

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE JOURNAL.

EDITED BY LYDIA E. BECKER.

VOL. XI.—No. 131. PUBLISHED MONTHLY.

DECEMBER 1, 1880.

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ENGLISHWOMAN'S REVIEW.—Published on the 15th of each month. Price 6d., or 6s. per annum.

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

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.

"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.

PETITION! PETITION! PETITION!—Friends of Women's Suffrage are earnestly exhorted to aid the cause by at once beginning to collect signatures for the petitions to be presented in support of the Women's Disabilities Removal Bill, at the opening of the next session of Parliament. Written petitions, ready for signature, will be supplied on application to Miss BECKER, 28, Jackson's Row, Albert Square, Manchester; Miss BLACKBURN, 20, Park-street, Bristol; or to Miss THORNBURY, 64, Berners-street, London, W.

MANCHESTER NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.—The Annual General Meeting to receive the Report, the Statement of Accounts, to appoint the Committee, and transact any other business which may arise, will be held in the Town Hall, Manchester, on Wednesday, December 8th, 1880. The Chair to be taken at Three o'clock by the

MAYOR OF MANCHESTER
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And other ladies and gentlemen are expected to be present. The attendance of members and friends is invited. Admission free.

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LONDON.—A Meeting will be held in the Theatre of the Dilettante Club, 7, Argyle-street, Regent Circus, on Thursday Afternoon, the 10th December. The Chair will be taken at Three o'clock by CHARLES M'LAREN, Esq., M.P., and the meeting will be addressed by Viscountess Harberton, Miss Müller, Mrs. Chant, Mrs. Ashton Dilke, Miss Downing, and others.—Admission by Ticket, Free, to be obtained at the Dilettante Club, or at the Office of the National Society for Women's Suffrage, 64, Berners-street, W.

LEEDS LADIES' EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION.—Mr. HERBERT N. MOZLEY (Barrister, Lincoln's Inn) will deliver the Third and Fourth of Four Lectures on the "Laws of England as they Affect Women," on Tuesday, December 7, and Thursday, December 9, in the Grand Jury Room, Town Hall, at 3 p.m.—Lecture 3: "On the Law of Married Women's Property as affecting Women of the Poorer Classes." Lecture 4: "On the Law of Married Women's Property as affecting Women of the Wealthier Classes." Single admission for the Afternoon Lectures, 2s. 6d. Tickets to be had at the Philosophical Hall, or from any member of the Committee of the Leeds Ladies' Educational Association.

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All who wish to preserve health and thus prolong life, should read Dr. Rooke's Anti-Lancet, or Handy Guide to Domestic Medicine, which can be had GRATIS from any Chemist, or POST FREE from Dr. Rooke, Scarborough.

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DIRECTIONS FOR PREPARING PETITIONS.

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

Write out the form given below on any kind of paper that may be at hand. A sheet of foolscap or even 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

SHREWETH,

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 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.

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THE CALENDAR.

MOON.		SUN.	
		Rises.	Sets.
2nd New Moon,	2h 56m morn.	7 48	3 51
3th First Quar.,	6h 38m aft.	7 55	3 49
16th Full Moon,	3h 36m aft.	8 3	3 49
24th Last Quar.,	6h 57m aft.	8 8	3 53
31st New Moon,	1h 56m aft.	8 9	3 58

Day	Day of Week	Notes
1	W	
2	Th	Ordinance admitting Women to Examination, Queen's College, Ireland, 1869.
3	F	
4	S	
5	S	2 in Advent. "L'Espérance" (first Women's Paper in Switzerland) started 1871.
6	M	
7	T	
8	W	
9	Th	
10	F	
11	S	
12	S	3 in Advent.
13	M	Acc. of Queen Isabella to throne of Castile, 1479.
14	T	Princess Alice died 1878. [1875.]
15	W	Women's Suffrage adopted at Conference of N. Reform Union, Elizabeth Carter b. 1717. Jane Austen b. 1775.
16	Th	
17	F	
18	S	
19	S	4 in Advent.
20	M	
21	T	
22	W	Decision in the Agar Ellis case (custody of infants), 1880.
23	Th	
24	F	
25	S	Christmas Day. Lady Grizzle Baillie born 1665.
26	S	1 after Christmas. Mrs. Somerville born 1780.
27	M	Joanna Southcote died 1817. Mrs. Grote died 1878, aged 86.
28	T	[Bank Holiday.]
29	W	
30	Th	
31	F	

BRISTOL AND WEST OF ENGLAND SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

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THE first note of victory for the principle of women's suffrage in Parliamentary government within the British Islands has been sounded during the past month by the adoption of a measure for the enfranchisement of women by the popular legislative body in the Isle of Man.

This ancient kingdom does not send members to the British Parliament. It has its own Governor, House of Lords (the Council), House of Commons (the Keys), Bishop and Judge (the Deemsters), it enacts its own laws, imposes its own taxes, the only Imperial control being the sanction of the QUEEN, which is necessary before a law takes effect.

Up to the year 1765 the royal rights were vested in the Kings or Lords of Man, whose sanction gave effect to the laws, but in 1765 the last representative of this line—Lady STRANGE, wife of the Duke of ATHOLL—consented to the sale of the lordship of the Island to the British Crown. Previous to this transfer Man was to all intents and purposes an independent kingdom, and now the Island, in its government and relations to England, stands on a similar footing to the colonies of Canada, Australia, &c.

The House of Keys has survived as a legislative assembly from a period long antecedent to the formation of the English House of Commons. It was founded by a Scandinavian prince, named ORRY, who, after conquering many of the western islands of Scotland, arrived at the Isle of Man about the year 938 A.D. with a large fleet. He brought order out of the chaos which then existed in the Island, and established stable and popular government. King ORRY instituted the House of Keys. He divided the Island into six districts called sheadings, every sheading having its coroner, who acted as sheriff and was intrusted with the peace of his district. The House of Keys was the lower House of the Insular Legislature, and consisted of twenty-four freeholders, sixteen being chosen in those days from the lands of Man, and eight from the Isles of the West of Scotland, which were under the sway of the Manx kings. King ORRY died in 940, and his dynasty lasted till about the time of the invasion of England by WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR. Since that period the

Island has been subject to vicissitudes of conquest and the changes of dynasty, but it has preserved its independence, and throughout the whole course of its history the House of Keys has at all times resisted encroachments on the liberties of the people.

In the year 1417 Sir JOHN STANLEY, the then "King and Lord of Man," paid a visit to the Island. He settled the order of the Tynwald Assembly. At a Tynwald Court held at Castle Rushen in 1430, among other things it was enacted "that controversies be decided, not by the savage warfare of battle, but by the good and true in the country." It was settled that the House of Keys, which in King ORRY'S days consisted of twenty-four members, sixteen from Man and eight from the outer Isles, should in future consist of twenty-four, all to be elected in Man, but subject to the approval of the King. In 1430, thirty-six were chosen by the whole commons of Man—from these the lieutenants chose twenty-four. In later days it came to be the custom for the Keys to hold office for life, and for vacancies to be filled up by election among themselves and the Governor. Thus the people came to have no voice in the election of those who constituted what had been in former times the popular House in the Legislature, and they had also lost the power which they possessed in ancient times of raising their voice and voting in the Tynwald Court on Midsummer Day.

From being the freest and most popular of constitutions the insular government had become one of the most absolute, and this condition of things continued till 1866, when the Keys agreed to their own dissolution, and an Act was obtained authorising a septennial House of Keys, elected by the people.

The franchise in this election was given, in sheadings (counties) to owners of real estate of £8 annual value, and to occupiers of not less than £12 annual value, and in towns to owners and occupiers of not less than £8 annual value.

This franchise has been felt to be too restricted, and a Bill was lately introduced by the GOVERNOR in the House of Keys to give the franchise to every male person

who was a householder under certain conditions. In committee of the House of Keys, on November 5th, an amendment was moved by Mr. RICHARD SHERWOOD to omit the word "male" for the purpose of extending the franchise to women who possessed the required qualification. This amendment was carried by 16 votes to 3, being a majority of more than five to one of those present and voting, and a vote of two-thirds of the whole number of the House of Keys.

Thus the House of Keys, probably the most ancient popular legislative assembly in the world, has been true to its tradition of resisting encroachments on liberty, by taking measures to secure the exercise of political rights by women as well as by men, and by asserting the principle of free Government for the whole, and not merely for the half of the people.

THE Electoral Reform Bill is now before the Council or House of Lords. This body consists of the Bishop, the Attorney General, the two Deemsters, the Clerk of the Rolls, the Water Bailiff, the Archdeacon, and the Vicar General. Their decision in regard to the amendment will be looked for with the greatest interest, but we feel assured that the House of Keys will know how to maintain the liberties of the people and their rights as a popular representative assembly now as of old, and that the principle of the enfranchisement of women having been once adopted is safe in the hands of the people and Legislature of the ancient kingdom of Man.

PARLIAMENT is to be assembled for the despatch of business on the sixth of January, and as Mr. COURTNEY will at once give notice to introduce the Women's Disabilities Bill our friends should lose no time in preparing their petitions, so that a goodly number may be ready for presentation at the opening of the session.

The date on which the Bill will be set down for second reading depends on the chances of the ballot, and Mr. COURTNEY may have to fix a date so early that there would not be time to prepare large petitions after the opening of Parliament. It is, therefore, of extreme importance to employ the remainder of the recess in the diligent promotion of petitions from friends in all parts of the kingdom.

Directions for procedure will be found in our advertising columns, and petitions ready for signature will be forwarded on application.

THE Demonstration of Women held in the Colston Hall,

Bristol, under the presidency of Mrs. BEDDOE, on November 4th, was a worthy successor of the previous Demonstrations in Manchester and London. The great hall was crowded from floor to ceiling with women of all degrees of social rank, including a very large number of working women, and an overflow meeting was held in the Arch room, in which Mrs. LUCAS presided. The meeting was addressed by Mrs. BEDDOE, Miss EMILY STURGE, Miss BECKER, Miss HELLENA RICHARDSON, Mrs. OLIVER SCATCHERD, Miss DOWNING, Miss LE GEYT, Miss CRAIGEN, Miss ELIZA STURGE, Mrs. ALFRED OSLER, Miss JENNER, and Miss MEYRICK. A memorial to the Prime Minister was adopted, and a deputation appointed to present it.

Preliminary meetings in support of the Demonstration in Nottingham on November 30 have been held in various districts of the town, and addressed by Miss DOWNING, Miss C. A. BIGGS, Miss CRAIGEN, and others. In Hyde, a conference, at which a local branch of the society was formed, was held at the Hyde Coffee Tavern, under the presidency of Miss HIBBERT. In the evening a public meeting was held, which was addressed by Mrs. FENWICK MILLER, Miss BECKER, and several local ladies. Other meetings have also taken place during the month.

THE HOME SECRETARY has lately exercised his mind over the question of dealing with juvenile offenders, and in a recent letter he has expressed his opinion that children who offend against the laws ought not to be subjected to the same course of treatment as adults.

It is quite evident that under the term "adults" Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT means to include women as well as men, and that the classification which exists in other departments of the law, having reference to personal liberty and political rights of "women and children," does not hold good here.

When laws have been passed regulating political rights men only are recognised as "adults," women are classed as minors; when laws restricting labour are passed women are classed with "children" and "young persons," as those who have not strength enough or sense enough to answer for their own actions or manage their own affairs. But when we come to the criminal law, there, and there only, are women classed with men as "adults," who must be held to be fully and personally responsible for their actions as free and responsible beings.

We do not complain of the equality between women and men recognised by the criminal law, but we

assert that responsibilities and rights are correlative, and that it is unjust with one hand to impose upon women the responsibilities of men, and with the other the disabilities of children.

WE learn from the newspaper correspondents from Ballinrobe that the soldiers sent to protect the men from Ulster who volunteered to save Captain BOYCOTT'S crops were despatched to the scene of operations in advance of their tents and baggage, and that on their arrival they had to sleep on the bare ground, and had been twenty-four hours without food. That the men could keep up their spirit and do their duty without murmuring under such dismal circumstances is highly creditable to their discipline, but the needless hardships to which the troops were subjected is not equally creditable to the authorities who arranged the expedition. If a department under the control of women had ordered soldiers to march to a given place, and made no preparation for housing and feeding them on their arrival, men would have said at once that women were totally incompetent to manage public affairs, and might thence have deduced the inference that they were unfit to have the parliamentary franchise. But the feminine mind is less severely logical, and does not necessarily conclude that men are unfit to manage the commissariat or household department of an army because, on the occasion of the march to Ballinrobe, some man has blundered.

THE Supreme Court of Judicature has just given a fresh illustration of the law that the most solemn promises made by a husband to his wife may be broken after the husband has received the benefit of the condition on which he made the promise.

The case of WOODGATE v. WATSON was argued on November 16 on appeal from a judgment of Mr. Justice FRY decreeing specific performance in an agreement by a husband to execute a separation deed. The case turned on the refined distinction between an agreement for a future separation which is held to be void as against public policy, and an agreement to execute *in futuro* a formal separation deed for the purpose of carrying out an actual immediate separation, to which effect will be given.

In the present case the parties were married in 1873, and there were two children in the marriage, boys, born in 1874 and 1876. The husband, who was a solicitor, became involved in serious pecuniary difficulties, and from time to time received assistance from his father-in-law.

These difficulties assuming a more serious shape, an application to the court against the husband for professional misconduct was threatened. His immediate arrest could only be averted by replacing a large sum of money before the arrest was made. The wife in June, 1878, went to the seaside for a month, and instead of going home went to her father's house. On July 17th she had an interview there with her husband, and stated her determination not to go home until he had given a satisfactory explanation on certain points. This he declined to do. Next day he came again, and was informed that the wife would not return to him, that she and her family would be content with nothing short of a separation, but that if he, the husband, would give an undertaking to execute a separation deed, money would be found to relieve him from the criminal proceedings against him which were expected to be brought on the next day.

