

# WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE JOURNAL.

EDITED BY LYDIA E. BECKER.

VOL. XIV.—No. 163. INTERIM NUMBER.

JULY 19, 1883.

PRICE ONE PENNY.  
By Post THREE HALFPENCE.

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## NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

### THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

WILL BE HELD AT THE

WESTMINSTER PALACE HOTEL, VICTORIA STREET, S.W.,

ON THURSDAY, JULY 19TH, 1883,

To receive the Report and Financial Statement, and to elect the Executive Committee for the ensuing year.

R. P. BLENNERHASSETT, Esq., M.P., W. S. CAINE, Esq., M.P., Dr. CAMERON, M.P., Mrs. ASHWORTH HALLETT, C. H. HOPWOOD, Esq., Q.C., M.P., COLERIDGE J. KENNARD, Esq., M.P., Miss MULLER, L.S.B., Miss C. A. BIGGS, The Right Hon. JAMES STANSFELD, M.P., J. P. THOMASSON, Esq., M.P., Miss BECKER, Mrs. CHANT, Miss WILKINSON, and other Ladies and Gentlemen are expected to be present.

CHAIR TO BE TAKEN AT THREE P.M. BY

LEONARD COURTNEY, ESQ., M.P.

The attendance of Members and Friends is invited.

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CONTENTS FOR JULY, 1883.

1. Position of Women in America. By Susan B. Anthony.  
2. Hospital Management. By L. O. Chant.  
3. The Lesson of a Defeat.

Record of Events : Cambridge—Royal University of Ireland—Victoria University—Women's Suffrage : Mr. Mason's Resolution ; Division List ; Meetings—Women as Poor Law Guardians—Annual Meeting—Position of Women in America—Criminal Law Amendment Bill—Marriage with Deceased Wife's Sister Bill—Female Clerks—Women's Protection and Provident League—The Red Cross Order—Irish Lace Exhibition—An Engineer—Obituary : Miss Swaine—Miscellaneous.

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

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

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"The amount of information compressed into a very small space is not more remarkable than the skill with which it is arranged and digested."—*Social Notes*, May 6, 1881

"... Gives a brief account of the laws, enabling, and disabling, which affect the condition of women. It is a useful summary."—*Spectator*, Jan 14, 1882.

ADDRESS UPON WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE IN WYOMING, delivered at Association Hall, Philadelphia, by Gov. JOHN W. HOYT, of Wyoming Territory, U.S.A., on April 3, 1882. Price Threepence.—Published by the Central Committee of the National Society for Women's Suffrage, 64, Berners-street, London, W.

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The question of Woman Suffrage, the rights and status of Woman, has already become one of the vital political issues of the day; therefore, its relation to political, social, and religious questions should be thoroughly understood.

The *Phila. Evening Bulletin* says: "The magnitude of this history prevents us from giving even a sketch of it, but we simply and honestly say that it is a noble production, honourable to its editors and to its subject, and fairly representing the characters of the really great women, like Mrs. Stone, Lucretia Mott, Harriet Martineau, and scores of others in England and this country, who made the claim of equal rights of suffrage a part of their political and religious creeds."

The *N. Y. Observer* says: "The able editors present this work as an arsenal of facts, to which all interested in the subject may resort and find whatever is worth knowing in regard to the movement. The history of such a movement is full of interest, and while the material is at hand and easily gathered, the editors have done well to gather it into these thick volumes, and preserve it as a part of the record of this remarkable age. The portraits of women here presented make us acquainted with the features of some who have become famous."

To be had from the office of this Journal, 28, Jackson's Row, Manchester.

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.

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

PETITIONS.

PARLIAMENTARY FRANCHISE.—For Extension to Women.

FIFTEENTH REPORT, 20—26 June, 1883.

Table of petitions for the 15th report, June 1883. Includes entries for NANTYGLO, ABERCARNE, CALSTOCK, CHELTENHAM, MILBORNE PORT, STOURBRIDGE, PONTNEWYDD, MITCHELDEAN, TINSBURY near Bath, JARROW, Charles Palmer, TREDEGAR, BLAINA, LISBURN, BATH, Female Ratepayers, MOSS SIDE DISTRICT, FISGUARD, H. M. MCKAY, and STROUD.

Total number of Petitions 242—Signatures 6,275

SIXTEENTH REPORT, 27 June—3 July, 1883.

Table of petitions for the 16th report, June-July 1883. Includes entries for STANNINGLEY Liberal Club, BEESTON Liberal Club, GLASTONBURY, HUDDERSFIELD, DANIEL CORK, HYDE, NEW CROSS, ARMLEY Radical Club, ILFRACOMBE, MORCHARD BISHOP, PORT GLASGOW, WIMBORNE, PLUMSTEAD, WOOLWICH, PORTSMOUTH, HELEN LAW, GEORGINA HARDIE, LLANGRISTOLUS, PEMBROKE, MANSFIELD Improvement Commissioners, MANSFIELD, and YEOVIL.

Table of petitions for July 1883. Includes entries for BARNET and neighbourhood, NORTH BERWICK, E. W. JAMES, A. E. SEYMOUR, WREXHAM, CAMBUSLANG, BARNSTAPLE, and others.

SEVENTEENTH REPORT, 4—10 July, 1883.

Table of petitions for the 17th report, July 1883. Includes entries for STONEHOUSE, GLASGOW Women Householdors, ANNIE GARDNER, ELIZABETH H. PEACOCK, D. BEVAN JONES, MONMOUTH, NEWFORD, PEMBROKE, CRYMMECH, GOODWICK, HATCHAM, CHELSEA, LEEDS, EAST HUNSLLET, NEW WORTLEY, DAWLISH, PADDOCK, E. J. BOON, ISLINGTON, PLYMOUTH, Principal and Students of Western College, PLYMOUTH, HEREFORD, LEOMINSTER, JOHN WILSON, NEWFORD, ERNEST TIETKENS, LOSTWITHIEL, CAROLINE F. CAIRD, GLASGOW Women householders, YORK and vicinity, POLLOCKSHIELDS, LLANWADEN, NEATH, EYESHAM, CHARLOTTE ELIZABETH BABB, KATE LLOYD ARROYD, WORCESTER, TENBURY, PLYMOUTH, and TETBURY.

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PRICE ONE PENNY. BY POST THREE HALFPENCE.

THE debate and division on Mr. MASON'S Resolution may be regarded as a preliminary skirmish in anticipation of the serious effort that will be made to include the extension of the franchise to duly qualified women in the provisions of the next Reform Bill.

The result of the division shows a marked advance on the position of the question, as compared with the division which took place in 1879. Mr. MASON was supported by 114 votes, while the opponents mustered 130, a majority against the proposal of only 16.

The majority of 132, including tellers, which rejected the proposal consisted of 78 Conservatives, 51 Liberals, and 3 Home Rulers. The minority of 116, also counting tellers, was composed of 84 Liberals, 19 Conservatives, and 13 Home Rulers.

Counting votes, tellers, and pairs on each side, the numbers are 161 in favour and 177 against. Of the latter there are 99 Conservatives, 73 Liberals, 5 Home Rulers. The 161 supporters consist of 117 Liberals, 29 Conservatives, and 15 Home Rulers.

These indications show the direction in which political and public opinion is moving, and they afford a reason-

able ground for the expectation that, when the question shall come for discussion in the practical shape of a clause in the next Reform Bill, it will be found impossible to resist the claim put forward on behalf of women for admission within the pale of the Constitution.

THE Resolution moved by Mr. MASON was in the following terms:—"That in the opinion of this House 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."

A notice of amendment appeared in the name of Mr. E. A. LEATHAM, to leave out all the words after "House," in order to insert the words "it is undesirable to change the immemorial basis of the franchise whereby men only are qualified to elect members of Parliament."

In moving his Resolution, Mr. MASON said his motion did not mean the degradation of the franchise or the conferring of any fancy franchise at present unknown to the constitution. It simply meant the giving of the Parliamentary franchise to those women who already possessed the vote for municipal councils, for school boards, for boards of guardians, and other similar matters.

Baron DE WORMS, in seconding the resolution, said that the fact of his doing so afforded a sufficient proof that this was not a party question. If further evidence were required, it was furnished in the fact that Mr. DISRAELI said in 1866 that a woman having property ought now

to have a vote. In the course of the present Parliament probably a large measure of electoral reform would be introduced, its object being to extend the franchise to farm labourers in the country. Yet while it was proposed to give these the franchise it would be withheld from women who were better educated, and who in some instances might be the employers of the very men on whom the right of voting was about to be conferred. A vote would be given to the uneducated yokel, while it would be refused to the educated woman who employed him. There was a considerable number of women who owned land. According to the return of owners of land in England and Wales in 1872, called the *New Domesday Book*, the number of women landowners of one acre and upwards was given as 37,806 out of 269,547. Thus the proportion was one in seven. In Ireland the proportion of women was one in eight. If they assumed the proportion of women to men householders to be the same in non-municipal as in municipal districts, there would be between 300,000 and 400,000 women who, being householders and rated to the relief of the poor, would be entitled to exercise the suffrage. It had never been assumed that women were less loyal and patriotic than men. They were educated and intelligent, and what reason could there be, in the face of facts like these, why the House of Commons should withhold from women so qualified the privileges and rights to which, in his opinion, they were as much entitled as men.

Mr. E. A. LEATHAM, in opposing the proposal, said nothing could exceed the simplicity with which its advocates ignored the universal practice of mankind in all ages and countries. It had been hinted that he could not be a Radical because he was opposed to this motion. But a man who could turn his back on the universal experience of mankind was much more than a Radical, he was a Nihilist. For what reasons were women to be enfranchised? It could not be that women paid taxes, for taxation and representation had long since shaken hands and parted. The man who made the largest contribution to the State was the drunkard, who had no vote at all. Then the reason could not be that women were owners of property. Upon that principle the owner of 10,000 acres ought to have 10,000 votes. There were substantial restrictions, more or less arbitrary, on the qualification for the vote. It was required that the voter should be a man, for the right of voting had always been based upon manhood. But it was said that the municipal franchise had been given to

women. If, however, Parliament had made a mistake which was trivial, that was no reason for making a mistake which might be serious in its results. The true woman, pure, faithful, and shrinking from publicity, was noble enough already; only let her retain that nobility, and she would never regret being debarred from the mire and filth of a political election.

Mr. Inderwick said he had some difficulty in coming to a conclusion whether the hon. member for Ashton-under-Lyne intended to give the franchise to women in general or only to women entitled to vote in local elections. The statements that had been made with respect to women first enjoying the municipal franchise by virtue of the Act of 1869 were only to a certain extent correct. Before 1835 the wives and daughters of freemen in many corporations had certain privileges, and had the right to vote in municipal elections. In 1835 that right was taken away by an Act of Parliament passed by the general consent of both sides of the House. But it appeared that the Local Government Board had power to grant municipal charters, and in these charters it became the practice to bestow the power of voting upon women. As these corporations increased, the anomaly occurred that in some corporations women were permitted to vote and in others they were not. The Government of the day thought it desirable to place them all on the same footing, and in 1869 an Act was passed creating women ratepayers electors in all municipal boroughs. It must be remembered that women could already be churchwardens, parish constables, overseers, or even high sheriffs. But had any one heard of women holding these offices, and was it not therefore a fair argument to say they would not hold other similar offices, even if the right to hold them were conferred upon them? The fact was, the question was encircled with difficulties, and he doubted whether the advantage to be gained would outweigh these difficulties. He believed that the enfranchisement of women would be a calamity to the country, because it would add tens of thousands to that already too numerous class of electors who did not know their own minds.

Mr. Ellis Ashmead Bartlett did not agree with the hon. and learned gentleman who had just sat down, that the conferring the franchise upon women would increase the fluctuating opinion of the country. He thought, on the contrary, that the views of women on the great social, economical, and moral questions, which were really of more importance than so-called political questions, were more stable than those of men.

