

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE JOURNAL.

EDITED BY LYDIA E. BECKER.

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ONE of the most noteworthy events that has recently occurred in connection with the enfranchisement of women, socially and intellectually, was the opening of a Girls' Grammar School at Bradford, by Lady FREDERICK CAVENDISH, on September 29th. Speeches were delivered on the occasion by Lord FREDERICK CAVENDISH and Mr. FORSTER, which exhibit in the most striking degree the great advance that has taken place in public opinion as to the intellectual capacities and needs of women. The speakers appeared generally to disclaim all presumed connection between the education they were providing for girls at a public school, and the right to pursue the educational course thus begun at the national universities; or to vote in the election of members of Parliament. But in spite of this disclaimer men must be wilfully blind if they suppose it will be possible to provide for girls the same intellectual training which is given to boys, and to maintain the disability which precludes women from qualifying as Parliamentary electors. The only ground on which that disability is maintained is in the words of a Judge, "because of the understanding required in it;" and the now universal admission that women have the same right to education as men cuts off the ground of the objection to their political rights, founded on their assumed inferiority of understanding.

In another way these speeches afford most convincing arguments in favour of the political rights of women. There is not a reason urged on behalf of the general education of women which does not apply with equal and similar force to their political education, and to the natural corollary to political education, the legal capacity for political power. Lord FREDERICK CAVENDISH said, "If their object was to secure culture and refinement throughout the country, they could not have made a greater mistake than by leaving one half of the population neglected. To whom fell the early training of our boys? Who prepared, as it were, the raw material of our schools but the mother and the sister? And again, was it likely we could have a cultivated population if, when the husband or the son returned home he found his wife or his sister utterly uninterested in all intellectual matter?

If this country was to advance in culture as it had advanced in wealth, we must look as much to the women as the men. Women had ample leisure, and he believed, now that public attention had been turned to the matter, they would see a great development in that respect."

We ask whether, if the object is to secure political knowledge and public spirit throughout the country, men can make a greater mistake than by leaving one half of the population neglected? If this country is to advance in political culture as it has advanced in wealth, we must look to the women as well as the men. Women have ample leisure, and when they devote this leisure to the earnest study of political and social questions we shall see a great development of their influence for good in the life and counsels of the nation.

Lord FREDERICK CAVENDISH said also that no part of the difficult task entrusted to the Endowed School Commissioners was more difficult than that of securing a fair proportion of the old endowments for education for the education of women. This was of importance because of the sense of permanence which attached to the endowed schools, which gave rise in the pupils to what was an incalculable advantage—to a pride and public spirit in their school. Pupils educated there felt that they did not belong to a mere transitory speculation, but that they belonged to a body of the past and of the future, which was no small stimulant to them to maintain its reputation. Lastly, he attached importance to the endowment of £200 a year assigned to that school, because by that endowment the State publicly recognised the fact that the education of women was as important as the education of men. That was a fact the recognition of which had been too long delayed. He believed that those he saw around him would assist the Commissioners in opposing the stubborn, silent, not often expressed but still strong opposition which they always experienced when they proposed to deal justly with girls.

We would remind Lord FREDERICK CAVENDISH that the pride and public spirit in their school which he desires to see cultivated in girls, will as inevitably lead in their case,

as in that of boys, to pride and public spirit in their country; that such girls, when they grow up, are not likely to rest contented to be political ciphers; and further, that the only thoroughly effectual means of overcoming the stubborn opposition to do justly by girls is the recognition of the political rights of women.

The Right Hon. W. E. FORSTER, M.P., in moving a resolution expressing satisfaction at the establishment of a public day school for girls in Bradford, said it was not necessary to dwell on the general advantages of female education. They all felt that girls ought to be taught as much as boys. He could only say that, if there was anybody who did not feel it, he was not going to waste his time in talking to him.

Women who are claiming political rights are often tempted to take a similar course when they happen to meet with men who do not feel that women ought to be voters as well as men. Such women feel no mental nor moral inferiority to the generality of men of their own families or whom they meet in society; they are unable to perceive any difference between men's and women's manner of feeling or sentiments on public affairs, except such as arises from individual differences of opinion and circumstances; and when they meet with a man who gravely assumes that his opinions must be respected as forming a legitimate portion of the motive power of the State, while theirs must be rejected as being only women's, and therefore not to be taken into account, they do feel tempted to think it a waste of time to attempt to argue with such crass arrogance. Happily, it is a small minority of men, and those not the most intelligent, who are so puffed up with pride of sex as to be unable to recognise the political capacity of women. Not all of those who oppose their admission to the franchise do so avowedly on this ground, and there is reasonable hope that the objection of these may be overcome, or if not, that the opposition may be overborne by the growing feeling in favour of the complete enfranchisement of the people.

Mr. FORSTER went on to say that in all classes of life there was a general feeling that the home was a poor one and not likely to be a home for the man, unless the woman in that home was taught and able to keep up with his intellectual abilities. Allusion had been made to some questions with regard to the sexes which were now exciting a great deal of attention, and which they did not want mixed up with the education of girls. They did not want to have the right of women to vote, or to be doctors, mixed up with this subject; but every one would admit, whatever

were their opinions as to the rights of women, that women had a great influence on the social condition of the community. He had recently read in the Charter of CHARLES II. that the grammar school was intended "for the better teaching, instructing, and bringing up of children and youth in grammar and other good learning and literature." He was not sure, therefore, that girls were not entitled to a little more from this foundation. If girls were to be sent to the universities—and he hoped we should yet see universities for ladies—they should go direct from such a school with as much hope of success as they might from any other place of education in England.

It is a most hopeful sign of the times to have a statesman who has been at the head of the Education Department in this country publicly advocating the rights of women to be sent to the universities; and we trust that the day is not far distant when the national educational institutions shall no longer be closed against half the nation. But Nonconformists did not obtain entrance to the national seats of learning till they became a political power, and in all probability history will repeat itself in the case of the new claimants for educational privileges and rewards.

Professor HODGSON, of Edinburgh University, said the school was the result of a great wave of agitation and opinion passing over the whole country. He hoped this movement would be dissociated from sundry others which were apt to be mixed up with it to its detriment in the public mind. He referred especially to the agitation in favour of the admission of women to universities and the movement for their admission to the franchise. Of course, if women were to be admitted to the professions and also to political life, it followed that their education should be extended and adapted accordingly; but apart from these considerations, there was the strongest possible reason why women's education should be improved and put upon the same footing of comprehensiveness and thoroughness as that of men. An error into which we were apt to fall was that we put opposite and contrary to each other the education of men and of women. We were apt to talk as if one could be neglected safely while the other was carried on successfully. So long as women were left in ignorance, so long would the education of men be drawn always downwards; and per contra, if we could suppose a state in which the education of women was exclusively pursued, the ignorance in which men were left would tend to draw women's education down. It was only by combination of the two that either could be properly exalted. This was no mere question of inferiority or superiority, equality or

inequality, of one sex or the other, but a matter of simple justice and simple right.

With all due deference to Professor HODGSON, we maintain that the wave of which he speaks bears in its forefront the movement for the admission of women to the franchise, and is carrying that movement with resistless force to certain and possibly speedy success. The political as well as the educational rights of women are no matters of superiority or inferiority, equality or inequality of one sex over the other, any more than the political and educational rights of the masses of the people are matters of superiority or inferiority of one class over another. Both are alike matters of simple justice and simple right, and these considerations have never yet appealed in vain to the conscience of the English nation.

