# Women's Suffrage Journal.

EDITED BY LYDIA E. BECKER.

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JUNE 1, 1877.

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PETITION! PETITION! PETITION!—Friends of Women's Suffrage are earnestly experted to you the first part of the first part Suffrage are earnestly exhorted to use the few days that remain by sending Petitions to the House of Commons in support of the Women's Disabilities Removal Bill, the second reading of which is fixed for June 6th. See next page for full directions how to proceed. As the time will hardly allow of written Petitions being sent from the offices of the Society to applicants, friends are urged to write out their own Petitions, and send them up at once.

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.—A PUBLIC MEETING will be held at St. James's Hall, Piccadilly, London, on Friday, June 1st, in support of Mr. JACOB BRIGHT'S BILL to Enfranchise Women Ratepayers. The Chair will be taken at 8 30 p.m., by Lord HOUGHTON.

MISS LILIAS ASHWORTH.

MRS. ASHFORD.

MISS BECKER.

DR. CAMERON, M.P.

LEONARD COURTNEY, Esq., M.P.

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SIR CHARLES REED.

MISS STURGE.

LORD TALBOT DE MALAHIDE.

REV. CANON WILBERFORCE.

And others are expected to be present.

Doors open at Eight o'clock. Admission Free. Tickets for Reserved Seats, price 2s. 6d., to be had at the Hall, or at the Office of the Society, 64, Berners-street, Oxford-street, W.

OUGHT WOMEN TO LEARN THE AL-PHABET? By T. W. HIGGINSON. Re-printed from "Atlantic Essays." Price 3d. A. Ireland & Co., Manchester.

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A LETTER TO THE RIGHT HON. JOHN BRIGHT, M.P.—From a Lady in "the Gallery."—London: Printed by E. Matthews and Sons, 54, Berwick-street, and 377, Oxford-street, W. Price Threepence, to be had from the Secretary, 28, Jackson's Row, Manchester.

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T. BATCHELOR. Walton, near Ipswich.

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Concerning this book, which contains 168 pages, the late eminent author, Sheridan Knowles, observed:—"It will be an incalculable boon to every person who can read and think."

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE JOURNAL. Edited by Lydia E. Becker.—Volumes I. to VII., bound in cloth, two volumes. Price 7s. 6d. per volume.

London: Trübner and Co., 57 and 59, Ludgate Hill. Manchester: A. Ireland and Co.

Three more ladies have been added to the roll of physicians entitled to practise in the United Kingdom by obtaining a diploma from the King and Queen's College of Physicians, Ireland. This is, we believe, the only examining body qualified to grant degrees which has taken advantage of the Act passed last season, to enable any such body to confer medical degrees on women. The names of the ladies who have just passed are Dr. Louisa Atkins, Dr. Sophia Jex Blake, and Dr. Edith Pechey. Dr. Atkins has been for some time engaged in practice in London, and Dr. Pechey is about to commence practice in Leads

A course of lectures, organised by the National Health Society, was opened on May 9th, at the rooms of the Society of Arts, when an address upon the value of open spaces, as contributing to the health of the people, was delivered by Miss Octavia Hill. Princess Louise, attended by Lady Sophia Macnamaron, was amongst the audience. The Duke of Westminster, who presided, called attention to the good work which Miss Hill had been enabled to effect, not only in Marylebone, but in Whitechapel, and expressed his belief that she had been the means of materially reforming the condition of the working classes in those parts of London where such a beneficial change was necessary.

The region called Citolis had been entrusted by Pharnabazus to a native of Vardanus, named Zenis, who, after holding the post for some time and giving full satisfaction, died of illness, leaving a widow with a son and daughter, still minors. The satrap was on the point of giving the district to another person, when Mania, the widow of Zenis, herself a native of Vardanus, preferred her petition to be allowed to succeed her husband. Visiting Pharnabazus with money in hand, sufficient not only to satisfy himself, but also to gain over his mistresses and his ministers, she said to him-"My husband was faithful to you, and paid his tribute so regularly as to obtain your thanks. If I serve you no worse than he, why should you name any other deputy? If I fail in giving you satisfaction, you can always remove me, and give the place to another. Pharnabazus granted her petition, and had no cause to repent it. Mania was regular in her payment of tribute—frequent in bringing him presents—and splendid, beyond any of his other deputies, in her manner of receiving him whenever he visited the district.—From Grote's History of Greece, chapter 72.

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#### DIRECTIONS FOR PREPARING PETITIONS.

Write out the form given below on any kind of paper that may be at hand. A sheet of note paper opened out will do.

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

The humble Petition of the undersigned

That the exclusion of women, otherwise legally qualified, from voting in the election of Members of Parliament, is injurious to those excluded, contrary to the principle of just representation, and to that of the laws now in force regulating the election of municipal, parochial, and all other representative governments.

Wherefore your petitioners humbly pray that your Honourable House will pass the Bill entitled "A Bill to Remove the Electoral Disabilities of Women."

And your petitioners will ever pray, &c.

Write out the above form without mistakes, as no word may be scratched out or interlined, and sign it on the same piece of paper. Try to obtain one or more signatures to follow your own. The petition may be signed by men and women of full age, whether householders or otherwise. Make up the petition as a book-post packet, open at the ends, write on the cover the words "Parliamentary Petition," and post it, addressed to the member who is to present it at the House of Commons. No stamp is required, as petitions so forwarded go post free. Write, and send along with the petition, a note (post paid) asking the member to present it, and to support its prayer.

#### PETITIONS TO THE ITALIAN PARLIAMENT.

A petition to the Italian Parliament, from Italian ladies, has been drawn up by Signora Anna Maria Mozzoni, of Milan, for the purpose of obtaining the right to vote in Parliamentary elections. All the Italian ladies resident in England are invited to send their signature and address to Professor R. J. Quattrocchi, 15, Southampton Buildings, London, W.C., who has undertaken to forward them to Italy; or to draft a separate petition, should the number obtained render this preferable. "We Italian women," says the petition, after a short preamble, "apply to Parliament, which, with the Government, is supposed to constitute the kingdom, that setting aside their philosophical speculations about our nature, and the character of our special mission, they may consider us as citizens; taxpaying, and capable of the right of voting, except with such limitations as are, or may be, in force for other electors," &c... &c.

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JUNE 1, 1877.

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WITHIN a very few days after the present date the Bill to remove the electoral disabilities of women will be submitted to the judgment of the House of Commons. The principle it embodies is, in general terms, the recognition of the right of women to a voice in directing the policy of the nation, and to be consulted in framing the legislation which determines, not only the general condition of their lives, and the rights which they have in common with men, but also the special conditions of their relative rights and position with reference to the masculine portion of the community. We trust that honourable members, who will have to give a judgment on this claim during the forthcoming week, will divest their minds of prejudice and prepossession, and approach the question in a spirit as nearly impartial as it is possible to be in a tribunal where one sex is in the position of being an absolute and irresponsible judge of the rights and liberties of

Some men appear to consider that the conditions of impartiality are fulfilled when they say they are willing to admit the claim if it can be proved to their satisfaction that it would be for the benefit of women to do so; but that if they think women are better without the suffrage, they would withhold it from them. They consider the question, not on grounds of abstract right and justice, but on those of expediency and convenience, and they assume a right to judge both for themselves and for women what relations are most convenient and expedient for each. They argue as a benevolent slaveowner might argue, who should refuse to emancipate his slaves on the ground that they would not be so happy and comfortable as free men, a proposition which, enunciated by the master, would be no sufficient answer to those who asked for freedom.

