

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE JOURNAL.

EDITED BY LYDIA E. BECKER.

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APRIL 1, 1884.

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PRELIMINARY NOTICE.

A MEETING

WILL BE HELD IN

ST. JAMES'S HALL, PICCADILLY, LONDON,

ON THURSDAY EVENING, APRIL 24TH, 1884,

In support of the amendment to be moved in the House of Commons for including women householders in the Franchise Bill.

Mrs. FAWCETT, Dr. CAMERON, M.P., Mrs. CHARLES M'LAREN, Miss JANE E. COBDEN, W. CAINE, Esq., M.P., Miss ISABELLA TOD, Miss BECKER, J. P. THOMASSON, Esq., M.P., THOS. ROE, Esq., M.P., C. B. M'LAREN, Esq., M.P., C. H. HOPWOOD, Esq., M.P., R. P. BLENNERHASSETT, Esq., M.P., J. A. BLAKE, Esq., M.P., The Rt. Hon. JAMES STANSFELD, M.P., GEORGE ANDERSON, Esq., M.P., JAMES RANKIN, Esq., M.P., JOHN SLAGG, Esq., M.P., and representatives from the Societies of Bristol, Birmingham, Belfast, Dublin, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Leeds, Manchester, Nottingham, and other towns, are expected to be present.

The Chair will be taken at Eight o'clock, by

WILLIAM WOODALL, Esq., M.P.

Numbered Sofa Stalls, 2s. 6d. Balcony and Reserved Seats, 1s. Body of the Hall and Gallery, FREE. Tickets may be obtained at the Office of the Society, 29, Parliament-street, S.W., and at the Ticket Office, St. James's Hall. Doors open at Seven o'clock. Organ Recital, Seven to Eight.

NEW CROSS.—A Meeting will be held in the New Cross Public Hall, on Monday, April 21st, in support of the amendment to be moved by Mr. Woodall to include Women Householders in the Franchise Bill. Miss Becker, Mrs. Ormiston Chant, Baron de Worms, M.P., Dr. W. C. Bennett, Messrs. Cook, Baines, Joseph Wates, and other ladies and gentlemen have promised to be present. The chair will be taken at 8 p.m., by the Rev. BROOKE LAMBERT, Vicar of Greenwich. Admission free.

KENSINGTON.—A Public Meeting will be held on Tuesday, April 22nd, in the Town Hall, Kensington, in support of the amendment to be moved by Mr. Woodall to include Women Householders in the Franchise Bill. Mrs. Ashton Dilke, Mrs. Charles M'Laren, Mr. Hardcastle, and other ladies and gentlemen have promised to be present. The chair will be taken at 8 p.m., by the Right Honourable JAMES STANSFELD. Admission free.

TOWLE'S CHLORODYNE

Invaluable for Coughs, Asthma, Bronchitis, Diarrhoea, Consumption, Spasms, &c. One Dose speedily relieves. TOWLE'S CHLORODYNE LOZENGES and JUBJUBS. 6d. and 1s. per box. A. P. TOWLE, Chemist, 75, Back Piccadilly, Manchester, and of Chemists.—Post free, 13d., 2s. 9d., 4s. 6d.

BERMONDSEY.—A Public Meeting will be held on Tuesday, April 22nd, at the Town Hall, Spa Road, Bermondsey, in support of the amendment to be moved by Mr. Woodall to include Women Householders in the Franchise Bill. Mrs. Ormiston Chant, Mrs. Fenwick Miller, Miss Müller, and others have promised to attend. Admission free. Further particulars in local announcements.

WHITECHAPEL.—A Public Meeting will be held on Wednesday, April 23rd, at 8 p.m., in St. Mary's Schoolroom, St. Mary-street, Whitechapel, in support of the amendment to be moved by Mr. Woodall to include Women Householders in the Franchise Bill. Admission free. Further particulars in local announcements.

KENSINGTON.—A Public Meeting will be held on Wednesday, April 23rd, at 8 p.m., at the Horns, Kensington, in support of the amendment to be moved by Mr. Woodall to include Women Householders in the Franchise Bill. Miss King, Miss Müller, L.S.B.; Messrs. J. A. Lyon, G. C. Whiteley, E. J. Woltherston, and other ladies and gentlemen have promised to attend. Admission free. Further particulars in local announcements.

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

It is always safe
to use
**Reckitt's
Blue.**

BATH.—A Public Meeting will be held in the Guildhall, Bath, on Wednesday evening, April 2nd, 1884, in support of the extension of the Parliamentary franchise to women householders and ratepayers. The chair will be taken at eight p.m. by the Worshipful the MAYOR of BATH.

The meeting will be addressed by Mrs. Beddoe (Clifton), Miss Sturge (member of the Bristol School Board), Miss Becker (member of the Manchester School Board), Mrs. Jeffery, Mrs. Ashworth Hallett, Miss H. Blackburn (Sec. West of England Society for Women's Suffrage).

The following gentlemen will endeavour to be present:—The Rev. Sir J. Bunbury, Bart., the Rev. Prebendary Anderson, Capt. Lysaght, R.N., Messrs. S. Fox Andrews, W. H. Brumby, R. D. Commans, T. W. E. Cox, T. G. P. Hallett, H. Hancock, Richard King, C. W. Mackillop, J. H. Marsh, S. G. Mitchell, Charles Milson, Montague Pakenham, W. Parham, Isaac Pitman, W. Pumphrey, J. E. Sturges, Frederick Shum, J. Theobald, Arthur W. Weston.

Reserved Seats, 1s. or 6d. Tickets to be obtained of Messrs. Dawson, Market Place; Davies' Library, Abbey Churchyard; and M'Watter's Library, Saville Row. Early application for tickets requested. Back of Hall, Free.

Women ratepayers specially invited.

NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE.—A Public Meeting, to support the proposal to include Women Householders in the new Reform Bill, will be held in the Town Hall, on Monday, April 21st. The chair will be taken by His Worship the MAYOR (Henry W. Newton, Esq.), at eight o'clock. Mrs. Ashton Dilke, Miss Jane Cobden, Mrs. Oliver Scatcherd, and others will address the meeting. Admission free. Further particulars in local announcements.

WESTMINSTER.—Mrs. Fenwick Miller, M.L.S.B., will Lecture on "Women and the New Reform Bill," at Tower Hamlets Radical Club, Wednesday, 9th April, 8-30; Westminster Democratic Club, 20th April, at eight o'clock.

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.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

(From the Daily Votes and Proceedings.)

- March 3. Franchise, Petitions for the extension of, to women, of Meetings at New WORTLEY and SUDBURY; read, and ordered to lie on the table.
4. Franchise, Petition for the extension of, to women, of Inhabitants of WINCHESTER; read, and ordered to lie on the table.
7. Franchise, Petition for the extension of, to women, of Meeting at TUNSTALL; read, and ordered to lie on the table.
10. Franchise, Petition for the extension of, to women, of Meeting at HANLEY; read, and ordered to lie on the table.
13. Franchise, Petition for the extension of, to women, of Meeting at GREAT YARMOUTH; read, and ordered to lie on the table.
17. Franchise, Petition for the extension of, to women, of Meeting at LOWESTOFT; read, and ordered to lie on the table.
18. Franchise, Petitions for the extension of, to women; of Inhabitants of STROKE-ON-TRENT and BURSLEM; read, and ordered to lie on the table.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

PARLIAMENTARY FRANCHISE.—For Extension to Women.

THIRD REPORT, 7 February—4 March, 1884.

Brought forward, Petitions 41—

- Feb. Signatures 1,034
1111 7 HURWORTH, Inhabitants of (Sir Joseph Whitwell Pease) ... 21
1112 20 W. P. HIERN and others ... 19
1113 22 NAPLES, Elizabeth Lillian Mackworth and others residing in (Mr. Courtenay) ... 5
1114 ,, CLAPTON and SYDENHAM, Inhabitants of (Viscount Lewisham) ... 25
1115 ,, WIMBLEDON, Inhabitants of, in public meeting assembled; H. W. Lawrence (Sir Henry Peck) ... 1
1116 25 REIGATE, Inhabitants of, in public meeting assembled; J. B. Crosfield, chairman (Sir Trevor Lawrence) ... 1
1117 ,, AYLESBURY, Inhabitants of, in public meeting assembled; Charles S. Madder (Mr. George Russell) ... 1
1118 27 LEEDS, Female Members and Friends of the New Wortley Liberal Club, in meeting assembled; Louisa Craven, president (Mr. Herbert Gladstone) ... 1
1119 ,, OYSTERMOUTH, Inhabitants of, and neighbourhood (Sir John Jenkins) ... 12
1120 ,, E. IMRAY and others (Sir Charles Mills) ... 12
1121 ,, SHORTLANDS, Attendants at a Meeting held at the Glen; Helen Wilkinson, chairwoman (Sir Charles Mills) ... 1
1122 ,, CHEPSTOW, Inhabitants of, and others (Mr. Rolls) ... 5
1123 ,, DESBOROUGH, Inhabitants of (Mr. Spencer) ... 55
1124 ,, EDINBURGH, Attendants at a Meeting of the Saint Luke's Literary Association; Frederick M. Alston, president (Mr. Waddy) ... 1
1125 28 A. J. BELL and others (Mr. Brassey) ... 75
1126 ,, WELLINGTON, Inhabitants of, in public meeting assembled; A. M. Beddoe, chairman (Mr. Elton) ... 1
1127 ,, PLYMOUTH, Inhabitants of (Mr. Macliver) ... 18
1128 29 EDINBURGH, Inhabitants of, in public meeting assembled; Robert B. Drummond, B.A., chairman (Mr. Buchanan) ... 1
1129 ,, GEORGE J. CURTIS, M.A., and others (Mr. Duckham) ... 19
1130 ,, JANE HERRING and others (Mr. Duckham) ... 14
1131 ,, MARY J. HUNT and others (Mr. Samuel Smith) ... 8

- Mar.
1132 3 BRISTOL, Attendants at the Annual Meeting of the Bristol and West of England Society for Women's Suffrage, held at 20, Park-street; Mark Whitwell, chairman (Mr. Lewis Fry) ... 1
1133 4 EDINBURGH, Attendants at the Annual Meeting of the Edinburgh National Society for Women's Suffrage, held at 5, Saint Andrew's Square; Priscilla M'Laren, president (Mr. Buchanan) ... 1
1134 ,, DUNSTER, Inhabitants of, in the county of Somerset (Mr. Elton) ... 26
1135 ,, DUNSTER, Inhabitants of, in the county of Somerset (Mr. Elton) ... 25
1136 ,, DUNSTER, Inhabitants of, in the county of Somerset (Mr. Elton) ... 26

- Mar.
1137 4 DUNSTER, Attendants at a Lecture delivered in the Assembly Rooms, in the county of Somerset; Thomas Thompson, chairman (Mr. Elton) ... 1
1138 ,, MINEHEAD, Attendants at a Lecture delivered in the Concert Room, in the county of Somerset; Edward Balmford, chairman (Mr. Elton) ... 1
1139 ,, DULVERTON, Inhabitants of, in public meeting assembled in the Town Hall; John Wicks, chairman (Mr. Elton) ... 1
1140 ,, WIVELISCOMBE, Inhabitants of, in public meeting assembled in the Town Hall; Thomas Stenner Macey, B.A., chairman (Mr. Elton) ... 1
1141 ,, ELLEN MEELEY PARRY and others (Viscount Emlyn) ... 5

Total number of Petitions 72—Signatures 1,418
ERRATUM.—Omi: No. 27.

FOURTH REPORT, 5—11 March, 1884.

Brought forward, Petitions 72—

- Mar. Signatures 1,418
1738 5 BROMLEY, Inhabitants of (Sir Charles Mills) ... 49
1739 ,, ABERGAVENNY, Inhabitants of (Mr. Rolls) ... 2
1740 6 GREAT YARMOUTH, Inhabitants of, in public meeting assembled; Charles Stovell, chairman (Mr. Birkbeck) ... 1
1741 ,, LOWESTOFT, Inhabitants of, in public meeting assembled; W. W. Garnham, president (Lord Rendlesham) ... 1
1742 ,, STROUD, Members of the Congregation of the Primitive Methodist Church (Mr. Stanton) ... 20
1743 7 GLOSSOP, Inhabitants of, in public meeting assembled; T. P. Hunter, chairman (Mr. Cheetham) ... 1
1744 ,, BRADFORD, Inhabitants of, in public meeting assembled; Robert Kell, chairman (Mr. Forster) ... 1
1745 ,, BRISTOL, Inhabitants of, in public meeting assembled; J. D. Marshall, chairman (Mr. Lewis Fry) ... 1
1746 10 SUDBURY, Inhabitants of, in public meeting assembled; Robert Mattingley, chairman (Mr. Biddell) ... 1
1747 ,, ETON, Inhabitants of (Mr. Carrington) ... 18
1748 ,, SAINT ALBANS, Inhabitants of (Mr. Cowper) ... 27
1749 ,, HANLEY, Inhabitants of, in public meeting assembled; W. H. Ringland, chairman (Sir Charles Forster) ... 1
1750 ,, FISHGARD and other places, Inhabitants of (Lord Kensington) ... 101
1751 ,, STROKE-ON-TRENT, Inhabitants of, in public meeting assembled; William Reay, chairman (Mr. Woodall) ... 1
1752 ,, BURSLEM, Inhabitants of, in public meeting assembled; G. B. Ford, chairman (Mr. Woodall) ... 1
1753 ,, TUNSTALL, Inhabitants of, in public meeting assembled; G. Cumberlidge, chairman (Mr. Woodall) ... 1
1754 11 EDINBURGH, Attendants at a Drawing Room Meeting held in 51, Lauriston Place; Jean Morison Campbell Miller, president (Mr. Buchanan) ... 1
1755 ,, PARKHAM, BIDEFORD, and other places, Inhabitants of (Mr. Henry Fowler) ... 13
1756 ,, MODBURY, Inhabitants of, in [the county of Devon (Mr. Macliver) ... 24
1757 ,, WIMBORNE, Inhabitants of (Mr. Portman) ... 11

Total number of Petitions 92—Signatures 1,694

FIFTH REPORT, 12—18 March, 1884.

Brought forward, Petitions 92—

- March Signatures 1,694
2180 12 BEDMINSTER, Inhabitants of, in public meeting assembled; Margaret A. Tanner, president (Mr. Lewis Fry) ... 1
2181 ,, LEEDS, Female Householdors and Ratepayers of the borough of (Mr. Herbert Gladstone) ... 1,036
2182 ,, MATILDA LUFTON and others (Mr. Roberts) ... 15
2183 13 AMELIA MORGAN and others (Mr. Elton) ... 24
2184 ,, MARIA JANE BESLEY and others (Mr. Elton) ... 24
2185 ,, SYLVIA GOBLER and others (Mr. Elton) ... 26
2186 ,, HANNAH CROSS and others (Mr. Elton) ... 26
2187 ,, AMELIA GARINGE and others (Mr. Elton) ... 24
2188 ,, WINCHESTER, Inhabitants of, in public meeting assembled; Josephine E. Butler (Mr. Moss) ... 1
2189 15 WADEBRIDGE, Inhabitants of, in public meeting assembled; Samuel Wills, chairman (Mr. Borlase) ... 1
2190 18 EDINBURGH, Attendants at a Drawing Room Meeting of Ladies of, at the house of Mrs. D. MacDougall, Woodburn; Charlotte MacDougall, president (Mr. Buchanan) ... 1

(Fifth Report of Petitions continued next month.)

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VOL. XV.—No. 172. PUBLISHED MONTHLY.

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On the 28th February the PRIME MINISTER moved in the House of Commons for leave to bring in a Bill to amend the representation of the people. In describing the nature of the measure, Mr. GLADSTONE was very guarded in his allusion to the question of women's suffrage. He expressly stated that the Bill was not a perfect one as regards the franchise, and that there were several questions that it did not touch. Among these questions he enumerated that of women's suffrage, and he also alluded to a group of proposals made in a former Reform Bill, which Mr. BRIGHT had dubbed "fancy franchises," and by that phrase had killed them all. Mr. GLADSTONE proceeded to say that the central idea of the present Bill was to give to every householder a vote. They sought, as far as they could, to get at the heads of households and enfranchise them.

MR. TREVELYAN, speaking in the adjourned debate on the introduction of the Franchise Bill, said that if this Bill were passed no man living would ever quarrel with the existing franchise again. This Bill took in all the householders of the counties. Leaving aside the question of sex, it settled everything else on a solid and permanent basis.

WE ask that the Government will show themselves prepared to carry out that which they have proclaimed to be the central idea of their Bill, and that they will support the proposal that will be made to extend the provisions of the measure to the householders now excluded from its operation.

WE believe, indeed, that if the representation of the country were settled on the basis of giving a vote to every householder, that would be a solid and permanent basis, for there would be no class excluded from representation, and the qualification for the franchise would rest on a definite and intelligible principle. But unless the women householders are included, the Bill will not settle the question at all. The excluded householders will never acquiesce in their exclusion, and their demands, if not now complied with, will continue and keep alive the agitation

for Parliamentary reform, which it should be the object of the present Bill to subdue and satisfy.

IN order to satisfy the claim of women who are heads of households to be included in the Franchise Bill, Mr. WOODALL intends to propose an amendment in Committee on the measure. The forms of the House of Commons do not admit of Mr. WOODALL'S amendment being placed on the notice paper until after the second reading of the Franchise Bill. But the notice will be given at the earliest possible moment, and meantime, as the intention of Mr. WOODALL to propose the amendment is fully understood, petitions should be sent in and other demonstrations be made in order to support his action.

THE amendment to be moved by Mr. WOODALL in Committee on the Franchise Bill will probably be in the following terms:—"New clause—For all purposes connected with and having reference to the right to vote at Parliamentary elections, words in the Representation of the People Acts importing the masculine gender include women."

The wording of this clause, except only the necessary change of subject, follows exactly the wording of the clause in the Municipal Corporation Act relating to the franchise for women. The clause in the Municipal Act, 1882, is "For all purposes connected with and having reference to the right to vote at Municipal elections, words in this Act importing the masculine gender include women."

By adhering closely to the precedent of the Municipal Act, it will follow that exactly the same class of women who are now entitled to exercise the franchise in municipal elections will, if Mr. WOODALL'S amendment should become law, be entitled to vote at Parliamentary elections.

THE second reading of the Franchise Bill was formally moved by the Marquis of HARTINGTON, on March 24th. Lord JOHN MANNERS, in his speech on moving his amendment, said that there was an anomaly under the

present system which would be greatly increased by the Bill—he alluded to the question of the women ratepayer. The census showed that there were upwards of 20,000 women farmers in England. Not one of these has the vote. But, then, the labourer she pays has no vote now; but pass the Bill and what happens? Every carter, every ploughman, every hedger and ditcher, every agricultural labourer, who receives wages from the woman farmer, will have a vote; but the farmer who pays the wages will have no vote. Will not that anomaly be greatly increased and the sense of it embittered to the woman ratepayer whom you are going to treat in this cavalier manner?

