left, because they were under the Government. (Hear, hear.) He thought they should be in the franchise, and he must say, too, he was of opinion there should be an enfranchisement of the ladies. (Applause.) When they looked into the matter, they would find there was a great amount of taxation imposed upon females, especially in a borough like this, where a great many of them kept lodging-houses, and there were also a great many who had public-houses and had to pay enormous licenses. He said it was not right to enfranchise a lot of uneducated people, who would have no idea

what they were voting for, when they left out ladies who were compelled to pay a great amount of taxation. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. H. BULTZ supported the resolution, but did not quite agree with the remarks about the ladies. He thought their policy was a home one—viz., in their own homes.

The CHAIRMAN (the Rev. A. F. Bramwell) said it was a delicate question to talk about the ladies. (Laughter.) He had had his own opinion for some years upon the subject, which was that it would be letting in an element which might be more difficult to work with than they were aware of. But, at the same time, he thought there was a great deal to be said on the score of those who had, certainly, a large interest in the country, and, perhaps, more so than the class of individuals, who had but very little, and whose knowledge of political economy and that kind of thing could not be supposed to be very large.

LECTURE AT PRESTON.

In a lecture on current political topics on July 24th at Preston by Mr. Walter Shirley Shirley, who is spoken of as a future Radical candidate for the representation of that town, he said: Had he been in the House of Commons during the recent session of Parliament he certainly would have voted against Mr. Woodall's amendment, but at the same time he thought the principle of that amendment was perfectly sound—that women were very often as capable citizens as men, and that they ought to have the franchise. It had been said that the votes of the women would swamp those of the men, but he could not imagine a more unreasonable suggestion than that. It assumed that the women would all vote the same way. But they knew that on all the great questions the opinions of women were just as much divided as were those of men. (Hear, hear.) A woman would not be returned to the House of Commons unless she was thought to be a fit and proper person by the constituency, and they knew as well as he did that there were plenty of women in this country as well fitted to sit in Parliament and consider questions that came before that chamber as any men. (Hear, hear.)

SCOTLAND.

DRAWING-ROOM MEETINGS.

Four drawing-room meetings have taken place in Edinburgh in addition to the fifteen already reported in last month's *Journal*. Addresses were delivered by members of the Edinburgh Committee, and resolutions unanimously passed in favour of forwarding petitions to both Houses of Parliament. The following are the ladies at whose houses the meetings were held:—Mrs. Beattie Brown, St. Bernard's Crescent; Mrs. Suttie, Bellone Terrace; Miss Seton, Candlemaker Row; Mrs. Lindsay, Windsor-street. The principal speakers were Miss Butler, Miss Simpson, Miss Wigham.

MEMORIAL OF IRISH PRESBYTERIAN MINISTERS.

An influentially-signed memorial from more than 150 members of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Ireland was presented to Mr. Gladstone in the beginning of August by Sir Thos. M'Clure, Bart., M.P.

The following answer was received:—

[COPY.]

10, Downing-street, Whitehall, August 4th, 1884.

Dear Sir,—Mr. Gladstone has had the honour to receive the memorial, numerously signed by ministers of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, in favour of enfranchising women; and he desires me to thank you for presenting it to him.—I remain, yours faithfully,

E. W. HAMILTON.

Sir Thomas M'Clure, Bart., M.P.

The Presbyterian body is of so much political weight in Ireland, and the signatures attached to this memorial represent so large a number of the leaders of opinion, the men of action as well as thinkers, that a list of the names will show better than any comment of ours how widespread an interest is taken in women's suffrage by those best calculated to form public sentiment, not only in Ulster but in other parts of Ireland. (Many other ministers signed, but their names came too late to be forwarded.)

The memorial is as follows:—

To the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P., First Lord of Her Majesty's Treasury.

The undersigned ministers of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland beg leave respectfully to lay before you the expression of their earnest hope that, as Her Majesty's Government has found it impracticable to include women householders in the Household Franchise Bill now before Parliament, they will at the earliest possible moment introduce a Bill for the purpose of enfranchising women householders and ratepayers.

Your memorialists believe that the enfranchisement of women is just in itself, and will be a great advantage to the country at large; and they are of opinion that in Ireland, in particular, it will add to the social forces on the side of peace and order.

Your memorialists therefore very earnestly pray that a claim so just and wise shall not be left to be dealt with at some future, uncertain period, nor by a private member, but that the Government will undertake it themselves, as one of the measures of Parliamentary reform needful for the satisfactory settlement of that question.