He feared the hon. member had been somewhat unfortunate in the women whose views he had the opportunity of studying. For his own part he had found that women were strongly and permanently devoted to the reclamation of the race. They were devoted to the cause of temperance, of morality, of the improved condition of the poor, and to the cause of education. It was impossible on grounds of logic to deny women the political suffrage. He regarded the conferring the franchise on women as essentially a Conservative measure. The Conservative party were interested in the preservation of all that was good and desirable in the country, and it was clear that the tendency of women was to agree with them in that. If he had felt any doubt before, the reference to the views of the late Lord Beaconsfield would have decided him, and he hoped it would induce hon. members on that side to support the motion.

Mr. Beresford-Hope opposed the Resolution, concluding his speech by saying that, in this time of the omnipotent reign of fads, the idea of enfranchising the charming portion of mankind was a preposterous and revolutionary suggestion.

Mr. Henry H. Fowler said the hon. members for Huddersfield and Rye never touched the principle on which the franchise was granted. It was co-existent with the ownership or occupation of property. The owners and occupiers of one sex being admitted, it rested with those who objected to show why the other sex should be excluded. Why should they have it? He would rather put it: Why should they not? Women were taxed, and they ought to be represented. It was proposed to extend the Parliamentary franchise to women, who equally with men were separate individuals and owners of property, who discharged all the duties of property, and who claimed all the rights of property. He thought the House overlooked and neglected many questions in which the women of England had the deepest interest. He believed this extension of the franchise would be not a political danger but a political benefit. It was for this reason, and also because he could not ignore the historical fact that the influence of women for the last fifty years had always been on the side of the good and the true, that he should be glad to see women brought within the pale of the Constitution.

Mr. Newdegate said the hon. member had ended his remarks with a political watchword—progress. He was afraid that in his dull constitutional way he should be obliged to answer that with the question, "Whither?"

He asserted that in the constitutional history there was an antecedent condition to the occupation or possession of property, and that qualification was fitness. He had seen an hon. member expelled from that House because he was not of sound mind. (Laughter.) Bankrupts were not fit, women were not fit—(hear, hear, and murmurs)—and priests were not fit. (Loud laughter.)

Mr. Jacob Bright said that what gave importance to the question now was the fact that the Government would endeavour to extend the franchise. Those who were in favour of the present motion strongly objected to the franchise being extended as it had been heretofore. They said if it was to be household suffrage it should be real household suffrage, that the houses of which women were the head should not be passed over as though they contained no human beings possessed of rights or with interests to protect. It was estimated that something like one house in seven had a woman as its head. Who were those women? One of them was a woman of property, another was eminent in art or literature, another was a benevolent woman who went about as a ministering angel among the poor and suffering, and the major part would be persons in humble life who worked hard to support their families. Why, then, should these houses be passed over? That question had not been answered that night in a manner to satisfy either the people of this country or those who were excluded from the franchise. To declare women incapable of voting, however large their property, and however great their intellect, and to declare men who possessed neither property nor intellect capable of voting, was calculated to degrade women in their own estimation and in the estimation of the public at large. He believed it would be advantageous to woman to have the franchise, and advantageous to members of the House to have their support.

Mr. Raikes said he recognised in woman a great moral superiority to the other sex, but if they were going to detach her from those duties which were recognised as peculiarly her own and ask her to turn her attention to political questions, to study the columns of the daily newspapers to the exclusion of other duties, in order to arrive at conclusions on subjects which she could scarcely be expected fully to understand, and to take her out of that sphere in which she contributed so largely to the happiness of the other sex, he feared the result would be far from beneficial to both sexes alike. In voting against this Resolution, so far from being desirous of disparaging the merits or the capacity of women, he was only anxious

to save for them the safe and honourable seclusion which he believed had been given them by nature and by general consent for their happiness.

Mr. COURTNEY protested against the notion that women would be degraded by being brought into contact with political life. On the contrary, it would supply what she required, whether for herself or as the companion of man. Women had assisted so admirably in administering the poor-law that the Local Government Board itself had nominated them where they had not been elected, and successive Presidents endeavoured to promote their election. So far as his experience of public life went, women exercised their political functions just as easily as men.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL (Sir H. James) said women lacked the experience which was necessary for the conduct of public affairs. The men sitting in that House had all practical experience in different walks of life. Some had military experience, others legal, and others commercial. But what knowledge had women of such matters? There was a class in this country which did not often make its voice heard, and yet it had at times determined the state of parties. He referred to those men who cared little for political life, but who found their happiness in their homes, and who believed that upon the stability of those homes the greatness and prosperity of the country depended. If once they should think that the women who formed their happiness were about to be called from their houses to join in public affairs, they would unhesitatingly prohibit such a movement.

The House divided, and the numbers were—

For Mr. MASON'S Resolution ... ..	114
Against ... ..	130
	—16

The Resolution was therefore lost.

A FULL report of the speeches in the Parliamentary debate, with other intelligence relating to the movement, will be given in our next issue to be published on August the 1st.

#### MR. W. CUNLIFFE BROOKS, M.P., AT HOLLINGWORTH.

At a largely-attended public meeting of the Conservatives of the Mottram polling district of the Parliamentary division of East Cheshire held on July 13th, in the National Schools, Hollingworth, Mr. T. H. Sidebottom in the chair, Messrs. W. Cunliffe Brooks and Leigh addressed their constituents. In the course of his address, reviewing the work of the present session, Mr. Cunliffe Brooks first alluded to the motion with regard to women's suffrage, and said he could not see how the franchise could be much longer denied to those women who possessed the same qualifications which entitled men to it. (Applause.) Mr. Cunliffe Brooks had recorded his vote in the previous week in favour of Mr. Mason's resolution.

## PUBLIC MEETINGS.

### GREAT MEETING IN LONDON.

A large and influential meeting took place under the auspices of the National Society for Women's Suffrage, in St. James' Hall, Piccadilly, London, on Thursday, the 5th of July, in support of the resolution to be moved by Mr. Hugh Mason in the House of Commons on the following evening, extending the Parliamentary franchise to women who possess the qualifications which entitle men to vote. The bills announcing the meeting stated that the chair would be taken at eight o'clock, but long before that hour the galleries and the back seats were crowded. Banners, representing delegates from nearly all the large towns in the country, were arranged round the platform, and hanging from the galleries were scrolls containing quotations from Mr. Disraeli, Pitt, Sir Andrew Lusk, M.P., and Mr. John Bright, in favour of women's suffrage, and Dan O'Connell's famous injunction, "Agitate, agitate, agitate!" Mr. WOODALL, M.P., occupied the chair, and amongst the ladies and gentlemen present were Mrs. Lucas, Miss Sharman Crawford, Lady Wilde, Miss Becker, Mrs. Chant, Miss Frances Lord, Miss Davenport Hill, Miss F. E. Albert, Miss Drew, Mrs. Savile, Mrs. E. Cady Stanton and Miss Anthony, of New York; Mrs. Frank Hill, Mrs. Paterson, His Excellency the Serbian Minister, Mr. Hallett, Mr. Thomasson, M.P., Mrs. Fenwick Miller, Mr. and Mrs. Alfred Bennett, Mr. Blennerhassett, M.P., Mr. J. Raper, Mr. Charles Hancock, Mrs. Pennington, Mrs. Lankester, Miss Jenner, Cardiff; Mrs. E. M. Lynch, Miss Stacpoole, Mr. Baker, Miss Williams, Mr. Mark Marsden, Mr. Blake, M.P., Mr. Hopwood, M.P., Mr. Illingworth, M.P., Mr. Burt, M.P., Mr. and Mrs. Walter McLaren, Miss Lidgett, Miss Andrews, Mr. Lewis Morris, Mr. Fox Turner, Manchester; Mrs. W. Chapman, Mr. Charles McLaren, M.P., &c.

The following were delegates from various parts of the United Kingdom: Mrs. Duncan McLaren and Miss Kirkland, Edinburgh; Professor Lindsay, D.D., Glasgow; Miss Tod, Belfast; Mr. Russell, Dublin; Mrs. Thomasson, Bolton; Miss Gill, Leicester; Mrs. Ashford and Miss Eliza Sturge, Birmingham; Mrs. Beddoe, Clifton; Mrs. Ashworth Hallett, Miss Priestman, Miss M. Priestman, Miss Colby, Miss Tanner, Rev. Urijah Thomas and Mr. G. F. Jones, Bristol; Mrs. Jeffrey, Bath; Rev. S. A. Steintal, Mrs. McCormick, and Miss Backhouse, Manchester; Miss E. Smith and Mrs. Moss, Hyde; Mrs. Oliver Scatherd, Mrs. Marshall, Mrs. J. R. Ford, and Miss Alice Hurst, Leeds; Mrs. Vero and Mrs. Ellis, Batley; Mrs. Cowen, Nottingham; Miss Lupton, Bradford; Miss Laura Whittle and Miss Jessie McGregor, Liverpool; Rev. Mr. Wells, Luton.

The CHAIRMAN, who, on rising, was received with applause, said: Ladies and gentlemen, I would have you to believe that I am very sensible of the honour of being asked to preside over a meeting so large and important as this, and one which, I hope, will prove to be so influential; at the same time I should very much have preferred to have taken a less obtrusive part in, under the presidency of one of those very distinguished ladies whom I see around me. ("Hear, hear," and applause.) But, happily, I cannot suppose that any particular difficulty will attach to the duties which I am called upon to perform, and I see no particular reason for intruding myself at any great length, seeing that you so very much desire to hear the speakers who follow. In the course of the debates which preceded the great extension of the suffrage which led to the Act of 1867, a very important utterance came from our great Prime Minister—Mr. Gladstone. (Applause.) On that occasion he laid down the proposition that the onus of proof rested with those who opposed the extension rather than with those who asked for it. (Applause.) And that which was true then, appears to me to be peculiarly true on the present occasion—(renewed applause)—since we are only asking for the removal of a disability attaching—merely on the ground of sex—to those who are, on every other legal qualification, entitled to vote. (Applause.) To-morrow night, Mr. Hugh Mason, who is honoured by being your champion, is to submit to the House of Commons a definite and practical proposal. We have a right to expect that a proposal, which will be communicated to the House by logical argument and by something like reasonable persuasion, should be met in a like spirit. On former occasions the arguments of Mr. Mill—(applause)—and other hardly less distinguished men, had been treated in a spirit of badinage and a kind of humour which was not always perfect even in point of taste.

Replies to these arguments were generally adduced rather to extraneous propositions evolved out of the imaginations of the speakers. Those who, in the exercise of their judgment, think proper to oppose this proposal of Mr. Mason's will, I think, have sufficient to do to vindicate the many anomalies with which the subject is full. For instance the highest position in the State has long been filled by a woman—(applause)—who has discharged the difficult and delicate duties devolving upon that great office with what is admitted on all hands to have been statesman-like capacity which none of her predecessors had ever equalled, and so it has happened, that while no throne in Europe has been stable through all the vicissitudes of party and the changes of governments, our monarchy is at this moment more highly placed in the affections of the people than has ever been in any period of our history—(cheers)—and yet, although there are so many women with no less intellectual power than that of the Queen herself, these ladies are not thought fit persons to be allowed to exercise the franchise in favour of the man who is called upon to act for them as their representative in the House of Commons. (Shame.) I believe it has been established that of the landowners in England and Wales one-seventh are women, and these ladies have devolving upon them, as you know, the most important duties. Their opinion and choice is often decisive in the selection of Parliamentary candidates. (Applause.) Upon them devolves patronage and other important functions in regard to the Church, and their influence is often sought and commonly acknowledged in regard to public affairs, but when the day of polling comes these ladies have to stand on one side and see their own labourers who live in the boroughs—and shortly they will see the labourers who live in the agricultural districts—go up to record their votes; yes, stand on one side as if the matter was something quite beyond their own concern. Nor need I remind you of the many cases in which there devolves upon widows—in some cases inherited by daughters—the conduct of extremely important commercial undertakings. In their case, although they have to exercise large and important responsibilities in the course of their duty, the same anomaly presents itself; but while these may be few, we know that there are hundreds of thousands of women of the poorer classes who toil amid many hardships to fulfil their duties as householders, and who are accordingly interested—more interested perhaps than any other class of the community in wise laws and good government. (Cheers.) Surely, in relation to all these cases, the old saying that taxation entitles to representation is at least equally as true in the case of women as in the case of men;—(hear, hear)—and I think it would not be difficult to show that ancient usage fortifies the claim which Mr. Mason will have to make to-morrow night. Up to a period, however, comparatively recent—up to the last decade—the question was more or less argued as an abstract rather than one of a practical character; but the Education Acts, and the institution of vote by ballot, have brought things to a very different state, and so it happens that recently women have, in different parts of the country, been in the habit of voting without the smallest inconvenience and with generally happy results. There have been testimonies borne by public bodies, by town councils, by governing boards of various kinds, of the most important and most satisfactory kind. (Applause.) I am told that petitions in favour of the objects of this society have been signed by the town councils of several important boroughs, and that great organisations like the Liberal associations of Leeds and Huddersfield have declared in favour of the proposal. (Applause.) Indeed, there is hardly an important centre in the kingdom in which there has not been a demonstration in favour of the objects of this meeting. (Renewed applause.) Women have had to bear the penalties in certain peccant boroughs by having to share as householders in the contributions which have been enforced upon the unhappy ratepayers of such places as Deal, Macclesfield, and Chester, where the "nobler sex" has disgraced itself by introducing corruption in elections. (Applause.) It is quite possible that upon certain questions women may not be able to take as "all-round" a view as men may. I express no opinion on that; but certainly the view must be very narrow and very prejudiced which refuses to admit the enormous services which have been rendered to the community by the part which women have, in recent years, played in the administration of many social affairs. (Applause.) Surely everyone must feel how beneficent has been the influence which they have exercised in bringing about a wiser and a more humane administration of the

