

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE JOURNAL.

EDITED BY LYDIA E. BECKER.

VOL. IX.—No 105. PUBLISHED MONTHLY.
REGISTERED FOR TRANSMISSION ABROAD.

NOVEMBER 1, 1878.

PRICE ONE PENNY.
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Contents :

Leading Articles :—Meetings during the Month ; " Imperialism ; " The Popular Judgment in Politics as regards Women ; Objection of a Member of Parliament ; Confiscation of Widows' Rights ; Injustice to Women under the Divorce Act ; Outrages on Women ; The Connection between Social and Political Questions ; Intrigues in Afghanistan.

Election Intelligence :—Chelsea, Northampton.
Public Meetings :—Yarmouth, London, Southwark, Pendleton, Bury (Lancashire), Manchester (St. Luke's Ward), Aberdeen (Ladies and the Liberals of Aberdeen).
Young Women's Friendly Society, Thornhill.

Correspondence :—Interference or Non-Interference ; A Polite Letter-Writer.
Novelists and Women's Rights.
Women in the Celestial Empire.
Married Women and Licences.
Treasurers' Reports :—Manchester, Central Committee.

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as bad qualities are
often substituted.

MANCHESTER NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.—The ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING to receive the report, the statement of accounts, to appoint the committee, and transact any other business which may arise, will be held in the TOWN HALL, MANCHESTER, on Wednesday, November 6th, 1878. The chair to be taken at three o'clock by

Mr. ALDERMAN HEYWOOD.

Leonard H. Courtney, Esq., M.P.	Henry Lee, Esq.
Mr. Alderman Baker.	Mrs. M'Laren.
Mr. Alderman Bennett.	Dr. Pankhurst.
Miss Becker.	Mrs. Oliver Scatcherd.
Dr. Borchardt.	Miss Eliza Sturge.
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	Dr. John Watts.

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NORWICH.—A Public Meeting will be held in the St. Giles's Skating Rink, Norwich, on Thursday, November 7th, to discuss the Claims of Women to the Parliamentary Franchise. The Worshipful the MAYOR of Norwich will preside. The following Ladies and Gentlemen have promised to attend the meeting :—J. H. Tillett, Esq., A. Kent, Esq., R. A. Cooper, Esq., G. White, Esq., A. M. F. Morgan, Esq., W. H. Dakin, Esq., J. Allen, Esq., The Rev. Mr. Perris, J. Dowsett, Esq., of Yarmouth, &c., &c. Miss Helen Taylor and Miss H. P. Downing, of London, will attend on behalf of the National Society for Women's Suffrage. Doors open at 7-30; Chair to be taken at 8 p.m. Admission Free. A few Reserved Seats, One Shilling each.

SOUTHAMPTON.—A Public Meeting, in support of the Bill to give the parliamentary franchise to women householders and ratepayers, will be held on the 22nd November in the Philharmonic Hall, Southampton. Major-General TRYAN will preside. Miss Helen Taylor, Canon Wilberforce, Rev. H. H. Carlisle, Mr. S. S. Pearse, Mr. Henry Pond, Mr. T. Falvey, Mr. G. Bridger, and many other ladies and gentlemen are expected to be present. The chair will be taken at 8 p.m. Admission free. Reserved seats, tickets 1s. each, may be had at the *Southampton Times* office.

OPINIONS OF WOMEN ON WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

NOW READY, new leaflets containing Opinions of Women on Women's Suffrage, being those of Miss Florence Nightingale, Mrs. Grote, Mrs. Wm. Grey, Miss Orme, Miss Merington, Miss A. Paulina Irby, Miss Davenport Hill, Miss Florence Hill, Mrs. E. M. Ward, Mrs. Allingham, Miss Anna Swanwick, Mrs. Augusta Webster, Mrs. Emily Pfeiffer, Mrs. Garrett-Anderson, M.D., Miss Shirreff, Miss Buss, Mrs. Byers, Mrs. Hoggan, M.D., Mrs. Crawshay, Miss Frances Power Cobbe, Mrs. Alfred W. Hunt, Mrs. Mark Pattison, Miss Grove, Miss Creak, Mrs. Fawcett, Miss Woodhouse, Miss Youngman, Mrs. Surr, Mrs. Dawson Burns, Miss Jex-Blake, M.D., Miss Pechey, M.D., Mrs. Eiloart, Miss Annie Keary, Miss Eliza Keary, Miss Simcox, Mrs. Paterson, Princess Mele Barese, Miss Dunbar, M.D., Mrs. Southey, Mrs. Bodichon, Lady Anna Gore Langton, Miss Helen Taylor, Lady Bowring, Miss Mary Gurney, Miss D. Neligan, Miss Annie Barker, M.D., Miss Wood, Miss Emily Davies, Miss Merryweather, &c., &c.—To be had of the SECRETARY of the Central Committee of the National Society for Women's Suffrage, 64 Berners-street, London, W. Price, 5d. for the Set.

THE WOMAN'S GAZETTE; or, News about Work. Published Monthly, post free, 2½d., by Hatchards. Reviews topics of interest to women, and affords information and a means of Advertisement respecting the Employments open to them, both paid and unpaid.—Office: 42, Somerset-street, Portman Square.

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

Edited by C. A. BIGGS.

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Foreign Notes and News.

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No time has been lost by the promoters of the movement for women's suffrage in recommencing their operations for the season. Already several large meetings have been held. At Pendleton, a district within the borough of Salford, a meeting was held on the 9th of October, under the presidency of the MAYOR of SALFORD (Mr. Walmsley). The meeting was crowded to overflowing, and the petition was adopted unanimously. Miss BECKER and Miss CAROLINE BIGGS addressed the meeting on behalf of the Society; and these ladies attended a meeting on the succeeding evening at Bury, Lancashire. The MAYOR (Mr. Duckworth) occupied the chair, and there was a very good attendance. At Yarmouth Miss HELENA DOWNING gave an address on the Fitness of Women for Politics, when a resolution in favour of Mr. COURTNEY'S Bill was carried. In London lectures have been given by Miss CAROLINE BIGGS to the members of the Marlborough Young Men's Christian Association, Old Kent Road; and by Miss HELENA DOWNING at the Southwark Radical Club. Miss HELEN TAYLOR occupied the chair, and the remarks of both ladies were received with great attention.