Some of the arguments remind us of the story of the judgment of Cyrus between the two boys with the big and little coats, when the big boy had taken away the coat of the little boy by force, and given him his own in exchange. The little boy appealed to Cyrus, who, after satisfying himself that the coats after the forcible exchange fitted each boy more suitably than before, confirmed the

arrangement. But his tutor reproved CYRUS for the judgment he had given, and said that he was not put there to examine which coat best fitted either of the boys, but to say whether the big boy had a right to take away the coat of the little boy without his consent. So we would represent to members of Parliament that the judgment they have to give is not to examine what things are best fitted to the sphere or capacities of women, but to say whether men have a right to determine these things for women without their consent.

Under the present law women stand "outside the fence of political privilege, and hear their dearest interests discussed and decided in an assembly in which they have neither part nor parcel." It may be as Mr. BRIGHT says, that if justice is not done to women in legislation, it is only through the ignorance of Parliament; but injustice done, or allowed to remain unredressed through ignorance of the needs or sufferings of an unrepresented class, is not less hurtful on that account. We cannot doubt the desire of Parliament to acquire the best information it can obtain as to the operation of legislation on the interest and welfare of women, and we commend the Bill now before it as enabling it to obtain the most trustworthy evidence on the subject.

The great conference and public meeting held on May 16th in London, in support of Mr. Trevelyan's resolutions respecting a reform in our electoral system, are not only of extreme importance in themselves as marking a new departure in that movement, but as affording an opportunity for the supporters of women's suffrage to advance their claim to be included in any future adjustment of the conditions of representation. The claim was put forward both at the morning conference and at the evening meeting, and although it was not pressed in such a manner as to raise a distinct vote on the merits of the question, the sense and sympathies of those assembled appeared to be heartily and unanimously with the ladies who pleaded for the recognition of a right to a share in the benefits of that representation which they had grathered together to demand for themselves.

June 1, 7

There is an almost absolute parallel between most of the arguments advanced in support of Mr. TREVELYAN'S resolutions and those urged on behalf of Mr. JACOB BRIGHT'S Bill, also between most of the objections raised to the one and those brought against the other. The curious part of the subject is that many of the Parliamentary supporters of Mr. Trevelyan's resolutions, and notably the president of the conference himself, appear to be unable to apprehend this parallel, and do not hesitate to take up and use against the enfranchisement of women the very objections which they refuse to entertain when urged against the enfranchisement of men. They blow hot and cold with the same breath, and think to fan the flame of political aspiration in one section of the community, while they are doing their utmost to smother it in others.

Mr. John Bright, in his speech as president of the conference in Exeter Hall, took occasion to enumerate the advantages gained since the legislation of 1832 threw open the doors of representation to the people. He instanced the "Municipal Reform Act, which gave perfect freedom in municipal government to all the great cities and towns." After that there was the abolition of slavery. After that "one other great measure of deliverance, which has shown itself in the humblest dwellings of the three kingdoms—the abolition of the corn laws." There was also a reduction of the postage, "which allowed the humblest to correspond with the humblest as freely as the richest with the richest."

Every one of these great deliverances concerned women as well as men, and concerned women in exactly the same way as it concerned men. Women equally with men participated in the benefits derived from these measures, and are equally interested in the progress of legislation which shall give to the people increased power to lift off the burdens and inequalities that remain, and increased opportunities of developing their faculties and ameliorating the conditions of their existence.

Mr. Bright went on to mention one more beneficent change which has done more than all the others to render further measures of enfranchisement feasible—"the liberation of the press by the abolition of the newspaper stamp and the repeal of the duty on paper, by which every agricultural labourer can for the price of a quart of beer have a newspaper which, if he has time to read it, will give him all that is happening in every part of the world. He who lives in the great castle, the great mansion, the

great engine of instruction than the humblest labourer in the three kingdoms." This may be true, but we cannot stop there. This great engine of instruction is as freely at the command of women as of men. There is no disability which hinders women from having newspapers and understanding their reports, and, as they pass a much larger proportion of their time indoors, they have presumably more time for reading than agricultural labourers. Mr. Bright complains with justice of the imperfections of the great measure of education which was intended to lay open to all the children of the people the advantages of instruction; but he would do well to note that those imperfections are much greater in the case of girls than

In comparing the proposed composition of county boards with that of municipal corporations, Mr. BRIGHT says that in boroughs "they ask the whole of the people to come in, and by their open and free choice to say who of 50 or 60 persons required shall be selected to manage the affairs of Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool, or Glasgow. When you come to counties a wholly different principle is offered." Mr. Bright complains of this, and sees no reason for the anomaly, which he holds to be injurious to those shut out. Will he be good enough to explain why he commends the principle of asking the whole of the people in boroughs to come in, and by their open and free choice to say who shall be the 50 or 60 persons required to manage the affairs of Birmingham, Manchester, and Glasgow; and when you come to Parliament, objects to the very same principle of asking the whole of the people to come in and by their free choice to say who shall be the 650 men required to manage the affairs of England, Scotland, and

One consideration on which Mr. BRIGHT bases his desire to perpetuate this distinction is that among the half of the people whom he would exclude from the choice of the men who are to manage their affairs in Parliament, there are to be found some who have become drunk and disgraced themselves, and others who would be under the influence of Catholic priests and other ministers of religion. Mr. BRIGHT urged this objection in the House of Commons in resisting the admission of women to the suffrage, but when he has to meet a similar objection from the opponents of his claim for the admission of the agricultural labourers, he knows how to scatter it to the winds, and we answer him out of his own mouth. He said at Exeter Hall that "there were many persons who had great fears of admitting rich man of every kind, has no more advantage in this a large class of persons who were, as they thought, and no

doubt it was true with regard to many, very ill informed upon political questions, who might be subject to much influence by those about them, among whom there was a class which was not only ignorant, but not very industrious, and not very sober. He knew, and he thought his audience knew, that in all classes of the people, even among the aristocracy, they would find some men who knew very little of politics, some who, so far as he had observed, did not appear to have been of the least service to their country. Even in so select a class as the clergy, there were some men who were inferior to others. In the constituencies under the first Reform Bill, and with the £10 householders, there were always a number of persons who were very bad to manage because you could not get at their intelligence, or reason, or their sense of honour, or patriotism; you could only get at them by cajolery. Sometimes they were got at by persons bribing them, at other times under the undue influence of those employing them, but always they were a difficult class in the great constitencies, and there will no doubt be a difficulty if the extension of the franchise in the counties which we seek takes place."

Nothing more complete and sweeping than this confession of the existence among men of a class unfit for the franchise has ever been alleged as to the existence of a similar class among women, and we take our stand on the position of Mr. Bright, who, while admitting the reality of the imputation, shows its insufficiency as a reason for withholding self-government from the masses. He goes on to say that this is a thing which is inseparable from popular representation, and we must accept it with its drawbacks from the general good which we hope for. We must place our confidence in the growing education and intelligence of our people, and in the disposition, for there is some disposition almost amongst all to be influenced in things which they don't understand by persons in whose intelligence and probity they have some sort of confidence."

