

# WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE JOURNAL.

EDITED BY LYDIA E. BECKER.

VOL. XI.—No. 130. PUBLISHED MONTHLY.

NOVEMBER 1, 1880.

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By Post THREE HALFPENCE.

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## BRISTOL.

A GRAND

### DEMONSTRATION OF WOMEN

In connection with the Bristol and West of England Branch of the National Society for Women's Suffrage, will be held in the

### COLSTON HALL, BRISTOL,

ON THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 4TH,

To adopt a Memorial to Her Majesty's Government praying for the Extension of the Franchise to Women Ratepayers and Landowners in Counties and Boroughs.

The Chair will be taken at 8 p.m. by  
**MRS. BEDDOE.**

Miss Becker	Miss Müller
Miss C. Ashurst Biggs	Mrs. A. Osler
Mrs. R. L. Carpenter	Miss Hellena Richardson
Mrs. Colman	Mrs. Oliver Scatterd
Miss Jessie Craigen	Miss Spender
Miss Dowling	Miss Eliza Sturge
Eliza W. Dunbar, M.D.	Miss Emily Sturge
Miss Estlin	Mrs. Arthur Tanner
Mrs. Ashworth Hallett	Miss Taylor
Miss Jenner	Mrs. Charles Thomas
Miss Le Geyt	Mrs. Thomasson
Mrs. McIlquham	Miss Thornbury
Miss Meyrick	

and many other friends and delegates are expected to be present.

Admission free for women to all parts of the hall. Gentlemen to the gallery by ticket, price 2s. 6d., to be had at the Society's Office, 20, Park-street. Colston and Trenchard-street entrances. Doors open at 7 o'clock. Reserved seat tickets may be had on application to the Secretaries of the Bristol and West of England Branch of the National Society for Women's Suffrage, 20, Park-street, Bristol.

**BRISTOL — BROADMEAD ROOMS.** — A Public Meeting in support of the Demonstration of Women in Colston Hall will be held in the Broadmead Rooms, on Tuesday, November 2nd. The Chair will be taken at 8 p.m. by MARK WHITWELL, Esq. The Rev. W. Hargraves, Miss Craigen, and Mrs. Oliver Scatterd will address the meeting. Admission free.

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**NOTTINGHAM.** — Preliminary Notice. — A Great DEMONSTRATION of Women of Nottingham and the surrounding district will be held on Tuesday, November 30th, in the Albert Hall, Nottingham. Many of the leading representatives of the movement for women's suffrage will be present. — Particulars will be fully advertised in the district when the arrangements are completed. Chair to be taken at eight o'clock.

**WOMEN'S UNION JOURNAL,** published Monthly by the Women's Protective and Provident League, records the progress of the Women's Trade Union movement; and contains information, collected from reliable sources, about the wages, hours of work, and other conditions under which women are employed in various trades. The Journal also discusses all questions connected with the industrial position of women, such as the influence of Factory and Workshops' Legislation, Factory Inspection, the establishment of Co-operative Workshops, &c., &c. Its pages are open to correspondence.

**ELECTORAL REFORM:** A Plea for Justice, by WILLIAM COUNT, General Secretary of the National Union of Working Women, and late member of the Bristol Trades Council. Published by George Vickers, Angel Court, Strand, London; and John Hayward, 1, Cornstreet, Bristol. Price 2d.

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**Blue**  
See that you get it,  
as bad qualities are  
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**ENGLISHWOMAN'S REVIEW.**—Published on the 15th of each month. Price 6d., or 6s. per annum.

CONTENTS FOR OCTOBER, 1880.

1. Trades Union Congress.
2. The Late Miss Chessar.
3. Generalization.
4. Women and Sanitary Reform.

Record of Events:—Higher and Intermediate Education in Wales—Intermediate Education, Ireland—University College, Bristol—Mason Science College—Technical Instruction—Trades Union Congress, Dublin—Factory Acts—Social Science Congress—Telegraph Clerks—Poor Law Guardians—Women as Prison Visitors—Another Woman Physician—Suffrage—Swimming for Women—Obituary, Miss Jewsbury—Order of St. Katherine—Miscellaneous.

Correspondence.

Foreign Notes and News.

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

**“LIBERTY, EQUALITY, FRATERNITY.”**  
A Reply to Mr. Fitzjames Stephen's Strictures on Mr. J. S. Mill's “Subjection of Women,” by LYDIA E. BECKER. Reprinted from the *Women's Suffrage Journal*. Price 2d. To be had at 28, Jackson's Row, Albert Square, Manchester.

**LA DONNA.**—An educational periodical of contributions by Italian ladies, conducted by Gualberta Alaide Beccari. Published on the 15th and 30th of each month at Strada Stefano, No. 5, Bologna.—Price for each number, 50 centimes.

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

**WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE JOURNAL.**—Communications for the Editors and Orders for the Journal to be addressed to the Office, 28, Jackson's Row, Albert Square, Manchester.



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## CONGRESS OF GERMAN WOMEN.

An interesting and somewhat novel experiment has been made very successfully at Berlin. On the 13th, 14th, and 15th October a Congress of Women's Societies was held, for the purpose of discussing the education and employment of women. The Crown Princess of Prussia postponed her departure for Cologne for a day, in order that she and the Crown Prince should honour the congress by receiving the delegates at Potsdam in company with the Prince and Princess Christian. The party were conveyed from Wildpark Station to the palace in the Royal carriages, and graciously entertained with music and refreshments, her Imperial Highness testifying cordial interest in the work of the association. The papers read at the Congress were many of them remarkable for good practical sense and thoughtfulness. One of them, on "Woman's Work in England during the Last Ten Years," was read in German by Dr. Frances Hoggan, who had been specially invited to prepare it. After reviewing the results obtained in education, the opening up of new employments for women, and the various associations formed for their mutual protection and advantage, including the latest, the Somerville Club, Dr. Hoggan touched briefly, but earnestly, on the history of the women's suffrage movement, and on the legal disabilities and wrongs which underlie it. This part of her paper was listened to with the deepest interest and attention, which is the more noteworthy inasmuch as a paper on women's suffrage, which was offered to the Congress, was refused on the ground that any consideration or discussion of the subject in Germany would be premature and unwise. In discussing this paper, the members of the Congress were enabled to institute a comparison between the condition of women in Germany and in this country; and the conclusion was drawn that, while England is before Germany generally in women's questions, there were departments of female work which were carried on in a thoroughly business-like and effective way in Germany which are sadly neglected in England. Great interest was paid to the address of Frau Lina Morgenstern, one of the most active and popular, and also the most frequently challenged and opposed, amongst the German advocates of the rights and obligations of women. She is evidently a most capable orator, ready to give blows, and equally ready at warding them off. The ladies were well supported at the first public appearance by a galaxy of eminent men, including amongst others Privy-Councillor Schneider, Professor Gniest, Legationsrath von Bunsen, and others. Delegates from the various branches of the German Frauen-bildungs-verein presented their reports from their various centres of action.

## THE CALENDAR.

NOVEMBER.	
MOON.	SUN.
2nd New Moon, 3h 55m aft.	Rises, 6 55 Sets, 4 29
9th First Quar., 8h 30m morn.	7 11 ..... 4 17
16th Full Moon, 8h 39m aft.	7 23 ..... 4 7
25th Last Quar., 2h 5m morn.	7 38 ..... 3 57
1 M	
2 T	
3 W	
4 Th	(Constantinople, 1854.
5 F	Angelica Kaufman died 1807. Miss Nightingale lauded at
6 S	National Society for Women's Suffrage formed 1867.
7 S	24 after Trinity. Queen Mary died 1558.
8 S	
9 T	Madame Roland guillotined, 1793. Women disfranchised by
10 W	[decision of Court of Com. Pleas, 1868.
11 Th	
12 F	Mrs. Opie b. 1769. Caterina Gabriella (vocalist) b. 1730. Eliz.
13 S	(Cady Stanton b. 1816. Miss Hosmer came to Rome, 1858.
14 S	25 after Trinity. Madame Hensel (Fanny Mendelsohn) b.
15 M	[1805. Vigilance Association formed at Conference in
16 T	[Liverpool, 1871.
17 W	Elizabeth proclaimed Queen, 1558.
18 Th	S. Hilda, Abbess, 108.
19 F	S. Elizabeth of Hungary, 1231.
20 S	
21 S	26 after Trinity.
22 M	
23 T	
24 W	[Suff. Assoc. founded 1869.
25 Th	S. Catherine, Alexandria, 4th century. American Women's
26 F	Miss Lilly Maxwell voted for Mr. Jacob Bright, 1867.
27 S	
28 S	1 in Advent.
29 M	Louisa M. Alcott b. 1832.
30 T	

## A LADY DOCTOR IN MANCHESTER.

Dr. Anna Dahms, who is a native of Prussia, began the study of medicine at the University of Edinburgh. She subsequently studied for four years at the School of Medicine in Paris, and took the degree of M.D. at the University of Paris in 1877. She was then engaged for two years in private practice at Hamburg; but the restrictions imposed by the German law on all unregistered practitioners, and the refusal of the authorities to admit her to any examination qualifying for registration, made this position untenable, and she found herself reluctantly obliged to relinquish her hopes of a medical career in Germany. Having become a Licentiate of the King's and Queen's College of Physicians in Ireland in 1878, she was enabled to place her name on the British register; and, therefore, on leaving Hamburg she determined to enter upon the practice of medicine in this country, and is now settled in Manchester.