Rev. Wm. Johnston, D.D., Belfast (ex-Moderator of the General Assembly); Rev. Charles Morell, Dungannon (ex-Moderator, Commissioner of National Education); Rev. Robert Watts, D.D., Belfast (ex-Moderator); Rev. H. B. Wilson, D.D., Cookstown (ex-Moderator); Rev. J. Kinnear, D.D., M.P., Letterkenny; Rev. J. B. Dougherty, Magee College, Derry; Rev. J. H. Orr, Antrim (Clerk of Assembly); Rev. Wm. Rogers, LL.D., Whiteabbey; Rev. Henry Osborne, Holywood; Rev. J. D. Osborne, Ballymoney; Rev. James Glasgow, D.D., Portadown; Rev. Thomas Greer, Anahilt; Hugh Hanna, Belfast (Commissioner of National Education); Rev. J. J. Given, D.D., Magee College, Derry; Rev. J. Corkey, LL.D., Glendernot; Rev. R. Crawford, Belfast; Rev. A. R. Crawford, Drogheda; Rev. J. Acheson, Castlecaulfield; Rev. T. Alexander, Kilmore; Rev. J. Anderson, Greyabbey; Rev. Thos. Armstrong, Ballina; Rev. R. J. Arnold, Dunmurry; Rev. W. H. Bailey, Clogher; Rev. R. T. Bailey, Strangford; Rev. J. R. Bartley, Trenta; Rev. John Beatty, Roseyards; Rev. J. L. Bigger, Lisburn; Rev. W. G. Boyd, Ramoan; Rev. Daniel Brown, Keady; Rev. Nathaniel Brown, Limavady; Rev. Wm. Browne, Legacurry; Rev. Fred. Buick, Ahaghill; Rev. L. Burnett, Donoughmore; Rev. A. D. Burnside, Carryduff; Rev. A. C. Canning, Crumlin; Rev. J. Christie, Cairncastle; Rev. W. Clarke, Bangor; Rev. J. C. Clarke, Galway; Rev. J. K. Clarke, Fermoy; Rev. W. Cooke, Kilkenny; Rev. Hans Douglas, Woodburn; Rev. T. Dysart, Newtownhamilton; Rev. David Edgar, Ballynahinch; Rev. John Elliott, Armagh; Rev. J. K. Elliott, Magherafelt; Rev. J. E. Ferguson, Randalstown; Rev. J. C. Ferris, Newry; Rev. Ringland Fisher, Raffery; Rev. Neil Forsythe, Carlow; Rev. J. H. Forsythe, Vinecash; Rev. F. S. Gardener, Coleraine; Rev. J. S. Gass, Clones; Rev. T. S. Graham, Lishellan; Rev. H. Halliday, Holywood; Rev. S. Hamilton, Buckna; Rev. J. M. Hamilton, Donore, Dublin; Rev. J. N. Harkness, Stewartstown; Rev. S. L. Harrison, Castlebellingham; Rev. R. H. Harshaw, Mountmellick; Rev. James Henry, Cahans; Rev. J. D. Craig Houston, Hyde Park, Belfast; Rev. J. B. Huston, Aghadoey; Rev. Hugh Irwin, Crossroads, Derry; Rev. C. H. Irwin, Bray; Rev. Moffat Jackson, Sligo; Rev. G. Jackson, Ballyrashane; Rev. David Jamieson, Newtownhamilton; Rev. John Johnston, Mosside; Rev. T. W. Junk, Sixmilecross; Rev. G. S. Keegan, Newport; Rev. W. Kertland, LL.D., Dublin; Rev. E. Kimmitt, Clonakilty; Rev. J. Knowles, Ballynahinch; Rev. W. T. Latimer, Eglis; Rev. R. R. Lindsay, Crumhanagher; Rev. A. Lowry, Ballyshannon; Rev. L. A. Lyle, Ardstraw; Rev. R. J. Lynd, Belfast; Rev. W. J. Macaulay, Portadown; Rev. D. Macky, Albany; Rev. T. Madill, LL.D., Garnagh; Rev. Hamilton Magee, Dublin; Rev. George Magill, Belfast; Rev. E. T. Martin, Dundonald; Rev. J. D. Martin, Tullgallen; Rev. W. Todd Martin, Newtownards; Rev. M. M'Auley, M'Kelvey's Grove, Monaghan; Rev. M. M'Auley, Cahans; Rev. G. M'Caughy, Clagan; Rev. G. P. M'Kay, Tintona; Rev. W. J. M'Cracken, Ballyraston; Rev. D. G. M'Crear, Maghera-morne; Rev. G. M'Farland, Belfast; Rev. G. M'Ilveen, Belfast; Rev. J. M'Keown, Comber; Rev. W. M'Mordie, Tandragee; Rev. E. M'Mordie, Newtonstewart; Rev. D. H.

M'Murtry, Castleblayney; Rev. J. Meeke, Kingsmills; Rev. J. Meeke, Ballinderry; Rev. R. T. Megaw, Carrowdore; Rev. J. Milliken, Armooy; Rev. D. Mitchell, Warrenpoint; Rev. Josias Mitchell, Cornalley; Rev. A. Montgomery, Ballycairn; Rev. H. Montgomery, Belfast; Rev. J. R. Moore, Toberkeigh; Rev. David Moore, Killinchy; Rev. H. Morrison, Cumber; Rev. M. Murphy, Mullingar; Rev. J. H. Murphy, Cavan; Rev. G. Nesbitt, Markethill; Rev. John Orr, Derramore; Rev. A. Patton, Bangor; Rev. Samuel Punter, Dublin; Rev. J. T. Rea, May; Rev. J. Rentoul, D.D., Garvagh; Rev. R. Ross, Derry; Rev. W. Russell, Strabane; Rev. J. Scott, Banbridge; Rev. R. Shannon, Cladymore; Rev. Jonathan Simpson, Portrush; Rev. E. F. Simpson, Ballymena; Rev. W. Smyth, Loughgall; Rev. J. A. Smyth, Upper Cumber, Derry; Rev. G. Steen, Keady; Rev. S. Stewart, Alt; Rev. J. K. Strain, Dromdie; Rev. J. Sturgeon, Maguiresbridge; Rev. D. A. Taylor, Comber; Rev. T. A. Thompson, Ballymoulty; Rev. Andrew Todd, Tinvey; Rev. Isaac Vance, Gransha; Rev. W. Waddell, Knappagh; Rev. J. Waddell, Belfast; Rev. R. Wallace, Ballygoney; Rev. R. Warnock, Glenhoy; Rev. J. Watson, Boyle; Rev. R. Watson, Athlone; Rev. Thomas West, Antrim; Rev. R. J. Whan, Clare; Rev. J. M. Whigham, Ballinasloe; Rev. W. J. Williamson, Banagher; Rev. T. K. Wilson, Scumpher; Rev. John Wilson, Killala; Rev. J. P. Wilson, Cookstown; Rev. James Wilson, Clonmel; Rev. Andrew Wilson, Malone, Belfast; Rev. R. Workman, Newtonbreda; Rev. R. Wylie, LL.D., Coleraine; Rev. J. Kingham, Belfast.

PETITIONS.

On July 28th three petitions, one from inhabitants of Dublin for the extension of the franchise to women, were presented in the House of Lords.

On July 31st a petition from the inhabitants of Newton St. Loe for the same purpose was presented.

On August 4th a petition for the amendment of the Representation of the People Bill by the extension of the franchise to women was presented. Similar petitions were presented on August 5th.

WOMEN'S WORK AND TECHNICAL INSTRUCTION.

It happened to this writer recently to compare a few figures from the census of 1841 with the corresponding figures of 1881, the comparison has elicited some results which may be worthy of consideration, as indicating the directions in which modern conditions are helping or hindering the industries of women, for both processes are at work.

The proportion of women engaged in art shows that the art schools of the country are making their mark. The number of women artists in 1841 were one to seven men; in 1881, one to three men. Women musicians were one to thirteen men; they now form forty-eight per cent of the whole. Under the head of "author, editor, journalist," we find one woman to ten men in 1841, and one to between six and seven men in 1881. Photography, lithography, and the inferior trades of envelope and paper-bag making have entered the field since 1841, and largely occupy women, especially the envelope and bag, which are chiefly in their hands; so, by the way, are the steel pens.

But the special interest of our comparison lies not in the new trades which may be opening up, but in the changing proportions of women in occupations long recognised as theirs. Women as domestic servants were three-and-a-half to each man servant in 1841, and they are now twenty-one to each man servant. As pastry-cooks, women were about half as numerous as men in 1841, and now are slightly in excess. In cotton factories the number of men employed has doubled; that of women has trebled. In worsted factories the proportionate increase of women has been rather greater. Women teachers were scarcely more numerous than men in 1841, and now they are twice as numerous. The total number of farmers has diminished, but that of women rather less in proportion than men.