Mr. LEATHAM has done good service to the cause of the enfranchisement of women by the prominence which he gave to the subject in his recent address to his constituents at Huddersfield. Many persons will have been thereby led to consider the question who might not otherwise have paid much attention to it, and nothing can help us more than full and free discussion. Mr. JACOB BRIGHT took up Mr. LEATHAM'S challenge in his speech on the opening of a Liberal Club at Manchester, and we commend this reply to the careful attention of all who have read the Huddersfield oration.

Mr. LEATHAM appears to think that he has need to follow the old advice to a counsel who had a weak cause—"No case, abuse the plaintiff's attorney,"—for instead of answering the arguments of the ladies, he contents himself with disparaging them and their motives, and sneering at women whom he chooses to call "girls," for "fluttering in ribbons," and presuming to answer speeches delivered in Parliament.

We believe that in the course he has taken in opposing Mr. FORSYTH'S Bill, Mr. LEATHAM grossly misrepresents his constituency, which has been remarkable for the favour and the heartiness with which it has supported the principle of giving to women who are householders and rate-payers the same political privileges as these qualifications confer on men. It has been determined to hold a meeting in the building where Mr. LEATHAM met his constituents, for the purpose of eliciting from them an expression of opinion on this question. The MAYOR OF HUDDERSFIELD has consented to preside, and the women's side of the question is likely to be well represented on the platform. It is hoped that the gathering will be a truly representative

one, and that the voice of Huddersfield may be unmistakably declared on the subject of the enfranchisement of women.

THE work for the season has begun vigorously and prosperously with several large and important meetings. Wigan and Burnley led the way. At the time of the meeting at Wigan the address of one of the members for the borough, Mr. KNOWLES, was on the walls and in the newspapers, appealing to the ladies, as well as to the gentlemen, of Wigan for their votes in his candidature for the Town Council. We think it will be difficult for Mr. KNOWLES to maintain, after thus inviting their suffrages, as a Town Councillor, that the women burgesses of Wigan are not qualified to form an opinion of him as a Member of Parliament; and we trust that, when next he comes before them to solicit their votes for the municipal election, he may be in a position to prove to them that he does not desire to reject their suffrages in a Parliamentary election.

At Burnley the meeting was so hearty and enthusiastic as to have convinced the member, if he had been present, that his constituency earnestly desire that he should recur to his former course in supporting the Bill. The resolutions were carried unanimously, with acclamation.

At Buckingham, a large and influential gathering, presided over by Mr. EGERTON HUBBARD, M.P. for this borough, affirmed the principle of the measure unanimously. The only show of opposition was a hat without any head in it, which a gentleman elevated on his walking stick and appeared to raise against the motion—thus aptly typifying the brainless character of the opposition. Other meetings were held, of which a notice appears elsewhere, and they are doubtless the precursors of an active and vigorous campaign.

WE learn from the papers that "the women employed in the ropery department of Chatham Dockyard have forwarded to the Admiralty a memorial praying for a reversal of the rule introduced a few months ago, by which they were required to commence work earlier in the morning and cease later in the evening than hitherto. No additional wages were given to them, and no notice has been taken of their petition."

The Government can afford to disregard a petition from the women employed in the dockyards, because these work-people are denied political rights, and they have no votes in any election for Chatham. The authorities would not have been likely to treat with the same contempt a petition from electors. This circumstance is an additional illustration of the need of working women for the protection of the suffrage.

WOMEN'S LABOUR IN THE BLACK COUNTRY.

THE report of Mr. Sub-Inspector BREWER, on the condition of the working women of the "nail and chain districts," has given renewed impetus to the efforts of those who, from interested motives or from mistaken benevolence, desire to restrict the freedom of adult women to labour in any career which circumstances may open before them, or force upon them. That we may not be suspected of a desire to obviate this danger by so glossing over the painful features in the condition of the women bread-winners of the black country, we will simply recapitulate the now widely-published statements made by Mr. BREWER.

"From both the nail and chain trades," says the sub-inspector, "there are strong representations against the labour of women, whether as to the numbers employed, or the size of the articles made. The women are said to take the place of fathers, as well as husbands, while the men are idle and drunken." On entering a nail-shop, in the outskirts of a large manufacturing town, Mr. BREWER was greeted with the remark, "I thought this was a free country;" and, on his inquiring what was the matter, he was met by the question—"Do you call this a free country, where women are employed in such trades as these?" Mr. BREWER replied that he had again and again discussed this question with working men around him; and he adds, "I am now continually asked whether I cannot do something to stop women's labour especially in and around Halesowen, where 'hundreds' work. The manufacture of the larger class of nails and spikes is the order of the day, and is far fitter for men's work than women's. The root of all the evil in the Black Country appears to be drunkenness; no matter whether the drinker be puddler, collier, chain or nail maker. The outcry against the colliers' and puddlers' wives working is very great; not perhaps so much from their influx into the trade, but from the fact that they work night and day, toil and slave, and for what? Not for the price that straightforward masters would give, but for any price any crafty knave of a master chooses to offer." In the meantime the husband spends his time in the public-house "training his whiffet" for some future running, on beefsteaks and the best of good fare. The nail and chain trade is not the only one, however, in which the husbands live upon the labour of their wives. A young woman, addressing Mr. BREWER, said, "I say, master, I wish you would make my man do a little

more work and me less. I married a swell, I did." To the inquiry what she meant by a swell, the reply was, "Why, when I married him in the morning he had a smart gold watch and chain, and a smart dickey; but when we came to go to bed at night I'm blessed if he had ere a shirt on, and ever since I've had to keep him by working in the brickyard, and not only to keep him, but find him money to drink." It further appears from Mr. BREWER's report that these poor women work at times when exertion is likely to be most injurious to their health, and instances the case of a girl at work in a brickyard "looking exceedingly ill," and who, to a remark of the manager, that she "did not look up to much this morning," replied, "No more would you if you had had a child during the night." It has, further, been officially stated that facts even more distressing remain behind. This we can well believe, knowing that the unreported and unnoticed cases of injury to women from over-work under critical circumstances in the course of their ordinary unpaid labour, are numerous and terrible. It is notorious that the worst midwifery cases among the poor arise from some kinds of exertion required in domestic laundry work, to which employment neither Lord SHAFTESBURY nor chivalrous trades unionists have ever been heard to object.

This, however, is but a side issue to the main question, how society may best deal with such a state of things as that now existing in the Black Country, where the men are drunken and idle, and the women, either under marital compulsion or from the pressure of want, work to the verge of exhaustion. The panacea most frequently proposed is of course, legislative restriction on the labour of women. No sooner had Mr. BREWER's report appeared than a general chorus of reprobation arose, in which it appears to us that invectives against the idleness and drunkenness of the men were less distinct than animadversions upon the neglect of domestic duties, and of the refinements of feminine existence, evidenced by the conduct of the women. Cardinal MANNING, indeed, in a speech at a recent meeting at Manchester, very properly reprobated the drunkenness of the men, which has driven the women to do men's work to support themselves and their children, but he added the following extraordinary comment on the position of the sufferers: "If a woman became a wife and a mother, the highest obligation was upon that woman to discharge her full duty to the head of the household, her husband, and of a mother to her children; and," added the Cardinal, "there was no liberty to that woman to sell her labour according to her free will to the neglect of

those prior and higher obligations." This looks as if Cardinal MANNING thought poor women took work, especially nice light work, such as hammering iron, because they are bored at home, and not at all because they will starve if they do not. It is scarcely necessary to discuss this view of the matter, and we pass on to consider the more plausible arguments of Lord SHAFTESBURY and the philanthropists in favour of the great restriction, if not prohibition, of the labour of married women.

