

# WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE JOURNAL.

EDITED BY LYDIA E. BECKER.

VOL. XII.—No. 143. PUBLISHED MONTHLY.

DECEMBER 1, 1881.

PRICE ONE PENNY.  
BY POST THREE HALFPENCE.

## Contents :

Leading Articles :—Work during the past Month ; Forthcoming Meetings ; The Resolution on the County Franchise ; The University of Oxford and the Election Commission Rate ; The Recent Disclosures in Industrial Schools.  
Public Meetings :—Annual Meeting in Manchester.

Great Demonstration of Women in Bradford : Preliminary Conference : Preliminary Meetings : Drawing-room Meetings : The Great Meeting in St. George's Hall : Conference in the Mechanics' Institute.

Municipal Elections :—Bradford.

Debating Societies :—South Norwood, Burton-street, Hampstead, Hull, Salford, Cheltenham.

Drawing-room Meetings :—Cheltenham.

Treasurers' Reports :—Central Committee ; Manchester ; Bristol and West of England.

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**Reckitt's**  
Paris  
**Blue**  
See that you get it,  
as bad qualities are  
often substituted.

**NOTTINGHAM.**—The First Annual Meeting of the Notts Branch of the Women's Suffrage Association will be held in the Albert Hall, Nottingham, on Thursday Evening, December 15th. Mrs. Oliver Scatterd, Miss C. A. Biggs, and Miss Helena P. Downing will attend as a deputation. Several influential ladies and gentlemen are expected to be present. Chair to be taken at 8 o'clock. Further particulars in local announcements.

**HYDE.**—The First Annual Meeting of the Hyde Branch of the National Society for Women's Suffrage will be held on the Evening of Monday, December the 5th, in the Temperance Hall, Hyde. Miss Carbutt, Miss Becker, Miss Ellen Hibbert (President of the Hyde Society), and other persons interested in the movement, will address the meeting. Further particulars in local advertisements.

**SUPERIOR BOARD, WEST END OF EDINBURGH,** with separate Drawing-room, for two ladies or lady and gentleman, Offered by lady living alone. References exchanged.—Address M. D., *Women's Suffrage Journal* Office, 28, Jackson's Row, Manchester.

**"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.

**UGHT WOMEN TO HAVE VOTES FOR MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT?** The Question Answered. Price One Penny. National Society for Women's Suffrage, Central Committee, 64, Berners-street, London.

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

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

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**TREWKESBURY.**—A Public Meeting will be held in the Philharmonic Hall, Tewkesbury, on Friday, December 9th. The chair will be taken at 8 p.m. by J. REGINALD YORKE, Esq., M.P. John H. Boughton, Esq., Mrs. M'Ilqubam, Rev. W. Mottram, Henry Spurrier, Esq., Thos. Wilkinson, Esq., and other ladies and gentlemen are expected to take part. Miss Downing will attend as a deputation from the Society.

**CIRENCESTER.**—A Public Meeting will be held in the Temperance Hall, Cirencester, on Wednesday, December 7th. The chair will be taken at 8 p.m. by the Rev. HENRY AUSTIN. The Rev. J. J. Brown, W. Cole, Esq., Rev. J. Richards, Joseph Smith, Esq., and other gentlemen are expected to take part. Miss Annie Young and Miss H. Blackburn will attend as a deputation from the Society.

**LECTURE:** "Women's Suffrage as an Element in the Progress of Culture."—Miss BLACKBURN would be glad to give the above Lecture to Schools, or at Drawing-room Meetings, within easy reach of Bristol. Syllabus:—The Province of Culture: its fourfold aspect; its share in national stability; the Relative Positions of Men and Women in the Culture of Greece, Rome, Saxon England, Feudal England; the Present Prospect. Terms on application, 20, Park-street, Bristol.

**WOMEN'S RIGHTS AS PREACHED BY WOMEN.**—See *The Westminster Review*, October, 1881. Price Six Shillings. London: Trübner & Co., 57 & 59, Ludgate Hill.

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Extract of a letter, dated May 31, 1879, from DR. NORMAN KERR, relating to the British Medical Temperance Association Dinner, London.—"Bell and Co.'s Unfermented Wines were largely patronised and much thought of. The French Imperial Liqueurs were admitted to be remarkably good."

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

CONTENTS FOR NOVEMBER, 1881.

1. The Place of Women in the Administration of the Irish Poor Law.
2. The London School of Medicine.
3. Women Politicians.
4. Early Shop Hours.
5. Women and Agriculture.

Record of Events :—London University B.A. and B.Sc. Examinations; Oxford—Women as Poor Law Guardians—Food Production—The Assize Courts—Registration Offices for Servants—Suffrage—Emigration—Sanitary Lectures—Women Doctors for India—Employment—Relief in Ireland—Miscellaneous.

Foreign Notes and News.

Paragraphs.

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

**ELECTORAL REFORM.**—By WILLIAM COUNT, General Secretary of "The National Union of Working Women," and late Member of the "Bristol Trades' Council." Price 2d. London: George Vickers, Angel Court, Strand. Bristol: John Hayward, 1, Corn-street. 1880.

**A HANDBOOK FOR WOMEN** engaged in Social and Political Work, Edited by HELEN BLACKBURN. Contains an Account of the Public Franchises open to Women—Information as to Educational Resources—A Concise Statement of Statutes affecting Women, and other miscellaneous information. Price One Shilling; postage 1½d.—Orders may be sent to the Editor, 20, Park-street, Bristol; to the Publisher, Mr. J. W. ARROWSMITH, 11, Quay-street, Bristol; and to 28, Jackson's Row, Manchester.

**WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE JOURNAL.**—Communications for the Editor and Orders for the Journal to be addressed to Miss BECKER, 64, Berners-street, London, W.; or to the Office, 28, Jackson's Row, Albert Square, Manchester.



THE CALENDAR.—DECEMBER, 1881.

MOON.		SUN.	MOON.	SUN.
5th Full Moon, 5h 14m aft.	13th Last Quar., 5h 5m aft.	Rises. 7 52 Sets. 3 50	21st New Moon, 5h 7m morn.	Rises. 8 6 Sets. 3 51
		8 0 ..... 3 49	27th First Quar., 8h 42m aft.	8 8 ..... 3 55
<b>MEETINGS, &amp;c.</b>				
1	Th		Lecture, Masham, Yorkshire, Miss Craigen, 1871. Meeting, Edinburgh, 1873. Meeting, Brighton, 1874. Meeting, Pudsey, 1875.	1
2	F	Ordinance admitting Women to Examination, Queen's College, Ireland, 1869.	Meeting, Glasgow, 1872. Meeting, Paisley, 1872. Public Meeting, Warrington, 1878.	2
3	S		Lecture, Cork, Miss Becker, 1872. Annual Meeting, Manchester, 1873. Meeting, Edinburgh, 1873. Public Meeting, Crewe, 1873. Discussion, Rusholme Road, Manchester, 1879.	3
4	☿	2nd Sunday in Advent.	Meeting, Lambeth, 1872. Meeting, Marlborough, 1873. Meeting, Huntington, 1874. Lecture, King'sland, Miss Downing, 1878. Discussion, Hastings, 1879. Discussion, L'pool Debating Society, 1880.	4
5	M	"L'Esperance" (first Women's Paper in Switzerland) started 1871.	Public Meeting, Birmingham, 1871. Lecture, Malton, Yorkshire, Miss Craigen, 1871. Lecture, Portpatrick, Miss T aylour, 1871. Meeting, Newcastle, 1872. Meeting, Harwich, 1872. Lecture, Greenock, Miss Beady, 1873.	5
6	T		Conference, Birmingham, 1872. Meeting, Birmingham, 1872. Public Meeting, King's Lynn, 1875. Meeting, Dover, 1876. Drawing-room Meeting, Rutland Gate, 1878. Drawing-room Meeting, Weston-super-Mare, 1878. Lecture, Hulme, Miss Becker, 1879. Lecture, Withington, Miss Becker, 1880.	6
7	W		Lecture, Plymouth, Mrs. Romniger, 1870. Meeting, Deal, 1876. Discussion, Cheltenham, 1880. Discussion, Dalkeith, 1880.	7
8	Th		Meeting, Edinburgh, 1873. Annual Meeting, Manchester, 1880.	8
9	F		Lecture, Ayr, Miss T aylour, 1871. Lecture, Billingham, Miss Craigen, 1872. Public Meeting, Hanover Square Rooms, 1874. Lecture, Eleusis Club, Miss C. A. Biggs, 1877. Discussion, Zetetical Society, 1880.	9
10	S		Lecture, Raunds, Mrs. Stephenson, 1880. Discussion, Friends' Debating Society, Bishopsgate, 1880.	10
11	☿	3rd Sunday in Advent.	Meeting, Sunderland, 1876. Drawing-room Meeting, Redland, 1877. Conference, Luton 1879. Discussion, Totnes, 1879.	11
12	M		Meeting, Reading, 1871. Meeting, Durham, 1876. Lecture, London Tailors' Club, Mr. Minchin, 1877. Public Meeting, Hertford, 1878. Lecture, Eleusis Club, Miss Blackburn, 1878.	12
13	T	Accession of Queen Isabella to throne of Castile, 1479.	Meeting, Windsor, 1872. Public Meeting, Lincoln, 1875. Meeting, Halifax, 1876. Drawing-room Meeting, Charles Square, Kensington, 1878. Drawing-room Meeting, Pimlico, 1878. Meeting, Accrington, 1879. Lecture, Withington, Miss Becker, 1879.	13
14	W	Princess Alice died 1878.	Lecture, Glasgow, Miss Becker, 1871. Public Meeting, Knaresboro', 1875. Public Meeting, Southampton, 1876. Lecture, Peckham, Miss Downing, 1877.	14
15	Th	Women's Suffrage adopted at Conference of National Reform Union, 1875.	Meeting, Dumfries, 1871. Meeting, Peterboro', 1874. Public Meeting, Preston, 1874. Conference, Manchester, 1875. Meeting, Manchester, 1875.	15
16	F	Cambridge Michaelmas Term ends. Eliza Carter b. 1717. Jane Austen b. 1775.	Lecture, Ardrossan, Miss T aylour, 1870. Lecture, Aberdeen, Miss Beady, 1872. Meeting, Devonport, 1874. Discussion, Lichfield, 1878.	16
17	S	Oxford Term ends.	Public Meeting, Truro, 1874. Public Meeting, Malton, 1875. Public Meeting, Cheltenham, 1880.	17
18	☿	4th Sunday in Advent.	Conference, Liverpool, 1872. Lecture, Yeovil, Miss Craigen, 1872. Public Meeting, Penzance, 1874. Lecture, Greenock, Miss Craigen, 1874. Meeting, Dublin, 1876. Lecture, Birmingham, Miss Helen Taylor, 1879.	18
19	M		Lecture, Laurence Kirk, Miss Beady, 1872. Discussion, Batley, 1877.	19
20	T		Lecture, Helensburgh, Miss T aylour, 1871.	20
21	W	Women's Suffrage passed by Keys and Council, Isle of Man, 1880.	Lecture, Ealing, Miss Downing, 1880.	21
22	Th	Decision in the Agar Ellis case (custody of infants), 1880.	Meeting, Liskeard, 1874. Lecture, Tower Hamlets, Miss Downing, 1878.	22
23	F			23
24	S		Public Meeting, Arbroath, 1872.	24
25	☿	Christmas Day. Lady Grizzle Baillie born 1665.		25
26	M	Mrs. Somerville born 1780. Bank Holiday.	Public Meeting, Montrose, 1872. Lecture, Kilbarchan, Miss Craigen, 1874. Lecture, Dean, Kimbolton, Mr. Dalton, 1877.	26
27	T	Joanna Southcote died 1817. Mrs. Grote died 1878, aged 86.	Public Meeting, Brechin, 1872.	27
28	W		Lecture, Downham, Miss Craigen, 1876.	28
29	Th		Lecture, Hackney, Miss Downing, 1878.	29
30	F			30
31	S			31

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THE last month has been specially noteworthy for great and important meetings. On the 9th of November the annual meeting of the Manchester National Society for Women's Suffrage was held in the Town Hall, Manchester, under the presidency of the Parliamentary leader, Mr. HUGH MASON, M.P. In his opening address Mr. MASON referred to the unjust taxation of women in such boroughs as Macclesfield and Oxford, where Royal Commissions had been sent down to inquire into the corrupt practices of the men, and the women had been compelled to pay their quota towards the expense of the Commissions. Mr. MASON expressed his intention of balloting for a place for his Resolution immediately on the opening of Parliament, and said that there would be a sharp debate upon it and some warm opponents, but he firmly believed the Resolution would be carried. The meeting was afterwards addressed by Mr. SYMONDS, Miss CARBUTT, Mrs. ASHTON DILKE, Mr. THOMASSON, M.P., and others. There was a very large attendance.