We believe that in this sentence Mr. BRIGHT has indicated the source of the influence which he assumes to be exerted upon women by priests and ministers of religion. namely, a disposition to be guided in matters which they do not understand by persons in whom they have confidence. This is a disposition which he commends as likely to lead to the advance of political intelligence among men. It will be no less potent an influence for the advance of political intelligence among women so soon as the recognition of their right to a share in the government of their country imposes upon the political instruc-

tors of the people the duty of extending their efforts to enlighten the community on such subjects to that half of the nation hitherto excluded from political existence. The teachers of the people may be roughly divided into three classes—priests, professors, and politicians. Of these three classes, the first alone have recognised the principle that the subject matter of their ministrations concerned women equally with men. The professors, charged with the education of the people, and the politicians charged with the government, have, until very recently, acted upon the principle that their mission related solely to men, and that women had no business with either politics or learning Under these circumstances, it is scarcely a matter for surprise to find that women are supposed to be more under the influence of the priests than of the other classes of public teachers, but that is no argument for perpetuating this one-sided character of their training.

Let the portals of the high schools and universities be opened to the education of women, and the doors of the franchise be no longer closed against them, and we shall find that these co-incident influences of the other two classes of public instructors will tend to preserve a healthy balance of their minds, and to counteract any undue influence of a priestly character which, if exercised in a wrong direction, may be as baneful in its effects on private life and domestic peace as it could be mischievous in its political bearing.

The best way to preserve any set of minds from undue bias in one direction is to bring them under the free play of the various forces that mould public opinion; and one of the most powerful means to this end is to spread education and enfranchisement among all sections of the people. We may then, in the words of Mr. BRIGHT, "accept the great population now existing, and trust to the good influences which are everywhere at work to compete with those evil influences, and in the main to give us a great and free Parliament speaking the voice of the whole people of this kingdom."

Some of the objections urged in the recent debate in the Italian Chamber of Deputies on the Bill to Remove the Disabilities of Women as witnesses to public deeds are curiously similar to those which have been brought forward in the House of Commons on the Bill to enable women to vote in Parliamentary elections. For example, Signor MURATORI declared himself against the Bill because he said you must not distract women from her family mission. Signor SPANTIGATI said he would vote against

Signor VARE said he must protest against the words of the honourable member. These observations about the weakness of women were the habitual commonplaces put forward by those who would deny their rights. The capacity to be a witness was allowed to men who hardly knew how to sign their names, and was refused to an educated lady who might be able to comprehend and exercise the power as well or better than some of those assembled in that Chamber. Signor Man-CINI, keeper of the seals, said he accepted the proposed law. He should have thought that it would have been carried without discussion. It did not impose on women the obligation to become witnesses, it merely enabled a notary to avail himself of the witness of a woman. The right of giving testimony is a natural right. Why deny it to a woman? When a woman can exercise full paternal authority, why deny to her the right to testify which is an indifferent act? It might have been better not to have brought in this Bill alone, which was a single page torn from a large volume; but, since it had been introduced, it was necessary to vote on it. They were at Rome; they must not allow the civilised world to believe that they were guided by the spirit of the laws of ancient Rome. These noble words of the Minister were received with loud cheers. The Bill as amended was passed in the following form:—"Sono abrogato tutte le disposizioni di legge che escludono le donne dall' intervenire come testimoni negli atti pubblici e privati." "All provisions of law which exclude women from serving as witnesses to public or private deeds are abrogated." There voted for the Bill, 136; against, 68; majority, 68. The Bill was therefore passed, and is, we understand, now law.

We learn from the editor of Cornelia that, under the minister Bonghi, the Italian Government has made an official declaration that all Italian universities are open to women. There is a difficulty in passing the matriculation examinations, because there are as yet no good preparatory schools for girls; we cannot doubt, however, that a Government which has been so discerning as to recognise the fact, that the most effectual method of freeing the minds of women from undue bias in an ecclesiastical direction

is to give them a sound liberal general education will, ere long, make this necessary provision to prepare them for the higher branches of the training which it offers to them in the universities.

Mr. Gladstone, in his speech in the House of Commons on Mr. Jacob Bright's Bill, said that under the law now existing in Italy a woman is allowed to exercise the franchise if she is possessed of a qualification, subject to the condition that she shall only exercise it through a deputy. It may be that such a real though indirect power in the election of members of the Italian Parliament bears some relation to the liberal action of the Government of that country as to the higher education of women. There is a suggestive contrast between this action and the sentiments of the House of Commons as manifested in the debate and division on Mr. Courtney's amendment on the Oxford and Cambridge Universities Bill.

WE desire to call the especial attention of our friends to the meeting which is to take place this evening in St. James's Hall, under the presidency of Lord Houghton, in support of the Bill to remove the electoral disabilities of women, the second reading of which stands for Wednesday next. The names of the speakers, which will be found in our advertising columns, afford a promise that the subject will be treated in an able and comprehensive manner, and we trust that a large and influential gathering will assemble in support of this great and just measure for securing a better representation of the people.

Various meetings have been held during the past month in different districts of London,-at Kensington Mr. ARTHUR ARNOLD took the chair at a meeting in the Vestry Hall, which was addressed by Mr. ASHURST, Miss C. A. BIGGS, Mr. FIRTH, and others; at Tower Hamlets the Rev. SEPTIMUS HANSARD presided at a meeting in Beaumont Hall, when Miss Top, Miss Becker, and the Rev. STUART HEADLAM supported the question; at Greenwich a meeting was held in the Lecture Hall, Dr. BENNETT in the chair, when Miss Young, Miss Tod, and Miss Becker attended as a deputation; and in the City of London the same ladies, together with Mr. C. H. HOPWOOD, M.P., addressed a meeting, at which Alderman Sir Andrew LUSK, M.P., presided, in the Memorial Hall, Farringdonstreet. Mr. ROEBUCK, M.P., took the chair at a meeting in St. Matthew's Schoolrooms, Westminster, convened to hear an address by Miss ARABELLA SHORE, and which was afterwards addressed by Miss Helen Taylor. A meeting has also been held in Frome, addressed by Miss LILIAS ASHWORTH and Miss SPENDER. Petitions to the House of Commons in favour of the Bill were adopted at all these meetings. A series of drawing-room meetings have also been held in Scotland, addressed by Miss Burton and Miss Ella Burton.

The Memorial to the Council of Birmingham, adopted at the recent conference in that town, was presented to the Council by Mr. R. F. MARTINEAU, who moved that a petition should be presented to Parliament, under their corporate seal, in favour of the measure. After a short discussion there was a unanimous vote in favour of the proposal, and the petition was forwarded to Mr. John BRIGHT for presentation. Petitions have been also adopted by the Councils of Dumbarton, Wigtown, Girvan and Falmouth. The total number of Petitions presented up to May 15th is 501, with 168,005 signatures. Excepting only the petition in favour of the Irish Sunday Closing Bill, this number is greatly in excess of the number of petitioners for any other object during the session, the nearest approach to it being 105,293 in favour of the University Education (Ireland) Bill. The petitions in favour of Mr. JACOB BRIGHT'S Bill are more than twice as many as those in favour of Mr. TREVELYAN'S resolutions, the numbers being 501 petitions for the former, as against 103 for the latter, with 168,000 signatures, as against 75,694 for Mr. Trevelyan's proposals. We urge our friends to avail themselves of the few days that remain before the debate to send in more petitions, and if all who have not yet signed or sent in their petitions to the Legislature to grant this measure of justice will immediately do so, they will render essential service and greatly strengthen the hands of the Parliamentary leaders who so ably advocate and defend their cause. We refer our friends to the directions in our second page for the mode of procedure, and we trust they will act on the principle that however little they can do in the time that remains, that little shall be done, and done with promptitude and zeal.