Mr. BRIGHT, in reply to Lord JOHN MANNERS, did not attempt to defend the anomaly pointed out by the noble Lord, nor to justify the exclusion of women ratepayers from the Bill. He said he was told that women farmers were very little liked by landowners because they could not vote. He had had a letter from a lady, the widow of a farmer in Warwickshire, and she said the only reason why she was not allowed to keep her farm was because she had no vote. However, that matter would be easily settled when the franchise was extended, because it would be so enormous in its numbers throughout the country that it would not be worth the while of landowners to do so foolish and harsh a thing as to get rid of a woman who was a tenant farmer because she had no vote.

Mr. CHARLES C. ROSS said if they passed this measure without giving the franchise to women, Parliament would know no rest until the demand was granted, and if they were to consider and deal with the franchise simply as a right, and not as a question of privilege, or as a question of public convenience, he failed to see by what logic they could refuse the suffrage to women.

In the adjourned debate on the second reading on March 27th, Mr. GEORGE ANDERSON spoke in favour of the extension of the franchise to women, and Col. WALROND said that women farmers ought not to be denied the vote.

THE magnificent demonstration of women which took place at Edinburgh, in the Synod Hall, on March 24th, under the presidency of Viscountess HARBERTON, worthily continued the series of these gatherings which was begun at Manchester in 1880, and has been followed in London, Bristol, Nottingham, Birmingham, Bradford, Sheffield, and last, but not least, at Glasgow.

The largest hall in Edinburgh was engaged, and long before the doors opened there was a throng waiting for

admission. The hall keeper reported that he had never seen such a sea of faces as met his view when he opened the doors. Soon afterwards, he reported that the great hall was full, the overflow meeting was full, and hundreds were being turned away for want of room.

The resolutions were carried with unanimity and enthusiasm. No body of persons could possibly do more to manifest their interest in the cause and the earnestness of their claim than the women who have organised and attended this and similar demonstrations. We assert without hesitation that no class of excluded householders have, during the discussion on the County Franchise Bill, organised larger meetings or exhibited more earnestness and determination in support of their claim. If the Government could point to a large meeting of agricultural labourers, organised entirely by such labourers, presided over by a labourer, and addressed exclusively by agricultural labourers, and if the speeches delivered by such labourers exhibited as much intellectual ability, political knowledge, earnestness, and enthusiasm as were shown by the ladies' speeches at Edinburgh, then they would have a parallel to what women have done, and they would be able to point to a positive demonstration that the men whose enfranchisement was in question were ready and anxious for the privilege. So far as we are aware, no demonstration of this character, or on such a scale, has ever been attempted by the agricultural labourers. Although the absence of such demonstrations is no presumption that the men who have not made them do not care for the extension of the suffrage to their class, the fact of such demonstration being made by the other excluded class is a very strong presumption indeed that they object to their exclusion, and that they feel the desire and the necessity for extension of the franchise to themselves. Many other meetings have taken place during the month which we have not space here to notice, but which are reported in another column.

At a town's meeting recently held at Birmingham, in support of the Franchise Bill, Mrs. ASHFORD, who supported a resolution in favour of the Bill, said that while the man who feeds the pigs is to be a "capable citizen," the woman who so conducts the business that she can pay the rent of the farm, buy the pigs, and pay the man who feeds them, is not to be considered a "capable citizen." Her house would lose its vote by reason of her occupation of it, but by the service clause in the new Bill her groom, whose rent she paid, would have a vote. She

had a great respect for that man in the stables, but she was perfectly certain that if she were to ask him how he would "exercise" the franchise, he would reply, "Please, mum, which 'orse be that?"

Two little children, CHARLIE and his sister EDITH, sat down to their nursery dinner. There was one orange for dessert in the middle of the table; CHARLIE began to roar loudly. "What is the matter?" asked his anxious mother. "I'm crying, mamma, because there's no orange for poor EDITH!"

There is already a franchise which includes three millions of men, and we now have before us a franchise promised to two millions more, while not a single woman from JOHN OF GROAT'S house to the Land's End possesses a vote! Some of our friends are sorry at the omission, and would have liked the Bill better if it had included women; in short, would prefer EDITH to get her orange as well as themselves. They will even cry because EDITH does not get a second orange, but how many will insist on going shares with her. Our political CHARLIES must ask unceasingly that a Reform Bill which is to do so much for themselves shall also include their sisters, and recognise the fact that it would neither be fair to EDITH nor wholesome for CHARLIE himself that the orange should not be shared. C. A. B.

THE second reading of Mr. BRYCE'S Bill relating to the custody and guardianship of children was carried in the House of Commons on Wednesday, March 26th, by the overwhelming majority of 208 to 73. Many of those who supported the Bill said they did not accept the full extent of its principle, but as an amendment of the law was urgently needed they thought the Bill should be considered in Committee. It is, therefore, extremely probable that a substantial improvement in the law relating to the position of mothers will be effected this session. The debate on the second reading of this Bill was extremely interesting and instructive, and we regret that owing to pressure on our space we are unable to give an abstract of it.

JUST as we go to press the calamitous intelligence of the death of the Duke of ALBANY is announced. The nation will be struck to the heart with mourning and with sympathy for the beloved and widowed Sovereign in this fresh and overwhelming grief. The Duke was universally popular, and the life so early cut off gave promise of a career of happiness for himself and great service to his country.

PARLIAMENTARY INTELLIGENCE.

HOUSE OF LORDS, *March 3rd.*
PETITIONS.

The Earl of Shaftesbury presented a petition from women members of the New Wortley Liberal Club, Leeds, praying that duly qualified women be admitted to the electoral franchise.

Lord Waverley presented a petition from inhabitants of Sudbury in favour of extension of the Parliamentary franchise to women.

March 4th.—The Earl of Northbrook presented a petition from Mrs. J. Butler on behalf of a meeting of the inhabitants of Winchester for the removal of the electoral disabilities of women.

March 13th.—Lord Suffield presented a petition from inhabitants of Great Yarmouth in favour of extension of the Parliamentary franchise to women who possess the qualifications which entitle men to vote and who in all matters of local government have the right of voting.

March 18th.—Lord Thurlow presented petitions from inhabitants of Burslem and Stoke-on-Trent in favour of female suffrage.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, *February 28th.*
REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE BILL.

Mr. GLADSTONE moved for leave to introduce a Bill to amend the representation of the people. He said the Bill he proposed to introduce was substantially confined to one great provision to give unity and completeness to the household occupation franchise throughout the United Kingdom. The principle on which it proceeds was that the head of every household (under the conditions of the law) should have a vote. And they sought as far as they could to get at the heads of households and enfranchise them. It was in point of fact a Household Franchise Bill—a measure to extend to the counties what was now enjoyed by the towns, although in making that extension they endeavoured to accompany it with some further provisions by giving greater completeness in practical application to the idea of the household franchise. They did not deal completely or exhaustively with the question of the franchise. Mr. Gladstone enumerated some of the questions not touched by the Bill, among others the question of women's suffrage, and also the group of proposals once made in a Reform Bill which had been called by Mr. Bright "fancy franchises."

On March 3rd, Mr. TREVELYAN, speaking in the adjourned debate on the introduction of the Franchise Bill, said that if this Bill were passed no man living would ever quarrel with the existing franchise again. This Bill took in all the householders of the counties. Leaving aside the question of sex, it settled everything else on a solid and permanent basis.

March 24th.

The Marquis of Hartington having formally moved the second reading of the Franchise Bill, Lord JOHN MANNERS rose to criticise it. In the course of his speech he said: But we are told that, in addition to its simplicity, this Bill will abolish all electoral anomalies. The Bill as it stands bristles with anomalies. (Cheers.) There is an anomaly under the present system, and what I want the House to consider is will that anomaly not be greatly increased by this Bill—I allude to the question of the female ratepayer. The present position of the female ratepayer with regard to the vote is anomalous. She votes for municipal, school board, and poor law elections, but she does not vote at Parliamentary elections. That is the position. Now, take the case of one large and influential section of the female ratepayer—I mean female farmers. The census shows that in 1881 there were upwards of 20,000 female farmers in England. At the present moment not one of these has the vote for Parliamentary purposes. But, then, the labourer whom she pays, whom she maintains, enables to live in his cottage—(a laugh)—has no vote now; but pass this Bill, and what happens? Every carter, every ploughman, every hedger and ditcher, every agricultural labourer who receives wages—(loud Ministerial cheers)—from the female farmer will have the privilege of exercising the vote; but the female farmer who pays the wages, who is so important a factor in the economy of the parish, will remain without a vote. (Hear, hear.) Will you

tell me that that anomaly will not be greatly increased, and the sense of it embittered to the female ratepayer whom you are going to treat in this cavalier manner.

In reply to Lord John Manners,

Mr. BRIGHT said the noble lord was speaking of women—widows probably. I am told they are very little liked by the landowners because they cannot vote. I had the other day a letter from a lady, the widow of a farmer in Warwickshire, and she said that the only reason why she was not allowed to keep her farm was because she had no vote. (Hear, hear.) However, that matter will be easily settled when this franchise is extended, because it will be so enormous in its numbers throughout the country that it will not be worth the while of landowners to do so foolish and harsh a thing as to get rid of a woman who is a tenant-farmer because she has no vote. The noble lord drew a picture of what would happen when this lady farmer paid a week's wages—her shepherd so much, her labourer so much, her gardener so much; and all these men under this Bill would have a vote, and she would not have a vote. I do not know whether he would wish to excite our sympathies for the mistress of the farm, or rather contempt for the persons to whom the vote was to be given. But seeing that these labourers have had the example and presence during part of the year of country gentlemen who exercised great influence over them, and that they live in the same parish with the clergyman whom the State has provided for them—(ironical cheers and laughter)—that they have had the advantage of having been educated in Church schools, I say we have a right to say, and you have no right to deny, that these labourers are themselves just as qualified to possess and exercise the franchise as the vast numbers to whom you gave the franchise in 1867. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. CHARLES C. ROSS (St. Ives) said: If they passed this measure without giving the franchise to women, Parliament would know no rest until the demand was granted; and if they were to consider and deal with the franchise as simply a right, and not as a question of privilege, or as a question of public convenience, he failed to see by what logic they could refuse the suffrage to women. In a country whose sovereign was a woman—in a country the most brilliant pages of whose history would be found recorded under the reigns of Elizabeth, Anne, and Victoria, in such a land to deny to women, possessed of the proper qualification, the claim to vote, was an anomaly which as reasonable beings they could only tolerate on the ground that the franchise was not a right but a privilege.

March 27th.

In the adjourned debate on the second reading of the Franchise Bill, Mr. Anderson (Glasgow) advocated its extension to women, and Col. Walrond said that women farmers ought not to be denied the suffrage if their labourers had votes.

March 25th.

ENFRANCHISEMENT OF WOMEN.

Sir E. WATKIN asked the Attorney-General if he would lay upon the table, and cause to be circulated, a copy of the Bill now pending in the Parliament of "the Dominion of Canada," which provided for the political enfranchisement of women possessing the qualifications fixed for men; and, also copy of the Ordinance passed by the "House of Keys" of the Isle of Man, which provided for the political enfranchisement of women.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL: I do not know why the hon. member has selected me to answer this question. (Laughter.)

Sir E. WATKIN explained that he had asked the hon. and learned gentleman because his name was on the back of the Representation of the People Bill, and as the Prime Minister was absent. (Hear, hear.)

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL said he saw no reason why the printing of these documents should be gone into. Any private person could have access to them.

LIBERAL ASSOCIATIONS.

DERBY LIBERAL ASSOCIATION.

At the annual meeting of the Derby Liberal Association, held on February 26th, a resolution in favour of the franchise being given to women possessing the qualifications entitling men to vote was

passed almost unanimously. The resolution was proposed by Alderman Roe, M.P., and a copy was forwarded to the Prime Minister.

YORK LIBERAL FOUR HUNDRED.

At a largely attended meeting of the members of the Central Executive York Liberal Four Hundred in the Liberal Club, York, on February 25th, Alderman Sir James Meek presiding, it was moved by Mr. Councillor Wilkinson, supported by Mr. Lewin and Mr. Manton, and resolved: "That this meeting regards the extension of the Parliamentary franchise to female householders as just and reasonable, and would hail with satisfaction the introduction of a Government measure which would confer the Parliamentary franchise upon female householders whether resident in counties or boroughs, and that copies of the resolution be forwarded to the Prime Minister and the Home Secretary."

CAMBRIDGE WORKING MEN'S LIBERAL CLUB.

The Cambridge Working Men's Liberal Club had a debate in February on the question of women's suffrage, and passed a resolution in its favour by an overwhelming majority. A copy of the resolution was ordered to be forwarded to the Prime Minister.

BRISTOL LIBERAL ASSOCIATION.

At the annual meeting of the above association, on February 28th, the CHAIRMAN (Mr. Herbert Thomas) said in the course of his address they were now engaged on a great measure—the extension of the franchise—a measure which would do for the labouring classes in the country, mentally and physically, he was sure, in the course of some years, that which had been done for the great body of the artisans in the cities. (Applause.) He wished heartily himself the same privileges could now be extended to the ladies. (Applause.) He had listened with great satisfaction to ladies advocating their claim to the political rights which they ought to possess in common with the men. There were many questions that pressed heavily on the one sex, and it was right that they should have a voice and a weight in the government of the country, so as to bring their influence to bear on the legislature which affected them. Notwithstanding he had said this he did feel, and felt with regret, that at the present moment it would be hopeless to encumber the present Reform Bill by endeavouring to impress upon the Legislature unduly the importing into it of the franchise to the ladies. He regretted to have to say so. He wished it could be otherwise, but must state that that was his opinion.

The Rev. URIJAH THOMAS, in seconding the resolution, said: As to the franchise question, he believed they were all one with regard to the desirability of giving those who paid taxes a voice in the control, and he for one was logical enough to go with Mr. Thomas and say if women paid taxes women ought to have votes. ("No.") He believed by and by the Liberal party would become as logical as it was always enthusiastic. (Laughter.)

Miss PRIESTMAN spoke upon women's suffrage, and asked would the Government be more hampered by an act of justice than by leaving it undone? How could she, as president of the Women's Liberal Association, encourage women to be Liberals? (Hear, hear.)

Miss STURGE said she was very glad to be a member of the Liberal Association, though she had not the power of voting when a Parliamentary contest came. She hoped that power would be given in the future. She thought it was kind of Mr. Herbert Thomas to say what he did about women; but what they were afraid of was if they let that opportunity pass they might be told that the question of the franchise was settled and they must not revive it again, so they felt it was now or never. (Cheers and laughter.) It was as important for women to have votes as for agricultural labourers, and they must press to the utmost of their power till the vote was given to them, and be like the widow in Scripture, heard because of their importunity. (Cheers.)

NORTH STAFFORDSHIRE LIBERAL ASSOCIATION.

At the annual meeting of this association, on March 3rd, Mr. George Leveson Gower, the selected Liberal candidate for the division, delivered an address. At the conclusion, in answer to Mr. E. W. Sale, Mr. Gower remarked that the strongest reason he had against admitting women to the franchise was that it would endanger a general measure of suffrage, which was to him of much vaster and more overwhelming importance. (Cheers.)

(From the *Edinburgh Daily Review*.)

SCOTTISH NATIONAL DEMONSTRATION OF WOMEN.

GREAT MEETINGS IN EDINBURGH.

A DEMAND FOR THE FRANCHISE: MEMORIAL TO MR. GLADSTONE: PETITIONS TO PARLIAMENT.

The demand for the extension of the franchise to female householders was supported on March 22nd in the Scottish capital by a great national demonstration of women. No more imposing assemblage for a political object has been seen in Edinburgh. The largest hall in the city—that of the United Presbyterian Synod—was crowded to the doors, and an overflow meeting was also held in the Presbytery Hall. Above the platform banners with appropriate mottoes were hung, and a roll inscribed with the names of the principal supporters of the movement was thus conspicuously displayed.

"WOMEN CLAIM EQUAL JUSTICE WITH MEN."

THE FRIENDS OF WOMEN.

Henry Fawcett.
Chas. Cameron.
Leonard Courtney.
George Anderson.
Sir Wilfrid Lawson.

THE FRIENDS OF WOMEN.

John Stuart Mill.
Jacob Bright.
Duncan McLaren.
Jas. Stansfeld.
J. P. Thomasson.

The entire area of the building was exclusively occupied by female householders of all ages and degrees of womanhood, and only in the gallery was the male sex represented, half-a-crown being charged for their admission. All the arrangements reflected the highest credit on the business capacity of the ladies in charge of the demonstration, the conduct of which might well be taken as a model for the majority of great meetings. Not the slightest hitch occurred from the opening hymn, "March of Reform," to the closing patriotic song, "Scots Wha Hae," the meeting lasting about three hours and a half. The first hour was devoted to the rendering of a programme of music by a choir of ladies, led by Miss Simpson, Portobello, and while it no doubt required male voices to resound through the large hall, "softly sweet, in Lydian measure," the tone of the meeting was elevated to the fine pitch in which the business proceeded at half-past seven o'clock. The Viscountess HARBERTON occupied the chair, and her ladyship was supported on the platform by the following delegates:—Mrs. Buchanan, Curriehill; Mrs. O. Scatcherd, Leeds; Mrs. Nichol, Mrs. McLaren, Miss Wigham, Dr. A. McLaren, Miss Hunter, Mrs. Paterson, Miss L. Stevenson, Miss F. Stevenson, Mrs. McQueen, Mrs. Hope, Mrs. M. Miller, Miss S. S. Mair, Miss R. Smith, Miss E. Kirkland, Mrs. Raeburn, and Miss A. G. Wyld, Edinburgh; Mrs. O. Chant, Mrs. Hodgson, Bonaly; Miss Tod, Belfast; Mrs. Somerville, Dalkeith; Mrs. Forbes, Loanhead; Mrs. D. Greig, Mrs. Erskine Murray, Miss Greig, Mrs. Lindsay, Miss Barton, and Mrs. A. Campbell, Glasgow; Miss Simpson, Miss Caldwell, Portobello; Mrs. McKinnel, Dumfries; Mrs. McCormick, Manchester; Miss Burton, Liberton; Miss Balmorie, Scarborough; Mrs. A. S. Smith, Gorebridge; Miss Drew, Helensburgh; Mrs. Blair, Girvan; Mrs. Smith, Mrs. F. Smith, Bothwell.

Mrs. DUNCAN McLAREN said: My fellow-citizens, this large and influential and marvellous meeting will perhaps quietly subside into silence for a few moments, and if any one feels called upon to ask the blessing of the Almighty upon our proceedings you will listen quietly so that all may be heard.

Miss WIGHAM rose and asked a blessing upon their movement, the aim of which was to advance the cause of justice and righteousness in the land.

APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE.