Bradford has been the scene of the sixth of the great demonstrations of women which have been held during this and last year in Manchester, London, Bristol, Birmingham, and Nottingham. On the evening of November 22nd upwards of three thousand women of Bradford and the district assembled in St. George's Hall, when resolutions in support of the franchise for women were carried by unanimous and enthusiastic support. The chair was occupied by Mrs. DUNCAN M'LAREN, and the meeting was addressed by Mrs. ALFRED OSLER, Miss CARBUTT, Miss LUCY WILSON, Mrs. WILLIAM CLARK, Miss DOWNING, Miss JANE E. COBDEN, Miss BECKER, Dr. EDITH PECHEY, Mrs. ELLIS, Mrs. OLIVER SCATCHERD, Mrs. M'LQUHAM, and Mrs. W. P. BYLES. Memorials to Mr. GLADSTONE and to Mr. FORSTER and Mr. ILLINGWORTH, members for Bradford, were adopted by the meeting.

The thanks of all interested in the movement are due to the men and women of Bradford for the hearty and earnest support they have given by means of that magnificent Demonstration. We desire to offer our special

acknowledgments to the newspaper press of the district, more especially to the *Bradford Observer*, to which we are indebted for the most part for the copious reports of the meetings which we are enabled to present to our readers, and for many able articles in favour of our cause. Many of the other papers have also opened their columns for discussion of the principle, and thereby greatly assisted the efforts of those who desire to arouse public attention to the subject.

In preparation for the great meeting, a preliminary conference was held on November 2nd, to arrange the work; and district meetings, attended by both men and women, were held at Allerton, Thornton, Shipley, Eccleshill, Wyke, Queensbury, and ward meetings in five different districts of Bradford itself. These meetings were addressed by Mrs. OLIVER SCATCHERD, Miss CARBUTT, and Miss DOWNING, to whose energy the success of the Demonstration is largely due, and by many gentlemen of Bradford.

The day after the great meeting a conference took place at the Mechanics' Institute, Tyrrel-street, in order to consult on the best means of carrying out the object advocated at the meeting at St. George's Hall. Mrs. PESEL presided at the conference, and many of the speakers of the previous evening, with other ladies and gentlemen, took part in the proceedings. As the result of their deliberations, a provisional committee was formed for Bradford, Mrs. W. P. BYLES being nominated as convener.

THE first annual meeting of the Notts branch of the National Society for Women's Suffrage is fixed for December 15th. The Society was formed after the great demonstration of women, which took place in December last, in the Albert Hall. The first annual meeting of the Hyde branch of the National Society for Women's Suffrage will take place at the Temperance Hall, Hyde, on December 5th. Meetings are also announced for Cirencester and Tewkesbury.

The close of the year marks the beginning of the more



energetic part of the season's work, in anticipation of the Parliamentary campaign. As Mr. MASON will at once begin to ballot for a place for his Resolution, it is possible that he may obtain a day within one month after the opening of the session. Our friends must, therefore, be prepared for an early debate, and resolved to do their utmost to assure success.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD has given notice of a resolution in the House of Commons respecting the County Franchise and the Redistribution of Seats. We believe that it would be quite competent for Mr. MASON to introduce as an amendment on Mr. ARNOLD'S resolution to extend the household franchise to the counties a proposal to include all householders, women as well as men, in the proposed extension. There is, therefore, a double chance of obtaining a Parliamentary verdict on our claim, and there is strong probability that before the session shall be far advanced an opportunity will arise for discussing the question of the franchise for women either on Mr. ARNOLD'S or Mr. MASON'S Resolution.

It is announced that Mr. ARNOLD will address a series of meetings on the subject of his resolution within the next few weeks, in Salford, Birmingham, Walsall, Derby, and London. The first of the series is fixed for December 9th, in the Town Hall, Pendleton. It is to be hoped that our friends will take advantage of these meetings to secure that whatever resolutions may be adopted in regard to the County Franchise, shall unmistakably declare that the demand includes *all* householders, women as well as men. We are satisfied that this claim will not be denied by the persons present at the meetings, and as Mr. ARNOLD is well known to be a staunch supporter of the enfranchisement of women, we may assume that such an interpretation of his resolution would be willingly accepted by the honourable gentleman himself.

THE University of Oxford is at this time engaged in a dispute with the Oxford Board of Guardians as to their liability in respect to the election rate, which has considerable interest from our point of view. At a recent meeting of the Oxford Board of Guardians a letter was read from Mr. MORRELL, solicitor to the VICE-CHANCELLOR of the UNIVERSITY, respecting a precept recently addressed to him as Overseer of the poor of the parish within the University of Oxford, directing him to rate all the occupiers within the parish of the University at the rate of

one shilling in the pound. Mr. MORRELL states that it appears that the estimate of one shilling in the pound was made inclusive of the amounts payable by the united parishes for the election commission expenses; in other words, it is intended that these amounts shall be paid out of this rate. That being so, the VICE-CHANCELLOR is advised that he has no power to comply with the demand, and the letter announced the determination of the VICE-CHANCELLOR to defend any action which might be brought, and to question any payment which may be made by the Overseers and the TOWN CLERK out of the rate levied under the Local Act.

A correspondent sends us the following explanation of the conditions under which the local government of Oxford is conducted. The University pays about one-third of the Oxford poor rates, and has one-third of the representation on the Board of Guardians, *i.e.*, nominates one-third of the Guardians; the city authorities and the vestries appoint each one-third of the Guardians of the poor. When a poor rate is struck, the University raises its third through an officer of its own, and on an assessment of its own as to the rateable value of the property of the different colleges. The poor rate paid on the college property is not the basis of qualification for the Parliamentary vote as is the other two-thirds paid on house property in the city. An undergraduate might pay £50 for room rent within a college, and poor rate in proportion, but he gets no vote for the members for Oxford, and can only obtain a vote for the University by becoming an M.A. He then has a vote even if he pays no rent or poor rate. The qualification is of another order.

The rate for the election commission having been struck, the University declines to pay the usual third, saying, "This is a fine incurred by the people who constitute the other two thirds, for the abuse of a franchise which they possess, and which the University does not share."

Now if this reason is held by the courts sufficient to excuse the University from liability to contribute to the election commission rate, surely in equity, if not in law, the same reason should excuse the women ratepayers in Oxford and other places where these rates have been laid from liability to pay them. We trust that the question may be raised and steps taken to obtain a judicial decision on the subject. It is quite certain that the women ratepayers, who constitute about one-sixth of the whole, may truly allege as a reason for exemption that the rate is "a fine incurred by the people who constitute

the other five-sixths for the abuse of a franchise which they possess, and which the women ratepayers do not share."

THE recent scandals in connection with industrial schools point to the necessity for some reform in the mode of dealing with these institutions. It was, we believe, MARY CARPENTER who said that there never was a man inspector of an institution whom a clever matron could not bamboozle about every detail of the work. Certain it is that the irregularities in the management of St. Paul's Industrial School remained undetected, not only by the Government inspector on his periodical visits, but by the Chairman of the Industrial Schools Committee of the London School Board, although the latter gentleman was the acting manager of the school and was constantly on the spot, and although attention had been called to them by the attempt of some of the wretched inmates to burn the school. It was reserved for Mrs. SURR to find out the abuses that prevailed in the management of the school, and by her energy and perseverance in bringing them to light, to put an effectual stop to them.

It was the same lady who persevered against many difficulties in the inquiry which brought to light the cruelties practised at Upton House, a truant school chiefly under the management of the London School Board. The efforts of Mrs. SURR in this direction have received public recognition and thanks from the HOME SECRETARY, and the great value of the public services secured through the admission of women members on school boards cannot fail to influence the electors of London and other great centres of population in their choice of candidates at the next elections.

But we hope that public opinion will not rest satisfied with leaving the question of the supervision by women of industrial schools to the chances that there will be a Mrs. SURR on every school board or "prison authority" charged with the maintenance of children in these schools. The existing staff of Government inspectors of such institutions should be supplemented by the appointment of one or more efficient women inspectors, who should have equal status and salary with men employed in similar duties. There is too much reason to fear that inspection carried out on the same thorough and searching manner as Mrs. SURR employed, would reveal painful abuses in many institutions which altogether escape attention under the existing system of inspection. Major INGLIS, the inspector appointed by Government to visit the certified Reformatory

and Industrial Schools of Great Britain, in his report presented May, 1881, gives a most glowing account of the condition of the Girls' Industrial School, Glasgow, which he inspected June 7th, 1880. Major INGLIS says: "Nothing can be better than the way in which the discipline of the school is carried on, with very little punishment." Yet we learn from the *Scotsman* that the evidence taken by the directors in the inquiry now going on reveals cases of shocking ill-treatment. A girl absconded from the school, and returned after being assured by the assistant-matron that she would not be punished. But on her return she was stripped of most of her clothing, held down while she was flogged with a "tawse," and then put under the spray bath "to cool her down and revive her." The assistant-matron stated in evidence that she had stripped several girls and then flogged them lying across the bed. She "could not see anything wrong in such punishments, and did not think of calling the attention of the directors to them." Other evidence of an equally painful character was given, the moral from which, and from the other scandals recently brought under the notice of the public, appears to be that neither women nor men are fit to be entrusted with plenary power over helpless inmates, especially over wild and unruly children, unchecked by vigilant supervision; and that the system of inspection hitherto employed by the Home Office seems inadequate to secure such supervision as to guard against the occurrence of terrible abuses.

#### PUBLIC MEETINGS.

##### NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

###### ANNUAL MEETING IN MANCHESTER.

The annual general meeting of the Manchester National Society for Women's Suffrage was held on November 9th at the Town Hall, Manchester, and was well attended. Mr. HUGH MASON, M.P., occupied the chair; and was supported by Mr. J. P. Thomasson, M.P., Miss Carbutt, Mrs. Ashton Dilke, Mrs. B. Wright, Mrs. Gell, Miss Ellen Hibbert, Miss Backhouse, Miss Becker (secretary), the Rev. S. A. Steintal, Mr. A. Ireland, Dr. J. Watts, Mr. Ald. George Booth, Mr. J. Atkinson, Rev. Professor Craig, Dr. Samelson, Mr. W. T. Windsor, Dr. Borchardt, Mr. J. W. Southern, Mr. A. G. Symonds, and others.

Letters expressing regret at being unable to attend had been received from Mr. J. T. Hibbert, M.P., Mr. Slagg, M.P., Mr. Henry Lee, M.P., Mr. W. Agnew, M.P., Mr. Robert Leake, M.P., Mr. W. Summers, M.P., Mr. Benjamin Armitage, M.P., Mr. Hopwood, M.P., Mr. W. S. Caine, M.P., Mr. Blennerhasset, M.P., Mr. M'Minnies, M.P., Professor Adamson, Miss Ellice Hopkins, and others. Miss Hopkins, in her letter, said she had for many years held to the suffrage as a measure of common justice to women householders, but her work for the prevention of the degradation of women had convinced her, with ever-increasing force, of the necessity of some more direct voice for women in legislation in all questions relating to women and children.