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WE have great satisfaction in announcing to our friends that our Parliamentary leaders have decided not to wait for the Government Reform Bill before raising the question of women's suffrage in the new Parliament, and that Mr. COURTNEY proposes to introduce the Bill to remove the electoral disabilities of women at the earliest period practicable in the forthcoming session.

The first division in the new Parliament will have an importance and significance which can hardly be over estimated; we therefore exhort all our friends to do what in them lies to give energetic support to the action of our leaders. Meetings should be held wherever practicable; petitions should be prepared during the recess, to be ready for presentation on the opening of Parliament; and advantage should be taken of every occasion where a member appears before his constituents, as is customary during the winter season, to impress upon him the justice and urgency of our claim, and to enlist his support for the Bill in the House of Commons.

It is not improbable that meetings will be held during the winter in support of the proposal to assimilate the county and borough franchise, in other words, to make household suffrage the universal basis of the franchise. We suggest to our friends that, in all such cases where the resolution proposed to the meeting does not expressly include women householders, an amendment or rider should be proposed making the resolution applicable to all householders in boroughs and counties, whether they are men or women. We believe that no public meeting convened to obtain an extension of the franchise to any householders now excluded would be able to resist the claim of women householders to be considered along with the others, or would refuse to adopt a resolution to include them if the case were fairly and temperately laid before them.

We therefore exhort our friends to lose no opportunity that may present itself of submitting our question to meetings assembled to promote Parliamentary Reform,

and if this is done with earnestness and wisdom we have no doubt as to the result.

THE work of the season has been begun in good earnest by several very important meetings. At Edinburgh advantage was taken of the presence of several ladies connected with the suffrage movement to hold a great meeting during the week of the Social Science Congress. The experiment seemed somewhat hazardous amid so many counter attractions, and more especially as on the night fixed there was a large public meeting of men, which attracted a great many members of the Congress and others. Nevertheless, the suffrage meeting which was held in Queen-street Hall, under the presidency of Mr. CHARLES M'LAREN, M.P., proved a brilliant success. The large room was crowded with an influential assemblage, comprising strangers and ladies and gentlemen resident in Edinburgh. It was addressed by Miss BECKER, Miss C. A. BIGGS, Miss DOWNING, Miss BURTON, Mrs. M'LAREN, and Miss A. PAULINA IRBY, who were all most cordially received. The Edinburgh Committee deserve praise for the energetic spirit which prompted them to arrange the meeting, and they were rewarded for their exertion by a signal success.

A meeting was held in Glasgow, under the presidency of Dr. CAMERON, M.P., which was addressed by Miss DOWNING, Miss CRAIGEN, Miss WIGHAM, and others.

A meeting was held in Dublin, under the presidency of Sergeant SHERLOCK, when Miss TOD and Mrs. FENWICK MILLER were among the speakers. The same ladies, with Miss TAYLOR, have also spoken at meetings at Newry and Armagh.

A large meeting of women electors of the municipality of Liverpool was held in Hope Hall, under the presidency of Mrs. PHILLIPS, when addresses were delivered by Mrs. OLIVER SCATCHERD, Miss BECKER, Miss CRAIGEN, Miss DOWNING, and others. The meeting had especial interest in connection with the municipal elections, when every ward in Liverpool is the scene of a keen party contest.



The meeting had, of course, no reference to party politics, and it was evident not only that women of both parties were present in great numbers, but that they took the keenest interest in the result of the elections. Any mention of the names of either Lord BEACONSFIELD or Mr. GLADSTONE was the signal of immediate and strong manifestations of cheering and counter demonstrations, which interrupted the speakers for a time. The weather was extremely inclement, and it seemed clear that the women who could show their interest in the subject by coming out in large numbers on such a night, and by such strong demonstration of their political sentiment, would be likely to support their convictions by their votes to-day, when they will be called upon to contribute their forces in determining whether the Council of Liverpool shall be Conservative or Liberal.

In Bristol Miss BLACKBURN, Miss STURGE, Miss CRAIGEN, and others have been busily engaged in holding preliminary meetings in furtherance of the great demonstration of women in the Colston Hall, on Thursday next, to be held under the presidency of Mrs. BEDDOE. Everything promises a successful and brilliant gathering; and we hope that all friends of the cause, especially those in the neighbouring district, who are able to be present, will do what in them lies to make the demonstration a worthy successor to those in the Free Trade Hall and in St. James' Hall.

WE learn from a correspondent of the *Journal*, Grahams-town, Cape Colony, that in the district of Uitenhage women have the right to the municipal franchise, although the exercise of their rights has not been altogether undisputed. Uitenhage is a province or district of Cape Colony, bordering on Algoa Bay, and having a county town of the same name. We learn that in one ward a very keen contest took place, and after describing the incidents of the election the writer goes on to say: "In the case of the female electors who are desirous of exercising what they believe to be their legal privileges, there is some probability of an action at law being raised to decide the question at issue. The polling officer, who is not a lawyer, and who is probably a politician of the old school, could not be expected to appreciate the claims of the women's rights section of the Uitenhage community; but there is no doubt that every woman in Uitenhage, who is the owner or occupier of any immovable property of the yearly value of £10, is entitled to vote for Town Councillors. The clause in the Incorporation Act runs as

follows: 'Every person of full age, who is the owner or occupier of any immovable property in any ward of the Municipality, of the yearly value of £10 sterling . . . shall be qualified and entitled to vote at such election, &c.' In the draft Bill the word 'male' stood before 'person,' but this word was deleted, as the Bill passed through Parliament, on the motion of Mr. Saul Solomon, the Radical member for Capetown. It was remarked in Parliament at the time that the deletion of the word 'male' would create female suffrage in the municipality, but our then members (Messrs. Gibson and Leisching) were known to be exceedingly chivalrous, and so they did not object 'to take the side of the angels.'"

It would be interesting to learn whether the Incorporation Act referred to applies merely to Uitenhage, or to the whole of Cape Colony, and we should be greatly obliged if some of our readers in that district would furnish us with information on the subject.

WE learn from the *Woman's Exponent* that an unsuccessful attempt has been recently made to take away the suffrage from the women of Utah Territory, who have had it for ten years. The attempt took the form of an affidavit and petition for a mandamus by GEORGE R. MAXWELL, which set forth the fact that on his information and belief the women whose names are on the list "are not, nor are any of them, lawful voters, and the retention of said names on said list as such must be and is a violation of the law and of the rights of affiant as a lawful voter, and of the rights of all other lawful voters." After the reading of the petition, the Supreme Court promptly issued a writ of mandamus in the following form:—

GEORGE R. MAXWELL vs. ROBERT T. BURTON, Assessor and Register of voters for Salt Lake County, Utah Territory.

The People of the United States of the Territory of Utah, to ROBERT T. BURTON, Assessor and Register of voters for Salt Lake County, Territory of Utah, Greeting:

Whereas, It manifestly appears to us by the affidavit of GEORGE R. MAXWELL, a party beneficially interested therein, that you, as assessor and register of voters for the County of Salt Lake and Territory of Utah, and the various precincts of said county, have listed as lawful voters in the registration list by you made, as Register of voters for Salt Lake County, the names of EMMELINE B. WELLS, MARIA M. BLYTHE, Mrs. A. G. PADDOCK, all women; also a large number of the names of other persons who are residents of Salt Lake County, and are women, as lawful voters, and,

Whereas, It also appears that the petitioner, GEORGE R. MAXWELL, is a lawful and registered voter of said county, and that he made on you, on the 14th day of September inst., a demand that you strike off the names aforesaid, and the names of all women on said list, on the ground that they and each of them were not entitled to vote,

and that said demand was refused, and the names of said women, and a large number of other women not named, are now in said list as lawful voters, as it was your duty to do, and that said list is now in your hands and under your control, and that there is no plain, speedy, or adequate remedy at law for this alleged failure and neglect of duty.

Therefore, We do command you that immediately after the receipt of this writ, you do strike off and erase from said registration list of voters the names aforesaid, and the names of all other women listed as voters, or that you show cause before this court at the Federal Court Room thereof, in the Wasatch Building, Salt Lake City, Utah Territory, on Wednesday, September 29th, 1880, at seven o'clock p.m. of said day, why you have not done so; and you are further ordered not to return said registration of voters made by you, as aforesaid, or any part thereof, or any copy therefrom, to any election officer until the further order of this court.