Letters of apology were intimated by Miss WIGHAM from Miss Helen Taylor, Mrs. Lucas, London; Mrs. Fawcett, London; Mrs. Thomasson, Bolton; Miss Orme, London; Miss Jane Cobden, London; Miss C. A. Biggs, London; Mrs. Fenwick Miller, London; Mrs. Ashton Dilke, London; Mrs. Hallett, Bath; Miss Becker, Manchester; Miss Priestman, Bristol; Mrs. Helen Bright Clark, Street, Somersetshire; Miss Müller, London; Mrs. Eva McLaren,

Bradford; Mrs. Charles McLaren, London; Mrs. Pochin, Bodnant, Conway; Mrs. Campbell, Tillichewan Castle; Mrs. Charteris, Edinburgh; Mrs. Edward Caird, Glasgow; Mrs. Young, Glasgow; Miss Kinnear, Glasgow; Mrs. A. B. McGrigor, Glasgow; Mrs. Arthur, Barshaw, Paisley; Mrs. Readdie, Perth; Miss Birrell, Cupar; Mrs. Dunn, Aberdeen; Miss Duncan, Foxhall; Miss Chalmers, Slaford; Miss Smith, Linlithgow; Miss Macrobie, Bridge of Allan; Mrs. Ritchie, Glasgow; Mrs. Greenlees, Glasgow; Mrs. Ord, Nesbit, Kelso; Mrs. Gordon, Nairn; Mrs. Gerrard, Aberdeen; Miss Stoddart, Kelso; Mrs. Robertson, Paisley; Miss Maitland, Corstorphine.

LETTERS AND TELEGRAMS.

Miss WIGHAM read from letters and telegrams received:—Miss Helen Taylor writes expressing great regret that she could not be present, and wishing success to the meeting.

Miss Maitland regrets that she is not able, from a severe cold, to be with us, and says: "I will be with you 'in spirit' if not in 'the body,' and will pray that you may have much of the Lord's gracious presence, and that our cause, or rather, I should say, the cause of humanity, morality, and justice may be much advanced." (Cheers.)

Mrs. P. A. Taylor, Brighton, whom we consider almost the mother of the movement—(cheers)—writes this little note: "My dear Mrs. McLaren,—I am grieved that I cannot be present at your meeting to-morrow to aid you in your noble efforts to obtain justice for the women of England. I may not live to witness the victory, but that we shall conquer soon there is no doubt. (Cheers.) The best men and women are with us. God speed our cause!" (Cheers.)

Miss Orme, Chancery Lane, London, wrote: "I certainly feel that it would be better to leave the representation of the people in its present miserable condition rather than to pretend to reform it and leave some of the greatest faults still existing." (Hear, hear.)

Miss Wigham added:—

Telegrams have been received from a great number of friends. The first I shall read is from our leader in Parliament, Mr. Woodall—(cheers)—who has undertaken to conduct our case in the House of Commons. (Cheers.) He writes: "Gratefully appreciate invaluable aid rendered at this critical stage by Scottish women, and feel assured national demonstration will, in effect, be worthy of past efforts and justice of their cause." (Cheers.)

Miss Lydia Becker, London, telegraphs: "I can see your glorious meeting in my mind's eye. I am with you in spirit. Hearty congratulations, and best wishes."

Mrs. Josephine Butler, Winchester, writes: "Am with you in sympathy, and pray that the great object we have at heart be speedily attained for the good of humanity."

Miss Jane Cobden, Birmingham—(cheers)—telegraphs: "I wish the meeting every success, and deeply regret to be unable to be with you this evening."

Mrs. Eva McLaren, Vice-President of the Women's Suffrage Association, Bradford, says: "Our association hopes your demonstration will be a great success. We send congratulations on the good work you are doing."

Miss Louisa Carbutt telegraphs from Leeds: "My best wishes with you for meeting to-night. I wish I could work with you."

Miss Caroline Biggs, London: "I am so disappointed not to be with you to-day. Best wishes for a glorious meeting. Loving greeting to friends."

Rev. S. A. Steinthal, Manchester, telegraphs: "Manchester Committee send greeting, and hopes your meeting is an augury of a speedy triumph of right and justice." (Cheers.)

Mrs. E. Y. Wilkinson, York: "York Women's Liberal Association sends hearty greetings to the great Edinburgh women's suffrage demonstration, and expects that Scotch women will speak with no uncertain voice on this important question." (Cheers.)

Miss Stoddart, Kelso, telegraphs: "The Kelso Women's Suffrage Committee desire hearty congratulations, and best furtherance to Lady Harberton, and all at demonstration meeting to-night."

THE OPENING ADDRESS.

Lady HARBERTON, the president of the meeting, on rising was received with cheers. After announcing that there was an overflow meeting being held in the Presbytery Hall, she said: Ladies and gentlemen,—Our object in meeting here to-night is so plain and clear, and, I may add, so just, that very little explanation from me is necessary. We are here to urge upon the country and upon the

already enfranchised classes that they should be logical and consistent, that if the British nation says taxation and representation should go together, then it is right that they should give expression to this opinion fairly and openly, and that at all times and seasons insist upon it that those women who are ratepayers, and who are, in fact, heads of households, ought not to be excluded from the privilege of voting for a member to represent them in the House of Commons. (Cheers.) This is no question of women usurping the place of men, or any trivialities of that kind; it is a much more serious matter. The exclusion of women from the right to representation has already led to laws being passed about them and their interests that I do not hesitate to call a disgrace to humanity. (Cheers.) That they are not more commonly recognised as such is due, I think, to two causes. One thing is that those women of the upper classes, who are usually wealthy, are able by the aid of money so to hedge themselves around with barriers to oppose the inconveniences placed upon women by the laws, that they very often do not feel them so much; and those women of the classes who are not wealthy are so crushed and oppressed by the working of these laws that they are unable to take the first step, which is agitation, towards getting them altered or repealed. (Cheers.) Another reason why it often seems to me that women themselves are not more enthusiastic upon this question of the franchise is that from their earliest childhood they are taught that the first duty of a woman is unselfishness, and the putting of their own interests and wishes behind those of others. Now, in a certain limited and narrow sense I thoroughly agree with this doctrine. In all the small everyday concerns of life it is probably the easiest system of tranquillity; but self-abnegation ceases to be a virtue when persistence in it retards the happiness of thousands who are so placed that their surroundings require that they should have greater means of defending themselves—(cheers)—and also when the interests of others who are in a perfectly different position leads them to shut their eyes to the need of justice and equality for those who most nearly resemble ourselves, then to continue to acquiesce in decisions of theirs either from idleness to rouse our minds to a full inquiry, or because it happens to be one of the things we are not taught in childhood, is absolutely inexcusable. Now, there is an attitude which seems to me inclined to creep in among people nowadays, which in my own mind I always call the "gospel of negation." Its disciples deal very largely in denunciation of all kinds. That denunciation is not to be despised; but before persons indulge in it they should be prepared to come forward with some scheme which, at least, they could support with a show of reason. (Hear, hear.) Now, these negationists are not at all agreed that the enfranchisement of women is a bad thing; on the contrary, they often say they think it would be much better if they were enfranchised, but this great question is completely lost sight of by them in their horror that women should do anything publicly to obtain it. Any inquiry only brings forth hysterical clamour that "women should stay at home"—with a very big "H." (Laughter and cheers.) Well, I have been examining a little into the conduct of those ladies who do stay at home so much, and what do I find—why, that they rush about, and seem like the changing colours of a kaleidoscope, now collecting for a bazaar, anon singing at a concert, with no end of publicity—(cheers)—but as long as no rational object is promoted by their action, it is all counted as staying quietly at home in the nursery, whether they have children or not, and that is their notion of being "thoroughly domesticated." (Laughter.) Now, much as I could wish myself that men had done their duty and agitated for us, in this case it is an undeniable fact that they have not shown that readiness, I may say eagerness, to begin that one could have wished; it therefore changes at once into one of those duties men have not seen their way to do, and so becomes of necessity women's work. (Cheers.) Few will deny that times and manners change very much, and now, as was well said in the *Times* lately, "every class should speak for itself." They were resolved to do so, and not to be represented or misrepresented by those indifferent or hostile to their claims. (Cheers.) Now, I am not going to say "all men are hostile to our claims," for some, I am proud to say, are our heartiest friends—(cheers)—but I do believe the majority are strongly indifferent to them. Their attitude on this question of ours always recalls to my mind the answer given by Sir Robert Walpole to the Dissenters, the justice of whose claim to be relieved

from their disabilities he admitted, but when pressed as to what he thought would be a suitable time to bring forward a measure to this effect, replied, "Well, to be frank with you, never." (Laughter.) Well, I am not going to talk about posterity, nothing bores people more than the remotest allusion to posterity; but in this case, you will observe, we are the posterity. (Cheers.) Now, I ask you does this answer strike us now as an example of justice and liberal-mindedness—do you feel a glow of enthusiasm in thinking of his answer, or revere the power his high position gave him? No; the tranquillity of his own Ministry was his great object, and therefore I only mention the subject because the past often reflects a strong light upon the present, and enables one to see things clearer. (Cheers.) I must not go into all the ways in which the laws I have referred to press hardly upon women, because there would not be time; but you will observe that they always affirm there are other ways to get them altered without interfering with the present arrangement of voting. It reminds me of the person who didn't much mind about the mainspring of his watch because it was only the hands he wished to use; or the traveller who thought it did not matter so much about the engine as he only wanted the carriages. When I see machinery move without a motive power of any kind, then, and not till then, will I believe in justice being equally awarded to the represented and unrepresented classes, and, believe me, the one is as impossible as the other, and if women want just laws and freedom they must unite firmly to demand the suffrage, for it is the greater good, and its acquisition includes all the lesser. (Applause.) The continued exclusion of women from the franchise would mean long and weary years of labour, such as we are engaged in at this minute—getting up petitions in thousands which do not carry one-hundredth part of the weight they should have, being signed by those who are no man's constituents, but who are waiting for ever, hoping against hope, that the men of Great Britain may see that the word "freedom" is a mockery so long as they persist in the exclusion of the duly qualified and educated classes of this country from the rights of citizenship. (Cheers.) It comes to this—there is a want of the desire to enfranchise women, because, being at present disfranchised, they are wholly unable to bring the powerful lever of self-interest to act upon the House of Commons. I only ask you to look at the thing as it really is, and ask yourselves, particularly you men here present, whether two such things as hero worship and party spirit may not be carried too far?—(hear, hear, and applause)—if they blind men's eyes to the plainest rudimentary principles of justice, and lead to the passing of a measure which comes forth with a flourish of trumpets, on the one hand proclaiming itself liberty, in order to divert attention from the fact that the other hand is binding fast the heavy burden upon those least able to bear it. (Cheers.) I was not asked to come here to-night to make a long address, and I am not going to do so, or further delay the meeting, but now proceed to business, and I will ask Miss Tod, of Belfast, to move the first resolution. (Cheers.)

CLAIM FOR IMMEDIATE ENFRANCHISEMENT.

Miss Tod, Belfast, submitted the first resolution: "That this meeting, whilst thanking the 114 Liberal members who signed the memorial to Mr. Gladstone, to the effect that no measure of reform would be satisfactory which did not recognise the claims of women householders; and seeing that the Bill does unjustly exclude them, trusts that those members will be faithful to the convictions expressed in that memorial, and will support any amendment to the Bill which has for its object the enfranchisement of duly qualified women." (Cheers.) Continuing, Miss Tod said: "I know that this claim of women that they shall be recognised as citizens and be enfranchised if they possess the usual qualification is no new one in Edinburgh or in other centres of population throughout the three kingdoms. But now we are at a crisis of our fight. For many years we have pleaded with friends in Parliament, but more particularly with those half-hearted members who like to be on the right side, but who would not make a sacrifice and be on the right side, and we have tried to show that women ought to be treated in equity as citizens. We know that they have important interests which ought to be recognised; that they have duties to perform, and that they have duties which cannot be properly performed unless they have those rights. But now we have come to a point when we must cry aloud and spare not—(laughter and cheers)—and we shall consider that a wrong has been done to us if the

present Bill for the extension of the franchise is passed without the enfranchisement of women householders. (Cheers.) I am glad that this resolution recognises the action of the 114 members who signed the memorial to Mr. Gladstone—(cheers)—but I must remind you that we have also friends who did not sign that memorial, and that this number does not represent the strength of our voting power. Besides those members of Parliament who signed the memorial, there were others upon whom we can rely with certainty. We have friends who voted right in years past before they signed that memorial. (Cheers.) Of course, our Conservative friends were not asked to sign the memorial. I am speaking with accurate knowledge, by a calculation made within these three days, that a majority of the members of Parliament have either voted, or spoken, or in some other way intimated their approval, and given their support to the claim of women householders to the franchise. But they have need to be reminded of the rights of women at this moment. (Cheers.) We are waiting, expecting, and looking for it with most profound anxiety, for we know that now is the time we expect to be enfranchised—(cheers)—and whatever be the difficulty in our way we know what every one who has studied the question knows that if the Bill passes in its present incomplete shape without the enfranchisement of women householders, we shall be in a worse position than before. We have only to look back upon the passing of other Reform Bills, and what has been their effect upon the country, to see that every one of the unrepresented classes have been put in a worse position; as a strong Liberal, I say they have left the totally unrepresented classes in a worse position than before. (Cheers.) Previous to the Reform Bill of 1832 the state of the representation of this country was most unsatisfactory. It was in the hands of a small number of persons, somewhere about 300,000 electors in three kingdoms, mostly of the wealthy and comfortable class. In the large towns there were fancy franchises held by men of position in society and possessing a certain amount of wealth. But those men were necessarily in the position of being trustees for their neighbours, and they were not perfectly trustworthy trustees. (Laughter.) When they came to the point their own selfish interests were apt to overbalance their convictions. (Cheers.) Nevertheless, every good man amongst them felt himself somewhat in the position that a member of Parliament at this moment feels that he represented others than those who elected him. Now, the Reform Bill of 1832, necessary as it was, greatly weakened that sense of responsibility, for it brought in amongst the electors men who possessed formerly great grievances indeed, and put them in the position to do their own work, and took away the sense of responsibility for the non-electors that previously existed. The Reform Bill of 1867 had a wider effect in the same direction, because it included in the towns all the men householders, and had greatly enlarged the number of electors. Consequently it has nearly swept away the idea of responsibility for other people which the previous electors felt. At the present time the only cure for taking away that responsibility is to bring in all the householders who at present are non-electors, including women householders. (Loud cheers.) We are not attacking men as men, or the future electors, but we simply say that human nature being what it is—its own interests and own influence bulking so large that other people's interests were apt to be overlooked quite unintentionally—that on every opportunity the women were shoved aside and men attended to their own. Therefore we claim that we should have our own—(cheers)—for the addition that will be made to the electorate will make our case worse, because there will be brought in a fresh class who have their duties to attend to, and who will not unnaturally occupy the time of Parliament more than at present, and thereby our interests will be shoved into a smaller corner, so that it will be more difficult for us to persuade members of Parliament to give us any attention at all. We feel, in short, that we are only existing upon sufferance. Now, in order to do our duties, we require to state to these members our position with a proper emphasis. Let no one imagine that this is a selfish claim we are making. We have behind us an army of women—dumb women, who suffer and cannot speak—but we agitate this question not from any liking of speaking on the platform. (Cheers.) I have been told several times within the last few days that it would be a graceful thing for us to wait a little longer, that it would be lady-like, that it would be feminine, and that it would be so pretty. (Laughter.) Why, we

should win smiles—contemptuous smiles—from the men at whose bidding we should wait. (Cheers.) And what is to become of our clients—of the women who find life harder than they ought to do? They want representation. Do you imagine we shall wait? Never. (Cheers.) We are not pleading for any selfish cause. We are pleading for rights in order that we may perform our duties. It is not a selfish claim that could bring so many women together—that could bring together the thousands I have seen in St. James's Hall, London. Women never gather together in this way only for themselves. They fight for others; and it is because we have so much work to do that we fight so hard as we do, and that we will not give up the fight to please mortal man. (Cheers.) Who are our clients? They are poor little bare-footed children in our streets, who need care, who need protection, who need clothing. They are the criminals who might have been different if they had had a chance, and if they had been decently brought up. We want that these people in the back slums—of whom we have heard lately so much—who live in dirt and discomfort of every kind, should be raised from their degradation. Who first helped them to fight their way up? Was it not a woman? (Cheers.) And they had not put her on the Royal Commission, which has been appointed to inquire into the dwellings of these poor. Would this Commission have been formed without Miss Octavia Hill if she and other women had had votes? (Cheers.) Who else are our clients? They are the sick persons in the hospitals; every child who begins to work too early. Our clients are also in every workshop, every factory, and every place where women are employed. They are placed in every sphere of life, and where there are any of them suffering in any shape, whether in body or soul, there is work for women. (Cheers.) You know there is not a department of human life whatever which legislation does not now affect. In the time of our grandfathers and grandmothers Parliament meddled with little else but war and diplomacy. But now Parliament interferes with everything. It regulates, it domineers, it dictates, it puts its finger upon every kind of thing. In all these departments women are concerned; and in all these Parliament will go wrong and legislate wrong when it has not the direct representation of women. For my part I have the strongest belief that this work is about the most decided Christian duty that a Christian woman could put her hand to. (Cheers.) I have sometimes said to old-fashioned people, who were Presbyterian like myself—(cheers)—that for my part I see nothing else more clear on the matter than the first question in the Shorter Catechism itself—"What is the chief end of man?" that is, the whole of the human race? Not only private relationships, not only private duties. It is to glorify God and to enjoy Him for ever." It is our duty, and we must be free in our relationships to the whole of the human race. We must act according to our own consciences, and we must have power to act according to our own consciences. In a country like ours, where every mind, every opinion, and every thought is reflected in Parliament, the serious thoughts and prayerful thoughts of Christian women should be reflected also. If there is any woman here, or any man either, who has thought of this question as a light and frivolous one, will he or she think seriously of it? You must see how deep the roots of our agitation extend. You must see that neither sneers nor ridicule will kill it, that no arguments can make way against such arguments as we have. A few days ago a gentleman, who is the chairman of an important Liberal Association, wrote to me answering a pamphlet which I had sent him, and he said that, while sympathising with the women's suffrage movement, he considered that it was not time for the granting of the franchise, and he would do his best to make women wait until this Reform Bill was passed. My answer was, that if I had needed any argument that we needed representation it was precisely this statement about making women wait. (Cheers.) We entered upon this cause with the strongest belief in its justice, and in the strongest belief that it was the cause of God. (Loud cheers.)

MRS. OLIVER SCATCHERD.