Miss BECKER, the secretary, read the report of the Executive Committee, which has been published in another form.

The Rev. S. A. STEINTAL read the financial statement, which



showed that the year was commenced with a balance in hand of £121. 10s. 9d. The subscriptions and donations amounted to £1,264. 7s. 5d., and the total receipts (including the balance) were £1,816. 19s. 5d. The total expenditure was £1,797. 1s. 6d., leaving a balance in hand of £19. 17s. 11d.

The CHAIRMAN said he had great pleasure in being there, and in doing what lay in his humble power to promote the great question of justice which their Society had in hand. The report which Miss Becker had read did not indicate any great advance upon their question in the House of Commons. They all knew the reason why. Parliament had been almost exclusively occupied with Irish affairs, and it would have been impossible to have secured the attention of members to any other question almost, however important, even if the time could have been found. In the next session, if his life should be spared, he intended to begin to ballot at the first opportunity, and he should go on balloting in the hope that he should succeed in getting the first place. With regard to parliamentary procedure, he might say that in the past session he succeeded in getting a first reading for a Bill for the prevention of boiler explosions, but it was then his difficulty arose. It was not an easy thing to get a second reading when any hon. member took it into his head to block the way. As a new member of the House, he spoke with considerable diffidence on the subject of parliamentary procedure, but he had been in the House long enough to see that it was a very improper thing that one member should have the power to prevent discussion on any question, however important. (Applause.) They were promised that there should be some reform in this matter in the course of next session; but he dared say it would take as long to reform the procedure of the House as it had taken to pass the Irish Land Act, and by that time they would be far advanced indeed in the session before any reform would be accomplished. Coming to their own question with regard to women, he thought they had every reason to be encouraged with the state of their cause at the present time. Although there had been no debate on the subject in the House of Commons during the past two sessions, the question had not gone backward. They had advanced in the country, and they should continue to advance by carrying on that wholesome agitation towards the promotion of which that society had done so much. He was not saying they were going to carry their resolution in the next session; but he had not a shadow of doubt in his own mind that it would be carried. He knew that among members on both sides of the House that question was much talked about; and, so far as he could gather the opinion of hon. gentlemen belonging to the respective parties, he believed that the members of that society were now in as great a state of hopefulness with regard to the success of their resolution in the next session of Parliament as was his hon. friend Sir W. Lawson in the last session when he carried his resolution bearing upon another great reform. (Hear, hear.) The opinion of the present House had not been tested upon the women's suffrage question. He was certain of one thing, that there would be a very sharp debate upon it, and that they should have some warm opponents; but he firmly believed that the resolution would be carried. (Applause.) To pass the resolution did not, of course, mean conferring the franchise upon the women of the country, but it meant going a great way towards it—(hear, hear)—and if they could only get their resolution carried in Parliament, they might depend upon it that not another session would be allowed to pass over before a Bill would be introduced into the House of Commons to give to the women of England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland what the women of the Isle of Man had already got—the power to give parliamentary votes. (Applause.) They could not stand still upon this question. They had either already done a great deal too much or they had not done enough. Women had already had given them the power to vote in the election of poor-law guardians, overseers, members of school boards, and town councillors, and why should it stop there? If the women were qualified to vote in the election of the public servants he had mentioned, were they not equally qualified to vote for the men who should represent the counties and towns of the country in the House of Commons? (Hear, hear.) And beyond that was it not an act of justice to give women this vote, seeing that they were taxed as other ratepayers were? No more decided instance of what he would call the unjust taxation of women was to be found than was set forth in connection with corrupt boroughs such as Macclesfield and Oxford, where Royal Commissioners had been sent down to

inquire into the corrupt practices of the men, and the women had been compelled to pay their quota towards the expenses of the Commissioners. (Hear, hear.) He was frequently asked by people who had not made up their minds on this question how far he was going to carry it. He at once replied that he would not carry it beyond the throne—(applause)—on which we had an accomplished, gracious, intelligent, industrious woman whom we all loved and admired, and whose reign we earnestly prayed might long continue. (Applause.) He further said that he was not going to send our women to the bottom of coal pits or into the army or navy. He was not going to make fighting women of them, for in his judgment we had too many fighting men. (Applause.) But he was going to give to women the right to vote for members of Parliament, as they already possessed the right to vote for the members of other great public bodies. As a simple question of justice, how could any man oppose that? Some men, and men who perhaps had a right to be looked up to as to a certain extent guides and leaders, said they would by this spoil the women, but in his opinion it would have the very opposite effect—it would improve the men. (Laughter and applause.) To have in them a good sprinkling of women would improve our constituencies. We had not to go very far back to see how women were considered an inferior race, fit only to be made the slaves of men. Thank God, we were outliving those days—(applause)—and we were indebted for it to the women themselves, who had done more to place before the country their rights and their due position than all the body of men put together; and he believed that it was in the power of these accomplished and able women to work out their own enfranchisement. (Applause.) The laws regarding property had been reformed to a large extent, so as to make them less unjust as affected women; and if we looked at our great public schools, he would ask whether the women had any cause to bend their heads in shame with respect to the mental and intellectual qualifications they displayed in the presence of men? As regarded the practical part of their work in the future they must continue on the old lines, carrying on their agitation in the towns by the help of women mainly; and he earnestly hoped that the result of that meeting might be to give a stimulus to their agitation, such as would at all events enable him in the House of Commons, if it should fall to his lot to move the resolution on this matter, to obtain, not a grudging and insignificant support, but a support which would carry the resolution by a large majority. If that could be accomplished, they would have brought the matter within a measurable distance of practical politics. (Applause.) He had great pleasure in moving the adoption of the report and statement of accounts.

Mr. A. G. SYMONDS, in seconding the motion, said that during the past year considerable progress had been made in popularising their movement. The parliamentary franchise had been granted to women owners of property in the Isle of Man, and in Scotland there had been granted an extension of the municipal franchise to women. The principle of their agitation had by this legislation been distinctly asserted. The bounds of freedom had also been widened by it, and that they would be further widened he thought likely. (Hear, hear.) The strangeness and novelty of their movement were now wearing off, and people were beginning to look upon them in a different light than formerly. In the House of Commons the principle they were contending for was largely recognised, and he had reason to believe that when the resolution embodying that principle was voted upon, it would be carried by a distinct majority. (Hear, hear.)

Miss CARBUTT, in supporting the motion, said there was no doubt but that their agitation was advancing at a very much more rapid rate than fifty years ago. When they remembered how very many years reformers like Wilberforce and Thomas Clarkson had to work before they carried great measures of justice, they would find considerable cause for encouragement. (Hear, hear.) It seemed to her that there were four qualities necessary for a person who had a parliamentary vote, namely, that such a person should have an interest in the country, a love for that country, a capacity to judge what servants were best calculated to serve it, and a capacity to judge of the measures before Parliament. On all these points she thought substantial arguments could be adduced in favour of women possessing the franchise as well as men. (Applause.) The only serious question which arose in her mind was this, would women themselves be any the worse if they were allowed to vote? She had considered the matter in her own mind, and had come to

the distinct conclusion that they would be better rather than worse by reason of the responsibility. (Applause.) In regard to voting at municipal elections, women were but now beginning to understand their privileges and to use them. In judging of matters that came before the Council or before Parliament, she acknowledged women had not the experience of men. That experience was yet to be gained, but that women had the capacity to understand measures for the benefit of the community who could entertain a doubt? Nor, perhaps, was it less doubtful that they would consider things from a higher standpoint than that taken by men. (Hear, hear.) She ventured to say that as no household was perfect unless there was at the head of it both a man and a woman, so no meeting, no council, no board of guardians, or school board was complete unless men and women worked together. She hoped the time would soon come when every woman would be able to recognise her duty. She did not speak about the rights of women—she spoke rather of the duties of women. (Applause.) Every woman received certain benefits from the State, and she was bound to repay those benefits. She could not better do so than by acting up to her privileges and endeavouring to promote in every way the real welfare of society. On boards of guardians especially her aid ought to be sought, for she was here peculiarly qualified to render useful service. (Hear.) Contact with men would not render women more rough, but rather have the contrary effect, as was attested by the professors in the American colleges. There was a college in Leeds also where the men and women were trained together, and a fortnight ago its Principal stated that the contact had seemingly been of great benefit to both sexes. In conclusion, she impressed upon the women present who were able to spare the time from their household work their duty in the matter of serving society to the full extent of their power, and urged them to elect women where possible as members of public bodies. (Applause.) The motion on being put to the meeting was carried unanimously.

Mrs. ASHTON DILKE moved the second resolution: "That this meeting earnestly requests Mr. Mason to take steps for introducing the question of extending the parliamentary franchise to women who possess the qualifications which entitle men to vote at the earliest period after the opening of Parliament, and pledges itself to support his action by every means in its power." She remarked that most Liberals admitted that the granting of the franchise to women would be a great act of justice, but very many secretly believed that it would not add to the votes of their party. If they took the principal questions which were before the present Government they would find that on all of them women had influence, and in all of them they took a great interest. There was the question of the reform of the procedure of the House of Commons. Women had suffered from the great length of time occupied in passing Bills through Parliament. Then, with regard to the liquor traffic, she thought there was not the slightest doubt that if women could give effect to their opinions upon the trade it would be placed in a more satisfactory position. (Applause.) The vote of women as a rule would go against the present system of carrying on the traffic. (Hear, hear.) It was possible the Government might take up the evils of the English land laws, any reform of which would be hailed by women with great thankfulness. If women were more mixed up in political agitation she thought it would seldom go beyond constitutional bounds; and women would gain so much by themselves enjoying constitutional rights that they would be the last to deprive others of these rights.

Mr. HENRY SLATTER, in seconding the resolution, said he had long regarded the question as one beyond argument, and the practical point for them was how it could now be pushed forward. Women who had been appointed to various public offices had shown their competence to fill them. He did not think there was a single instance on record of any failure in this respect; but that, on the contrary, every woman who had been elected to these positions had filled them with credit to themselves and with benefit to the community. In the Trade Union Congresses women had attended as delegates, and had now firmly established their position. At first only one attended, and though courteously received got little encouragement; but later she had several colleagues, and it was now freely admitted that the business-like manner in which the women performed their part at the Congresses afforded an excellent example to the men. He could also testify to the good work which had been done by one lady, who was a member

of the Manchester School Board; he referred to Miss Becker. (Hear, hear.) The important point for them now was how the movement was to be pushed on. By supporting Mr. Mason, their leader in the House of Commons, they would take the most effectual step to secure that object; and if only they were active and earnest, he believed they would soon see the triumph of their cause.

The resolution was passed.

The CHAIRMAN: I shall be very glad to comply. (Applause.)

Mr. W. T. WINDSOR proposed the next resolution, which was as follows: "That this meeting records its satisfaction at the step which has been taken in the extension of the municipal franchise to women in Scotland by the Act passed last session, and hereby cordially thanks Dr. Cameron, M.P., and the Earl of Camperdown for the energy and ability with which they conducted the measure in the House of Commons and the House of Lords respectively." He said he would only ask them to rejoice in this distinct step forward. He was sure that any movement which showed from time to time a definite and clear progress was one which would ultimately reach the aim set before it. This year they had before them two marked indications of progress, one in the exercise of the franchise by women in the Isle of Man, and the other in the passing of the Act for the extension of the municipal franchise to women in Scotland. (Hear, hear.)

Miss ELLEN HIBBERT seconded the motion, which was adopted.

Dr. SAMELSON moved the appointment of the Executive Committee for the ensuing year.