#### REPLIES OF MEMBERS TO MEMORIALS.

The following letters have been received by the Mayor of Worcester in reply to memorials adopted at the recent meeting in that city in support of the Women's Suffrage Bill:—

Belgrave Mansion, London, S.W., April 20th, 1877. My dear Mr. Mayor,—I beg to acknowledge receipt of the memorial which the public meeting held on 18th did me the honour to direct to be addressed to me.

In reply I have the honour to inform you that I have voted in former years in favour of the Bill introduced to give women the right of voting for members of Parliament, and that it is

my intention to vote for that now proposed by Mr. Jacob Bright, M.P. It appears to me that the right of voting at Parliamentary elections is a logical sequence of the right of voting at municipal elections, parochial meetings, School Boards, and Boards of Guardians.—I am, dear Mr. Mayor, your faithful and obedient servant,

T. Rowley Hill.

To the Worshipful the Mayor of Worcester.

House of Commons, April 22nd, 1877.

My dear Mayor,—Many thanks for the memorial which you were good enough to send me. I have always voted, and—while a member of this House—will always vote for giving to those who pay taxes, whether male or female, the constitutional right of controlling by their votes the expenditure of these imposts; and I have yet to learn that women are deficient in the knowledge and sagacity which are necessary to exercise this right. You have a good cause in hand, and it must, in the long run, be successful.—I am, my dear Mr. Mayor, yours very faithfully,

AL. Sherriff.

House of Commons, April 20th, 1877.

Dear Mr. Mayor,—I have duly received the memorial from the inhabitants of the city of Worcester on the subject of female suffrage. Without committing myself any further, I should be willing to advocate the principle of single women possessed of property having votes provided that there were sufficient proof that they really desired the franchise.—I am, dear Mr. Mayor, yours very faithfully,

ED. W. LECHMERE.

# CONFERENCE AT EXETER HALL IN SUPPORT OF MR. TREVELYAN'S RESOLUTIONS.

A conference took place in Exeter Hall on May 16th, under the presidency of the Right Hon. John Bright, M.P., in support of the resolutions on electoral representation introduced by Mr. Trevelyan in the House of Commons. The resolutions of which notice has been given by Mr. Trevelyan are as follows :- "1. That in the opinion of this House it would be desirable to adopt a uniform Parliamentary franchise for boroughs and counties. 2. That it would be desirable to so re-distribute political power as to obtain a more complete representation of the opinion of the electoral body." All Liberal and industrial organisations were invited to send delegates to the conference. In accordance with this invitation Mrs. Ashford and Miss Sturge attended as delegates from the Women's Liberal Association of Birmingham; Mrs. Fawcett appeared on behalf of the National Union of Working Women; Mrs. Abernethy was deputed to represent the working women of Dewsbury. After the chairman and many other gentlemen had spoken, one or two voices called out that several ladies wished to address the meeting. The Chairman announced that the name of Mrs. Smith had been handed to him, and he now called upon her. Mrs. Smith, who was seated on the platform, requested a hearing on behalf of Miss Sturge.

Miss Sturge thereupon ascended the platform, and said she also belonged to a disfranchised class. She spoke as a delegate to that conference. It was not as a lady she was there, but as one of the people whose birthright was freedom. She claimed a hearing as a working woman, working with them in the same holy cause. (Cheers.) Earnest men must stand and work; a woman also must do the same, otherwise she must fall into serfdom. She rejected serfdom for those before her as well as herself. (Cheers.) She echoed every one of the chairman's noble words, and why? Because if they were true for them they were also true for her. They must not let women drop behind them in the race for freedom. If they did, what would become of the many whom they influenced? It was a

partnership in the fight of freedom. They must keep abreast of freedom, and carry forward the great cause that had been committed to their charge.

At the evening meeting in St. James's Hall, Mr. J. Cowen, M.P., occupied the chair.

Mr. Burt, M.P., moved—"That in the opinion of this meeting it would be desirable to adopt an uniform Parliamentary franchise for borough and county constituencies." After the resolution had been seconded and supported, the Chairman, before putting it to the meeting, said he introduced Mrs. Ashford, secretary of the Birmingham Women's Liberal Association

Mrs. Ashford advocated the extension of the franchise to women, and moved a rider to the resolution to the effect that the rate-book should be taken as the basis of the franchise. whether in regard to men or women.—This was seconded by Miss Becker, who said she came forward in accordance with the terms of the circular inviting attendance at that meeting, as representing a large unenfranchised class in the "manufacturing village," called Manchester. There were about 10,000 women householders in the Parliamentary borough of Manchester who were on the citizens' roll, and who voted in the municipal and School Board elections, but who were denied all Parliamentary representation. She trusted that those who were endeavouring to secure an entrance for themselves into the ark of constitutional freedom would not beat back the hands of their sisters, who were striving, and cast them adrift on the ocean of political serfdom. Mr. Trevelyan had recently made a speech at Salford, in which he said he had been much pained in addressing an assembly of working men in the county of Kent, to think that these men had no more political power than the horses and cattle on the farms they tilled. But this comparison was not quite just as applied to the men, because all men were potential if not actual voters, and if they could obtain the qualification they would be put on the register. It was, however, strictly applicable to women, who were disqualified although they were householders and ratepayers to the required amount. An estate owned by a lady might support a rich equipage; the horses draw the carriage in front, the lady sits in state behind, and the coachman who drove the one and obeyed the other was the only political unit in the whole establishment. In conclusion, Miss Becker said she appealed with confidence to the sense of justice and sympathy among those who were asking for political rights for nemselves to accord them to others who were animated by the same hopes and aspirations.

Sir C. Dilke, M.P., although concurring in the views expressed by the mover and seconder of the rider in regard to the desirableness of admitting women to the franchise, spoke against the rider, on account of the terms in which it was expressed, which he thought would not be workable, inasmuch as it would exclude-lodgers and admit aliens and lunatics. He also suggested that it would be more desirable that the question of woman suffrage should not be mixed up with the labourers' movement, as by so doing they would probably do injury to both.—In deference to the technical objection urged by Sir Charles Dilke, Mrs. Ashford withdrew the rider, which was therefore not put to the vote.—After the other resolutions had been passed, Mrs. Ashford proposed a substantive resolution.

Admiral Maxse protested against the resolution as not being within the object of the meeting.

Some discussion followed, and eventually the resolution was withdrawn, and the proceedings were closed by a vote of thanks to the chairman and three cheers for women's suffrage.

#### BIRMINGHAM.

Meeting of the Town Council on Tuesday, May 8th, 1877.