Thus far our figures have referred to industries where the proportion of women has increased. There are others where it has decreased. This decrease need not, perhaps, concern us greatly in the case of blacksmiths and carpenters (respectively one to 170 men

and one to 319 in 1841, and one to 300 and one to 1,000 respectively in 1881); nor even, perhaps, in regard to brewers, though brewing once in England a trade *entirely in the hands of women*, only occupied one woman to fifty men in 1841, and occupies but one to sixty-five in 1881. But what is to be said of the dressmakers and seamstresses? Are they beginning to go the way of the brewers and the spinners of old? How is it that men are invading these trades? Again, why is washing occupying an increasing proportion of men? Why do women engaged in lacemaking, in tailoring, in shoemaking show a less rapid increase in proportion than the men in those trades, as seen in the following table:—

	Total No. of Women employed in 1881.	Proportion of Women to Men in 1881.		Proportion of Women to Men in 1841.	
		Women.	Men.	Women.	Men.
Dressmaking, Millinery (and Stay Making, 1881)	357,995	123 to	1	288 to	1
Seamstresses and Shirt Makers	81,865	59 to	1	175 to	1
Tailors	52,980	1 to	203	1 to	16
Laundry Keepers, Washers, Manglers (1841); Washing & Bathing Service (1881) ...	176,670	52 to	1	82 to	1
Lace Makers	32,785	2'8 to	1	3 to	1
Boot and Shoe Makers	35,672	1 to	16	1 to	5

Surely there is but one explanation for these failing figures in trades so largely followed by women. They are all industries in which technical training has become indispensable for those who would keep up with the constant new appliances and new operations introduced by science. Science has invaded workrooms and washtubs, and, if they are to maintain their ground in their ancient strongholds of work, women must keep pace with science in the technical knowledge required for their particular industries. H. B.

CORRESPONDENCE.

SUGGESTION FOR FUTURE PETITIONS.

To the Editor of the *Women's Suffrage Journal*.

Dear Madam,—Permit me, as a member of the committee, to make a suggestion. It appears to me to be highly desirable that we should vary our demand so as to impart some fresh life into our movement. For this purpose I should propose that we should next session promote a Bill for the *exemption from direct Taxation of the Property of Female Householdors*. It would be superfluous to point out the new departure which this would furnish for speeches in and out of Parliament. Another advantage, and perhaps a greater one, would be the enormous accession of signatures to petitions (by women only), which would be obtained with the utmost facility. A formidable aggregate of such petitions could be quickly procured, and when their prayer was (as of course it would be) rejected, the disgusted petitioners would very generally become awakened to their wrongs and henceforth join our ranks as suffragists. In fact, I think the plan would be the most efficacious which we could desire for arousing the interest of women generally in the question, and converting them by a very easy and logical process to our views. A year or two later when we should return to the demand for votes, having had our request for relief of taxation formally negatived, the injustice done to us would *sauter aux yeux*.—I am, dear Madam, truly yours,

FRANCES POWER COBBE.

JURY DUTY NO HARSHIP.

A very frequent argument against extending to women the vote, to which as tax-paying, law-abiding citizens they have a fair claim, is that they must not expect the privileges without the burdens of citizenship, and that, as men citizens are jurors, women, if duly qualified citizens also, must expect a summons to serve on the jury. Without stopping for the present to point out what important exceptions are made to this rule when applied to men (clergymen, lawyers, doctors, &c., being all exempt), we should like to ascertain if the duty of serving on a jury be in every case so formidable that it must inevitably deter women from asking, like Oliver, for more; and the following bit of evidence from Washington Territory, where women have so lately been admitted as citizens, is especially interesting:—

"The *New Northwest*, of July 3, says:

"This morning we are in receipt of the following communication,

to which special attention is asked. From it one would judge that women appreciate the rights of citizenship.

"Tacoma, W. T., July 1, 1884.

"To the Editor of the *New Northwest*.

"The following assertion appeared in the *Walla Walla Union* of June 21st:

"Jury duty has been found exceedingly disagreeable and irksome by the women of Puget Sound."

"We, the undersigned, jurors of the last term of court for Pierce County, held at Tacoma, wish to contradict the statement, as far as we are concerned. We found our duties neither irksome nor disagreeable, but rather the contrary. Some of us could have been excused for the best of reasons, had we sought such privilege. The petit jury was fourteen hours in deliberation on one case, and twenty-four hours on another; and there were more complaints from the men than from the women. We served cheerfully and willingly, and are ready, should a similar call be made upon us, to do so again.

"Mrs. FRANCES BARLOW,	Mrs. ELIZABETH MUNROE,
Mrs. J. E. FULLER,	Mrs. ELIZA J. ROSS,
Mrs. E. LESTER,	Mrs. M. J. GALLIHEN,
	"Grand Jurors.

"Mrs. L. B. GETCHELL,	Mrs. S. J. PLACE,
Mrs. S. C. FAY,	Mrs. J. A. WESTOVER,
Mrs. E. C. BRADISH MANN,	"Petit Jurors."

WOMEN'S RIGHTS IN HOLLAND.

On the 29th of April last a meeting was held by the electors' society, "Burgerpligt" (the citizen's duty), Amsterdam, at which, by exception, ladies were admitted. Dr. Prof. T. M. C. Asser opened the debate on: Revision of the Fundamental Law, more especially in respect to the regulation of the voting capacity. As regards the voting capacity of women, Dr. Asser explained why the majority of the State Committee for revision of the Fundamental Laws was in favour of leaving the Legislature the power of according to women the vote for the municipal council, but to exclude them from the vote for the Second Chamber (the Dutch House of Commons).

Amongst the opposers of Dr. Asser's views was Miss Haighton, who pertinently declared she sincerely wished a revision not carrying in its banner "absolute voting competency for women" might be indefinitely postponed, as she was convinced, and this conviction had the support of skilful lawyers, that under the present Fundamental Law total voting competency for women was to be had. She continued to explain that she wanted total voting competency for women, as well for themselves as for the State itself, as through the co-operation of women the prosperity of the State could only be enhanced.

Dr. Asser replied that the way in which Miss Haighton pleaded her cause was certainly the best argument in favour of her wishes, and that he personally had no objections to the absolute voting competency of women.

THE EVICTION OF WIDOWS AT GOOLE.