Professor CRAIG, in seconding the resolution, said he was sure their cause had been making great progress. Opinion had changed rapidly within the last six or seven years. The great meeting in Manchester had had much effect in stimulating enthusiasm throughout this great community, and they had in their present leader a gentleman who was well qualified to carry the question before Parliament. The chairman had very properly put the question on the ground on which it ought to be argued. It was a question of right, of justice. What right had they to keep back those women householders who paid taxes and were as competent as men householders? What right had they to deny them the vote? Whatever elevated woman, strengthened the commonwealth. (Hear, hear.) Looking to civilisations of the past, when they found woman respected in any state, when they found equality, or something near equality, established between the sexes, when they found respect paid to woman's civil and social rights, they found a degree of permanency in that civilisation which could not be found anywhere else. With increased education it was of great moment that there should be increased political interest on the part of women in the future.

The Rev. S. A. STEINTHAL, having taken the chair, spoke of the opportunities which his position as treasurer gave to him of seeing how the business of the Society was conducted. He said that, though familiar with the work of several public agitations, he had never known a society more fortunate in its agents than theirs was in having secured the aid of Mrs. M'Cormick and Miss Backhouse. Without them the work could not have been done that had been done so well and so economically. He pointed to the long list of towns named in the Report which had been canvassed by Mrs. M'Cormick, and to the cost of collection stated in the Balance Sheet, as a remarkable instance of energy, zeal, and economy.

Mr. THOMASSON, M.P., moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Mason for presiding. He said he trusted Mr. Mason's labours might be crowned with success in the ensuing session of Parliament so far as the passing of the resolution which he was to move was concerned, and that he would in a subsequent session obtain further success by inserting in the Government Bill for the extension of the franchise a few words which would include in its operation women.

Dr. BORCHARDT seconded the proposition, which was carried by acclamation.

Mr. MASON, in replying, said he should go to the next session feeling his hands very much strengthened by that meeting. He had never wanted faith in the movement, and now he was sure that they only wanted a little more work to make it a complete success.

The proceedings then terminated.



### GREAT DEMONSTRATION OF WOMEN IN BRADFORD. PRELIMINARY CONFERENCE.

A conference of ladies and gentlemen was held on November 2nd in the saloon of St. George's Hall, Bradford, for the purpose of furthering the objects of the demonstration of women to be held in the hall on the 22nd inst., under the auspices of the National Society for Women's Suffrage, and to decide certain matters in connection with that event. Mr. W. S. B. McLaren (Keighley) occupied the chair, and a large attendance included Mrs. Henry Illingworth, Mrs. Steinthal, Mrs. Ahrons, Mrs. F. R. Pesel, Mr. and Mrs. W. P. Byles, Mrs. S. Smith, Mrs. J. A. Binns, Mrs. T. Clarke, Mrs. Fairbank, Mrs. L. Robertshaw, Mrs. C. Robertshaw, the Rev. J. and Mrs. Cuckson, Miss Lupton, Mrs. Scatcherd (Leeds), Mrs. James Taylor, Mrs. McCormick (organising secretary of the Manchester National Society for Women's Suffrage), Mr. James Hanson, Mr. G. C. Sim, Mr. H. Yewdall, Mr. Gaskell, Mr. W. Gerson, &c. The Chairman opened the meeting with a few explanatory remarks regarding its objects, and then called upon Mrs. Scatcherd, who said it was intended, in addition to the demonstration in St. George's Hall, to have five ward meetings, one for Manningham, where there were 994 women voters; one for Great Horton, where there were 475; one for Little Horton, containing 1,119; one for Bowling with 785; and one combined gathering for the North, South, East, and West Wards, with a total women poll of 2,157. It was also intended to have five meetings for the outer townships, Eccleshill, Allerton, &c., and she wished it to be understood that these smaller meetings would not be exclusively for women.—A discussion ensued as to the mode of procedure it would be best to adopt with regard to the whole demonstration, and suggestions were thrown out by different speakers. Two or three gave it as their opinion that it would be advisable to have the great demonstration equally open to men and women.—Mrs. Scatcherd, however, said that a great many members of the House of Commons, amongst them some Yorkshire representatives, used as an argument against the extension of the franchise to women that they themselves took no interest in the matter, and did not desire it. It was intended to show that this argument had no foundation in fact. If they admitted men equally free with women, the women would be ousted, and it would not be an answer of the women of Bradford and the district on the question as it was intended it should be. It was thought that a small number of men might be admitted on making a certain payment, to show them that the ladies were not afraid to speak before them. (Laughter, and "Hear, hear.")—Ultimately Mr. Hanson proposed and Mrs. W. Byles seconded, a resolution to the effect that the west gallery and the area of the hall should be reserved for ladies on the occasion of the demonstration, and that the two side galleries and the stalls should be devoted to a mixed audience.—The Rev. J. Cuckson moved as an amendment, "That the proposed demonstration be exclusively for women," and this having been seconded was put to the meeting, with the result that twenty-four voted for it. For the original proposition only sixteen supporters were found, and the amendment was therefore carried.—Various other minor matters in reference to ward and drawing-room meetings, and as to giving addresses at mothers' meetings, were subsequently dealt with; and prior to the breaking-up of the conference a cordial vote of thanks was tendered to the chairman, on the motion of Mrs. Scatcherd.

#### PRELIMINARY MEETINGS.

ALLERTON.—On November 7th, a meeting, convened to promote the success of the forthcoming demonstration to be held in St. George's Hall in support of the extension of the parliamentary franchise to women, was held in the Baptist Schoolroom, Allerton. Mr. Luther Robertshaw, of Allerton, presided, and there was a large audience, composed principally of women.—The Chairman, without entering into the subject, introduced Mrs. Oliver Scatcherd, of Leeds, who proposed a resolution in the following terms, viz.: "That by the exclusion of women, otherwise legally qualified, from voting in the election of members of Parliament, a considerable portion of the property, intelligence, and industry of the nation is unrepresented; and that this meeting, believing such exclusion to be unjust, pledges itself to support the demonstration in St. George's Hall on November 22nd in support of a Bill for the removal of the electoral disabilities of women." Mrs. Scatcherd addressed the meeting in support of the resolution, which was seconded by the Rev. W. M. Westerby,

who based his remarks upon the principle that taxation and representation should go together.—Discussion being invited, Mr. Walter Robertshaw, after referring to the excellent manner in which Mrs. Scatcherd had introduced the resolution, objected to its operation upon logical grounds. He asked whether women seeking to become voters were also looking forward to seats in Parliament; and whether they were prepared, in seeking electoral privileges, also to undertake civil responsibilities?—Mrs. Scatcherd said the Women's Suffrage Society did not include in its programme any supposition that women would be called upon to sit in Parliament. With regard to the question whether women electors were prepared to accept the duties of citizenship, she replied that many civil offices might with advantage be filled by women. (Applause.)—Mr. Walter Robertshaw said that if they accepted the rating principle as the basis of voting at parliamentary elections, Mrs. Scatcherd's arguments were unassailable, but he took his stand on the old Radical programme of manhood suffrage—(applause)—and did not wish to see women dragged down to the level of politics. If, however, they had a right to vote for members of Parliament, they had an equal right to sit as members of Parliament. (Hear, hear.) He proposed as an amendment:—"That this meeting is of opinion that it would be unwise to confer electoral privileges without at the same time conferring civil and electoral responsibilities."—Mr. Simpson seconded the amendment, his principal ground of objection to the women's claim to vote at elections being that there was "bother enough" already.—Miss Downing, of London, ably combated the terms of the amendment, which on being put was only supported by half-a-dozen hands, the resolution being carried with considerable applause.—A petition to Parliament in support of the resolution was unanimously approved.—Miss Downing invited a large attendance at the women's demonstration to be held in St. George's Hall on the 22nd inst., and the proceedings closed with vote of thanks to the chairman.

THORNTON.—A meeting, having for its object the promoting of the success of the great demonstration of women which is to be held in Bradford on the 22nd instant, in support of the extension of the parliamentary franchise, was held on November 8th in the Mechanics' Institute, Thornton. Mr. Hanson, of Bradford, presided, and there were several ladies on the platform. About two-thirds of the audience were women.—The Chairman, in opening the proceedings, said that their primary object was to secure the franchise for women who were householders, or who were holders of property, or were paying rent. There were in Bradford, he said, 5,000 women who could vote at municipal elections, but could not vote at parliamentary elections. He, on his part, could not see why women who paid rent and rates, and fulfilled the other duties of citizens, should not be allowed to exercise the rights now possessed by the male sex. The question which they were agitating to-day had been argued in the time of ancient Greece. The whole question was discussed by Plato in his fifth book of his "Republic" at great length, but that was at a time when women were under even greater disabilities than they were now. He appealed to the audience to listen to the lady speakers without prejudice.—Mrs. Scatcherd then proposed a resolution by which the meeting pledged itself to support the demonstration.—Mr. Gerson, of Bradford, denied that they wanted to send women to Parliament; they merely wanted women to be able to vote at parliamentary elections. He stated that in many countries on the Continent women had equal rights with men. He said the gentleman who had the courage to move an amendment to the resolution at the meeting on the previous evening had stated that day that he had been converted to the opinions which were expressed by the lady speakers.—The resolution was put to the meeting, and carried without opposition.—Mr. Pickles (Bradford) proposed a resolution to the effect that a petition should be signed by the chairman to Parliament praying for the extension of the franchise with regard to women. He said that he had had some doubt about whether he could entirely agree with the objects of the meeting, but, after the statements of the chairman, who, he considered, had made out a very good case, he felt that he could conscientiously propose that resolution.—Miss Downing, of London, spoke at great length on the general disabilities of women.—The second resolution was also carried unanimously, and a vote of thanks to the chairman terminated the meeting.

WYKE.—On November 11th another of the series of meetings to promote the success of the demonstration of women to be held in St.

George's Hall, Bradford, on the 22nd inst., was held in the Temperance Hall, Wyke. Mr. Irvine Hind presided. The hall was filled to excess.—The Chairman said that the question was one which he knew very little about, but he certainly thought that taxation and representation ought to go together, and if women were not to have the power of sending persons to represent them in Parliament they should not be taxed.—Miss Downing, of London, proposed a resolution that the meeting pledged itself to use every effort in its power to promote the success of the demonstration.—The Rev. A. Craven, of Wyke, seconded the resolution. He said that before that night he had not thought much about the question, but since the speech which Miss Downing had made he was a convert to the opinions which she held, and he believed that the day was not far distant when the parliamentary suffrage would be extended to women.—Mrs. Ellis spoke in support of the resolution. She said it had been asserted by some men that women knew nothing about politics—(a Voice: "We wad if they'd let us")—but she thought that women knew quite as much about politics as men, and would know more if they got the chance, and it would not be long before they should know more, and would use that knowledge in voting.—The resolution was put to the meeting and carried unanimously.—Mrs. Scatcherd proposed that a petition should be sent to Parliament asking the House to pass a measure removing the electoral disabilities of women. She said that the members for that division of the county had not yet expressed any opinion on the subject before them, but she had had a communication from the junior member, Sir Andrew Fairbairn, stating that when the question came before Parliament he should give it his most careful consideration.—This resolution was also carried without opposition.—The proceedings terminated with votes of thanks to the Chairman and the lady speakers.—A very successful drawing-room meeting, at which a number of local ladies attended, was held on November 11th at the residence of Mrs. Pesel, Bradford, and it is stated that the movement meets with almost universal approbation in Bradford.

LITTLE HORTON.—A meeting, which had for its object the promotion of the success of the demonstration of women to be held on the 22nd inst., was held on November 15th in the Teetotal Hall, Bower-street. The Rev. J. Cuckson presided, and the meeting was addressed by Miss Helena Downing, Mrs. Oliver Scatcherd, Mrs. Ellis, Mr. Braithwaite, and Mr. Bennett Carter. There was a large and enthusiastic audience, composed chiefly of women.—A resolution was passed pledging the meeting to use every effort to promote the success of the demonstration, and a petition was signed by the chairman on behalf of the meeting to the House of Commons, praying the House to pass a measure removing the electoral disabilities of women.—A vote of thanks to the chairman terminated the meeting.