These gentlemen, like the Cardinal, altogether overlook the fact that women whose husbands will not work must earn money for themselves, or starve, or go to the workhouse (a very serious alternative for the active and capable); and they base their endeavours to put a stop to women's work on the ground that it is exacted from the wife by the idle and drunken husband in much the same manner and by the same means as a slaveholder wrings his labour from the slave. They, therefore, propose to apply the same principle of protection to the poor married woman's capital, her labour, that is now applied to the capital in money of women having a marriage settlement, and restrict her power of disposing of it, lest her husband should induce or compel her to give it to him. They would remain in the old vicious circle, legislating for women as for beings incapable of resistance, and by depriving them of the free disposal of their time, strength, and skill, increase that material dependence of women upon men which perpetuates the existence of marital tyranny.

The true remedy for such a state of things as that revealed in Mr. BREWER's report, lies not in punishing women for maintaining themselves, but in compelling men to fulfil their obligations to maintain their wives and families. Wives and legitimate children should have a direct claim on their husbands and fathers to maintenance, analogous to that which the law allows to illegitimate children. Magistrates should be empowered to make an order upon a man to pay a sum to his wife, in proportion to the amount of his wages, if it shall appear after due inquiry that he neglects to provide for the wants of his family. There appears to be no difference in principle between such a power and that which magistrates exercise in granting protection orders to deserted wives, or in making orders upon men for the support of their illegitimate children. There is no reason to suppose that, if invested with such powers, magistrates would use them with undue harshness towards men, while they would afford to wives and families an efficient safeguard against the cruel wrong of seeing the wages of

the "breadwinner" absorbed by the public house. Till remedial measures of this kind have been obtained, interference with the labour of women simply deprives them of their only chance of preserving the least pretence to personal freedom, the slightest alleviation to their wretched lot, and delivers them bound and helpless into the hands of those who have already proved themselves unfit to take charge of anything better than a bull-terrier.

There are, among many threatening indications of the course likely to be pursued, some signs that justice, and not sentimental benevolence, may be found to prevail. *The Pall Mall Gazette*, in a recent article on Mr. BREWER's report, expresses its objections to legislative restrictions of women's labour with so much fairness and power, that we can do no better than quote them in support of our own plea for non-interference:—

"Nothing short of an absolute prohibition of female labour in these trades," says this journal, "would in fact meet the complaints of which Mr. BREWER was the recipient, and the injustice of such a proceeding would be manifest. A sub-inspector of factories naturally hears only the complaints of the women who do not wish to work in these trades; he hears nothing of those who do. But of course there must be many such. All the women engaged in the nail and chain trade, or in the brickyards, are not married to 'swells' with smart 'dickeys' and no shirts; and it is impossible to distinguish in legislation between those women who are free agents and those who work under compulsion, even if we were to admit, which we are not prepared to do, that the kind of 'compulsion' which is applied to some of them is of such a nature as to justify legislative interference. Even were this admission made, the fact that protection of one class of women would necessarily involve the infliction of hardship on another must be justly held fatal to any proposal that Parliament should attempt to extend such protection."

A. D.

WE beg to call the attention of our friends to the announcement of the Annual Meeting of the Manchester National Society for Women's Suffrage, which will be held in the Town Hall, Manchester, on Wednesday, the tenth instant. Mr. JACOB BRIGHT will preside, and Mr. FORSYTH, M.P., has promised to attend. We trust that a large gathering of friends of this cause will rally round these leaders, and that the result of the meeting will be to materially strengthen the Society for their work in preparation for the next Parliamentary campaign.

Mr. LEATHAM, M.P., ON THE EXTENSION OF
THE FRANCHISE.

On October 5th, Mr. Leatham met his constituents at Huddersfield, and referred in the course of his address to the two great questions of the extension of the franchise to agricultural labourers and to women householders in the following terms:—"Referring to the question of the extension of the franchise in the counties, Mr. Leatham said it was required by a large, industrious, and competent class, which, unlike any other class in the community, was neither directly nor indirectly represented, and whose interests, therefore, suffered, to the common injury of all. We had bills, for example, for the improvement of the working-class dwellings in towns. Why had we no bills for the improvement of cottages in the country? Simply because everybody felt that such an enterprise would be Quixotic until it had something stronger than philanthropy behind it. Give these men votes, and we should see an instantaneous change. The power which every enfranchised class possessed would soon compel us to do that which we refused to do for the love of God and man, and we would wipe out at last that disgrace to our social system, the physical and moral degradation of rural England. It served to show how illogical was the female mind that this very argument had been seized upon by some women in their advocacy of female suffrage. In no analogous sense could it be contended that women were an unrepresented class. For practical purposes they were already better represented by their sons and fathers, and brothers and sweethearts—if they had any—than they would be by themselves—"no, no"—for the only class which they proposed to enfranchise was the very class which was the least representative of the sex. (Laughter and cheers.) It was laughable to hear the questions which we were told could never be adequately discussed until unwedded women helped to send members to Parliament. We were asked to remodel our whole electoral system upon a plan which the experience of no nation in the world sanctioned on account of the interest which unmarried women, let them bear in mind, were supposed to feel in questions which ought never to be so much as mentioned in their hearing. (Hear, hear.) Equally irrelevant was the plea that because some women owned property and paid rates therefore they ought to have the suffrage. Neither the payment of rates nor the ownership of property constituted the true title to the suffrage in men, but the political fitness for which the payment of rates and the ownership of property had been selected as a rough and ready test. (Hear, hear.) Nobody doubted the political fitness of men as a class, but the political fitness of women as a class was doubted. (No, no, hear, hear, and cheers.) The experience of all ages, sanctioned by revelation, had assigned a distinct sphere to man and woman, a sphere which had been marked out for them by nature itself—to the man the stern and rugged labours of the camp and the forum, to the woman the more modest, but, if they were rightly performed, not less noble obligations of the home. ("Hear, hear," and cheers.) It would be the worst possible economy for one sex to invade the province of the other. Least of all must the intrusion come from that portion of the other sex which for some cause had failed to be womanly—(laughter)—which, because it had escaped the sorrows and responsibilities and the joy and crown of womanhood—the parentage of children—assumed that it had a right to be considered manly, and to discharge the functions of man. Now when an agitation was essentially and absolutely ridiculous, we were pretty sure to have some manifestation of it which would bring its absurdity home to the comprehension of everyone. This movement was no exception to the rule. A full debate had scarcely taken place in Parliament, when year after year a platform was solemnly erected in St. James's Hall, and girls

fluttering in ribbons and ladies who had husbands in Parliament proceeded to answer in speeches written and read off, the arguments which their husbands could not answer in the House."

The following letter appeared next day in the *Manchester Examiner and Times*:—

MR. LEATHAM ON THE CLAIMS OF WOMEN.

To the Editor of the *Examiner and Times*.

Sir,—Mr. Leatham, when assailing yesterday the supporters of the claims of women to political enfranchisement, appears, in his anxiety to say smart things about unmarried women, to have forgotten what England owes to many of the class he so much despises. It is not for the nation which has profited so much by the womanly tenderness of heart as well as by the administrative wisdom of a Florence Nightingale, to sneer down its unmarried women as "unwomanly," because they desire a larger "sphere" of work than the "home" which possibly they have not, till they can earn the means of making it for themselves. But Mr. Leatham seems also to have forgotten that the operation of Mr. Forsyth's Bill is not, and cannot be, restricted to the case of women who have never been married.