poor-law—(loud applause)—especially in the part which they have taken in caring for the judicious training of children, and in the after-regard to the interests of those who misfortune has made pauper children. But we are so continually told that their great characteristic is a certain benevolent weakness—a certain emotional gush, which makes them untrustworthy—that, I would like to ask: Where has the charity organisation found wiser, more trustworthy agents than in the noble army of women who have devoted themselves to the cares, the habits, and the lives of the poorer classes of this great metropolis?—(applause)—or where can you find more convincing examples of a wise and devoted benevolence than is to be found in the management of the reformatories and industrial schools conducted by women, who have applied to that management all the refinement and education of which they are possessed? (Hear, hear, and applause.) Surely, ladies and gentlemen, in view of considerations like these, we must agree that it would be a grave misfortune if anything were done by the legislature to restrain or discourage the part which women take in the management of these affairs for which they have shown such eminently appropriate gifts. We are continually reminded that social questions are pressing, and will continue to press more and more upon Parliament, and, therefore, I think this meeting will agree that we should not retard, but that we should welcome women to the Parliamentary ballot box. (Applause.) I have been told that there are some of my friends who hesitate a little—(cries of "Right, right," and slight disturbance at the back of the hall)—upon this question, because it is supposed that women will vote for the political party which is not that favoured by a considerable number in this room. (Slight indications of dissent.) These are considerations which have never weighed when the question before Parliament was that of the extension of the suffrage, and I only mention it here in order to dismiss it. (Applause.) Where women are kept from active public life their views may be narrow, and they may have an undue respect for authority; but I contend that the cure, if it be wanted, will be found in the remedy of freedom itself. "Let justice be done though the heavens fall." (Applause.) And we may accept that axiom the more readily because we may well be convinced that we are never so far from disaster as when our conduct is animated by a fearless spirit of reliance upon justice and equity. (Loud applause.) I have great pleasure in calling upon Mrs. Fawcett to move the first resolution.

Mrs. FAWCETT, wife of the Postmaster-General, in moving a resolution declaring "That the Parliamentary franchise should be extended to women who possess the qualifications which entitle men to vote," said that those who had been labouring on behalf of the removal of the electoral disabilities of women felt that a very critical time in the history of this agitation was now approaching. The old familiar arguments that taxation without representation is tyranny, that those who are subject to the law and fulfil the obligations of citizenship should not be excluded from all share of making the laws, would be heard over and over again. But they wished to remind the Liberals and Radicals who had done so much to remove political disabilities that the disability of sex was as repugnant to true Liberalism as the disabilities of race or religion. They wished to remind the Tories that if a fair representation of property was what they were aiming at they were acting very inconsistently if they supported a system which gave no representation to property, however vast, if it happened to be owned by a woman. It was sometimes said "What practical good will be done to women and to the general community by giving women votes?" She would reply, exactly the same good that is done to other people by self-government and representative government as opposed to government by an autocrat or by an oligarchy. Let people learn that they had the power to take care of themselves, that faults in their system of government were not due to the tyranny of others, but to their own lassitude and want of zeal in correcting them. Representation was the motive power for the redress of legislative grievances. All our history pointed in the same direction. But perhaps it would be said, while admitting that much yet remained to be done before the balance is adjusted so as to give perfect justice to women, yet that much has already been done. The Married Women's Property Act of last year had redressed a great and crying evil. Why might not other evils be redressed in the same way? To such as use this argument it might be replied, in the first place, the Married

Women's Property Act would probably never have been introduced or heard of if it had not been for the wider movement to give Parliamentary representation to women. All good things must have a beginning, and if this demand for a share in political power was good in itself, it was none the worse for being, as compared, say, with tyranny and selfishness, new. Mrs. Fawcett concluded by moving the resolution which stood in her name. [\*.\* Mrs. Fawcett's speech in full, with additions, is shortly to appear in the *Nineteenth Century*.]

Mr. ILLINGWORTH, M.P. : Ladies and gentlemen, though it is only five minutes ago that I received an intimation that I should be asked to second this resolution, I do so with the greatest cordiality and pleasure, especially after hearing the speech of my esteemed friend, Mrs. Fawcett. (Cheers.) The few words which I shall venture to address to this meeting will be more formal in one sense than anything else ; but I cannot refrain from saying that I have uniformly, since I have had a seat in the House of Commons, given my vote in favour of the extension of the franchise to women—that is to women who occupy the same position as men in the eye of the law by the discharge of those duties and the meeting of those obligations which confer on the male sex the right of the franchise. I think it is essential that those who are seeking to advance this question and to realise that which is involved in the agitation should keep it up at the full blast. (Cheers.) Nothing is so uncertain as political life, and it may be before we are twelve months older that we shall be in the midst of a Parliamentary agitation for the extension of the franchise to the agricultural labourer. (Cheers.) Well, should the opportunity be lost for conferring the franchise upon women on the occasion when it is extended to the agricultural labourer, I should regard it as a great misfortune, not alone to the women who will have suffered defeat and been denied an act of justice ; but because I believe that the community at large will suffer a loss almost incalculable in its range, extending not merely to the United Kingdom, but throughout the civilised world. (Cheers.) Now, I would ask this very simple question : Is the state of society around us such as leaves nothing to be desired in a civilised and Christian nation ? Is the war spirit such that nothing remains to be done ? Is drunkenness an evil of a light nature, and are its consequences so trivial as not to be felt in every household and in every family and relationship of life ? (Hear, hear.) And what are known as the social evils, and the various forms of injustice and oppression and tyranny which still remain amongst us, are they so trivial as not to call for the anxious consideration and united efforts of all who have the welfare of the human race at heart ? (Cheers.) It is my belief that it is to the women that we may look with confidence and assurance for raising the tone of society on all these matters. (Cheers.) We hear it said very glibly that the war system is supported as much by the favour of women as it is by the folly of men. It is my complaint that we have relegated women to a life of frivolity and treated them as children and as dolls—(laughter)—and that the male sex on their part have suffered a corresponding degradation, and have been worshippers of materialism, of martial glory, of brutality, and of many things that are degrading to our civilisation and Christianity. (Cheers.) I say that the influence of such charming women as Mrs. Fawcett, Mrs. McLaren, and crowds of others whom this agitation has brought into note, should be felt in every sphere, and men should be compelled to listen to what they have to say in order to bring about a realisation of their views as to what society is and what it ought to be. (Cheers.) This country is in a position of great pre-eminence in the civilised world. To Great Britain other nations are looking for deliverance from the evils which are depressing society all over the civilised world. The whole continent of Europe is one huge battlefield. It has not recovered from the effects of the great war between France and Germany. Its miseries are still to be found in the households of thousands and millions in both countries. The heel of militarism is pressing to the earth the labouring classes in both countries, and not in these countries alone but every country in Europe, and Great Britain is slavishly following their example. I make an appeal to the women of England, for through them more than the men, either inside the House of Commons or outside it, it is possible to redeem this country and society at large from this terrible scourge of military glory. (Cheers.) What humanity might realise by the curtailment of this vicious system and kindred systems to which I have referred no man can measure. Every

home would be made nobler, happier, and purer ; and society would not have its resources worse than wasted—resources which might be used for the elevation of humanity and in making the homes of the humblest as happy as the homes of the noblest of the land. I ask for the co-operation of all women in the grand crusade against the follies, the passions, and the pastimes of the day. (Cheers.)

Mrs. OLIVER SCATHERD (Leeds), who supported the motion, said that Yorkshire had spoken out with no uncertain sound upon this great question of women's suffrage. During the last eighteen or twenty months meetings had been held in every great centre of population, and men and women had come together in thousands and had demanded that the franchise should be given to duly qualified women. (Hear, hear.) The facts upon which they based their claim to the suffrage were still the same. They said that women who were duly qualified should vote for members of Parliament, and year by year, she might almost say month by month, they were receiving fresh illustrations of the evils which resulted from the non-concession of the principle. She would mention two growing evils which had been much forced upon her attention during the last few months. The first to which she would refer was the ever-growing official inspection which was taking place in the homes of women. (Hear, hear.) She was very forcibly reminded of this a few weeks ago when she called upon a working woman in one of the manufacturing towns. When the woman opened the door to her she said, "Come in, as you are not an inspector." (Laughter.)

The woman seeing her surprise at what she had said remarked, "This is Thursday and I have had three in the house already, and they tell me that another is coming to-morrow. I told them they might as well take the key of the house away with them as it does not belong to me but to them." (Hear, hear.) She thought that woman was right. She had read the debate which had taken place in the House of Lords upon the protection of young girls, and she ventured to say that scores on that platform could have thrown much needed light upon that dark question if they were allowed to do so. With respect to the debate in the House of Lords on the Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister Bill, she must say that the whole tone of the debate seemed to her to be an insult to all women, whether they approved of the Bill or they did not. (Cheers.) No serious pains had been taken to ascertain the wishes of women in that respect, and she might say that many women felt that to be an insult, and had now joined hands in obtaining some constitutional means for making their opinion felt. (Cheers.) She was asked two days ago in the most persuasive way whether she really did not think that it would be wiser for her not to do men's work, but to leave men's work to men. That question was a mistaken one ; they had never said that they wanted to do men's work. They said it was because they did their own work well that they had a right to representation. The fact which she wished to burn into the minds of women was that they did half the work of the world. If they were an idle set of people who did not do anything for the world, then it might be said that they were unworthy to have a vote. (Hear, hear.) In the performance of their work women faced danger and death as often as men did, and therefore she asked because they did their duty to society and strove to do it well that they should be represented in the councils of the nation. (Hear, hear.) She maintained that there was not a single question before the country, be it the question of Ireland, the Bankruptcy Bill, the Corrupt Practices Bill, or even the boring of the Channel Tunnel, in which women had not as great an interest as men.

Professor LINDSAY (University of Glasgow) also supported the resolution, and said he had made it his business to know something about the condition of the poor in the great cities. Alluding to the labour laws, he said that women's labour was being crippled by laws which pressed very heavily upon them. The Factory Acts were gradually driving women out of the factories, and when they were passed the Home Secretary of the day actually refused to receive deputations of working women because they had no votes behind them ; but he received deputations of working men because they had votes. It concerned the whole of them that women should have behind them that political force which was needed to make the expression of their mind go home. (Cheers.) Women were being driven to the verge of starvation by the action of the law. They must live, but the tendency of legislation was against woman's work. What did that mean ? It meant making women sink down into a

life of shame. In taking up this matter he felt that he was pleading for the working women. Women would never get their rights until they had votes, so that they could bring their influence to bear upon members of Parliament. (Cheers.)