Witness the honourable Chief Justice and Associate Justices of this Court aforesaid, this the 25th day of September, A.D. 1880.

JOHN A. HUNTER, C. J.,  
J. S. BOREMAN, A. J.,  
P. H. EMERSON, A. J.

[L.S.] Attested by the Clerk and seal thereof hereunto affixed.  
E. T. SPRAGUE,  
Clerk of Supreme Court of Utah Territory.

The case was argued on September 29th. One of the principal features of the objection urged by the plaintiff's lawyers was that the law of 1870 now in question did not require women to pay taxes, and the Act of 1859 prohibited any man from voting unless he paid taxes. Against this it was urged that every woman who holds property in her own right is required by law to pay taxes, and that thousands of women pay taxes in the Territory.

Judgment was given on September 29th in favour of the Assessor, and consequently in favour of the right of women to vote. Chief Justice HUNTER and Associate Justice EMERSON upheld the validity of the law, Judge BOREMAN dissenting. There were several interesting points in the arguments which are of great consequence to all who have the suffrage question at heart. The *Woman's Exponent* promises a full report of them in its next issue, as the paper was nearly ready for the press when the question which involves women's right to vote was raised.

THE recent discussions on the question of married women's property at Edinburgh brought into prominence the fact that wives in Scotland are protected by law against the possibility of being left penniless by the will of a husband who dies possessed of property. The right of a wife in cases where there is no marriage settlement to one-third of her husband's estate if she survive him is infeasible, and the husband cannot deprive her of it by will.

A case has been just brought to our notice which illus-

trates the need of a similar protection for wives in England. On the third ultimo there died at a manufacturing town in the West Riding of Yorkshire, a working man, who by dint of hard work, coupled with strict economy and hard work on the part of his wife, had amassed a sum of money which they increased by judicious speculation in property, and about five years ago they purchased a lucrative business. The husband then took to drinking, but the business tact of the wife enabled her with great exertion and perseverance to continue the business with profit. During his drunken fits the husband was often seen to be in secret conversation with his brothers, and it transpired that he had made a will in their favour, leaving his wife penniless. No motive could be discovered for this conduct, beyond the fact that they had not been very pleasant with one another since the drinking bouts, but the wife always conducted herself respectably.

She induced some friends to talk to her husband on his dying bed about the will and his affairs, and at last after days and weeks of persuasion, he consented to alter his will so far as to leave his wife the interest of the estate for life. The amount was about £800, including the business now carried on by the wife.

In this case the wife appears to have actually contributed probably as much as the husband towards the making of the money, and latterly to have entirely maintained him by the business. Yet it lay at the mercy of a drunken, incapable husband to deprive his wife at his mere will and caprice of the fruits of her life-long toil, and to repay her for her years of devotion to his service by leaving her penniless at his death.

The remedy for such injustice would seem to be to give to the wife joint rights in property amassed by the joint exertion of the married pair, and to assure to a wife in all cases an indefeasible right to a reasonable provision out of her husband's estate if she survive him.

THE venerable fiction that husband and wife are one person has received a rude shock in the provisions of the trust deed of the Manchester High School for Girls. It is laid down in clause 13, which provides for the constitution of the Committee, of whom one-half may and one-third must, so far as it shall be deemed practicable or desirable, be women, that "husband and wife may at the same time be members of the Committee, and the acts of any married woman as a member of the Committee shall be as valid as if they were the acts of a *feme sole*."

This clause seems to provide for the awful contingency



of a difference of opinion between husband and wife, and for the validity of the vote of a wife, even if it should happen to be given on the opposite side to that of her husband. Yet an instrument thus striking at the very root of the legal fiction of the one personality of husband and wife has been executed, signed by a law lord, and stamped with the seal of the enrolment office in Chancery.

We have not yet heard of any disastrous effects as regards the domestic peace of the spouses who are thus placed in a position of legal equality on the Committee, although the deed was sealed in June, but as yet it is early. Possibly the result of this bold experiment may be sufficiently re-assuring to justify society in going farther in the same direction, and it may eventually be discovered that in matters which concern themselves and their own concerns it is as safe to treat wives as persons entitled to an equal and independent position, as in those which concern the affairs of others. It may then become apparent that equality of rights and interests offers as firm and safe a foundation for the theory or ideal of a complete unity between the married persons as the barbarous notion of the complete suppression of the personality of the wife in that of her husband, and the recognition of his will alone, as the law and rule for both.

A MANCHESTER paper dated October 4th, a day or two before the meeting of the Social Science Congress in Edinburgh, contains four consecutive paragraphs under the following headings: "Wife murder and attempted suicide at Hadfield." "Dreadful wife murder at Port Glasgow." "Attempted wife murder at Bolton." "Attempted murder of a wife at Ashton." The contents of the paragraphs fully bear out the suggestions of horror conveyed by the titles, but with these we need not now torture our readers.

What we desire to point out is that although there is a department in the Social Science Congress devoted to the "Repression of Crime," and although it is a ghastly fact that paragraphs such as those we have cited, singly or in strings, are of well nigh daily occurrence in the newspapers, this peculiarly hideous and cowardly form of crime did not receive at Edinburgh, and has never, so far as we know, received any attention from the department, and the general public seems equally callous in regard to it.

If we heard of some province in Russia or Turkey, where the outrages similar to those daily perpetrated on wives in England were done upon slaves, captives, or even upon women, there would be a cry of indignation through-

out the length and breadth of the land, and a demand that our Government should interfere to arrest such atrocities; yet our countrymen are deaf to the wail of the anguish that rises from the bruised and mangled bodies of the hapless victims of conjugal brutality in their own land, or console themselves with the reflection that possibly the woman was addicted to drink, or had given "provocation" to her savage assailant.

It may be said of the British public, as was said with effect by an eloquent speaker on the Liberal side in regard to certain of his political opponents—

Their lofty souls have telescopic eyes  
Which see the smallest speck of distant pain,  
While at their feet a world of agonies,  
Unseen—unheard—unheeded—writhe in vain.

THE recent meeting of the Social Science Congress in Edinburgh was remarkable for the unusual number of ladies who took part in the proceedings, not merely on those questions which more especially concern their sex, but on social questions generally. As a rule, their speeches were short and sensible, and were not only favourably received by their auditors, but were reported and noticed by the press.

Two days in the section of Municipal Law were devoted to the discussion of the law relating to the property of married women, more especially with regard to the position of wives in Scotland. Although the common law rule which gives the personal property of a wife to the husband absolutely is in full force in Scotland as well as in England, a wife in Scotland has some rights and protection which an English wife has not. An English husband may make a will devising his property to others, and leaving his wife penniless. Under Scotch law, a wife, where there is no marriage settlement, has an indefeasible right to one-third of her husband's property at his death, which property he cannot will away from her. Such a case as recently occurred in England—where a man of large property bequeathed the whole to the Town Council of Brighton, leaving his wife unprovided for—could not have occurred in Scotland. The result of the discussion was valuable, inasmuch as it elicited both from the LORD ADVOCATE and the SOLICITOR-GENERAL of Scotland distinct expressions of opinion in favour of amending the law, on the principle of giving to wives full ownership and control of their own property.

The Social Science Association has from its foundation, twenty-five years ago, recognised women as members. Although at that time it was an unheard of, and almost

unthought of, thing that women should speak in public, the Association gave them from the beginning the right to take part in its proceedings; and probably women owe to it more than to any other association not specially formed to promote their interests.

It is only of late years that women have taken much part in the discussions, but this is a practice which is increasing yearly. The Congress next year will be held in Dublin, and women cannot better show their appreciation of the benefits conferred by the Association than by sending good papers on the subjects coming within its range, and attending in large numbers to discuss them.

## PUBLIC MEETINGS.

### LIVERPOOL.

#### WOMEN AND THE MUNICIPAL CONTEST.

##### MEETING OF WOMEN AT HOPE HALL.

A public meeting of a novel kind in the municipal or political history of Liverpool was held on October 27th at Hope Hall. It was a public meeting of women electors and other women, convened for the purpose of considering their duties and responsibilities with regard to the municipal vote to be given on November 1st. Mrs. PHILLIPS, of Prince's Road, Liverpool, presided. There was a large attendance, notwithstanding the unfavourable weather, amongst those present being ladies of all ages and degrees of life—the merchant's wife, the milliner's apprentice, the councillor's daughter, market-stall keepers, women celebrated for their philanthropic work, well-known advocates of women's rights, and young females who evidently had just made their debut in political matters. The proceedings were of the most interesting character; but, although unanimous as to the desirability of obtaining political privileges, the ladies present were not by any means in harmony as to party questions, but the proceedings were conducted in the most business-like way. There were the following ladies on the platform: Mrs. Scatcherd, Mrs. O'Brien, Miss Becker, Miss Downing, Miss Craigen, Miss Phillips, Miss Picton, Miss Backhouse, Miss Ridgeway, and Miss Morrison.