The census of 1871 shows us, in England and Wales, in addition to 1,670,518 spinsters of 20 years of age and upwards, 879,173 widows of the same ages; and it is more than probable, under conditions of household suffrage, that a larger proportion of the latter than of the former would possess the needful qualification. Such women, at all events, must be admitted to possess claims which ought to protect them from insult, and experience which might not be without value in the settlement of some vexed questions of domestic and social legislation. The "experience of ages" has shown women under a great variety of aspects, and the experience of England to-day shows us 3,453,671 women (exclusive of wives), of 15 and upwards, engaged in specific occupations and earning wages; and out of about four millions of wives, nearly one million and a half engaged in duties "other than domestic." The pretty fancy picture of woman's sphere, the home, is sadly out of place by the side of these facts, and by the side of the still blacker picture (given in the last report of the inspectors of factories) of "the worst country God ever made," where "the women do all the work and the men do nothing." It is inconceivable that the intervention of women in politics should make any woman more "unwomanly" than so much intolerable and ill-paid drudgery makes great numbers of them now, whilst it is more than probable that the intelligence of women, brought to bear upon the domestic and social condition of their own sex, as affected by legislation, may show some much-vaunted masculine wisdom to have been based upon "the worst possible economy." I am, sir, your faithful servant,

A WOMAN.

October 6.

SPEECH OF MR. JACOB BRIGHT IN REPLY TO
MR. LEATHAM.

At a public meeting held in the Chorlton Town Hall, Manchester, to celebrate the opening of a new Liberal Club, Mr. Jacob Bright opened his speech as follows:—

Mr. Jacob Bright, in supporting the resolution, said of the unsettled questions which Parliament had yet to deal with, that which concerned the representation of the people would always command attention at a meeting like that. (Hear, hear.) At present there were two claims for parliamentary representation persistently urged upon the attention of the public—one from men who were householders in counties, and the other from women who were householders in boroughs and counties. Both

these movements were making steady progress—(hear, hear), but from his experience of the political past he should say it was not unlikely that both might have to go through periods of discouragement before their final accomplishment. The first of these claims had the advantage of being accepted, not in a very earnest way, as it seemed to him, by the Liberal party. The second was not yet accepted by the Liberal party, and it had to rely upon its own inherent justice and necessity; but in a country where the people as a whole sought to do justice, and where discussion was free, the future of that question was by no means unfavourable. The Radical member for Huddersfield was an ardent opponent of this question. In the last debate in the House of Commons he employed all his zeal and all his ability to damage this cause; not, however, with any great success, seeing that the adverse majority was considerably less than it had been before. On that occasion Mr. Leatham, apparently in a spirit of panic, associated himself with a number of men, most of whom appeared to have handles to their names, and established a curious association within the walls of Parliament to "maintain the integrity of the franchise." He was not sure what that language meant, but he supposed the men who had entered this new order of chivalry believed that if a woman obtained a vote, whatever her character, whatever her position, whatever her attainments, or even her services to the country, such an event would degrade the franchise. He had been told on rather good authority that these men met with so much ridicule, owing to the unprecedented step they took, that most of them would now be glad if they had no connection with this House of Commons association. Mr. Leatham's next course was to come to Huddersfield and deliver an interesting speech on important personages and important subjects, where he again expended some thought, but, he thought, more feeling, upon this question of the enfranchisement of women. If those engaged in this movement were as feeble and as incapable as he described them, they needed a great deal of knocking down. He observed that Mr. Leatham appealed to Revelation against them. He had often noticed that when men had failed in argument they appealed to Revelation. (Laughter.) He wondered what Mr. Leatham would say of that part of Revelation which told us of the time when Deborah was a judge in Israel, having all the civil and military power of the State in her single hand. (Hear.) He did not remember that either Moses or the prophets or the apostles had anything to say for our guidance as to who should or should not enjoy the privilege of representative institutions. He believed the idea was not known to them. But was it not true that the chief of the apostles laid down a somewhat stringent law in regard to the public appearance of women in the Church? And yet Mr. Leatham was a devout member of a religious body where women entered the pulpit on the same terms as men. (Cheers.) This was only an instance of the common practice of referring to the Bible not to keep ourselves in order but our neighbours. (Laughter and cheers.) He had also noticed that the worse a cause, the more ungenerous and unjust, the more hostile it was to the interests of humanity, the more had it a tendency to appeal to Revelation. The Holy Alliance claimed to be supported by every religious sanction. Jefferson Davis and his friends used to appeal to the Bible; and he thought within the last twelve months he had seen an appeal to Revelation from the Southern counties in support of the desire to keep the agricultural labourer in the position in which God had placed him—that was on 10s. a week so long as he could work, and in the poorhouse afterwards! (Cheers.) Whilst Mr. Leatham was denouncing the Admiralty circular in regard to fugitive slaves, and whilst he was talking most pathetically about the unrepresented condition of the agricultural labourer, he was himself—it might

be unconsciously—acting the part of a despot, for no man could deny to human beings who were earnestly seeking it some controlling power over the laws they were obliged to obey except by an act of pure despotism. If politicians desired to go to Revelation for light, he could have no objection, and there was one text which he would recommend to the consideration of Radical members of Parliament: "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them." In obedience to this divine precept, so long as there was a possibility of evil laws, and of men and women suffering from them, he would grant, what we ourselves would never surrender, viz., a constitutional means of defence; and the weaker the claimants for our protection the more willingly would he give them all the help it was in his power to bestow. (Cheers.)

PUBLIC MEETINGS.

WIGAN.

A public meeting, in support of Mr. Forsyth's Bill for conferring the Parliamentary suffrage upon women householders, was held in the Public Hall, King-street, Wigan, on October 18th. The hall was crowded, and among the audience was a large number of ladies. The MAYOR (Mr. J. Burrows) presided, and there were also on the platform Miss Becker, Miss Beedy, M.A., Miss Stuart, the Rev. P. Hains, the Rev. R. Lambert, and Messrs. W. Melling, W. Pickard, and J. Fogg.

The MAYOR said in accepting the post of chairman, he did so as the chief magistrate of the borough; and he hoped all present would give the ladies on the platform that attentive hearing which they deserved, although he expressed no opinion himself on the subject.

Mr. WM. PICKARD moved the first resolution, which was seconded by the Rev. R. LAMBERT.

Miss STUART, who was cordially received, supported the motion. She said that the principle of the resolution was one which, when rightly comprehended, could not fail to claim the sanction of every unprejudiced mind. The question of the enfranchisement of women, like most great questions, might be viewed from many sides, and in many aspects; but taking it on its narrowest ground—the ground of common justice—the position appeared to her to be indisputable. Women asked for the franchise as a privilege attached to a certain condition of life for which they possessed all the qualifications required of male voters. Qualifications clearly lay in the payment of taxes and the possession of sound mind. Therefore, so long as taxes were paid, all objections concerning sex were beside the mark; and so long as ordinary sanity remained, all cavil concerning the relative intelligence of the sexes was superfluous. Nor was the privilege of voting a mere empty honour. It meant such a power over a member of Parliament as should oblige him to consider the interests of the voter, whose interests were thus represented at the fountain head of all law—the Parliament of Great Britain. It surely could not be urged that women had not an equal need for protection with men—that their rights were not equally liable to invasion with those of men. It was all very well to say that every woman had her interests represented by some man; but, like many very promising statements, it had a weak point. It was not true. There were upwards of 2,000,000 women in this country entirely dependent on their own exertions, and the disadvantages under which they laboured were too obvious to be denied. In the first place they laboured under the disadvantage of improper and insufficient education; they were excluded from most of the honourable and lucrative trades and professions; and they