The Chairman was about to put the motion, when Miss JESSIE CRAIGEN (Glasgow) stepped forward and said that she wished to move an amendment, to insert after "women" the words "whether married or single." There were loud cries of "name," and, Miss Craigen's name having been announced to the meeting, she proceeded to say that she was perfectly in accord with all that had been done, but she wished to add these words. Miss Craigen was proceeding with her remarks, amid interruptions, when the Chairman, amid cheers, interruption, and cries of "chair," rose to order, but Miss Craigen continued to address the meeting, amid loud cries of "chair."

The CHAIRMAN, having obtained silence, said that Miss Craigen was entering upon a subject of the greatest interest, but he ventured to remind the meeting that they were called together to consider the propriety of supporting a certain resolution which was to be brought forward in the House of Commons by Mr. Hugh Mason. He thought he could not do better than put the question at once as to whether it was the pleasure of the meeting that the amendment of Miss Craigen should be pursued and other speeches made upon it. The Chairman then put it to the meeting whether it was their pleasure that the resolution should be enlarged by the amendment of Miss Craigen.

A show of hands was taken, and the Chairman declared that the original resolution was carried, upon which there was some interruption, and a gentleman rose in the body of the hall and said the amendment had not been put.

The CHAIRMAN said there appeared to be some misapprehension with regard to the amendment, but he took the instructions of the meeting, which ruled that the amendment was not to be entertained.

Miss TOD, who had to move the next resolution, was called upon by the Chairman. She moved that the following memorial to Her Majesty's Government be adopted and signed by the Chairman on behalf of this meeting, and forwarded to Mr. Gladstone :—

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

"The Memorial of the Inhabitants of London and others in public meeting assembled on July 5th, 1883, in St. James' Hall, London :

"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 pray that you will, on behalf of Her Majesty's Government, give your support to the Resolution to be moved to-morrow night by Mr. Hugh Mason in the House of Commons."

Miss TOD, proceeding with her remarks, said she trusted when the memorial was presented to Mr. Gladstone that he would be informed that the meeting was only one of a large number which had been held in different parts of the three kingdoms during the last few years, increasing in frequency, increasing in numbers, and increasing in enthusiasm. (Cheers.) She represented Belfast and the North of Ireland, and having a large acquaintance of the work in all parts of the three kingdoms, she could state that the interest and enthusiasm was equally great in every part, although it might be shown it was in different forms according to the different circumstances of the Empire.

Miss BECKER, in seconding the resolution, said : Ladies and gentlemen, we are met here to-night at a very important crisis in the movement for women's suffrage. To-morrow night, at this time, the House of Commons will be engaged in deliberation on the motion which has been brought forward by Mr. Hugh Mason. (Cheers.) It is four years since we had a debate in the House of Commons on this question of extending the Parliamentary franchise to duly qualified women. At that time the majority of the House of Commons was Conservative, and Lord Beaconsfield was Prime Minister. The question of Parliamentary reform seemed relegated to the distant future, and they were told that it was very unwise ever to attempt to bring forward any measure of reform. But times are changed now, and a measure of Parliamentary reform is in the near future, and it must be the business of all who value justice in representation

to see that that is a just and an equal measure ; and it will not be a just and equal measure unless Mr. Mason's resolution, or something equivalent to it, is added to the Bill. The proposal has been supported in the House of Commons by a series of eminent men, from Mr. John Stuart Mill to the present mover of the resolution in the House of Commons, Mr. Mason ; but when she looked back at the opponents of the Bill she was struck with the rather remarkable fact that the first time it was brought forward in the House of Commons by Mr. Jacob Bright the opposition to the measure came from the Liberal side of the House, from a gentleman who although he sat on the Liberal side of the House was generally considered to be half-hearted to Liberal measures, Mr. Bouverie. Having led the van of the opposition, the next time he went down to his constituents they rejected him and disposed of him as an opponent to us. Where did the opposition come from now ? From that day to this the person who has led the opposition has been what is called a Tory. The opposition has always come from the Tory side of the House. But they had had very influential support from the Conservatives, and fully expected to have the great Conservative party with them too. If they looked for the leader of the opposition to Mr. Mason's motion, they must go to the benches below the gangway amongst the Radicals to find him. If he were really a Liberal, he was a "sheep in wolf's clothing" on this occasion, because he proposed an amendment to Mr. Mason's motion that "it is undesirable to change the immemorial basis of the Parliamentary franchise, which is that men only shall be qualified to elect members to serve in this House." It was rather singular to find a Radical taking such grounds of opposition to a measure of Parliamentary reform. Her imagination led her to the time when the only illumination of a house was a farthing rushlight. She could imagine the thrifty housewife who had laid in a stock of rushlights confronted with a man who had invented gas, and she could fancy the housewife saying : "Oh, it will never do to change the immemorial basis of domestic light, which has always been a farthing rushlight." (Laughter and cheers.) From time immemorial there have been many good things ; but if they were to adopt as a principle that nothing should be supported and nothing should be advocated that has not existed from time immemorial, she was at a loss to understand how progressive legislation or even the ordinary business of life could be carried on. (Hear, hear.) In the last four years since the question was brought before Parliament a great change has taken place. Yesterday morning she received a telegram from an alderman at Manchester, who said that a petition had been adopted by the Town Council in favour of this principle, and he said that the proposal was carried by 31 votes in favour and 3 against. (Cheers.) The Town Council of Manchester are accustomed to deal with women constituents, and they have practical experience of their intelligence, and they are so convinced of the value of women voting in municipal affairs that they say with almost one voice that influence should be brought to bear in Parliamentary elections. (Cheers.) Then the Town Council of Northampton has carried a similar resolution by thirteen to two, the Council of Kirkcaldy by nineteen to three, and the Council of Huddersfield (Mr. Leatham's own borough) had, she believed, sent him in a petition to present in favour of the motion which he is going to oppose to-morrow night. (Cheers.) Then what did we find in the great political associations ? We find that the Birmingham 800 members of the Liberal Association have petitioned in favour of Mr. Mason's resolution, and at Nottingham the Liberal Association have done the same thing. She had always seen that when political associations base their action on popular constitutional representation, those bodies always admit the claim of women taxpayers to the same rights as men taxpayers. (Cheers.) This very day there has been issued to the two Houses of Parliament a very interesting return showing the franchise prevailing in different European countries. She read with the greatest interest that in two countries of Europe the right of women to some share in the representation is admitted. (Cheers.) In Italy, widows who have sons may appoint those sons to vote for them, and in Dalmatia women who are qualified can vote personally. If these countries can have this right, surely our own country can. She felt satisfied that whatever be the particular fate of Mr. Mason's resolution, the time is not far distant when the heart of the nation will be awakened, and women would be admitted to their due share in the representation of the people. (Cheers.)

The Chairman put the resolution, which was carried.

Mrs. FENWICK MILLER moved: "That petitions to both Houses of Parliament, based on the foregoing resolution, and memorials to the Right Hon. W. H. Smith and Lord Algeron Percy, asking them to support the resolution in the House of Commons on July 6th, be adopted by this meeting." She said if they looked back for ten years they would see how very different was the tone of public feeling, not only in regard to this movement, but in respect to the position of women altogether. (Cheers.) Women had now shown their competence and proved their power in so many directions that you could scarcely now find a man, even of the less instructed classes, who would venture to tell you that women were not to have the suffrage because women had not sufficient intellect. (Cheers.) She wanted all women to take their share in claiming the suffrage, not as a right or as a privilege, but as a duty. (Hear, hear.) A woman who was a good wife and a good mother did as much, if not more, as women who did more public work to show the capacity of her sex to take part in legislation. She wished to make it clear to the minds of men in general that women felt their responsibility in the matter of voting, that they felt it was their duty to guide the great household of the State by the same faculties with which they guided their own households. They were told that politics had nothing to do with women, but she challenged anyone to show any matter of politics in which women were not concerned equally in the same way as men. (Cheers.) The special power which women brought into their households, and which special power they must bring into the work of the State, was the capacity for guiding and directing detail; and this special capacity would be of great advantage when employed in the business of the State, as it was just as necessary in the performance of the duties of citizenship, as in the household. (Cheers.) There was just another point to which she would allude, and that was that she knew there were a good many men who had thoroughly Liberal ideas, and believed themselves to be permeated with the spirit of progress, yet were afraid to give women the franchise, because they thought that women would act in haste and without judgment, would act with prejudice and emotion, and without exercising that calm reason and thoughtfulness which was so emphatically necessary in the affairs of the State. She asked them to look at the women who had taken a prominent part in public matters, and who, although they had not votes, were influencing public affairs by their writings and speeches, and their private influence amongst members of Parliament, and in other ways; they did not find that these women were acting from impulse and emotion. (Cheers.) They found that the women who wrote and the women who spoke were as capable of following a question out to its logical conclusion as any man who undertook to deal with public business. (Cheers.) As an illustration of the value of female power, let them look at the Quakers. Had not the Quakers been in the van—she was speaking of the men—in every progressive movement? And why was that? You could not account for it except by turning to the one thing which made them different to any other sect, and that was the position of the Quaker women. (Cheers.) From the beginning of the existence of the Quakers the women had held a position of equality amongst them, equal to that of the men. The women of the Friends, in education, in the sacred ministry, and in the sect government, were precisely equal with the men, and this had re-acted in their homes, and the consequence had been that the men of that sect had been not only the most capable of men in worldly affairs, but also the men who had led us in the path of progress. In the face of that fact she asked them to cast away their fears, and to believe that by taking advantage of the moral influence of women, and the business capacity which they had shown in the management of their own homes, they would help the country on to a higher state of excellence and progress. (Cheers.)

Mrs. E. CADY STANTON (New York) said that was the birthday of the American Republic, and at that meeting they were discussing the principle upon which that Republic was founded—the right of self-government. She hoped that this grand movement for the extension of the franchise to women might be carried at once. With the Queen on the throne in England, with a woman who had had a peaceful and prosperous reign of forty years—a faithful wife, a good mother, a queen who had kept her court so pure—(cheers)—what would be more fitting than that on the page of future history it should be said in the reign of this queen the women of England were enfranchised. (Cheers.) It would be the grandest step in progress

that this country could take. (Cheers.) There were various Bills in Parliament for the protection of women, but why did women need protection? Because she had been degraded by the constitution, by its laws, by the Church, and by social customs. The best protection which could be given to women was to enfranchise them, she had great pleasure in seconding the resolution.

Miss STURGE (Birmingham) cordially supported the motion, and said the Birmingham Town Council had passed a resolution in favour of women's suffrage, and also the town of Bewdley.

The resolution was carried with cheers.

Mrs. HALLETT, who said she was one of the oldest members of the Women's Suffrage Association, and was one of the delegates from the West of England, moved a vote of thanks to the Chairman for presiding.

Mrs. LUCAS seconded the motion, which was carried unanimously, and the Chairman having replied the meeting terminated.

#### ISLINGTON.

On July 2nd a public meeting was held at Myddelton Hall, Islington, in support of Mr. Mason's resolution for extending the Parliamentary franchise to women who possess the qualifications which entitle men to vote. Mrs. SURR occupied the chair, and amongst those present on the platform were Mrs. Fenwick Miller, M.L.S.B., Miss C. A. Biggs, Miss A. Varley, Messrs. B. Lucraft, M.L.S.B., J. Surr, J. R. Shearer, J. F. Torr, T. F. Stonelake, &c.

Mrs. SURR, in opening the proceedings, said she supposed that most of those present were aware that on the 6th instant Mr. Mason hoped to move in the House of Commons a resolution to the effect that the extension of the franchise be granted to those women who had the qualifications which entitled men to vote. She was sure they would all agree with her that this was a very modest and reasonable resolution. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Mason did not intend to ask that married women should have the franchise extended to them. She believed that the people of Finsbury were willing to grant the women this privilege, and she trusted that the meeting would be unanimous in carrying the resolutions about to be submitted, and so support a movement for relieving widows and spinsters from a great injustice. (Applause.)