The husband was informed that the necessary amount, £800, would be at once paid by his father-in-law, on condition of his signing a letter in the following terms:—"Owing to anxieties which have been caused to my wife, to the danger of her health and happiness, through my misconduct of late in various pecuniary matters out of which you have kindly helped me, I hereby in consideration of such help undertake at any time at the request in writing of my wife to execute a deed of separation, my wife having the custody of the children." As soon as this letter, which was addressed to the father-in-law, had been signed by the husband, Mr. WALKER and the father rushed into a cab, drove to the City, and procured the money in time to stop the threatened application at the Rolls.

The husband afterwards became bankrupt, and in the following December a formal application was made to him on behalf of the wife for the execution of a deed of separation pursuant to the engagement entered into in July. When the case was before him in November, 1878, Mr. Justice FRY was of opinion that the facts shewed that there was a present separation, and decreed specific performance, with costs. From this decision the husband appealed, and the case was heard on November 16 before Lords Justices JAMES, COTTON, and LUSH. Upon the whole case their Lordships were of opinion that there was not a tittle of evidence that when the letter of July was signed by the husband a separation had been already agreed upon as an accomplished fact. The agreement embodied in that letter was, therefore, they were sorry to say, invalid, as being merely an agreement for future separation, and as such void as against public policy.

The appeal must accordingly be allowed, and the judgment of Mr. Justice FRY reversed. The case is reported in the *Times*, Nov. 17, 1880.

THE case of BIRCHALL *v.* WILSON has been again before the courts. Our readers may remember that a few months ago Mr. BIRCHALL, whose wife was entitled in her own right to a fortune of £45,000, and who had made a will in her favour, which will was in her possession, died suddenly at another establishment which he had supported unknown to his wife, and that a later will was produced revoking the former will, and leaving everything he possessed to his children by a former mistress, except a legacy to his second mistress and £400 a year to his wife.

Mrs. BIRCHALL asserted her right to her own money and offered to make provision for the children. But the VICE-CHANCELLOR, who in his official capacity was guardian of the infants, resisted the claim of Mrs. BIRCHALL, and proposed that she should be content with £20,000 of her own money, "which would be sufficient for her wants," and then there would be "sufficient for the lady who had occupied the unfortunate position as deceased's mistress, but who appeared to have conducted herself well under the circumstances." This compromise was with some difficulty reluctantly accepted by the counsel for Mrs. BIRCHALL, but it has been rejected by the representatives of the infants, who desire to appropriate the whole of the money. Their appeal against the compromise has been allowed, and the validity of Mrs. BIRCHALL'S contention that the money was so secured that her husband could not legally dispose of it will have to be argued in the courts.

PARLIAMENTARY INTELLIGENCE.

ISLE OF MAN.

HOUSE OF KEYS, DOUGLAS, Friday, November 5th, 1880.

HOUSE OF KEYS ELECTION ACT, 1880.

The House met to day by adjournment from the 28th ult. The members present were—Messrs. W. B. Christian (Acting-Speaker), J. M. Jeffcott (Acting-Secretary), W. Dalrymple, R. Penketh, H. J. Watterson, J. Joughin, R. Teare, T. C. S. Moore, P. H. Leece, E. C. Farrant, J. Kelly, A. C. Kayll, J. R. Kerruish, J. T. Clucas, J. J. Gell, R. Corlett, W. Farrant, R. Sherwood, and J. Quayle.

WOMEN ADMITTED TO VOTE.

The House then proceeded to the consideration of the following clause in the Election Act:—

8. From and after the promulgation of this Act, every male person who is of full age and not subject to any legal incapacity, shall be entitled to be registered as a voter, and, when registered, to vote for a member or members to be returned for an electoral district who is qualified as follows (that is to say):—

(1) Is the owner of real estate within the district of the annual value of not less than £5; or

- (2) Is the occupier of real estate within the district of the annual value of not less than £8; Provided always that no person being only a sub-lessee or an assignee of any lease shall have a right to vote in any election in respect of his interest in any premises as such sub-lessee or assignee unless he shall be in the actual occupation of such premises; or
- (3) Is on the 12th day of May in any year, and has during the whole of the preceding twelve months, been an inhabitant occupier as owner or tenant of any dwelling-house within the district, and has paid all rates for the support of the Asylum for lunatics and insane persons for which during the time of such occupation the said dwelling-house may have been rated: Provided that no person shall under this sub-section be entitled to be registered as a voter by reason of his being a joint occupier of any dwelling-house; or
- (4) As a lodger has occupied in the same district separately and as sole tenant for the twelve months preceding the 12th day of May in any year the same lodgings, such lodgings being part of one and the same dwelling-house of a clear yearly value, if let unfurnished, of £10 and upwards, and has resided in such lodgings during the twelve months preceding the 12th day of May, and has claimed to be registered as a voter at the next ensuing registration of voters.

The ACTING-SPEAKER pointed out that in the commencement of this clause the franchise was restricted to "male persons of full age," &c. If the clause was carried in that shape females would not be entitled to vote.

Mr. SHERWOOD moved that the word "male" be struck out. He did this to renew the claim he had formerly made that women were entitled to vote.

Mr. CLUCAS asked if he intended to give them a right to sit as members.

Mr. SHERWOOD said that perhaps in the abstract they might be entitled to even that, but as he felt pretty confident that the House were not prepared to decide that, all he was now doing was to move that as they could not sit in the House they should have a right to appear there by proxy. To say that they should not be heard in person or by proxy was to his mind simply outrageous. However, if the hon. member was inclined to give the ladies seats in the House, now was the time to move it, as the plans for the interior of our new legislative hall were not settled, and it would be necessary to consider the arrangement of the seats to meet their requirements.

Mr. E. C. FARRANT: To admit ladies as members of the House of Keys would, at all events, be putting the representation on a broader basis.

Mr. SHERWOOD spoke at considerable length in support of his motion to strike the word "male" out of the clause, pointing out that as a principle of justice taxation and representation should go together. Of course, it was not intended that married women should have the power of voting, but if his motion were carried it would give every unmarried woman and widow of full age that right. The learned member urged that his motion was founded on principles of justice which could not be gainsayed. The property of unmarried women and widows was liable to be rated and laws were made affecting their rights in various ways, and to say that this must continue to go on without their having a voice in matters affecting them was a proposition which no member dare assert. The only plausible excuse that he expected would be made was that it might be unpleasant for ladies to be drawn into the excitement of elections. This argument would not bear investigation. In the Island the law gives women the right to vote at the elections of Town Commissioners, and in some contested elections in Douglas they had taken a strong interest and many of them had voted. It is perfect nonsense to say that there was any unpleasantness or inconvenience to them in exercising this right. We all know the fact to be that there was not. It is equally without foundation to fear

anything of the kind with respect to the Keys election. Besides if they do not choose to vote they will not be bound to do so. It is purely optional. The proposal made by this Bill was to give household suffrage throughout the Island. We give this to all irrespective of their intellectual capacities. We deliberately purpose to give every labouring man living in a cottage a vote. Contrast for a moment such a voter with Mrs. Hall, the benefactress of the Manx Church. Shall we say she is not competent to vote? It was worth while considering for a moment some of the instances of exclusion enacted by the present law. It was not a bad mode of testing a law to consider the effect of it on persons of their own acquaintance. Were they to continue to hold, for instance, such ladies as Mrs. Gawne, the Misses Clucas, Miss Lucas, of Knockrushen, and many others of large properties in the country, and such women as Mrs. Hogg and many others in the towns, considerable owners of town property, people of position and culture, to be less entitled to appoint a member to represent them than the poorest of their tenants, simply because the tenant was of the male sex? He contended that they should receive from the House that right to interfere in the legislation of the country which every company in the kingdom gives to them with respect to voting at their meetings. There was no question of favour in the matter; it was a question of right, and he challenged any member to dare to deny the right.

Mr. DALRYMPLE seconded the motion, urging that in giving unmarried women and widows the vote they were doing an act of simple justice.

Mr. E. C. FARRANT said that in this interesting question he had always been on the side of the weaker vessel. He had advocated it when he was a bachelor, and he would advocate it still. He pointed out that in England and the Isle of Man women exercised the franchise in municipal and school board elections, and he could not see why they should not be further entrusted. He would remind the House that if in its working the enfranchisement of women was found to be a political mistake there was one way of disfranchising them, and he commended that system to the bachelors of the House, and the Island generally. (Laughter.)

Mr. W. FARRANT opposed the motion at great length, contending that the great body of Englishwomen were opposed to the franchise being given to their sex—at all events, those who were agitating for it were not, as a rule, such women as men would select for their partners through life. (Laughter.) He contended that to confer the franchise upon the fair sex would be doing them no benefit, but would be subjecting them to the harassing importunities of election agents and others. The more they kept from politics—the emotional and hysterical element—the better it would be, and he feared that the enfranchisement of women would only lead to the introduction of those elements. He contended that no fair case for this revolutionary scheme had been advanced, and he therefore gave his support to the opponents of the motion.

Mr. CLUCAS feared that if the enfranchisement was given to women, they would be in a worse position than they were before, inasmuch as they would then have to sustain their own cause, whereas under the present system they found their champions amongst the other sex. However, he was always ready to redress a grievance if one was proved; and as there appeared to be a grievance in this matter, he would vote for the motion. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. SHERWOOD, as the mover of the motion, having replied, the House divided on it.

The voting was as follows: For—Messrs. Sherwood, Joughin, Corlett, Gell, Kelly, E. C. Farrant, Tear, Kerruish, Kayll, Christian, Leece, Penketh, Dalrymple, Clucas, Quayle, and

Jeffcott; total, 16. Against—Messrs. T. C. S. Moore, W. Farrant, and Watterson; total, 3.

The SPEAKER: The motion enfranchising women is carried by a majority of 16 to 3.

Mr. E. C. FARRANT: There is more equity in the House than I thought. (Laughter.)

The House then went into debate on sub-sections 1, 2, 3, and 4 of the 8th section as given above. We have not space for the lengthy discussion which took place on these clauses; but it will be sufficient to state that after numerous motions, amendments, and divisions, the clause was amended in the following particulars:—£4 was substituted for £5 in sub-section 1; and £6 for £8 in sub-section 2. Sub-section 3 was so altered as to confine it to towns, the words "town and highway rates" being added after the words "lunatic and insane persons."

The effect of these alterations appears to be that the country franchise will be a £4 ownership and a £6 occupancy, while in towns it will be household suffrage. Amongst the proposals made was one to the effect that it should be household suffrage in both town and country, but this was defeated.

Mr. SHERWOOD, Mr. KAYLL, and others pointed out that a £4 ownership and £6 occupancy in the country would shut out a large proportion of the householders in Laxey and other large villages, but the SPEAKER ruled that, as those places were included in the country districts, the franchise in which had been settled, the question could not be re-opened then; but as the House was in Committee, the matter might be gone into when the Bill came on at an advanced stage.

Mr. KAYLL said that the qualification as it at present proposed was a gross injustice on an intelligent body of men like the miners of Laxey and Foxdale, who were, to say the least of it, quite as much entitled to a vote, and quite as capable of exercising it judiciously, as were the fishermen of Peel, who would in future have a vote.

After going through some other clauses, the further consideration of the Bill was adjourned.

PUBLIC MEETINGS.

ISLE OF MAN.

THE NEW ELECTION ACT.—IMPORTANT MEETING AT PEEL.

On November 1st a public meeting was held in the Court House, Peel, in accordance with a notice issued by the High Bailiff, R. J. Moore, Esq., in compliance with a requisition presented to his worship on 29th October, and numerous signed. Amongst those present we noticed Messrs. R. Corrin, W. Moore, T. C. Kermode, E. D. Gelling, Joseph Clucas, John Clucas (Foxdale), W. Kelly (draper, &c.), Thomas Kelly (grocer, &c.), W. Kinvig, D. W. Kee, John Dawson, Jonathan Kermode, W. Johnson, — Shevellin, Thomas Kelly (Bridge-street), John Quayle (Glen Meay), R. E. Wight, W. Palmer, &c., &c.

Mr. T. C. KERMODE proposed that Mr. Robert Corrin should take the chair, which was unanimously carried.

The CHAIRMAN opened the meeting by saying: I am sure you will all join in regretting that the High Bailiff, through indisposition, has been unable to take the chair. I am very pleased to see such a large gathering of the people of Peel and neighbourhood here to-night; it shows that you take a deep interest in the making of the laws by which you are governed; and it is but right that you should do so, because you know how much good laws contribute to our prosperity and happiness, and that bad laws are very injurious to our interests. And it is to enable you to read and digest the principles of the new Electoral Bill, and point out its errors (if any), that our excellent Governor has authorised the printing of the Bill in the newspapers, thus giving us an opportunity to hand in our objections to any of its clauses to the Keys when considering the Bill. That is precisely the object of this meeting. We are

here to go into the Bill, and pass resolutions (if necessary) setting forth the parts of the Bill to which we object.