were generally expected to perform the same amount of work as men for about half the wages. (Laughter, and "hear, hear.") The injustice of the property and marriage laws was too generally admitted to require any remark from her. She did not mean to represent that villainous animal man as trampling on his unfortunate victim—woman. She meant to say that men alone possessed the power of making law, and they had followed the prominent principle of human nature in taking great care of themselves. Laws for the advantage of men were many and frequent, but laws for the advantage of women were, like angel's visits, few and far between. The wrongs of women might be summed up in one word. Their interests were nowhere represented. Now, when it was demonstrated that women had all the qualifications required of male voters, and were suffering from the lack of votes, it was both unreasonable and unjust in people to object to their enfranchisement on the ground that there were evils that might result from conferring the franchise on them. Yet this system of reasoning was very common among those opposed to their movement. One gentleman had not long since objected to the enfranchisement of women on the ground that the bias of women was opposed to law and liberty. That gentleman must have been misled, for the criminal statistics of the country put beyond all doubt the fact that women were more law-abiding than men. (Hear, hear.) They were next informed that women were too illogical, too sentimental, and too emotional to be entrusted with votes. She also heard members of Parliament gravely affirming that if women got votes men would cease to be polite to them; but she certainly could not see the logic of insulting a voter. (Cheers.) There was yet a more serious reason advanced against the enfranchisement of women. Some members of Parliament were tormented with the fear that it would result in women ceasing to respect them. They would become so absorbed in public matters, so puffed up with power and privilege, that they would cut the acquaintance of men altogether, so that comfortable homes and darned stockings should be memories of the past, and marriage an institution of the dark ages. (Laughter.) The gentlemen who anticipated such horrors must have a very limited amount of confidence in their own attractions. (Renewed laughter.) She was very glad to hear them laugh at the folly of their opponents, but besought them to remember that the cause they were pleading was no laughing matter. They were asking for the just and consistent admission of principles already acknowledged to belong fundamentally to the British constitution—the principle that taxation and representation are inseparably united, and that those who pay shall rule. This principle had been successfully contended for since the dawn of liberty in Great Britain. Reform bill had followed reform bill, until now no man need remain long unrepresented. But a greater reform was required. The former extensions of the franchise only concerned particular classes of men. The proposed extension concerned every female ratepayer in the land, and through her every woman. She would go further, and say it concerned every individual in the land. The lives of men and women were so inseparably knit together that whatever tended to the social, political, and intellectual degradation of the one sex must be injurious to the other. (Hear, hear.) On this ground she declared that the exclusion of women from participation in the government of their country as free and independent voters was a political blunder; and on this ground she called on her hearers to approve their principle, and affirm to women the glorious privilege of being independent. (Cheers.)

Miss BEEDY also supported the motion, which was carried almost unanimously.

Mr. MELLING moved the adoption of petition and memorials,

which was seconded by Miss BECKER and carried unanimously.

The Rev. P. HAINS, in proposing a vote of thanks to the ladies, said some people objected to give the franchise to women because they were too sentimental, but his experience of women was that they were much quicker in perception than were men. As a school manager he had noticed this in regard to the female pupil teachers. He believed there was no clergyman in Wigan who performed more marriages than he did, and he had frequently noticed that the women knew far more about the affair than the men. (Laughter.) He had heard the men say, instead of to have and to hold from this day forward, "to have and to hold from this day fortnit"—(laughter)—and he had seen the stupid lout put the ring on his own thumb until the woman put him right by a nudge with her elbow. (Renewed laughter.) Then, as regarded the universities, he said one of the ladies on the platform was a Master of Arts, and if ladies could carry off degrees from the seats of learning he did not see what was to prevent them being entrusted with the franchise. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) As to women being improperly influenced he said he was sure they would not be under the influence of beer, and, as they knew, not a few of the present voters were influenced by this means. (Hear, hear.) In the election of 1867 35 women were by some means or other put upon the register of South-west Lancashire, and all of them actually voted. In concluding, the speaker said the ladies were sure to triumph in the end, for they thoroughly believed in the cause they advocated, and had faith in its ultimate success, and faith was the victory that overcometh the world. Mr. J. Fogg seconded the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

Miss BECKER, in acknowledging the vote of thanks, said the ladies did believe in their cause, and she hoped all present would believe in it too. She proposed a hearty vote of thanks to the Mayor for presiding. Miss STUART seconded the motion, which was agreed to.—Abridged from the *Wigan Observer*.

BURNLEY.

On October 19th, a public meeting was held in the Mechanics' Institution, Burnley. Although rain poured in torrents uninterruptedly throughout the evening, there was a large and highly respectable audience, including a good representation of ladies. Miss Becker, Miss Beedy, M.A., and Miss Stuart were present as a deputation from the National Society for Women's Suffrage. The meeting was presided over by Alderman J. H. Scott, J.P., and there were also on the platform J. Roberts, Esq., J.P., Councillor Uttley, J.P., Councillor Whittaker, Dr. Bramwell, Dr. Spencer Hall, Revs. J. Stroyan and J. Reid, and Dr. Dean. On entering the room the ladies and gentlemen were heartily cheered.

The CHAIRMAN, in opening the meeting, said: It is very creditable, I think, to the town of Burnley to have so large an audience on such a stormy night as we have here. (Hear, hear.) I may just say, by way of reminding you, that this meeting is convened for the purpose of bringing the question of women's suffrage prominently and plainly before the public of Burnley. It is hoped that a thorough explanation and discussion of the question will lead to a fair appreciation of its merits, and I trust, myself, with increased interest in favour of it in this borough of ours.

The Rev. J. STROYAN moved the first resolution, and said the exclusion of any class from representation is injurious to that class. Ladies vote for town councillors, and you see placards on the walls, addressed, "Ladies and gentlemen." Why should you have a municipal and not a Parliamentary vote? I cannot see, for one, the difference between the two; it may be my obtuseness, but I must say that I have not yet seen the distinction between the two; and since the last debate

in Parliament I have very carefully read speeches on the subject, and the result has been that I am more than ever convinced that the ladies have justice on their side. So far from the arguments raised against women's suffrage convincing me, they have had the very opposite effect.

Dr. BRUMWELL seconded and Miss BEEDY supported the motion. Miss STUART, in supporting the resolution, said that the first question that might occur to many of them who had not considered the matter would be, "Why should women have the franchise?" Now, in a country where taxation was admittedly the basis of representation, it appeared to her that she was entitled to answer that question in a fashion that seemed to her to be very popular among her countrymen north of the Tweed, and that was by asking another question—"Why should women not have the franchise?" (Hear, hear.) Women were sometimes called the illogical sex, and they certainly did not comprehend the logic of their position. (Laughter.) She herself held property in the County of Fife. She was a peaceful subject. (Laughter.) She paid taxes, and she was not aware that her sanity had ever been called into question, yet she found herself laden with burdens and disabilities the logic of which she was afraid she would never comprehend. It was no answer to her to say that women were inferior to men. She did not see the necessity of arguing about the comparative talent of the sexes, for in reality that had nothing to do with the question. The franchise of Great Britain had nothing to do with it—(laughter)—but had simply to do with the holding of property and the paying of taxes; and certainly, of all other, the intellectual basis would be the most impracticable. The duties of a revising barrister who had to decide by the comparative wit of persons as to whether they were entitled to be on the register would be an onerous and invidious one. (Laughter.) The resolution was put, and carried unanimously.

Councillor UTTLEY then moved the adoption of memorials, which Mr. ROBERTS seconded.

Miss BECKER, who, on rising, was received with loud applause, said it passed her comprehension how any man who called himself Radical could deliberately go in opposition to the measure. She believed that by so doing he placed himself in the most false position that a politician could occupy. It had been said that what Lancashire thought to-day would become law to-morrow. The majority of the Lancashire members were in favour of the movement; and she would leave it in their hands to take care that Burnley especially should count one of that majority in this struggle for right and justice. (Applause.) The resolution was carried unanimously.

Dr. DEANE moved a vote of thanks to the ladies, which was seconded by Councillor WHITTAKER, and supported by Dr. SPENCER T. HALL, the Rev. JNO. REID, and carried with acclamation.

BUCKINGHAM.