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

Mr. R. F. MARTINEAU, pursuant to notice, presented a memorial from the members, delegates, and friends of the National Society for Women's Suffrage, praying the Town Council to adopt a petition to the House of Commons in favour of the Bill introduced by Mr. Jacob Bright, M.P., to remove the electoral disabilities of women. He also moved—"That a petition to Parliament in accordance with the prayer of the memorial be prepared by the Town Clerk, signed by the Mayor in the name and on behalf of the Town Council, sealed with the corporate common seal, and forwarded to the senior member for the borough for presentation." He believed that the Birmingham Council, if they thought a certain course right, were not generally particular about precedents; but he might mention that petitions had been presented for the same object from the Lords Provost, Magistrates, and Councils of Edinburgh and Aberdeen, the Town Councils of Manchester, Bath, Scarborough, Stafford, Middlesborough, Lincoln, Dewsbury, Barrow, Stalybridge, Plymouth, and many smaller places. It was indeed no wonder, and seemed to him a perfectly legitimate course, that through those who are their representatives women should seek to appeal to the Chamber in whose election they desire to have a voice. It was a moot point among the lawyers whether even now women had not a right to vote. They had been advised to contest the question, and claim to be heard at the bar of the House. Mr. Jacob Bright's Bill would settle the matter, if passed, in a more satisfactory way. He supposed it was not needful for him to argue at any length in favour of the principle of the Bill. It simply rested on the motto adopted by Englishmen on both sides of the Atlantic, and at many epochs of our history, that "taxation without representation was tyranny." The taxcollector knew no distinction of sex, but struck with an equal knock the door of the poorest voter in Thomas-street, and the unenfranchised lady of Barford Hill.\* A lady might own half a county, and be able to manage her estates with the utmost ability, but was denied a voice in the selection of the men who should spend the large sums she contributed to the national exchequer. Nor need he dwell on the obsolete absurdity of women's intellectual inferiority. It was, indeed, anomalous that women should be considered worthy to reign, but not to choose those who were to serve under the Queen. Why, Cabinet Ministers in a Parliament elected by men only practically demonstrated their appreciation of women's intellectual power by putting them in office. Mrs. Nassau Senior had been appointed permanent inspector under the Local Government Board; and, while in no respects had her reports been inferior to male inspectors, in some respects they were greatly superior. Then he supposed it was well known that Miss Nightingale had been constantly consulted by the War Office on questions relating to improving the condition of our soldiers. Yet, when a soldier had been dismissed for bad conduct, as soon as he found a living as a civilian, he at once attained what was absolutely denied to her. He hoped and supposed the Council were interested in the grand work which Miss Octavia Hill was carrying on in London. Yet she could never procure what was the privilege of the most criminal and degraded of those whom it was the noble object of her life to make worthy of being citizens. The inconsistency of this exclusion seemed the more absurd when we looked at the operation of School Boards. The Act of 1870 left so much work permis-

sive that School Boards had a thoroughly legislative character. As Birmingham people had good reason to know, women sat on School Boards; and thus, in this most important State work of education, women actually made laws, which denied the right to choose the men who should make them in other departments. He felt it was not necessary for him to say much in favour of the proposal to an assembly which was itself returned by women; they at all events must have an appreciation of the wisdom and discrimination which women showed in the election of those who were to represent them. (Laughter.) He submitted that the difference between the very efficient and enormous work imposed on the Council of a large borough and that of the imperial legislature was not so very great; but there was one essential difference. In municipal matters there were no questions which affected the sexes differently; the Health Committee knew no distinction in their efforts to remove causes of illness; the Watch Committee, he hoped, guarded life and property equally, and the Gas Committee let its 17-candle gas shine with equal brilliancy for men and women alike. But in imperial politics there were of necessity constantly questions which affected the sexes differently, such, for example, as the laws about parentage, the property of married people, and others. Now, for the Legislature to say that where women have no interests different from those of men, they may vote, but when their interests do differ, that therefore and on that account their voices shall not be heard, seemed to him monstrous cruelty and injustice. He believed that a nation was always the stronger for getting rid of a wrong, and he therefore hoped the Council would help in the removal of this anomaly by presenting a

Mr. Houlston seconded the proposition.

Alderman Brinsley said he quite approved the principle of women voting, but should they as a corporate body have the corporate common seal affixed in this matter. He had had the honour of canvassing for their votes sometimes, and had found it very pleasant. (Laughter.)

Mr. Kneebone remarked that this was not a party political subject.

Alderman Collings said it was a question of extending what, perhaps, was the highest right to those who ought to possess it.

The Mayor: It is a question of politics, but not a question of party politics. We are anxious that all the Conservative, as well as all the Liberal ladies, should have a vote.

Alderman Brinsley: You have not got to that yet, have you? (Laughter.)

The proposition was then put to the meeting and carried. Names were called, and thirty-two votes were recorded for the proposition. There were none against.

There was no other business transacted.

#### PUBLIC MEETINGS.

#### FROME.

A meeting was held in the Temperance Hall, Frome, on May 8th, Mr. Cooke, B.A., in the chair. The Chairman said so far as his observation extended there did not exist any strong deep-seated sentiment forbidding women to pay attention to political questions. What might a lady not do in connection with Parliamentary elections? It seemed to him she could do everything except record a vote. The meeting was addressed by Miss Lilias Ashworth, Miss Spender, the Rev. W. Burton, and Mr. W. Lethally, and petitions in support of the Bill were adopted unanimously.

#### KENSINGTON.

On May 3rd, a meeting was held in the Vestry Hall, Kensington, Mr. Arthur Arnold in the chair. Mr. Firth, of the London School Board, Miss Caroline Biggs, Mr. Ashurst, Miss Becker, and other speakers addressed the meeting. An amendment was moved by a young man in the body of the room in opposition to the promoters of the meeting, which, after being seconded, was put to the meeting and lost by a large majority. The original resolutions were then put and carried by a large majority.

#### TOWER HAMLETS.

A public meeting was held in the Beaumont Hall, Mile End Road, on the 8th May. The chair was taken by the Rev. Septimus Hansard, rector of Bethnal Green. Mr. Potto (of the Tower Hamlets Liberal Club), Miss Becker, Mr. Patteson, Miss Tod, Miss Brown, and the Rev. Stewart Headlam, addressed the meeting. Resolutions approving the principle of the Bill, and adopting a petition, were carried unanimously.

#### GREENWICH

A well-attended public meeting in support of the extension of the franchise to women householders, was held at the Lecture Hall, Royal Hill, Greenwich, on May 10th. The chair was occupied by Dr. Bennett, and his supporters on the platform were Miss Becker, Miss Tod, Miss Annie Young, Miss C. A. Biggs, Dr. J. Baxter Langley, Mr. Gurley Smith, Mr. J. Whale, and Mr. Wates, who took part in the proceedings. Resolutions in support of the measure, and adopting memorials to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P., T. W. Boord, Esq., M.P., members for the borough of Greenwich, and also to the members for West Kent, requesting them to support Mr. Jacob Bright's Bill, were carried unanimously.

#### CITY OF LONDON.

A public meeting in support of the Bill of Mr. Jacob Bright, M.P., for conferring the Parliamentary suffrage upon women householders, was held May 15th, in the library of the Memorial Hall, Farringdon-street. The chair was taken by Alderman Sir A. Lusk, M.P., and the attendance was numerous.

The Chairman, in opening the proceedings, observed that the possession of property and the payment of rates formed the basis of the Parliamentary suffrage in the case of men, and he could not understand, therefore, why it should be denied to women who managed a farm, or kept a shop, and paid rates and taxes. When asked why women should have a right to vote, he asked, in reply, why they should not have it. (Cheers.) Taxation and representation ought in that case, as in others, to go together.

Mr. C. H. Hopwood, Q.C., M.P., moved the following resolution:

"That as it is contrary to the principles of free and constitutional Government that any class or number of persons should be permanently deprived of direct representation in Parliament, this meeting is of opinion that the Parliamentary vote should be given to women on the same conditions as it is granted to men."