After noticing several of the provisions of the Bill, the speaker proceeded:—I am also sorry that the ladies, who are the better half of mankind, are not admitted to the franchise. I suppose they are debarred on the ground of unfitness. There are people who think that woman's place is only at the head of her domestic duties—nursing her children, and stitch, stitch, stitching all day long. Now I am ready to admit that these are amongst woman's first duties; but also contend that, without any injury to these duties, she is also competent, if admitted to the franchise, to give her vote with wisdom, and to the benefit of the country. If you look into the matter fully and dispassionately, you will see that there is little ground for the assertion of woman's incapacity. See how she has excelled in the school, post office, telegraph office, and in all ranks of literature. She has also obtained an honourable position in the upper walks of science, and has often taken very leading places at the competitive examinations, medical and scholastic, in the great centres of learning all over the country. When woman has done all this, is it not a cruel libel on her to say, that a spinster or widow of education and refinement, having the legal property qualification, and who pays her rates and taxes, is incapable of giving an honest and conscientious vote, whilst you declare their male tenants with little or no education or political experience, capable? I feel sure that there is still sufficient gallantry in the House to come to the rescue of the fair sex, and extend the franchise to women. I will be pleased if some of the gentlemen present will give their views on the Bill to the meeting.

Mr. D. W. KEE, in proposing the first resolution, observed that ladies were quite as competent to vote as the sterner sex. He also upheld the nonqualification for members, and moved: "That this meeting hails with satisfaction, and hereby expresses its approval, of certain sections in the Bill termed 'The Election Amendment Act,' now before the Insular Legislature, but more especially Section 8, in which, if the word 'male' were omitted, it would confer upon all householders a right to vote. Also that portion of the Bill which entirely abolishes the property qualification of members to the House of Keys."

Mr. T. KELLY (Bridge-street) seconded the resolution, and in the course of his remarks said that, although they supported the country by paying rates and taxes, they had hitherto been treated as serfs.

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

Resolutions having reference to other provisions of the Bill having been passed,

Mr. T. C. KERMODE proposed, and Mr MOORE seconded, the following resolution, which was carried unanimously: "Resolved.—That the foregoing resolutions be signed by the Chairman of this meeting, and placed in the hands of the member for Peel, Robert Moore, Esq., for the purpose of being presented to the House of Keys at their next meeting; also, that he be kindly requested to support them."

B R I S T O L .

GREAT DEMONSTRATION OF WOMEN AT COLSTON HALL, BRISTOL.

On November 4th a monster demonstration of women in favour of the extension of the parliamentary suffrage to women was held at Colston Hall, Bristol. Only women were admitted to the body of the hall, which was densely crowded. The galleries were densely crowded like the body of the hall, there being a sprinkling of men amongst them. The orchestra was also crowded, and there must have been over 3,000 persons present. Mrs. BEDDOE, of Clifton, presided, and amongst those by whom she was supported were the following: Miss Becker, Mrs. Oliver Scatcherd, delegates from Manchester; Miss Müller, Miss C. A. Biggs, Miss Downing, Miss Thornbury, from London; Mrs. Alfred Osler, Miss Eliza Sturge, delegates from Birmingham; Mrs. R. L. Carpenter, Miss Gibson, from Bridport; Mrs. M'Ilquham, the Misses Colby, from Cheltenham; Mrs. Jeffery, Mrs. Theobald, Bath; Miss Jenner, Wenvoe Castle; Mrs. W. Thompson, Miss Thompson, Bridgwater; the Misses Bragg, Plymouth; Mrs. J. P. M'Robert, Ilfracombe; Miss Mackenzie, Torquay; Miss Le Geyt, Bournemouth; Mrs. Arthur Tanner, Sidcot; the Misses Southall, Leominster; Mrs. Fisher, Neath; Mrs. Marsh, Yeovil; Mrs. M'Cormick, Manchester; Miss

Richardson, Dublin; Mrs. de l'Hoste, Portishead; Miss Hellena Richardson, Miss Emily Sturge, Bristol School Board; Mrs. Colman, Mrs. Grenfell, Miss Meyrick, Mrs. Macpherson, Dr. Eliza Dunbar, Miss Estlin, Mrs. Greenwell, Misses Priestman, Miss Price, Mrs. Charles Thomas, Mrs. Arnold Thomas, Mrs. H. Thomas, Misses Venning, Mrs. Garnett, Miss Scott, Mrs. S. Budgett, Mrs. W. H. Budgett, Mrs. Linton, Mrs. Hargrave, Mrs. Crogan, Mrs. Mills Baker, Mrs. Hunt, Mrs. Leonard, Miss Wood, Miss Lerner, Mrs. Algernon Warren, Mrs. Williams, Miss Kennedy, Mrs. S. A. Price, Miss Newall, Mrs. Bayliffe, Mrs. Cox, Mrs. Joseph H. Perry, Mrs. Jennings, Misses Cooper, Miss Lacy, Miss Walker, Miss M'Diarmid, Miss Mylne, Mrs. Stone, &c., &c.

Previous to the speaking Mr. George Riseley gave an attractive organ recital, which was much appreciated. Mrs. Beddoe and her supporters were loudly cheered on making their appearance. In the course of the evening it was announced that the attendance had been found so large that an overflow meeting had to be held in another part of the building.

Miss EMILY STURGE, the hon. secretary of the Bristol branch, said letters of cordial sympathy had been received from Mrs. Ashworth-Hallett, who much regretted that she was detained abroad; Lady Portsmouth, Lady Florence Herbert, Lymington; Lady Bowring, Exeter; Mrs. P. A. Taylor, Mrs. M'Laren, Mrs. Fawcett, Miss Dora Greenwell, Miss F. Davenport Hill, Mrs. Webster, Miss Cobden, Mrs. Crawshay, Miss Frances Power Cobbe and Miss Williams, London; Baroness de Ferrieres, Cheltenham; Mrs. Roberts and Mrs. Williams, Aberystwith; Mrs. Ashford, Birmingham; Mrs. Morrison, Mrs. Cobb, and Miss Crawford, Bath; Mrs. Thompson, Bridgwater; Mrs. Austin, Cirencester; Mrs. Collier, Callington, Cornwall; Mrs. Mitchell, Caerleon; Mrs. Saunders, Devizes; Miss Woolcombe, Exbourn; Miss S. E. Gay, Falmouth; Mrs. Holroyd, Frome; Mrs. Bowly, Miss Fouracre, and Miss Sessions, Gloucester; Mrs. Loney, Mrs. Marshall, Milverton; Miss Tabor, Malvern; Mrs. Boucher, Minehead; Mrs. Elias Jones, Neath; Mrs. Bishop and the Misses Rooker, Plymouth; Miss Bowling, Pembroke; Miss Evans, Illogan School Board, Redruth; Mrs. Evans Williams, Rhayader, Radnorshire; Mrs. Higginson and Miss Brock, Swansea; Miss Werner, Truro; Mrs. Gwynn and Mrs. Brine, Teignmouth; Miss Parkyn, Torquay; Mrs. Goward, Tenby; Miss Sampson, Upway, Dorset; Mrs. Lutley, Wiviliscombe; Mrs. Downing, Wells; Mrs. Pease and Mrs. Shipley, Westbury-on-Trym; Mrs. Somerville, Mrs. J. B. Spring, Mrs. Sibree, Mrs. James, Miss Tribe, &c.

Telegrams were received, from the Viscountess Harberton: "Heartily wishing you a successful meeting, am very sorry I am not able to be there to see it."—From Miss Helen Taylor: "I am detained in London by Board business at a meeting now going on. Please express my earnest sympathy with you at meeting, and regret that I cannot be with you."—From the Dublin Committee then sitting: "Warm greetings and good wishes to the Bristol Women's Suffrage Demonstration this evening."—From Mrs. Lucas and from Mrs. Webster (London School Board): "Warm greetings and good wishes."

The following are amongst the letters received by the Committee: From Mrs. P. A. Taylor, 22, Marine Parade, Brighton: "I hope your meeting will be a success. I shall be with you in spirit, but cannot be present. I have engagements for all first week in November. I hope our victory is not very distant now, and hope I shall live to rejoice in it. We have suffered many defeats, but after every defeat have gained strength."

From Mrs. Fawcett: "I am so very busy with a variety of engagements that I am compelled with great regret to decline attending the proposed Demonstration at the Colston Hall. I have little doubt that it will be as successful as the splendid meetings in London and Manchester, and that it will be of equal service to the movement in favour of the extension of the franchise to duly qualified women."

From Miss Cobden, 14, York Place: "I may have to leave England this winter for a warmer climate, and in consequence, much as I regret it, cannot make any engagements for the winter. I regret to be unable to take any part in the Demonstration in Bristol."

From Miss Dora Greenwell, 22, Belgrave Road: "My dear countrywomen,—I am just recovering, but very slowly, from a severe illness, which makes it impossible for me to join your meeting. Its object seems to lie far beyond the claiming of a political right,

valuable as such a right must be to every rational and thoughtful being. The feminine element is co-extensive not only with humanity but with creation itself; it is a mighty influence (a part of all that is), not always a direct one, being 'of the things that come and go unseen, and which are traced chiefly in working.' All therefore that lifts woman lifts the whole of our restored nature nearer to the perfection which is its final aim. Let us unite, then, heart with heart, in this great object to redeem our country from the narrow domesticity which De Tocqueville so justly calls an extended selfishness, and from the frivolity which is at present its even more deadly blight."

From Miss Susannah Winkworth: "I quite concur in the opinion that women landowners and ratepayers ought to be admitted to the parliamentary franchise on the same terms as men, but I regret that it will not be in my power to attend the meeting which you propose to hold on November 4th, to which you have invited me."

Mrs. BEDDOE, who was cordially received, said: "My friends, I have now belonged to this society for such a length of time that I own it seems to me strange that people, especially women, are still so little acquainted with what it is that we want, and what it is that we do not even ask for. I rejoice then to welcome so many of you, my fellow-townswomen, here to-night, as we have on this platform ladies from different parts of the country, than whom none are better qualified to explain what this woman's suffrage movement is. (Hear, hear.) I beg of you to give them an impartial hearing, to dismiss from your minds preconceived prejudices, or in the words of Carlyle, "Clear your minds of cant." (Hear, hear.) The most serious charge that has been made against our cause is that it is contrary to the teaching of religion. Great "pity it were, if it were so." Did we ask for the suffrage for married women there might be the shadow of a foundation for such a suspicion, because there are duties laid down which women owe to their husbands, and their husbands to them. (Hear, hear.) These, some people might possibly argue, might be interfered with, but I am not aware that there are any duties specified in Holy Writ which women owe to men other than their husbands. (Hear, hear.) Of course, there are texts such as "Render unto Cæsar," "Honour the King," but these are applicable alike to men and to women. (Hear, hear.) Of one thing I am sure, and it is this, that if former Houses of Parliament, with the help of the lawyers, had had the reconstruction of some of the texts of the Bible, and in particular of the fifth commandment, they would have omitted from them the honour commanded to be paid to one of the parents. Another reason often urged against granting this right to women is that it would interfere with the proper discharge of their domestic duties. A fine sounding sentiment, but I see before me many, many women who know too well what work really means to fear that the registering of their votes once in three or four years would much hinder anything that they had to do. (Hear, hear.) A third reason has lately been given, which seems so weak that it would scarcely be worthy of notice, had it not strangely commended itself to a portion of the community. It is that we might be the means of introducing another element of discord into those families in which, alas! there are already too many. We can reasonably hope that, at the worst, our apple might only replace some other apple of discord in these uncomfortable baskets. (Laughter.) This West of England branch of the Women's Suffrage Society has not found that politics exercise any such irritating influence. We, a society of men and of women, of divers opinions in religion and politics, have now worked together for a dozen of years in perfect harmony. (Hear, hear.) For reasons which I need not stop to explain, this meeting is a demonstration of women only, but it is not that we are ignoring the services of those gentlemen who were our friends at the first, to whom we have owed so much in the past, and to whom, in great part, we look for the success which we hope soon to achieve.

Miss EMILY STURGE moved the first resolution as follows: "That the following memorial to the Prime Minister be adopted, and signed by the president on behalf of this meeting:—

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

"The memorial of women in public meeting assembled in the Colston Hall, Bristol, on Thursday, November 4th, 1880, respectfully sheweth:—

"That there are over five hundred thousand ratepayers in the

United Kingdom deprived of the power of voting in the election of members of Parliament on the sole ground that they are women. That this exclusion is directly opposed to the fundamental principle of representative government, and therefore unjust towards such ratepayers. That the exclusion of women ratepayers from the exercise of the parliamentary vote deprives women of that free expression of opinion which is the only guarantee of liberty in the State. Wherefore your memorialists pray that a measure may be introduced by Her Majesty's Ministers to extend the parliamentary franchise to women ratepayers and landowners in boroughs and counties. And your memorialists will ever pray, &c."