A meeting of women electors, in connection with the municipal elections, was held in St. Luke's Ward, Manchester, on October 23rd. The total number of electors on the register for the ward is 5,134, and of these about 1,000 are women. Although the meeting was primarily for these, the general public were also invited to attend. Mr. Councillor MURRAY, one of the representatives of the ward in the City Council, presided, and Miss BECKER delivered an address on the Duties and Responsibilities of the Municipal Vote, both as regards local and imperial affairs. She exhorted women electors in municipal districts to use the municipal vote as a means of influencing their representatives in the Council to support petitions from corporate bodies in favour of extending the Parliamentary franchise to them. After Miss BECKER'S address, both the candidates for the representation of the ward addressed the meeting and replied to questions on various subjects of local and general interest. Both gentlemen expressed entire approval of the principle of giving

votes to women ratepayers, and promised that if returned to the Council they would vote for a petition in favour of the Bill. Ward meetings of a similar character have been held by Mrs. OLIVER SCATCHERD in Leeds.

In a recent number of the *Fortnightly Review*, Mr. LOWE has given a definition of what he calls "Imperialism," and he says that "It means the assertion of absolute force over others." It would be difficult to give in shorter or clearer terms a definition of the principle on which the right of suffrage is denied to women. We are told by some objectors that all government is based on physical force, which is what we suppose Mr. LOWE means by absolute force; and therefore these objectors would argue that, as women are not supposed to possess absolute force to impose their will on men, or to resist such force if applied to them, they have no moral right to a voice in the government which they are bound to obey.

If this is not "Imperialism" it is certainly not any other form of government known to human society. It is not constitutional, for women are thrust out of the pale of the constitution; it is not representative, for women are denied representation; it is not republican, for women are supposed to form no part of the "sovereign people" who vote in the election of their lawgivers and rulers, and the great principle of the equality of rights of all citizens is held not to apply to women citizens.

There are numbers of men whose consciences would revolt against the assertion that the stronger states have a right to impose their will on weaker states because these smaller communities do not possess "absolute force" to resist domination. Such men should consider that the principle of government by force, irrespective of moral considerations, is no less unjust and injurious to the common weal when applied to persons or to classes within a nation than it is when applied to nations among themselves.

A DISCUSSION took place a short time ago in the columns of the *Nineteenth Century* on the question whether the

popular judgment in politics was more just than that of the higher orders. The discussion appears to have been originated by Mr. GLADSTONE, who holds the affirmative of this proposition, and several able papers were written by men of different views. Some writers held that the popular judgment, when it differed from that of the higher classes, was in the main right; others that the people themselves had never originated any great progressive movement, but had followed leaders from the higher ranks.

It seems certain that if, on the one hand, the masses of the people could never have carried any great measure for redressing wrong, nor have won political freedom and power for themselves without the initiative and leadership of cultivated men of the higher orders, on the other hand these men have always found more ready and hearty followers among the masses than among the higher classes. Rich and educated men have so large a share of the good things of the world that they are not so likely to take an interest in political changes as those who have less to occupy their minds and more to gain by such changes.

The influences which produce this result among men have even greater force in the case of women. The movement for the political rights of women originated in the same class as that for the political rights of the masses of men—that is, among the higher orders, among women of intelligence, culture, refinement, and leisure, who devoted their powers to the endeavour to ameliorate the condition of the masses of women. On behalf of these, their leaders asked for the political franchise and for the general amendment of the law. These leaders find, as men have found before them, that the most hearty and earnest response to their efforts comes from the masses who have to face the stern realities of life and earn their daily bread by daily toil. Such persons, whether women or men, but more especially women, are less hampered by false conventionalities than the upper classes. But while politicians generally recognise the voices of the masses of men as representing the political opinion and needs of the people rather than the voices of the higher and favoured few, there is no corresponding recognition of the right of the feelings of the masses of women to be considered as representing the interests of their sex. Possibly, this may be owing to the fact that the masses of women have not the same facilities as men for organising their ranks and making their voices heard. Be that as it may, it is to be feared that our legislators for the most part take the sentiments of women who live in sheltered homes as the

measure of the needs of women of all classes, a proceeding about as rational as it would be to take the feeling of a concourse of city magnates as a measure of the needs for the franchise for the agricultural labourer. "Men have all the rights they want; *we* are very comfortable," such men might be disposed to say as they dispensed the turtle and the loving cup. We fear that the oft-repeated phrase, "women have all the rights they want," is not unfrequently accepted as conclusive evidence against the extension of the franchise when it is uttered by women who have never yet experienced a breath of the life's rude breezes in the lap of luxury in which they lie.

But as the strength of a chain is measured by its weakest link, so the need for an improvement in the political and social condition of women should be measured by the necessities of the poor and helpless many, and not by the feelings of the sheltered and contented few.

A MEMBER of Parliament, in replying to the letter of a lady who wrote to him last session asking him to present a petition in favour of the franchise for women, gave as his reason for not supporting its prayer his view "that women were made for other purposes."

We entertain no more doubt on this head than the honourable member himself, but we fail to see why this should be an objection to their right to vote. We presume that the most energetic advocate for the extension of the franchise among men would not assert that men were made merely for the purpose of voting. He would say, and with justice, that the "other purposes" for which men are made, and the "other duties" which they perform, were precisely the grounds on which the right of voting should be granted to them. The function of voting was never meant to be limited to those who had nothing else to do. It is given to those who have other duties, as the means of protecting themselves in the exercise of those duties, as well as for the preservation of their personal rights.

THE same honourable member proceeds to adjure the lady that, "if women could only see women with men's eyes, they would be able to understand, which they cannot now do, the motives which prompt those 'wicked' opponents of women's rights to pursue so 'unjust' a course."

Without pretending to penetrate the inscrutable motives hinted at in this awfully mysterious warning, we may assume that this sentence does give the keynote to the differences which exist between the supporters and

opponents of women's suffrage. The latter insist upon looking at women with men's eyes, and at all women's questions from a man's point of view. They maintain that women's rights, women's capacities, women's sphere, and women's duties should be judged solely by a masculine light, and decided exclusively by men's voices.

We maintain, on the contrary, that women should look at themselves with women's eyes, and examine all these questions by the light of their own knowledge and experience; that they should bring this knowledge and experience to bear in determining the character of legislation; and that women's as well as men's voices shall be heard in deciding all matters which affect them equally with men, as co-ordinate members of the human family, and responsible citizens of the country in which they live.