The following letter was read from Mrs. Josephine Butler:—

"348, Park Road, Liverpool, October 27.

"My dear Madam and Fellow-townswomen of Liverpool,—It is a very bitter disappointment to me not to be able to appear at our meeting this evening. I have only lately returned from the congress held at Genoa, and caught a severe cold in crossing the Alps to return home. I felt so hopeful of being well enough to come to the meeting that I asked Mrs. McCormick to allow my name to remain on the notices, but my hopes of recovery are not realised. I have been confined to bed for many days, and am only able now to sit up for a few hours each day.

"What can I say to your meeting in the brief space of a short note from my sick room? I cannot say anything which will not be much better expressed by my friends who are to address the meeting to-night. Still, I should dearly have loved to speak face to face with my fellow-townswomen of Liverpool on the duties and responsibilities in which many of them are involved by the possession of the municipal vote, duties which it should be a joy for us to exercise on the side of justice and morality. I believe the women municipal voters of England are leaning year by year to take a more serious view of their

responsibility and influence as citizens and voters. Still there is much to be done, and we have none of us as yet risen to the full height of our duty in these respects. Much may be done by women who have the municipal vote in strengthening the hands of good men who seek to represent our municipal interests, and in winning and constantly increasing the respect for women in general throughout the country.

"Further, these women are in an advantageous position for striving for the parliamentary franchise. For that we must all strive to the utmost. I trust that a great and united effort will be made throughout the kingdom this winter towards this end, namely, of obtaining the parliamentary vote for qualified women.

"If I were not already deeply engaged in a kindred movement for justice, I would throw my whole weight into the women's suffrage cause, giving to it my time and labour.

"Why? Because in my own mournful and difficult work I have learned and become more deeply convinced year by year that the hideous wrongs against which I contend will never be redressed until women have a voice in the making and unmaking of laws. Notices have appeared lately in the press concerning the 'white slave trade,' which means a horrible traffic in the souls and bodies of our fellow women which is going on, and which has till now been tolerated by men.

"Women of Liverpool, I know that such a slave traffic exists. Your countrywomen and mine (not always women indeed, but young girls and mere children) are bought and sold for a worse purpose than that for which the negroes were bought and sold between the African and American shores. This abomination must be made to cease. We have, then, the most just, the most holy reasons for pressing on in our constant demand to be heard, and to have a voice in the Legislature.

"May God bless our meeting this evening, and may He bless the good and just cause which you are advocating. He will do so, for there are thousands who continually commend it to Him in prayer."

Mrs. PHILLIPS said, in opening the proceedings, that it had been remarked that women should be stayers at home, and the weather that night was sufficient to keep anybody at home unless they had a cause at heart. (Hear, hear.) Many had said that women should not engage in politics. To this she answered universally, "Love thy neighbour as thyself." The first right of every individual was to hold and express opinions; and, although women were fitted for domestic life, and it was their duty to attend to it—(hear, hear)—there were thousands and thousands of women who had no domestic ties. There were widows with no families; educated women supporting old fathers and infirm mothers; and women working for a livelihood who still found time to take an interest in their country's laws. (Hear, hear.) That meeting had been called to ask the women of Liverpool to record their municipal votes, and there were many reasons why they should do so. (Hear, hear.) The great grog interest should be opposed—(hear, hear, and "No")—for who suffered by drunkenness so much as women; and she hoped to see the day when they would have the parliamentary franchise. (Applause and hisses.) It was good teaching and measures that would rouse women up to the responsibilities of the higher deeds and necessities of their kind, and obtain for them emancipation politically. (Great applause.)

Miss BECKER, who was received with much enthusiasm, moved the following resolution: "That, in the opinion of this meeting, it is the duty of every woman on the burgess roll of Liverpool to use her vote in the forthcoming municipal election



with a view to the good government of the town, and also with especial reference to the promotion of such measures of justice to women as can be affected by the action of town councils." She stated that there were on the citizens' roll of Liverpool 8,398 women who would be entitled to give a vote at the coming municipal elections, which she understood were to be contested on purely political grounds. In some cases party politics had little or no place in municipal elections, but on other occasions—and she was one who did not think it was at all wrong that it should be so—the issue presented to the ratepayers was purely political. She believed that among women, as well as among men, there were honest differences of opinion—that there were women who would give a Liberal vote and others who would give a Conservative vote from equally pure political principles. (Hear, hear.) She urged upon all women that besides these political issues they should give heed to some of the more special matters which affected the interests of women. (Applause.) Women as well as men had strong opinions as to the comparative merit of the late and present Government, but there were laws which affected women very injuriously, and so long as they were deprived of the parliamentary vote their influence could not be felt directly in amending the laws which pressed upon them. Town councils ought to be the guardians of all the interests of the town—their votes ought to represent the opinions of the people of the town, and therefore she thought it was quite right that politics should enter into municipal elections. When it came to the question of giving women citizens the same rights as regards the parliamentary vote, it was a great help to be supported by petitions from town councils in favour of the Bill. The City Council of Manchester had on several occasions adopted a petition in support of that Bill, and so had Edinburgh and other important places, but when the question came before the Council of Liverpool the answer had been that they did not see their way to take part in questions of imperial politics. If that were the case, why were they going to fight the elections upon imperial party grounds next Monday? (Applause.) In the coming contest the women practically held the balance between opposing parties. The object of that meeting was to induce the women electors to ask the candidates whether they would support a petition in favour of conferring on women the parliamentary vote. From the want of this vote legislation was very one-sided—things were overlooked that ought to be attended to, and the things that were attended to were attended to solely in the interests of men, and settled according to the ideas of men. (Applause.) The women electors should show that they were a real power—that neither side could afford to disregard them. They had heard lately curious revelations of corruption practised among the men voters in certain cities. She earnestly hoped that every woman in Liverpool would make it a matter of pride to feel that she gave her vote from conscientious conviction, and that the bribes which others would take she would never stain her hands with. (Applause.)

Mrs. O'BRIEN seconded the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

Mrs. O. SCATCHERD moved the following resolution:—"That this meeting urges every woman elector, before giving or promising her vote, to ascertain from each of the candidates in the municipal election whether he will, if returned, vote in the Council in support of a petition to the House of Commons in favour of a Bill to remove the electoral disabilities of women." She said that next Monday the electors of Liverpool would be required to perform a solemn duty, and it was the one occasion—a municipal election—upon which women electors voted

in the same manner as male electors. (Hear, hear.) The women voted at a municipal election because they paid rates and taxes, and she contended that they had an equal right with men to vote for members of Parliament. (Hear, hear.) She and others were working hard to obtain this vote for women, and they hoped to succeed. (Applause, followed by hisses.) Let them ask Conservative and Liberal candidates whether they were in favour of this, and vote accordingly. (Hear, hear.) They frequently heard men say that the women they came in contact with never spoke to them about this question, and that they did not want the franchise. (A laugh.) Do not let that be the case in the present election; let them make it a point to show that they did want the franchise. (Hear, hear.) The country would be better if women had votes. (Applause.) The women represented one half of the population, and it was undesirable that one half the population should be unrepresented. If the women had more control over the public money which they provided, there would not be so much of it spent in wars in Africa and Asia—(applause)—and it would be found that women were in favour of peace. Women should have some voice in making the laws they were compelled to obey—(hear, hear)—and she insisted that they were deeply interested in the question of providing parks, open spaces, well-built houses, and proper sanitary regulations. (Applause.)

Miss DOWNING, in an able and well-delivered speech, seconded the resolution, which was adopted.

Mrs. FURNIVALE moved, and Miss CRAIGEN seconded, the following resolution, which was carried unanimously:—

"That the following memorial to the Council of Liverpool be adopted and signed on behalf of this meeting, and that a petition to the House of Commons be also adopted, and memorials to the members of Liverpool praying that they will support the measure in Parliament.

"To the Honourable the Council of Liverpool.

"The Memorial of Women Citizens of Liverpool, in public meeting assembled on October 27th, in the Hope Hall, Liverpool,

"SHEWETH,—

"That your memorialists submit that they are entitled to the parliamentary franchise on the same grounds of justice and expediency as those on which they have been admitted to the municipal franchise.

"That in virtue of the act of 1869, by which women ratepayers in municipal boroughs are entitled to vote in the election of councillors, the names of 8,398 women appear on the burgess roll for the city of Liverpool.

"That a Bill has been submitted to the House of Commons to give the right of voting for members of Parliament to women, who as owners or occupiers of property now possess the right of voting in parochial and municipal governments.

"That this Bill has been supported by petitions to the House of Commons from many municipal bodies under their corporate seal in the United Kingdom.

"Your memorialists therefore pray that your honourable Council will on the re-assembling of Parliament adopt, under your corporate seal, a petition to the House of Commons in favour of the removal of the electoral disabilities of women."