Mr. BENJAMIN LUCRAFT, M.L.S.B., said he rather disagreed with Mrs. Surr upon one point. He was willing to give the married women votes. The resolution he had been asked to move was a very modest and moderate one. It was as follows: "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, and they urge all who approved of this principle to attend the meeting to be held in St. James's Hall on Thursday next, in support of the resolution to be moved by Mr. Mason in the House of Commons." Experience showed that as they extended liberty to the people their welfare also advanced. Since the last Reform Bill became law, many measures had been passed in the interests of the working classes. It was said by some that the ladies were represented by their brothers. But brothers and sisters, as well as husbands and wives, did not always agree upon many subjects, though it did not follow that they quarrelled because they disagreed. At the Surrey sessions recently, application was made for a public house, and it was found that sixteen men had signed a petition in favour of granting the licence, and their wives had signed a petition against it. He would rather entrust the franchise to those sixteen women who desired that their homes should be well looked after instead of the money being spent at public houses, than to the men who were in favour of the licence being granted. (Hear, hear.) This question was only a part of the struggle for liberty; and the time would come when every adult, not only in this country, but all over the civilised world, would have the franchise, and would have the ruling power. (Applause.) Every man should do what he could to help forward this movement. He doubted if any sound arguments could be advanced against extending the franchise to woman. At one time in the world's history it was the strongest man who ruled, but that time had gone by, and now the rule of reason was beginning. (Hear, hear.) It was often argued

that if the franchise was extended to women, it was but reasonable that they should be called upon to serve in the army, &c. In answer to this, he would say that it was not every man who was qualified to serve in the army, as a soldier must be of a certain height, and measure a certain number of inches round the chest. Therefore this argument was worthless. He would not say anything more, as he liked to hear the ladies themselves speak on this question. (Hear, hear.) They could plead their own cause better than any one else could for them, and they generally succeeded in convincing those who listened to them that they were justly entitled to have the Parliamentary franchise extended to them. (Applause.)

Mr. J. F. TORR seconded the resolution.

Mrs. FENWICK MILLER, M.L.S.B., supported the resolution. The resolution was then put and carried, only one hand being held up in opposition.

Miss C. A. BIGGS next moved "That petitions to both Houses of Parliament, based on the foregoing resolution, be adopted and signed by Mrs. Surr on behalf of this meeting."

Mr. JOSEPH SURR seconded the motion.

Mr. STONELAKE, who supported the motion, referred to the services rendered by Mrs. Shearer while a member of the Islington Board of Guardians; and with regard to Miss Varley, the present lady Guardian, he could bear witness to the good work she had done as a member of the Workhouse School Committee. (Hear, hear.) He believed that in a short time the object they had in view with regard to women's suffrage would be accomplished.

The resolution was then carried unanimously.

Mr. COBB proposed a vote of thanks to Mrs. Surr for so ably presiding over the meeting.

Mr. J. R. SHEARER, in seconding the motion, warmly advocated the claims of women to the extension of the Parliamentary franchise.

Mrs. SURR briefly acknowledged the vote of thanks, and the proceedings then closed.

#### CHELSEA.

Mr. J. F. B. FIRTH, M.P., presided on Tuesday evening at a meeting held at Chelsea Vestry Hall in support of Mr. Mason's motion for extending the Parliamentary franchise to women who possess the qualifications which entitle men to vote. In the course of his speech the hon. gentleman said the question of women's suffrage was one of the many questions which during the last fifty years had come prominently to the front. How soon it would become a question of law, it was not perhaps safe to prophesy, but of this they might be sure that it would be brought near only by effective agitation. The tendency of the present age was undoubtedly to broaden our political system. Women were not now restricted as they formerly were; one after the other the various restrictions were giving way. Their evidence was now accepted in the courts of law in England and several other countries. Not so long ago in one of the Swiss Cantons it required the evidence of two ladies to outweigh that of one man, but that state of things existed no longer. In our own country during the past twenty years many effective strides had been made in the direction of what the ladies called justice in this matter. As they well knew by the Married Women's Property Act a most effective blow was given to the old and vicious system of subjecting women. At the present time ladies acted as teachers in the School Board schools and were well fitted for it, and girls were now being taught history and other subjects which would enable them to have a voice in the affairs of the State. The old theory that a girl's education should consist of a number of accomplishments was fast giving way to something more practical. As they were probably all aware, a resolution was to be submitted on this question in the House of Commons on Friday. At the present time ladies had the right of voting in the election of guardians, and some had become guardians themselves and had discharged their duties extremely well. (Cheers.) They had also the right to vote in the School Board elections, also for churchwardens and overseers, and if the franchise was to remain upon the basis upon which it ought to remain—namely, the ratepaying basis—there could be no serious answer to the proposition to be put forward in the

House on Friday. Under the franchise as proposed to be extended only about three or four hundred thousand women more than at present would have the power of voting. But no doubt they would exercise a very useful influence in the elections. Some people thought that the concession of this voting power would necessarily open the door to other concessions. Some people also thought that if such a resolution was allowed to pass, the senate would soon become a dame's school. They might deal with that question when it arose, but he did not think it was likely to arise. The object was merely to give them similar power to that they possessed in other matters. In his opinion the proposition was one which required answering, and could not be met by merely treating it in a contemptuous manner.

The meeting was addressed by Mr. Raper, Mrs. Chant, Mrs. Lucas, Miss Becker, Miss C. A. Biggs, Mr. Oakley, and Mr. Cobb, and resolutions were passed pledging the meeting to support the objects of the movement.

A vote of thanks to Mr. Firth concluded the proceedings.

#### LAMBETH.

The Rev. C. E. Brooke, M.A., M.L.S.B., Vicar of St. John's, Lambeth, presided over a numerously attended meeting at the "Horns," Kennington, on July 3rd. Among those present were Miss Muller, M.L.S.B., Mrs. Eva M'Laren (late Poor Law Guardian), Miss Lord and Miss Whitehead (Poor Law Guardians), Mrs. Stanton, Mr. Whiteley, M.L.S.B., Mr. Richards, M.L.S.B., Mr. Lile (Poor Law Guardian), and Mr. Geo. Hill (member of the Metropolitan Board).

The Rev. CHAIRMAN, in briefly introducing the subject to be discussed, spoke of the interest he had long taken in it. He thought there were hardly any arguments against women's suffrage that would stand examination. It had been met by futile, trivial, useless jests, by few, if any, solid arguments. Why those who paid taxes should not have a voice in spending them seemed unanswerable. If the inequality were removed, the result would be in favour of order, morality, and good government. Were it a mere party question he (Mr. Brooke) would not feel justified in taking part in it, but it was one of intense social importance, and involved a real gain to society at large. He then called upon

Miss LORD, who moved "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, and they urge all who approve this principle to attend the meeting to be held in St. James's Hall, on Thursday next, in support of the resolution to be moved by Mr. Mason in the House of Commons."

Mrs. CADY STANTON seconded the motion, which was supported by Mr. Richards and carried with only ten dissentients.

Mrs. EVA M'LAREN moved "That petitions to both Houses of Parliament, based on the foregoing resolution, be adopted and signed by the chairman on behalf of this meeting, and that memorials to Alderman Sir J. C. Lawrence, Bart., and Alderman Sir Wm. M'Arthur, members for the borough of Lambeth, asking them to support the resolution to be moved in the House of Commons by Mr. Mason, be also adopted and forwarded to them."

Miss MULLER said if Mr. Richards were as old a member on the school board as she was he would not have made the remarks he did about needle-work. The children do not learn useful sewing, but to do work finer than can be bought in the best West End shops. The stitches were so small they had to be counted with a magnifying glass, and were about three to one to those in the best work in the West End. Miss Muller said she was as good a needlewoman as anyone in the room, but she had never been put to the torture these children had. If women were to be disfranchised because they were not defenders of the country, how was it that policemen and soldiers had no votes? Referring to what her sister had said it occurred to her that 4,000 francs was a high price for a husband. Two things were required in England to entitle a person to vote: a property qualification and the absence of any law to exclude them. It is a moral wrong to interfere with the ordinary course of justice

by excluding women, and we only ask for the removal of this obstacle.

Mr. HILL said he had been asked to support a petition to the Houses, but he thought they ought rather to put in a demand. Were women electors they would change the character and tone of the House of Commons, there would be more representatives of wants and wishes than of certain interests. He would like to see an earnest effort made to convert mere fashionable people, and make them feel that they have a better part to play, and ought to do something more than they are doing. It was monstrous that women should be taxed without being represented. (Applause.)

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Mr. LILE moved a hearty vote of thanks to the chairman, which was seconded by Mr. WHITELEY, and supported by Miss Whitehead.

The Rev. C. E. BROOKE, in returning thanks, said the rate-payers of Lambeth owed a great debt of gratitude to the ladies who represented them on public boards especially to those on the Board of Guardians. There were cases with which it would have been utterly impossible for him to deal without their assistance, and no hour was too early or too late for them to put in an appearance at our parochial institutions.

#### HACKNEY.

On July 3rd a well attended meeting was held at the Hackney Town Hall in support of Mr. Mason's proposal to admit to the Parliamentary franchise women possessing the qualifications which entitle men to vote. Mrs. Fenwick Miller, M.L.S.B. for Hackney, presided, and was supported on the platform by a considerable number of ladies, including Mrs. Karl Blind, Mrs. Hancock, Miss C. A. Biggs, Mrs. Stewart, Mrs. Linnaeus Banks, Mrs. Ormiston Chant (who was stated to be a descendant of the historic Edmund Burke), Miss Tod (Belfast), also by Dr. Bithell, B.Sc., Messrs. J. R. R. Elliott, John Hales (Bethnal Green), Tuttell, Ford, C. Hancock, B.L., M.A., Mr. Chant, M.R.C.S., &c.

Mrs. FENWICK MILLER said the matter before the meeting was not one of party politics. There was no valid reason to suppose that one political party more than another would be benefited by giving the suffrage to women. Even if any such valid reason existed, that would not be, in the eyes of any right minded person, a reason for looking upon it as a question of party politics. Right was right, and it must always be a proper thing to do right without endeavouring to find out whether it was for their own advantage or not. Now, on what grounds could Radicals refuse the suffrage to women? Radicalism meant that there should be no stigma cast upon any individual, no barrier placed in the pathway of any person, no blot or obstacle put on the efforts of any one because of that individual's birth. Radicalism asked for a fair field and no favour for ability in its working in private and public life.

Mr. J. R. R. ELLIOTT moved: "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 that in all matters of local government they should have a right to vote."

Miss TOD, of Belfast, seconded. Social questions in politics were coming to the front; much domestic legislation was impending; and it behoved them to see that they started right in such reforms, by taking in the whole of the people instead of only a portion of the community; and women were specially concerned in domestic legislation.

Mr. C. HANCOCK, M.A., and Mrs. CHANT supported the resolution, which was enthusiastically carried.

Mr. JOHN HALES moved that petitions to both Houses of Parliament, based on the foregoing resolution, be signed by the President on behalf of the meeting, and that memorials be sent to Messrs. Fawcett and Holms, asking them to support Mr. Mason's resolution in the Commons.

This was seconded by Dr. BITHELL, who said he had written to urge the M.P.s for Hackney to support Mr. Mason on the 6th, and both had promised to give their best attention to the subject. One of them (Mr. Fawcett) was an acknowledged friend of the movement.

Miss BIGGS supported the motion, which was carried unanimously.

The proceedings were concluded with a vote of thanks to Mrs. Miller for her presidency.

#### MARYLEBONE.

A public meeting was held, at Westbourne Park Chapel, on July 3rd, in support of Mr. Mason's resolution for extending the Parliamentary franchise to women who possess the qualifications that entitle men to vote, and who in all matters of local government have the right to vote. The chair was taken by Arthur Arnold, Esq., M.P., and the following ladies and gentlemen addressed the meeting:—Mrs. Arthur Arnold, Miss Jane Cobden, Charles M'Laren, Esq., M.P., Miss Orme, Sir Nathaniel Staples, Bart., Miss Lillie Stacpoole, and Rev. John Verschoyle.