THERE is no more striking example of the manner in which the rights of an unrepresented class are liable to be destroyed by legislation in which they have no voice, than the wholesale confiscation which was effected in 1833 of the right of a widow to dower out of her husband's estate. Prior to that date the widow of a man who owned real property had an indefeasible right to a certain portion as her dower, a right independent of the will of her husband, and which he could not take away. By the Act, entitled An Act for the amendment of the law relating to dower—a notable "amendment" truly!—power was given to the husband to bar the right of his wife to dower, and it was further enacted that a widow shall not be entitled to dower out of any land of her husband, when in the deed by which such land was conveyed to him, or by any deed executed by him, it shall be declared that his widow shall not be entitled to dower out of such land.

The effect of this clause has been the practical abolition of the ancient right of a widow to dower out of her husband's estate, for since the passing of that Act all deeds conveying landed property are now drawn with the clause which bars the widow's rights. Lawyers do this as a matter of course, for the purpose of simplifying the conveyance of real property. Thus it happens that many husbands, who would shrink from the injustice of leaving their wives paupers at their death, are unwittingly parties to this arrangement, and the wives are left entirely without redress.

A remarkable example of excessive hardship caused by this recent law was related by Mr. THOMAS POTTER in the House of Commons last session. He said he had had a letter the previous day from a lady whose husband was

hopelessly insane. This husband was the owner of real property to the value of £8,000 to £10,000, and being now in a lunatic asylum he was unable to make a will, so that at his death the whole of the property would go to his brother as heir-at-law and the widow would be left penniless.

Another case was that of a wife who brought the principal property at marriage, and property was accumulated during the coverture, and real property was purchased. At the husband's death his will did not contain the name of his wife, and she has no claim on the estate that she largely produced. Her relatives have to keep her, or she must become a worker or a pauper, although her husband died leaving a landed estate as well as considerable personal property.

The ancient laws always favoured the wife, and gave her a life estate in a third or one-half her husband's real property, and an absolute share in his personalty. Modern legislation favours the husband, and gives to him not only all his own property, but all his wife's too, along with the right to leave her a pauper at his death.

WE find an example of the law which does less than justice to women arising in the proceedings in a recent divorce case. Messrs. HORNS and MURRAY, in a letter which appeared in *The Times* lately, draw attention to the grievous injustice suffered by a lady who had been charged with committing adultery with the petitioner, and who was denied by the law the right to defend herself from the imputation. They say it is a matter for extreme regret that the public had no opportunity of judging between this lady and her accusers, and that the detailed statements made by the ATTORNEY-GENERAL on behalf of the QUEEN'S PROCTOR in reference to her case have not been disproved, except by the denial which was given by permission of the Judge. But, they add, "this was from no fault of the petitioner, and arises from the state of the law, which, while it provides that no man shall be charged in the Divorce Court with adultery without giving him an opportunity of defending himself, gives no such privilege to a woman alleged to have been guilty of adultery with a man seeking a divorce from his wife."

These words are not ours, but those of men describing men-made laws. Probably few men will dispute the proposition that the distinction thus drawn is grossly unjust, but that is the utmost concession that is likely to be obtained. We may assume it as equally certain that most men will think the law ought to be amended, and

that no man is likely to offer to do it, or be likely to succeed if he made the attempt.

OUTRAGES on women continue with unabated frequency and force. We select two from a number which we have observed during the month. "At the Sedgley Police-court, JOSEPH WALTON, miner, was remanded for having committed a brutal offence on his wife. The ruffian offered his wife 6d. to keep herself and two children for a week, and because she refused to accept it he knocked her down and jumped upon her, although she was in a state of pregnancy, and left her for dead in the streets. She is now (October 8th) in a dying state."

The Birkenhead stipendiary magistrate had before him on October 14th a young labourer, named JAMES STANTON, who was charged with cutting and wounding his wife, who appeared in the witness-box with her face and head bandaged. She said she lived with her father at Tranmere. She had been married to the prisoner about two years, but owing to his violence had been obliged to live apart from him for the last eight weeks. On Sunday he came to her father's house with a pair of boots for the baby. The witness told him they were too large, when, with an oath, he told her to put them into the fire. He would have put them into the fire had she not prevented him. Her father said it was time to be going to bed. The prisoner rushed upstairs, seized the baby by the legs, and began to beat his mother-in-law with it, who was in bed. He then brought the baby downstairs, and, still holding it by the legs, threw it over his back and was about to dash out its brains against the floor when the witness stopped him. He then beat the witness in a shameful manner. Her father interposed; the prisoner immediately knocked him down. Her husband then made her follow him into the street, giving her the baby. When she had gone a little distance, he struck her twice on the back with a poker which he had brought with him from the house. As she did not go fast enough for him, he dragged her some distance by the hair of the head. She at last fell upon her knees, saying she could go no further without a drink of water. He thereupon again struck her with the poker on the head causing her to fall on her back. He then jumped on her, one foot coming on her throat and another on her face. He tried to jump on her a second time, but kicked her in the ear instead. The prisoner had no defence, and was committed for trial.

Whatever be the punishment which the law will inflict

on these savages, it will not deprive them of their right to vote and make laws to govern women. Their conduct is, in fact, simply carrying out to a practical issue the doctrine of government by "absolute force," on which, according to some of our opponents, the right of suffrage is based.

The brand of lifelong electoral incapacity is, according to Mr. GLADSTONE, too severe a punishment for felons. By the divine right of sex, men of whom these examples are a type are supposed to have indisputable claim to a voice in the government. The disqualification is reserved for industrious, law-abiding, and inoffensive persons, for the penalty of belonging to the sex which is subject to such outrages.

THE increasing connection between social and political questions which marks the advance of civilisation is almost of necessity fraught with peril to those whose affairs become objects of political activity, while they are themselves outside the pale of politics. When legislation enters more into the concerns of home life, one of two things will follow, those outside political interests will be drawn into them, or they will be pressed further downwards.

History furnishes examples innumerable of this, and if we follow the condition of women, we shall see that the greater refinements of civilised life which bring increased political activity to men may easily tend in the opposite direction as regards women.

When life was very simple and its appliances few, as amongst the early Aryan ancestors of the European nations, women shared the freer life of men to a degree unknown to the more advanced stage of walled towns and fenced cities; the greater political activity which this stage of progress connotes, has oftenest been accompanied by a lowering of women's interests. Not at a palace gate, but under a palm tree did Deborah judge Israel.