A vote of thanks was then passed to Mrs. Phillips for presiding. In responding she said she was proud to preside over a meeting of women who had the courage to assemble and speak for themselves.

The proceedings terminated; but as the ladies retired, there were some warm altercations among them on political questions. Mr. Gladstone and Lord Beaconsfield had each their partisans,

and their claims for the favour of the ladies were freely canvassed.

It may be mentioned that the only gentlemen present at the meeting were the representatives of the press, who attended by special invitation.

## BRISTOL.

A meeting in support of the Demonstration of women to be held shortly at Colston Hall was held at the Charlton Hall, Lawrence Hill, Bristol, on October 21st. Mr. E. W. Cox presided over a limited attendance. The chairman, in an introductory speech, alluded to the inequalities which existed in the present law with reference to women, who, he said, were allowed to vote in town council, school board, and other matters, and yet were deprived of the parliamentary suffrage, which exclusion was most unjust. It was only during the last 48 years that women had been deprived of the vote, since the passing of the Reform Bill in 1832.—Miss Priestman proposed the following resolution:—"That all householders who have the power to vote for municipal and other local governments should have the power to vote for members of Parliament."—Mr. J. L. Daniel, in supporting it, said the question of women's suffrage was one in which he took a deep interest. The speaker alluded to several matters having reference to women which acted unjustly upon them, and said that the present Government had come into power pledged to grant the franchise to the counties, and women were to be excluded. He predicted that the extension of the franchise to women would raise the educational force of the electoral body, and give a higher moral tone to the whole arena of politics.—Miss Craigen, in a very forcible speech, supported the resolution, her remarks being frequently cheered.—The resolution was carried unanimously.—Miss Blackburn moved:—"That a petition to the House of Commons for the extension of the parliamentary franchise to women householders be adopted by this meeting, signed by the chairman on its behalf, and forwarded by him."—Mr. Pritchard begged to second the resolution. Hitherto, he said, he had been an opponent, but he hoped henceforth to make amends.—Mr. Smith, who had been led to approve the movement through Mr. Count's pamphlet, now came forward and desired to support the resolution, which was carried unanimously.—A vote of thanks to the chairman for presiding closed the proceedings.

On October 25th a meeting was held at St. Mark's Schoolroom, Easton. Dr. Kennedy presided, and said the object of the meeting was to excite an interest in the subject in the neighbourhood, and further to ensure a good contingent for the demonstration that would shortly be held. He failed to see why a woman who voted at a municipal election should not be entrusted with the parliamentary franchise. Miss Blackburn, who was cordially received, said the supporters of the movement were particularly anxious to make their strength known, as several questions were coming before Parliament at the next session, and amongst them was the one they were advocating. The speaker gave many reasons why the franchise should be extended to women, and said she had never met with a hard-working, thinking woman who did not desire the power to vote. Miss Sturge moved the adoption of a petition; this was seconded by Mr. Canery, and carried with one dissentient. A vote of thanks to Mr. Barnett, the vicar, for kindly allowing the use of the schoolroom, was then carried, and a courteous acknowledgment from Mr. Barnett closed the proceedings.

Meetings in support of the Demonstration were also held on October 28th, at the Star Coffee Tavern, Old Market-street; and on October 29th, in the Temperance Hall, Bedminster Causeway.

Cottage meetings were addressed by Miss Craigen on 22nd, at Miss Lacy's, 8, Somerset-street, Cathay; and on 23rd, at Mrs. Mills', Home Villa, Stapleton Road; at each of which petitions were adopted.

## SCOTLAND.

## EDINBURGH.

A largely-attended meeting of ladies and gentlemen was held on October 12th in Queen-street Hall, Edinburgh, for the purpose of considering the claim of women householders and ratepayers to the parliamentary franchise. Mr. CHARLES B. M'LAREN, M.P. for Stafford, occupied the chair, and among the ladies and gentlemen present were Mrs. Duncan M'Laren, Miss Becker (Manchester), Miss Caroline Biggs, Miss Helena Downing (London), Mrs. Charles M'Laren, Miss Louisa Stevenson, Miss Flora Stevenson, Miss Eliza Wigham, Miss Mary Burton, Miss Phoebe Blyth, Dr. John Muir, Mr. Hugh Rose, Rev. Wm. Graham (Newhaven), &c.

The CHAIRMAN, in opening the proceedings, said they asked for the suffrage of women not on any sentimental ground, but in order to remove certain grievances under which women laboured. There was a maxim of law that wherever there was a wrong there was a true remedy; and now, where there was a legal wrong, he considered a remedy should be asked from the Legislature. It was because they felt that women at present had no means of being directly represented in the Legislature in their own behalf that they asked that they should have a parliamentary as well as a municipal suffrage. They knew that in Scotland the laws affecting women were more just than the English laws on the same subject. The law of marriage, the law of divorce, and, in some respects, the law of property, were more just towards women; but because they were Scotchmen they must not forget they were part and parcel of the Imperial nation, and that it was their duty as citizens of Great Britain to seek the reformation of the laws in every part of the United Kingdom. (Applause.) Still, he thought, there were many wrongs, even in Scotland, which required redress. If a woman married she was stripped by law of her property, which went to her husband without any reciprocal obligation on his part to provide for her after his death, or in a substantial manner during his life. (Applause.) If a husband should turn out to be a profligate, he could by his marriage rights turn her from her home and obtain the custody of her children, which by the law of this country were not hers. Again, the children could be brought up against her will in the religion of the husband. It was found that the law was against her on every side. She found that educational endowments which were intended for her use as well as for the use of men had in process of time become appropriated to the male sex, and when these matters and others were pointed out to them, they all in fact acknowledged that there were serious grievances to be redressed. Parliament, he believed, had no objection in the abstract to correct these grievances, and yet year after year nothing was done. Why, he asked, was that? He answered the question by saying there was no effectual pressure from without on Parliament. Parliament would sit up all night long to vote the salary of an Irish policeman, but they could not get forty members to come and discuss the question of the position of women in the nation. (Applause.) It was only by women pressing their wishes upon members of Parliament, through the franchise, that they could obtain their rights. He believed it was consistent with justice that women should have the municipal and parliamentary franchise if they were properly qualified by their inhabiting a house on their own account as men were. In being present that night he felt it to be not merely a pleasure but a positive duty to



endeavour to do what he could to influence his fellow citizens in this cause. (Applause.)

Miss BECKER was called upon to move the first resolution: "That the franchise attaching by law to the ownership or occupation of property liable to imperial and local taxation should be exercised by women who are called upon to pay such taxation in the election of members of Parliament and of Town Councils." At the outset Miss Becker pointed out that the last part of the resolution would be unnecessary in an English meeting, because there women already had a vote in municipal elections. In Manchester, for example, there were from 9,000 to 10,000 women householders who paid the same rents and taxes as the men, and had the same electoral privileges in all elections except only the parliamentary vote, and it was very difficult to find a logical reason for refusing the vote given in municipal elections to parliamentary elections also. If Englishwomen were found capable of voting intelligently for their own councils, why were Scotchwomen not equally qualified to exercise a similar privilege—(applause)—and if Scotchmen thought Scotchwomen worthy of the same right as their English sisters, let them at once take steps to remove this anomaly.

Rev. Mr. GRAHAM (Newhaven) seconded the resolution. He said in regard to Scotland, he was of opinion that if ladies had the privilege of voting for members of School Boards and of electing ministers they should also be allowed to elect town councillors and members of Parliament. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN then put the resolution to the meeting and declared it carried.

Miss CAROLINE BIGGS (London) moved the second resolution, as follows: "That in the opinion of this meeting any measure that may be introduced into Parliament for the extension of the household suffrage in counties should contain provision for the exercise of parliamentary and municipal franchise by duly qualified women in burghs and counties."

The resolution was seconded by Miss DOWNING in an earnest and eloquent address, which was received with loud applause.

The resolution was then put to the meeting, and declared from the chair to be carried almost unanimously.