The following letter by Mr. Saunders, upon the eviction of widows from their tenancies in consequence of their having no vote to give their landlord, has appeared in some papers, but it is of too great importance not to be reprinted here:—

Sir,—As cases of alleged hardship in connection with the eviction of widows from Mr. Estcourt's estate have excited much attention, I determined to visit the locality and ascertain the facts from personal observation.

To realise fully what an eviction means it must be noted that a good deal of land in the locality has been positively made by the tenants. On many of the fields nature has provided only a bed of peat, which is wholly useless for agricultural purposes until it has been "warped," i.e., until the river water (which is charged with soil) has been allowed to flow on and off the land, with suitable arrangements for its distribution for a period of four or five years. The construction of dykes and sluices, with the necessary attention,

involves a cost of about £20 per acre. After this has been done an excellent soil is formed, and a valuable property created.

To the cost of this the landlord does not contribute a farthing, and, in many instances, the houses and farm buildings have been erected by tenants either wholly or largely at their own cost. This expenditure has been incurred under a yearly tenancy, upon the supposition that the holding was regarded as perpetual, and in many cases the farms have continued in the occupation of the same families for several generations. Without the expectation of continuance no one would spend a whole fortune, as many have done, in making the land and building upon it.

It appears that upon the estates of Mr. Sotheron-Estcourt a rule has been established that widows shall not be allowed to continue the occupation of farms. Until Mr. Alexander Meek became the agent of the estate near Goole this rule was exercised with discretion and some consideration was extended to widows in certain cases; but since the advent of Mr. Meek, the elder, about forty years ago, the rule has been made inflexible, and the manner in which it has been exercised will appear from the following facts:—

The first evicted widow that I saw was Mrs. Lee, who recently occupied with her late husband a small public-house and seven acres of land upon the Estcourt estate. The house being greatly in need of repair, the landlord agreed to allow £70, and the tenants spent £170 upon repairs and additions. While these were in progress, Mr. Meek visited the house, and on Mrs. Lee calling his attention to the substantial and extended character of the work they were doing, he observed that her life appeared to be a good one, which led to the inference on the part of the tenants that their occupation was regarded as a permanency. In June of the following year Mr. Lee died, and in September, to her horror and astonishment, Mrs. Lee received notice to quit. What adds to the hardship of the situation is the fact that during her husband's life Mrs. Lee was virtually the conductor of the public-house, while her husband worked on the land, and as she is obviously capable and well qualified for the work, there was no practical reason for depriving her of the tenancy. Under the circumstances she naturally appealed to Mr. Estcourt personally to allow her to continue the house. His reply, which she showed to me, was a confirmation of the notice to quit, and she quitted the place, leaving behind her all the improvements upon which so large a portion of their small fortune had been expended.

The case of Mrs. Garlick is still more distressing. This lady married about eight years ago Mr. William Garlick, one of the tenants on the Estcourt estate, whose family have long been in possession. A good deal of the land which they occupied had been "warped" or created by irrigation in the manner previously described. Mrs. Garlick brought her husband a fortune of £5,000 or £6,000, and, as was natural under the circumstances, a considerable portion of their money was expended in enlarging the house and improving the farm.

Bad seasons and the prolonged illness of Mr. Garlick greatly reduced the remainder. Last year Mr. Garlick died, and soon after his decease Mrs. Garlick received notice to quit the farm upon which her fortune had been expended. With the energy of despair a powerful appeal was made to the landlord on her behalf. It was pointed out that her trustees, themselves practical farmers, were willing to undertake the management of the farm until her son would be old enough to do so. It was shown that if driven out of the farm where her money had been invested Mrs. Garlick, with her young family, would be left penniless. The appeal was unavailing; the decree of expatriation was enforced, and Mrs. Garlick knew that she must leave. It was then asked that, under the circumstances, some allowance might be given for the expenditure that had been made on the buildings. "No." The wealthy landlord must have every farthing of the expenditure made by the now penniless widow. "Won't you pay for the fittings of the bathroom, which we can remove if you do not take them?" "Not a penny—farmers don't need bathrooms." For the hay, straw, and manure necessarily left upon the farm payment was also refused, and that last claim became the subject of legal discussion.

Whatever may be the legal aspects of the case, it is surprising that a landlord should decline to pay a poor widow for actual movable property coming into his possession, but such was the fact, and a day was duly appointed for the hearing of the case before an arbitrator. In the meantime Mrs. Garlick's farm had been let to a young man who intended taking possession forthwith,

and it was arranged that he and his sister should occupy the house vacated by Mrs. Garlick. But no sooner had he signed the agreement for the lease than he was seized with remorse for taking the farm from which the poor widow under such distressing circumstances had been evicted. On the day of the trial, his evidence being wanted, his sister was asked to seek for him. She found him, in an outhouse on the farm which he had taken, suspended by the neck from a beam and—dead! It appears that he had got upon a chaff-cutter, tied a rope round his neck, which he fastened to a beam, swung himself off, and so was hanged.

After the shocking circumstance the Court decided not to meet again, but to leave the case to the arbitrator with written arguments to be furnished from both sides.

Mr. Meek has just published in the *Goole Times* a column and a half of small type addressed to the arbitrator, containing his arguments on behalf of the landlord's claim to the hay, straw, and manure. However important the legal argument may be in respect of the general relations of landlord and tenant, they do not bear on the main features of Mrs. Garlick's case. Mr. Estcourt turns out a tenant admittedly and solely on the ground that she is a widow.

I had no intention of referring to political considerations in connection with this case, but it is essentially a political matter. Landlords know well that their privileges rest solely upon political supremacy, and they take care that land shall be occupied only by voters. For this reason widows are evicted, and from a landlord's point of view they are wisely evicted. But how long will the nation submit to a condition of things which is so intolerably unjust? As it has been brought about by leaving political power in the hands of a class, so it must be corrected by extending that power to the people.—Yours,

WILLIAM SAUNDERS.

Mount View, Streatham, S.W., July 22nd, 1884.

The case having been referred to arbitration, Mr. Sotheron-Estcourt has been adjudged to pay £191, and moreover to pay his own costs and those of his tenants.

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE: A LIBERAL VIEW OF THE SITUATION.