The Teutonic races, so long as they kept their old rural ways of living, each family in its separate homestead, retained a higher standard for women than any of the other Western races—but before the elaborate life of feudalism with its sovereign lords and moated castles, such traces disappeared, lingering only here and there in local customs—such as the custom which to this day, we are told, prevails in Cumberland, that when a farmer dies his widow shall carry on the farm as a matter of course, even though her eldest son be grown up and married; and so distinctly is she regarded as the head of the family, that the mortuary fee paid on the death of the head of a

family to the rector is paid at her death. This ancient usage contrasts favourably with the too common modern usage of turning out the unenfranchised tenant.

The truth is that however much the community may progress in some directions, yet so long as the standard, either of mental culture or of personal liberty, advances more rapidly for any one part than for another, there must be retrogression also, and law will treat those who are thus marked off, as special classes of persons requiring different treatment. Uniformity of treatment will only come with uniformity of standard. Even such evil legislation as the practice of our earlier legislators in restricting the price of labour and laying down a scale of wages for all manner of different occupations, had a uniformity which our factory legislation lacks. In those days the labourers, men and women, were all alike outside political rights, and all were legislated for with equal stringency; in our days, factory acts restrict, not the rate of wages, but the choice of hours for women, and leave men to arrange their own bargains. Only by increasing watchfulness of the whole community can such tendencies to unequal advances be counteracted; nay, perhaps the danger is greatest where we most rejoice in freedom, as tending to make us less watchful. H. B.

A CORRESPONDENT of the *Times* writes in reference to the troubles in Afghanistan to explain one of the reasons which may account for SHEER ALI's hostility to England. After reminding the readers that our Government did not care to acknowledge the younger son, ABDOOLLA JAN, while his elder brother, YAKOOB KHAN, was still alive, he says, "ABDOOLLA JAN has a mother, a clever, intriguing woman, of great force of character. It is well known that Afghan women frequently play a very conspicuous rôle in politics, not being kept in seclusion as their sisters in the plains of Hindostan. Well, this woman had a temper, and when thwarted in her plans made the AMEER exceedingly uncomfortable, going indeed so far as to apply her slipper to his august head. Be that as it may, her sole object was to see her son, ABDOOLLA JAN, the acknowledged heir to the throne. When the English were found rather opposed to this, the opportunity offered. Given on one side a Russian Envoy, on the other ABDOOLLA JAN's mother, the Russian gains a footing in Cabul, and ABDOOLLA JAN is the heir to the throne when the Russians come into power." "We little think how often intrigues in Eastern countries are hatched in the harem."

That this should be so is but the irresistible working of the Nemesis who avenges surely, if slowly, all infractions

of nature's laws—all attempts at the suppression of natural forces. Do what they will, men cannot stamp out the influence of women in politics. They may assume, as a writer in the *Saturday Review* recently declared, that politically "women are non-existent," but ever and anon some untoward complication arises due to the influence of this force which men persistently refuse to take into account, or to admit to a legitimate channel for its exercise and development. A force which is unrecognised, and which is deprived of the right to exert itself openly, is driven to secret and indirect methods of action, and is too often thereby expended on mistaken objects, or corrupted in its working through the unworthiness of the methods to which it is driven.

Natural philosophers would laugh at a teacher who told men that they might safely disregard the working of any actually existing force, because on the theories of the teacher such force ought not to exist at all. Political philosophers must learn the same lesson of the conservation of forces. No force can be destroyed by being suppressed; it will reappear in some other and possibly a mischievous form. The true politician will endeavour to preserve and turn to the best account all the powers and capacities that exist within the souls of every class and every individual of the community.

OUR American cousins appear to be a long way behind in the recognition of the electoral rights of women. We learn from the *Woman's Journal* that on the fourth of September a Bill was introduced in the Vermont House of Representatives to give women the right to vote in school meetings. The Bill was refused a second reading.

ELECTION INTELLIGENCE.

CHELSEA.

Mr. J. F. B. Firth, the accepted second Liberal candidate for Chelsea in conjunction with Sir Charles Dilke, is a member of the general committee of the National Society for Women's Suffrage, and will support the Bill in the House of Commons. Mr. Firth is a member of the London School Board. Sir Charles Dilke was the coadjutor with Mr. Jacob Bright in obtaining the municipal franchise for women; his name was on the Women's Disabilities Bill in 1870, when he delivered an able speech in support of it in the House of Commons; and he has ever since invariably voted for the measure.

NORTHAMPTON.

Mr. Thomas Wright, solicitor, one of the candidates for Northampton at the general election, has written a letter in which he declares that he entirely adopts the principles of the Society for Women's Suffrage, and would be happy to support any measure calculated to advance it should he be returned to the House of Commons.

Mrs. Dickinson, widow of the late Mr. S. S. Dickinson, county chairman of Gloucestershire, has been appointed a member of the Painswick School Board, in the place of her late husband.

PUBLIC MEETINGS.

YARMOUTH.

A public meeting was held in the Town Hall, Yarmouth, on October 3rd. Miss Helena Downing gave an address on "The Fitness of Women for Politics." Mr. G. J. Holyoake occupied the chair, and there was a very good attendance. Miss Downing dwelt upon the results gained during the four years since she last addressed a Yarmouth meeting; and after a review of the various arguments in favour of the question, she concluded by moving a resolution in favour of Mr. Courtney's Bill. Mr. Dowsett, solicitor, seconded the resolution in a very able speech; and when the chairman put it to the meeting, the resolution was carried with only one dissident. A vote of thanks to the lecturer and chairman was put by the Rev. A. Peaton and carried, and the proceedings then terminated.

LONDON.

A lecture was given by Miss Caroline Ashurst Biggs at the Marlborough Young Men's Association, Old Kent Road, on October 7th, on "The Franchise for Women Householders." The Rev. W. A. Essery occupied the chair. There were about 300 present. The following week a debate upon the above lecture took place, and attracted a large audience. The subject produced a most animated discussion, many members manifesting an earnest desire to speak who were excluded for the want of time. On putting the question to the vote, the division was as two to one against the franchise for women. It should be noted that not only was the vote taken in a different audience from that which heard the lecture, but it was given in a society which excluded the persons whose interests were under discussion.

SOUTHWARK.