I have great pleasure in seconding the resolution. On looking over the list of 114 members who signed the memorial to Mr. Gladstone, I am happy to say that I found therein several names of Scotch members, and not only that, but also the names of many Scotchmen who represent boroughs in England. The position which those men took up was a very honourable one. I, for one, and I am sure I speak for all my colleagues, am deeply grateful to them

for the action they took. Some of them are standing firm to the convictions they then expressed. To these men we are deeply grateful that they are proving themselves friends in the time of need. But some of them are not so faithful. They cannot see the great honour of the position they took up last session, and, like the men in the parable, they are excusing themselves right and left, and saying they cannot at this time come and help us. What is their excuse? That one man—Mr. Gladstone—finds the time inconvenient to do this great act of justice to women. Now, let not these men shelter themselves behind the Prime Minister; let them not lay their own cowardice upon his shoulders. (Cheers.) If they do not support Mr. Woodall in his demands that those women who pay rates and taxes shall have power to vote for members of Parliament, I shall call them by the name that they shall deserve—I shall call them backsliders, for that they are, and nothing else. (Cheers.) It is their own courage that is wanting, and it's their own hearts which have failed them. (Cheers.) It is often objected that women should not have a vote because they would be too much influenced by men. People who live in glass houses should not throw stones. (Laughter and cheers.) Here is an example of how you picked men are influenced by the word of one single man, for they are departing from their expressed convictions of years just because of this wish of Mr. Gladstone, or this supposed wish of Mr. Gladstone. Why, if they were but true, if fifty righteous could be found among them, ay, if twenty or ten righteous could be found among them to stand firm now, the women's suffrage question would be won. (Cheers.) I think, further, that the action of these men is a deliberate insult to the openly-expressed wish of the Liberal party in England at any rate, and when I think of the great conference of Liberals, representing 450 societies, which met in Leeds, and which passed a resolution in favour of including duly qualified women in the Suffrage Bill, I would ask why do they ignore the expressed opinion of the country? (Cheers.) Now, Mr. Gladstone said, in his speech in introducing the Franchise Bill, that the strength of the Constitution lies in the representative system. We believe it does. (Cheers.) What is an ideal Parliament? Is it not one which represents all the large interests of the country? And do you mean to tell me that our Parliament could be an ideal or near an ideal which puts to one side the voices of sixteen millions of Her Majesty's subjects—for there are sixteen millions of women in this country who, constitutionally speaking, are dumb? (Cheers.) I was told not long ago of a little boy being examined in geography by his teacher, who, when asked to name an island between England and Ireland, said he could not remember, and the teacher asked what would you call an island upon which no woman lived? and he said he knew directly—the Scilly Isles. (Loud laughter.) And I must say that the political world, as it at present stands, very often deserves a similar title. It is about four or five years since we held the first great demonstration on this question of the suffrage. We had held smaller meetings long before, and it came into our minds to gather together the large numbers of women resident in our great towns to see what they had to say. That is about five years since, and we have seen no reason to abate one single jot of the claim we have been making during the time we have been at work. On the contrary, we have rather every reason to go on, and to become more deliberate and more explicit in our demands. (Cheers.) We have seen women forced to pay taxes to uphold institutions which they dislike. We have seen the hard-earned money of women taken from them to uphold laws which we consider an insult to the whole nation. (Cheers.) We have seen women forced to pay taxes to place restrictions upon their own labour, and to keep an army of inspectors to look over these women. And, but lately, we have seen women of means paying largely increased income-tax to pay for wars in foreign countries. Now, as to cases of individual suffering, there is not a woman on this platform who has shared the life of our large towns who could not give you heart-rending cases. I do not mean the ladies who sit in their own rooms comfortably, and who have never striven to fulfil the command to consider the poor. (Cheers.) Considering the poor is not mere almsgiving; it means sharing their lives, thinking for them, helping them, giving to them of your time and sympathy and strength, not only pointing out the proper road to tread, but helping them to make that road, and helping them to tread on it. (Cheers.) And we have come to the deliberate conclusion that one of the very best ways of helping women is to obtain for them the right of the Parliamentary franchise. (Cheers.) In doing this we are

animated by a truly religious spirit. It is often asked, why do you want the franchise? Have you not all you want? Well, some of us may have, but I have often flushed at the insult some of the laws have offered to me as an educated woman. I can bear these things, because I have a comfortable home, and I have no anxiety where the rent is to come from, and how the meals are to be provided, but it is different when we think of women who have to rise at half-past six in the morning and work until half-past five—

He is true to God who is true to man; wherever wrong is done
To the humblest or the weakest 'neath the all beholding sun,
That wrong is also done to us; they are slaves most base
Whose love of right is for themselves and not for all the race.

(Loud cheers.) If you take a woman's money in the form of taxes you have a right to let her say how that money shall be spent. (Cheers.) If you want women to obey the laws of this country she has a right to have a voice in the making and shaping of these laws. (Cheers.) You, in Scotland, are familiar with a case where a child was taken from its mother before it was a year old. The law allows that. Do you know, you mothers of Edinburgh, that the law does not allow a mother to have the slightest right to own her own child, for it belongs entirely to the father, and that he can take it away from the mother when it is a week old, and, up to the age of sixteen, can keep it from her and give it to anyone else, and if he likes he can actually keep the children away from the mother after he is dead. Does not nature point out that if one parent is nearer and dearer and more necessary to a child than another it is indeed the mother? (Hear, hear.) Do you suppose that such a law as that would remain one session on the statute-book if we had votes? (Cheers.) It never would. (Renewed cheers.) I am not saying there are not many bad mothers. I know there are; but if there are bad mothers the law gives the father power to remove the children from evil hands, but the law gives no corresponding power to the wife to remove the children from a bad father—(cheers)—and I have known cases of women living with dissolute husbands simply for the sake of their children, submitting to ill treatment and neglect of the grossest kind. How could the children grow up with ideas of justice and reverence when they see their mother slighted upon every occasion? (Cheers.) Now, there are two things about which I feel very strongly, to which I must make reference. We, women, are suffering great hardship, and if we don't get a vote we will get more hardship. There is constant interference on the part of Parliament with the labour of women. Men will not suffer Parliament to interfere with them in their labour, and yet they place restrictions upon women, without asking the women what they think of the laws. Over four millions of women earn their own living independent from men, and I do think such a vast body of people ought to be consulted in reference to laws which regulate their labour. We need the vote to protect women's labour, because all restrictions have a tendency to drive women out of the best paid trades, and to make them crowd into those which are already overcrowded, and to lower the wages, and they are already sufficiently and dangerously low. (Cheers.) Poverty drives women to evil courses and to drunkenness, and then there is the necessity of having to undo, often when it is too late, what we are wanting the power to prevent. The other point is the way that the rights of women are being swept under police control, and under the eye of inspectors. Men also suffer from too many inspectors in too many departments, but they have the power, if they choose, to remedy that; but we have no power. Then women are being now put under more police control. There is the case of what is called order in the streets. We have heard lately a great deal about the streets and secret police. In the town of Leeds more secret police were put on to look after women, and keep them orderly. Well, we went to the Mayor and the Watch Committee, and we said: "Gentlemen, will you also punish equally the men who walk through our streets with their pockets lined with gold to tempt these women?" (loud cheers)—and we were told that such a thing could not be done. (Sensation.) Then we said place no more secret police to look after the women of our town. If women have committed no crime they ought to have nothing to do with the police; if the women have done nothing actually illegal policemen and inspectors should not come near them. Now, women may do a great many things, which we may call immoral, but they are not illegal, and we say that the police has no right to have any control or power over

these women. Now, in Edinburgh you have nine thousand women householders. Just think what attention your members would give you if you had votes. (Laughter and cheers.) Mrs. McLaren could go to the members, and they would receive her, hat in hand, if they thought she had nine thousand votes at her back. (Loud cheers.) There is nothing like having this direct power of the vote, and I for one will not spend time and labour in furthering the interests of any man to any position whatever, Liberal or Conservative, if he does not say that he is in favour of equal justice to women, and will vote for women suffrage. The women of Leeds contributed to Mr. Gladstone's election expenses; it was collected in sums from ½d. up to some pounds. We shall not do that again. (Laughter and cheers.) We are always being told there is much work women could undertake if we would only let this voting power alone. Let us look at what we are allowed to undertake. We have been allowed to rebuild what society has cast down; to mend what society has broken. We are constantly being told to do rescue work, and then, on the other hand, we are told that we must not put our finger upon what causes women to lead these dishonourable lives and causes them to do wrong. We have no power with the laws that would control illegal traffic, and I am sick of mending the breakages of society, and not having any power to prevent those breakages and to build up. Mr. Gladstone asked who were the capable citizens to be enfranchised? I would like to ask him, are not the widows left with orphans and earning a maintenance for themselves—are they not capable citizens—(cheers)—also those women, perhaps earning a maintenance, and who refuse marriage in order to devote themselves to the care of some aged or infirm relative, are they not capable citizens? (Cheers.) The women who serve upon school boards and parochial boards, who give their time, energy, strength, and labour to the service of the State, are they not capable citizens? and the host of other women—the Florence Nightingales, Octavia Hills, the Miss Burtons, the Miss Wighams—of our country, are they not capable citizens? (Cheers.) I am glad that the agricultural labourers are to have the franchise. I am glad that the Irish are to have the franchise—(cheers)—for I believe with Mr. Chamberlain if they had had the vote twenty years ago they would have been in a different position now. (Loud cheers.) But I say it is monstrous to extend the vote to those men and to deny it to intelligent women, and hard struggling women. (Cheers.) Mr. Gladstone said "we are firm in the faith that enfranchisement is a good thing, that the people may be trusted—that the voters under the Constitution are the strength of the Constitution." Well, is he going to pass over the 700 women householders of his own constituency of Mid-Lothian, the bulk of whom have signed a petition to Mr. Gladstone asking to be enfranchised, and are the 9,000 women in Edinburgh not to be equally trusted with the men of Edinburgh? (Cheers.) Do you mean to tell me that the women of this great and beautiful Scotland are not equally patriotic with her men? Do you mean to tell me that they do not care as much what becomes of this country, and the people of their country, and the interests of their country as the men are? I hope for one that Mr. Gladstone will recognise the petition sent up to him, and changing his mind, help to enfranchise the women. Now, I have done. I wish just to say that I think this is the most fitting time to give us the franchise. We have a Queen on the Throne. (Cheers.) What brighter jewel could she have in her crown than the enfranchisement of women. (Loud cheers.) Do you think there is any special virtue in Royal blood which could make the Queen perform the duties which appertain to her station as a woman any more than the women of the people could perform those duties appertaining to their station? I was reading the other day the beautiful poem of Tennyson—

May children of our children say
She wrought her people lasting good.
And statesmen at her council met,
Who knew the seasons when to take
Occasion by the hand, and make
The bounds of freedom wider yet.

(Cheers.) Now, freedom has unveiled her face to us; she has shown her beautiful broad brow and her beautiful eyes; we have the gleam of the light on our faces that comes from her; she has pointed out the road and told us the way to go. We see the portal through which our brothers are going in. Are they going to push us back?

Rather I appeal to all men to clear that path, and to say that you shall not enter therein without justice is done to our own flesh and blood—to our mothers, and our sisters, and our daughters. (Loud cheers.)

The PRESIDENT put the motion to the meeting, and it was passed unanimously.

TELEGRAM FROM MISS COBBE.

The PRESIDENT intimated receipt of a telegram from Miss Frances Cobbe, London. She says: "I associate myself heartily with you to-night. I rejoice that the clear-headed, strong hearted women of Scotland will rally round you supporting our claims." (Cheers.)

MEMORIAL TO MR. GLADSTONE.

Miss FLORA STEVENSON, who was introduced by the President as a member of the Edinburgh School Board, and who was received with loud cheers, then moved:—"That a memorial, in name of this meeting of Scottish women, be sent to the Right Honourable the Prime Minister, requesting that the Government will not offer opposition to the claims of women householders, but will allow this question to be treated as an open question amongst their supporters.—To the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P., &c., &c.—Sir,—In the great struggle, which under your leadership led to the triumph of Liberalism in Mid-Lothian, you appealed, and that not in vain, to the patriotism of women. You asked them 'to play their part in the political crisis.' We venture now to ask you to support the proposal which will be made to include in the measure of wide enfranchisement, which you have introduced into Parliament, a clause whereby all women possessing the qualifications entitling men to vote shall receive the right of the suffrage. It is contrary to all the principles on which your measure rests, as well as to common justice, to exclude taxpaying householders from the franchise; and we claim that, by giving the vote to duly qualified women, you will admit as large, if not a larger proportion of intelligent, educated, and high-principled citizens, as by any extension of the franchise you have yourself proposed. You, sir, have recognised how unsatisfactory for the residents in the counties is the indirect representation by which their interests are now guarded. The women of Great Britain and Ireland feel the injustice of indirect representation in its keenest form. They know that, until they have a direct voice in the election of members of Parliament, their interests and their rights will not and cannot be justly dealt with. They have endured many wrongs, and suffered much, but, to use your own words, 'they have raised their voice for justice, and have striven to mitigate the sorrows and misfortunes of mankind.' We ask now that the voice of women shall be made effective for good, by the power of the vote, and we respectfully claim your aid in securing for your sisters, 'your own flesh and blood,' this simple act of right and justice.—We are, &c." In support of this resolution, Miss Stevenson said: I do not intend to detain you, as I am to be followed by a lady who can speak more ably and more interestingly than I can, and I do not wish to interpose my words between you and the other speakers who are to follow. I do consider it a great honour to have been asked to propose this resolution to this remarkable meeting—the most remarkable meeting, I unhesitatingly say, that has ever been held in Edinburgh. (Cheers.) A few weeks ago another very remarkable meeting was held in Edinburgh, where every rank of society, every shade of political and religious opinion were represented—I mean the representative meeting of Scotchmen which was held in the Free Assembly Hall to urge upon the Government the claims of Scotland for more attention to Scottish interests by the Legislature. At that meeting, too, Scotch women showed their interest in the question of Scotch legislation. They were there giving an indirect influence by their permitted presence. I think we have here to-night quite as remarkable a meeting as that one was. We here are women representing every shade of political opinion, I believe. This is no political party question. We are asking for women the right to vote, whatever their political principles are. (Cheers.) We are here not to take a sort of indirect interest in this question, but by the only direct influence we have, by the means of petitioning to urge on the Government our claim to some interest in legislation, to claim the right to vote for our representatives. (Cheers.) It is very often urged as an objection to the enfranchisement of women by members of Parliament and others, that the women themselves did not want the vote. Now, I think our presence here to-night shows that some of us—a good many of us—

at least do want it. (Cheers.) I think that objection has been answered, and has been answered with increasing emphasis at every one of the great national demonstrations of women that have been held on this subject in London, Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester, Glasgow, and now here in our own Edinburgh. (Cheers.) Another objection made to our being enfranchised is this, that people say that women have an indirect interest in securing what we want. I do not see any special interest in indirectness. (Cheers.) It is also said that with any indirect influence we have there had been passed many measures lately in the interests of women, such as the Married Women's Property Act, and that we have been enfranchised as regards municipal and school board elections. Now, I am perfectly certain of this, that but for the education of the public mind by those societies which have for a good many years brought before the people the claims of women for representation we should never have had the legislation which enabled us to have women on our school boards to carry out the Education Acts, and we should never have had women upon parochial boards. (Cheers.) In asking you to adopt this memorial to the Prime Minister, we are doing nothing more than responding to the appeal he himself made to the women of Mid-Lothian at Dalkeith. (Cheers.) Mr. Gladstone said: "I speak to you, ladies, as women, and I do that because I feel the present political crisis has to do not only with human interests at large, but especially with those interests which are most appropriate, and ought to be most dear to you. . . . I therefore think that, in appealing to you ungrudgingly to open your own feelings, and play your own part in the political crisis, we are making no inappropriate demand, but are beseeching you to fulfil the duties which belong to you, which, so far from involving any departure from your character as women, is associated with the fulfilment of that character and the performance of that duty; and the neglect of which would, in future times, be to you a source of pain and mortification; and the accomplishment of which will serve to gild your own future years with sweet remembrances, and to warrant you in hoping that each, in her own place and sphere, has raised her voice for justice, and has striven to mitigate the sorrows and misfortunes of mankind." (Cheers.) We, Scotch women, do now raise our voices for justice. (Cheers.) I ask you now to respond to this appeal by Mr. Gladstone, and tell him, in his own words, by appealing to him as he appealed to the House of Commons in his great speech on the Reform Bill on behalf of those men householders to whom he wished to extend the franchise. We are part of the whole population; we have liberty of speech and right of meeting in public, we have liberty of private association, we have the liberty of petitioning Parliament—we ask the Prime Minister of England to confer upon us "that crowning privilege, the vote for a representative in Parliament;" and then, I am sure, if that vote is granted we will agree with what the Prime Minister said afterwards, "that we who are strong now as a nation and a State, will, by virtue of that change, be stronger still." (Loud cheers.)

MRS. DUNCAN McLAREN

seconded the resolution. She said: It is with deep feelings of gratitude that I rise to address this meeting. I feel as if we should welcome every one of you here as guests of our Women's Suffrage Committee—(cheers)—for you have come at our call, you have responded at a time when it is most necessary to show Mr. Gladstone and the House of Commons that we are not going to be set aside in the Reform Bill, which professes to enfranchise all the householders of this land. (Loud cheers.) The first time I entered this hall was to attend a great Disestablishment meeting, and I said to a gentleman near me—"How I should like to see this large hall filled with women asking for their civil rights." He said, "I think you will never see that." "I have faith that I shall," I replied. (Cheers.) There is nothing like faith joined to work, and here we are, the women of Edinburgh, come to ask for our civil rights, not only in crowds, filling this hall, but in an overflow meeting as well. (Cheers.) Moreover, this is also a disestablishment meeting—(cheers, and a slight hiss)—called to disestablish from men's minds—and, I regret to say, some women's minds also—the idea that the rights of citizenship ought only to be associated with physical power. That God-given power which women are everywhere exercising as citizens of first-class intelligence and practical ability, of which this meeting, which is only one of a great many such that we have held throughout the kingdom, affords sufficient evidence that the time has come when sex must neither

be a qualification nor a disqualification in the eye of the law with regard to the exercise of the Parliamentary franchise. When I read that great speech which ushered into Parliament the new Reform Bill, I thought no one knew this better than the Prime Minister himself, because he said he was prepared for the complaints that it was not a complete Bill. He must know that as a household Bill it is very unjust and incomplete, and we, women—many of us who have given our lives almost to this question for the last eighteen years—revolt against its incompleteness. (Cheers.) Let me ask you who are parents here, supposing you had a large fortune suddenly come into your possession to divide amongst your children, and you gave it all to your sons and gave your daughters nothing, would you not feel a twinge of conscience, such as is apparent in Mr. Gladstone's speech, at the injustice you were perpetrating upon your daughters, and I am sure your daughters would cry out against that injustice. This is just how Mr. Gladstone and the Liberal party are treating the women of this country. (Cheers.) They have a great accession of voting power to distribute, and they are giving it all to the men, although women householders have precisely the same qualifications for the vote which the men have. In introducing his Reform Bill, Mr. Gladstone says: "I take my stand on the broad principle that the enfranchisement of 'capable citizens,' be they few or be they many—and if they be many so much the better—gives an additional strength to the State." This does away with the argument often used that there are so many men to enfranchise that it is not desirable to add to the number by enfranchising women. (Cheers.) He says also, "the strength of the State lies in the representative system." So it does, just as it does in the household. (Cheers.) How many families could sadly tell the difference when the children were not represented in the family government by a mother as well as a father! And it is for want of that combined representation in the State that there is so much of what is out of joint and morally wrong amongst our people. (Cheers.) Mr. Gladstone goes on to say: "The principle upon which the Bill proceeds is that the head of every household, under the conditions of the law, shall vote, and we seek to go, as far as we can, to get the heads of households and enfranchise them." Well, that is all we, women, ask, and we will be contented with nothing less. (Cheers.) And what comes of the superior logic of men's minds, when, after such a declaration, we find one house out of every seven in the kingdom is left out because it is occupied by a woman? (Hear, hear.) Do not the taxes go as far for State purposes if they come out of a woman's hand as if they come out of a man's hand? (Cheers.) If she pays her rates and taxes, which alone give a right to the franchise, how can a Minister who believes in the divine law of justice refuse that woman a vote? If the householder be a widow, she is often serving society and the State in a double capacity, doing her husband's part as well as her own, acting both father and mother to her children, and yet, even with this double capacity, she is to be denied a vote! And with this great stain of injustice running through the new Reform Bill, most of the men of the country in meetings assembled have expressed themselves perfectly satisfied, even though a few months ago they sent up resolutions to the Government saying no Bill could be satisfactory that did not include women. (Cheers.) But it has so long been the custom to set women aside until men have been served, that some see no moral wrong in this exclusion, and women have been taught that submission to injustice has some kind of sacred connection with a law under which women are doomed to suffer. My sisters, He who said, "I have many things to say unto you, but you cannot bear them now," is leading us on in this day of greater light, and saying, You are under no curse but that of ignorance, prejudice, and unjust laws. Men have never yet taught the full meaning of the promise made to woman. Those virtues which Christ manifested and taught are what men call feminine virtues. These are to put down iniquity, and so long as physical power is to be exalted as the supreme virtue, this promise can never be fulfilled. The political enfranchisement of women is an element in that promise. (Cheers.) Dependence upon physical force must give way, and be replaced by a practical faith in that teaching—"There is neither male nor female, bond nor free, all are one in Christ Jesus." When have women ever held back when the highest qualities of citizenship have been required? Did they shrink from their principles in this country in the great Covenanters' struggle

between tyranny and freedom of conscience? No; we read of the terrible sufferings they endured along with your grand men at the hand of that physical force which hoped to crush the independence which you now enjoy. (Cheers.)