GREAT HORTON.—Another of the series of meetings which are being held in the district in favour of the National Society for Women's Suffrage, and in view of the forthcoming local demonstration, took place on November 17, in the Co-operative Hall, Great Horton, Mr. F. R. Pesel presiding. There was a moderately-good attendance.—The Chairman opened the meeting by saying that he filled that position, as a good many others had done, because he felt that he was assisting a good cause. (Applause.) The movement was for a just object, and to Bradford it was something new. It was greatly talked about everywhere, and he was surprised at the erroneous opinions of a great many people in regard to its object. He had heard it said that it would cause estrangement between husband and wife, when it was the fact that it was only sought to give those women who were householders in their own right the parliamentary vote; and he thought meetings like that would do much to correct the wrong notions which prevailed. (Applause.)—Miss Carbutt (Leeds) proposed a resolution in favour of the parliamentary vote being given to women householders, and reminded her hearers that legally-qualified women now had three votes—one for the town council, one for the board of guardians, and one for the school board.—Mr. Sheard (Batley) seconded the motion.—Miss Helena Downing (London) proposed "That a petition to the House of Commons in support of the Bill for extending the parliamentary franchise to women ratepayers be presented on behalf of the meeting."—Mrs. Ellis (Batley) seconded the resolution. She said she did not suffer in the same way as some other women did, but she considered that those who were not sufferers should be the ones to come out on behalf of those who did. (Applause.)—Some

little opposition was shown at this point, and Mr. H. Ward said he opposed the motion because he considered women's place was home, and they should not bother with politics. If women had votes some of the strong-minded amongst them would take such an interest in political matters that domestic duties would be neglected. He declared amidst much laughter that he loved the ladies, but he could not go so far as to give them what they asked for in this case.—This brought up an old lady, who stoutly pronounced her opinion that it was far more essential for women to study politics than men. (Applause.) She called upon the gentleman who had previously spoken to read John Stuart Mill's essay on "Liberty," and then come and say what he thought of this movement. (Laughter and applause.)—The resolution was carried with only two dissentients, and a vote of thanks to the chairman and speakers, proposed by Mr. H. Ward, and seconded by Mrs. Denby (Bradford), terminated the proceedings.

Preliminary meetings were also held on November 9th at Shipley; the Rev. T. Foston in the chair. November 10th at Eccleshill; Rev. W. Manning in the chair. November 14th at Queensbury; Rev. J. R. Walsh in the chair.—Ward meetings in Bradford have been held November 16th in the Temperance Hall, Chapel-street; Alderman John Priestman in the chair. On November 18th in St. John's National Schools, Wakefield Road; Mr. W. McLaren in the chair. On Monday, November 21st, in the Greenfield Schoolroom, Lumb Lane; Mr. W. P. Byles in the chair; also on same evening in the Kensington Hall, Gillington; Mr. Councillor Yewdall, chairman. The meetings were addressed by Mrs. Scatcherd, Miss Carbutt, Miss Downing, Mrs. Ellis, and Mr. F. Sheard. At all these meetings resolutions in favour of the demonstration on the 22nd, and petitions to the House of Commons in favour of Mr. Mason's Resolution were adopted.

#### DRAWING-ROOM MEETINGS.

ALLERTON.—On November 7th, at three o'clock, a drawing-room meeting was held at the residence of Mrs. Luther Robertshaw, Allerton. After an address from Mrs. Oliver Scatcherd, the petition was carried unanimously.

MANNINGHAM.—A meeting was held at three o'clock on November 11th, in the house of Mrs. Pesel, Manningham, which was addressed by Miss Carbutt, Miss Downing, and Mrs. Scatcherd. The meeting was well attended.

APPERLEY.—On November 16th a drawing-room meeting took place at Ashdown, Apperley, the residence of Mrs. James Taylor, who read an admirable paper dealing with the question. Mrs. Scatcherd, Miss Carbutt, and Miss Downing also took part in the proceedings. The attendance was very good.

BRADFORD.—A meeting took place on November 17th, at 1, Faircliffe Terrace, Bradford, the residence of Mrs. Schlesinger. Mrs. Scatcherd and Miss Downing were the speakers. There were many women householders present.

At all the above meetings petitions in favour of the franchise were carried unanimously.

#### THE GREAT MEETING IN ST. GEORGE'S HALL.

On the evening of November 22 a demonstration in favour of the extension of the parliamentary franchise to women took place in St. George's Hall, Bradford. During the last fortnight meetings in support of the movement have been held in different parts of the town, and much interest has been excited in the subject, with the result that there was a splendid gathering at this, the last of the series of meetings the promoters of the agitation propose to hold in the town at present. The women, who were admitted free, filled the area and galleries, and there was a considerable number of their male friends in the stalls, who had to pay for the privilege of being present. Whilst the audience was assembling Mr. James H. Rooks played a selection of appropriate airs on the organ. Mrs. DUNCAN McLAREN (Edinburgh) presided, and she was supported by a large company of ladies, among whom were Mrs. Henry Illingworth, Mrs. Fairbairn, Miss Stocker, Mrs. Ahrons, Mrs. Pesel, Mrs. J. S. Taylor, Mrs. Binns, Miss Harrison, Miss Craven, Miss Byles, Mrs. W. P. Byles, Mrs. Luccock, Mrs. John Priestman, Mrs. Steinthal, Mrs. F. Priestman, Mrs. Luther Robertshaw, Mrs. Charles McLaren, Miss Jane E. Cobden, Miss H. P. Downing and Miss Lucy Wilson (London), Miss Burton, Mrs. and Miss Hope (Edinburgh), Miss Becker and Mrs. McCormick (Manchester), Miss Priestman (Bristol), Mrs. Alfred



Osler (Birmingham), Mrs. M'Ilquham (Cheltenham), Miss Ada Smith (Nottingham), Miss Gill (Leicester), Mrs. Wm. Clark (Street), Mrs. Henry Richardson and Miss Wilkinson (York), Mrs. and Miss Woodhead (Huddersfield), Miss Glyde (Saltaire), Mrs. Wood (Dewsbury), Mrs. D. Vero and Mrs. C. Ellis (Batley), Mrs. Brooke (Wyke), Miss Hopkins (Malton), Mrs. O. Scatcherd, Mrs. Ford, Miss Carbutt, Dr. Edith Pechey, Mrs. E. Walker, Mrs. J. R. Ford, Mrs. Jno. Marshall, Mrs. Stephen A. Marshall, Mrs. Burniston, and Mrs. Neville (Leeds).

Mrs. SCATCHERD, at the request of Mrs. M'Laren, read a number of telegrams and letters which had been received. Viscountess Harberton said: "Earnestly hope your meeting is a success, and that the women of Bradford will join by hundreds this movement to promote the cause of liberty and justice."—Mrs. Fawcett (Cambridge) sent her good wishes, and Mrs. Lucas (London), whilst regretting inability to be present, hoped there would be an enthusiastic meeting in support of the grand cause.—Miss Sturge (Birmingham) wrote: "It would have been a great enjoyment to me to see your grand meeting, and to share in the sense of progress which enthusiastic numbers give to those who have worked in the 'day of small things.'"—Mrs. R. W. Dale (Birmingham) hoped there would be a successful meeting; and Mrs. Peter Taylor said: "I should much like to attend the meeting at Bradford, over which our dear friend Mrs. M'Laren will preside, but the journey would be too much for me. I must recognise that my active work is over. My sympathies are strongly with you, and could I speak it would be to advocate women's rights."—Mrs. Ashton Dilke wrote: "I sincerely sympathise with your efforts, and wish you every success. Don't believe accusations against the Liberals of them not being with us. Though they are sometimes not so enthusiastic as I could wish, it only requires plenty of demonstrations and meetings to cause them to do us justice."

Letters and greetings had also been received from the Glasgow, Birmingham, and Luton branches of the Women's Suffrage Society, Mrs. Josephine Butler (Liverpool), Mrs. J. P. Thomasson (Bolton), A. M. Haslam (Dublin), Miss Marianne Farningham, Mrs. E. P. Nichol, Dr. Eliz. G. Anderson, Mrs. A. Arnold, Miss Ellice Hopkins, Mrs. Abel Heywood (Manchester), Mrs. Alfred Illingworth (Bradford), Mrs. Edmundson (Halifax), and others.

Mrs. DUNCAN M'LAREN was warmly welcomed on rising to deliver her address. She said: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I feel that in no town in the kingdom could women more fitly have assembled for the purpose of claiming their right to the parliamentary franchise than in Bradford. (Hear, hear.) When these noble women who sit near me on this platform came amongst you a few weeks ago to explain to their sisters here the full value of their municipal vote, and to stimulate them to exercise it conscientiously, with what success you all know, the editor of the *Bradford Observer*, appreciating their efforts, and in contemplation of this great meeting, recalled to the remembrance of Bradford that this would not be the first occasion on which St. George's Hall had been filled by women. Could he have used more eloquent language to enlist the sympathy of the Liberals of Bradford in the struggle in which we are engaged than by reminding them that between 4,000 and 5,000 women had assembled on May 24th, 1869, and filled this great hall to overflowing, for the purpose of congratulating Edward Miall—(cheers)—the great Nonconformist, on his successful contest for the representation of this borough? They did not come merely with womanly smiles of congratulation—no, they came to show by their works how the great heart of woman could appreciate the intellect, the power, and the principles which characterise such men as Edward Miall. (Cheers.) They brought to that meeting gifts which represented £600, collected in pence, shillings, and pounds, the highest subscription being £10. You will see what a labour of love that was; but the man was worthy of it. It was not in the hour of success that the women of Bradford stepped forth in that contest; it was in the dark hour of defeat; and I have been repeatedly told that success at last was largely due to the efforts of the women when they were roused to the seriousness of that contest. I like to recall this to your memory, you men of Bradford, and to tell the younger men and women of it, for they who are six-and-twenty now were only boys and girls then. As our agitation has nothing to do with party, I should hesitate to introduce any question of party politics were it not to answer that most unjust objection which is so often made an excuse for holding aloof from our cause, viz., that if women had the parliamentary franchise they would be led by clerical influence