### MUNICIPAL COUNCILS.

#### MANCHESTER CITY COUNCIL.

The monthly meeting of this Council was held on July 4th, at the Town Hall; the MAYOR (Mr. Alderman Hopkinson) presiding.

##### THE PARLIAMENTARY FRANCHISE FOR WOMEN.

Mr. Alderman BENNETT moved that a petition be presented to Parliament in favour of conferring the Parliamentary franchise on women. He said it was ten years since he last brought this question before the Council, and at that time he had the satisfaction of carrying a very large majority along with him. Only fourteen members of the Council voted against him, and of those seven had since disappeared. He hoped the remaining seven would now vote with him. (Cries of "Vote.") He was as anxious to vote as anyone, but he should not be properly discharging his duty if he did not state one or two reasons why the motion was now brought forward. He must remind the Council that from time immemorial women had voted in various kinds of elections, and that since 1869 they had been enabled to vote at municipal elections. He was a member of the Council before women had a right to vote, and he asked whether since that privilege had been granted the Council had in any way deteriorated. ("No," and laughter.) No; he contended that the Council had considerably improved—(hear, hear, and laughter)—and that they had, if possible, a more intelligent set of gentlemen than they had before 1869. His main contention, however, was that a person who paid rates and taxes had a right to vote in the expenditure of those rates and taxes, and they had no right to inquire whether that person wore a petticoat or a pair of trousers. (Loud cries of "Vote.") If the present system had worked so well in the Municipal Council, was it not fair to assume that it would work equally well if women had the Parliamentary franchise? (Hear, hear.) They had a right to it, and it could not be much longer withheld. Some of his friends had said: "But if they have the Parliamentary franchise do you think they will make use of it?" The best answer he could give was that they made use of it at municipal elections, where they voted in as large a proportion as men. Looking at the matter from another point of view, he would remind the Council that Mr. Gladstone had stated in a letter published the other day, that he expected to bring in a new Reform Bill before the present Parliament expired. That Bill, if he (Alderman Bennett) understood it rightly, was intended to enfranchise the agricultural labourers. Did they know that there were 20,000 women who held farms on their own account? Would it be right to deprive these women of the vote while it was conferred on their own labourers? He did not think the Government—a Liberal Government too—could deny this measure of justice. (Hear, hear.) At all events, if the Municipal Council of Manchester could strengthen their hands he thought the Government would be very glad indeed to accept such encouragement as they could give them. (Applause.)

Alderman Sir THOMAS BAKER said: If I am to interpret the call to divide which has been made in several parts of this chamber, I may conclude that you do not want any more speaking, and are prepared to vote for the motion proposed by Alderman Bennett. I know the hour is late and that you are not desirous of remaining here much longer. I have, however, a few words to say, and trust you will listen to them. I wish to draw your attention to this

question having been decided by this Council several times in favour of the women. Ten years ago it was brought before the Council, and the late Alderman Murray then moved an amendment stating that the object was foreign to the legitimate functions of this chamber, and that its discussion would sanction a practice which might be found to be inconvenient and objectionable. The question is not one which is foreign to the legitimate functions of this Council. It has never been decided that political subjects shall be excluded from our consideration, and my experience enables me to say that they have not been excluded. I can quite understand the last sentence of the amendment, that it would be inconvenient and objectionable to men who thought with Alderman Murray; to others, however, they are not so. These excuses upon which he would have shelved the vote are weak, and they then met with the fate they deserved. Considered on its own merits, the granting of the franchise to women who are duly qualified is simply an act of justice to a class of people who are qualified to vote in point of property, intellect, character, and morality. I shall not detain you longer. I have every confidence in the consistency of your action this morning.

Mr. Alderman LAMB held that the question was quite outside the province of the Council. ("No.") If they once began to interfere with matters the settlement of which depended upon the Imperial Parliament alone, they would be establishing a very dangerous precedent, for each member of the Council would think he had a right to air his political views in order to take the opinion of the rest of the members. The time at their disposal for legitimate municipal business was far too short, and if they entertained such proposals as the one now before the Council he did not know where they would get to. ("To London.") He thought this question had better go there at once. He would not discuss the merits of the proposal. As he objected *in toto* to imperial questions coming before the Council, he would move "the previous question."

Mr. Alderman SCHOFIELD seconded the amendment.

Mr. Alderman GEORGE BOOTH said he remembered the time when the question was last before the Council and the amount of approval with which it was received. He had looked at the subject in all its phases, and he thought the privilege asked for was one which should be accorded to a very deserving class of Her Majesty's subjects.

Mr. STEWART, who arose amid cries of "vote," said Mr. Alderman Lamb had attempted to make the subject a political one. The giving of woman a right to vote was certainly a question outside party politics altogether. Mr. Alderman Lamb had said that the Council had nothing to do but to legislate for the government of the city. He (Mr. Stewart) held that if they gave ladies the right to vote in a Parliamentary election, as they did in municipal elections, they were supporting the very foundations of municipal government. It was therefore quite within the province of the Council to discuss a question of that description and to vote upon it. Women now occupied a very different position legally from that which they formerly did.

Mr. W. BROWN: Yes, some of us have found that out. (Laughter.)

Mr. STEWART, resuming, pointed out that if women were fit to vote in a municipal election once a year they were certainly qualified to vote in a Parliamentary election which happened perhaps once in six or seven years. Again, if women were granted Parliamentary votes the city would be saved the expense of preparing separate registers.

Mr. CHESTERS-THOMPSON also spoke in support of the resolution. The MAYOR put the previous question, for which, amid some laughter, there voted Messrs. Alderman Lamb, Schofield, and King. It was declared to be lost, and the original resolution was then put, the voting being as follows:—For: Aldermen Sir Thos. Baker, G. Booth, Bennett, Worthington, Messrs. Shaw, Craven, Lloyd, Southern, Howarth, Evans, Hinchcliffe, J. Roberts, Holt, Rushworth, May, Griffin, Kenworthy, Nichols, Livesley, Boddington, Potts, Robinson, Gibson, Greenwood, Chesters-Thompson, Stewart, Grantham, Reade, Faulkner, Asquith, and W. Brown—31. Against: Aldermen Lamb, Schofield, and King—3.

The resolution was adopted, and the Council then adjourned.

#### NORTHAMPTON.

The monthly meeting of the Northampton Council was held on July 2nd, when there were present—the Mayor (W. Coulson, Esq.), Aldermen T. Tebbutt, G. Turner, J. Phipps, T. Wetherell, F.

Buszard, Councillors C. Tebbutt, T. Purser, G. Gibbs, R. Derby, M. P. Manfield, T. Adams, F. Covington, T. P. Dorman, W. Mills, G. Norman, H. P. Markham, J. Bingley, and J. Barry.

In the course of the business a letter was read from Miss Lydia E. Becker, secretary to the Manchester National Society for Women's Suffrage, in which she forwarded a resolution as to the Parliamentary franchise being extended to women, to be moved by Mr. Hugh Mason in the House of Commons, on the 6th of July, and asking the Council to consider the propriety of petitioning the House in favour of a principle which affects the rights of a considerable portion of their constituents.

Councillor MARKHAM proposed that the Council send a memorial to the House of Commons in support of the Bill. He knew personally that the ladies of Northampton voted with the greatest possible discretion in parochial matters. (Laughter, and ironical cries of "Hear, hear.") He was indebted very much to them for having voted in the way they had on an occasion when he was returned to the Council; and ladies who could so well discriminate when voting for him were the very persons who should be entitled to vote for Parliamentary representatives, and were the people in the town whom he should like to see have the franchise alone. (Laughter.)

Alderman TURNER thought it would be a pity to drag the ladies into politics, more especially Parliamentary, and he therefore proposed that the Council pass on to the next business.

Councillor MANFIELD rose to second the resolution. (Hear, hear.) In the good old times, he said, when his friend Alderman Phipps used to second this proposal, which he had the honour of making, some of his friends both on the right and left supported it. Those gentlemen whose opinion Mr. Markham represented had had their reward since that time. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) He did not know whether any pressure had been brought to bear to induce them to have such a good opinion, and he would not enter into that. They had a perfect right to use their vote as they pleased. (Hear, hear.) He regretted that owing to some circumstances they did not work in the good old way in which they used to do; but he believed in doing what was right, though it were against the interests of the party to which he belonged. (Hear, hear.) Therefore he should support the resolution himself most heartily, believing, as he did, that in time the scales would fall from the ladies' eyes and they would not always be blind. (Laughter.)

Councillor MARKHAM acknowledged Councillor Manfield's support of his motion by a cordial "Hear, hear," and "Thank you."

Councillor GIBBS seconded the amendment. He yielded, he said, to no one in his admiration of the ladies—"oh, oh," and laughter—but they had proper and responsible duties in a certain sphere, and he did not think they should be molested in the performance of those duties by having to discharge others which he did not think properly pertained to them. His advice to these ladies was that they should get married, and control their husbands in political matters; but he said, "Save me from such wives." ("Oh, oh," and loud laughter.) One strong reason why he should vote against the proposal was because it was not a national movement, but simply that of a section of ladies. He did not know whether they had any domestic duties or not, but it was a fact that they engaged in a great many public ones; and in all probability many of those whom they would enfranchise, having domestic duties, would not be anxious to perform public ones. Besides, the proposed measure could not be urged because the rights of women had been neglected by Parliament, because the Acts which in late years had been passed for the sole benefit of the sex were conclusive evidence on that point.

Councillor PURSER said they might differ in opinion on the question, but he could not help looking at the proposal as an act of justice and of right. A lady living in a house, and paying her fair share of rates and taxes, had, in his opinion, as much right to vote for the election of a member of Parliament as for a Town Councillor, and he should have great pleasure in supporting the resolution.

Councillor MANFIELD, referring to the amendment, reminded the proposer and seconder of it that in the old days their united cry used to be that taxation without representation was tyranny, and he dare say Mr. Gibbs had said so many times. (Laughter.) Why should he want to keep the ladies without a vote? Because they had not acted as he would have wished. Neither the Roman Catholics nor the Jews voted Radical, yet they did not propose to disenfranchise them; and he hoped the sense of justice and of right would induce the Council to pass the resolution unanimously.

Councillor ADAMS said while so many householders in the country were without the franchise he could not give the proposal under consideration the support he otherwise would, and he should move as another amendment that the Council declined to support the memorial in favour of women's suffrage until every householder in the country had the franchise.

Councillor DERBY should support Mr. Markham's proposition. (Cries of "Bravo.") This was a question of principle, and he depended upon the House of Commons in its wisdom to carry the measure proposed. (Hear, hear.)

Councillor TEBBUTT had very much pleasure in supporting the resolution, being very well satisfied with the ladies in the West Ward. (Laughter.)

There was no seconder to Councillor Adams's amendment, and for Alderman Turner's there were but two votes—the proposer and seconder. Thirteen voted for the proposition, which was accordingly carried.

## JARROW.

At a meeting of the Council of Jarrow, held in June, it was resolved to adopt a petition to the House of Commons in favour of Mr. Mason's resolution.

## DEAL.

At a meeting of the Council, held in June, a letter was read from a society at Manchester, having for its object the extending the privilege of the Parliamentary franchise to women, and asking the support of this Council to assist in achieving that object by a resolution to Parliament. The Town Clerk asked for instructions to as replying to the same.—Councillor Wellard suggested that no notice should be taken of it.—Councillor Haines saw no reason why the women should not be allowed to vote for members of Parliament as well as the men; they were quite as capable, and would exercise the privilege in many instances with more judgment than the men. Alderman Brown approved of the ladies having the privilege as far as voting for councillors, but as far as imperial matters went he did not coincide with it.—Councillor Wallis said that women who had no husbands to represent them were entitled to a vote, and that he considered they had been deprived of the privilege long enough.—Councillor A. E. Ralph thought the subject was one that ought not to have been brought before the Council at all; he looked upon it as a great mistake to allow politics to be introduced into local public bodies.—Councillor Elliott proposed that the matter drop.—Councillor Wellard did not think it a question for discussion by a Council.—The matter then dropped.