Oh, woman at ease, in these happier days,

How much of thy beautiful life may owe
To their faith and courage thou canst not know.

(Cheers.) Mr. Gladstone illustrated the benefits of the political enfranchisement of men in the energy they displayed in the great civil war so recently waged in America—that war which at last broke the fetters of the slave. But whose were the self-sacrificing efforts in the anti-slavery struggle which culminated in that great war? (Cheers.) They were those of the women of America, who gave up the luxury of home life, despised the dictum of the Churches of that day, and the scorn of all in high places, and freely shared the persecutions and martyrdom of the Lloyd-Garrisons of their country. Theirs was the citizenship which we admire in St. Paul; they felt to die was gain, if, by so doing, they could give freedom to their coloured people, and remove the stain of slavery from the country they loved. (Cheers.) The part the women played in that war was one of its most interesting features, and when the men left their civil occupations to engage in it the women took their places. So capable did they prove themselves as teachers in the schools that it was found impossible afterwards to replace them by men; yet it is still "settled by solemn legislative judgment, acquiesced in by both parties in the State," that such women are not citizens capable of that political enfranchisement which has been accorded to the slaves they helped to make free. (Hear, hear.) I need only refer you to an appreciative article in the *Daily Review* of this city of Thursday last, descriptive of the capable women citizens in your midst, many of whom you see on this platform—and there are many not here—to show how they are working in every field of reform; and, let me ask you, are we also longer to submit that it shall be "settled by solemn legislative judgment, acquiesced in by both parties" (to use Mr. Gladstone's words) in our House of Commons, that such "capable citizens" shall still be kept without the pale of the Constitution now that a large measure of reform is being introduced. (Cheers.) This is no party question. The Conservative organ of our city bids the women to be firm and united in their demand for the franchise. Let the men in the House of Commons and throughout the country, who have helped us in our hopes and in our struggles, maintain their allegiance to this great cause of purity and righteousness, and make this only honourable course plain to Mr. Gladstone. (Cheers.) Then Mr. Gladstone, with his acceptive mind, would see it was the only just and righteous course for him to pursue, to leave his party freedom of conscience and of action to support any amendment to the Bill which had for its object the enfranchisement of women. Unless the Bill does include women it can never be called either a just or a great measure of reform. (Loud cheers.)

Miss FLORENCE BALGARNIE, who supported the resolution, said: This magnificent meeting may well, indeed, be an honour to the Scotch members of Parliament, many of whom have stuck to us through thick and thin right manfully. In one division in the House of Commons taken upon this question the majority of the Scotch members were in favour of us, so that if the matter depended upon them for solution we, women of Scotland, would now have been enfranchised. Let us then by meetings such as this of to-night honour those who have been just and true to us. (Cheers.) We are not to-night waging warfare against men; we have never waged warfare except a holy warfare against false ideas. (Cheers.) We are waging warfare against custom. We wish introduced into our country that which is natural; we are waging warfare against old and worn-out tradition, and we are wishing to introduce a constitutional right. We are, in fact, waging war against all that is false for the sake of what is true—(cheers)—and we are doing this because we wish to be true to ourselves. (Cheers.) The great leader of the House of Commons, Mr. Gladstone, has appealed to the patriotism of the women of Scotland, and to-night we are responding to that appeal. We are raising our voices, as he asked us to do, for justice. (Cheers.) We are striving to mitigate the sorrows and misfortunes of mankind. We, women, live in the country, we are citizens of the country, and we, women, I venture to

say, love our country. It is because we do love our country, because we are patriots just as much as men are patriots that we wish for the change that we may share in the government of our country. (Cheers.) Now, if the leaders of our country were perfect we women, indeed, would be very thankful to sit still and do nothing; but it is just because the men have not made our laws perfect that we to-night rise up and say we will put our hand to the plough and help them. (Cheers.) In order to make the law perfect we must have womanly influence, and less manly influence brought to bear upon them. (Cheers.) It is because the men have done so much with regard to the laws that it would have been better had they left it undone, or had not done what it would have been better had they done, that we wish to rise up and help them. (Cheers.) It is our deep, heartfelt desire for good that brings us to the front. We say deliberately that much as we value the womanly ideal we would willingly sacrifice it if it condemns us to sit still and face the sufferings and injustice which our fellow-citizens are overwhelmed by. (Cheers.) We women, indeed, may have our rights, but others have their wrongs, and it is for their sake that we to-night will rise up for them. (Cheers.) Last night, in the darkness, I was taken by a lady of this city to visit some of the worst wynds and closes in your midst. She led me into these dark alleys where the sun seldom ventures—where, I am told, men dare not go unless they are escorted by a policeman—we, two women, went in the dark last night to visit these houses to see what some of our sisters were suffering there. As I looked upon the wasted forms of the little children, on the bruised faces of the women, upon the haggard and care-worn faces and forms of the men, I thought to myself, is it any good to go on striving for ever, is there any use—there seems no use, the subjection of women seems complete. The subjection of both women and men to the terrible drink is indeed complete. (Cheers.) Is there any use for us to go on struggling; are we not merely beating the air? When I came out of that close, on either side of it there was that familiar object—the dram shop—and I thought to myself, yes it is worth while going on struggling, because when we, women, get the franchise one of the first things we will do will be to limit the drink traffic. (Cheers.) Yes, it gives us a gleam of hope that thought, and that gleam of hope became still more bright yesterday when I visited that old churchyard of Greyfriars'. I stood with my head bowed reverently before that tombstone beneath which lay the dust of your martyrs, that tombstone that bears the inscription:—

Here lies interred the dust of those who stood
'Gainst perjury, resisting unto blood,
Adhering to the Covenant and laws
Establishing the same.

(Cheers.) These words gave me hope. I saw what Scotch men and women had done, and I knew well what they had once done they could do again. (Cheers.) Upon that tombstone were inscribed the names of some of your great men; there were the names of the great Argyll, Guthrie, Renwick; but another recorded the memory of the nameless, unknown dead. Under the tombstone to the east lie 100 nameless ones, and, moreover, it represents 18,000 who suffered rather than submit to the religion against which they rebelled. (Cheers.) It was the nameless ones; it was not the Guthries, but the people who won the fight. (Cheers.) And shall not we, women, in our country be true to one another, be true to our cause; shall we not, one and all, rise up and demand justice and right as the Covenanters did? (Cheers.) I have unbounded faith in the people; I believe in no great heroes leading us on; I believe in the individual effort of the individual soul. (Cheers.) We have begun—let us each remember this—just when that divine thought of freedom is made known to one individual soul; reform is then begun. (Cheers.) If one soul desires it, and is determined to have it, the nation at large will have it ere long. (Cheers.) Each one of us has power if we only realise it. We cannot all be great like that grand hero whose work has been thrilling our minds, General Gordon—(cheers)—but each one of us has a small centre of influence, and it is for each one of us to do our little bit in this great cause, and let us each one try. (Cheers.) We know that the little rivulet which comes down the mountain-side seems so small that it can do nothing, but those rivulets meet in a stream, the stream flows on to the river, then the river becomes a flood, which is finally lost in the ocean. We shall be the rivulets of the great river of freedom, and we shall never rest until we are carried forward into the vast ocean of freedom for all.

(Loud cheers.) But we want not merely to speak, but to translate speech into action, and then, indeed, the thing will be done. We women want to have freedom that we may make purer laws, which shall make men nobler, which shall make women braver, which shall make children happier. (Loud cheers.) This is a consummation devoutly to be wished, and, what is more, it is a consummation which we women of Scotland are determined shall be realised. (Loud cheers.)

Mrs. ORMISTON CHANT, who was received with cheers, also supported the resolution. She said: "It is a very great honour to stand before such an audience as this, and my heart rises to-night in thankfulness that I stand before those who live in the land of the Covenanters. (Cheers.) We can hardly know what we owe to those who have gone before, and who have fought the battle of liberty and freedom, and the right to think for themselves. And in their sacred name we stand before you to-night. We also claim the right to think for ourselves—(cheers)—and to express our thoughts. Lately I was reading a book which tells a story of the Kafirs in Africa. They have a very wonderful law amongst them, and it is this, that no woman may use any word in which any syllable occurs which contains part of the name or the capital letter of her husband's name, or her husband's relatives' name; and the consequence is that the language of the Kafir women has become almost entirely different from that of the Kafir men, and it often happens that the Kafir wives talk to their husbands in a language that they do not understand. (Laughter.) One day a Kafir wife wanted to tell her husband that the cows had gone astray, but the husband, not understanding her language, thought she had told him that the hut had been burnt down, for the word "cow" in the woman's mouth would have meant the same as the word "hut" in the man's mouth. The consequence was that when he saw the hut standing he struck his wife down and killed her. Now, it seems to me that the language of the women of this country, through political differences, has been made very different from that of the men; and what we are asking to-day is that we shall have one common language, and that no longer the Government of the country shall force upon women its unjust laws and its oppression. We are not Kafirs—we are Christians. Let us have one common political language, and we shall no longer have political blundering. (Cheers.) Then, we are also told that our request is an innovation, that it is something new we are trying to do. Long ago, in the old Bible story, when the daughters of Zelophehad saw that their brethren had taken away the land of their father, they went to Moses, and they said, "Restore to us the land that our father left us." And Moses said, "Let the land be given back to them, for it is their right." And we women are saying to-day to our Moses, who is at the head of the Government, "Restore to us the thing that has been filched away." For in the old days women had votes and equal rights with men. We think that eighteen centuries of Christianity should not have left us women with no land, as in the case of the daughters of Zelophehad. And we pray that there should be given back to the women of the country the right which the Reform Bill of 1832 took from them. We are told that we will vote for a particular party. Well, if we do, we shall only be like the men. (Laughter and cheers.) For it seems to me that a man votes for a party. But I think ours are politics very like these of the big woman who stood at the top of an entry which led to some artizans' dwellings, and when the Parliamentary candidate came round, very kind, very civil, and very sleek, to win the votes of the men, he went up and said to the woman, "Good lady, what politics are those of your husband?" And she looked at him very straight, for she knew his character, and the women of the court had agreed that their men should not vote for the man, because he was a bad husband. (Cheers.) And she said, "My husband's politics is not yours." And the man said, "Is your husband a Conservative?" and she said, "If you are a Conservative he is a Liberal. If you are a Liberal he is a Conservative." (Laughter and cheers.) Now, I think that this is the principle on which the politics of the women of the country will be when they get their vote. If a man is not a good man, a man with clean hands, and a fit man to make pure and good laws, I think that the women of the country will not belong to his party for the time being. Then, we are told that the women are priest-ridden. Well, I think that after all it is better for the women of the country to be priest-ridden than to be beer-shop-ridden. (Cheers.) And if there is anything that will emancipate women from the stigma of

being priest-ridden it will be educating them in the political interests of the country, by giving them a vote. I have been lately looking at the names of all of us who take a prominent part in advocating the women's movement, and I can very solemnly and safely say—and every lady on this platform can bear me out—that there is not one amongst us who can be called a priest-ridden woman. (Cheers.) There is nothing that takes away the domination of one mind over another when once you stand face to face with the sorrow of the world and you realise what it is to be an individual soul with an individual responsibility. Then, again, we are told that women do not want this right. I will tell you where the women are who do not want the vote. They are those who are comfortable, who spend their days reading novels, and who have their windows darkened so that the sun may not bother them with its glare. They are the women who shut their windows that they may not hear the cry of the children on the streets. They are the women who, unlike some of us on the platform, have not trodden the wards of the city hospitals, who have not given up the brightest times of their lives in going through our lunatic asylums, and in looking after the interests of the poor and the insane. They are not those who are courageous enough to go through the sorrowful slums where men dare not go. You should have been with me in such places as I visited the other day, and is it not a shame, in this nineteenth century, that I can stand up and tell such a story. It was a bitter day, and I went to see some people in the part of London called Shadwell, and up a broken stair into an attic, there was a mother, three daughters, and one son, and their fingers were raw, bleeding with chilblains, and they were making one hundred and forty-four match-boxes for twopence three farthings. If you do not call that slavery I do not know what you do. (Cheers.) That same day I went with a city missionary into another home, and this was not an attic but a cellar underground. And there was a husband and a mother again. It was the same sorrowful story, and they also had chapped, bleeding hands. Women of Edinburgh, mark this. They were making sacks for coal at one farthing apiece. (Sensation.) And labour as they might they could not make more than sevenpence halfpenny a day. Think of these martyrs. Think of the streets of London. Think of these men with gold in their pockets, and think of these girls being heroic enough to lead that life of starvation rather than sin. (Cheers.) It is for them and their cause that we plead. For myself I can safely say that if it was not for the feeling that I am doing what I can to get that state of things better, I should pray to God to take my life, for at times the burden becomes too bitter to bear. The sorrow of our London seems so mysterious, so inexplicable that one is sometimes made to ask why there are so few happy and so many in misery, and to think, why should so many ladies spend their time and their money in an attempt which seems hopeless. But recollect what you have to do in this thing. Do not let us tolerate the injustice that says to woman—"Because you are down we will do all that we can to keep you down." (Cheers.) What we want is the same equal laws, the same justice that shall put women on the same platform as men. I know of no manly man of my acquaintance who does not wish us God-speed in this movement. Another thing we are told is that women are represented in Parliament. Do you want a stronger comment upon that than this, that if we were, we would not be holding this meeting to-night. If the agricultural labourers had assembled as we have done to-night, the Government would pass the Reform Bill next day. The agricultural labourers have not held one single meeting. They have not put down one penny. They have not been toiling for eighteen wearisome years as we have been, with constant meetings, petitions, and agitations, and spending the best brains at our command to accomplish the object. And yet here is Mr. Gladstone giving us a stone instead of bread after these eighteen years, and we must go on waiting in order that the men who have not asked may go in. We have no right to sit down under such injustice. Silence gives consent. If we do sit down under this great injustice we are condoning it, and if we are Christian women we have no right to do that. What is required of us is to do right—"to do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with God." (Cheers.) How we have worked, how we have striven, how we have prayed, even you do not know. But we, to-night, ask you who have been careless or indifferent or scornful to-night to let this occasion be a new birthday to you, and learn to spell the magic word "freedom" as men have

spelt it, and also to pray that God may help us to be strong and brave until the battle is won. (Cheers.) Many of those who laboured bravely in this battle are not now with us, because God has taken them, but long they fought and bravely; they have died at their posts, and we stand up in their places, and we ask you in God's name to stand up, and to come and reap the harvest. (Cheers.) Send us such a voice from Edinburgh, the capital of the land, that the Government will be forced to listen to you. Write your private letters to your members; and remember that they do not like private letters, for these mean earnest business. You must make up your minds that as the population goes on increasing, as life becomes more complicated, as new burdens and new privileges are laid upon us, more and more do we need equal laws between man and woman, so that the strong may not tread down the weak. And remember that our great movement is not confined to Great Britain and Ireland. It is but a part of the great wave of progress sweeping over the whole world. In India, China, in Australia, and even in the South Sea Islands, the cry is coming from women now, "Educate us, and let us breathe the same air, and bask in the same sunshine of learning that men are doing." Already we see that the dawning of the new day is coming, when equal justice and equal laws shall be for men and women. The following lines seem to me appropriate to this great meeting to-night:—

Weep not, but with a steadfast eye,
Wake and watch the dawning;
Honour follows obloquy,
Fame doth follow scorning.
Love and justice, truth and light,
Tread the heels of sorrow;
After earth's tear-darkened night,
Bursts th' eternal morrow.
Then high the flag of freedom
Wave o'er land and sea;
Down with every ban and thralldom,
God will have us free.

(Cheers.) Remember that it is a grand morrow that is awaiting for us—the time when our senators will have learnt wisdom. (Cheers.) All of you, in God's name, and for God's sake, remember that we are bound as citizens of a great nation to stand up for truth and justice, and then the civilisation of Great Britain and Ireland shall send forth faithfully the sound to the rest of the world that men and women are equal—that in the kingdom of God there is neither male nor female, bond nor free, but all stand before Him, living souls burdened with the same burden, and to be asked at the end the same solemn question—where is thy talent? Use your talent every one of you, and may God strengthen us and raise us up, and give us the light of His countenance and the end we have prayed for so long. (Cheers.)

The resolution was agreed to unanimously.

SUCCESS SOONER OR LATER—SOONER PREFERRED.

Mrs. M'LAREN, in the absence of the Viscountess Harberton, who was at the time addressing the overflow meeting, occupied the chair—said telegrams are still coming in. One here is from Mrs. Henry J. Wilson, Sheffield, who says: "Best wishes for the meeting and the cause. Success is certain sooner or later." I do not, said Mrs. M'Laren, like that word later. I want it to be sooner. (Laughter and loud cheers.)

PETITIONS TO PARLIAMENT.