It was, he said, ten years ago since that distinguished man the late John Stuart Mill first stamped that question as a question of the day by introducing it in the House of Commons, and though many other advantages had since been conceded, the Parliamentary vote was still denied. Mr. John Bright's recent opposition seemed to have arisen from anger with some one for saying that all men were tyrants and all women slaves; but a man of such strong mental calibre ought not to have been influenced by foolish language, and Mr. Bright had shown his repentance by voting for the admissibility of women to medical degrees.

 $<sup>{}^*\,{\</sup>rm Miss}$  Ryland, a wealthy benefactress, who has given two magnificent parks to the people of Birmingham.

Miss Becker seconded the resolution, which, on being submitted to a show of hands, was carried with only three or four dissentients.

Miss Tod, of Belfast, then moved a resolution to the effect that petitions should be presented to the House of Commons in favour of Mr. Jacob Bright's Bill.

Miss A. Young, in seconding the resolution, said the idea of the working man was that woman was his possession, or chattel. (No, no.) That he treated her as a chattel was proved by the records of the police courts. (Hear, hear.) The Parliamentary suffrage would give women their proper status, and tend to remove cruel and unjust laws.

The resolution was then adopted, the amount of opposition being like that against the previous one. The proceedings terminated with a vote of thanks to the chairman,—Daily News.

#### WESTMINSTER.

#### SPEECH OF J. A. ROEBUCK, ESQ., M.P.

On May 17th, a lecture on behalf of the London National Society for Women's Suffrage was delivered by Miss Arabella Shore, at St. Matthew's Schoolrooms, Great Peter-street, Westminster. Before the lecture commenced Mr. Roebuck, M.P., who presided, said he wished to explain in a few words why he was there. His opinions generally were with those who conducted what he might almost call a movement; but he was not quite so sanguine as they were, and did not anticipate quite as many good results as they expected to witness should they attain their object. In the meantime he fully acknowledged all the wrongs under which women laboured under the laws of England, and he was exceedingly anxious that those wrongs should be righted. If asked why he came there when he was not a friend of the object to the utmost, he would reply that he came because Miss Helen Taylor asked him to come. That lady was the step-daughter of the dearest friend he ever had, the late John Stuart Mill. He at once acceded to her request; in fact, he thought that if she had asked him to stand on his head he might have done so out of respect for the memory of Mr. Mill, one of whose great objects was to improve the position of women, and from association with whom he had derived such great advantages.—Miss Shore then delivered a lecture embracing the question under various aspects, and in the course of it she contended that the claim which she was enforcing is just and in harmony with the constitution, and that it is clearly desirable that men and women should co-operate in great and wide objects for the national good. The injustice of the exclusion of women from the vote would, she remarked, be increased by the conferring of the Parliamentary suffrage on agricultural labourers, who were certain to have it before long. In concluding, she observed that not till women had some political value would their education be regarded as a matter of national importance; that political indifference on the part of many of them is a result of ignorance; and that women should show that they are not unconcerned about politics by supporting the claim which she now urged on their behalf. In reply to a question from a working man, the lecturer said she believed the number of female householders was between three and four hundred thousand.—Mr. Roebuck observed that it depended very much upon women themselves what should be the result of that agitation. He thought be knew what the end of it would be. As mankind grew more intelligent and more gentle, men would desire that women should be raised to the position which Miss Shore desired for them; and when they had acquired sufficient intelligence, and had applied their minds steadily to the improvement of their education, they would not long be without the suffrage.—
Miss Helen Taylor, in moving the adoption of petitions to

Parliament, to be signed by the chairman, said she did not believe it possible for the present state of things to last very long. She thought it could not have lasted so long as it had done, but for a certain weakness on the part of men. She had noticed among married couples that when the husband was very inferior to the wife, he was a firm believer in masculine superiority, because, poor man, he had nothing else than the fact of his being a man to be proud of. (Laughter.)—The motion was agreed to, and votes of thanks were given to Miss Shore and Mr. Roebuck.—Daily News.

Miss Craigen has addressed meetings at Shelf, Yorkshire, on February 6th, Richard Collinson, minister, in the chair; on February 9th, at Luddenden, Yorkshire, Thomas Sharp in the chair; on February 18th, at Heckmondwike, Yorkshire, Jas. Kilburn in the chair; on February 20th, at March, Cambridgeshire, Edward Bell in the chair; on March 7th, at Framling-Ham, Suffolk; on March 15th, at Birstall, Yorkshire, Anne Taylor in the chair; on March 19th, at South Stockton-on-Tees, Yorkshire, Elizabeth Sanderson in the chair; on March 26th, at Todmorden, Yorkshire, Alfred Turley in the chair; on April 19th, at Pleasley Vale, Derbyshire, Samuel Richards in the chair. Petitions were adopted at all these meetings.

#### SCOTLAND. EDINBURGH.

A meeting was held at Huntly Lodge, Edinburgh, the residence of Mrs. Nichol, on March 28th. Mrs. Nichol presided; and Professor Lorimer, Professor Calderwood, and many other ladies and gentlemen took part in the discussion. A resolution approving of the principle of women's suffrage was unanimously adopted.

On May 18th, a meeting was held in Mr. Monro's schoolroom, 18, Mint-street, Edinburgh, the Rev. A. Seton in the chair, when Miss Ella Burton read a paper. Miss Wigham delivered an address on the enfranchisement of women. A petition to Parliament in support of the Bill was moved by Mr. Macdonald, of the High School, seconded by Mr. Alex. Fraser, and passed unanimously. Votes of thanks concluded the proceedings.

KIRKCALDY.

A drawing-room meeting was held on May 4th, at the residence of Robert Douglas, Esq., Frankfield, Kirkcaldy, the subject of discussion being Woman's Household Suffrage. The chair was occupied by Mr. Douglas, and the meeting was addressed by the Misses Burton. The attendance was numerous. A petition was sent up to Parliament from the meeting.

#### CHPAR

The Misses Burton, sister and daughter of the well-known historian of Scotland, visited Cupar on Monday, May 7th, as a deputation from the Scottish Branch of the Women's Suffrage Association, and addressed a well-attended drawing-room meeting, chiefly composed of ladies, in Edenbank House. The Rev. John Rankine, Moderator of the U. P. Synod, occupied the chair, and was supported by General Dalyell and the Rev. Mr. Gordon, assistant to Dr. Cochrane. Miss Ella Burton read an interesting paper on noted historical women, whose lives and influence, as recorded either in sacred or secular history, she briefly reviewed. Miss Burton followed with a few pointed and forcible remarks. Now that Parliament in the Patronage Abolition Act had given women the right to vote for their ministers, they might surely be trusted to vote for members of Parliament. The Rev. Mr. Wills and other speakers admitted the convincing character of the arguments advanced, and the chairman was authorised, in name of the meeting, to sign a petition to Parliament in favour of the Bill.