## NEWCASTLE-UNDER-LYME.

A monthly meeting of the Newcastle Town Council was held in the Court-room of the Town Hall on June 28th, the Mayor (Mr. R. Mayer) presiding, the other members present being Aldermen Bayley, Griffiths, Hyslop, Heath, Mellard; Councillors Leech, Lewis, Shufflebotham, Lawton, Bullock, Astbury, Pratt, Ratcliffe, Thomas, and Briggs. It was resolved to petition Parliament in favour of the Bill for the Extension of the Parliamentary Franchise to Women.

## EXETER.

The Council met on June 27th. The Right Worshipful the Mayor (Alderman Jones) presided; also present Alderman Thomas, Hughes, and Pring; Councillors Roberts, E. Peters, Pope, Turner, J. C. Tuckwell, Huxtable, Courtney, Brown, Pidsley, Wreford, Rowe, Guest, Darke, Bowden, Owen, Davey, Finch, Wippell, Luscombe, Bale, Force, Hexter, Pollard, Armstrong, and Fulford.

## WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

A communication was received from Miss Lydia Becker asking the Council to petition in favour of women's suffrage.—Councillor Courtney moved, and Councillor Bowden seconded, that the letter lie on the table.—This proposal was negatived, and the letter read.—Councillor Brown moved that the Council support the petition. From his experience he thought women had a greater insight into the fitness of a candidate than anyone else. (Laughter.) They had a great stake in the country, and were quite alive to the best interests of public life.—Councillor Wippell seconded the motion, and Councillor Darke supported the motion—if women were qualified to vote for members of local bodies they were equally eligible to vote for members of Parliament.—On a division, the motion in favour of the petition was carried amid applause by 14 votes to 12.

## MIDDLESBOROUGH.

On June 29th, at a meeting of the Middlesborough Council General Purposes Committee, it was decided to support Mr. Hugh Mason's resolution in favour of women's suffrage.

## WALSALL.

At a recent meeting of the Council of Walsall it was decided to petition the House of Commons in favour of the extension of the franchise to women. The petition was forwarded to the borough member for presentation.

## BIRMINGHAM.

A meeting of the Birmingham Town Council was held on Tuesday, July 3rd, when the Mayor read a memorial, signed by a number of the ladies of Birmingham, asking the Council to send a petition to the House of Commons in favour of Mr. Hugh Mason's resolution in favour of women's suffrage. On the motion of the Mayor, it was resolved to carry out the request in the memorial.

## DEWSBURY.

On July 5th a monthly meeting of the Dewsbury Town Council took place at the Borough Offices, Bond-street, Alderman Fothergill (Mayor) presiding. There were also present Aldermen Spiking and Fox, and Councillors Burnley, Willans, Richards, Ingham, Fox, Woffenden, Jagger, Charlesworth, Robinson, Auty, Reuss, Bates, and Armitage; the town clerk (Mr. J. Smith), the deputy town clerk (Mr. Hutchinson), the assistant clerk (Mr. Ellis), and the borough accountant (Mr. M. Smith).

## THE PARLIAMENTARY FRANCHISE TO WOMEN.

On the motion of Councillor Fox, seconded by Councillor Reuss, and supported by Alderman Spiking, Councillors Jagger and Ingham, a petition was adopted in favour of granting the Parliamentary franchise to women householders. The corporate seal was affixed to several mortgages, and the Council then went into committee.

## LIBERAL ASSOCIATIONS.

## NOTTINGHAM LIBERAL UNION.

On July 3rd a meeting of the Council (the "Four Hundred") was held at the Masonic Hall, Goldsmith-street, to consider the question of women's suffrage. Alderman Gripper, J.P., president, took the chair, among others present being the Rev. R. A. Armstrong, Ald. Cropper, Messrs. G. R. Cowen, R. F. Griffiths, W. Hunt, P. Anderson, G. Foar, A. M. Swann, R. Edmonstone, J. Baker, T. Pegg, W. J. Douse, E. H. Gordon, and others. At the commencement of the proceedings the Chairman referred at some length to the part taken by the Executive of the Liberal Union in connection with the recent Bright celebration at Birmingham. Ald. Cropper moved, and Mr. W. J. Douse seconded the following resolution: "That in view of the resolution in favour of women's suffrage to be moved by Mr. Mason in the House of Commons on the 6th inst., and of the Reform Bill promised by the Government, this Council records its opinion that no measure of reform can be accepted as complete which fails to recognise the right of women possessing the legal qualifications to be placed upon the register of Parliamentary electors."—Messrs. Griffiths, Armstrong, Pegg, Edmondstone, Gordon, Dr. Wells, G. Soar, and others having spoken, the resolution was put and carried.

## THE GRIMSBY LIBERAL ASSOCIATION.

At the fourth annual general meeting, held in the Temperance Hall, on July 5th, there stood on the agenda the following notice: Motion, Women's Suffrage—"That this meeting, being strongly impressed with the injustice of withholding from women householders the right of voting for members of Parliament, trusts that Mr. Bence will use his influence in Parliament to remedy this injustice, and will not accept any measure of reform as satisfactory, unless it gives the vote to all women who fulfil the conditions on which the franchise is awarded to men." Proposed by Councillor G. S. Dobson, seconded by Mr. James Alward. The resolution was carried.

## NEW WORTLEY LIBERAL CLUB.

A petition in favour of Mr. Mason's resolution was adopted by the committee of the above club on June 29th, and signed by the Chairman, on behalf of the club, and forwarded to Mr. Herbert Gladstone for presentation to the House of Commons.

## THE DIVISION LIST.

Numb. 181.

Supply.—Order for Committee read:

Motion made, and question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair:—"

Amendment proposed, to leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "in the opinion of this House, 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,"—(Mr. Mason.)—instead thereof:—

Question put, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:—The House divided; Ayes 130, Noes 114.

## AYES.

Acland, Sir T. Dyke (Devon. N.)  
Allsopp, Charles  
Armitstead, George  
Bailey, Sir Joseph Russell  
Bartelot, Sir Walter B.  
Bass, Hamar (Lanarth)  
Bech, Rt. Hon. Sir M. H. (Glo. E.)  
Bentinck, Rt. Hon. G. C. (Whit'n)  
Blennerhassett, Sir Rowland  
Brassey, Henry A. (Sandwich)  
Bright, Rt. Hon. John (Birmingham)  
Bruce, Sir H. Hervey (Coleraine)  
Bryce, James  
Bulwer, James Redford  
Cameron, Donald (Inverness)  
Campbell, Sir George (Kirkcaldy)  
Carden, Sir Robert Walter  
Cartwright, William C.  
Causton, Richard Knight  
Cecil, Lord Eustace H. B. G.  
Chaplin, Henry  
Clive, Col. Hon. G. Windsor  
Cole, Viscount  
Colebrooke, Sir Thomas Edward  
Corry, James Porter  
Cotton, William J. R.  
Crichton, Viscount  
Cropper, James  
Curzon, Major Hon. Montagu  
Dalrymple, Charles  
Davenport, H. T. (Staffordsh. N.)  
Digby, Col. Hon. E.  
Donaldson-Hudson, Charles  
Duff, Robert William  
Dyke, Rt. Hon. Sir William Hart  
Eaton, Henry William  
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton (Ches.)  
Egerton, Adm. Hon. F. (Derby. E.)  
Elliot, Hon. Art. R. D. (Roxburgsh)  
Errington George  
Estcourt, George Sutherland  
Evans, Thomas William  
Feilden, Lieut.-General  
Finch, George H.  
Fitzwilliam, Hon. H. W. (York)  
Floyer, John  
Folkestone, Viscount  
Fort, Richard  
Foster, Wm. Hen. (Bridgnorth)  
Fremantle, Hon. Thomas F.  
Gardner, Richardson-  
Gladstone, Rt. Hon. W. E.  
Gladstone, Wm. Hen. (Worc. E.)  
Glyn, Hon. Sidney Carr  
Goldney, Sir Gabriel  
Gordon, Sir Alex. (Aberdeen, E.)  
Gower, Hon. E. F. Leveson  
Greer, Thomas  
Grosvenor, Lord Richard  
Gurdon, Robert Thornhagh  
Hamilton, Ion Trant (Dublin Co.)  
Hamilton, Rt. Hon. Lord G. (Midx.)  
Hamilton, J. Glen C. (Lanark S.)  
Hartington, Marquis of  
Hay, Rt. Hon. Admiral Sir J. C. D.  
Hayter, Sir Arthur Divett  
Herbert, Hon. Sidney  
Hill, Lord Arthur Wm. (Down)  
Holland, Sir H. T. (Midhurst)  
Holms, John (Hackney)  
Holme, Lieut.-Col. David Milne  
Hope, Rt. Hon. Alex. Beresford  
Ince, Henry Bret  
James, Sir Henry (Taunton)  
Jerningham, Hubert Ed. Henry  
Johnstone, Sir F. (Weymouth)  
Kennaway, Sir John Henry  
Kenny, Matthew Joseph  
Kingscote, Colonel  
Lefevre, Rt. Hon. Geo. John Shaw  
Levett, Theophilus John  
Lewisham, Viscount  
Loder Robert  
Lowther, Hon. W. (Westmoreland)  
Lyons, Robert Dyer  
Maitland, William Fuller  
Makins, Colonel  
March, Earl of  
Marrion, William Thackeray  
Martin, R. B. (Tawkesbury)  
Master, Thos. William Chester  
Maxwell-Heron, J. (Kirkcud.)  
Miles, Chas. Wm. (Malmesbury)  
Miles, Sir Philip J. W. (Som. E.)  
Mills, Sir Charles Henry  
Monckton, Francis  
Mowbray, Rt. Hon. Sir John R.  
Newdegate, Charles Newdigate  
Newport, Viscount  
Pemberton, Edward Leigh  
Percy, Earl (Northumberland, N.)  
Percy, Lord Alergnon (Westr.)  
Plunket, Hon. David R.  
Raikes, Rt. Hon. Henry Cecil  
Ralli, Pandolf  
Rendlesham, Lord  
Ritchie, Charles Thomson  
Roundell, Charles Savile  
Russell, Lord Arthur (Tavistock)  
St. Aubyn, Sir John (Corn. W.)  
Scott, Lord Henry (Hunts, S.)  
Scott, Montagu D. (Sussex, E.)  
Sheil, Edward  
Stevenson, James Cochran  
Sykes, Christopher  
Talbot, John Gilbert (Oxf. Univ.)

Thornhill, Thomas  
Tollemache, H. J. (Chesh. W.)  
Tollemache, Hon. W. F. (Ches. W.)  
Tomlinson, Wm. Edw. Murray  
Vivian, Sir Hen. Hussey (Glam.)  
Wallace, Sir Richard  
Warburton, Piers Egerton

Warton, Charles Nicholas  
Webster, Dr. John  
Whitbread, Samuel  
Willis, William  
Winn, Rowland (Linc. N.)  
Wodehouse, Edmond Robert  
Wroughton, Philip

Tellers for the Ayes, Mr. Edward Leatham and Mr. Inderwick.