Mrs. DUNCAN M'LAREN moved the third resolution, which was—"That copies of the foregoing resolutions be forwarded by the Chairman to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, member for the county, and to the members for the city of Edinburgh, with a request that they will support the principle of the resolutions in the Legislature." She said she had thought a great deal upon the necessity of giving the suffrage to women during the sittings of the Social Science Congress in Edinburgh. When they came to listen to the business in five or six of the sections, it seemed to her that although men had had the government of the nation in their own hands for many hundreds of years, everything seemed to require to be righted. (Laughter and applause.) If they tried to cut a garment out with half a pair of scissors it would be a very jagged affair. It required that the two halves of the scissors should be used to cut a garment out nicely and in proper proportions; and in a similar manner, and she did not think the simile was altogether inapplicable, it required the two sexes of mankind to govern equitably. Yet there were both men and women who thought women ought to sit contentedly at home, whatever those homes might be, and leave everything to be still managed by men. But there were men in the Social Science Congress who valued the intelligent help of women; and such as were earnest in their wish to advance the welfare of humanity, and to improve the morals of their country, asked the ladies to be present when their papers were to be read, and to take part in the discussions upon them,

and the discussions in which the ladies did take part elicited the most attention from the London press. Women have an equal interest with men in everything, both human and spiritual, and they asked for equality in legislation in all things. She asked the men of this country to join them in agitating for such legislation. She hoped they would get up petitions in their own names. By doing so they would be just, and would return something for what women had done for them. Women have helped men to get every right which they now enjoy. It was sometimes said that women did not understand justice, but they were beginning to understand what was injustice; and they sometimes thought they could administer justice rather better than it was occasionally administered, if the power were given them to do so. (Applause.) After reviewing some of the questions brought up before the Congress which had reference to women and children, Mrs. M'Laren said she thought women ought to serve on juries which deal with female criminals—(great applause)—who are now tried by men alone, whilst in cases of great delicacy, women are ordered out of court and their vacant places filled to overcrowding by men and mere youths and boys. There was much to be done by women in the cause of right and justice. When Mr. Gladstone said so emphatically in Scotland that there was a side of politics that belonged to women, and exhorted them to be faithful to their duty with regard to it, he then laid upon himself the obligation to respect the memorials which women forwarded to him, the outcome of much conscientious labour on their part, and of great devotion to duty. (Applause.) The members for Edinburgh would enfranchise women to-morrow if they could—(applause)—for they knew that what was good for women was good for men also. (Applause.)

Miss PAULINA IRBY seconded the resolution, believing that the sacred home duties of women would be more intelligently performed if they were enabled to recognise the important duties of citizenship. (Applause.)

The resolution was then put to the meeting and unanimously carried.

Miss ELIZA WIGHAM moved a vote of thanks to the speakers, and the resolution having been seconded by Miss BURTON, was carried by acclamation.

On the motion of Miss LOUISA STEVENSON, a vote of thanks was awarded to the chairman, and the proceedings terminated.

#### GLASGOW.

A public meeting was held in the Queen's Rooms, Glasgow, on October 25th. There was a large attendance both of ladies and gentlemen. Dr. CAMERON, M.P., occupied the chair, and there were also on the platform Miss H. P. Downing (London), Miss Jessie Craigen (Retford), Miss Wigham (Edinburgh), Mrs. Henderson (Glen Vale, Pollokshields), Miss Henderson, Mrs. Robertson (Paisley), Miss Young, Mrs. Neilson, Miss Kirkland (Edinburgh), Councillor Moir, Mr. Henderson, and Mr. M'Calman.

Dr. CAMERON intimated that letters of apology for absence had been received from Mrs. Duncan M'Laren (Edinburgh), who was prevented by the death of a relative from being present, but who wished the meeting much success; Miss Isabella Tod (Belfast), Mr. Leonard Courtney, M.P., and Mr. Ramsay, M.P., both wishing success to the meeting; Mr. George Anderson, M.P.; Sir James Bain, expressing the opinion that the municipal and Imperial franchise should be exercised by all women who pay rates and taxes; Rev. Albert Goodrich, Mr. John Rose, Bailie MacBean, Rev. William Patrick (Kirkintilloch), Prof. Edward Caird and Mrs. Caird—all wishing success to the meeting. (Applause.) Dr. Cameron said that under the title

of women's rights a number of social and political proposals regarding women had been classed as heterogeneously as in the case of the other sex had been grouped together under the title of rights of men, and to talk therefore of a meeting in favour of an extension of the parliamentary franchise to woman as a women's rights meeting was as absurd as it would be to call a meeting in favour of the extension of the county franchise administration a meeting in favour of the rights of man. With none of the questions vulgarly grouped together as women's rights had they anything to do, with one single exception, and that exception was whether householders otherwise qualified to vote for a town councillor or a member of Parliament should be disqualified simply because they happened to be women. As they were aware, at the majority of the public elections which took place in Great Britain such women were entitled to vote. The law laid down no distinction between men and women in the case of the election of poor law guardians or members of school boards, and, except in the case of Scotland, men and women stood on the same footing as voters in municipal elections. A dozen years ago a measure on household suffrage was passed, by which every householder who paid rates was entitled in boroughs to vote for a member of Parliament, and that franchise the present Government stood pledged to make of universal application. (Applause.) But by a curious anomaly, when contrasted with the other franchises he had mentioned, from this parliamentary franchise women were excluded. The question they wished to discuss was why women should be excluded—why an exception should be made against them in that instance which was not to be met with in the electorate of other public governing and administrative bodies. As to the claim for women of the municipal franchise in Scotland, he would not waste time upon that, for obviously there could be no rational ground upon which a privilege freely accorded to Englishwomen should be denied to their sisters north of the Tweed. (Applause.) When they came, however, to the proposal to extend the parliamentary suffrage to women, then came a flood of opposition. The opponents and the supporters of the proposal did not belong to any one political party. Among Whigs and Tories, Radicals and Home Rulers, each were to be found; and for and against the proposal the most eminent statesmen of all parties were almost equally divided. He would leave to the ladies who were to address them to state the arguments in support of their claim. To him it seemed that, considering the fact that in almost every other public franchise the women already participated, and that as the parliamentary franchise was based upon a ratepaying qualification, subject to one single exception, it was for the opponents of their demand to justify the maintenance of that exception rather than for them to enforce arguments against its perpetuation. (Applause.) None of the arguments which he had heard in support of the exception being maintained—and he had listened to a number of debates on the subject—were worth anything. They were told that it was the first step to a demand for the admission of women to Parliament; but people who talked thus seemed to forget that there was not the smallest connection between the right of election and the right to be elected. Clergymen of many churches were incapable of sitting in the House of Commons, but they could vote, and a man might be returned to Parliament who was not qualified in any constituency in the kingdom. Moreover, though women had voted in England for town councillors for many years, no proposal had ever been made for their admission to seats in the Town Council. Women were all Conservatives at heart—(applause)—but, though very much the reverse of a Conservative himself, he could see no logical justification for the disqualification of women on this ground, unless they consented

to disqualify all male Conservatives as well. The assertion was, however, directly in the teeth of the experience of those English towns in which women voted at the municipal elections, and where those elections were conducted purely on party principles. They were told that to enfranchise women would distract their attention from their proper duties. Did the people, he asked, who pretended to use this as an argument imagine that women were so differently constituted from the rest of mankind that they could pass their lives at nothing but work? Was it a secret that as men devoted so much time to their recreation, women required so much for theirs, and that the time required to master some general ideas of politics and to record a vote once in five years might very well be spared from the time at present given to dress and gossip and novel reading without the slightest detriment to women's regular duties? (Loud applause.) Women voted at municipal and school board elections without any such results. It had been said that the proposal would by one stroke of the pen add he did not know how many votes to the electorate of the country. That was to him one of its greatest advantages. No one who had watched the proceedings of the Election Commissions at present sitting in England could have failed to be struck with the enormous extent to which electorate profligacy, venality, and corruption existed in many of the small constituencies. With large constituencies such a degrading traffic in votes as had been exposed was out of the question. There was but one cure, it appeared to him, for the disgraceful state of things which had been revealed, and that was in great constituencies. (Applause.) Every year of his political life convinced him more firmly of the fact that the wider their constituencies the juster and more impartial would be their laws, and the larger their constituencies the purer—aye, and the more intelligent—would be their choice of representatives. (Applause.) He heartily welcomed and supported the proposal for the removal of the electoral disabilities of women, convinced that their political education, and their patriotic interest in all that concerned the welfare of the country, would not long lag behind those of their male fellow-citizens. He believed that in their finer feelings and instincts they would find a wholesome leaven to the grosser interests by which constituencies were too frequently swayed. He had no fear that women would attach themselves to any political party more than he dreaded their setting up as a political party by themselves; but he felt sure that, commingling with their fellow-electors, devoted in support of this party and of that, they would find the suffrages of the women electors—to whatever party they might belong—exerting a steady and preponderating influence in favour of the cause of humanity and temperance and peace. (Loud applause.)

Miss DOWNING (London) moved the first resolution as follows: "That the franchise attached by law to the occupation or ownership of property liable to imperial and local taxation should be exercised by women in the election of members of Parliament; and that in any measure which may be introduced by the Government for the extension of household suffrage in boroughs or counties, provision may be made for the exercise of the parliamentary franchise by all duly qualified women householders in boroughs and counties."

Councillor MOIR seconded the motion with the greatest cordiality, stating that our whole system was full of monstrous inconsistencies, and we wanted a Government thoroughly under the whole people, not under sections of them. He hoped to live to see the time when every qualified woman would be enfranchised. (Applause.)

Mr. JAMES HENDERSON moved that a petition, embodying the foregoing resolutions, be forwarded to Parliament from this



meeting, signed by the chairman on its behalf, praying the House of Commons to pass a Bill to remove the electoral disabilities of women. (Applause.)