Miss S. S. MAIR, Edinburgh, moved the third resolution: "That petitions to both Houses of Parliament, based on the foregoing resolution, be adopted and signed by the president on behalf of this meeting; and that memorials to T. R. Buchanan, Esq., and Samuel D. Waddy, Esq., members for the city of Edinburgh, asking them to support the amendment to be moved by Mr. Woodall in favour of including duly qualified women in the new Reform Bill, be signed by the president, and forwarded by her." Miss Mair said, being resident in Edinburgh, and having other opportunities of speaking, she would not detain the meeting with an address, especially as there were so many distinguished orators present from other quarters of the country. Although much had been said on the political view of the question they had no wish to give less attention to their home life. They would see to it that they would still be the same in

their home relations although they were promoting this movement. They were not usurping any duty for which men were peculiarly fitted, but merely endeavouring to strengthen the hands of those men who would give to women these civil rights which belonged to them, and which they could use for the benefit of their sex and for the good of their country. While engaged in such a purpose none of the men need to throw stones, for they would be found the same as ever at home. She hoped that Mr. Buchanan and Mr. Waddy would see by that petition and by that great demonstration what it was that their constituents wanted.

MRS. LINDSAY,

wife of Professor Lindsay, Glasgow, in seconding the resolution, said: "It is a pleasure for me to stand here to-night as one of the delegates from Glasgow. (Cheers.) We had an excellent meeting in Glasgow some time ago, at which Mrs. M'Laren presided. It was a wet evening in November, and in the large hall, capable of holding more than 3,000 people, there were many women with children in their arms, and many of the husbands kept house, that their wives might have an opportunity of attending the meeting. One result of the meeting in Glasgow has been that it has brought into our ranks a large number of Christian workers who are engaged in temperance work. They felt what a power for good there was in the woman's vote, and some of the most devoted workers for women's suffrage have given their lives to temperance work; some of them have already used their municipal votes for the temperance cause. Everywhere, I think, the women's votes have been used for this cause because of the dreadful evils of intemperance. In Rothsay, where there is a large number of women householders, they have so exercised their votes for the temperance cause that no candidate for the Town Council has the slightest chance of success unless he is a temperance candidate. (Cheers.) There is another thing I should like to mention, and that is that the working women of Glasgow have taken up this cause heartily. (Cheers.) Nothing has struck me and pleased me so much as the way in which the working women take up this question. Some well-educated wealthy women sometimes say: "We don't want a vote, and if we had a vote we should not know what to do with it." You never hear a working woman say, "If I had a vote I would not know what to do with it." (Cheers.) They know what they would do with their votes if they had them, and they mean to have them. (Cheers.) There is one point in which we in Glasgow are better off than you, and that is that our Parliamentary members are strong supporters of woman's suffrage. (Applause.) They do not need any urging on, for they have done nobly for us already. (Applause.) You are not so well off; but it's never too late to mend. (Laughter and cheers.) I wish that both the members for Edinburgh and the member for Mid-Lothian could have been present at this magnificent meeting to-night. (Hear, hear.) I think they would have looked on the question very differently if they had seen and heard what we have seen and heard to-night. (Cheers.) You have heard those eloquent words addressed to women when Mr. Gladstone invited women to raise their voices for justice; let us hope that women will go on, and that they will continue to raise their voices for justice. Now that the movement has been taken up by the working women of Scotland, I have no doubt of its success. I think we are nearer victory than some of us believe; but let us not slacken in our endeavour to go forward with greater energy and determination than before. (Cheers.)

The resolution was then put from the chair, and carried unanimously.

VOLE OF THANKS TO VISCOUNTESS HARBERTON.

Miss BURTON moved a vote of thanks to Lady Harberton for taking the chair. (Loud cheers.) They were greatly indebted to her ladyship for the aid she had rendered in furthering that movement, and for leaving her comfortable home to preside at that meeting. There were some wealthy ladies who were indifferent about the suffrage, and who, by means of their wealth, could command a hundred votes in assessing the taxes of the country. But it was different with poor working women in shops and others carrying on little businesses who had no power of influencing men to vote as they wished. They felt grateful to those ladies for coming forward and helping poor working women. She would also include in her motion the president of their society, Mrs. M'Laren, who had given up the ease and enjoyment of her home to help

forward the business of the society for the sake of working women. They should give her a hearty vote of thanks. (Loud cheers.)

Mrs. MORRISON MILLER, Edinburgh, having seconded the motion, the audience again signified their assent by an enthusiastic response.

VISCOUNTESS HARBERTON'S REPLY.

Lady HARBERTON thanked the meeting for the cordial manner in which they had passed the resolution, adding, I cannot help saying that really the thanks of the meeting ought to be given to those who worked it up, and to those who came to help it, and who stand on this platform with the speakers. (Cheers) Every one has done her part in showing the Government that we do want this franchise. I feel deeply grateful with the way the resolution has been received by this meeting, and I feel it to be a great honour and a great privilege to preside at such a meeting as this, and in such a place as Edinburgh. I thank you again most heartily. (Cheers)

ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF SECRETARIES' SERVICES.

Mrs. M'LAREN introduced Mrs. M'Cormick and Miss Kirkland to the meeting, and stated that the greater part of the arrangements for the meeting were prepared by the direction of these ladies. (Loud cheers.)

The choir, conducted by Miss Simpson, Portobello, sang "Scots wha' hae' wi' Wallace bled." Thereafter the meeting separated.

OVERFLOW MEETING.

An overflow meeting was held during the evening in the Presbytery Hall, Miss LOUISA STEVENSON presiding, when the same resolutions as those carried in the large hall were submitted. There was a crowded attendance throughout.

Mrs. CHANT, in moving the first resolution, gave an eloquent address. If women, she said, were once put in possession of the vote there would soon be a great improvement in the labour laws of the country. (Cheers)

Mrs. LINDSAY, Glasgow, seconded the resolution. She alluded to the cry of some men that women should have nothing to do with politics, but would be much better at home making puddings and mending stockings. (Laughter.) Women might retort that men should have nothing to do with politics, as they were much better employed in writing in their offices or working in their shops (Hear, hear.) Surely they did not mean politics for people who had nothing whatever to do; both men and women had work to do. (Hear, hear.) Women were the parents of the future generation as well as men, women had to obey the laws as well as men, women had to pay taxes as well as men, and suffer from wars as well as men; in all national joys, as well as sorrows women shared as well as men, and why should they not be allowed to form an opinion and express an interest in the affairs of the nation as well as men? (Loud cheers.) Let them take two houses standing side by side, both built in the same style, both paying the same rent, and the same taxes, but still the head of the one household had a vote, while the other had none. Why? The one was a man and the other was a woman. The men who objected to that movement, and said that they did not want women to get a vote because politics were too rough work for women; the same men, however, never said a word against women being compelled to fulfil all the duties of citizens, and to pay their taxes just as men did. (Hear, hear.) When bribery had been committed in a town a very heavy fine was imposed, a Royal Commission was sent down and a great deal of expense was entailed on the inhabitants. The town was heavily taxed, and women were not exempted from the penalty. They were punished for a crime that not only did they not commit, but which they had no chance of committing. (Hear, hear.) They had written up to the Treasury frequently, and asked if they might not be exempted from the fine, and their plea was occasionally promised consideration. She concluded by appealing to women to interest themselves in the affairs of their country. (Cheers.)

The resolution was then carried unanimously.

Miss S. S. MAIR proposed the second resolution. She was of opinion that, as in domestic life, man and woman should work together in politics and social affairs.

Mrs. SOMERVILLE, who seconded the resolution, hoped the day was not far distant when they should be on an equality with men as regarded voting. (Cheers.)

Miss TOB, Belfast, said Mr. Gladstone's Reform Bill was a splendid one—(cheers)—but it left out a vast number of persons who were sensible and reasonable, a very large number of them highly educated, many of them possessing property to a considerable extent, many of them, probably the majority of them, widows with children, who had all to pay rents and taxes, and their share of whatever local duties were imposed, as well as Imperial taxes. The resolution was adopted.

Mrs. SCATCHERD, Leeds, proposed the third resolution. She complained of the laws by which a married mother who was deserted by her husband had to go through all the exposure of applying to the Parochial Board for relief and get justice from her husband, while unmarried mothers had only to go before the Sheriff and obtain sufficient recompense from the father of their children. She considered that it was a standing incentive to immorality to put the married mother at a disadvantage with the unmarried mother. Many women continued to have a great horror of being strong-minded. Would they rather be considered weak-minded than strong-minded? (Laughter.) The time would soon come when women would be equally admired for strength of mind with men. (Cheers) They said women would not get married if they got the franchise. She said that women would know much better what marriage really was before they undertook it. If women married now and were content under the present condition of things, what would marriage be when husband and wife were recognised as on an equality? (Cheers.) When women could find remunerative employment, and were not compelled, as thousands were at present, to seek marriage for home and maintenance, marriage would then be a happy alternative in their lives, and not an absolute necessity. (Cheers.)

Mrs. DONCAN M'LAREN said it was the opinion of some men that women would rush and vote for any man because of his personal qualities, with no respect to his politics. She was proud to acknowledge the truth of this. She herself would much rather have a moral Tory than an immoral Liberal. (Cheers.) If a candidate's character was bad she certainly would not send him to Parliament because he was a Liberal. (Cheers.) She urged every woman to do her best in obtaining a voice in the nation's affairs, and in the making of these laws which so much affected their daily life.

Miss FLORA STEVENSON said that the homes which were tidiest and best every way, so far as her experience went, were the homes where women took an interest in everything that concerned the affairs of the city. (Cheers) In a conversation which she had recently with a member of Parliament, one of Her Majesty's Ministers, about the possible enfranchisement of women householders under the new Reform Bill, he said, "I hope you are not one of those agitating women who go about the country speaking on platforms about women's rights. You are doing far better work looking after the education of neglected children." But she reminded him that, but for the education of public opinion as to the share women should have in public work, which has been for years carried on by the women's suffrage societies, women would never have been elected as members of school boards and as poor-law guardians. For herself, she was deeply grateful to those "agitating women," those noble women who for years have given their time, and their strength, and their ability to speaking in public on behalf of the enfranchisement of women householders. The resolution was adopted.

Lady HARBERTON, in moving a vote of thanks to Miss L. STEVENSON for presiding, said that the meeting that night was one of the most successful she had ever witnessed. It would certainly take out of the power of any one to say that women did not want the suffrage. (Loud cheers.)

The meeting then separated.

PRELIMINARY MEETINGS.

CORSTORPHINE.

On March 14th a meeting was held in the schoolroom, Corstorphine, for the purpose of promoting the national demonstration of women to be held on March 24th in the Synod Hall, Edinburgh, on the subject of Parliamentary suffrage for women in connection with the proposed Reform Bill. General Grant presided, and introduced Mrs. Scatcherd, from Leeds, who gave explanatory reasons for extending the Parliamentary suffrage to women. Rev.

James Morrison moved: "That a petition be sent to Parliament and a memorial to Mr. Gladstone in terms of the purpose of that meeting." Miss Wigham seconded the motion, and offered several illustrations in support of the reasonableness of their request. The motion was adopted. Miss Burton followed with numerous quotations from Parliamentary business to show that the interests of men and women were most frequently mutual. The other ladies present were Miss Kirkland and Mrs. M'Cormick.

DALKEITH.

On March 18th a public meeting was held in the Foresters' Hall, Dalkeith, in connection with the national demonstration on the subject of the Parliamentary suffrage for women. The hall was well filled by a respectable audience. On the motion of Mrs. Mushet, Glenarch, the chair was taken by Mrs. SOMERVILLE, Westbourne, and amongst the other ladies on the platform were Mrs. M'Cormick, Manchester; Miss Burton, Liberton; Miss E. Kirkland; Mrs. Lindsay, Glasgow; Mrs. Scatcherd, Leeds; Mrs. Morrison Miller, Glasgow; Miss Balgarnie, Scarborough; Miss Flora Stevenson, Edinburgh.

The PRESIDENT, who met with a cordial reception, explained that the meeting had been called together to consider the Government Bill for the extension of the franchise which fails lamentably in making provision for a large number of the householders. Mr. Gladstone said the Bill was to give every man who is not a criminal or a lunatic a vote, it withholds from women this privilege notwithstanding that they are compelled to pay their share of the national taxation. They did not wish to harass the Government, but as this Bill will be followed by great national changes in which women are interested, when, she asked, will a better time come for the extension of the franchise to women? It was most unfair that women should be compelled to pay their share of taxation and yet have no voice in the affairs of the country, nor in choosing those who are to enact our laws. It is too much thought that in cases of difficulty women must of necessity go to the wall, and it is time this state of matters should end. She rejoiced to see that in a recent debate by the Junior Liberal Club, Mr. Gabriel Jerdan had a decided majority in support of the affirmative in a debate on the extension of the Parliamentary suffrage to women, and she hoped that those who opposed it would ere now have seen their error. (Applause.)

Mrs. LINDSAY submitted the following resolution: "That this meeting regards the extension of the Parliamentary franchise to women householders as just and reasonable, and would hail with satisfaction the introduction of a Government measure which would confer the Parliamentary franchise upon all householders, whether resident in counties or burghs, and pledges itself to do all in its power to promote the Scottish National Demonstration of Women to be held in the United Presbyterian Synod Hall, Edinburgh, on Saturday next." (Applause.)

Mrs. OLIVER SCATCHERD seconded the resolution.

Miss BALGARNIE supported the resolution in an eloquent address.

Mrs. M. MILLER moved the second resolution, as follows: "That a petition to the House of Commons, based on the foregoing resolution, be adopted and signed by the president on behalf of this meeting, and that a memorial to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, praying him to support by every means in his power the amendment to be moved by Mr. Woodall in favour of including duly qualified women in the new Reform Bill, be signed by the president and forwarded by her."

Miss FLORA STEVENSON, in seconding the resolution, held that as women were allowed to take part in municipal and parochial elections they should also be allowed the same privilege in Parliamentary elections.

Miss WIGHAM supported the resolution. She considered that if Mr. Gladstone did not do the act of justice indicated in the resolution he would not be able to carry his Reform Bill. Miss Burton also spoke on the subject, and the proceedings terminated with a vote of thanks to the president.

PORTOBELLO.

On March 19th a meeting was held in the Town Hall, Portobello, for the purpose of promoting the success of the forthcoming demonstration in Edinburgh in favour of the extension of the Parliamentary franchise to women householders. Provost Christian presided, and there was a good attendance. In opening the pro-

ceedings the Chairman said that he did not think any bad effects had accrued from the extension of the municipal suffrage to women, and it was only just and equitable that ladies who were in the position of householders, should also have the privilege of recording their votes in the return of a representative to Parliament. (Applause.) Mrs. Scatcherd then moved the following resolution: "That, in the opinion of this meeting, any measure for the extension of the suffrage should confer the franchise upon women who, possessing the qualifications which entitle men to vote, have now the right of voting in all matters of local government, and pledges itself to do all in its power to support the Scottish national demonstration of women." Referring to the Royal Commission appointed with regard to the housing of the poor, she asked if they would not have expected that such an authority on the subject as Miss Octavia Hill would have been appointed? (Applause.) Why was Mr. Lyulph Stanley appointed a member? Because of the immense knowledge of his sister on the subject. (Laughter.) Surely it would have been much more sensible to appoint the sister, Miss Maud Stanley. (Applause.) Miss Wigham seconded the resolution, and counselled perseverance on the part of women, and pleaded for help from men. She thought it was a cruel and unjust thing that all women in the kingdom were politically considered to be inferior to all men. (Hear, hear.) Miss Balgarnie, Scarborough, spoke in support of the motion, after which it was unanimously adopted. Miss Simpson, Portobello, moved that a petition to the House of Commons, based on the first resolution, should be signed by the chairman on behalf of the meeting, and forwarded by him. Mr. Lees, Edinburgh, seconded the motion, and expressed the opinion that the Government was so strong that anything done in connection with the extension of the franchise to women could not embarrass it. The resolution was then adopted, and the meeting terminated with a vote of thanks to the chairman.

DRAWING ROOM MEETINGS.

LAURISTON PLACE.

A drawing-room meeting in favour of including duly-qualified women in the new Reform Bill was held at 51, Lauriston Place, Edinburgh, on March 8th. The chair was occupied by Mrs. Morrison Miller, and the meeting was addressed by Mrs. M'Laren, Miss Wigham, Miss Burton, Miss L. Stevenson, and Miss E. Kirkland. A petition to Parliament was unanimously passed.

BRUNTSFIELD CRESCENT.

On March 12th a meeting was held at the residence of Mr. Paterson, 6, Bruntsfield Crescent; Mrs. M'Laren in the chair. Mrs. Scatcherd, of Leeds, delivered an eloquent address on "The Meaning of Women's Suffrage." A petition to Parliament was carried unanimously.

NEWINGTON HOUSE.

A drawing-room meeting in support of the demonstration for including duly qualified women in the new Reform Bill was held at Newington House. There was an attendance of more than 100 ladies, and the utmost interest in the addresses and enthusiasm in the movement was manifested. Mrs. M'Laren occupied the chair, and opened the meeting by an earnest and practical address. She was followed by Mrs. Lindsay, of Glasgow; Miss Balgarnie, of the Scarborough School Board; Mrs. Oliver Scatcherd, of Leeds; and Mrs. Somerville, of Dalkeith. A petition to Parliament and a memorial to the Edinburgh Liberal Association were unanimously and heartily passed.

ROSELEA, GRANGE.

A meeting was held in the evening at Roselea Villa, Grange, Mrs. D. Lewis presiding. Addresses were given by Mrs. Scatcherd and Miss Balgarnie, and resolutions and petitions were heartily adopted. These gatherings were in preparation for the demonstration in the United Presbyterian Synod Hall.

EDINBURGH UNITED LIBERAL ASSOCIATION.

A special meeting of the Edinburgh United Liberal Association was held for the purpose of considering the Franchise and Hours of Polling Bills. Bailie ANDERSON, president of the association, occupied the chair. Mr. CARMICHAEL, S.S.C., secretary, read a

letter from Miss Kirkland, secretary to the Edinburgh National Society for Woman's Suffrage, who stated that in the name of their society she trusted that the Liberal association would, in considering the Franchise Bill, maintain the firm position already taken, and petition for a clause conferring the franchise on duly qualified women.

Mr. DUNCAN M'LAREN, in moving the adoption of the resolution in support of the Franchise Bill, said while he recognised Mr. Gladstone's caution about adding anything to the Bill so as to avoid its defeat, yet he (Mr. M'Laren) wished to state his opinion that in the Bill the word "man" should be struck out and "person" substituted, so that the measure should include women who were equally qualified by being householders. (Applause.) It was astonishing how many women who paid high rents, full of intelligence and patriotism, and every good work, were excluded most illogically, when poor creatures, such as drunkards, who possessed houses, were admitted. He did not see why the Conservatives should object to women voters, because it was the general opinion that they would strengthen the Tory party. (Hear, hear.)

ENGLAND. PUBLIC MEETINGS. THE POTTERIES. LONGTON.

A series of public meetings in support of the extension of the Parliamentary franchise to women was held in the Potteries in March. The campaign was opened at Longton on March 3rd, when a large audience assembled in the Town Hall, under the presidency of the MAYOR (Mr. M. Wardhaugh).—Mrs. EVA M'LAREN, one of the deputation, explained the object sought to be attained by the association, and said that while the Government of England was supposed to be representative, it was most inconsistent that females who paid taxes should not have a voice in the manner in which those taxes should be applied. Women fulfilled the conditions of citizens, and did the State good service by their useful efforts on School Boards and as Guardians of the poor, and while the State was glad to have the aid of women in these important duties, it did not consider them worthy of having in common with men the privilege of citizenship.