#### GIRVAN (AYRSHIRE).

At the monthly meeting of the Town Council of Girvan, on Friday, May 4th, a petition from the local committee for the promotion of the Women's Suffrage Bill, that the Town Council should support the measure, was presented by Mrs. John I. M. Blair, Burnbank House. Mrs. Blair, in presenting the memorial, made an eloquent speech, which fairly took the Council by storm. She contended that as rating was the basis of representation, it was a manifest injustice to every woman who paid rates to exclude her from the franchise. The Legislature had already conceded the right in the election of School Boards, and if qualified to discharge this duty, she could not see how they could be pronounced unfit to vote for members of Parliament. She thought the interest the ladies took in the election of School Boards a sufficient proof that they were quite as alive to the public interest as the gentlemen. The speech was received with great applause. A motion to support the Bill was carried by a large majority. The Clerk was instructed to prepare a petition for the House of Commons in favour of the

#### PARLIAMENTARY INTELLIGENCE.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, Thursday, May 3rd.

#### UNIVERSITIES OF OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE.

In Committee on this Bill on Clause 16, Mr. COURTNEY moved the insertion of the following sub-section:—

"For enabling the University to examine female students concurrently with male students, subject to such conditions regulating the residence and discipline of such female students as the University may from time to time approve or ordain; and for enabling the University to grant licences to practise medicine to female students who have passed the examinations and fulfilled the conditions which are necessary for obtaining degrees in medicine in the case of male students in that faculty."

In moving his amendment, he stated that as far back as the year 1869 there had been a college for women modelled after the organisation of the Colleges, and its promoters desired that the students should be subjected to examinations like those at Oxford or Cambridge. The authorities at Cambridge were not prepared at the time to accede to this request, but they had intimated that the examiners, in their private capacity, might look through the papers, and this had been done from the year 1870 to the present time. In that year the examiners of the previous examination had consented to furnish these female students with examination papers and report on their answers, judging them by the University standard. That had been done, and the examiners had certified with respect to them, and the custom had prevailed for the last seven years, not only in the case of the previous examination, but in the case of the pass and the higher examinations for honours. He could not better explain the process than by reading a letter which had been written by one of the examiners of the Classical Tripos in 1873, in which he stated that his colleagues and himself would be happy to examine papers sent up to them, but that it must be distinctly understood that they did so in their private capacity. The whole scope of his amendment was to give an official recognition to what had thus been done in an unofficial manner. Nothing was wanted but the recognition of the University. He would point out the extent to which this examination of women had been carried. In the year 1870 five students passed the previous examination, two of them in honours. In 1871 two others passed in honours. In 1872 five passed, and four took honours. In 1873 two passed, and two took honours.

In 1874 five passed, and two took honours. In 1875 six passed, and five took honours. In 1876 eighteen passed, and twelve took honours. Of late years ladies had been tested by the degree examination standards. In 1873 a lady took a position equivalent to a second-class in the Mathematical Tripos; and another, a second in the Classical Tripos. In 1874 two passed in Natural Science. In 1875 two reached the Classical Tripos standard. All these came from Girton College. There was also at Cambridge, Newnham College, an arrangement by which ladies were admitted to the lectures of the professors, and students from Newnham had been examined like the students from Girton. All that he wished to suggest was that what was now done by favour should be done publicly and in a recognised manner. The matter was one of considerable importance, and it could not be argued that the practice which the amendment proposed to legitimate was novel or dangerous. If a gentleman wished to send his boy to a school he could ascertain the character of the schoolmaster, but in the case of girls parents had no kind of authority to which to refer. But the voluntary organisation to which he had referred had introduced such an authority, which had been found most useful. Public schools for girls, analogous to high schools for boys, had been established at Notting Hill, Chelsea, Clapham, Norwich, Manchester, and other parts of the country. He did not know, considering the strictly permissive character of this proposal, what objections would be raised to it. Last year an Act was passed enabling any authority which could grant degrees to men under the Medical Act to confer them on women also. It might, perhaps, be argued that under the provisions of that statute the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge could grant medical degrees to women. But his present proposal did not relate to the granting of degrees of any kind. At present the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge granted licences to practise medicine, but only as a corollary to a medical degree. He now proposed to enable the Universities to grant such licences to practise to persons who had not graduated, provided they fulfilled the necessary conditions of knowledge. The sub-section was purely permissive, and if it were passed the probability was that Cambridge would take the matter up and that Oxford would not. The greater liberality of Cambridge in this respect was perhaps due to gratitude for what that University owed to women. It was a remarkable circumstance that at Cambridge six colleges were founded by the benevolence of ladies. Considering, therefore, how much we were thus indebted to women, we ought to do what we could now to promote the education of

Mr. Forsyth said that, although no one could accuse him of being indifferent to the claims of women, he confessed he felt some difficulty with regard to this sub-section, which was rather ambiguously worded. Its first object was to enable the University "to examine female students concurrently with male students." That meant, he supposed, that they were to be in the same lecture-rooms, to sit side by side on the same benches, and that the examiners were to walk up and down while the young gentlemen and young ladies were answering the questions. (A laugh.) His real objection to the clause had reference to the first part of it. If ladies were examined in classics and mathematics by University officials, and no degrees were conferred, no better results would follow than are now attainable at Girton College. If the hon, member for Liskeard had proposed that the ladies who acquitted themselves well in the examinations should be named in the Tripos list, and should afterwards have degrees conferred upon them, he would have voted for the proposal. As to the second part of the subsection, he thought it right that licences should be given to female students of medicine who proved themselves fit to practise.

Mr. Hopwood supported what he regarded as the just demand embodied in the amendment, and regretted that his hon. and learned friend who had just spoken had not the courage of his convictions, and had not suggested such an alteration in the proposal of the hon. member for Liskeard as would carry those convictions to their legitimate conclusion.

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Mr. Gorst hoped there would be no objection on the part of the Government to concede something in the direction proposed by the hon. member for Liskeard, and expressed his concurrence in the opinion that the first part of the amendment did not go far enough.

After a few words from Mr. RATHBONE in favour of the amendment.

Mr. Beresford Hope said he thought it was a proposal which would introduce a very great change, which ought, if made at all, to be made in a more open and direct form. If once ladies were admitted as a constituent part of the undergraduate body, were they to be eligible for scholarships? If so, how were they, he would ask, to be kept out of fellowships, and tutorships, and masterships?

Lord F. CAVENDISH should give his cordial support to the amendment in the full confidence that the Universities would be able to lay down the regulations necessary to give it due effect.

Mr. MUNDELLA pointed out that the examination of the two sexes together would not be a novelty in connection with the Universities, the present local examinations being conducted in that manner; and he urged the importance of opening up an educational career for the daughters of professional men, for whom there was at present hardly any occupation.

Mr. HARDY understood the object of the proposal to be to bring women in, practically, as undergraduates of the Universities. The hon, member for Liskeard had spoken of the Colleges which in times past were founded at Cambridge for the education of women as well as men, but it had been overlooked that in those times the education of the women was carried on in convents, and, of course, separately. He was not aware that Girton College admitted young men. (Hear, hear.) In that very case the advantages of separation seemed to be recognised. The scholars there were under the superintendence of women; they had lecturers of their own; and, he was told. that when they attended lectures away from their College, they still had lecturers for themselves. The whole system, therefore, was one, not of mixed and concurrent education for both sexes, but distinctly of separate education. (Hear, hear.) He believed the success of the teaching was greatly owing to the privacy of the arrangements. Believing as he did that this separation was most desirable, he must oppose the motion of the hon, member. If the object was to overturn the whole system of male and female education in the country, this was a matter which ought to be settled by Parliament, and ought not to be delegated to Commissioners. With respect to the latter part of the amendment, it had already been pointed out that it was not needed. If the Universities wished to give medical degrees, they might do so, but he did not think it likely they would exercise that power. While recognising the importance of giving educational facilities to women, he thought the proposal of the hon. member for Liskeard to bring female students under the regular discipline of the Universities was not likely to meet the wishes of those whom it was intended to benefit, and that the attempt to carry on the education of both sexes together would only destroy the system of separate education for young ladies, which was at present flourishing. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. COURTNEY explained that he did not wish, as the right hon. gentleman supposed, to bring the girls of Girton College under the same regulations with respect to discipline as the undergraduates at the Universities. He observed, moreover, that it was not proposed to delegate any absolute final authority to the Commissioners, but only to invite them to frame some working plan which would in due course be submitted to the University Commission and to Parliament.