The speaker said: We are met together this evening to protest against our being any longer excluded from that which men value as the chief guarantee of their liberty—the parliamentary franchise; for we feel that this exclusion is unjust and detrimental to our interests in many ways—legally, socially, morally, and politically. (Cheers.) We know that since the first extension of the franchise in 1832 immense progress in education and enlightenment and in material prosperity has been made by the classes who have successively obtained it. We recollect that before those extensions were made many and loud were the prognostications of evil to the State which would inevitably result from them. But we have seen how, on the contrary, there has been no revolution—(hear, hear)—but that immense benefits to the nation at large have been the consequence; and now we ask that we also should take our share—such a share as women can—in the government of our country, confident that in our case, as in the former ones, the prophets of evil will have prophesied in vain, that the sky will not fall, and that the framework of society will remain pretty much the same as now. (Cheers and laughter.) And we intend to ask until we get it—(cheers)—for though it would be pleasanter to wait, as some would have us do, until what we want should be granted without our asking, yet experience tells us that that is not the usual course of reforms in this country. (Hear, hear.) All great measures have hitherto been only obtained after much crying of "Give, give." (Hear, hear.) So that we hope that though we may not get it because it is just, yet that we may prevail by our "exceeding importunity." (Cheers.) We don't expect our case to be any exception to the rule, and the matter is too pressing for us to try the experiment. The great Reform Bill of 1832 was not obtained until the country seemed to be on the brink of civil war, that of 1869 only after repeated efforts and numerous failures, and the repeal of the Corn Laws was only carried when the appeals of the starving people could no longer be resisted. (Hear, hear.) And this reform of ours, though it may appear "a very small reform" in comparison with those other great and important ones, being merely the enfranchisement of some 500,000 women, yet is in its way as important as they, seeing that for the first time in our history will women have the power of making their opinions directly felt with regard to legislation—(cheers)—for the first time they will have the power to say what they wish, or do not wish for, with some effect. It may be asked why women have been content to be so long without it?—why it is that this agitation is of such recent origin? Surely there is no need, it might be said, to grant them now what they have done without so long, apparently with so little detriment to themselves. We reply that it is only during this century that the great body of men have been enfranchised—(hear, hear)—that before 1832 the right of representation was restricted to quite a small number; that it was looked upon as a sort of luxury which belonged to a privileged class. (Hear, hear.) So long therefore as the great body of men were deprived of this right, it is not astonishing that women did not bestir themselves with regard to it. (Hear, hear.) But in recent years the basis of representation has been gradually widened until now any man in a town who has a settled place of abode and pays taxes has a vote, and the same condition of things will before very long obtain in the counties. (Cheers.) We therefore think that those of us who fulfil the necessary conditions are as much entitled to the franchise as any man—(cheers)—that the same reasons which apply to men apply to us—(cheers)—that there is nothing in the accident of sex which in any way disqualifies us. (Cheers.) Our sex does not absolve us from contributing our due quota to the national income. No; we pay our taxes just the same, we even have to bear our share in the expenses of the election commissions, which to our national disgrace are now being held in so many towns, and yet we have no voice in their expenditure. (Cheers.) This is, in fact, treating women as children, incapable of taking

care of their own interests, and incompetent to even express an opinion upon them—(laughter)—and like children they are obliged to submit to whatever those in power choose to impose upon them. And as we know that it is not good for children who are developing into men and women to be kept entirely in subjection and not to be allowed any voice in the matters which concern them—seeing that such a course of treatment, instead of assisting their development into responsible beings, only retards their expanding faculties and hinders their mental growth—so women, in like manner, if treated as beings unfit for responsible action, will remain half-developed creatures to the end of the chapter. (Cheers.) We consider that the time has come when this mental childhood of ours should cease, and that is the reason why we are met here to-day. And with regard to its being a comparatively unimportant matter, as some of even our sympathisers say, and one that can “wait until Parliament has nothing else to do,” we answer that it is important to us; it is, at least, as important to us as the enfranchisement of the agricultural labourers is to them, which is, we hope, soon to be granted. Though it may not make any very great difference to the country, or cause a “new departure” in policy, it does matter to us very much that we should be able to say our word with regard to all that concerns us—(cheers)—it does matter that no fresh laws relating to women should be passed without taking their opinion upon it. (Cheers.) Again, it is of importance that women should no longer be impressed with the idea that the higher interests of the country are no concern of theirs; such an opinion as that certainly somewhat increases the tendency to narrowness and pettiness of which some people accuse women, and it is a notion that has been—though I hope it will not be much longer—very prevalent. (Cheers.) I do not think that women will do their own special work any the worse for taking some interest in these higher matters. (Cheers.) It is not found that a man is worse, carpenter or mason, for taking a keen interest in politics. (Cheers.) It is found on the other hand that, for the most part, anything of this kind that causes a man to educate his faculties helps him to do his own work better than he did it before. (Cheers.) So I believe it will be found in the case of women. But I have not time to enlarge upon this subject, and I will conclude by moving the resolution. (Cheers.)

Mrs. BEDDOE said: I have to announce to you, my friends, that we have had to open an overflow meeting in another room, and that the speakers after addressing you will go from this room to that other room. (Hear, hear.) I have now to call on Miss Becker, and I hope that you will give her that attention which she deserves. She is the great leader of this cause, and has been four times elected on the School Board of Manchester. (Hear, hear.) I hope the women of Bristol will show that they can appreciate what she has done for them and the other women of the country. (Applause.)

Miss BECKER, on coming forward, was received with applause. She said: It is indeed a grand and glorious experience to be present at a meeting such as this, following, as it does, upon meetings equally crowded and earnest in the great centres of Manchester and London. It shows that the deep heart of the womanhood of this nation is being stirred with a feeling of their responsibilities to the State. (Applause.) Is it not a hopeful sign of the growth of our nation that this movement is taking place among its women? because it is impossible that a nation can be really pure and patriotic while this sentiment is limited to men, and finds no place in the hearts of women, in the hearts of men's wives, mothers, sisters, and daughters—those inspirers of everything that is holy and grand in the human race. (Cheers.) I rise for the purpose of seconding the resolution, which has been moved by Miss Sturge, to adopt a memorial to the Prime Minister upon the subject of the enfranchisement of women, or rather to protest against the exclusion from political rights of half of the British nation. (Hear, hear.) I wish Mr. Gladstone could be present here this evening, for I think that, even with his varied experience of what the human race is capable of in these times, he could never have conceived of a meeting of this kind, where women alone appear—supported, it is true, by the sympathy of men outside—coming to speak for themselves on this great matter. (Applause.) The object of our great movement is to remove the disqualification which attaches to householders and owners of property, if they are women. (Hear.) I am one who believes that this exclusion is not only unjust but illegal. It dates only from 1868. It was then for the first time that woman was

declared incapable of exercising the franchise by a judicial decision; and I received a letter this morning from an eminent lawyer, who had written a convincing treatise on the subject, in which he says that that decision was altogether wrong, and that if the law of England in its ancient purity was properly administered, women would be now exercising the parliamentary franchise. (Hear, hear.) But that mistake can now only be rectified by an act of the High Court of Parliament. Our parliamentary leaders will not wait for Mr. Gladstone's Reform Bill, but as soon as Parliament opens will introduce the Bill which has been before Parliament so long, to give the franchise to women who are householders and ratepayers. (Applause.) Now in bringing in this Bill, we shall want support of two kinds—we shall want support from the men who have votes, that they may use the power of those votes to enfranchise women; and we want the support of women, to show that they want those votes which it is intended to give them. (Hear, hear.) The part of the resolution to which I shall specially address myself, is that which says that exclusion from the franchise deprives women from that free expression of opinion which is the only guarantee of liberty. (Hear, hear.) It may be said that this is a free country, and that women as well as men are free to form opinions and to express them. But that must be taken with considerable qualification. There is very little use in free forming and expressing an opinion if you are deprived of the right to give effect to that opinion in the way that men give effect to their opinions. (Applause.) Is it not a fact that whilst men have been encouraged to form opinions by a sense of their political responsibilities, women have been discouraged from forming opinions about matters concerning the state and the national welfare—not only discouraged from forming such opinions, but they are scarcely permitted to express them, and they are not allowed to give effect to them? (Hear.) Women have no voice in making the law, and therefore the law is unjust to women. (Cheers.) Now, I am going to give one bit of painful personal experience. A day or two since I went through one of our prisons because the Home Secretary had sent a letter to the School Board asking for their opinion as to the best method of dealing with juvenile offenders, and as I had been placed on a committee of the Manchester School Board to prepare an answer to the letter, I thought I would go and see how they were actually dealt with in prisons. (Hear, hear.) I saw enough to convince me that little boys ought not to be sent to prison. (Hear.) When there I went to the women's wards, and they opened a cell door, and I saw a pale, modest-looking woman, and I asked her what she had done to get there. She replied that a man had wanted her to follow him, and she would not, and the police had taken her and put her in prison, and had let the man go free. (Hear, hear.) I have never ceased to think of that woman's face since I saw it in gaol, and it is an instance of what Mr. Gladstone said in the House of Commons, that the law was too much against woman and too much in favour of men. (Cheers.) This morning there came to me an extract from a Cork newspaper, containing the report of a trial. There it appeared that a man had been condemned, and very properly condemned, because he had molested a woman who was going home with her husband, but was separated from him for a few minutes. He was condemned severely for molesting a married woman. That was the great offence—that he had molested a married woman. (Hear, hear.) Now in the very same paper there was a letter from a poor working woman who was not married, and she said that she could not see why it was a much greater offence to molest a married woman than a poor working woman who was single. (Hear, hear.) I say that it is time that women were free to express their opinions, but until they get the parliamentary vote they never will be free; or if they did express them, their opinions would be disregarded by the Legislature. (Hear, hear.) I have said that a Bill is going to be introduced into Parliament, and we want your earnest support to make that Bill law. All you women who are engaged, some in seeking and saving the lost victims of intemperance, you who are engaged in seeking and saving other victims, you who are engaged in the work of education and visiting the sick, you have all a great and serious work, and you would be aided in your work by a great phalanx of parliamentary voters among women. (Cheers.) How are you to help this Bill? I will tell you how you can do it very effectually. You have in this city a very energetic committee with most able and excellent officials, second to none in the kingdom for the zeal

and ability with which they pursue the work. (Hear, hear.) Now support those ladies and gentlemen, follow the example of Miss Hill and send a contribution to the Treasurer to help to defray the expenses of this meeting. Men know very well that great political movements cannot be carried on without large expenditure of money. As there is no royal road to learning without expenditure of energy, there is no feminine road to success without great expenditure. I ask you to bear the committee out in the expenses of this demonstration. (Applause.) But I want also to enlist your help in the work of the year that is to come. Speak of the movement in your own circles, go away into your own villages and into your own towns, among your own friends, and talk of it. Collect names to the petition, write letters to your members of Parliament, and do all you can to push on this great work. (Hear.) I come here not as an orator to commend the cause to your sympathies—I hope that is needless since you are here in such large numbers—I come as a practical worker to beg you to help on the work and to thank you on behalf of the women of Lancashire for the noble way in which you have seconded the demonstration we had in the spring. (Cheers.)

Miss HELLENA RICHARDSON, who was received with applause, supported the resolution. She said: Those of you who know me know that my principal interest in life is the promotion of what I think would conduce more to the happiness and glory of the country than anything else. I mean the temperance cause; and it would make me very happy if I thought every lady present was a true temperance worker and total abstainer, and if that were the vote, if we could obtain it, would indeed be a blessing to our country. (Hear, hear.) There are three principal reasons why I should wish the power of voting given to women. One is that the deprivation of it adds to the disadvantages under which women suffer when obliged to earn their own living. Ladies who are sheltered by male relatives, and who have nothing to do for their own maintenance, are doubtless quite at ease without the vote. They have fathers, husbands, sons to watch over them, and they may naturally say that they have no wish for women's rights; but when they say this, do they not forget their striving, struggling sisters who suffer from women's wrongs? For the sake of these, not for our own sake, we would have power to do away with unjust laws. (Applause.) It is strange how long we can walk in this world with our eyes shut, until they are opened by some one proclaiming the truth. (Hear.) I have known from my childhood—for in my early years I lived in the country—that the widow of a farmer is often obliged at his death to quit her farm; and why? because a vote must not be lost to the estate; not because she could not work the farm. She had worked it probably during her drunken husband's life, but he had a vote, and when he died the vote must not be lost to the estate, and this industrious woman is turned out of the farm; and being turned out of a farm is very different to receiving notice to quit a house in town. It is a dreadful loss—very often ruin. (Hear, hear.) This is a very strong reason why I wish for women's suffrage—to do away with the injustice to women who have to struggle to make their own living. (Hear, hear.) There is another reason, and it is not very complimentary to myself or to you to mention it. The suffrage is needed by women because the power of voting is educational, and we women require that education. I was travelling in France some years ago, and a Belgian gentleman, who was in the same railway carriage with me, said that his own nation was superior to the French nation, and that the country people were superior to those of France. Well, everybody thinks their own country superior to any other, and I thought it was only patriotism. He, however, gave me a very good reason. He said that in France the government came from the top downwards—I must explain that this was not in the time of the Republic, for I am happy to say the Republic is altering that and endeavouring to give true freedom to men; at any rate; but it was in the time of the Empire when every appointment was made from the throne, the mayors and all the different authorities of the several towns were thus appointed, and the consequence was that the peasantry cared for nothing, he asserted, but cultivating the fields and making as much money as they could, and that there was no feeling of patriotism, take it generally, in France. In Belgium, he said, the constitution is like our own, it is elective from the bottom upwards, and thus it makes men more intelligent, it makes them feel their responsibility, because they have a certain power to exercise. (Hear, hear.) That is a reason why women should have the vote. They

do not want to be kept in tutelage, and if they had a voice in the management of the country they would become more sensible and more thoughtful, as a consequence of the responsibility which would be laid upon them. (Hear, hear.) My last reason has been already spoken to with great power and clearness. It is just because I think it is right and in accordance with the constitution of our country that those who pay taxes shall have a voice in the way those taxes are spent. We have a voice in the selection of those who spend the local rates, and I don't think any harm has come from it. (Hear, hear.) From the example of our voting in municipal elections can any one have any fear as to our voting in parliamentary elections? (Applause.)