On October 21st, a public meeting was held in the Town Hall, Buckingham, to discuss the question of extending the parliamentary franchise to women householders. A deputation from the National Women's Suffrage Society—consisting of Miss Becker, Miss Lillias Ashworth, and Miss Beedy—attended, and the chair was taken by Mr. Egerton Hubbard, the member for the borough.

Mr. HUBBARD, in opening the proceedings, said he had readily accepted the invitation of some of the ladies connected with the constituency which he had the honour of representing to preside at the present meeting, which had been called for the purpose of discussing the subject of women's suffrage. The discussion would be opened by the ladies on the platform, and if they only spoke as eloquently and gracefully as one of them did to him a few days ago he was sure the ladies of Bucking-

ham would feel that they were quite right in placing their cause in the hands of their champions. (Cheers.) This was no question of the rights of women apart from those of men. One of the greatest influences in England was that possessed by women in domestic life, and he was quite sure that no speaker on the present occasion need be afraid of freely expressing his opinions whether he was in favour of women having a vote or entertained a contrary opinion. (Hear, hear.) He was quite sure that the object every one present had in view was to promote and increase the happiness of women. (Cheers.) Before calling upon Miss Beedy to move the first resolution he wished to read letters from some distinguished persons who regretted their inability to be present. The first was from Lady Anna Gore Langton, in which she said, "when the claim of properly-qualified women to be admitted to the suffrage is dispassionately considered by good men I am sure they must see the justice of the demand. A great deal of ridicule is brought to bear against the cause, but very little reason, and I believe in its success eventually." (Cheers.) Sir R. Harvey, one of the members for the county, said that "absence from England will prevent me from having the honour of attending the meeting. I regret that I shall not have the opportunity of listening to the discussion, and hearing the expression of opinion of many who are most interested in the question, the general principle of which I assure you meets my approval."

Miss BEEDY, M.A., moved the first resolution, which was seconded by Miss LILLIAS ASHWORTH, in an amusing address, and was then put and carried unanimously.

Mr. D'ARCY moved the adoption of a petition to both Houses of Parliament, to be signed by the Mayor on behalf of the meeting, and that a memorial be presented to Mr. Hubbard, Mr. Disraeli, Sir H. Harvey, and Mr. Lambert; requesting them to give their support to the Bill for Removing the Disabilities of Women. (Cheers.)

Mr. HOLMES seconded the motion.

The resolution was then put and unanimously adopted, and on the motion of Miss BEEDY, seconded by Miss ASHWORTH, a vote of thanks was given to the Chairman, a brief acknowledgment of which closed the proceedings.

WALLINGFORD.

A public meeting was held in the Town Hall, Wallingford, on October 22nd, presided over by the Mayor, T. Wells, Esq. The following letter was read from Edward Wells, Esq., M.P.: "Wallingford, October 14th, 1875.—Mr. Wells presents his compliments to Miss Beedy, and is sorry that a longer standing engagement prevents him attending the meeting on the 22nd, at the Wallingford Town Hall. Mr. Wells is favourable to the cause so far as this, that property should be represented whether held by men or women." The meeting was addressed by Dr. Barrett, Rev. W. Brooks, J. Hawkins, Esq., J.P., and other local gentlemen. Miss Beedy and Miss Lillias Ashworth attended as a deputation from the National Society for Women's Suffrage. Resolutions were unanimously adopted by the meeting in support of the women's disabilities Bill.

HENDON, MIDDLESEX.

On October 18th a meeting was held in the Hendon Institution, when Miss Fenwick Miller delivered a lecture. J. Campbell, Esq., J.P., occupied the chair, and the meeting was also addressed by Miss Babb and Mr. Charles Hancock. Mr. Bakewell opposed the movement, and after a reply from Miss Miller, votes of thanks concluded the proceedings.

Miss Craigen addressed a meeting on October 2nd, in the Temperance Hall, Fore-street, DEVONPORT, Mr. S. G. Pyke in the chair; on October 4, in the Temperance Hall, EXMOUTH,

Mr. James Gregg, chairman; and on October 8, in the Town Hall, BIDEFORD, chairman Mr. Z. Reynolds. Petitions were adopted at all the meetings.

HOW WOMEN ARE REPRESENTED IN THE BLACK COUNTRY.

Mr. Baker, Inspector of Factories, in his report on the half-year ending with April, 1875, gives extracts from a remarkable report made to him by Mr. Sub-Inspector Brewer, on the nail and chain district of the "Black Country." Mr. Brewer says: "From both the nail and chain trades there are strong representations made against the labour of women, whether as to the numbers employed or the size of the articles made. The women are said to take the place of fathers as well as of husbands, while the men are idle and drunken. So difficult, too, are some of those shops to find that the same place may be passed many times, and only be discovered at last by the merest accident. . . . 'I thought this was a free country,' was a remark which greeted me as I entered a nail shop in the outskirts of a large manufacturing town. I inquired what was the matter now, and was answered, 'Do you call this a free country where women are employed in such trades as these are here?' I replied I had again and again discussed this question with working men around me, and I am now continually asked whether I cannot do something to stop women's labour, especially in and around Halesowen, where 'hundreds' work (making the large nails or spikes) is the order of the day, and is far fitter for men's work than women's. The root of all the evil in the Black Country appears to be drunkenness, no matter whether the drinker be puddler, collier, chain or nail maker. The outcry against the colliers' and puddlers' wives working is very great; not, perhaps, so much from their influx into the trade, but from the fact that they work night and day, and toil and slave—and for what? Not for the price that straightforward masters would give, but for any price any crafty knave of a master chooses to offer. These people work and do not stand out for 'tommy' and 'beer' so long as they can get something to satisfy their half-starving families; while the ought-to-be bread winner is luxuriating in some publichouse at his ease in 'training his whiffet' for some future running, on beefsteaks and the best of good fare. Day by day I am more and more convinced that this woman's labour is the bane of this place. Nor do I confine this remark to the nail and chain trade alone. It was only the other day that a young woman, addressing me, said, 'I say, master, I wish you would make my man do a little more work and me less. I married a swell, I did.' On my inquiring what she meant by a swell, she replied, 'Why, when I married him in the morning he had a smart gold watch and chain and a smart dickey; but when we came to go to bed at night I'm blessed if he had e'er a shirt on, and ever since I've had to keep him by working in the brickyard, and not only keep him, but find him money to drink.' Nor is this state of things confined to the Black Country. At Bromsgrove I heard also of the growing custom of idle, lazy young lads looking out for skilled industrious wives in order to obtain an easy life. Things go on smoothly for a time, but then come children, and perhaps sickness, and the idle hand of the legitimate bread-winner has lost its craft, or a course of drunkenness has so debilitated him that he can no longer stand the fatigue and heat. While the mother toils and slaves, the children are left uncared for to wander shoeless and in rags, till they are old enough to blow the bellows for their father at a miserable pittance per week—to be kicked and cuffed, hear filthy, indecent, and blasphemous language, and are then sent into the shop amid men degraded by drink and gambling, in time to follow the same course. Take, again, the instance of a collier's wife in this Black