In an article by Miss Tod in the *Englishwoman's Review* for August, an article which is being republished as a pamphlet, by Messrs. Bale and Son, 87, Great Titchfield-street, London, W., she says:—

"Next, we have proved the wisdom of continuous and persistent fighting. If we had been base enough to desert the host of women who trust us, and asked our champions to be silent while others were enfranchised, we should have taken the heart out of our work, we should have been flung to the foot of the hill, and had our Sisyphus-like toil to begin all over again. Some of that very large class of persons who see nothing but what is thrust very forcibly before them have managed hitherto to evade the knowledge of our agitation, and have exclaimed a good deal at the newness of the apparition; but now the dullest has seen, and the deafest has heard, our claim, and the men who are sensitive to right, but, being busy, had hitherto neglected to attend to it, are listening and responding. Our ranks are drawn closer, our knowledge of each others powers is increased, the confidence of our clients is unbroken and even enthusiastic. There are some questions of administrative detail or of experimental improvement which may justly be asked to give precedence to those of a broader nature, and resting on long-trying and deeply-rooted principles. Ours belongs to the latter class. Our claim was the very strongest that could be presented, and rested on identically the same basis as that of the other "capable citizens" whose claim was admitted. The conflict through which we have passed has made this fact abundantly clear, not only to our friends—friends of all shades and grades—but our foes. For the first time, probably, all public men know how much we expect from the admission of women to the electorate, because they know how high and assured is the ground on which we stand. The gain of this is incalculable in making our way clear at all points, and so strengthening as well as defining our position, and in bringing to our side all true Liberals who know that the real progress of a nation depends upon principle and not upon tactics.

"In the meantime our work must be done boldly as well as wisely. It is not conversions that are needed now, but the gather-

ing and concentration of the moral forces of that great host of men whose judgment and whose sympathies are with us. Our friends are busy men, and this is a time of great political excitement. But, with energy and tact, we can show them that they cannot put aside or omit our just claim without doing vital injury to the Liberal cause. We can make them see that every argument they use for others applies to us; that a principle from whose operation a great body of people is excepted is no principle at all; that if it be the head and front of the Lords' offending that they 'don't trust the people,' it is as grave a fault for any body of men 'not to trust' women; that there is but one gulf which is safe in politics, as in all other mundane affairs, fearless justice.

"There has been some talk of reviving the old cry of the first reform agitation,—the Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill!" But that Bill, the first blow delivered at the old oligarchy, made no profession of being complete; it simply enlarged the circle of trustees for the people, so as to take a great variety of new classes. The cry was good for the time; but the present times are very different, and such a cry now would be a dangerous fallacy. The present Bill professes to complete household suffrage, and leaves out all the women householders! But a safe cry, and a true cry, has been raised by a clergyman of the Church of England, who has fought for truth in other fields, 'The People, the whole People, and nothing but the People!' That we may place on our banners, we, and all Liberals together. For all the people, men and women alike, we can fight with a clear conscience and a high heart. For nothing less can we fight, but for that we shall fight, until the blessing of God crowns us with success."

REVIEW.

THE WOMAN QUESTION IN EUROPE: a series of original essays, edited by Theodore Stanton. Putnam, New York; London: 25, Henrietta-street, Covent Garden, and Sampson Low and Co.

Mr. Theodore Stanton has succeeded in producing a perfectly readable book, convenient in compass, and yet a storehouse of fact and argument for all who are interested in women's mental development or legal position. He has done this by following the plan of applying to women writers or workers of influence in every country which he wishes to describe, so that each chapter is a carefully written essay by some person who knows accurately all the movements they chronicle, and who has, in most cases, borne a personal share in the work. It is, therefore, absolutely reliable, and, although even here there are sides of women's work which are not touched on, it gives a better picture of the growing, spreading, and deepening current of opinion, which during the last fifty years has swept away so much of the prejudice of ignorance and custom, and which is still rising almost indefinitely, than any other work we have seen. The volume is dedicated to his collaborators, and above all to Marguerite Berry, his wife, who has participated in the whole task. Mr. Stanton's own share has been the introductory chapter, the foot-notes, which supplement and in many cases are even more interesting reading than the original chapters, and finally the condensation and frequent rearrangement of the chapters themselves. Mr. Stanton has also added a biographical notice of each author at the commencement of their essays.

The importance of the subject is best described by Miss Cobbe in an introductory chapter. In it she says:—

"Of all the movements, political, social, and religious, of past ages, there is, I think, not one so unmistakably tide-like in its extension and the uniformity of its impulse as that which has taken place within living memory among the women of almost every race on the globe. Other agitations, reforms, and revolutions have pervaded and lifted up classes, tribes, nations, churches. But this movement has stirred an entire sex, even half the human race. Like the incoming tide, also, it has rolled in separate waves; and each one has obeyed the same law and has done its part in carrying forward all the rest. The waves of the higher education of women all over the world; the wave which lifted women over the sand-bars of the medical and (in America) of the legal and clerical professions; the waves which seated them on the school boards and boards of guardians of the poor; the wave which gave them the English municipal vote; the wave which restored to married women a right to their own property,—every one of these waves, great and small, has been rolled forward by the same advancing tide.

"But the crown and completion of the progress must be the attainment of the political franchise in every country wherein representative government prevails; and, till that point be reached, there can be no final satisfaction in anything which has been achieved. It has been repeated till it has become a commonplace, that the suffrage is the 'key of woman's position.' Obtaining it, every privilege she can reasonably desire must follow. Failing to obtain it, nothing—not even such instalments of her rights as she has hitherto enjoyed—are secure. An easily raised storm of prejudice and selfishness, whether of trade, or party, or sect, passing over the masculine population, might sweep her few privileges away; while she remained helpless and unable to protect them by a single vote. On a small scale, such confiscations of the rights of women in trades and other matters have occurred again and again. The sufferers had no appeal from injustice, and, because they were unrepresented, their wrongs were overlooked.

"The man is not to be envied who can view the struggle of women for political rights with contempt or indifference. That those struggles may not always have been guided by infallible taste and wisdom, and that they have often been met—for lack of sensible argument—with silly derision, need not blind us to the fact that they constitute one of the bravest battles, one of the most pathetic movements, the world has ever seen. Other strifes have been carried on between rival races, rival classes, rival sects; but here we have only the patient, persistent appeal of daughters to fathers, of sisters to brothers, of wives to husbands, of the women, who make the charm of society, to the men who call them friends. There are no 'garments rolled in blood' in the battle of these warriors. The combatants command neither cannon nor bayonets. They cannot even break down iron palings, like the populace of London, when the rights they demanded were withheld; or threaten dynamite and petroleum, like Nihilists and Fenians. They have not the minutest political influence at their disposal wherewith to coerce their opponents. Never was there a case of such pure and simple moral pressure—of an appeal to justice, to reason, to men's sense of what is due and right and expedient for all. When the time comes to look back on the slow, universal awakening of women all over the globe, on their gradual entrance into one privileged profession after another, on the attainment by them of rights of person and property, and at last on their admission to the full privileges of citizenship, it will be acknowledged that, of all the 'decisive battles of history,' this has been to the moralist and philosopher the most interesting, even as it will be (I cannot doubt) the one followed by the happiest peace which the world has ever seen."