The Radicals of Southwark gave a very hearty reception on the 27th to an address from Miss Downing, on "the present position of what is known as the women's movement," delivered by request, at the new lecture hall of the Southwark Radical Club. Miss Helen Taylor occupied the chair. The room was thronged, and both ladies were listened to with great attention and were frequently applauded. After a few words from Dr. Bickers and from Mr. Moy Thomas, who earnestly advocated the suffrage for women as bringing in a different order of minds to the consideration of legislative questions, a petition was proposed and adopted unanimously. Mr. Soutter, the honorary secretary of the club, when proposing a vote of thanks to Miss Taylor, remarked that the club had adopted as its motto Mr. Gladstone's definition of a Radical as "a man who is in earnest." In some recent correspondence Mr. Gladstone had observed that they had not quoted his words correctly, he had said "one who is in earnest," and he (Mr. Soutter) hoped they would correct their motto, which would thus be more true to the principle they followed in that club of admitting women to equal membership with men. We understand that the only other working man's club in London which admits women to all the rights of membership is the Jewish Club, in Whitechapel.

PENDLETON.

A public meeting in support of the Bill for conferring the parliamentary suffrage on women householders was held at the Pendleton Town Hall on October 9th. The MAYOR of SALFORD (Alderman F. H. Walmsley) occupied the chair, and there were also present Miss Becker, of Manchester, and Miss C. A. Biggs, of London (who attended as a deputation from the National Society for Women's Suffrage), with a number of other ladies, and Alderman Brown, Councillors

Burnett, W. H. Bailey, and J. W. Walker. There was a large audience, consisting to a great extent of ladies.

The CHAIRMAN said that when he was waited upon about ten days previously and asked if he would take the chair on that occasion he at first felt some little hesitation, for he was not sure—nor was he yet, exactly—whether he was an advocate or opponent of the principle of granting the parliamentary suffrage to women; but he would just say that it seemed to him, after thinking perhaps not so deeply on the question as he ought to have done, that if a woman was allowed by the law to possess property qualifications, she surely ought to have with its responsibilities its privileges. He was not one of those who held that there was an abstract right to the suffrage in either a man or a woman because they happened to be born so. There was a right with regard to women's education and position in the world in which he had taken an interest, and wherever he had had an opportunity he had expressed his opinion regarding it. That was, that when a woman occupied a position in the world where she was obliged to work, she was supposed to lose caste. That was a very great anomaly and a great shame, and he hoped the time would come in England when, if a well-educated woman of the middle or upper classes found it to be her lot to work for her own living, it would be looked upon as no less dishonourable for her to occupy a position in the world because she worked than because a man worked. (Hear, hear.) In the object of that meeting, or in anything else in which the promoters benefited themselves and helped forward such a result, he should be glad to give his assistance, and should feel satisfied in being there that night to render what services he could.

Councillor BAILEY moved the following resolution:—"That representation being now based on household qualification, it was unjust to exclude, on the ground of sex only, those householders who fulfil the conditions which entitle to vote in the election of members of Parliament; and that this meeting is of opinion that the electoral franchise, in the exercise of women in school board and municipal elections, should be given to them in parliamentary elections."

Alderman BROWN seconded the motion.

Miss BIGGS supported the resolution, which was carried with one or two dissentients.

Councillor J. W. WALKER said he had not given that subject profound consideration, but he had sufficient knowledge of the subject to know that the thing asked for was only just and fair. What he had to do was simply to move a resolution, which was to the following effect: "That a petition to the House of Commons, based on the foregoing resolution, be adopted and signed by the chairman on behalf of this meeting, and that a memorial to Messrs. W. T. Charley, M.P., and O. O. Walker, M.P., members for Salford, asking them to present the petition."

Councillor J. BURNETT seconded the resolution, which was supported by Miss Becker.

Miss BECKER said it was not right that there should be such a distinction in the law as that debarring women from parliamentary votes. Their proposal was in harmony with ancient right, because when suffrage was first invented woman had the same rights as man; and it was in harmony with modern legislation. The necessity of it was shown by several measures, which came session after session into Parliament, which directly affected the interests of women—among others, the Factories and Workshops Act. When the Reform Act first gave household suffrage, some 1,400 or 1,500 women were placed on the register of Salford, and she was in the revising court when those names came before the revising barrister, and both the Conservative and the Liberal agents were satisfied that they should remain on the list and that neither would

make any objections; but the revising barrister struck them out without consulting anyone. The case was carried to a superior court, and she (Miss Becker) was present when the case was argued in Westminster Hall. The judge, in giving judgment, held that the revising barrister had done perfectly right. He said the revising barrister need not consult anyone in striking off the names any more than if he had found the name of a dog or a horse on the register. That showed the position in which the women ratepayers of Salford stood on this question. When they first took up that movement they had the support of the three members for Manchester and the two for Salford. Messrs. Cawley and Charley never failed to support the bill every time it was introduced. She hoped the new member, Mr. Walker, would further the object. Miss Becker concluded by expressing her opinion that ladies in the borough should endeavour to obtain the two seats which would be vacant in the School Board, for she felt sure they would do much good.

The motion was then put and carried unanimously, a vote of thanks to the chairman was passed, the MAYOR responded shortly, and the proceedings terminated.

The following letter in acknowledgment of the memorial has been received by the Mayor of Salford from Mr. Charley, M.P.:

5, Crown Office Row, Temple,

London, October 19th, 1878.

Dear Mr. Mayor,—Absence from town must be my excuse for not acknowledging sooner the memorial which you have signed on behalf of the public meeting held on the 9th inst. in the Town Hall of Pendleton, in favour of the enfranchisement of female householders. I have always supported the Bill for the removal of the electoral disabilities of women. Indeed, I was an advocate of its principle long before I entered Parliament.

I was not in England at the time that the Bill last came on, but I wrote to Miss Lydia Becker and asked her to "pair" me in favour of the Bill. I do not see any reason for altering my views on this important question.

Believe me, yours sincerely,

W. T. CHARLEY.

The Worshipful the Mayor.

N.B.—Will you kindly communicate this acknowledgment in the proper quarter.

BURY, LANCASHIRE.

A public meeting was held on the 10th of October, in the Athenæum, Bury, to hear addresses by Miss Becker and Miss C. A. Biggs on the question of "Women's Suffrage." The MAYOR (Alderman Duckworth) presided, and there were also present on the platform Alderman Crossland, Councillors Barrett, Slater, Ashton, Talbot, Bird, Hall, Nuttall, and the Town Clerk, Mr. Bull.