## NOES.

Agnew, William  
Anderson, George  
Arnold, Arthur  
Ashmead-Bartlett, Ellis  
Baldwin, Enoch  
Barian, John  
Bateson, Sir Thomas  
Beetive, Earl of  
Biggar, Joseph Gillis  
Blake, John Aloysius  
Blennerhassett, Rowland P. (Kerry)  
Borlase, William Copeland  
Briggs, William Edward  
Bright, Jacob (Manchester)  
Brooks, W. Cunliffe, (Chesh. E.)  
Burt, Thomas  
Cameron, Charles (Glasgow)  
Clifford, Charles Cavendish  
Cohen, Arthur (Southwark)  
Collings, Jesse  
Collins, Eugene (Kinsale)  
Courtney, Leonard Henry  
Cowen, Joseph  
Creyke, Ralph  
Cunliffe, Sir Robert Alfred  
Davies, David (Cardigan)  
De Ferrieres, Baron  
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles  
Earp, Thomas  
Edwards, Passmore (Salisbury)  
Farquharson, Dr. Robert  
Fawcett, Rt. Hon. Henry  
Firth, Joseph F. B.  
Forester, Cecil Theodore Weld  
Fowler, Henry H. (Wolverh'n)  
Fry, Lewis (Bristol)  
Fry, Theodore (Darlington)  
Gabbett, Daniel FitzGerald  
Giles, Alfred  
Grant, Andrew (Leith)  
Grant, Daniel (Marylebone)  
Harvey, Sir Robert Bateson  
Henderson, Frank  
Hibbert, John Tomlinson  
Holland, John Robt. (Brighton)  
Hopwood, Charles Henry  
Howard James (Bedfordshire)  
Illingworth, Alfred  
James, Charles (Merthyr Tydvil)  
Jenkins, Sir John J. (Carmar.)  
Kennard, Colonel (Lymington)  
Kinneir, John  
Knightly, Sir Rainald  
Lalor, Richard  
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid  
Leahy, James  
Leake, Robert

Leamy, Edmund  
Leatham, W. H. (Y'k, W.R., S.D.)  
Lechmere, Sir Edmund A. H.  
Lee, Henry (Southampton)  
Lusk, Sir Andrew  
MacIver, Peter Stewart  
M'Arthur Alexander (Leicester)  
M'Arthur, Sir Wm. (Lambeth)  
M'Laren, Charles B. B.  
Morgan, Hon. Fred. (Monm. Co.)  
Morley, Arnold (Nottingham)  
Morley, John (Newcastle)  
Morley, Samuel (Bristol)  
Nolan, Colonel  
O'Beirne, Major  
O'Brien, William (Mallow)  
O'Connor, A. (Queen's Co.)  
O'Gorman Mahon, Colonel The  
Palmer, George (Reading)  
Palmer, John Hinde (Lincoln)  
Paddie, John Dick  
Pennington, Frederick  
Porter, Andrew Marshall  
Potter, Thomas Bayley  
Powell, W. Rice H.  
Power, Richard (Waterford)  
Pugh, Lewis Pugh  
Puleston, John Henry  
Ramsay, John  
Rankin, James  
Richard, Henry  
Richardson, J. N. (Armagh Co.)  
Richardson, Thos. (H. r.lepool)  
Roberts, John  
Roe, Thomas  
Ross, Alex. Henry (Maidstone)  
Round, James  
St. Aubyn, Walter M. (Helston)  
Shaw, Thomas (Halifax)  
Sinclair, Sir John G. Tollemache  
Smith, Eustace (Tynemouth)  
Spencer, Hon. Charles Robert  
Stansfeld, Rt. Hon. James  
Summers, William  
Taylor, Peter Alfred  
Thomasson, John Pennington  
Torrens, W. T. M.  
Villiers, Rt. Hon. C. Pelham  
Walrond, Col. William Hood  
Watkin, Sir Edward W.  
Waugh Edward  
Whitworth, Benjamin  
Williams, S. C. Evans (Radnor)  
Williamson, Stephen  
Wilson, Sir Mathew (Yk. W.R.)  
Woodall William  
Yorke, John Reginald

Tellers for the Noes, Mr. Mason and Baron Henry De Worms.

## PAIRS FOR MR. MASON'S RESOLUTION.

FOR.	AGAINST.
R. B. Mackie	A. Pell
L. L. Dilwyn	C. T. D. Acland
S. C. Buxton	Hon. L. Stanley
R. W. Fowler	Col. Blackburne
W. Findlater	D. R. Onslow
W. H. Willis	W. H. Long
Sir C. Forster	Rt. Hon. J. G. Dodson
W. J. Stanton	C. J. Monk

FOR.	AGAINST.
J. Mc.Carthy	E. Whitley
F. Buxton (Andover)	Hon. W. H. B. Portman
P. Rylands	J. E. Severne
J. Dodds	G. B. Gregory
J. E. Thorold Rogers	H. Edwards (Weymouth)
C. F. Mackintosh	J. Stewart
W. N. Nicholson	Sir H. Maxwell
Right Hon. G. Cubitt	Rt. Hon. Sir R. Cross
Sir H. Verney	W. L. Jackson
J. F. Cheetham	R. P. Bruce (Fifeshire)
J. Slagg	F. W. Grafton
Sir Massey Lopes	A. P. Vivian
C. R. M. Talbot	W. B. Beaumont
J. S. Balfour	Rt. Hon. W. E. Baxter
H. Wiggin	A. Peel
H. B. Sheridan	Lord Burghley
E. R. King Harman	A. Loftus Tottenham
J. E. Gorst	T. Salt
A. Orr Ewing	Sir F. Herschell
G. Courtauld	Sir E. H. K. Lucon
H. Villiers Stuart	C. Seely
B. Armitage	J. C. Bolton
M. C. Buszard	Rt. Hon. W. E. Forster
T. W. Boord	Hon. P. S. Wyndham
P. Mc.Lagan	Sir W. H. B. Folkes, Bt.
H. B. Samuelson	A. Moore
G. W. Hastings	Sir J. Eardley Wilmot, Bt.
R. O'Shaughnessy	A. H. Bellingham
C. M. Norwood	W. F. Ecroyd
J. C. Mc.Coan	Sir J. Trevor Lawrence, Bt.
Sir B. Leighton, Bart.	Lord Moreton
T. R. Hill	R. N. Philips
W. S. Caine	H. Broadhurst
J. G. Mc.Minnies	E. Hicks
E. H. Carbutt	Sir M. W. Ridley, Bt.
T. C. Thompson	R. J. Reid
C. J. Kennard (Salisb.)	C. P. Phipps (Westbury)

NOTE.—Owing to the form in which the question had to be put, the Ayes are the opponents and the Noes the supporters of Mr. Mason's Resolution.

REPLY OF MR. GLADSTONE TO THE MEMORIAL.

The following reply was received from Mr. Gladstone in acknowledgment of the memorial forwarded to him on May 29th :—

"10, Downing-street, Whitehall, May 30th, 1883.  
 "Dear Mr. Mason,—I have received the memorial in favour of extending the franchise to women, and I beg to thank you for forwarding it to me. I hope you will understand that my reason for not receiving a deputation was not from any doubt as to the importance of the subject, but because I find it of little avail to enter orally on a question of this kind except when it is to come immediately under practical consideration.—I remain, dear Mr. Mason, faithfully yours,  
 "W. E. GLADSTONE."

At the time of the presentation of the memorial no day had been obtained for the discussion of the resolution in the House of Commons.

Obituary.

MR. EDWARD BACKHOUSE EASTWICK, C.B.—With great regret we record the death on July 16th of this estimable and accomplished gentleman, who, when in Parliament, rendered distinguished services to the cause of women's suffrage. His name was on the Bill introduced by Mr. Jacob Bright in 1870, 1871, 1872, and 1873. He spoke in favour of women's suffrage in the House of Commons; and when no longer in Parliament, he gave active help as a worker on the Central Committee, of which he was a member at the time of his death. Mr. Eastwick was created a Companion of the Bath, civil division, in 1866. He represented Falmouth in the Conservative interest from 1868 to 1874. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society and the Society of Antiquaries, and was the author of numerous works relating to British India.

(Continued from page 118.)

July		
*21440	5	LONDON (Mr. Mason) ... .. 225
*21441	"	TETBURY (Mr. Mason) ... .. 3
*21442	"	BIDEFORD (Mr. Mason) ... .. 24
*21443	"	BODMIN (Mr. Mason) ... .. 4
©*21444	"	BRIDPORT, Members of the Ward Committees of the Liberal Association; Charles Edmonds, chairman (Mr. Mason) ... .. 1
*21445	"	NEWPORT, Monmouth, Members of the Congregation of Stow Hill Baptist Chapel (Mr. Mason) ... .. 9
©*21446	"	NORTHAMPTON, Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of (Mr. Mason) ... .. Seal 1
*21447	"	WILLIAM J. PORTER and others (Mr. Mason) ... .. 3
©*21448	"	BARROW-IN-FURNESS, Members of the Liberal Club; J. H. Thomas, chairman; Robert Ellis, secretary (Mr. Mason) ... .. 2
©*21449	"	CROYDON, Public Affairs Committee, Thomas Story Horn, chairman, Alfred Edwin Isaac, secretary (Mr. Mason) ... .. 2
*21450	"	MERYON WHITE, M.A., and others (Mr. Mason) ... .. 9
*21451	"	WILLIAM RADNOR and others (Mr. Mason) ... .. 5
*21452	"	MARIA AMLING and others (Sir Charles Mills) ... .. 23
*21453	"	CARDIFF (Sir Edward Reed) ... .. 8
*21454	"	" " ... .. 13
*21455	"	" " ... .. 22
*21456	"	" " ... .. 21
*21457	"	" " ... .. 9
*21458	"	" " ... .. 10
©*21459	"	MADRON, Cornwall, Members of the Local Board; S. Semmens, chairman (Sir John St. Aubyn) ... .. 1
*21460	"	LONDON, Women Ratepayers of (Sir Matthew Wilson) ... .. 5
*21461	"	ANNIE MARIA PURSER and others " ... .. 12
©*21462	"	ROTHERHAM, Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of (Mr. Stuart-Wortley) ... .. Seal 1
©*21463	6	CLEATOR and CLEATOR MOOR Liberal Association; John Cunningham, chairman; William Leck, junior, secretary (Mr. Ainsworth) ... .. 2
*21464	"	MARYPORT (Mr. Ainsworth) ... .. 33
©*21465	"	STOURPORT BEWDLEY, Members of the Liberal Association; T. Garlick, president (Mr. Baldwin) ... .. 1
*21466	"	STOURPORT (Mr. Baldwin) ... .. 24
©*21467	"	BEWDLEY, Members of the Town Council of (Mr. Baldwin) ... .. Seal 1
*21468	"	SAINT AUSTELL, Cornwall (Mr. Borlase) ... .. 17
©*21469	"	SAINT AUSTELL, Cornwall; Fr. R. Kay, chairman (Mr. Borlase) ... .. 1
*21470	"	MANCHESTER (Mr. Jacob Bright) ... .. 97
*21471	"	DINAS MAWDY " ... .. 47
*21472	"	LONDON " ... .. 32
*21473	"	LITTLE STANMORE and EDGWARE, Middlesex (Mr. Jacob Bright) ... .. 15
*21474	"	ERITH and others (Mr. Jacob Bright) ... .. 38
*21475	"	LONDON " ... .. 17
*21476	"	HYDE (Mr. Cunliffe Brooks) ... .. 26
*21477	"	LIMEHOUSE, London (Mr. Bryce) ... .. 79
*21478	"	DESBOROUGH (Lord Burghley) ... .. 9
*21479	"	LONDON (Mr. Charles Cameron) ... .. 15
*21480	"	GLASGOW, Women Householdors of (Mr. Charles Cameron) ... .. 4
*21481	"	GLASGOW, Inhabitants of (Mr. Charles Cameron) ... .. 58
©*21482	"	BIRMINGHAM, Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of (Mr. Jesso Collings) ... .. Seal 1
*21483	"	LISIEARD (Mr. Courtney) ... .. 36
*21484	"	EARLESTOWN, Newton le Willows, Lancaster (Sir Richard Cross) ... .. 99
*21485	"	SCARBOROUGH, Women Ratepayers of (Mr. Dodson) ... .. 503
©*21486	"	WINSFORD, Chester, Members of the Local Board for the District of (Mr. Alan de Tatton Egerton) ... .. Seal 1
*21487	"	ASHOVER (Admiral Egerton) ... .. 40
©*21488	"	DALTON-IN-FURNESS, Members of the Local Board for the District of (Lieut.-General Fielden) ... .. Seal 1
*21489	"	HAMMERSMITH (Mr. Firth) ... .. 22
*21490	"	BRISTOL, Redland, Women Householdors in (Mr. Lewis Fry) ... .. 24
*21401	"	CLIFTON (Mr. Lewis Fry) ... .. 16
*21492	"	BISHOPSTON, Bristol (Mr. Lewis Fry) ... .. 25

The Petitions marked thus (\*) are substantially similar to that from Plymouth [APP. 5].  
 The Petitions marked thus (©) are from public meetings, and are signed officially.