The English chapters come first, and have the lion's share of space. This is easily to be accounted for, as in Great Britain the most marked progress has been made of any country in Europe, especially in the direction of political rights. The English portion is divided into five essays, and all are by writers of eminent authority. The first, on "Women's Suffrage," is by Mrs. Fawcett; the next, on the "Education Movement," by Mrs. William Grey; the third, on "Women in Medicine," by Dr. Frances Hoggan; the fourth, on the "Industrial Movement," by Miss Jessie Boucherett; and the last, on "Women as Philanthropists," by Mrs. Barnett, who is so well known and beloved at the East end of London for her charitable deeds.

The subject matter of these essays is, however, well known to the readers of the *Journal*, and we shall therefore pass to the next divisions of the Anglo-Saxon families, Germany, Holland, and Austria. The German chapters are written by Mrs. Schepeler Lette, the chief organiser of the Lette Verein, Miss Jenny Hirsch, for several years the editor of the *German Women's Advocate*, and Miss Marie Calm, who has done so much for the foundation of superior girls' schools. As we might expect, the women's movement in Germany is mainly limited to the opening of wider fields of employment and the acquirement of a more solid education. But little, if any, change in the laws has been attempted, and the German universities have not shown themselves ready to welcome women who are forced to pursue their studies and take their degrees in foreign countries. Mrs. Elise van Calcar, who writes the essay on Holland, besides being the author of many books and reviews, has founded a seminary for the instruction of teachers in the Kindergarten system, and has also taken an active part in endeavouring to improve women's education. The Dutch universities admit women, and the medical and pharmaceutical professions are open to them. Intermediate education is good for both girls and

boys, and it is by no means certain that women might not vote under the present law if they wish to do so.

In many Austrian provinces, as we know, women already have a vote in municipal elections, and in Bohemia and Croatia are themselves eligible, although in the former country it is not etiquette for her to appear in person. The married woman who has the vote must exercise the privilege through her husband, but the widow and single woman may delegate any man to represent them at the polls. Mrs. Joanna Leitenberger, who writes the essay on Austria, is a contributor to many journals, and for more than a year edited the *Frauenblätter*, a journal devoted to the progress and instruction of women. In Austria, as in Germany, the women's movement is chiefly confined to the economic and the educational phases of the question. For the former we find good schools for the industrial training of women, and art studios. Women are employed in the telegraphic and postal services, and nurses receive good training. The doors of the universities, however, remain closed, and Austrian ladies wishing to obtain a higher education are compelled to seek it abroad.

The Scandinavian section of the volume is one of high interest. It is composed of three essays: one on Norway by Mrs. Camilla Collett, who is the sister of the great Norwegian poet, Henrik Wergeland, and herself one of the best known of Scandinavian writers of travel, stories, poetry, &c. Norway stands at the foot of the other Scandinavian countries in this movement; Denmark comes next in importance. The Danish essay is written by Miss Frederiksen, who has contributed to the periodical literature of her country many translations and also original essays on the position of women. She was for five years at the head of the Copenhagen Women's Reading-room, and has been since 1875 a member of the board of managers of the Female Drawing School. In 1878 she passed the State examination for shorthand writing, the only Danish woman who has yet done so; but the President of the Landsting or Upper House refused her a position on the staff of stenographers of the Rigsdag or Diet on account of her sex. She says that there is a complete absence of any direct participation by women in the political affairs of the country; but also records the curious circumstance that in 1660, when the four estates—nobles, clergy, commons, and peasants—were for the last time convened at Copenhagen, the nobles not only voted for themselves but for their absent relations, including mothers and sisters, if holding property in their own right. This was in the reign of Frederick III., who established an absolute monarchy. Danish women share equally in inheritance with men, and married women, since 1879-80, control their own earnings. The Copenhagen University is open to women, who may take degrees in everything except theology; but although there are good primary schools for girls, no State provision for their intermediate education is made. There are, however, some excellent girls' schools in Copenhagen due to private enterprise, and specially to that noble woman, Natalie Zahle. Her institute, which has been in existence more than thirty years, is entirely managed by women in the highest as in the lowest branches, and she now prepares girls for the university.

Sweden, although the portion of Scandinavia most distant from England, has yet resembled England the most in the advance which the women's movement has made in a few years. Her women possess a limited franchise, rather resembling the municipal than the directly political. They have a good married women's property law. In quick succession laws have been made to improve their position: in 1845, equality of inheritance; in 1846, the right to practise industrial professions and to carry on business in their own name. In 1853 and 1859 they were enabled to become teachers in the primary schools. In 1858 they were allowed to claim their majority at twenty-five; and in 1863 they were unconditionally declared to be of age at twenty-five whether they claimed it or not. In 1861 they were permitted to be organisers in the State Church, and to practise surgery and dentistry; in 1863 minor positions in the postal and telegraphic service were opened to them; in 1864 their rights in trade and industrial pursuits were enlarged. In 1870 the universities were opened and the medical profession. In 1872 they might dispose of themselves in marriage without father's or brothers' consent. In 1874 a partially good Married Women's Property Act was passed (like the English Act of 1870); and finally, last year, this Act was amended and enlarged. Thus step by step Sweden has kept pace with England in some of her principal reforms. The writer of the essay is Mrs. Olivecrona, who has

been well known for years for charitable undertakings, for helping women's better employment, founding the Ladies' Red Cross in Sweden, and continuous literary work.

The article on France is written by Mr. Stanton himself, assisted by many other helpers. The most interesting portion of this is the account given of the efforts made by women to obtain recognition in political life at the time of the first Revolution. The essay by Condorcet on "The Admission of Women to Citizenship" contains arguments which have never been surpassed to the present day. Many other orators of the time spoke eloquently in favour of women's emancipation, while women themselves in 1789 sent up a petition to the National Assembly asking for civil and political rights and their admission to the States General. The long war and the unyielding hostility of Napoleon were fatal to the aspirations of women; the Napoleonic Code fastened a chain of servitude round their necks, not in France only, but in every other country that felt French influence, and it is only now that the efforts of a few reformers to alter the civil law, and the very general movement in favour of higher education, give promise of an improved position for women. The moral questions are at this day much more to the front than the political, and the first steps of improvement in France will probably be a greater degree of protection for young girls, the establishment of a law of divorce (which has now been passed), and some degree of recognition of the civil rights of women. At the present day they may not witness any legal document, nor publish a political newspaper, nor call a public meeting. These disabilities are in striking contrast to the good position that French ladies have attained in literature and art.