The MAYOR, in opening the proceedings, said he had had the privilege of presiding at meetings on many very different occasions, but he thought the present was an exceptional one. One thing was certain, that there would be a diversity of opinion among those present, whatever their sentiments may be, but he thought it would be worth their while to hear what the ladies of the deputation had to say for themselves and for their sex. Some people said that good wives ought to remain at home, but it might also be said that husbands too would be best at home and less at clubs. It was also said that the ladies were not so anxious to vote at election times as the men, but the two ladies present would reply to that, and tell them that the women were quite as capable of voting as many of the other sex, and he himself was of the same opinion too. Mr. Duckworth then alluded to such women as Miss Martineau

and the Brontes, whom he thought were worthy of having a vote, and ought not to be debarred from it. When such ladies as these were turned back from the poll, there were turned back women who were perhaps as well able to distinguish the quality of a vote as well as any man. Again, when a lady had brought up a family respectably, and were well situated in life, being a widow and at the head of the family, would they not allow her to have a voice; would they be willing to take her taxes and not allow her to vote? He was of the opinion, too, that if a lady was entitled to vote in municipal elections she was entitled to vote in parliamentary elections also.

Councillor NUTTALL then rose to move the following resolution:—"That representation being based on household qualification, it is unjust to exclude on the ground of sex only, those householders who fulfil the conditions which entitle to vote in the election of members of Parliament; and that this meeting is of opinion that the electoral franchise now exercised by women in municipal and school board elections should be given to the parliamentary elections." In moving the resolution, Mr. Nuttall contended that if women were granted the right of voting in municipal elections they ought also to have the right to vote in parliamentary elections, because the right consisted in precisely the same thing, and if one was denied the other should be denied also.

Councillor SLATER seconded the resolution. He held that it was wrong to take taxes from a person without allowing that person to have a voice in the government of the country; taxation without representation was a robbery. It was a strong phrase, but it was none too strong. There were numbers of ladies in this country into whose pockets Parliament was continually putting its hands, and it never asked them anything about it, which he considered to be an injustice. With regard to the duties of women at home, there were also duties which might be done better at home by the men; and with respect to household work, it was not necessary to vote in parliamentary elections only about once in seven years, and therefore it would not require such a great amount of time to give one vote. He was disposed to think that the women would find time to give one vote, and would make as good a selection as the men, without having to neglect their household duties. On the question of intelligence he was of opinion that the ladies could hold their own, as could be judged by their works and their writings. The Mayor had made an allusion to Miss Martineau, whose writings he considered were not equalled in many respects by those of any man in the country. Miss Cobbe and others had also shown a considerable amount of ability and energy. Mr. Nuttall had remarked that if they did not vote at parliamentary elections they ought not to vote in municipal elections; but he did not agree with that, but advised them to stick to what they had got.

The MAYOR then called on Miss C. A. BIGGS, who addressed the meeting in support of the resolution.

The MAYOR then put the foregoing resolution to the vote, and the result showed an overwhelming majority in its favour, there being only one or two dissentients.

Councillor HALL afterwards rose to move the following resolution:—"That a petition to the House of Commons on the foregoing resolution be adopted and signed by the chairman on behalf of this meeting, and that a memorial to Robert Needham Philips, Esq., M.P., member for the borough of Bury, requesting him to support the Bill to remove the electoral disabilities of women, be signed by the chairman, and forwarded by him."

Councillor TALBOT seconded the motion.

Miss BECKER, in supporting the resolution, made a long and interesting speech in favour of the Bill, arguing in much the

same strain as Miss Biggs. She explained that an error seemed to be prevalent that if the Bill was passed it would give a vote to the wife as well as the husband. Such was not its intention, as it was only intended to give votes to those who were householders themselves; the object was that those who were at the head of a house should not be debarred from voting simply because that head happened to be a woman and not a man. When the natural protector of a house was dead the same duties had frequently to be kept up, the same taxes had to be paid; and therefore to deprive that household of their vote was a great injustice. With respect to the objection made that women did not want the franchise, she said it was no reason why it should not be given them. It was the same in other things, with education; for they did not ask a child whether it wanted education but gave it. It was not so much a question whether they wanted it as whether they needed it. Alluding to the objection that women should stay at home, she asked what would become of the industries of the country if they did so; what would become of the mills in Lancashire? If all the women were to remain at home she thought the manufacturers and millowners of the country would soon want them to come back. In conclusion, she asked her hearers to support the organisation, and that they would send in their names and join the society.

Mr. BULL, the town clerk, moved a vote of thanks to the Mayor for presiding, which being carried unanimously the proceedings terminated.

MANCHESTER.
ST. LUKE'S WARD.

A meeting was held on Wednesday evening, Oct. 23rd, in the Temperance Hall, Grosvenor-street, Chorlton-upon-Medlock, to hear an address from Miss Lydia E. Becker, on the duties and responsibilities of the municipal vote, in connection with which it was announced that the two candidates for St. Luke's Ward (Messrs. Councillor May and Joshua Whiteley) would also express their views. Mr. Councillor MURRAY presided. The room was densely crowded, and although the meeting was convened as "a meeting of the women electors," and a large number of women were present, there were quite as many men if not more.

The CHAIRMAN said he was glad to see so many present. They had speakers who would address the meeting on questions of great importance to the electors of that ward, and especially the lady voters. The meeting was entirely non-political, so that anyone present would have the privilege of putting questions to the respective candidates. Although possessing strong political feelings himself, he would at this meeting, at least, endeavour to be impartial. (Hear, hear.)