Miss CRAIGEN seconded the resolution, which was supported by Miss WIGHAM, and carried.

Mr. M'CALMAN proposed a very hearty vote of thanks to the speakers, a motion which was most warmly responded to.

Miss YOUNG then proposed a vote of thanks to Dr. Cameron, not only for the favour which he had done them in presiding, but for his prompt and unwearied attention in presenting their petitions, and for the uniform courtesy with which he met their wishes in all good work. (Applause.)

Miss DOWNING seconded.

Dr. CAMERON, in acknowledging the compliment, said he might now regard the promoters of this meeting with gratitude, in the sense that gratitude was a lively expectation of favour to come. (Great laughter.)

The meeting then closed.

#### DRAWING ROOM MEETINGS.

##### WAVERLEY PARK.

A drawing-room party was given by Bailie Cranston, at his residence, Waverley Park, Edinburgh, on October 15th, when over 70 ladies and gentlemen were present, to consider the subject of women's suffrage. Among those present were Mrs. Duncan McLaren, Miss Becker, Miss Downing, Miss Biggs, Miss Mary Burton, Miss Wigham, Mrs. Tait, Mr. and Mrs. Campbell Smith, Mr. and Mrs. D. W. Paterson, ex-Bailie Lewis, ex-Councillor Robertson, Mr. John Adair, Councillor Buchanan, Councillor John Hope, Dr. and Mrs. Cranston, High School; Mrs. Robertson, Edinburgh Castle; Rev. Mr. Graham, Newhaven; Mr. and Mrs. Westren, Mr. and Mrs. Robt. Cranston, junr., Mrs. Dallas Marshall, Miss Kirkland, Mr. John Nisbet, &c. Bailie Cranston occupied the chair. Mrs. McLaren moved the following resolution: "That this meeting, affirming the principle that as taxation is the basis of representation, it is therefore unjust, unconstitutional, and injurious to the best interests of the country at large, to exclude legally qualified women ratepayers from the exercise of the parliamentary (and in Scotland from the municipal) franchise. Further—Resolve that a petition to this effect be forwarded to Parliament from this meeting, signed by the chairman, praying the House of Commons to pass a Bill to remove the electoral disabilities of women." The motion was seconded by Miss Wigham, and unanimously agreed to. Among the ladies and gentlemen who spoke on the subject were Miss Downing, Miss Biggs, Miss Becker, Rev. Mr. Graham, Mr. Campbell Smith, ex-Councillor Robertson, &c. Before leaving the party were entertained to tea by Bailie and Mrs. Cranston.

##### NEWTON STEWART.

A meeting was held in the Crown Hotel, Newton Stewart, on September 11th, in furtherance of the above object. Miss Dalziel, Glenluce, occupied the chair, and there was a fair attendance of ladies present. Miss Kirkland, Edinburgh, delivered a telling address, stating the principal reasons why tax-paying female householders should be entrusted with the elective franchise. The following resolution was then submitted to the meeting: "That in the opinion of this meeting the exclusion of women householders and ratepayers from the power of voting in the elective franchise is unjust in principle, and injurious both to the persons excluded and to the country at large. Therefore resolved that a petition to this effect be forwarded to Parliament, signed on behalf of the meeting, praying the House of Commons to pass a Bill to remove the electoral disabilities of women." The resolution was seconded

by Miss Turnbull, and unanimously adopted. A vote of thanks to Miss Kirkland for her address and to Miss Dalziel for presiding brought the meeting to a close.

#### IRELAND.

##### DUBLIN.

A meeting was held in the Leinster Hall, Dublin, on the afternoon of October 2nd. There was a very large attendance, composed principally of ladies. In the unavoidable absence of Lord Talbot de Malahide, the chair was taken by Mr. Sergeant SHERLOCK. Amongst those present were Mr. William Findlater, M.P.; Rev. D. D. Jeremy, Rev. C. Grahame, Mr. A. Shackleton, T.C.; Professor Mir Aulad Ali, Mr. Alfred Webb, Mrs. Haslam, Professor Barrett, Mr. Wigham, Mr. Thomas Webb, Miss Corlett, Mrs. Fenwick Miller, Mrs. Eason, Miss Tod, Miss Cusack, Mrs. Gardiner, Mrs. and Miss Oldham, Henry J. Allen, Mr. Lawson, &c.

The CHAIRMAN, in explaining the object of the meeting, said they all knew that property, whether rural, as land, or urban, as houses, was very heavily rated and taxed, but they had sometimes heard it said that if men were heavily taxed they were entitled to vote in the selection of those who were most conversant with their interests. When they came to consider the case of property—say that of a gentleman worth £5,000 a year and having a hundred tenants—whether the owner be an intelligent man, whether he be a sober man, or a provident or improvident man, he was entitled to select his representatives. But the moment he died, and the property passed to his wife or his daughter, no matter how intelligent she might be, she was denied the privilege of having any voice in the selection of those who were to tax her. (Hear, hear.) It was to remedy this state of things that this meeting was convened—to annex to property subject to taxation the right of selecting its representatives. (Hear, hear.) He had heard it urged that if women had the franchise they would all combine together against the men. (Laughter.) He did not think there was any element of combination or antagonism displayed between the two sexes. (Hear, hear.) If it was found that women managed property as carefully as men, they were likely to make as good a use of their franchise. (Hear, hear.) In political matters they would just differ as men did. As to the ability of women to take part in public affairs, he would leave it to the meeting to judge, when they had heard the ladies who had come there to advocate the cause. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. H. J. ALLEN moved: "That the exclusion of women possessing the statutory qualifications from voting in the election of the members of Parliament deprives a large part of the property, intelligence, and industry of the country of all participation in its government, and is therefore injurious both to them and to the community at large."

Mrs. FENWICK MILLER seconded the motion, which was adopted.

Miss TOD moved: "That a petition to the House of Commons be signed by the chairman and forwarded to one of the city members for presentation."

Mr. SHACKLETON seconded the motion, which was supported by Mr. WIGHAM, and adopted.

On the motion of Mr. FINDLATER, seconded by Mrs. HASLAM, a vote of thanks was passed to Sergeant Sherlock for presiding, and the proceedings terminated.

Meetings, addressed by Miss Tod, Miss Taylor, and Mrs. Fenwick Miller, were held on the 27th September at Armagh, and on the 28th at Newry.

#### LEEDS.

On Thursday, October 28th, a meeting of women ratepayers of the N.W. Ward was held in the Primitive Methodist School-room, Meanwood Road, when Mrs. Oliver Scatcherd gave an address on "The Meaning of the Municipal Vote." Mr. Councillor Baker presided, and the meeting was also addressed by Mr. Clapham, the Liberal candidate for the ward, and Miss Goodall, a ratepayer.—In the evening, at 7 o'clock, Mrs. Scatcherd addressed another meeting of women ratepayers of the same ward in the hall of the Woodhouse Mechanics' Institute. Mr. Baker presided, and Mr. Clapham addressed the ladies.—Owing to the terrible weather the meetings were small, but heartily enjoyed by all present. Warm votes of thanks were accorded to Mrs. Oliver Scatcherd for her addresses, and to Mr. Clapham for his promise to support a petition from the Leeds Town Council in favour of women's suffrage.

The Council of the University of Durham College of Physical Science, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, at their meeting on Monday, October 11th, agreed, without a dissentient voice, to allow a lady candidate (Miss I. M. Aldis, the young lady who won the mathematical prize for junior girl candidates, in the last Cambridge Local Examinations) to hold an exhibition in the college. This completes the opening of the college to women on equal terms with men. Admission to the lectures was granted at the opening of the college in 1871, but this is the first time that a lady has been a candidate for an exhibition.

#### THE WOMEN OF UTAH ON THE VOTE.

The abortive attempt to deprive the women of Utah territory of their legal rights naturally excited much indignation among them. The *Woman's Exponent* prints several letters of protest, from which we make the following extracts:—

Mercy R. Thompson asks: "Having, in common with other women of this community, enjoyed the right of franchise for ten years past, and having broken no law by which I would forfeit that privilege, I ask, as I feel I have a right to ask, why an attempt is being made to deprive me of my lawful rights?"

Hannah T. King writes: "We have always esteemed the franchise as a great boon to woman. It has conferred a responsibility that has excited reflection and given dignity to character; it has broadened the brain and expanded the heart of the recipients; and we have ever acknowledged the hand of God in inspiring the good men who gave it to us to place His daughters in such positions as His will designed, knowing that they would choose the good and reject the evil in such responsibilities; and having enjoyed it so long unmolested, we cannot but marvel why intelligent men, who profess to enact laws for intelligent people, should all at once allow their judgment to become so warped that they can no longer see 'the straight and narrow way' that leads to truth and equity."