The essays on Italy, Spain, and Portugal are not very encouraging. Portugal is certainly the worst country of the three. The education of women is bad, for though the female population is 2,374,870, only 254,369 of these can read or write. The schools are few and generally poor. Their legal position is bad, although there is some kind of a married women's property law, yet we read that an authoress if married may not publish her writings without the consent of her husband, or, in case of unjust refusal, an order from the courts. Spain is in a little better condition, as the universities are opened to women, and by the efforts of some philanthropists there are good classes which girls may attend in the capital. But employments for women are few, and badly paid. The author of the essay, Mrs. Concepcion Arenal, is one of the best known of living female writers in Spain, and during the recent civil war was the secretary of the Red Cross Society.

Italy, under her new conditions of freedom, is beginning to recover from the paralysing effect of the Napoleonic Code. A few years ago a widow or wife in the absence of her husband was given the control over her own children, and the married woman in certain cases is secured in the management of her personal property. When possessed of property they have now the *voto amministrativo*, or municipal and provincial vote, and women have within a few years been given the right to be witnesses for civil documents. The universities are open, and many attempts have been made to inaugurate classes for higher education. There is an active organisation in Milan for the Promotion of Women's Interest, of which Miss Anna Mozzoni is president. The two essays on Italy are written by Mrs. Cimino Folliero di Luna, a well known writer and philanthropist, and the Princess Dora d'Istria, of European celebrity as an author. The last of the Latin countries is Belgium, and this essay is written by Miss Isola Van Diest, M.D., the first and only female physician in Belgium. The situation of women in Belgium much resembles that of France. As in France the universities are open to them, and there is a very general movement towards obtaining a better education for women. The postal and telegraph service are open to them as also in France and Italy.

The Swiss chapter is by Madame Goegg, and is principally interesting for its account of the liberality which the universities of Bern, Zurich, and Geneva have shown towards women. Geneva also had established more than thirty years ago intermediate schools for girls, and married women have the control of their own fortune. Nevertheless, the movement for equal rights for women has not met with any general support, and in many of the cantons women are legally in a very subordinate condition.

Of the remaining essays that on Russia by Miss Maria Zebrikoff offers the most encouragement for the future. Since Catherine II.'s time there has been a tolerable married women's property law; women also participate in the choice of members of the municipal

council and county assembly, through the agency of some male friend who represents them at the poll, and they possess the means for higher education, this last advantage having opened out the medical profession to them on a larger scale than in any other European country. The Russian mother is also on a footing of equality with the father in exacting filial obedience. Nevertheless, the wife is in the absolute power of the husband, and to legal tyranny is also added the force of custom among the peasant classes. Occasionally, however, the communes interfere to protect her in case of very cruel usage, or of the husband being hopelessly idle and worthless, and, therefore, the local vote that women possess may be the means of directly improving their condition in life. In any case the position of the Russian woman appears to us full of hope; she is not much worse off in point of liberty than men are, and as the principles of freedom become better understood and followed her position will rise contemporaneously with that of the men.

This rapid sketch of Mr. Stanton's book can give only a poor idea of the riches really to be found in this useful volume. The pictures that he exhibits of the condition of women in every European country enable us more fully to appreciate the advantages, and detect the shortcomings of our own. In every country some efforts are being made to improve their position, but the progress achieved is not only unequal, but made in very different directions. For instance, in Germany, Belgium, and France, much has been done to improve their industrial and educational condition, but the laws still remain unchanged. In Sweden an alteration in the laws has kept step with other improvements; this to some extent is true in Italy. Many countries, where very little has been done in other directions, have shown an unexpected liberality in opening their universities. In Russia there have been some good laws for several generations, yet the position of women is not on the whole good. A good married women's property law does not by any means show a corresponding gain in the direction of equal control by mother and father over the children. The reason is plain, the "key to the position" is wanting. Such gains as women have achieved are based on no principle of equality of right, and are therefore capriciously or spasmodically won, while they are liable to be recalled at the pleasure of the voting or governing body of the nation. Till women become themselves electors of the legislative body, legislation concerning them will be partial and uncertain, while this once achieved, all other reforms follow as a matter of course as soon as opinion has ripened to demand them. The suffrage, therefore, should be the first aim of every woman who wishes to see educational, industrial, or legal independence secured upon a firm basis.

C. A. B.

CUSTODY OF INFANTS.

Arrangements have been made for discussion of this subject at the forthcoming Social Science Congress (Birmingham, 17th to 25th September) upon two papers, one by Dr. Frances Hoggan on "The Position of the Mother in the Family in its Legal and Scientific Aspects;" the other by Mrs. Wolstenholme Elmy on "The Infants Bill, 1884." All friends who intend going to Birmingham should make a point of attending this discussion to make it a good one.

The subject will probably be also discussed at the annual meeting of the Incorporated Law Society, upon a paper by Mr. Grantham H. Dodd.

The following circular, which we have been asked to reprint, clearly states the present position of affairs:—

At the request of some earnest friends of reform in this direction, Mr. James Bryce, M.P., gave notice at the close of the session of 1883 that he would early in the session of 1884 move for leave to introduce a Bill to amend the law relating to the custody and guardianship of infants. The Infants Bill was accordingly introduced by Mr. Bryce, Mr. Davey, Mr. Anderson, and Mr. Staveley Hill, and was read on the 26th of March, by a majority of 134—the votes being, exclusive of tellers, 207 for the second reading and 73 against it.

In spite of this remarkable success, the further progress of the Bill was so effectually checked by the efforts of two or three obstructives—the most persistent of whom were Mr. Warton and Mr. T. Collins—that it did not reach the Committee stage until

Monday, the 14th of July. Between that date and the 31st of July the measure was five times under the consideration of the House of Commons, and gave occasion for five divisions, in the last of which, upon a restrictive provision proposed by Mr. Warton, the ayes numbered only two, exclusive of tellers, whilst the noes (in this instance supporters of the Bill) numbered sixty-one.

On the 1st of August the Bill reached the House of Lords, and on the 4th of August stood for second reading. Lord FitzGerald, who had charge of the Bill, moved the second reading in a very clear and temperate speech, and was admirably supported by the Lord Chancellor, who gave a just, sympathetic, and powerful statement of the claims of mothers. Lord Cairns, however, opposed the second reading on the ground that the session was too far advanced for the adequate consideration of a subject of such grave social importance, and Lord FitzGerald felt compelled to withdraw the Bill in order to avoid a defeat which might, at a later time, have prejudiced the consideration of the case on its merits.