Country who works at chain making about ten hours a day, for which she is paid 8s., though if she had taken her work to an honest master she might have had 12s. Out of this, before she can take any for herself, she has probably to pay for nursing her baby while she works, 2s. a week for her breeses—i.e., firing for her nail making, and 1s. for the hire of her stall, leaving her half a crown for her subsistence. It is true, this may not be the same in every case, but in far too many it is. My experience is that the chief encouragers of such labour as this are the middlemen, the foggers, and the drunkards." It is explained that "foggers," "middlemen," and "factors" are synonymous terms for a class of men who get a living by buying nails at a somewhat cheaper rate from the working nailer, and selling them at an advance to the large masters. To these "foggers" the improvident hasten, who live from hand to mouth. The fogger gets the advantage of all little odd quantities, as, for instance, a nailer who takes in 18oz. of iron would only get paid for the pound. Foggers are supposed to be greatly mixed up with truck. Mr. Brewer goes on:—"These 'middlemen' are a great curse to the trade, for to such the poor drunkard flies who cannot carry on from week's end to week's end, to receive the wages of a few hours labour, and, of course, at reduced prices. The woman with a drunken husband is much in the same plight. Lots of these middlemen keep public-houses and 'tommy' shops, and carry on a system of 'truck.' Thus, if a workman would decline to spend his money at his employer's house, he gets no more work, and, therefore, cannot refuse; drink they must have, and drink they will have, whether they starve their families or not. It is rare to find many men at work on the first two days of the week. The sanitary condition of the shops is often bad. Women certainly work often in an advanced state of pregnancy, but then in the chain shops most of it is hand work and no 'oliver' (i.e., not work with a heavy instrument for welding links together). Not many days since a tale was related to me by an ironmaster of what happened in a brickyard near Bilston a short time back. The manager noted a girl carrying clay looking exceedingly ill. Thinking she had been drinking over night, he exclaimed, 'Why, Clara, you don't look up to much this morning?' 'No more would you,' was the retort, 'if you had had a child during the night.'" Mr. Baker acknowledges that this report of Mr. Brewer's is "sensational," adding, however—"But I have not introduced a title of what he and other writers have said of this Black Country. In a report of this kind, or any kind, it is indescribable, and much must necessarily be omitted. But I believe from what I have myself seen, all that I have written is true, and I am afraid that all I should have written is true also. And the remedy? That I respectfully leave to the Royal Commissioners, before whom I have laid Mr. Brewer's Report." Mr. Baker calls attention to one possible result—namely, that as women are often obliged to use the "olivers" to weld their chain links, &c., weakly work or occasionally bad iron may be introduced in the fabrication of cable chains, on the safe holding of which many lives may depend in rough weather at sea; and that, at all events, testing by a Government official is desirable before they are trusted for such purposes.—*Times*.

DISTRAINT FOR QUEEN'S TAXES.

On October 12th a distraint for Queen's Taxes was levied on the goods of Miss Hall, of Orange Hill, near Edgeware. This lady, who is a warm supporter of women's suffrage, has for several years allowed her plate to be seized and sold, considering this to be the strongest practical protest she can make against "taxation without representation."

SOCIAL SCIENCE CONGRESS AT BRIGHTON.

PAPERS BY LADIES.

On Monday, October 11th, a paper was read in the Education Section by Miss Shirreff, on the question "Is a fair proportion of the endowments of the country made applicable to female education?" She pointed out that according to the return made by the Schools Inquiry Commissioners, "the proportion of the endowments for education which had fallen to the share of girls was something under £3,000 a year, as against £277,000, given to the boys." We have a typical instance in Christ's Hospital, the founder of which so expressly included both sexes that the girls could not be altogether left out, but which was found by the Schools Inquiry Commissioners to provide for 1,100 boys and 17 girls. Also that the girls receive a lower grade of education.

No secondary schools taking rank with the grammar schools or public schools for boys have ever opened the advantage of a higher cultivation to the sisters of those boys, the mothers of a future generation of scholars. When the National Union for the Improvement of Women's Education was formed about three years ago, the committee soon came to the conclusion that it would be in vain to depend for any effectual assistance on public resources. The result of the deliberation was to make them resolved on the great novelty of founding large public day schools for girls, open to all sects and to all ranks above those provided for by the Elementary Education Act, and to raise the necessary fund, the Girls' Public Day School Company (Limited) with a nominal capital of £12,000, (which this year has been raised to £60,000,) was constituted in 1872. The outline of the scheme and a general programme of studies for the schools having been carefully prepared, was submitted by desire of Her Royal Highness Princess Louise, President of the National Union, to a special committee formed of men known for their study of educational questions, and returned substantially unaltered. A rule has since been laid down that no steps should be taken for the establishment in any school till 400 shares had been taken up in the locality making the application, and the money, £800, paid in to the company's account. The successful operation of this rule has enabled the company to open schools, in addition to those in Chelsea and Notting Hill, in Croydon, Norwich, Clapham, and Hackney, and to make arrangements for others in St. John's Wood, Oxford, Nottingham, and Bath. Thus by next January, three years from the opening of the first public day school for girls, ten such schools will be at work. The crowning difficulty is that of finding teachers, and here we are brought back to the terrible injustice done to women in the matter of educational endowments. Had these been shared by both sexes, we should have found women as well as men fully instructed to impart instruction in their turn. Society, blind and unjust in so many of its judgments, has believed it was advantageous to educate women to feebleness, feebleness in mental attainments, because helpless ignorance seemed graceful feebleness of will, because such helplessness seemed convenient. Those who should have worked hand in hand with men in every great purpose of national life, were dwarfed and crippled to lifelong childhood. Earnest social reforms lingered for want of the resolute and well-directed influence of women. Education remained half lifeless in the hands of professors and theorists, because mothers remained unfit for their nobler office of maturing the germ of every quality that shall make the man great or useful in his generation. She concluded by saying that the undertaking of the Girls' Public Day School Company is directed towards remedying this long-standing wrong, is its claim to public sympathy.

Lord Aberdare said he wished the address of Mrs. Shirreff

could be read all over England, and he especially wished that trustees would read and ponder it as far as their understandings enabled them to do; for he was quite sure many of them were unaware of the mischief they were doing by withholding a just share of the endowments from ladies. Mr. Merrifield read a paper on the same subject, and the discussion was continued by Miss E. A. Manning, Mrs. Wm. Grey, Rev. Brooke Lambert, and others.

In the evening a public meeting was held, under the presidency of Lord Aberdare, when resolutions affirming the principle of the national importance of giving to women a sound and systematic education, and recommending the formation of a committee to establish a public school in Brighton, were supported by the Hon. G. Brodrick, Sir G. Campbell, M.P., Dr. J. H. Gladstone, Mrs. Wm. Grey, Dr. Hannah, Vicar of Brighton, and Mr. Merrifield, and agreed to.

On Tuesday, October 12, the education department met, under the presidency of Sir Charles Reed, when a paper on moral teaching in schools was read by Miss E. A. Manning. On Wednesday, October 13, in a sub-section of the department of economy and trade, Miss Anna Swanwick read a paper on the opening of museums, art galleries, libraries, aquariums, and gardens on Sundays. Mrs. Sheldon Amos read a paper by Mrs. Elmy, in the jurisprudence section, respecting the property of married women. Mrs. Hayercraft, Mrs. Lewis, and other ladies took part in the various discussions.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

Contributions to the funds of the Central Committee of the National Society for Women's Suffrage, 64, Berners Street, London, W., from August 21st to October 20th, 1875.

	£	s.	d.
Mrs. Jacob Bright	26	8	0
Mr. Ashurst	5	0	0
Honourable E. R. Canning	2	0	0
Mr. A. Trevelyan	2	0	0
Mr. Edwin Hill	1	1	0
Mr. Armstrong (Killylea)	1	0	0
Mrs. Fisher	0	10	6
Miss Scott	0	10	0
Sir R. K. Wilson, Bart.	0	10	0
Miss Apps	0	5	0
Miss Dunbar	0	5	0
A Friend (Wallingford)	0	5	0
Mr. Golds	0	5	0
Mr. Harris	0	2	6
Mr. Blair	0	2	0
Miss Rae	0	1	0
Mrs. Wright	0	1	0
	£40	6	0

ALFRED W. BENNETT, Treasurer.

WEST MIDDLESEX BRANCH OF THE NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS RECEIVED FROM OCTOBER, 1874, TO OCTOBER, 1875.