Hannah B. Pidcock writes: "I cannot but enter my solemn protest against the so-called Liberal principles of those in our midst who would, were it possible, take from us the franchise honourably accorded to us by the Legislative Assembly of Utah. I most emphatically believe that the co-operation of woman with man will bring about a better condition of society; and as women are considered good at cleaning up, I must confess I think their influence, ability, and active exertions are most needed at present."

We learn from the *Daily News* that the Oregon State Legislature has passed an amendment to the constitution in favour of women's suffrage.

#### Obituary.

Miss CHESSAR.—We regret to record the death of this accomplished lady, which occurred at Laeken, on September 3rd. She devoted much work to the cause of education. She edited, in conjunction with Mr. Bates, Secretary of the Royal Geographical Society, Mrs. Somerville's work on physical geography, and her literary labours in connection with the *Queen* newspaper were of great value in advocating the education and enfranchisement of women. In 1873 Miss Chessar was elected a member of the London School Board, where her special knowledge of women teachers and of school management proved of great value. Her health was not strong, and during last summer a severe attack of illness rendered rest a necessity for her. She was, however, persuaded to attend the Educational Conference at Brussels, into the work of which she entered thoroughly. The sudden death of Professor Hodgson only preceded her own by a few days, and the Brussels Congress will have a melancholy remembrance as the scene of the last days of two such eminent educationists as W. B. Hodgson and Jane E. Chessar.

LADY RICHARDSON.—We have to record the death, on October 17th, of Lady Richardson, of Lancrigg, near Grasmere. She was the daughter of a distinguished mother (Mrs. Fletcher), whose autobiography she edited, and the widow of a brave and scientific Arctic traveller, Sir John Richardson; and she was herself a remarkable character, whose friendship was deeply valued by many distinguished men and women. Lady Richardson was born in May, 1802, and was for many years her mother's constant companion, as she did not marry till 1847. In 1848, not many months after her marriage, she was called upon to part with her husband, she and Sir John having agreed that, should no tidings of his friend and connexion, Sir John Franklin, have reached England by a certain date, Sir John Richardson was to go in search of him, in fulfilment of a promise to his friend. To add to Lady Richardson's cares during the trying period of suspense which followed, she had to perform the duties of a mother to her husband's children by a former wife, who had been a niece of Sir John Franklin. Nearly all the friends of Lady Richardson's early days died before her, but to the very last she retained her bright interest in the important questions of the day, whether literary, political, or scientific.—*Times*.

Lady Richardson, was, we believe, appointed waywarden, or to some such office connected with the local government of her parish. She was one of the earliest supporters of the women's suffrage movement.

Mrs. JELlicoe.—This much-lamented lady died at Birmingham, aged 57 years, on the 18th October. The funeral took place at St. Ann's Cemetery, Dublin, on the 21st. The burial service was read by the Dean, and an address was delivered by Archbishop Trench, who referred to the many services the deceased lady had rendered to education. Mrs. Jellicoe was a woman of great energy and power. She was the founder as well as the superintendent of Alexandra College, the centre of culture for women in Dublin, the first place in which higher education was possible for girls. Mrs. Jellicoe was one of the earliest adherents to the movement for women's suffrage.



WOMEN'S RIGHTS IN FRANCE.

A remarkable work by M. Alexander Dumas, "Les Femmes qui tuent et les Femmes qui votent," seems to mark a new departure in the movement for the suffrage in France.

The immediate occasion of the work is the recent occurrence in France of crimes of violence committed by women who had received the deepest provocation that a wife can receive, and in that relation M. Dumas says they are driven to these crimes in order to protect themselves or avenge an injury, for which the law gives them no redress, and he urges that they ought to have the vote.

"They must and will have the suffrage, and they have already begun to demand it by the irregular means which precede every systematic agitation. A Mdle. Hubertine Auclert has constantly refused to attend to the summons of the taxgatherer, contending that since women are not allowed to vote there is no reason why they should be required to pay, and that in imposing on them the same burdens as men, we ought to recognise their possession of the same rights. There has been a good deal of laughter at this contention, and the law takes no notice of it. A public officer seizes the goods of Mdle. Hubertine Auclert; she pays, protests, and takes solemn note of this abuse of power. At this everybody laughs the more. The law takes no notice of her or her protest, because the ground is not sufficiently prepared for resistance to the decrees. But the law is not always so proud, even in countries where it has most authority. When it meets with a resolute and well armed adversary on a well chosen field it immediately beats a retreat, even when that adversary may be but an individual, like Mdle. Hubertine Auclert.

Taxation is the most unpopular of all things among us, only there is one argument for it outside of all discussion. No society can go on without it. It must be paid then whether or no. Mdle. Hubertine Auclert says, "I ought not to be taxed because I do not vote, neither in my own person nor in that of delegates named by me." That is a reason, but it is not the best one. Certain minors with property also pay taxes without voting. Mdle. Hubertine Auclert might have added, "I ought not to pay taxes like men, because society which imposes them on me does not give me in the same measure as to men the means of gaining the money wherewith to pay them." That would be a better reason than the one she has given; still it would not be the best. The best of all reasons is simply that there is no reason why women should not vote just as well as men.

Having thrown down his glove in this way, the author supposes some apologist of the existing system taking it up, and joining issue with him in dialectic battle:—

"What difference," asks Dumas, "is there between man and woman to warrant you in refusing her the right to vote when you give it to me?" "It is clear enough," replies the other; "woman is weaker than man by the fact of her sex, and the proof of it is that man is continually obliged to defend her." "We defend her so little that, as we have just seen, she is obliged to defend herself with revolvers, and we are afterwards obliged to acquit her for doing it."

"These are exceptional cases, but it is notorious woman is inferior to man; why you have written it yourself."

"If I wrote it I wrote nonsense, and I changed my opinions at once. I shall not be the first who has written nonsense, nor the first who has changed his opinion; that is all, but I have never written the nonsense in question. It has been written for me, which is not exactly the same thing, though it is very convenient in discussion."

"If you have not written, I will not say this absurdity but

this truth, you have been wrong, for it has been written and demonstrated in all books of religion, philosophy, and medicine."

After a brief glance at the religious question, Dumas continues:—

"As to the books of medicine, they show that if the muscular force of men is greater than that of women, the nervous force of women is greater than that of men, and that if intelligence, as they say to-day, depends upon the development or the weight of cerebral matter, the intelligence of woman might be declared superior to that of man. The largest and the heaviest brain known has been that of a woman, which weighed 2,200 grammes, that is to say 400 grammes more than the brain of Cuvier, though it is not said for that matter that the woman had written anything equivalent to the work on fossils. What inconvenience do you see in Madame de Sévigné having a vote just as well as her gardener?"

"But Madame de Sévigné is an exception."

"And her grandmother Madame de Chantel? and Madame de Lafayette? and Madame de Maintenon? and Madame Dacier? and Madame Guyon? and Madame de Longueville? and Madame du Châtelet? and Madame de Deffand? and Madame de Staël? and Madame Roland? and Madame Sand? all exceptions. A sex which has furnished such exceptions has certainly won the right of giving its opinion on the choice of mayors, municipal councillors, and even of deputies."

"Yes; but, after all, such women as that are not the only ones. There is the great mass, who have no idea and no sense of the policy of government."

"A sense not difficult to acquire, if I may judge by the men who have it. No; all the objections which are made against the right which Mdle. Hubertine Auclert claims, and which many others will soon claim as well, are purely fantastical. When French law declares woman inferior to man, it is never to liberate woman from a duty to man or society; it is always to arm man and society with one right the more against her. The law has never taken it into its head to make allowance for the weakness of woman in regard to the different offences she may commit. On the contrary, the law takes advantage of that."

"Well, you are serious then, and you claim a vote for women?"

"Simply that."

"But then you wish them to lose all their charms, all their grace?"

"Oh, now we are going into platitudes. Make your mind easy; they will vote with grace. Give them

a little more concern in the politics of the State, and they will take a little less interest in those of the Church, which would do no harm. Establish this new law at the beginning with all the precautions, and all the reserve possible in this country, to which routine is so dear. Put the elections at one, two, or three degrees if you like, only establish this law. There ought to be in the Chamber some deputies of the women of France. France owes to the civilised world the example of this great initiative. Let her make haste, or America will give the example first. These deputies of women will not be, ought not to be, very numerous at first in the National Assembly. In ten years women will be electors as men are."

The passages quoted are from a letter of the Paris correspondent of the Manchester Guardian.

Over 30,000 copies were sold of "Les Femmes qui tuent et les Femmes qui votent" of Alexandre Dumas in the first five days after its publication. Some comments by M. Emile de Girardin have appeared in the Nouvelle Revue. He welcomes Dumas as a new convert.

MANCHESTER NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

SUBSCRIPTIONS, OCTOBER, 1880.

Table listing subscribers to the Manchester National Society for Women's Suffrage, including names and amounts in £ s. d. format.

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Main table listing subscribers to the Women's Suffrage Journal, including names and amounts in £ s. d. format.

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