in the exercise of it, and would thus strengthen the Conservative interest. Let me ask, did those 5,000 women of Bradford help the Conservative cause? Were those women led by the clergy? Why, all the powers of Church and State would gladly have combined to prevent Edward Miall from taking his seat in the House of Commons. (Cheers.) Yet he was carried triumphantly there to proclaim those great truths of religious freedom and equality so dear to his heart, by the joint efforts of the men and women of Bradford. I saw that good man laid in his grave on the fifth of May of this year, and was comforted by the thought that another ministering spirit had gone to the higher life, to whom great power might be given to help on the work in which he had been so faithful here; and—I speak it reverently—it may be that grateful memories of earthly service are not extinguished in that higher life, and that his veiled presence may be amongst us here to-night, to cheer us in our hard fight. We can, however, draw help from him, for though dead he yet speaketh in words uttered by him, at that great meeting, to those 5,000 women. They reveal that he saw the suffrage must be granted to women in that development of progress which is inevitable. I wish I could quote them in full, for they are very beautiful. He told them that women see more quickly, more clearly, and more purely than men in reference to all great moral principles; he showed what politics ought to be if worthy to be pursued at all, and that they are what women could thoroughly understand and embrace. "But," he said, "it has been the fashion of man to degrade woman by lording it over her—(cheers)—and, of course, man, to justify himself in doing this, has assumed that the political sphere is a sphere altogether apart from that in which women ought to move. . . . Happy will be the day in England, happy will be the day throughout the world, when woman takes her real and proper position, when she stands in that respect, as in others, the helpmate of man." And then he adds, with reference to politics, "Women of Bradford, take your part." Well, my friends, you are here following out that emphatic advice. But you never can act upon it thoroughly until you can make your wishes known in the House of Commons by means of the franchise. (Cheers.) The speakers whom I shall have the pleasure of introducing to the meeting will enter more into detail as to the need there is for women to take their share in the legislation of our country; but there is one thing which rests with me to speak to you of, and that is the education which is going on from our judicial benches, which ill befits the closing years of the nineteenth century—that to ill-use a woman is a much less crime than to ill-use a man; and to steal even a child's garment brings down almost as heavy a punishment as to half-kill a woman. (Cheers.) If this be law, I would rather leave the bench, if I were a man, than administer such law. (Cheers.) It is too common a thing, when a man has inhumanly killed his wife, to see the judge anxiously seeking the plea of provocation to justify in his mind a verdict of manslaughter. They ought to use the word woman-slaughter—(laughter)—to give the public a proper idea of the atrocity of the crime and whether the punishment is equal to the crime. I spoke of this the other day to a gentleman, who replied, "Ah, well, you must remember the man is the breadwinner." The woman's and the mother's heart within me rebelled against that answer, but I felt less indignant with my friend than with those laws which could educate him to give such an answer. If the man earns the bread of the family, does not the woman give life to the nation? And in her great service to the State she has, as it has been truly said, to go down to the valley of the shadow of death, and if she rise from it, are not toil and anxious care her portion? And though there may be much that is sweet and precious mingled with it in the happier lots, in too many cases there is little else than sorrow and care. I do not see how this low estimate of women's position can be changed, except by giving them an interest in the political life of the nation, if we may judge by the respect which members of Parliament seem to feel for the most illiterate and ignorant men. The enthusiastic response with which you women of Bradford and its surroundings have met—shall I not call them the missionary labours of Mrs. Scatcherd and her friends—(cheers)—in the great cause of your political enfranchisement proves that you have an instinctive desire to be something more than a mere unit in a household, and treated like children, and practically told to shut your eyes and open your mouth and take whatever the House of Commons may please to give you. (Laughter.) The Bishop of Liverpool said the other day it was not in human

nature to like such a state of things, and we women, being a portion of human nature, very emphatically say we don't like it, and we will never rest until we have a voice in the making of the laws by which we are to be governed. (Cheers.) The meetings which have been so successfully held in and around Bradford during the last few weeks have caused, I am told, a good deal of excitement at the clubs. Even our friends there have been struck with admiration and surprise at the ability the women have manifested in a walk which they had believed to be exclusively their own. And those who are not in unison with us are too honest to deny the justice of our claim to the franchise, but take refuge in saying it would be unwise to grant it. Men of Bradford, let me ask you—Can that which is just be unwise? Justice must ever be the highest wisdom. The hardest thinkers amongst you recognise this doctrine, and cling to it amid the plausible theories put forward in favour of Reciprocity and Fair-trade. Be true, then, to your principles, and dare to be just to the women of your country. (Cheers.) It has been said that all good and enduring work is founded on sorrow and sacrifice. Then the struggle for their political emancipation in which women are engaged must succeed. The sorrows of one in high station first led to the agitation that a married woman's earnings should be her own, and I trust it will soon lead to a much larger measure of justice with regard to the property of married women in England. In Scotland last year we made a great step in that direction, for which the thanks of the women of Scotland are due in the first place to Mrs. Jacob Bright. She did not let the border which separates Scotland from England check her sense of justice. She laboured in that work, and enlisted in the cause Mr. Anderson, M.P. for Glasgow, and the late Lord-Advocate, John M'Laren, to introduce a Bill last session making a married woman's property her own, which they carried through Parliament with an ability and perseverance for which the women of Scotland must ever feel grateful. (Cheers.) It was the sorrows of the slave that led women here and in America to rise to the full dignity of their sex, and share with men the sacrifices and martyrdom which that terrible struggle involved. Yet when such women as Lucretia Mott and the two gifted sisters, Angelina and Sarah Grimke, and other grand women crossed the ocean as delegates to a world's convention against slavery, held in London, they were not allowed to take their seats on the platform along with the men. That was in 1840, I believe. I mention this to show what a change has come over public opinion since then. They were not allowed to sit on the platform, for fear of what it would lead to; and that great man, William Lloyd Garrison, the leader of the anti-slavery movement, nobly refused to take his seat on the platform because the women were excluded from it. For fear of what it would lead to! Look at this platform! Why, it is composed of women. The progress of human freedom cannot be arrested, and this should be a lesson to all who are afraid of being just, timidly listening to

Those voices airy,  
Whispering harm where harm is not.

We are here to-night in the spirit of self-sacrifice. We have had our sorrows in working on this question. We are here because we know there are on our statute books unjust laws which subject many women to sorrow and suffering; and the fact that we have worked our way to such a platform proves that women are capable of holding a political position and ought to have a voice in our national affairs. We cannot rest contented under the consciousness of injustice, because there are women who accept it as the natural condition of woman. We feel the sadness and deep tenderness of these lines of one of our sweetest poets—

Meek Tenton woman! Thou hast borne too long  
The chain, to feel its weight or own its wrong.

We feel it our duty to arouse our sex everywhere to a sense of the high destiny which was intended for woman as well as for man, even in this life. The inspiration for this work has come from a higher source than ourselves, and we have had often to feel that God does not leave His children to fight their battles alone. He helps us often by unconscious service. Your member, Alfred Illingworth, always voted for us when he was formerly in the House of Commons, and I trust he will do so again. (Cheers.) Though Wm. Edward Forster has not yet done so, he has lifted us up a very high step, when in his Educational Bill he gave women not only the power to vote for members of the school board, but to sit on school boards themselves. (Cheers.) Every day we see the value of that legis-

lative act, and we thank him for it. Mr. Forster saw that half the children who were to be educated at the board schools were girls, and half the teachers would be women, and that it was in accordance with reason and common sense that women should sit on school boards in the interests of those girls and their teachers. We hope he will be able yet to see that, as half the nation is composed of women and girls, it must be equally just and equally needful that the influence of women's votes should be brought to bear upon legislation connected with their interests in the House of Commons. (Cheers.) When Mr. Forster passed his Education Bill, he said a new chapter in Christianity had been opened. I believe by the removal of the political disabilities of women he could truthfully repeat the same words, for a great stride in Christian civilisation would be made by such an act. It would be a grand recognition of moral power, of which we have seen cheering signs of late. We have great faith in the success of our work, for we see women everywhere rising up to claim a higher position. My friends, if a sparrow cannot fall to the ground unobserved by the All-seeing Eye, do you think the perpetuation or the enactment of unrighteous laws can escape Its ken? The unheeded sufferings of thousands of women, the lost condition of some, the silent prayers of others, the moral courage and faithful work of those who have been endowed with powers to combat great moral evils, these are all noted and held in remembrance by Him who came to undo the heavy burden of sin and of sorrow, and I feel as though I could only close my remarks by encouraging both workers and sufferers in those beautiful lines of Mrs. Pfeiffer:—

I see the Bridegroom, He, the Lord, the Son,  
Step forth and lead ye forward, one by one;  
I see Him take each weary, toil-worn hand,  
And guide ye shrinking to the higher stand.

(Cheers.)

Mrs. ALFRED OSLER proposed the first resolution, which was as follows: "To the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P., First Lord of Her Majesty's Treasury.—The memorial of women delegates and others in public meeting assembled on November 22nd, 1881, at St. George's Hall, Bradford: Respectfully sheweth, that in the opinion of this meeting the parliamentary franchise should be extended to women who possess the qualifications which entitle men to vote, and who in all matters of local government have the right of voting. Wherefore, your memorialists earnestly pray that in any measure for the extension of the principle of household suffrage which may be submitted by Her Majesty's Ministers for the consideration of Parliament, provision may be made for enabling women qualified according to the statutory conditions, to be registered as voters and to vote in the election of members of Parliament." She said that they were told women were represented already, that if they were represented it would make no difference, and that if women had the franchise it would turn the world upside down and reverse the laws of nature herself. (Laughter.) Men appeared to be so convinced of the excellencies of women as they now existed that they believed any sort of change must necessarily be for the worse. (Laughter.) She wondered why someone did not suggest that a Select Committee should be appointed by the House of Commons to inquire into the deterioration of women through the possession of a municipal and school board vote, and to inquire into the work of women on boards of guardians and school boards. (Laughter.) She believed that the possession of a vote was the sign of a larger life and a freer thought, which would eventually effect a change in the minds and characters of women. Her experience testified that those women who knew most outside their own particular sphere of action were the most capable. If women were machines, there was little need to trouble themselves about the cultivation of their minds; but men should not expect machines to be wise economists, loving companions, and fit trainers of the children, the men of the next generation. She felt there was no fear that women would neglect the comfort and happiness of those near and dear to them for the sake of politics or any other interest, and she ridiculed the notion that if women took an interest in the same subjects as men they would try to look, dress, and generally behave like men. It was acknowledged universally that the influence of a good woman on a man was beneficial, and if that influence was valuable on one, why not on all men? (Hear, hear.) Politics could not interfere with the purity of the character of women so long as they were the supporters and followers of such men as Gladstone, Lord Derby, and Lord Carnarvon. But if the political atmosphere was impure,



there was all the more necessity that woman's influence for good should be exerted in politics. Public spirit in all nations and in all times had fostered justice, generosity, and all the ennobling virtues, and the greatness of a nation had declined as its public spirit had waxed less. Therefore it behoved them to create both in men and women the highest ideal of public spirit. (Cheers.)

Miss CARBUTT (Leeds) seconded the motion. She expressed her gratification at the work Mrs. Scatcherd, Mrs. M'Cormick, Miss Downing, and others had accomplished in Bradford in the last fortnight or three weeks; and proceeding, she remarked that there was a little poem in the *Bradford Observer* that morning, and she hoped they had read it, and that the author of the poem was present. She thought if he were he would get to know that they did not want to make any disturbance between husband and wife, and still less between lover and sweetheart. (Laughter and cheers.) The writer did not evidently know what it was they were asking for. (Hear, hear.) They knew that women had already three votes, and they just wanted one more—that was all. (Cheers.) They wanted women householders who had the municipal vote and votes for boards of guardians and school boards to have a vote for members of Parliament also. (Cheers.) If women were able to exercise the municipal franchise satisfactorily why should they not be able to use the parliamentary franchise as well. (Cheers.) She commented upon the remarks of Mr. Alfred Illingworth, M.P., at Wortley, recently, in which he spoke of the representative institutions of the country, and said it was an anomaly to call ours a thoroughly representative Government when there was so many who were not represented. (Cheers.) We had not at present household suffrage, but it was what she called "men's household suffrage." (Cheers.) In regard to Mr. Illingworth's statement that all the members of the Government were pledged to give the county franchise and that a Bill with this object in view would be certain to be introduced in the present Parliament, she expressed a hope that women would come in for the franchise when the labourers got it. (Cheers.) She referred to the great improvement which had taken place in the condition of workmen since the passing of the Reform Bill, and having spoken of the assistance which Mr. Illingworth had afforded to this movement in the past, said that she had great respect for the other member for Bradford, the Right Hon. W. E. Forster, M.P., for the work he had been doing in Ireland. (Cheers.) In admitting women to be members of school boards Mr. Forster had done much for them, and she thought members of the Government would give them what they asked for if they thought the women were really in earnest. (Cheers.)