Miss MULLER, of London, also supported the resolution. She said: Ladies and gentlemen, I have the more pleasure in addressing you to-night because of the absence of two of my friends, Miss Helen Taylor and Mrs. Augusta Webster, colleagues of mine on the London School Board. I very much regret their absence, the more so because I think that it is an advantage that this cause should be advocated by women who have the privilege of representing large numbers of the public, who give their work, their best thoughts, and their best energies to the State. Does it not seem hard and a very striking anomaly that the State turns round on these women and denies them the right of representation, when they themselves represent large masses of the people? (Hear, hear.) If they are fit for such responsibilities, why may they not take upon themselves the smaller responsibility which demands direct representation in the shape of a vote? (Applause.) It is very often asked by those to whom this question is somewhat new, and also by those who are not very much in favour of advance in any shape whatever, and still more by those who are very unfavourable to advance and progress among women—what good will come to the nation and people if we give women votes? This is the question I wish to bring before you to-night. I shall point out very briefly one or two of what I feel to be the immediate practical advantages which will come to England, to Englishmen and Englishwomen, when that half of the nation which is now excluded from the suffrage is included in it. (Applause.) The work of administration must always be carried on by a certain limited proportion of the whole people. The fact that the masses of the people are forced to spend their time in earning their living makes it impossible that they can take the work of administration into their own hands; therefore they are forced to choose and elect representatives to do that work for them, whether in Parliament, on school boards, or as guardians of the poor, and the object of the nation must be to choose and elect the best persons that can be chosen and elected. Now, the larger the number of persons the people have to choose from, the better their choice will be; if you exclude women from many of these responsible positions, and from the suffrage, you are limiting your choice, shutting out many persons who are eligible, by the fact that they have time to give to the public, by the fact that they have administrative ability, and by the fact that the work is congenial to their taste. (Hear, hear.) You are limiting your choice of representatives, and therefore practically putting into those positions persons less suitable than they would be if there were a larger choice. (Applause.) Another result of this system is that by limiting the number the principle of centralisation becomes developed, instead of being, as we all desired it to be, diminished and got rid of altogether. (Hear, hear.) The fewer the number of people who take a part in the administration of the affairs of this country, the greater is the increase of that principle of centralisation which all feel to be the bane of progress and liberty; which we also feel to be the one danger that lies before the British Constitution, and the principle of representation. (Applause.) Another advantage which I believe will come has been suggested to us very recently by the shameful and disgraceful disclosures which have been made at Boston, Sandwich, Oxford, and at many places where the electors have shown themselves and the candidates utterly corrupt. If we admit women to the franchise, we shall increase the number of our electors by one-third, and in some places by even more than that. Now the principle which appears to be pointed at by the Election Commissions is this. We must have large constituencies. The larger our constituencies the purer our constituents, and therefore one of the first effects of this extension of the franchise would be in the direction of greater purity of election. (Applause.) We are very often accused of being Conservative as a sex. Men very often say of women that if they were to be enfranchised we should never get in a Liberal Government. (Laughter.)

I deny this *in toto*. (Cheers.) I heard lately that a kind of census had been taken at Newnham Hall of the political opinions of the students there, and I was interested to know that out of 80 or 90 students only five were Conservative. (Applause.) Now I think that a Conservative has as much right to a vote as a Liberal, but I consider this is a direct denial to that statement which classes us altogether in one colour of political opinion, as though women had not as much right to be Conservative and Liberal as men. (Applause.) During the late general election I was much interested in the return of two of the metropolitan candidates, and I went into one of the polling booths in order to see with my own eyes what was this mysterious and, as some men consider, unsexing process of putting a paper in the ballot-box. Whilst I was there a poor man came in covered from head to foot with dust, dressed in the coarsest fustian, with a face as unintelligent and as unenlightened by refinement and education as it was possible to see. He filled up his ballot paper, put it in the ballot-box, and walked out. Now I have had the privilege of studying at an English University, and like many other women I have taken my degree there. (Applause.) Ladies and gentlemen, I felt that it was nothing but antiquated priggishness that pretended that I was unfit to give a vote when that man was considered fit for it. (Cheers.) Another accusation often brought against us is that in demanding the franchise and stepping at all beyond the borders of our own homes, we are taking upon ourselves manly, masculine duties, and trenching on the field which belongs especially to men—that we are forgetting ourselves, and taking upon ourselves duties that belong to the other sex. Let us examine and see if those who throw this stone do not themselves live in a glass house. (Applause.) A few days ago I went into one of the schools of the London School Board in order to be present at the yearly examination of the children by one of Her Majesty's Inspectors. He was a dignified, stern gentleman of about sixty years of age, with spectacles upon his nose, grey hair upon his head, and bearing all the signs of manly dignity that one could desire to see. After examining the children in grammar, spelling, and so forth, I was very much amused to see him begin the examination of the needlework. (Applause and laughter.) He took up a little child's frock, and he said, "You must go on to muslin frocks now." (Laughter.) He took up some calico garments, and he said, "The quality of this calico is not very suitable." (Renewed laughter.) Now, ladies and gentlemen, these remarks were perfectly correct, and no fault was to be found with the fact of that gentleman giving attention to those matters, but do not let men come down on us and say we are trenching on their field when we find them receiving a very handsome salary for performing duties which specially belong to women. (Loud applause.)

Mrs. OLIVER SCATCHERD, of Leeds, in supporting the resolution, said: Ladies and gentlemen,—It rejoices my heart to see this great and glorious meeting, and to have this visible proof that the women of the West of England take as deep an interest in this movement as do their sisters in the north and south. I have come with great pleasure from my home in Yorkshire to speak to this meeting; and I assure you I stand before you not only with a sense of deep satisfaction, but with a sense of deep responsibility also to support this resolution. You have heard from some of the previous speakers the grounds upon which we ask for the franchise for women householders, and one or two of those speakers have referred to some of the grievances from which we may suffer. I think that one of the strongest grounds why women should ask for the suffrage, and why they do ask for it, is because they have suffered very great hardships because they have not got it. (Cheers.) All classes of Englishmen when they have wanted the franchise have had to show that they suffered great evils because they had not got it; and women have to show the same thing. (Hear, hear.) To-night I purpose to speak to you more especially about one grievance from which women suffer—although I could, if I had time, speak of many. But I wish to-night to call attention to the position which the women of this country occupy towards their own children. The law of England at the present moment does not allow that a married mother has the slightest right to her own child. It treats her as a perfect stranger to that child. Indeed it cannot be too solemnly or too deeply impressed upon your minds that the very moment the child is born it belongs entirely to the father, and he can take it away from the mother and give it to the custody of strangers; and can deny the mother access to her own infant. In order

to prove what I have thus said I shall not to-night quote cases which have appeared in the newspapers, and caused a sensation up and down the country; but I will give you one or two cases which have occurred in the district where I reside, and about which few people know—cases in which women have suffered great grief and great hardships from the state of the law upon this point. You may reply that it is not very often that husbands do act in this unjust way towards mothers of children. All I can say is, that it should be impossible that any such act of injustice could be wrought in this country in the name of the law. (Loud cheers.) In the West Riding of Yorkshire, about two years ago, one case came under my own notice. A young couple, who had been married four or five years, became estranged from each other through the bad conduct of the husband. He ill-treated his wife—not in any way the law can take cognizance of—but there are other ways of ill-treating a wife besides kicking or striking. And this husband did not allow his wife sufficient food or clothing. He forbade all the wife's relatives from going to the house, and he took away from her the entire control of any money. After a while, her father and mother managed to take her away to their own home, and her two little children with her. But the husband came forward and said, "These children are mine; I will take them. I desire to have them. I have done nothing that I should forfeit them, and I mean to take them away from her." He did take them away. But, after a few months, he made a proposal to the wife's father, that, if he would allow him a certain income every year, he would allow his wife to have the charge of her own two little ones. The father and mother of the wife were old people. They kept a little shop, and worked hard to get something to maintain them in their old age. But it ended in the old man and woman having to give up quite one-half of their income—to deny themselves the comforts which their old age demanded in order that this poor wife should have her two little children with her. The old father died, partly through sorrow and grief at this occurrence. And so soon as the money came to be divided, of course the brothers and sisters of the wife would not go on supplying the husband with that which he had hitherto obtained from the old father. The husband said if they did not he would again take away the children. The wife gave up every penny of her little income to be able to keep them. But the husband took one and sent it away, she did not know where; and the poor woman gave him all the money she could to keep her one child, and she maintained herself and aged mother as best she could. That was one instance. Another instance is that of a woman who was rich. She, too, was married, and she had three children, and because her trustees would not allow her husband to deal with her fortune as he liked he commenced a course of systematic cruelty both towards her and her children. One of the latter was dumb, and it was upon this poor little infant that the husband wreaked his cruelty and ill-feeling towards his wife. If she attempted to defend the child he struck her, and he lived in open unfaithfulness to his wife. Her father and mother being dead, they were not there to defend her, and her brothers and sisters thought it best to avoid the scandal of going into the Divorce Court. The poor woman herself said she could not face the scandal of having her trouble published in every newspaper of the land. However, she ventured to consult a lawyer as to her children, when she found that she could not take possession of them, and that she would have to go back to her husband, unless she went into the Divorce Court. Her spirits failed her, her mind became affected, and that poor woman at last committed suicide. When she did that the men of the district said they were shocked, and they expelled the man from their club and that club. But why, I ask, did not they take action before it came to that point? (Hear, hear.) Expelling from clubs would not prevent bad men doing these things in the future, if they want to do these things. (Cheers.) A far better way to help women will be to give them some voice in the making of the laws which they have to obey, whether they like them or not. (Cheers.) I would remind you that all this injustice took place in the name of the law of England. After some further remarks she said: I would also remind you that whilst the law of England gives the control of the wife and children completely to the husband, it does not compel him to support them unless they will throw themselves on the parish and so become paupers. It is a fact that no married woman can obtain support from her husband by going before the magistrate and asking that he shall be made to support her. The magistrate can say, "My good woman, why

come to me? you must go to the parish—you must go to the guardians." And I well remember one woman who replied, "No; I will starve first." And she did starve for five weeks. But hunger is a hard taskmaster, and at last she had to go to the guardians. They relieved her, and then they sued the husband because he owed them—a body of men—so much money, and not that he owed the wife, who had worked for him and loved him, anything at all. I say, then, that it is an insult to all the women of this land that wives have to become paupers before they can obtain support from their husbands. (Cheers.) My friend Miss Becker has referred to one part of the resolution which says that because women have not the franchise they are prevented expressing their opinion upon many subjects which otherwise they would express themselves upon. I fully echo that, and I will mention one subject upon which women have been silent too long. We have all been thrilled with horror as we read a week or ten days ago of that vile outrage perpetrated in London upon a little girl ten years of age, who was murdered and left dead for her father and mother to find. And yet the man who did that had been in prison two years previously for a similar outrage upon a little girl, and he had been also accused once or twice for attempting such outrages. Women of Bristol! if the women of England had had votes that man would never have had the chance of doing that again. (Cheers.) The law of England does not allow a woman to be a woman to receive property till she is twenty-one. Supposing your little girl had £100 left her, the law would not consider her a woman to receive that money till she was twenty-one years of age. And to receive full wages and to be considered of age in a mill she has to be eighteen years of age. But for this vile purpose it says that a little girl of thirteen years is the mistress of her own honour, and that she ought to know how to take care of herself. I feel strongly upon this point, because case after case has been brought under my notice in the great manufacturing town in which I live, and I say that if that outrage had been committed upon a little girl who was the daughter of one of our members of Parliament, the whole land would have been shaken from the north of Scotland to the south of England. (Loud cheers.) And ought not those members of Parliament to think of the little girls of the poor? (Cheers.) I see many working women here to-night. Does not this thrill your hearts with horror? (Hear, hear.) Can you always be looking after your little girls when you are at work? No. I think that these members of Parliament should remember this: "Inasmuch as ye did it unto one of these little ones ye did it unto me." (Prolonged cheering.) I see so many young women here to-night and there are many subjects upon which I should like to speak to them. I could tell them how in Yorkshire the very strength and support of this movement are the women who work in the factories. Now that Parliament interferes so much in the daily life of working women, I am quite sure they cannot do better than become members of this society, and study the many evils from which they suffer. (Hear, hear.) I ask you to most heartily support the resolution which has been read to you. (Cheers.) And I want you to remember that every woman in this room can do something to help on the cause which we have at heart. I believe that you will carry this resolution heartily. But you must remember that you have no moral right to come to this room and hold up your hands in favour of the resolution, and then go away and never think anything more about it, and never try to help us on in any other way. (Cheers.) I will tell you how you can help the movement, and in a way that will not cost you any money whatever. If every woman in this room would make up her mind whenever she heard this question of women's suffrage—or, as it is often called, "women's rights"—spoken slightly of, that she would defend it, that she would not let it be ridiculed as trivial—(cheers)—if she would do that, she would help greatly to form public opinion in Bristol and help this movement. (Cheers.) See what crowds there are here. There must be some thousands here to-night. Think what each one can do, and in a few years' time, and perhaps shorter than that, if each one of you will defend and advocate this question as it ought to be advocated, you will soon bring not only the public feeling of this town but the feeling of the whole of this great district of the West of England in hearty support of the measure we are met here to-night to advocate. (Loud cheers.) I thank you for the kind attention with which you have listened to what I have had to say. I hope you will bear it in mind. It has been upon my heart to speak these words to you, and I heartily support the resolution you have heard read. (Cheers.)