Councillor FARMER proposed: "That in the opinion of this meeting any measure for the extension of the suffrage should confer the franchise upon women who, possessing the qualifications which entitled men to vote, have now the right of voting in all matters of local government." He remarked that he was strongly of opinion that the more they induced women to take an interest in the political status of the country, the better it would be for the homes of the people in general. One of the old political war cries was "Taxation and Representation;" but did the sex make any difference in responsibilities? (Hear, hear.) In introducing the new Reform Bill, the Prime Minister said its principle was that the head of every household should have a vote, and he certainly did not agree with this question of women's suffrage being not touched by the Bill.—Mrs. OLIVER SCATCHERD (Leeds) seconded the resolution, which was carried unanimously. On the motion of Mr. S. GREEN (Fenton), seconded by Mr. LEAKE, the following resolution was also passed: "That petitions to both Houses of Parliament, based on the foregoing resolution, be signed by the chairman on behalf of this meeting, and that memorials to William Woodall, Esq., and Henry Broadhurst, Esq., members for the borough of Stoke-upon-Trent, requesting them to support the amendment to be moved in the Franchise Bill now before Parliament, with the object of obtaining the extension of the suffrage to women so qualified, be signed by the chairman and forwarded by him." The speeches of the lady orators were received with warm approbation, the female portion of the audience, which was considerable, being especially demonstrative.

TUNSTALL.

A public meeting was held in the Lecture Hall, Tunstall, on March 4th. Notwithstanding the very bad state of the weather, there was a very large attendance. In the absence of Mr. Cumberland, Chief Bailiff, who was announced to preside, but who was prevented on account of domestic bereavement, the chair was occupied by Mr. J. Moulds, ex-Chief Bailiff. Mrs. Eva M'Laren, of

Bradford, moved, "That in the opinion of this meeting any measure for the extension of the franchise should confer the privilege upon women who, possessing the qualifications which entitle men to vote, have now the right of voting on all matters of local government." This was seconded by Mrs. Oliver Scatcherd, of Leeds, and carried with only one dissentient. On the motion of the Revs. J. Ferguson and F. Haines, and Mr. E. Lovekin, memorials were adopted, to be signed by the chairman, and forwarded by him to the borough members, in support of the resolution.

BURSLEM.

A meeting for the women's suffrage movement was held on March 5th, at the Town Hall, Burslem, the room being filled with an attentive audience of both sexes. The Mayor (Mr. G. B. Ford) occupied the chair, and the members of the societies present were: Mrs. M'Laren (Bradford), Mrs. Scatcherd (Leeds), and Miss Balgarnie (Scarborough). The Chairman explained that the object of the meeting was to obtain, if possible, an enactment in the new Franchise Bill, if it should become law, to give to women who pay rates and taxes the right of voting in the Parliamentary elections. Mr. W. Owen moved the first resolution, as follows: "That in the opinion of this meeting any measure for the extension of the suffrage should confer the franchise upon women who, possessing the qualifications which entitle men to vote, have now the right of voting on all matters of local government. Alderman Boulton seconded, and Mrs. Scatcherd spoke in support. The second resolution was moved by Mr. C. Bloor, seconded by Councillor Till, and supported by Miss Balgarnie. It was "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 Mr. William Woodall and Mr. Henry Broadhurst, members for the borough of Stoke-on-Trent, requesting them to support the amendment to be moved in the Franchise Bill now before Parliament, with the object of obtaining the extension of the suffrage to women, so qualified, be signed by the chairman and forwarded by him." Both resolutions were enthusiastically carried. The meeting closed with votes of thanks to the ladies and the chairman.

On Tuesday, March 4th, and again on Friday, 7th, Mrs. Eva M'Laren and Mrs. Scatcherd gave addresses, on "The good women's suffrage will do," to workpeople of the Dale Hall Works, Burslem. The meetings were held during the dinner hour in the mission-room attached to the works, and enjoyed by all present. Petitions to Parliament in favour of women's suffrage passed unanimously.

HANLEY.

The meeting held in the Hanley Mechanics' Institution on March 6th to hear addresses in favour of the Parliamentary suffrage being conceded to women, and to pass resolutions thereon, was largely attended. The Mayor (Mr. W. H. Ringland) presided, and there were also on the platform Mrs. Oliver Scatcherd (Leeds), Mrs. Eva M'Laren (Bradford), Miss Florence Balgarnie (Scarborough), Mrs. McCormick (Manchester), Miss Ada Bevington (Blyth Bridge), &c. In opening the proceedings, his Worship said he did not see why woman should be prevented voting for a member of Parliament. She already was enabled to vote for him as a candidate for municipal distinction, and as a candidate for the Board for Guardians, and he certainly would not acknowledge to being inferior to a member of Parliament. (Hear, hear.) He was speaking a short time ago to a member on this very question. The hon. gentleman said that to him it appeared that the time had hardly come for that matter to be matured. He, however, admitted that the ladies were perfectly justified in their agitation, and even expressed the hope that they would continue it; but at the same time went on to add that it appeared to him it would be all that Mr. Gladstone could do to carry the County Franchise Bill, without this addition of the franchise to women, and that if a clause were inserted in favour of women's suffrage the measure would not pass. He (the Mayor) did not know that, because, in his opinion, a small clause would be sufficient. His Worship concluded his observations by expressing his entire sympathy with the object of the agitation. Mr. E. Banks proposed the first resolution: "That, in the opinion of this meeting, any measure for the extension of the suffrage should confer the franchise upon women who, possessing the qualifications which entitle men to vote, have now the right of voting in all matters of local government." Mrs. Eva M'Laren seconded the resolution, which was agreed to unanimously. Mr. W. Wood then moved the

following resolution: "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 William Woodall, Esq., Henry Broadhurst, Esq., W. Y. Craig, Esq., and H. T. Davenport, Esq., members for the borough of Stoke-on-Trent, and northern division of Staffordshire, requesting them to support the amendment to be moved in the Franchise Bill now before Parliament, with the object of obtaining the extension of the suffrage to women so qualified, be signed by the chairman, and forwarded by him." Mr. Lowe seconded the resolution, which was also supported by Mrs. O. Scatcherd. The motion was agreed to unanimously. Hearty votes of thanks having been passed to the ladies and gentlemen who had spoken, and to the Mayor for presiding, the meeting was brought to a close.

STOKE-ON-TRENT.

On March 7th, a crowded meeting was held in the Town Hall, Stoke-on-Trent, in favour of including women in the New Reform Bill. The Mayor (Alderman Keary) occupied the chair. The first resolution, which was similar to that moved at Hanley, was moved by Mrs. Scatcherd, seconded by Mr. Bloor (Trades' Union Secretary), supported by Mrs. Eva M'Laren, and carried, with three dissentients. The second resolution was moved by Miss Balgarnie, seconded by Mr. Councillor William Gant, and carried. Votes of thanks to the mayor closed the proceedings.

HYDE.

The third annual meeting of the members of the Hyde Branch of the Women's Suffrage Society was held in March, in the Coffee Tavern, Market Street, Hyde, the president, Miss HIBBERT, in the chair.

Miss SMITH, secretary, read the report, which recorded an increase in numbers. "In May last a tea meeting in connection with the annual meeting was held in the upper room of the Coffee Tavern, under the presidency of Mrs. Dowson, but was only moderately attended. Your committee congratulate themselves upon having sent one of the largest petitions (signed by women ratepayers only) which has been presented this year. This is the petition favourably commented upon by Mrs. Fawcett in the *Pall Mall Gazette* of January 14th, and was signed by 608 of the 700 women who were canvassed. Four general petitions have also been sent, containing 197 signatures. All the petitions were presented by the county member, William Cunliffe Brooks, Esq., who also voted in favour for the first time." Other matters were also dealt with.

After reading the report, Miss HIBBERT, president, addressed the meeting. In concluding her speech she said: In view of the approaching Reform Bill, we feel that every effort must be made to procure the admission of women to the franchise, for we know that only by some systematic reform such as this will their needs secure that amount of attention which is given to those of the represented classes. As John Bright has said, "One just law is worth more than a million given in charity," and the law which gives women a direct and equal voice in the legislature will be worth a million Acts of separate and personal benevolence on the part of our legislators.

The report was adopted on the motion of Mrs. Dowson, seconded by Mrs. THORLEY.

Miss HIBBERT next proposed: "That, in the opinion of this meeting, any measure for the extension of the suffrage should confer the franchise upon women who, possessing the qualification which entitles men to vote, have now the right of voting in all matters of local government." This was seconded by Mrs. MOSS and carried.

Mrs. J. C. HIBBERT moved: "That the following persons form the committee for the ensuing year:—Miss Hibbert, Mrs. Dowson, Miss Smith, Mrs. Tweedale, Mrs. Rowcroft, Mrs. Thorley, Mrs. A. Bidway, Mrs. Moss, Mrs. Stanton, Mrs. Gordon; Miss Hibbert being president, Mrs. Dowson, vice-president, and Miss Smith hon. secretary." Seconded by Mrs. SWAIN, and carried.

On the motion of Mrs. ROWCROFT, seconded by Mrs. SILWAY, copies of the second resolution were ordered to be forwarded to Mr. Gladstone and Mr. W. C. Brooks.

Thanks to the chair closed the proceedings.

YARMOUTH.

On February 27th, a meeting to advocate the extension of the Parliamentary franchise to women was held at the Town Hall,

Yarmouth, Norfolk, the Assembly Room of which was fairly filled. The Rev. C. STOVETT, of Martham, occupied the chair, and there were upon the platform Mrs. Leach, Mrs. Lucas, Mrs. Ormiston Chant, several other ladies, and Messieurs Leach, F. Starling, and others.

The CHAIRMAN in a few introductory remarks expressed his sympathy with the object of the meeting.

Mrs. LEACH then moved the following resolution: "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 that petitions to both Houses of Parliament be adopted and signed by the chairman on behalf of this meeting, and forwarded to the members for presentation and support."

Mrs. LUCAS, in seconding the resolution, said: By the extension of the franchise, which was to be proposed in the House of Commons, and which she hoped would be carried, agricultural labourers would be allowed to vote: were agricultural labourers so intelligent as many women in the country who were householders? Women felt aggrieved at this. The privilege was to be extended to labourers, but refused to women. It seemed very hard, for she (Mrs. Lucas) was a large ratepayer. They must, however, work hard, and their efforts would be crowned with success. A lady had told her (the speaker) that she was going to resist the taxes, but as a piece of advice she said by no means put silver in the way of those who came to seize the goods. Silver was an easy thing to carry away. (Laughter.) They must place the most cumbersome furniture in the way. Bills in the windows would let people know why the furniture was being removed. (Laughter.) Mrs. Lucas, in conclusion, urged those present to support those measures which so materially affected their interests, and she said that if the women would bind themselves together success was certain. (Applause.)

Mrs. CHANT supported the resolution.

The resolution was then put to the meeting and carried with only three dissentients.

A vote of thanks to the chairman for his able conduct of the meeting brought the proceedings to a close.

LOWESTOFT.

A meeting in support of the franchise for women was held on February 27th, in the Public Hall, Lowestoft, which was densely crowded. Mr. W. W. Garnham presided. Mr. Adams 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." The resolution was seconded by the Rev. Edwin Mason, and supported by Mrs. Lucas, Mrs. Leach, and Mrs. Ormiston Chant. Mr. Tooke made some remarks in opposition, which were received with derisive shouts. The motion was then put to the meeting and declared to be carried. A vote of thanks to the chairman and the speakers having been moved by Mr. H. Jefferies, seconded by Mr. G. H. Turner, was adopted, and the proceedings terminated.

BRISTOL—ST. PHILIP'S.

On March 3rd, a meeting in support of the extension of the Parliamentary suffrage franchise to women householders and ratepayers was held at the Vestry Hall, St. Philip's, Bristol. There was a large attendance. Mr. J. D. MARSHALL presided, and amongst those present were Mrs. Ashton Dilke, Mrs. Beddoe, Mrs. Tanner, Mdlle. Bravaix, Miss Blackburn, Miss Meyrick, Mrs. Paul, Miss Sturge, Rev. J. H. Birkett, Rev. A. N. Blatchford, Messrs. J. Pembury, N. Palmer, J. Bevan, G. F. Jones, &c.

The CHAIRMAN said it was an astonishing thing that in these enlightened days they should have to meet to advocate the rights of women. He had never heard any sound reason why the franchise should not be extended to women ratepayers.

Mr. J. PEMBERY moved: "That in the opinion of this meeting no measure of Parliamentary reform can be satisfactory which does not make provision for the enfranchisement of women who possess the householders' property qualification which entitles men to vote, and who in all matters of local government already have the right of voting." If it was right for them to advocate the claim of the agricultural labourer to have a vote, surely it was equally just to include the ladies in the franchise when they possessed the neces-

sary qualifications. The Reform Bill introduced last week would not be complete till some clause giving the women the vote was included in it.

Mr. J. BEVAN seconded the resolution.

Mrs. ASHTON DILKE supported the resolution.

Mr. W. DAVIS said he was in favour of women's suffrage, but he should like to know what would be the result when the question of manhood suffrage—which was now coming rapidly to the front—was being dealt with.

Mrs. ASHTON DILKE replied that she could not pledge the association to any line of action when manhood suffrage was being dealt with. The association was only formed to obtain the Parliamentary franchise for women householders, and she supposed when that object was attained the organisation would come to an end.

Another speaker said he was in favour of women's household suffrage, but should like to know what would be the outcome when manhood suffrage was brought about. Was it worse to give them the franchise now and disfranchise them when it came to universal suffrage? He should be sorry to see irresponsible ladies given the vote.

The resolution was carried.

Mr. F. W. OATEN said from the questions of two speakers just now one would think that manhood suffrage was close at hand instead of being a long way off. He moved, "That this meeting adopts a petition to the House of Commons praying for the inclusion of women householders in the new Reform Bill, and authorises the chairman to sign and forward such petition."

Mr. G. F. JONES seconded the motion, which was supported by the Rev. A. N. BLATCHFORD and Miss EMILY STURGE.

The resolution was carried, and soon after the proceedings terminated.

BEDMINSTER.

On March 6th a meeting was held at the Temperance Hall, Bedminster, in support of the movement for the extension of the franchise to women householders. Mrs. ARTHUR TANNER presided, and there was a large attendance.

Mr. J. G. GRENFELL moved: "That in the opinion of this meeting no measure of Parliamentary reform can be regarded as satisfactory which does not make provision for the extension of the franchise to women who possess the household or property qualification which entitles men to vote, and who in all matters of local government already have the right of voting." He simply asked them, in claiming this measure of justice, to carry on towards completion that edifice which had taken eight centuries to build in that country; to act in harmony with the whole teaching of English history. (Applause.) Every word of Mr. Gladstone's noble address in contending for the franchise for the agricultural labourer applied to the women householders. (Applause.) Yet in the past any argumentative stick had been thought good enough to beat the women claiming this justice, and no argument was too coarse or worthless to prop up the injustice and wrong which still existed. The only argument against it worth any weight at all was the one that women had not had the franchise in the past, and therefore ought not to have it in the future. He could understand that argument in the mouth of a Tory nobleman, who hated all reform and sighed for the old days of rotten boroughs, but such arguments were not expected from the men of Bristol in the present day. (Applause.)

Mr. F. W. OATEN seconded the resolution. He read through the fine speech of Mr. Gladstone a week ago, but found one thing wanting; no reform bill could be complete which did not confer the franchise on every householder, irrespective of sex. (Applause.) He did not care whether it was a Liberal or Tory amendment which sought to introduce the franchise for women, it ought to receive the support of every member. (Hear, hear.)

Mrs. M'LLUGHAM, of Cheltenham, supported the resolution. She said when she read Mr. Gladstone's speech, strong and ardent Liberal as she was, she felt insulted and indignant. A kind of reckless feeling came over her, and she felt, as Sir John Suckling said—

What care I how fair she be,
If she be not fair to me.

(Laughter.) If a Liberal Government would not be liberal to her, why should she care for their politics? (Laughter, and "Hear, hear.")

The resolution was carried unanimously.

The Rev. J. TODHUNTER SHIELDS proposed: "That this meeting adopts a petition to the House of Commons, praying for the inclusion of women householders in the new Reform Bill, and authorises the chairman to sign and forward such a petition on its behalf, also memorials to Sir Philip Miles, Bart., and Lord Brooke, members for East Somerset." He had heard that if the new Reform Bill becomes law the occupiers of 450,000 mud cabins in Ireland would be given votes, and if they trusted 450,000 of these men surely they could trust 500,000 ladies in England. One of the matters which women when they had a vote would say something about was the licensing traps which existed for the temptation of their children. (Applause.)

Mrs. CLARK, of Sidcot, seconded the resolution, which was supported by the Rev. J. TEMPERLEY GREY, and carried.

ILFRACOMBE.

At a public meeting held at the Oxford Hall, Ilfracombe, on March 5th, with Mr. F. W. MATTHEWS in the chair, Captain Pile proposed "that it is the opinion of this meeting that any measure for the extension of the Parliamentary franchise should confer the suffrage upon women who possess the household or property qualification entitling them to vote in municipal, parochial, School Board, or Local Board elections." Mrs. M'ROBERTS, a resident of the town, seconded the motion. Dr. E. SLADE-KING spoke at considerable length in support of the motion. The new reform bill if passed would extend the franchise to almost all men who were neither lunatics or felons, and he begged those present to prevent women being placed in the category of felons and lunatics. (Laughter and applause.) An amendment was proposed, but the original motion was carried by a large majority. A petition in favour of women's suffrage was at the close of the meeting extensively signed.

EVEESHAM.

A meeting took place on March 25th in the Farmers and Merchants' Hall, Evesham; Mr. Herbert New presiding. Addresses were given on behalf of the society by Mrs. M'LLUGHAM and Miss H. BLACKBURN. A resolution was then proposed by Mr. W. WRIGHT BROWN, seconded by Rev. — CADMAN, "That a Household Franchise Bill which does not include women householders is incomplete." This was carried, with two dissentients. The Rev. MICHAEL S. DUNBAR, M.A., then moved, "That this meeting adopt the petition to the House of Commons, and the memorial to the borough and county members now read, and authorise the chairman to sign and forward the same." This was seconded by Mr. A. HERBERT MARTIN, J.P., and carried, with one dissentient. A vote of thanks to Mr. New closed the proceedings.

LECTURES.

TEIGNMOUTH.