Lord FitzGerald has given notice that he will, as soon as Parliament meets in 1885, re-introduce the Infants Bill in the House of Lords, and the strong sympathy expressed on both sides of the House with the objects of the measure induces its promoters to hope that the statement of His Grace the Duke of Argyll may be proved correct—that the Infants Bill "belongs to a kind and class of legislation which is fully more sure of a favourable reception in the House of Lords than in the House of Commons." They dare to believe that with active and adequate support from their friends outside Parliament a just and satisfactory measure, establishing upon the basis of equality and justice the rights, duties, and obligations of both parents with regard to their children, may become law in the session of 1885, with the hearty concurrence of both Houses and of all parties.

For this active and adequate support, they now earnestly appeal.

All who are willing to help are urged to petition both Houses of Parliament in favour of the full principle of the Bill, and to ask their friends and neighbours to do so likewise. In action of this kind they have the support of very good company. From the beginning of the session to the 29th of July 263 such petitions were presented to the House of Commons, with 27,466 signatures—the representative and influential character of many of which may be illustrated by the Oxford petition, which received the signatures of fourteen heads of houses, twenty-four professors and readers, and many other University dignitaries. As the House of Lords does not issue reports of petitions in the same manner as the House of Commons, it is not possible to state with precision the number of petitions presented to their lordships, but the number sent through Mrs. Elmy's hands, and reported to her by others as having been forwarded by them, would make it appear that nearly two hundred petitions, with more than 20,000 signatures, have been forwarded for presentation to the House of Lords. Yet, in view of the present state of affairs, petitions will be more valuable and useful than ever, and in this work everyone (above sixteen years of age) can help.

It would also give the greatest possible help to the cause if those who reside in constituencies, any of whose representatives voted with Mr. Bryce and Mr. Davey in any of the six divisions taken on the Bill, would write to any and each such representative, thanking him for his support of the Bill, and begging him, when next the measure comes before Parliament, to maintain the just and essential principle of the equal rights, obligations, and duties of both parents, embodied in clause 2 of the Bill as originally introduced in the Commons; and, further, to assist by every means in his power the passing of this important measure into law at the earliest possible date.

Letters to influential members of the House of Lords asking their support for the Bill will also be most serviceable, and the promoters of the measure ask their friends further to assist them by bringing the subject under the notice of the local press, and by promoting its discussion before local clubs (political and otherwise), institutes, and debating societies.

If friends of the cause would write out their own forms of petition, and themselves forward their petitions when ready to members of either House of Parliament respectively for presentation, they would greatly assist the promoters of this reform. The subjoined form of petition is offered as a suggestion to those who have not time to prepare a form for themselves.

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

The Humble Petition of the undersigned

Sheweth:

That the law which vests the custody and guardianship of the children of a married pair in the father solely, to the exclusion of the mother, and further enables him to continue such exclusion after his death, is unjust, and ought to be amended.

Wherefore your petitioners humbly pray that your lordships [or your Honourable House] will pass a measure establishing the co-equal rights, obligations, and duties of both parents with regard to their children.

And your petitioners will ever pray.

Petition headings, written or printed, leaflets, and other papers, may be had from Mrs. Wolstenholme Elmy, Congleton, to whom all communications should be addressed.

WOMAN'S RIGHTS.

A Gloucester paper, the Citizen, publishes the following letter:—

Sir,—I venture to submit to your notice a "revised version" of some of the lines sung at the Liberal meeting, on Monday, as reported in this evening's paper, being—from the writer's point of view—an advance in the right direction.

We claim for all the vote denied, Let Briton's daughters say— With Briton's sons—who shall decide The laws all must obey.

Though Peers and Commons seem supine, And sacred rights ignore, Ladies with labourers now combine To be repulsed no more.

Let woman bring her cause to bear Upon the "People's Will." Deny her justice, who then dare? "For if she will she will."

August 5th, 1884. UNE CITOYENNE.

A correspondent of the Manchester Examiner says that passengers to Montreal on board the Vancouver were entertained with a ladies' night, when Miss Becker gave a short address on the position of women in social and intellectual life, and Mrs. King read a paper on dress reform.

PETITIONS.

(Continued from page 206.)

TWENTIETH REPORT, 23-29 July, 1884.

Table with 3 columns: Date, Description, Signatures. Includes entries for Wrexham, England and Scotland, and Conway and Llanberis.

Total Number of Petitions 683—Signatures 36,686

SUPPLEMENT TO THE TWENTIETH REPORT, 2 August, 1884. Brought forward, Petitions 683—

Table with 3 columns: Date, Description, Signatures. Includes entries for Drumree, Knockmark, and Achcarne Castle.

Total number of Petitions 686—Signatures 36,748

The Petitions marked thus (*) are substantially similar to that from Chelsea [APP. 4]. The Petitions marked thus (©) are from public meetings, and are signed officially.

MANCHESTER SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS, AUGUST, 1884.

Table listing subscriptions and donations for the Manchester Society for Women's Suffrage, categorized by location such as Walsall, Wigan, and Manchester.

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

CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

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

Table listing subscriptions and donations for the Central Committee, including entries for Luton Committee and Miss Meyer.

LAURA McLAREN, TREASURER, 29, Parliament-street, S.W.

BRISTOL AND WEST OF ENGLAND.

SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR JULY AND AUGUST, 1884.

Table listing subscriptions for July and August 1884, categorized by location such as Cheltenham, Plymouth, and Bristol.

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:—

Table listing names and amounts for the National Society for Women's Suffrage Special Appeal fund, including Menticia Taylor, Millicent Garrett Fawcett, and Lydia E. Becker.

Subscriptions already given or promised:—

Table listing names and amounts for subscriptions already given or promised, including Lady Goldsmid, Mrs. Garrett Anderson, and Mrs. Pennington.

CASH'S EMBROIDERED NAMES AND INITIAL LETTERS FOR MARKING LINEN.

Your Name or Initials Embroidered on our Fine Cambric Tape in Turkey Red, which can be sewn on to any article of dress requiring to be marked.

Can be ordered of HOSIERS and DRAPERS everywhere.
(J. & J. CASH, COVENTRY.)

<p>SORE THROATS CURED.</p>	<p>EASY TEETHING.</p>	<p>SAFE TEETHING.</p>	<p>BRONCHITIS CURED.</p>
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