Miss BECKER, who was most cordially received, after pointing out by means of a map the area of St. Luke's Ward, said that although it looked on that map a very small portion of the city, it was not one of the least important districts in Manchester. (Hear, hear.) She was pleased to see in an address by one of the candidates the other day some reference to the want of a public hall in that ward. The room in which they were then met was about the only one they could have for such a purpose, and, as they could all see, it was very inadequate, and she hoped they would help their representatives to get a more suitable room. (Applause.) There were on the municipal register for that ward 5,134 electors, and it much surprised her to find that no fewer than 1,000 of these were women. (Hear, hear.) She thought the meeting would agree with her in saying that it was of great importance that those thousand women should exercise that privilege wisely and intelligently. That ward comprised women of all classes, from the poorest

down towards the Medlock, to those occupying a very high social position, who resided on the suburban boundary of the ward. It was remarkable also for having a great many of the higher educational class institutions within its boundaries, the High School for Girls amongst the number. It was said by the opponents of women's suffrage that those women who by their intelligence were best entitled to the franchise were the least disposed to trouble themselves about exercising the voting power they already possessed. Well, this meeting had been called to impress upon all women in the ward who had votes the duty of exercising their privilege properly on the 1st November. Local self-government was one of the most distinguishing features of our history, and many of our most precious liberties had been obtained through the working of our municipal institutions, and if we wished to progress as a nation we must preserve the high character of our municipal government. (Applause.) It was said that municipal elections ought not to be conducted on political grounds, but she was inclined to dissent from that doctrine. No doubt the immediate duty of the municipal government was to look after the sanitary and police regulations of the borough they governed, but she thought it had a higher duty than that; it ought to be really the embodiment and representative of the corporate life of the city in things beyond what appertained to domestic matters. The Imperial Government ought to feel that when the Corporation of Manchester committed itself to any opinion, that opinion fairly represented the feeling of the inhabitants generally. She did not mean to say that every election should be conducted on purely party grounds, but she thought that electors were better able to judge of a candidate's fitness for the City Council by the position he had acquired politically, because they were likely to know more of him in that sense than of his knowledge of paving and sewerage. She thought the electors would do themselves credit by voting for a man eminent in political life even though he was not of their colour, and in support of this argument she adduced the constituencies of Greenwich, Bucks, and Birmingham, the electors of which places acted wisely in returning such men as Gladstone, Disraeli, and Bright, because these were men who ought to be in the House of Commons. (Applause.) Therefore, whatever their party politics might be, if they had a representative in the Council who had done his duty there, and possessed a high character amongst his colleagues, it would be a great mistake to turn him out for mere party purposes. (Applause.) After remarking that municipal elections ought to be a nursery of public sentiment, and might be made very useful in that direction, she proceeded to comment on some of the questions with which the Council had to deal. In the first place, she said, there was no doubt that public washhouses would be a great convenience to many women with large families and small houses; but it was no use providing such accommodation at a distance from the homes of these women; therefore, in considering the desirability of making such provision, it would be well if the City Council were to take the women into their confidence before spending any money in that way. (Hear, hear.) Then there were the Free Libraries. We wanted a sub-division of these forces; more of them, and more easily within the reach of the people. She would like to see them more generally used by the women of Manchester, and if it were more widely known that they were intended for women as well as men, she believed the former would use them more freely. Then there were the parks, and the question of planting trees in streets and squares. Beautiful objects to look upon were to a certain extent educational, and therefore really concerned the happiness of life. There were also many political questions in which women were specially concerned pre-eminently amongst

which was the temperance question, and she believed there could be no more effectual way of influencing the Imperial Government on that question than through the medium of the town councils. She would advise the women electors of that ward to ask the candidates whether they were prepared to support movements for improving the condition of the people. She did not say the women would as a body vote for one side or the other, but she thought she would not be far wrong in saying that whichever of them got a majority of the women voters would go in. (Laughter and applause.) Women were, as a rule, very unselfish—(great laughter)—but she wanted them to be not altogether so in this case. She wanted them to ask the candidates whether they would assist in promoting laws for the general improvement of women. There was the law relating to marriage with a deceased wife's sister, on which much difference of opinion existed, and on which the women ought to show their feeling through the medium of the municipalities, many of which had presented petitions on the subject. Again there was the question of women's suffrage. Surely if it was right for a thousand women in that ward to vote for a councillor, it was equally right they should be able to vote for a member of Parliament. (Hear, hear.) As an elector herself, she would not vote for any candidate who would not promise that whenever the question was before the Council in the form of a petition he would vote to give her the full rights of citizenship, and she asked them to send no man to the Council who would not vote for such a motion. (Applause.) It was just possible that next November but one she might have to solicit their votes in favour of herself as a candidate for re-election on the School Board, but she wished to say that in connection with that work there were a great many questions upon which she wished women would take pains to form and express an opinion. Amongst others there was the suggestion that a staff of intelligent women should be employed as School Board officers to visit the homes and see the mothers of the children. (Applause.) She had tried hard to get such a set of officers, but without success, the men being too many for her in that respect. (Laughter.) She knew too much of the School Board work not to feel generally satisfied with it, and that it was doing a great deal of good; at the same time, she thought there was room for the agency of women, and hoped it would be more extensively tried. (Applause.)

Councillor MAY next addressed the meeting. He said it was pretty well known that he had voted more than once in favour of the parliamentary franchise for women, because he believed they had as much right to it as men. Suppose, for example, he were to die, and his business was transferred to his widow, the taxes would be no less on that account; therefore she ought to have the same right of control over them. As to washhouses, that question was at present under the serious consideration of a committee in the Council, and he believed that the citizens would be supplied with them in time. With regard to the free libraries, he thought Manchester was second to no city in the provision it had made in that respect. At the same time he did not say the present number were sufficient. For instance, he thought they ought to have one in the higher end of that ward. (Hear, hear.) As to the opening of those places on the Sunday, he could only repeat what he said in the Council, that he did not believe there would be any harm in that alone, but it was the hint by the promoters of the movement at something to follow, which Englishmen would regret hereafter. (Great applause.) In reference to trees in streets and squares, he had taken some interest in that subject, and he believed that trees of some kinds might be made to flourish, but when they reflected that they would cost probably £5 each to get properly planted, he thought they would hardly be pre-

pared to spend so much money on such an object in times like these. (Hear, hear.) As he would very likely have other opportunities of addressing them, he would leave the consideration of other questions for a future meeting. (Applause.)