	£	s.	d.
Mrs. Hargreaves	5	0	0
Mr. and Mrs. Pennington	5	0	0
Miss Hall	3	3	0
Mr. Sims	2	2	0
Mrs. T. Taylor	2	0	0
Mrs. MacLeod	1	1	0
Miss Sims	1	1	0
Mr. F. Pope	1	1	0
A Friend, per Mrs. Sims	0	10	0
Mr. Hunter	0	5	0
Mr. Plumtree	0	5	0
Miss Babb	0	2	6
Miss Kerrell	0	2	6
Miss M'Call	0	2	6
Mrs. Gill	0	1	0
A Friend	0	1	0
	£22	17	6

84, Hamilton Terrace, N.W.

L. A. A. SIMS, Hon. Sec.

MANCHESTER NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR
WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS RECEIVED DURING

OCTOBER, 1875.

	£	s.	d.
"Onlooker"	100	0	0
G. T. S.	100	0	0
"Sympathiser" (for Wigan and Burnley meetings)	20	0	0
Miss Satterthwaite	5	0	0
Miss Rose Hall	2	2	0
Mrs. Pochin	2	2	0
Miss E. Sargent	1	10	0
Miss Ashworth	1	1	0
Miss L. S. Ashworth	1	1	0
R. L.	1	1	0
Mrs. Ryley	1	0	0
Mrs. Robinson	1	0	0
Rev. Dr. Mc.Kerrow	0	10	6
Mrs. Daniell	0	10	6
Miss Hawker	0	10	0
Mrs. Donkin	0	10	0
Mrs. Dixon	0	10	0
The Dowager Lady Lytton (<i>Journal</i>)	0	10	0
Miss Jones (Wrexham)	0	10	0
Mr. James Rhoades	0	5	0
Miss Whitelegge	0	5	0
Miss Borchardt	0	5	0
Mrs. Haddock	0	5	0
Rev. T. G. Crippen	0	5	0
Mrs. Leech	0	5	0
Miss M. Hargreaves	0	2	6
Mrs. Furnivale	0	2	6
Mr. J. Scott	0	2	6
Mrs. Barralet	0	2	6
Mrs. M'Kerrow (Southport)	0	2	0
Collected by Mrs. Spencer	0	9	0
" " Mrs. Poole	0	15	1
DARLINGTON.			
Mr. Arthur Pease	10	0	0
Mrs. Gurney Pease	5	0	0
Mrs. Fell Pease	2	0	0
Mrs. Theo. Fry	2	0	0
Mrs. S. B. Pease	1	0	0
Mrs. E. L. Pease	1	0	0
Mr. John Morrell	1	0	0
Mrs. Kitching	1	0	0
Mr. W. Cudworth	1	0	0
Mr. Thos. Greener	1	0	0
Mr. W. Coor Parker	0	10	0
Mr. David Dale	0	10	0
Mr. Henry Pease	0	10	0
Miss Procter	0	5	0
Mrs. W. Harding	0	5	0
Mr. J. H. Bell	0	5	0
Mrs. Peachey	0	5	0
Mr. S. Hare	0	5	0
Mr. G. S. Gibbs	0	5	0
Mrs. W. Fothergill	0	5	0
Miss Kipling	0	5	0
Miss G. M. Prideaux	0	5	0
Mr. W. Foggett	0	3	0
Mrs. L. Wright	0	3	0
Mr. S. G. Fisher	0	2	6
Mr. J. Saunders	0	2	6
Mrs. E. Huddinson	0	2	6
Mr. David Fox	0	2	6
Mr. Joseph Webster	0	2	6
Mr. H. Brooks	0	2	6
Mrs. Wheeler	0	2	0
Mr. Wake	0	2	0
HULL.			
Mr. James Ricketts	1	1	0
Mr. Alderman Downing	0	10	6
Mr. B. Carlill	0	10	6
Mr. Jas. Stuart	0	10	6
Mr. Thos. Gregson	0	10	6
Dr. Munrow	0	10	0
Mr. E. Elam	0	5	0
Mrs. S. E. Gregson	0	5	0
Mr. Stratten	0	5	0
Mr. A. Frost	0	5	0
Mr. Thos. Witty	0	5	0
Mr. R. Micks	0	2	6
Mr. G. H. Hill	0	2	6
Mr. Geo. Raven	0	2	6

Carried forward... 277 19 7

SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS (*continued*).

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	277	19	7
Mr. Thos. Haller	0	2	6
Mr. B. Tongue	0	2	6
Mr. H. Robinson	0	2	6
GRIMSBY.			
Mr. Wintringham	0	10	6
Mr. Dyer	0	10	6
Mr. Smethurst	0	5	0
Mr. Smethurst, jun.	0	5	0
Mr. Thos. Stephenson	0	5	0
Mr. Walker Moody	0	5	0
Mr. J. Thorpe	0	5	0
Mr. W. Mudd	0	5	0
Mr. H. Mudd	0	5	0
Mr. Geo. Jeffs, jun.	0	5	0
Mr. T. Ready	0	5	0
Mr. J. Meadows	0	5	0
Mr. F. Sinclair	0	4	0
Mr. J. Alward	0	4	0
Mr. J. Mount	0	4	0
Mr. Bulpit	0	3	0
Mr. Wenney	0	2	6
Mr. J. Boston	0	2	6
Mr. John Gidley	0	2	6
Mr. Thos. Cooke	0	2	6
Mr. J. Gidley, jun.	0	2	6
H. K.	0	2	6
T. G.	0	2	6
Mr. H. Moore	0	2	6
Mr. W. Seager	0	2	6
Mr. John Bridge	0	2	6
Mr. Salsbury	0	2	6
Mr. Molyneux	0	2	6
Mr. John Dobson	0	2	6
Mr. Geo. Alward	0	2	6
Mr. Jos. Francis	0	2	6
Mr. Jas. Duke	0	2	6
Mr. Walton	0	2	0
Mr. Jas. Heaton	0	2	0
Mr. John Randall	0	1	6
Mr. W. Pearce	0	1	6
Mr. Geo. Whiteway	0	1	6
WEST HARTLEPOOL.			
Mr. W. R. Owen	0	10	0
Mr. H. W. G. Baumann	0	10	0
Mr. E. Turnbull	0	5	0
Mr. H. Simpson	0	5	0
Mr. F. Furness	0	5	0
Mr. H. Glendining	0	5	0
Miss Julia Watson	0	5	0
Mr. R. Cochrane	0	2	6
Mr. W. Gibbon	0	2	6
Mr. Huntrod	0	2	6
MIDDLESBOROUGH.			
Mr. R. Archibald	0	10	6
Mr. J. Jordison	0	10	0
Mr. S. Wright	0	5	0
Mr. A. Hedley	0	5	0
Mr. C. Bell	0	2	6
Miss Purcell	0	2	6
BURNLEY.			
Mr. Scott, J.P.	1	0	0
Mr. James Roberts	1	0	0
Mr. Uttley	0	10	0
Mr. Whittaker	0	10	0
Mr. Wm. Lomas, J.P.	0	10	0
Mr. John Thompson	0	10	0
Mr. G. Cowgill	0	10	0
Miss Howorth	0	10	0
Mrs. Folds	0	10	0
Mr. T. Willis	0	5	0
X. Y. Z.	0	2	6

£295 7 1

S. ALFRED STEINTHAL.

Cheques and Post Office Orders should be made payable to the Treasurer, Rev. S. ALFRED STEINTHAL, and may be sent either direct to him at The Lines, Nelson-street, Chorlton-on-Medlock; or to the Secretary, Miss BECKER, 28, Jackson's Row, Albert Square, Manchester.