On March 11th, Miss Sturge, of Bristol, delivered a lecture by request to the members and friends of the Teignmouth Liberal Association on women's suffrage. Mrs. Brine, of Shaldon, presided, and there was a good attendance, including many ladies. Mrs. Brine, in a graceful opening address, replied to certain objections which had been advanced against the possession of the right of Parliamentary voting by women by Lord Clifford, Colonel Sterling, and Mr. Seale Hayne. The last-named gentleman had said that, whilst he conceded the claim of women householders to the suffrage, he believed that, so long as they bestowed so much time, thought, and money upon millinery, it was a claim not at all likely to be urged seriously. (Laughter.) The answer to that was clear; the claim was urged seriously. She thought the money spent on millinery by ladies generally was balanced by that spent by men on pipes, tobacco, cigars, billiards, and idle refreshings—perhaps she should say poisonings—(hear, hear)—and that if that amount were considered as a test of their fitness for the franchise, more men would be disfranchised than women. (Much laughter and applause.) Miss Sturge then gave her address; after which the Rev. Anson Cartwright, president of the association, opened a discussion by moving a vote of thanks to the lecturer, according to their custom. This was seconded by Mr. Stooke, who, in the course of his remarks, paid a high compliment to Mrs. Metcalfe, the lady member of the Teignmouth School Board, for her businesslike ability. Mr. J. R. WILLIAMS, Mr. COOBAN, Mr. G. YOUNG, and Miss Helen Blackburn

took part in the discussion, and a vote of thanks to Mrs. Brine and the lecturer closed the proceedings.

ERITH.

A largely attended meeting was held at the lower room of the Erith Public Hall, on March 14th, for the purpose of hearing Mrs. ASHTON DILKE lecture on "Women's Suffrage."

Amongst those present, besides a number of ladies, were Mr. D. PEARCE (president of the Gravesend Radical Association), Messrs. G. TOMLINSON, W. HEMMINGS, PARKER (Dartford Liberal Association), ROBERTS (secretary Erith Liberal Club), PHILPOT, CARTWRIGHT, FOWLER, SELICKS, &c.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. W. B. Henwood, president of the Erith, Belvedere, and Northumberland-heath Liberal Club), in briefly introducing Mrs. Dilke, remarked that it was a question she had made her study, and in complimentary terms alluded to Sir C. Dilke as one of the coming men. (Applause.)

Mrs. DILKE then delivered an open address. In conclusion, Mrs. Dilke said as fresh men were brought into the House their question showed advance, and it seemed to her to be a question of the near future. (Applause.)

Mr. D. PEARCE then moved the following resolution: "That, in the opinion of this meeting, the time has arrived when the Parliamentary franchise should be extended to women who, possessing the same qualifications which entitled men to vote, have now the right of voting in all matters of local government." He contended that taxation and representation should go together. Because a woman was a woman justice should not be denied her. Women in the past had been trained in the Christian church to a false position of subjection. Women could now enter colleges, and, therefore, as an act of justice, she should be allowed to vote in Parliamentary elections. By excluding women they were shutting out a number of powerful canvassers. He had great pleasure in moving the resolution.

Mr. PARKER seconded the resolution, which was supported by Mr. PARKER and Mr. HEMMING and carried.

The CHAIRMAN then proposed a vote of thanks to Mrs. Ashton Dilke for her lecture, which was seconded by Mr. ROBERTS and carried unanimously.

Mrs. DILKE suitably responded. Mr. CARTWRIGHT proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. W. B. Henwood for presiding. This was seconded by Mrs. LYNCH and carried unanimously. The CHAIRMAN briefly responded, and the proceedings terminated.

HACKNEY.

Mrs. Fenwick Miller gave a lecture on "Women and the new Reform Bill" at the Clifden Social Club, Hackney, on March 5th. After Mrs. Miller's address, a resolution in favour of admitting duly-qualified women to the franchise was passed with acclamation, and the President of the Club (Mr. HARRIS) was authorised to sign a memorial to the Prime Minister and a petition to both Houses of Parliament praying that the new Reform Bill may be amended in this respect.

ALDGATE.

On March 18th Mrs. Fenwick Miller, member of the London School Board, lectured at the Cigar-makers' Club and Institute, Aldgate, E.C., on "Women and the New Reform Bill." There was an audience of about three hundred men, ladies not being admitted on the ground that there was no room for them. Mr. MICHAEL DA COSTA presided, and the resolution was spoken to by Messrs. COOPER, DAVIES, HATELL, and TRIGGS, and carried unanimously.

WOOLWICH.

Mrs. Fenwick Miller delivered a lecture on 21st March at the Invicta Club, Woolwich. Subject: "Women and the New Reform Bill." A resolution in favour of including women in the Bill and authorising the chairman to sign petitions and memorial was supported by Messrs. BANNER, TURNER, DAVIS, MURRAY, COLLINS, and the chairman (Mr. R. SHAW, the president of the club). This being carried unanimously, the proceedings closed with a vote of thanks.

HAMMERSMITH.

Mrs. Fenwick Miller, M.L.S.B., lectured on March 23rd at the Hammersmith Workmen's Club, Mr. Rayner in the chair. The customary resolution was moved by Mr. BEASLEY (the secretary), and supported by Mr. FREDERICK A. FORD, Mr. MATKIN, and Mr. SOMERVILLE, and unanimously carried.

DRAWING-ROOM MEETINGS.

SHORTLANDS.

A drawing-room meeting was held at Miss Wilkinson's, Shortlands, on February 23rd. The Rev. Charles Green, in moving the first resolution, drew attention to the large number of petitions sent in by women householders in favour of the suffrage. The figures he would quote disposed of the objection that women did not wish for the suffrage. At Leeds, 1,013 women ratepayers signed the petition; in Mid-Lothian, 227. Ninety-seven petitions from women farmers of the counties of Hereford, Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall were sent in last year. At Hyde, out of 700 women ratepayers, 608 signed the petition, and at Taunton 300, out of a total of 562. Mr. Green spoke strongly of the injustice it would be to grant the franchise to the agricultural labourer, and deny it to the woman farmer, or woman landowner. The meeting was also addressed by Miss Orme and Miss Stapcoole.

HAMPSTEAD.

A meeting was held on March 18th, by permission of Mr. and Mrs. Chamberlain, at 44, Belsize Road. Mrs. Ashton Dilke presided, and A. COOPER-OAKLEY, Esq., Miss C. A. BIGGS, Mrs. C. M'LAREN, H. N. MOZLEY, Esq., Miss LILLIE STAPCOOLE, and others, addressed the meeting, which was numerously attended. Resolutions in favour of including women in the Franchise Bill were adopted, and petitions to this effect, signed on behalf of the meeting, were forwarded to both Houses of Parliament.

BRISTOL WOMEN'S LIBERAL ASSOCIATION.

The following resolution was passed by the Bristol Women's Liberal Association at a meeting held on the 17th inst.: "That the Bristol Women's Liberal Association, while rejoicing in the introduction of the Franchise Bill now before the House of Commons, and believing that as a large and honest effort to remove the injustice and inequalities of the present electoral system and as a measure of justice to Ireland, it deserves the support of the Liberal party, considers it to be incomplete in that, though professing to grant household suffrage, it nevertheless excludes duly qualified women from its provisions."

BIRMINGHAM.

TOWN'S MEETING IN SUPPORT OF THE FRANCHISE BILL.

A town's meeting, convened by the Mayor (Alderman Cook), was held in the Town Hall, Birmingham, on March 24th, to consider the Representation of the People Bill, introduced into the House of Commons by Mr. Gladstone on behalf of the Government.

Mrs. ASHFORD, who was warmly cheered, spoke in support of the A resolution in support of the Bill having been moved and seconded, resolution. She said she rejoiced with those present at the prospect of a near fulfilment of their desires. There was only one thing connected with the Bill for which she was sorry. An act of injustice was proposed to be perpetrated—an injustice that had been removed from municipal and School Board elections. Mr. Gladstone said in that Bill they should endeavour to avoid the infliction of personal disfranchisement; but by an unfortunate wording of a clause in the Bill, 300,000 people were disfranchised. They proposed to reduce the existing £12 rental vote to one-half, and to that she did not object. But she did object while giving the vote to the labourer, to withhold it from his employer, for there were 22,700 women farmers in England and Wales alone. (Loud cheers and laughter.) In the same speech Mr. Gladstone said he took his stand upon the broad principle of the enfranchisement of capable citizens, and the only question arising in the general argument was who were capable citizens. Now, by inference, while the man who feeds the pigs is a "capable citizen," the woman who pays the rent of the farm, and so conducts the business that she is capable of buying the pigs, and pay the man who feeds and cleans them, is not a "capable citizen." (Loud laughter and cheers.) In the parish in which she lived there were three farmers and a clergyman, all of whom possessed the vote already. Her house would lose its vote by reason of her occupation of it; but by the service clause in the new Bill, her groom, whose rept

she paid, would have a vote. (Laughter.) She had a very great respect for that man in the stables, but she was perfectly certain that if she were to ask him if he would "exercise" the franchise, he would say, "Please, mum, which 'orse be that?" (Loud and continued laughter.) Power and responsibility should go together, and they should remember that the old watchword of taxation and representation was not obsolete. Above all things, let them be honest, and when they talked about the new Bill conferring the franchise upon all £6 householders they should ascertain that it really does so. The actual fact was that it disfranchised 300,000 householders, but whilst being sorry for this one blemish, she had the greatest pleasure in supporting the motion before the meeting. (Loud cheers.)

EXTRACTS AND OPINIONS FROM THE PRESS.

WOMEN AND THE FRANCHISE BILL.

The Glasgow News says: "An attempt will probably be made to include the woman householder in the present Franchise Bill, and Mr. Gladstone has certainly put a very powerful argument in the hands of those who may make it. His new service franchise puts in the strongest possible light the injustice under which the woman householder now suffers. As has been pointed out, it will enfranchise the widow's very household servants, her gardener or coachman, who lives in the cottage she owns, and whose rates and taxes she pays out of her own pocket." Is not this a glaring hardship? No stronger argument need be offered in favour of female suffrage than this intention on the part of the Government to enfranchise the male servants of women householders.

Northern Whig.

Mr. Gladstone is naturally and necessarily afraid of overweighting his Franchise Bill, but there can be no complete measure of household suffrage until the electoral claims of women are carried. Sooner or later this concession is sure to be made. It would be better to concede it sooner than later.

W. H. Ryland writes to the Birmingham Daily Post: "Now that the subject of the extension of the franchise is going to occupy for a great part of the session the attention of Parliament, I hope the claims of women to the suffrage are not going to be quietly ignored. . . . In the hands of one of the ablest and most powerful Ministers of modern times, I hope that the sham household suffrage will be made a reality, which it will not be till every householder not disqualified by pauperism or crime has a vote. If this is done, the question of reform may be considered as settled for a considerable period to come; if not, agitation will have to be renewed as soon as the Reform Bill has passed."

Miss Emily Spender writes to the Globe: "Mr. Gladstone, in introducing his Franchise Bill, stated that it was based on the principle of giving the franchise to every householder. He then went on to expressly exclude from its provisions 600,000 householders of the United Kingdom. Mr. Trevelyan has declared that the Government Bill would settle everything on a permanent and solid basis. How can this be, when it leaves unrepresented so much of the property intelligence of the country? To give an instance of how the present so-called household suffrage works in the boroughs, in the city of Bath there are a large number of voters in proportion to the population in the lowest streets and slums than there are in the most fashionable squares and crescents; the reason being the very considerable number of widows and single women of the higher classes owning and occupying houses in the wealthier parts of the city. But the Government Bill not only perpetuates this injustice to well-educated law-abiding householders who contribute large sums in rates and taxes to the public revenue; but, if it becomes law, these householders will be placed relatively in a much worse position than they are in at present. One-seventh of our landowners are women, and there are also 20,000 women farmers in the country. It is proposed to exclude from the franchise owners of estates, tenants who are carrying on one of the professions of the greatest importance to the State, while it will allow the most ignorant labourer in their fields to have a vote."

"A Lady Taxpayer" writes in the Bristol Times: "Can there be a greater anomaly than that I pay my manservants taxes that they may vote whilst I remain unrepresented in the Legislature, Hitherto we have been called, and rightly so, law-abiding citizens. But if not included in this new Reform Bill, stronger measures must be adopted, and I for one shall join with other ladies in removing this unjust law and in refusing to pay further taxes till we obtain our rights in this respect."

Charlotte E. Babb writes to the Daily News to "protest against the Government Reform Bill being called a Bill for the representation of the people. It cannot represent the people of England, for women are purposely excluded. Women householders are not, I presume, ranked as 'capable citizens,' therefore it will be well for them to refuse the State taxes until it shall be conceded that they are 'capable,' not only of paying towards, but of voting for, the supplies. For years I have suffered my goods to be seized and sold because the Parliamentary vote is denied to women householders, and I have reason to believe that some women, well known and respected, begin to feel with me that the tyranny over women will have to be fought out, as so many great questions have been before, by the refusal of the taxes."

Florence Davenport Hill writes to the Daily News in reference to "the grand principle of the Bill which the Premier with such power and eloquence laid before the House of Commons. That principle is household suffrage. 'It is, in point of fact, if it is to be described in a single phrase,' he said, 'a Household Franchise Bill.' If this definition be accepted by the country and the legislature, if it be their fiat that henceforth every household shall be represented, the vote must be accorded to women alike with men."

The Owl, Birmingham.

"The Franchise Bill is satisfactory in every way, except that again there is no provision for women voters. The local branch of the Women's Suffrage Society, I hear, are somewhat divided as to what to do, some thinking their claims should be urged at the present juncture, others being withheld by the old fear of 'embarrassing the Government.' My advice is, strike while the iron is hot. Once let the metal cool, and it will not be heated again for a generation."

ELECTION OF POOR LAW GUARDIANS.

During the present month elections of poor law guardians will take place in most of the Unions of England and Wales. There are, we understand, many lady candidates, though we have been unable to obtain a list of them before going to press. We can only urge women who have votes in these elections to use them as far as possible in placing women on the boards, wherever there are women candidates.

ARRIVAL OF MRS. SHEARER IN NEW ZEALAND.

We have received the gratifying intelligence that Mrs. Shearer, who left England on account of her health, arrived safely, in January, at Dunedin, New Zealand. She has experienced great benefit from the voyage. We understand that Mrs. Shearer proposes to return home after a short sojourn at the Antipodes, and that she may be expected in England in the course of the summer.

A NEW NURSERY RHYME.—The Melbourne Benevolent Asylum Committee have prevented a Mrs. Hubbard from entering that institution for three months, because she gave the inmates, with her own hands, some buns and jam, preferring this mode of presentation, to passing the good things through the hands of about twenty officials, whereby the quantity might have been diminished by the action of atmospheric evaporation. Here is a nursery rhyme, which the Bulletin invites the members of the Committee to have set to music without delay:—

Old Mother Hubbard, she went to her cupboard,
To get the poor pauper some tucker,
When "Bumble" said "Stop her! it's really improper!"
And straightway outside he did chuck her,

CORRESPONDENCE.

MARRIAGE WITH A DECEASED WIFE'S SISTER.

To the Editor of the Women's Suffrage Journal.

Madam,—While thoroughly agreeing with the editorial note appended to the letter signed "Mary D." in your last number, I must protest against the statement in the letter itself that "the Bill appears to be desired only by those who have broken the law, and by men who thereby degrade women." Before making so sweeping an accusation, the writer should have recollected that not only all the Royal Princes, but such tried advocates of the elevation of women as Lord Houghton, the Rt. Hon. Jas. Stansfeld, the Rt. Hon. H. Fawcett, the Lord Mayor, and Messrs. Courtney, Jacob Bright, Caine, Illingworth, Pennington, L. Fry, John Morley, P. A. Taylor, H. Mason, and others are found among the supporters of the Bill. I speak with considerable opportunities for knowledge, when I say that a feeling of repulsion against these marriages scarcely exists among members of the Society of Friends, men or women. Among the more thoughtful of the women of the working classes, including domestic servants, I have found also a strong feeling in favour of them. Calling hard names does not advance any good cause. The opponents of the Bill are no doubt actuated by the best motives, and they should give the same credit to those who think very strongly that the legalising of these marriages, in accordance with the law in our own colonies and in all other Protestant countries, is imperatively demanded in the interests of morality. I will not discuss the question further, and venture to think that subjects on which it is well known that strong difference of opinion prevails among the supporters of the women's suffrage movement are best kept out of the columns of the Journal, except so far as to point the moral that it is unjust for a Parliament where women are not directly represented to pass laws in which women ought to have a voice.—Yours, &c., ALFRED W. BENNETT.

To the Editor of the Women's Suffrage Journal.

Madam,—The present session will witness another attempt to legalize marriage with a deceased wife's sister. Some husbands wish for it—that is enough—the wives and wives' sisters don't count. But those who hold that women should have a voice in legislation which affects their interests will not suffer the measure to pass without protest. Would it not be an effective form of protest to organise a petition amongst the members and friends of the Society for Women's Suffrage, worded somewhat as follows:—

That your petitioners understand that a Bill is before your honourable House having for its object to legalize marriage with a deceased wife's sister.

That inasmuch as this question affects the interests of women as well as men, your petitioners respectfully urge that women ought to have a voice in it.

Your petitioners therefore pray your honourable House to postpone any legislation upon this matter until women shall have power to make their interests known through their representatives in Parliament.—I am, Madam, yours faithfully, F. B. H.

Obituary.

MR. SIDNEY SMITH.—We regret to record the death of this gentleman, at the advanced age of eighty-seven. Mr. Sidney Smith was for many years the agent to the City of London Liberal Association, and in that capacity he ably defended the rights of women ratepayers to the Parliamentary franchise in the revision courts in 1868. Mr. Sidney Smith held strongly the opinion that by the common law of England women were entitled to the Parliamentary franchise, and he defended this opinion in an able treatise—"The Enfranchisement of Women the Law of the Land." Mr. Smith retired from active political work for the last few years of his life, but the vindication of the rights of women to the political franchise, which he had most deeply at heart, was almost the last political subject that occupied his attention.

MR. SAMUEL BOWLY.—We regret to announce the death of Mr. Samuel Bowly, of Gloucester, the veteran anti-slavery and

temperance advocate, which took place on the night of Sunday, March 23rd, the anniversary of his eighty-second birthday. The life of this gifted Friend was a long fight for freedom for his fellows. He was active and eloquent when the slaves of our West Indian possessions needed to have their birthright won for them, and after that, for fifty years he spoke for temperance. Mr. Bowly took the chair at the first meeting in Gloucester for women's suffrage, and continued to support the cause until his death.

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE IN ONTARIO.

(REUTER'S TELEGRAM.)

TORONTO, MARCH 15.

The Ontario Legislature has passed a Bill allowing widows and spinsters having the requisite property qualification to vote at municipal elections.

MANCHESTER SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS, MARCH, 1884.

Table listing names and amounts for the Manchester Society for Women's Suffrage, March 1884. Includes names like Miss E. B. Drewry, Mr. H. R. Drewry, Miss Marah, etc.

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

CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS, FROM FEBRUARY 28 TO MARCH 28, 1884.

Table listing names and amounts for the Central Committee, February 28 to March 28, 1884. Includes names like Viscountess Harberton, The Dowager Lady Wharncliffe, Mrs. Bayley (two years), etc.

LAURA M'LAREN, TREASURER, 29, PARLIAMENT-STREET, S.W.

BRISTOL AND WEST OF ENGLAND.

SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS, MARCH, 1884.

Table listing names and amounts for Bristol and West of England, March 1884. Includes names like Miss Schaw-Protheroe (Fish-guard), Miss Mary Price, Miss M. N. Price, etc.

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