Miss LUCY WILSON (London), in supporting the resolution, said that some eight years ago, or rather more, she had the privilege of addressing a Bradford audience upon this question, and it was excessively pleasant to look back over that time and see how different was the position it occupied to-day. She remembered on that occasion she made it her business to answer some of the stock objections that were raised against enfranchising women at all. She did not intend to spend a moment in dealing with them now; the time had gone by for that. (Cheers.) She would rather put before them reasons why they should not be content with giving tacit assent to the proposition, but should feel it a duty to work hard and at once to obtain its realisation. Not only would all public questions gain by having the mind of women as well as of men brought to bear upon them, but there were social questions pressing for solution to-day in which the voice of woman was absolutely required if the settlement of those questions were not to do more harm than good. And if they thought that women, who were without political power, were not responsible for the prominence these questions had assumed, she would remind them that it was just because of what women had done in recent years that these questions had come to the front. The better education and the larger share in public work which they had obtained, and above all the prominent part which they had taken in the great moral uprising of the last few years, had had a large share in forcing these questions on public attention. It was because women had all along held aloft the standard of political freedom and equality that those other movements had become possible and had achieved success. Therefore, not only were women responsible for the position of some of the public questions of to-day, but those who were claiming the suffrage were especially and primarily responsible. (Cheers.) A Committee of the House of Lords had been considering the laws for protecting young women from being betrayed into a vicious life. That was a question in

the settlement of which women must be heard. It was proposed that the whole of the young girls should be handed over to the police, who were to be the censors of their conduct outside their houses, and she would ask the women whether they were going to assent to the matter being dealt with in that manner. (Cheers.) Then a Committee of the House of Commons had been sitting for three years to consider the existing laws, which protect men and punish women in vice, and she should like to know whether women had not a right to have a voice in the settlement of a question like that? (Cheers.) She adverted to other matters in which she considered it necessary for the welfare of the people that women should have a voice, and concluded amidst applause by again calling upon them to assist the movement.

Mrs. CLARK (Street, Somerset) supported the motion. She remarked that by the memorial it was only asked that the vote should be given to single women and to widows, because in the eye of the law married women did not occupy the position of householders. There were two reasons which justified them in thus limiting their demand. In the first place, they desired to obtain the greatest possible amount of good with the least possible amount of disturbance; and in the second place, they believed that there was no possible antagonism between single and married women. It was not like the case of the rich and poor, where the one class did not entirely understand the difficulties or temptations of the other. Married and single women were not two classes. There was no hard and fast line between them. Their interests were the same, so that women householders who would be admitted to the franchise would thoroughly represent the interests and feelings of those women who did not happen to be householders in the eye of the law. The effect of the proposition made in the memorial, if carried out, would be to add one woman elector to every seven men electors. She did not think that seven men were likely to be swamped by one woman—(laughter)—or that the most timid and sensitive man need be under any apprehension of that sort. (Applause.) She believed that men would rather like the change, when once it was made. (Applause.) She had so much faith and confidence in men from what she had seen of them—(laughter)—that she was convinced they would find it rather pleasant than otherwise to be able occasionally to discuss political questions on a footing of real equality with good and intelligent women of their acquaintance. She was certain also that this very moderate admission of women to the constituencies would exert a very great influence in directing the attention of members of Parliament to the just claims and real grievances of women. (Applause.) Members of Parliament were exceedingly susceptible to the voices of their constituents, but had not often much time to devote to those to whom they were not directly responsible, and she felt sure that a woman who had the privilege of recording her vote for or against a member of Parliament to whom she might address herself on any particular question which she felt to be of great importance would receive more attention and thought at his hands than she was likely to obtain under existing circumstances. (Applause.) Rather lukewarm friends of the movement, while admitting the reasonableness of their claims, said, making it a sort of reproach, that the friends of the movement had ulterior views. She did not deny that that was so. They were not childish enough to wish for the vote simply for the honour of recording it. They desired it for the same reason as did men, and she failed to see why that wish which in a man was regarded as the evidence of some fitness for better things should in a woman be regarded as something to sneer at, and even to be afraid of. (Applause.) They wished for the vote in order that through their representatives they might be able to discuss all those laws which they were bound to obey. They felt that all the great public questions of the day were as important to them as to men. There was, for instance, the question of peace or war, in which women were deeply interested. She was sometimes rather amused at finding that when there was some great danger to the country of drifting into war, some of their peace-loving friends went about the country appealing to the women for help. She wished that those friends would between times remember that it would be a good thing to give them the vote and not merely to ask them for their influence when there was danger of war. (Applause.) Then, too, women were as much affected as men by the questions of education, of the criminal code, of the treatment of prisoners, and of the system of poor-law administration. She went further, and said that there was no solution of the problems

connected with those great questions possible until men were willing to associate women with them in their consideration of the settlement. (Applause.) Over and above all this, women were the subjects of a very great number of legal restrictions and disabilities which men had formed for them, and which men had made in their own interest. These restrictions they had never had any power whatever to protest against, to modify, or even to discuss in Parliament. (Applause.) Some folks were afraid that this proposition was revolutionary, and perhaps it was a little so, but the thing to consider was whether it was right and just. It was merely the logical, natural, and wholesome outcome of the work of previous reformers. The friends of the movement were only seeking to build a perfectly harmonious structure on the foundation they had laid. (Applause.)

Miss HELENA DOWNING (London) supported the resolution.

The resolution having been put and unanimously carried,

Miss JANE E. COBDEN (daughter of the late Mr. Richard Cobden), who was heartily received, proposed the following motion: "That a memorial in the following terms be adopted and forwarded to the Right Hon. W. E. Forster and Alfred Illingworth, Esq., members for the borough of Bradford:—The memorial of women delegates and others in public meeting assembled on November 22nd, 1881, in St. George's Hall, Bradford: Respectfully sheweth,—That the exclusion of a large part of the intelligence, industry, and property of the country from participation in its government is injurious to the highest interests of the nation. That the parliamentary franchise should be extended to women who possess the qualifications which entitle men to vote, and who in all matters of local government have the right of voting. That this meeting earnestly requests you to give your support to the resolution of which Mr. Mason has given notice to the above effect." Alluding to the so-called sentimental argument that if women had the franchise and were permitted to take a more active part in the affairs of life it would unsex them, she said she would tell those who used it that that was no argument because there was no truth in it. (Cheers.) She also read a letter written in 1860 by Mr. Cobden to Mr. Joseph Parkes, whose daughter had always been a warm supporter of this movement, and who some years ago advocated this reform in the representation of the country: "My doctrine is that in proportion as physical force declines in the world, and moral power acquires the ascendant, women will gain in the scale. Christianity in its doctrines, though not yet coming up to its own standard in its practice, did more than anything since the world began to elevate women. The Quakers have acted Christianity, and their women have approached nearer to an equality with the other sex than any of the descendants of Eve. I am always labouring to put down physical force and substitute something better, and therefore I consider myself a fellow-labourer with your daughter in the cause of women's rights." She in conclusion urged upon them that if they were to obtain what they required it must be by their own exertions. (Cheers.)

Miss LYDIA BECKER seconded the motion. She said it might be deemed an omen of success that, whereas forty years ago they had Bright and Cobden agitating for the repeal of the Corn Laws, they had now the daughter of Cobden and the daughter of Bright speaking from this platform. (Cheers.) She believed with reference to the support to be derived from the members for Bradford that it was a case of "Ask and ye shall receive." Mr. Illingworth had consistently supported the movement by his votes, and with regard to Mr. Forster, she looked upon him as positively pledged to support the women's suffrage movement when the right time came. (Hear, hear.) In order to show the necessity for granting greater powers to women, Miss Becker drew attention to two cases which had appeared in the Bradford newspapers that morning. The first was a case which was heard at the Halifax County Court. A married woman, with her own earnings, purchased some shares in a society. Both the woman and her husband died, the shares at the same time remaining in her name. Her sisters, who were her heiresses, claimed the shares, but the husband's brother contested their right in the County Court, and the judge decided that he was entitled to the shares. That was very hard on the rightful claimants, and it was a law that it required women to alter. (Applause.) The second case was that of the murder and suicide in this town yesterday. Miss Becker alluded to it in the following terms:—"The other case is hideous to contemplate—it is that of the poor woman who was

murdered by her husband. On the 18th October last that man was brought before the Bradford magistrates charged with horrible cruelty to his wife. He cruelly ill-used her, and turned her out of doors in the middle of the night—she was living with a man who made her life miserable and who kept her in fear. She came to the magistrates asking for protection. What did the magistrates do? They begged her to go back and live with her husband. She was unwilling. The magistrates actually pressed her, and, under pressure, that unhappy woman returned to live with her husband. And now she is dead. Now, I ask, on whom lies the guilt of the blood of that unhappy woman? It is upon the law and the ministers of the law who thrust her back into the very jaws of death." (Applause.) Miss Becker observed that there were annually 1,500 assaults on women, or an average of about four a day. That showed that the law was very lax, and women ought to make a grand and united effort to amend it. (Applause.)

Dr. EDITH PECHEY (Leeds) supported the resolution, and remarked that a large part of the intelligence and industry of the country was excluded from participation in its government; but she felt that a new Reform Bill to afford the franchise to women would bring forward a class of electors more highly educated than the last Act did. Those who watched the first election under the last Reform Act must have felt that many of the new electors were wanting in that education which enabled people to understand the questions brought under their notice. Even at the present time political education was in a very backward state, and she had been more than once astonished at the ignorance displayed by men on the questions of the day. (Laughter, and "Hear, hear.") That in great part resulted from want of historical knowledge, and she reminded them that it had been laid down by a learned writer that there could not be politics without history nor history without politics. She would, therefore, like to see history classes established for women in each district, and having acquired a thorough knowledge they would be able to protect their own interests. (Applause.)

Mrs. ELLIS (of Dewsbury) rose to speak at a quarter-past ten o'clock, the meeting having already lasted two hours and three-quarters. She made a brief but amusing speech, and then followed

Mrs. OLIVER SCATCHERD (of Leeds), who has been conducting the women's suffrage agitation in Bradford during the last fortnight. She said that Bradford had been considered behind most towns on this question, but she did not think so. (Applause.) Liberals had said they objected to give women votes because they thought they would vote for the Conservatives; but it was very wrong of them to withhold the votes because they feared the women would not do as they wished them. The *Bradford Chronicle and Mail* had said that this agitation was a Radical dodge—(laughter)—but it was not so. She would say—

Ye fearful men, fresh courage take;  
The votes you so much dread  
Are big with mercy, and shall break  
In blessings on your head.

She had prepared an answer to the speech of Mr. W. E. Forster three years ago, but the time was too late for her to deliver it. Mr. Forster had said that the best women of the country were against the suffrage; different men held different opinions as to who were the best women, and *vice versa*. (Laughter.) Her last words to the women of Bradford would be, "Arise, shine, for your light has come." (Applause.)

Mrs. M'ILQUHAM moved a vote of thanks to Mrs. M'Laren and the other speakers.

Mrs. W. P. BYLES (Bradford) seconded the motion, and it was heartily carried.

The proceedings then terminated.

#### CONFERENCE IN THE MECHANICS' INSTITUTE.

##### FORMATION OF A LOCAL PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE.

On November 23rd, at eleven o'clock, a conference of ladies and gentlemen, to consider the best means of promoting the object of the Demonstration of the preceding night, was held in the lecture hall of the Bradford Mechanics' Institute. Mrs. R. Pesel (Bradford) presided, and there were present in the hall, Mrs. Kell, Mrs. J. Taylor (Apperley), Mrs. Whitman (Huddersfield), Miss Priestman, Mrs. E. Priestman, Mrs. M'Laren (Edinburgh), Mrs. Charles M'Laren, Miss Burton (Edinburgh), Miss Hopkins, Miss Carbutt (Leeds), Mrs. W. P. Byles, Miss Wilson, Miss Becker (Manchester),



Miss Edith Lupton, Miss Glyde, Mrs. Oliver Scatcherd (Leeds), Mrs. Walter Priestman, Miss Cobden, Mrs. M'Ilquham (Tewkesbury), Mr. Hanson, Mr. Gerson, Mr. Strauss, Mrs. W. Clark (Street), Miss Downing (Leeds), Mrs. Braithwaite, Miss Bigg, &c., &c.