Miss DOWNING, of London, also, in supporting the resolution, said: I would have you bear in mind that we owe much to men's kindness and to men's consideration that this question has so far advanced itself in public estimation. (Hear, hear.) The measure we advocate is a just one, but very few persons trouble themselves much about purely abstract rights. We are therefore obliged to turn over the laws of the country to find out where they are defective, and to point out how those laws might be remedied and done away with if women themselves were parts of the body politic, and could themselves have a voice in saying what laws they think are injurious to their interests, and where they would like them to be amended. We have been told over and over again—we have been told in the House of Commons and outside the House—"Oh, leave all these things to us; we can take care of them so much better than you; we will take care of your interests; we will watch over your interests; you need not trouble about these things yourselves, because you are our wives, our daughters, and our sisters, and consequently we shall take as much care of your welfare as we take of our own." Now that might be perfectly true of individuals, but when it comes to the practical matters affecting every day life, it was certainly not true. When men find women becoming rivals with them in the labour market, they think first of their own interest, and then of the women's interest—but of their own interest first. (Cheers.) The very commission was avowedly instigated by a great many working men who gave evidence before the commission. I remember one case in which a person was asked, "Why do you want the hours of labour of women restricted in your trade?" His answer was, "Because, in the long run, it will drive women out of the trade altogether." Employers will make the best terms for themselves that they can, and the brother of the right hon. member for Birmingham, Mr. Arthur Chamberlain, stated that "If it were not for the Factory Acts I would employ many more women than I do in the particular business I am engaged in at Birmingham." I would remind you that women have to earn a living for themselves. No one proposes that men shall be asked to support all the women of the country. (Laughter and cheers.) I am quite sure that the vast majority of women would be well content to stay in their own homes and have comfortable fires, plenty to eat, and plenty of clothing, if the gentlemen will be willing to provide all that without any trouble on their part. (Renewed laughter and cheers.) But that not being the case, and no one ever proposing such a scheme as that, the next best thing to do—if you cannot do this—if you cannot say you will be so philanthropic as to support these three-and-a-half millions of women who are obliged to earn a living for themselves—the next best thing is to do justice to the women and take care that they have equal rights to make the best terms for their labour in the same way as men claim rights for themselves to make the best terms for their own labour. (Loud cheering.) That is one of the great reasons why women should take an interest in these political questions—because Parliament does not deal simply with questions of foreign policy, questions of war and peace, and the Eastern question abroad. Parliament has to deal with the "Eastern" question at home—in London—(hear, hear)—where thousands of women, day and night, are obliged to earn livings for themselves in the best way they can. (Hear, hear.) Parliament deals with their labour, their home, their children; and inasmuch as women have to suffer for children, inasmuch as all the duties of women have to do with children, inasmuch as women have to enter the labour market to earn a subsistence for those children, it behoves the women of the country to take an interest in the political life of the nation, which is the fountain head whence all those laws flow affecting women—laws concerning which women themselves would be able to tell the Government how they would like them amended, or whether they would like those laws to be passed at all. (Loud cheers.) The old proverb holds true for women as it does for men. It is well to be told now and then of the old story of the shoemaker. A man went to a shoemaker and said his shoe pinched him. The shoemaker replied, "No, it doesn't; it is a perfectly well-made shoe, and I do know that, because I made it." (Laughter.) The man replied, "But I am wearing it, and I know where it pinches." (Laughter.) This is perfectly applicable to the laws made by men for women. They are made no doubt with the best intentions and with the most benevolent ideas; but inasmuch as men have not to obey exactly the same laws, the women best know where these laws "pinch" them. (Cheers.) And I want them,

when they know where the shoe does pinch them, to have the right to go to the shoemaker, which is the Legislature—(laughter)—and say, "I shall have this shoe altered." (Laughter and cheers.) I assure you it is a pleasure to me to add my little to the remarks of the other speakers in support of this movement throughout the West of England, and which, I hope, will be carried on now so that every little town and place shall not go unenlightened; and if the women of the country do not support us, they shall not be able to say they are ignorant of the movement we are agitating for. (Cheers.)

The resolution was put to the meeting, and carried unanimously. Miss LE GYFF, of Bath, moved the second resolution, which was as follows:—"That a deputation be appointed from this meeting to wait upon the First Lord of the Treasury, for the purpose of presenting the foregoing memorial. That such deputation consist of the speakers at this meeting, the members of committee and vice-presidents of the West of England Society for Women's Suffrage, and others to be nominated by the London, Manchester, Birmingham, Dublin, Belfast, Edinburgh, and Glasgow Committees respectively; and that all parliamentary supporters of the Women's Disabilities Removal Bill be invited to accompany the deputation." The question of granting the parliamentary franchise to women possessing the same property qualifications as men has been so often ably discussed in the city of Bristol, and you have already heard so many excellent arguments in its favour to-night, that you will no doubt regard the advent of a new speaker with fear and trembling, wondering what I am going to say, and hoping I shall not be very long. They will not allow me to be very long to-night, and I shall detain you only so long as the committee has allowed me. The question of women's suffrage has now reached the point when all sensible people have ceased to laugh at it, and there are very many sensible, intelligent, and intellectual men and women on our side; and of course the members of Parliament on our side are amongst the most sensible. (Applause.) Still, there are a great many intellectual men and women who are not on our side. It is not that they laugh at it, it is only the empty-headed who do that; but they are frightened at it, and have taken up mistaken ideas on it. Naturally we want all the good women on our side, so that when the time comes they may vote for the right man in the right place,—the man who will uphold religion, temperance, and order. (Hear, hear.) No one will readily deny the true basis on which we ask for women's suffrage, viz., property qualification—that a woman possessing the same kind of property as a man, and who is a householder to the same extent as a man, is entitled logically, legally, and justly to the privilege of the parliamentary vote. (Hear, hear.) One might almost say any fool can see that! (Laughter.) Suppose you explain to an ignorant person the basis on which the vote is granted, and then let him loose amongst a row of houses in order to see whether what you have said be true. What is the result? He goes to No. 1. The owner of No. 1 is a man. That is all right. He goes to No. 2, and he finds the occupier is a woman. "Have you got a vote?" he would ask. That would be his natural question having had the basis of the vote explained to him. "Not as I know of." "Why not? You pay the same rent?" "Yes." "The same rates?" "Yes." "And the same taxes?" "Yes." "Why, then, have you not a vote?" "It is because I be a woman." ("Hear, hear," and laughter.) He may go on to Nos. 3 and 4, and will probably find the first answer in one, and the second in another, and he would go home muddled in his head as to what was the qualification for a vote. It had been explained to him that property was the basis of qualification, but he would have found that petticoats made a difference. (Applause and laughter.) Our opponents take refuge in the inexpediency theory, and say that if women had to drop a vote in the ballot box the whole domestic and social relations of Great Britain would be changed and revolutionised. The citizens of Bristol are, as a rule, so liberal that they will not deny to women the parliamentary suffrage merely because they are women. (Hear, hear.) Real Liberal opinions uphold what is right and just rather than what is expedient, and when I hear a Liberal oppose the measure I feel ashamed of him, for he is going in direct opposition to true Liberal opinions. (Hear.) Because I have not a vote I am to be classed with criminals and lunatics. Indeed, I am worse off than those, because a criminal can vote when he comes out of prison if he gets a bit of property, and lunatics can vote in a lucid interval. It is said that women must not vote because they

are not educated enough. Why should women pass through a competitive examination before they vote any more than men? The very fact that the law makes provision for illiterate voters shows that education, even to the extent of reading and writing, is not necessary for voting. Depend upon it with responsibility will come the ability. As the vote educates a man, so also will it educate a woman, and she will be just as able to discriminate between the candidates as anyone else. (Applause.) Bribery and corruption go on now, and votes are sold every day for a glass of beer, as we see in the reports of the election commissions now proceeding; and it would not be a bit worse if women voted, but, on the contrary, I am sure it would be rather the better. So that it is not want of education which should debar women from voting, while men vote who cannot read and write. Some say it would destroy the family peace, and do away with that chivalry which men have towards women. If it should in any case destroy the family peace, then I don't think much can be said for that family; and as to chivalry, real true chivalry in man would be to grant to women equal privileges with himself. (Applause.) I have found that the most chivalrous men are those who uphold women's suffrage. (Hear, hear.) Then, again, people are always talking about women's sphere being at home with their husbands and children. Suppose they have no husbands, and don't want any, what are they to do then? (Laughter.) The number of women in Great Britain is much larger than that of men, and we cannot hope that a man will support not only his wife, but a portion of the surplus women. (Hear.) There are numerous social questions which need the influence of women. (Hear, hear.) I will not now enter into the many injustices of women. That phase of the question has been ably brought before you, and I would again urge upon you that whilst a property qualification is the basis upon which the vote is given, we should demand justice and fair play to all, and favour to none. (Applause.)

Miss CRAIGEN, who was received with loud cheers, seconded the resolution. She said: I intend to-night to speak to one objection that has been raised to this movement. We are told that women are not to vote because we cannot fight. (Laughter.) We feel that there is a fallacy here, because if fighting power is the basis of political right, how is it that soldiers who do fight are not allowed to vote? (Cheers and laughter.) Also, if this was true, then a prize-fighter should have three times as many votes as his neighbour. (Laughter.) There are two assumptions in this objection, both of which are fallacious. The first is that women could not fight, and the second that fighting power is the basis of political right. (Hear.) First of all, can women fight? (Laughter.) We turn over the pages of history, and we find them teeming with records of women's warfare. Women have been great as leaders of armies, women in masses have flung themselves before the foe. (Applause.) But there is this distinction between their warfare and that of men. Men have mostly led armies into foreign lands to devastate peaceful homes for the lust of conquest—(applause); women have never fought except they have been called upon by the sacred instinct of self-defence, or to fight for their children. (Applause.) We read how amongst the old German tribes women commanded armies; and we are told of Blanche of Castille, Jane of Navarre, Agnes of Dunbar, Bona of the Vatelline, and a host of others, but greatest of all Joan of Arc, of whom all have read, and whose name came down from age to age with the praises of men for the pure and brave deliverer of her country, like a star moving through everlasting space to the sound of heavenly music. (Applause.) Women, therefore, can fight. (Renewed applause.) But we do not often fight; we do not like it. (Laughter.) We do not think it is expedient, and I, for one, will not accept it as an unalterable necessity that men even should fight. (Applause.) War at the best is a barbarous expedient of a brutal age, and with the growth of civilisation it will be succeeded by international courts of arbitration—(cheers)—and there will come a day when the nation justly sentenced in the courts of the federated peoples of the whole earth will no more dream of resisting the award of justice than a burglar would dream of resisting the officer who hands him from the prison dock into the police van. (Cheers.) But that time is not yet. (Hear, hear.) Some of us see it with the eyes of our faith, but it is a long way off. (Hear, hear.) We read in the papers every day that statesmen plotted when they sit down to play at murder. The women of England have to bear their share, for if they do not fight themselves, they suffer

sometimes more than those who do. (Hear, hear.) If there is a woman here whose child or husband is now nothing but a little heap of bleaching bones in some valley of South Africa, or some hillside of Afghanistan, that woman has suffered more in heart-wrung anguish than he felt when he fell with his face to the foe and wild cry of warfare dying on his lips. (Applause.) The country takes our best beloved away from us, sets them in the forefront of the battle to be cut down like the autumn grass before the mower, and those who stay at home and weep for their lost ones are told that they have nothing to do with politics. (Hear.) But we say that we have—(cheers)—and that we will have a voice in the settlement of these questions—they mean peace or war for England, life or death for those we love, and we will have our say. (Cheers.) But even if this were not true, is fighting power the basis of political right? (Hear.) Recollect what government is. Government is organised self-defence. The right of self-defence is organised and exercised by the combined will of the whole people that each and all may be protected. (Hear, hear.) We protect the individual citizen against the aggressions of his neighbour—that is the administration of justice. We protect the whole nation against a foreign foe—that is national defence. Physical power therefore is part of the basis on which political power rests; but it is only a part, for the very object of an organised government is to lay hold of this brute force and thrust it down to its proper level and keep it down. (Applause.) In a barbarous age the strong man makes a slave of the weak man, and man makes a slave of woman. (Cheers.) But gradually civilisation grows as the light is poured into the darkness when the morning breaks, and the majestic vigour of the law, which is the assertion of the sense of justice and of the will of the community, rises between the oppressor and the oppressed and says, "Stand back! before God the rich and the poor, the strong and the weak are equal;" and the origin of law is the will of God organised by the intellect of man. (Cheers.) Therefore, since law is the expression of God's justice by the voice of the people, what is needed in the law makers, in the citizens who take a share in the making of the law, is—first, the moral capacity to love justice; secondly, the intellectual capacity to understand what justice is; thirdly, the amount of physical force necessary to subdue the unjust. If, therefore, there is physical force enough in any society to enforce justice it is sufficient, and we women have as much physical force as is necessary for the ordinary duties of life and so much as might enable us to meet a demand even for warfare, perhaps, if any terrible emergency should arise. (Hear, hear.) But the right to political power rests after all beyond this—on the moral and intellectual capacity, and I say we are equal with men intellectually and morally. (Hear, hear.) We have never had the same opportunities of gaining knowledge that men have had—(hear, hear)—but now they are given in some degree, and we have a lady on this platform to-night who has told us of her college degree—(applause)—and we read in the papers every day that women are competing with men in intellectual exercises and coming off with advantage. (Hear.) Morally, I think we are a great deal better than men. (Cheers.) If we take our test, and I think it is not a bad one, it will show it. Women are numerically more than men—there are more women in Great Britain than men, but if you get a record of the criminal convictions of all the courts of Great Britain, you will find that they furnish a much smaller number of criminals. (Applause.) Men are criminals in an immensely larger proportion than women; therefore, I say intellectually and morally we are equal with men, and as the right to vote rests on the moral and intellectual far more than on the physical nature of humanity, we claim our share of political power. We hold up our charter of political right to-night in the eyes of England, it is written in the intelligent brain and moral purity of womanhood, and every woman scholar, every good woman writer and thinker, and every devoted woman, patriot, and philanthropist, is a seal on that great bond which we hold up before you to-night that in England it may be met and honoured. (Applause.) We ask you women to help us. The ways of help have been pointed out to you. You can help us by your testimony, by fearlessly advocating our opinions, by making this meeting and your part in it subject of discussion in your workshops or wherever you may be; if you have money, by contributing; but there are many poor women who cannot give money, they can, however, give us the still better and more helpful contribution of sympathy and true adherence to our cause. (Hear, hear.) Don't let any woman be disheartened from

taking up this as a great work because they are poor, or have not much power. You know there are large islands in the far off seas that spread themselves out covered with beautiful green vegetation. They have all risen from the bottom of the sea by the labour of the coral insect, a little creature so small that if you want to look at it you must take a microscope. Yet these little creatures, millions of them working together, have raised up large islands which spread themselves out for leagues under the tropical sun as beautiful habitations for mankind; and I often think that the growth of civilisation and of Christianity may be likened to the uprising of such an island; and everyone of us, however poor, like a coral insect bringing a contribution, helps to swell the mass that will spread itself out with a broad future, and with happiness for humanity in times to come. (Cheers.) I feel myself to be like such an insect. I feel that in bringing my little atom of power to contribute to the rearing of this great structure, I am fulfilling my work in this world, and preparing myself humbly and reverently for a better—(hear, hear)—and it is in that spirit that I commend the movement to you to-night. (Loud applause.)