Mr. NEWDEGATE said he at last understood the purport of the amendment. The Universities had been spoken of as "monastic institutions." He was not prepared to vote for their being "conventual institutions" as well. (A laugh.) The Committee divided.

For Mr. Courtney's amendment ... ... 119 Against ... ... ... ... 239 Majority against ... ... 120

So the amendment was negatived.

The following members voted in favour of Mr. Courtney's amendment :-

Adam, Rt. Hon. William Patrick Jenkins, David James (Penryn) Allen, W. Shepherd (Newc. U.L.) Anderson, George Anstruther, Sir Robert (Fife) Balfour, Arthur Jas. (Hertf. Bo.) Barclay, James W. (Forfarshire) Barran, John Bass, Arthur (Staffordsh. E.) Beaumont, Major Fred. (Durh. S) Bell Isaac Lowthian Biggar, Joseph Gillis Blake, Thomas Briggs, William Edward Bright, Jacob (Manchester) Brogden, Alexander Brooks, Maurice (Dublin) Brown, Alexander H. (Wenlock) Burt, Thomas Campbell, Sir George (Kirkcaldy)
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Tellers for the Ayes, Mr. Courtney and Mr. Hopwood.

THE PROPERTY OF MARRIED WOMEN. SUPREME COURT OF JUDICATURE. (Sittings at Lincoln's Inn, before Lord Chief Justice Coleridge

and Lords Justices James and Baggallay, May 16th, 1877.) ASHWORTH 22. OUTRAM.

This was an appeal from a decision of Vice-Chancellor Malins, and it raised a question of considerable importance as to the effect of the Married Woman's Property Act of 1870. The suit was instituted for the administration of the estate of a Mr. Thomas Outram, who died intestate in August, 1874. In April, 1874, he married a Miss Fairbank, who had for some years previously carried on a business of preserve-making of her own. She continued to carry it on after her marriage, and she survived the testator. The Vice-Chancellor held that she had carried on the business after the marriage independently of her husband, with his knowledge and consent, and that she was entitled to the stock-in-trade employed in the business at the time of the marriage, and the accumulations during the marriage, as her separate property. The next-of-kin of the intestate

Mr. Glasse, Q.C., Mr. Milward, Q.C., and Mr. Malden were for the appellants; Mr. J. Pearson, Q.C., Mr. Higgins, Q.C.,

and Mr. Freeling were for the widow. Lord Coleridge was of opinion that the Vice-Chancellor's order ought to be affirmed. It must be taken to have been found by the Vice-Chancellor as a fact-and upon the evidence Lord Coleridge saw no reason to doubt that this was a perfectly right conclusion—that the husband permitted the wife after the marriage to conduct this preserving business, which it was admitted she had carried on alone before the marriage, separately from himself and as her own business. The evidence upon that point appeared to his lordship perfectly satisfactory. The husband did not interfere at all with the conduct of the business, which continued to be carried on as it was before the marriage, in the wife's maiden name. It must be taken upon the evidence that after the marriage the business was carried on for the benefit of the married woman separately from her husband, with his knowledge and consent. What then, was the consequence resulting in law? It was twofold. First, it was clear that a husband could by a declaration, or by acts equivalent to a declaration, entirely apart from the provisions of the Married Women's Property Act, constitute himself a trustee for his wife in relation to such property as the declaration, or agreement, or equivalent conduct comprehended. There had been repeated decisions to that effect, and the principle was well established. And the Court would protect the property of the wife, and her earnings and gains in respect of it. That being the general state of the law, the Act of 1870 was passed, and it enacted by section 1 that "the wages and earnings of any married woman acquired or gained by her after the passing of this Act in any employment, occupation, or trade in which she is engaged, or which she carries on separately from her husband, shall be deemed and taken to be property held and settled to her separate use independent of any husband to whom she may be married." That enactment was passed with a knowledge of the existing law as it was administered by Courts of Equity. What, in reason and substance, was its meaning? It was clearly intended to protect the wages and earnings of married women, that is, while they were married. though it was not intended to alter the general law of property in regard to the relations of husband and wife. But the wages and earnings of the married woman in any trade which she carried on separately from her husband was to be protected. The Vice-Chancellor was warranted in finding, as a fact, that Mrs. Outram was engaged after her marriage in carrying on the trade

separately from her husband. Then her wages and earnings in respect of that trade were to be protected. How far was that protection to be carried? Not beyond the wages and earnings, but so far as to protect the trade or business from which they arose—for the purpose of protecting the wages and earnings themselves. Without the protection of the trade or business itself the protection of the wages and earnings would be perfectly illusory. How could wages and earnings be obtained in any trade without the necessary tools? How could money or property be acquired by the exercise of literary or artistic skill, without the pens and paper or canvas, paints, and brushes, which must be employed? It was not a liberal or loose construction of the Act, but a rational construction that the trade or business itself must be protected. What, then, was the meaning of a trade or business? His lordship referred to the order made in "M'Neillie v. Acton" (4, "De G., M., and G.," 744) as showing the meaning. The result was, that according to the fair meaning of the Acts, the property and stock-in-trade employed in the business at the time of the marriage must be protected, for without it there could be no wages or earnings. Though the Courts in other cases had declined to extend the Act, they had given abundant sanction to the principle of this decision, that everything fairly necessary to effect the protection intended by the Act must be

Lord Justice James was of the same opinion. In former times and down to a period within his own recollection, the Judges of the Common Law Courts had delighted in applying rigidly and strictly a series of rules and maxims which their predecessors had delighted themselves in devising, though they did not commend themselves to the millions who were affected by them. One of these maxims was that a married woman was incapable of taking a gift of property either from her husband or a stranger. But the Court of Chancery, which was a very great Court, though it had now ceased to exist, invented that blessed thing called the separate use of a married woman, and, as it would never be hindered by mere technicalities, so far as was necessary to give effect to the separate use, it treated the husband as a trustee for his wife of property which came to him in his marital right. In this case, whether the married woman was carrying on a business which she had established before her marriage, or one which she had been allowed by her husband's consent to establish and carry on after her marriage, the trade itself became her separate property, and everything incident to it became her separate property, and her husband became a trustee of it for her. The judgment of the Vice-Chancellor ought to be affirmed.

Lord Justice Baggallay concurred, founding his opinion mainly on the law as it stood independently of the Act of 1870 - Times.

#### MARRIED WOMEN'S PROPERTY COMMITTEE.

The Married Women's Property (Scotland) Bill was considered in Committee and reported on Tuesday, the 15th May; it will again be considered in Committee on Tuesday, the 12th

The Married Women's Property Committee earnestly request all friends at once to petition the House of Commons in favour of this instalment of justice to women.

Forms of petition, written and printed, leaflets, and other papers, may be had from the Secretary, Mrs. Wolstenholme Elmy, Congleton, Cheshire.

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