The Rev. S. A. STEINTHAL (of Manchester) said he had been requested, as a member of the committee of the National Society for Women's Suffrage, to explain the object for which the present general conference had been convened—it was almost necessary after such a successful demonstration as that of last night. He could not help congratulating the promoters of that demonstration, and he felt that he must express the obligations of all who were interested in the movement to Mrs. Scatcherd, Miss Helena Downing, Mrs. Ellis, and other ladies who had been engaged in the work of preparing for the great meeting. (Applause.) Whilst he had thus spoken of those who had appeared on the platform, it would be very unjust if he did not also say how much they were indebted to those who had worked behind the scenes, foremost amongst whom was Mrs. M'Cormick. (Applause.) Without a great deal of earnest faithful work, it would have been impossible to have had such a grand gathering as that of last night. At any rate, they had done one good service; they had shown the people of this district the interest that the women in their midst took in the question, and also the ability with which women could deal with public affairs. He would not dwell on any feature connected with that meeting, nor would he speak of the general argument, because upon that question all present were agreed. The only question they were met to discuss was a practical one—namely, how they could best succeed in drawing full advantage from the work that had been devoted to the preparation of the demonstration and also from the demonstration itself. The great work that would fall upon the women of Bradford, who were interested in the movement, would be truly missionary work: they would have to convert the men to a full sense of the importance of the movement. They would have to show them that this was really one of those questions which affected the moral and social welfare of the people, and that women, although forming a most important part of the community, should not be deprived of the opportunity of benefiting the whole community by bringing special advantages of counsel and thought to the progress of affairs; but that would have to be shown in a variety of ways. He had not spent very many hours in Bradford on the present occasion, but he had already come across, in private conversation, a considerable amount of prejudice and ignorance on this great question; but he was sure that in the great circle of home life very much could be done by those who understood this movement to show that, after all, women were only asking for something that was fair and just, and which, therefore, must redound in the end to the well-being of all. (Applause.) The great means by which that end could be attained was by women taking a more active share than they had done in the general public work of the district. Voting at general elections was a very small portion of public life, but the power to vote was a very significant possession, and one of the great means by which other rights could be secured. Voting, also, was a small matter as regarded time and attention, but not as regarded the result. There were various ways in which women already took part in public services; many were engaged in religious and philanthropic works which were being carried on in Bradford, and he had no doubt that their assistance was of the greatest advantage to all concerned, as they brought with them certain special qualifications for work. The Manchester School Board, for instance, had reaped great advantage through having the attention of lady members to certain questions which came on for discussion. All were probably impressed with the valuable services which women had rendered on School Boards. London had shown them an example of how truly a persevering woman, with an intelligent and sympathising heart, had removed great obstacles in the way of proper education, and had rendered essential services to her country in bringing about an alteration of the manner in which the St. Paul's Industrial School, London, was conducted. (Applause.) Although he did not suppose that there was anything of the same character in this district as would call for the attention of such a lady as Mrs. Surr—(applause)—the work she had accomplished in London, under such circumstances as those in which the industrial school was placed, was sufficient to show the value of a woman in the management and discipline of such an institution. A

great many grievances would never have been made known had it not been for the co-operation of women in the work. He, therefore, thought that if the women of Bradford looked to the School Board—an election in connection with which body would probably take place before many years—and would see that they were fairly and properly represented, they would avail themselves of opportunities to insist upon their claims being recognised, without regard to those sectional feelings between political parties which divide the ranks at the present time. (Applause.) He had always thought some good might be derived if women assumed every right which they possessed, and used it. Unfortunately there was a little too much reticence on the part of women nowadays; they were too much biassed by the ordinary common-talk which they heard. That common-talk was very often very light froth that could soon be blown away. The Manchester society had received great co-operation from Yorkshire, and he thought that the 2,500 women who attended the demonstration last night in St. George's Hall ought to be powerful enough to form a similar society. He should be very glad if the Manchester committee was augmented with some Bradford names. There never was a time when the society needed so much help as the present. It had been said that the present Government had been pledged to reform the parliamentary suffrage and when that time came they would have to consider the claims of women. He had hoped to see the question settled during the present session, but the Government had, he was afraid, special work which had a prior claim upon their attention.

Miss BECKER, who announced as a preliminary step that she was present in a distinctly representative capacity, said that at one time there was a district committee in Leeds, but Mrs. Scatcherd, the leader of the movement in Yorkshire, thought there should be a sort of central executive body, and Manchester was the town selected for head-quarters, because there was more "machinery" at work there. She wished that there was a committee in Bradford, and then another populous centre could be brought into living union with the other work, and much good would result to the cause.

Some discussion then ensued on the desirability of forming a committee in Bradford.

A GENTLEMAN present said he should object to a Bradford committee being subordinated to the Manchester centre; it would be different if the centre were in London, but Manchester was of no more importance than Leeds or Bradford for such a purpose. He suggested that a local branch should be formed.

Miss BECKER: I am delighted to hear such a suggestion. After some further discussion, Mrs. W. P. BYLES moved that the following persons form a provisional committee, and act as they think best:—Mr. and Mrs. John Priestman, Mr. and Mrs. Frederick Priestman, Mr. and Mrs. Kell, Dr. Strauss, Mr. and Mrs. Steintahl, Mr. J. Binns, Mr. James Hanson, the Rev. J. Cuckson, Mrs. Taylor, Mr. Titus Salt, Miss M'Turk, Mrs. M'Laren, Mrs. Schlesinger, Mr. W. B. Gordon, Mr. Pesel, Mrs. Ahrons, Mrs. Braithwaite, Mrs. Ellis, and Mrs. W. P. Byles.

The resolution was seconded and carried. Speeches in support of the movement were made by Mrs. M'Laren, Miss Carbutt, Miss Downing, Mrs. Scatcherd, Miss Wilson, and Mrs. Priestman (of Bristol).

Miss BURTON, who was introduced as the sister of John Hill Burton, the "historiographer of Scotland," was called upon to address the meeting, and she spoke of the good work that was being done in Scotland with regard to women's suffrage. If they had Home Rule in Scotland, she knew that the disposition of the present members of Parliament would be to enfranchise the women.

BRADFORD MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS. MANNINGHAM WARD.

Two meetings of women electors were addressed on October 31st by Mr. Yewdall, the Liberal candidate for Manningham, Mrs. O. Scatcherd, and Miss Carbutt. Mr. Edward Priestman presided over the first meeting in the Greenfield Schoolroom, Lumb Lane, and there were present Mrs. H. B. Priestman, Mrs. F. R. Pesel, Mrs. W. P. Byles, the Rev. J. R. Rendell, Messrs. J. Hanson, E. Thomas, Milligan, Mellor, W. S. B. M'Laren, and W. P. Byles.—The chairman opening the proceedings, by saying that so far as he understood the object of that meeting it was not to consider whether it was wise or politic that women should have the power of

exercising civil and municipal rights, but to consider how they could make the best use of the rights already conferred upon them with regard to the municipal votes.—Mr. Yewdall, Mrs. Scatcherd, Miss Carbutt, Mrs. W. P. Byles, the Rev. J. R. Rendell, and Mr. W. M'Laren addressed the meeting, after which a vote of confidence in Mr. Yewdall was unanimously passed.

The second meeting was held in Kensington Hall, Girdlington, under the presidency of Alderman J. Hill. Here Mrs. Scatcherd again spoke upon the importance of a proper use of the municipal vote, and in doing so referred to the great necessity of retaining full authority over the police. Any attempt on the part of the Government to withdraw the authority from local bodies must be met with strong opposition. Miss Carbutt seconded the resolution, and it was carried unanimously. The chairman then made a few observations, in the course of which he said that the women electors of Manningham Ward numbered at least 700. Mr. Yewdall also spoke, and was followed by Mr. Storey, who, in proposing a vote of confidence in Mr. Yewdall, discussed at some length the attitude taken by the Conservative party on school board questions. Mr. Fawell seconded the resolution, and it was carried unanimously. The proceedings terminated with a vote of thanks to the chairman.

DEBATING SOCIETIES. SOUTH NORWOOD.

A discussion on "Woman's Right to Vote" was held by the members of South Norwood Literary and Scientific Society on November 21. Miss C. A. Biggs, Mr. Micklem, Mr. Woods, Mr. Goodwin, Mr. Mylne, Mr. Cross, Mr. Wickham Jones, Mr. Heston, and others took part.

BURTON STREET.

On November 12 a discussion took place in the Eclectic Debating Society, Burton-street, London, on "The Right of Women to Vote." By special request Mrs. Charles M'Laren attended as delegate from the Society. Mr. J. S. Symon also addressed the meeting, which was well attended.

HAMPSTEAD.

On November 9, an interesting debate took place at the Hampstead Liberal Club, Mr. Frederic Hill (brother of the late Sir Rowland Hill) presiding. Mr. C. E. Maurice opened the subject by advocating the extension of the parliamentary suffrage to women. The discussion was continued by Mr. E. Elliott, Mr. Millist, the Rev. W. A. Macdonald, M.A., and Mr. Provost, in support of Mr. Maurice's argument, and by Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Skinner in opposition to it.

HULL.

An essay in favour of women's suffrage was read at the Hull Radical Club, on the 22nd November, by Mr. J. Glover, Mr. N. B. Billany in the chair. There was a good attendance.

SALFORD.

An essay on women's suffrage was read at the Crescent Ward Liberal Club on the 18th November, by Mr. William Clare.

CHELTENHAM.

On October 31st a debate took place at the Highbury Literary Society, Cheltenham, on the subject, "Should Women have the Parliamentary Franchise?" The affirmative was ably undertaken by Mr. Moore, the negative by Mr. Holding.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS, FROM OCTOBER 28 TO NOVEMBER 28, 1881.

Table listing subscriptions and donations for the Central Committee from Oct 28 to Nov 28, 1881. Includes names like Mrs. Lynch, Mrs. S. W. Browne, Mr. C. Hopwood, etc., with amounts.

LAURA M'LAREN, TREASURER, 64, BERNERS-STREET, W.

DRAWING ROOM MEETINGS. CHELTENHAM.

An afternoon meeting in support of the appointment of a delegate from Cheltenham to the demonstration at Bradford was held on 19th November, at the residence of Mrs. General Colby, Napier House, Cheltenham, when an address was delivered by Miss Emily Sturge. The appointment of Mrs. M'Ilquham, of Staverton, was seconded by Mrs. Hume-Rothery. Present: The Rev. John Roberts in the chair, Miss Baker, Mrs. Bucknell, Miss Dymond, Mrs. Field, Mrs. Hopkins, Mrs. Horsley, Miss Hooper, Mrs. Rowley Lloyd, Rev. W. M. and Mrs. Lennox, Mrs. M'Ilquham, — Moore, Esq., Mrs. Peckenhams, Mr., Mrs., and Miss Smith, Miss Yardley, and others. The nomination of Mrs. M'Ilquham was carried unanimously.

MANCHESTER NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

Table of General Subscriptions for November, 1881. Lists names and amounts, including Mrs. Barker, Mrs. Thomas Hibbert, Mr. W. E. A. Axon, etc.

SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR BRADFORD DEMONSTRATION.

Table of Subscriptions for Bradford Demonstration, split into Bradford and Leeds sections. Lists names and amounts, including Mrs. James Taylor, Mrs. Titus Salt, Mrs. Alfred Illingworth, etc.

S. ALFRED STEINTHAL, TREASURER, 28, JACKSON'S ROW, MANCHESTER.

BRISTOL AND WEST OF ENGLAND.

SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS FROM OCT. 21 TO NOV. 20.

Table of Subscriptions and Donations for Bristol and West of England from Oct 21 to Nov 20. Lists names and amounts, including Mrs. R. B. Rutter, Mrs. Rev. U. R. Thomas, etc.

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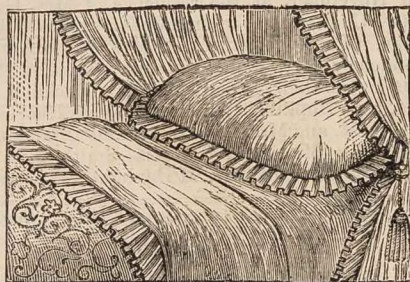
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