Miss ELIZA STURGE, of Birmingham, supported the motion. Mrs. A. OSLER, of Birmingham, the next speaker, said: Ladies and gentlemen,—The arguments again and again brought against the enfranchisement of women remind one irresistibly of the story of the woman who was accused of having caused damage to a kettle which she had borrowed. Her defence consisted of three statements: "Firstly, I never had the kettle—(laughter); secondly, there was a hole in it when I borrowed it—(renewed laughter); and thirdly, it was quite sound when I returned it." (Laughter.) Now, I think we may sum up the arguments of our opponents under three similar heads. Firstly, they say, women have no grievances; secondly, men are only too eager to remedy them; thirdly, woman do not want their grievances remedied. (Laughter.) As to the first two of these assertions, that women have no grievances, and that men are always eager to remedy them, we have already heard able and admirable answers to-night. I will, therefore, devote a very few words to the consideration of the third question, that "women do not want their grievances remedied," or, in other words, that "they do not want to vote." I think the sight of a meeting such as this, preceded, as it has been, by other such meetings in London and Manchester, seems almost answer enough. (Hear, hear.) But we must not conceal from ourselves that there is nevertheless a basis of truth in it which we shall do well to recognise. It is quite true, unfortunately, that owing to the widespread doctrine that women have no duties outside their own home, many women are to be found whose only opinion upon this question seems to be "I do not want to vote; I have no grievances; I am well taken care of, and what concern is it of mine if other women suffer?" It is such speeches as these, from women whose pity and sympathy reach no further than their own nurseries, which cause it to be said that women do not want the vote. I ask, what right has a happy mother to gather her children in her arms, and shut her eyes to the suffering of some other innocent mother, whose little ones may be taken from her by legal force. (Cheers.) What right has the wife whose chief daily joy is in her husband returning from his daily labour to his comfortable home to refuse to think of a neighbouring wife to whom that return is a terror—nay, perhaps a peril to life itself? (Cheers.) What right has the bride whose parents see that her money is legally made her own by settlement to turn her back upon a sister woman who may see her children naked and hungry while her husband squanders the money which she perhaps had got together out of her own savings before marriage? (Cheers.) Supposing it were true that a voice in our government would bring no direct good to the more fortunate amongst us, is there no such thing in politics as unselfishness?—no such thing as zeal for the good of others?—no such thing as "bearing one another's burthens?" (Cheers.) In regard to any social question, women would be ashamed to take up such a position. (Cheers.) If a woman were to say, "My sister women in the next street are starving, but I am well-fed and healthy, and I need not trouble myself about them," she would not be held up as an example to her sex, or an object of our admiration. It is only in political matters that such an attitude becomes "admirable," and our actions are judged by a standard of morality quite different from that of our ordinary lives. (Cheers.) It may not be the imperative duty of every woman to work for this question. But it

is her imperative duty to think of it fairly and honestly, and having thought of it, it is her duty not to shrink from expressing her conviction—be it only in the smallest social circle. (Hear, hear.) Having thought about it, she has a right to oppose it if she will; but she has no right to say "I won't trouble myself about this matter, it does not concern me." (Cheers.) And I believe that we shall obtain this vote as soon as women everywhere wake up to a sense of their duty—as soon as we can break down this selfish indifference, which is only the sequence of the common circumstances of a woman's life—a life which, however holy, pure, and beautiful, has too often a tendency to cramp the sympathies and narrow the views. We have reason to wonder not that women's minds are sometimes narrowed, but that they are not much more so. (Hear, hear.) We can easily find examples of this political selfishness—the selfish indifference of which I have spoken among the sex whose daily life takes them out into the midst of their fellows where they ought to learn better. (Hear, hear.) We all know some instances of what we in Birmingham call "the superior persons," who do not interest themselves in local politics nor municipal affairs, but who attend to their own business. One wants to say to these superior persons: "My friend, attend to your business by all means—but what is your business?" I hope we have all read that best sermon ever written—by Charles Dickens—"The Christmas Carol." (Hear, hear.) If so, we shall all know that the best answer to that question, viz.: "Mankind is our business." (Cheers.) That fever den in the next street—the poisoned well of water in the lowest slum of our town—those overcrowded dwellings where crime, and disease, and misery are bred—these form "our business." (Cheers.) And the men and the women we most honour are those who attend to this business—(cheers)—not the "superior persons" who do not interest themselves in local affairs. (Cheers.) In the municipal vote women have the means of showing how much they value a voice in their government and how wisely they can use it. I remember the story of a gentleman who kept a riding-horse. He was very much occupied by business, but he was so afraid of spoiling his horse from want of exercise that he made a point of riding constantly, at great inconvenience, for the sake of his horse, till one day his groom said to him, "If you don't take care you will kill that horse, sir—it would take two horses to do your work properly." (Laughter.) Well, the municipal vote is our one horse. (Laughter.) Now we have got that we must use it well—(cheers)—we must open our minds freely to interests larger than those of the fireside—we must use our privilege at great personal inconvenience, as that conscientious horseman did—doing so much with our one vote that at last we shall force our legislators to exclaim, "Ladies, you must have two votes to satisfy your activity." (Loud cheers and laughter.)

Miss JENNER, of Wenvoe Castle, supported the resolution.

Miss MEYRIK, president of the Bristol Union of Working Women, said: When asked to take part in this demonstration I felt some hesitation in doing so, knowing there would be so many ladies upon the platform better able to address you; but when a question of such importance is before us, I should be deficient in my duty as a woman if I did not express my feelings upon a question so deeply affecting the women of England. (Hear, hear.) It is well known to each of us that in the small hours of the morning a law was made by a small number of legislators by which women were cruelly and disgracefully treated, and the time has now come when in order to get equal laws for men and women the voice of working women must be heard demanding the same rights as men. (Hear, hear.) Women are said to be incapable of exercising the common sense of a voter. Would men like to be declared by law too stupid to exercise the franchise. No, they would not. (Hear, hear.) In the creation God made men and women equal, and is it not an insult to woman, mother of the best, the brightest, and the noblest of our men, that she should be thought intellectually and politically inferior to the son she bore to govern the nation? (Hear, hear.) Political freedom is our birthright, and it is upon that ground we ask it. I thank you for the patience with which you have listened to me as a working woman, and I have now to ask you to give Mrs. Beddoe a hearty vote of thanks, which I am quite sure you will do as Mrs. Beddoe's is a name much loved by the fireside of the working classes of Bristol. (Cheers.)

Miss C. ASHURST BIGGS, of London, in seconding the proposition, said a meeting such as this is not often our privilege to see, and no lady could have so ably and so gracefully presided over

the proceedings as the lady who had that evening occupied the chair. (Applause.)

Miss BECKER put the motion to the meeting, and it was carried by acclamation.

Mrs. BEDDOE, in reply, said: I thank you most sincerely for the kind manner in which you have received the last resolution, and for the hearty response you have made to the invitation of our society. I feel sure you join with me in gratitude to those ladies who have addressed us this evening. (Hear, hear.) You women, who have managed to pay your rates during the late trying times, ought not to be considered a weak portion of any community. We only ask of you to bring the common sense which guides you in private matters into public ones. (Hear, hear.) If we have no opportunity of bettering our lot, it is wise to submit to it and to make the best of it; but if the chance of improving our circumstances arises and we neglect to profit by it, how bitter may the regret be. Now, it would seem that that "tide in the affairs of men," of which Shakspeare speaks, is arising for the women ratepayers of England. (Cheers.) Nearly all impartial men agree that if they really desire this right or privilege, it is only just that they should have it. My parting advice to you, my friends, is—do all you can to obtain the right of voting. If, in the future, all goes happily and smoothly there is no obligation put upon you to use it, but if things go then as they have done in the past, and as they are ever likely to do in an imperfect state of society, who can tell what reason you may have to congratulate yourselves that you have in your own power the right to express—(loud cheers)—your wishes and your opinions equally with the other law-abiding, self-supporting citizens of a free country.—The resolution was carried unanimously.

The proceedings then terminated.

At the overflow meeting, which was held in the Arch Room of Colston Hall, Mrs. Colman presided. The meeting was addressed by Miss Le Geyt, Miss Emily Sturge, Miss Müller, Miss Becker, Mrs. Oliver Scatcherd, Miss C. Ashurst Biggs.

CONFERENCE OF DELEGATES.

The morning after the demonstration a conference of friends and delegates was held in the office of the Bristol and West of England Society, 20, Park-street, Bristol. The chair was taken by Mr. Greenwell, treasurer of the Society. There were present: Mrs. Beddoe, Miss Becker, Miss C. A. Biggs, the Rev. S. E. Bayliffe, Mrs. Colman, the Misses Colby, Mrs. R. Cory, Mr. Cox, Miss Craigen, Miss Downing, Mrs. Fisher, Mrs. Grenfell, Miss Gibson, Miss Jenner, Miss Kennedy, Mrs. McCormick, Mrs. M'Ilquham, Mrs. J. P. M'Robert, Mrs. Marsh, Mrs. A. Osler, Miss Price, Miss Priestman, Miss M. Priestman, Mrs. J. H. Perry, Mrs. Scatcherd, Miss Eliza Sturge, Miss Emily Sturge, the Misses Southall, Miss Thompson, Mrs. Arthur Tanner, Miss Thornbury, Miss J. Venning, &c.

Mr. Greenwell first called on Miss Pecker, who addressed the meeting on the present parliamentary position of the question.

Miss Priestman was next called on, who spoke on the means of rendering the deputation representative.

After some discussion, in which Miss Downing, Miss Sturge, Mrs. Colman, Mr. Bayliffe, Miss Jenner, Mrs. Scatcherd, and others took part. The following resolutions were carried.

"That Mrs. Beddoe be requested to forward a copy of the memorial adopted last night to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, informing him that it was intended to request him to receive a deputation to present the memorial after the opening of Parliament."

"That a copy of the memorial be sent to organised bodies throughout the kingdom asking them to appoint a representative from their body on the deputation, and that the Bristol Committee be requested to confer with each of the other Committees."

The Secretary read a short paper on the work of corresponding members, after which Mr. Cox made some comments. Miss Downing moved a vote of thanks on behalf of the delegates, for the hospitality they had received in Bristol.

In addition to the preliminary meetings reported in the *Journal* for November, a meeting was held on October 27th in the Anglesea Schoolroom, Redland, Mrs. Walker in the chair, when Miss Spender, Miss Priestman, and Mr. Fox addressed the meeting, and a petition was adopted.

On October 30th Mrs. Colman took the chair at a meeting in Jewell's Rooms, Stokes' Croft, where a resolution in support of the

Demonstration was moved by Mr. Osborne, seconded by Miss Craigen, and a petition adopted moved by Mr. Count.

On the 1st November a meeting of women ratepayers was held by invitation of Mrs. Beddoe at Mortimer House, Clifton, Dr. Beddoe presiding. The meeting was ably addressed by Mrs. Scatcherd and Rev. A. C. Macpherson, and a petition adopted.

On 2nd November Mr. Mark Whitwell presided over a meeting in the Broadmead Rooms, at which Mrs. Scatcherd, the Rev. W. Hargrave, Miss C. A. Biggs, addressed the audience, also Miss Craigen, who had previously on the same evening given an address at the Kingsland Schoolrooms, the Rev. F. W. Brown in the chair.

NOTTINGHAM.

Public meetings in furtherance of the Demonstration of women in the Albert Hall have been held in various districts of Nottingham as follows:—

On November 18th in the Morley Club, Shakspeare-street. There was a good attendance, Mr. Councillor Acton (ex-Sheriff) presided. Miss Downing moved the following resolution: "That this meeting, approving of the principle of the Bill for the removal of the electoral disabilities of women to be introduced next session by Mr. Courtney, pledges itself to make the great Demonstration in the Albert Hall, on November 30th, a thorough success." Mr. S. J. Johnson (Town Clerk) seconded the resolution, which was supported by Miss Craigen and Mr. Sheriff Cropper, and carried. A hearty vote of thanks to the chairman concluded a very successful meeting.

A second meeting was held on November 19th in the Co-operative Hall, Sandford-street. The Sheriff, Mr. H. S. Cropper, occupied the chair. After some able remarks by the chairman, Miss Downing moved the following resolution: "That by the exclusion of women from the parliamentary franchise, a considerable portion of the property, intelligence, and industry of the nation is unrepresented; and that this meeting believing such exclusion to be unjust cordially approves of the proposed Demonstration in the Albert Hall, on November 30th, in support of the Bill for the removal of the electoral disabilities of women." The resolution was seconded by Miss Craigen, supported by Mr. Stanger and Mr. Councillor Jacoby, and carried unanimously. The meeting concluded with the usual votes of thanks.

On November 22nd a third meeting was held in support of the Demonstration in the Co-operative Hall, New Lentown. The chair was occupied by the Town Clerk, Mr. S. G. Johnson. The meeting was addressed by Miss C. A. Biggs and Miss Downing, and the resolution in support of the Demonstration was carried unanimously.

On November 23rd another preliminary meeting was held in the People's Hall, Heathcote-street, Nottingham, when there was a very large attendance. The Rev. R. A. Armstrong occupied the chair, and a resolution in support of the Demonstration was moved by Miss C. A. Biggs, seconded by Mr. Dickinson, supported by Mr. Brown, Mr. W. Kean, and Miss Craigen, and carried unanimously. A vote of thanks to the chairman concluded the proceedings.

A drawing-room meeting was held at the residence of Mrs. Teschemacher, Brunel Terrace, Nottingham, on Saturday, November 20th, in favour of extending the parliamentary franchise to women householders. There was a large attendance. The chair was taken by Edwin Smith, Esq., Miss Downing and Miss Craigen addressed the meeting, and the discussion was continued by Mr. Higginson, Mr. Simon, and Mrs. Armstrong.

On November 22nd another drawing-room meeting was held at the residence of Mr. and Mrs. Cowen, 6, Ropemaker-street, Nottingham. Mrs. Cowen presided. Addresses were given by Miss C. A. Biggs and Miss Downing, after which there was a discussion, in which many ladies took part.—At both these meetings a petition was adopted in support of the Bill.

BEESTON.

A public meeting was held on November 24th, in the National School-room, Beeston, in support of the Demonstration in the Albert Hall, Nottingham. The Rev. Thos. Goadby, B.A., Principal of Chilwell College, occupied the chair. Miss Biggs and Miss Craigen addressed the meeting, which passed the usual resolution enthusiastically.

LEEDS.

A meeting of women ratepayers of the East Ward was held on the evening of Friday, October 29th, at 7-30 o'clock, in the Co-operative Hall, Ellerby Lane. Mr. Councillor Richardson presided, and introduced Mrs. Oliver Scatcherd, who gave an address on "Right Government of Towns." The women expressed their opinion on questions of local interest by a show of hands as the meeting proceeded. A vote in favour of Mr. Geenby, the Liberal candidate, was unanimously carried. Votes of thanks to the chair and Mrs. Scatcherd brought the evening to a close.

LONDON.

Miss Craigen has held meetings in London as follows:—On November 10th, in the Temperance Hall, Somerstown, Mr. R. Tackley in the chair. After a lecture and discussion the petition passed with only one dissentient.

On November 11th she addressed an open lodge meeting of members and friends of the King's Cross Excelsior Lodge of Good Templars, in the lodge room, Hamilton Place. The room was very full. The subject seemed quite new to most of those present, but after some discussion the petition passed with one hand only to the contrary.

On November 12th a similar open lodge meeting of the St. Pancras Lodge, I.O.G.T., took place. After an address, in which Miss Craigen urged the sisters present to introduce the subject when they spoke to their lodges, two sisters rose and spoke in support of women's suffrage. The petition was then put and carried by a unanimous vote.

OPENSHAW.

On November 15th, Miss Becker delivered a lecture on the claim of women to the parliamentary franchise in the Lees-street Congregational Schoolroom, Openshaw. The lecture was in connection with the Lees-street Mutual Improvement Society, but it was open to the public. The Rev. R. Sutton presided, and the lecturer was received with applause by a crowded audience. The usual votes of thanks concluded the meeting.

ASTLEY.

Miss Becker delivered a lecture on November 16th, in the Unitarian Chapel, Astley. Mrs. Rowland, of Tyldesley, presided, and there was a good attendance, among those present being T. Lancashire, Esq., Butts House; C. Eckersley, Esq., Messrs. A. M. Rodger, W. Rowland, R. Peters, J. Latchford, T. Mather, E. Roberts, &c. After the lecture, which was received with applause, Mr. Rodger in an able speech moved a vote of thanks to Miss Becker, which was seconded by Mr. Grundy, and carried with acclamation. Miss Becker replied, and moved a vote of thanks to Mrs. Rowland for presiding. Mr. Latchford seconded the motion, and Mrs. Rowland having acknowledged the compliment, the proceedings terminated.

HYDE.

On November 23rd, a conference was held in the Hyde Coffee Tavern, for the purpose of forming a local branch of the National Society for Women's Suffrage. About forty ladies were present. After tea Miss Hibbert was voted to the chair. Miss Becker was called upon to explain the object of the gathering, and moved that the persons there present, with power to add to their number, be constituted a local branch of the National Society for Women's Suffrage. Mrs. Moss seconded the motion, which was carried unanimously. The following were appointed officers: Miss Hibbert (president), Mrs. Moss (vice-president), Miss Smith (secretary), Mrs. Tweedale (treasurer).

In the evening a public meeting was held at the Temperance Hall, Mr. Joseph Mycock being in the chair. He was supported by Mrs. Fenwick Miller, of the London School Board; Miss Becker, of Manchester; Miss Hibbert, the Hollies, Hyde; Mrs. Moss, Mrs. Thorley, and Mr. John Rowcroft. Mrs. Thomas Thornely, Miss Smith, Miss Boardman, &c., were likewise present. At the opening of the meeting there was but a slender attendance, but the number gradually increased until the room was nearly full. After an address by the Chairman of the meeting, Mr. Hibbert was called upon to move the first resolution, "That in the opinion of this meeting the right of women's suffrage in the municipal, guardian, and

school board elections ought to be extended to the parliamentary suffrage." The resolution was seconded by Mrs. Moss, and supported by Mrs. Fenwick Miller. It was put to the meeting and carried unanimously. Mrs. Thorley moved the second resolution, "That this meeting urges everyone interested in women's suffrage to use their influence in bringing about, by every legitimate means, the adoption of a parliamentary measure giving women householders and property owners a right to vote for a representative in the House of Commons."

Obituary.

SALVATORE MORELLI.—We record with deep regret the death of this upright and enthusiastic advocate of the emancipation of women. We learn from the correspondent at Rome, of the Times, that Salvatore Morelli died at Pozzuoli on the morning of the 22nd October, and all the papers, without distinction of party, bear witness to the disinterested patriotism and virtues of a man who, like Poerio, Jellebrini, Spaventa, and others, suffered long years of imprisonment for his devotion to the cause of Italian liberty. As a Deputy his untiring ardour in advocating the emancipation of women, the profound conviction he manifested in sustaining his ideas, and his pertinacity in introducing the subject, whenever and in whatever debate he saw, or thought he saw, an opening he might turn to account for its advancement, brought upon him much ridicule. But Morelli's equanimity and tolerance equalling his conviction of the truth of his case were proof against laughter, and instead of daunting him it had the effect of calling forth stronger arguments and more forcible illustrations.

Salvatore Morelli was born at Carovigno, near Lecce, in the Southern Neapolitan territory. From his youth he ardently participated in the Liberal movement, and from the year 1848 to 1860 his life may be described as having been one continued imprisonment. Liberated on the downfall of the Bourbon dynasty, he started in succession three newspapers—the *Dittatore*, *L'Italia Salentina*, and the *Pensiero*—in the interest of the Advanced Left, and in 1867 he was elected Deputy by the constituency of Sessa Aurunca, and took his seat in stall No. 1 at the extremity of the Left benches, a place he never relinquished except for the temporary convenience of Garibaldi on the few occasions he appeared in the Chamber. Siding with the dissidents of the Left during the last crisis, his re-election was strongly opposed by the supporters of the Government. He lost his seat, and the bitter disappointment he felt, aggravating the malady from which he was suffering, is believed to have accelerated his death. In fact, his parliamentary pursuits and the advancement of his theories were his only objects in life. He neither sought place nor riches, although he was so poor that, when at lunch-time he said he was going to get his beefsteak, every one knew that he meant the cup of coffee and piece of dry bread, often the only sustenance he took in the 24 hours. Sometimes he would be seen in a corner of the lobby philosophically consuming a hunch of bread and cheese; and finally, when his failing health required better fare, he had unwillingly to contract a debt of £10 or £12 at the *trattoria*. He was one of the most unselfish and kind-hearted of men. During his detention with other political prisoners on the island of Tremiti, an almost bare rock in the Adriatic, he saved the life of a drowning man at the risk of his own. On being informed by the governor that what he had done entitled him to a remission of punishment, he inquired if he could ask it for another, and receiving an affirmative reply, asked and obtained the release of a fellow-prisoner whose wife and children were suffering want at home. For several years he had brought forward a Bill for the introduction of a divorce law into the Italian code. Its consideration was as regularly negatived, and often with laughter, by the Chamber. Last spring, his Bill, receiving the powerful support of Signor Villa, the Minister of Grace and Justice, was referred to the Bureaux, but has not yet been brought on for discussion. His work "La Donna e la Scienza" has been translated into several languages. The law that was passed three years ago enabling women to

be witnesses to wills, deeds, etc., was passed mainly through Morelli's exertions. "Let us resolve," he said in one of his most eloquent appeals, "that as the last century was the era of the rights of man, the present shall be the era of the rights of woman," and he then asserted his strong conviction that the recognition of women's just claim to education and civil rights was a question affecting all citizens alike. In a speech last year in the Chamber of Deputies he said, "For twenty years I have proclaimed a principle, that of the moral, civil, and intellectual redemption of women. At first my voice was a voice crying in the wilderness, even women themselves laughed at it, but by degrees I have acclimatised this principle in Italy and in books, and the newspapers have made it generally understood that education is an inalienable right and a supreme necessity for women."

Public opinion in Italy and elsewhere is marching along in the direction of removing every barrier to the education and advancement of women, but when these rights come to be more generally recognised than they are now it should never be forgotten by the daughters of Italy how much they will owe to the unselfish devotion of a lifetime to their cause by Salvatore Morelli.

Mrs. CHILD.—Mrs. Child was born at Medford, Mass., February 11th, 1802, of ancient colonial ancestry. Her maiden name was Francis, and she married in 1828 David Lee Child, a Boston lawyer and journalist. Mrs. Child was an accomplished and genial writer. Her various works were the expression of her deep and strong interest in the chief concerns of life and of her ardent and wise sympathy with her kind. They ranged from "The Frugal Housewife" and "Mother's books" to the "Progress of Religious Ideas." In the dawn of the anti-slavery struggle she wrote a fervent and eloquent appeal for that class of Americans called Africans, which will identify her with the early Abolitionists. For some time she edited the *Anti-Slavery Standard*. At that day men and women who propounded abolition views did so at peril of life and limb, and even to own one's-self a friend of George Thompson, William Lloyd Garrison, and especially of the women who wrote and spoke against slavery, as did Angelica Grimké, Lucretia Mott, and Lydia Maria Child, was in almost every case sure to be followed by social ostracism.

It is hardly credible that so great a revolution of feeling should have taken place within the lives of those who bore the brunt of the terrible struggle. It is not strange that women who had dared to stand forth at the peril of all they held dear to proclaim the principle of emancipation for the negro should be found in the forefront of the movement for the emancipation of women. As a matter of fact we believe that all the prominent women in the anti-slavery agitation joined in the demand for the suffrage for women, among the rest Mrs. Child.

During her later years Mrs. Child resided with her husband at Wayland, Worcester, county Mass., in a house bequeathed to her by her father. She died in October, aged 78 years.

LUCRETIA MOTT.—As we go to press we receive the tidings of the death of this venerable lady, who in her advanced age remained true to the cause of emancipation for all human beings. She was one of the delegates from America to the London Anti-Slavery Convention in 1840 who were refused admission because they were women. She has lived to see women recognised as co-workers in every department of social progress, and received with honour in assemblies similar to that which had proscribed her.

COLLEGES FOR WOMEN IN CANADA.—On a paper read before the Teachers' Association, Dr. Kemp stated that there are now ten ladies' colleges in the Dominion, besides those which ladies were allowed to attend, which were not devoted to the sex exclusively. In these different colleges not less than 1,000 ladies were receiving instruction, at an expenditure in the past of about \$600,000. The pupils who attended the ladies' colleges were frequently desirous of becoming teachers, and these could not spare the time or meet the expense of a long course of study such as is demanded at the universities.

MANCHESTER NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

SUBSCRIPTIONS, NOVEMBER, 1880.

Table listing subscriptions for November 1880, including names like Mr. H. M. Steinthal, Mrs. Muir, Mr. John Slagg, etc., with amounts in £ s. d.

The following appeared in a part of our last issue:—

Table listing names and amounts from the previous issue, including Viator and S. Alfred Steinthal.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

OCTOBER 20 TO NOVEMBER 20.

Table listing Central Committee subscriptions for October 20 to November 20, including names like Mrs. Glover, Mrs. Hullah, Mr. R. Price Williams, etc.

JANE E. COBDEN, TREASURER, 64, Berners-street, London, W.

PUBLICATIONS TO BE OBTAINED AT THE OFFICE OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE,

64, Berners-street, London, W.

- List of publications for sale, including 'Parliamentary Franchise for Women Ratepayers', 'A Few Words to Temperance Women upon the Suffrage Question', 'The Political Claims of Women', etc.

BRISTOL AND WEST OF ENGLAND

SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS, NOVEMBER, 1880.

Table listing subscriptions and donations for November 1880 in Bristol and West of England, including names like Mrs. Ashford, Miss Price, Miss M. Colby, etc.

Table listing subscriptions and donations for November 1880, including names like Mrs. Marsh, Mrs. E. Pillard, Mrs. E. W. Pillard, etc.

A. GREENWELL, TREASURER, 3, Buckingham Vale, Clifton.

GLASGOW BRANCH OF THE NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

SUBSCRIPTIONS RECEIVED FROM 20th AUGUST TILL 20th NOVEMBER, 1880.

Table listing subscriptions received for Glasgow Branch from August 20th to November 20th, 1880, including names like Mrs. Williams, Mrs. John Smith, Mr. T. Williams, etc.

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