Mr. WHITELEY said that never having had a seat in the City Council, he could not, like Mr. May, refer them to the votes he had given there, but he thought the votes he had given elsewhere would bear the strictest scrutiny of the public. There was one matter he ought to mention, which would show that in one respect, at any rate, he had always advocated the cause of the ladies, especially the poorer portion of them. (Applause.) Many months ago, when he was a member of the Prestwich Board of Guardians it was proposed to introduce the regulations for out-relief which were in force in the township of Manchester, but he, considering those regulations were cruel, un-English, and inhuman—(applause)—strongly contended not only with his brother guardians, but also with Mr. Cane, the poor law inspector, against their introduction, and he was happy to say that he was successful. (Applause.) If they returned him to the City Council, he would give the same attention to their interests as he did on the Board of Guardians. (Hear, hear.) With regard to women's suffrage, his view was that every person who paid rates ought to have a vote for the persons who had to spend those rates, whether locally or imperially. (Hear, hear.) Some women were actually superior to many men in intelligence; Miss Becker for instance—(applause)—who he believed would have to die before they would value her as they ought, for he believed she had done more than any other woman in England to exalt her sex. (Hear, hear.) With regard to washhouses, he believed they would be very useful, but he was not in favour of spending £20,000 on one establishment of that sort, and leaving other wards without. As to free libraries, he considered they ought to have one at the higher end of that ward, and he hoped the day was not far distant when they would have not only another library, but also a public hall, and in the centre of the ward a police station. (Loud and continued laughter.) He wished to ask the lady voters to record their votes on the 1st of November, and if they thought Mr. May the most suitable man—"three cheers for May"—by all means vote for him. (A woman's voice: "He'll have mine.") But if they believed that he (Mr. Whiteley) would represent them more efficiently, then he expected they would give him their votes.

The CHAIRMAN: I am sure you will wish you could vote for them both. My wish is that the best man may win.

An opportunity was then afforded for catechising the candidates, and the Chairman suggested that parties should confine themselves strictly to asking questions, and not make speeches.

The first question was to Mr. May: Are you in favour of continuing the opening of the free libraries on Sundays?

Mr. MAY: When the resolution was passed in the Council I said, "Well, I am beaten, and it shall have a fair trial." I distinctly say that I believe no harm will arise from the mere opening of the libraries, but it is the evil that will follow which influenced my vote.

What was your reason for voting against it?

Mr. MAY: The statement by the promoters that they intended opening something else, so that it would not be an English Sabbath then. (A voice: "Who said so?") I believe there is as much profanity in spending the Sabbath irreligiously as in breaking the whole of the Ten Commandments.

Several people loudly protested that this was no answer, and one gentleman wished to know what Mr. May insinuated when he referred to the evil that was to follow.

Mr. MAY: I have insinuated nothing. They said they wanted to introduce a continental Sunday, and I should be

very sorry if my sons should in thirty years hence have to work seven days a week, perhaps for six days' pay. ("Oh, oh.")

Mr. WHITELEY was then asked why an aged couple, who applied for relief to the Chorlton Board of Guardians while he was a member of it, were refused out-relief because they could collectively earn five shillings a week, and were ordered into the workhouse.

Mr. WHITELEY: For the very reason that the same code of rules I have referred to is in force in that union, and I could not with all my talking and influence induce the Guardians to set the regulations aside.

Why did you retire?

Mr. WHITELEY: Surely a man can please himself whether he will continue in office or not.

Will you, if returned to the Council, vote for the rescinding of the resolution opening the free libraries on the Sundays?

Mr. WHITELEY: If I had been in the Council when the question was discussed I should have voted for the amendment, referring it to the electors on 1st of November. But as the resolution has been passed by a fair majority, I am not the man to interfere with that decision unless the ratepayers demand it. ("That's no answer," and uproar.)

Mr. W. H. HUGHES: I repeat the question. Will you vote for rescinding the resolution or not, if returned?

Mr. WHITELEY: My answer is that the question has been decided in the Council, and it is now a ratepayers' question. ("No, no; that won't do," and hooting.)

The question was then put by Mr. THOMPSON, of Ardwick, to Mr. May, whether he would vote for rescinding the resolution.

Mr. MAY: Most decidedly. (Loud and continued cheering.)

Mr. Whiteley was again strongly pressed for an answer to the question, when

The CHAIRMAN said he trusted they would be satisfied with the answer Mr. Whiteley had already given. (Cries of "No, no; we want it yes or no.")

The CHAIRMAN: Mr. Whiteley declines to say anything further in the matter—"Oh, oh"—and Miss Becker has a few questions to ask.

Miss BECKER said that not being an elector of the ward she supposed it was only by permission of the chairman that she could put a question. She wished to ask, in the first place, whether the candidates would either of them, if returned, vote in favour of women's suffrage, should a petition on that subject be presented to the Council. The next question had reference to the use of the Town Hall by the ratepayers whose property it was. She contended that whenever the ratepayers required the use of that building for meetings of public interest they ought to have it free of charge. Such was the practice in Birmingham. Why could it not be so in Manchester? She therefore wished to know from the candidates whether they would, if returned to the Council, support a motion to that effect.

Councillor MAY said he believed the people of Manchester had a right to the free use of that building for the purposes indicated by Miss Becker. But he had recently discovered a secret in connection with that question, which was that many of those who sit in the Council are shareholders in other public halls in the city, and therefore naturally opposed the idea of allowing parties the free use of that hall. In reply to the first question, he said he would be glad to support any petition in favour of the parliamentary franchise for women.

Mr. WHITELEY: I will do all in my power to obtain the parliamentary vote for women. As to the second question, I should certainly use my influence to get the free use of the Town Hall to the ratepayers.

A YOUNG LADY in the body of the room then briefly but

most intelligently addressed the meeting. She asked whether a great deal of the noise against the opening of libraries and museums on the Sundays did not spring from self-interest, as in the case of the public halls—the self-interest of the publicans. (Hear, hear, and a Voice: "That's it.") Whether was it better for working men who had not had time during the week to educate their minds, and who could not get a sufficient supply of spiritual food in the churches on Sunday—(laughter)—whether was it not better that they should go to the free libraries than to the public-house on that day? (Loud applause.) The speaker proceeded to describe in forcible terms the miserable homes of those who frequented the public-house, as contrasted with those who availed themselves of such instruction as that referred to, and was most enthusiastically cheered on concluding her remarks.

Mr. EDWARD HEYWOOD asked whether the candidates would, if returned to the Council, vote for the closing of public-houses on the Sunday if that question came before them.

Mr. MAY: That question does not at present belong to municipal matters; but should it come before the Council in any shape that we can deal with it I shall be very glad to see the public-houses closed, which I believe most of the proprietors would be glad of too.

Mr. HEYWOOD: I did not ask whether Mr. May would be glad to see them closed; I asked whether he would vote for it or not. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. MAY: If Mr. Heywood has misunderstood me it is his own fault. When I said I should be glad to see the public-houses closed, that meant, of course, that I should hold up my hand in favour of it. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. WHITELEY: I shall be very glad to use my influence and vote for closing them on the Sunday. (Applause.)

Councillor WALKER proposed a vote of thanks to Miss Becker for the address she had delivered, observing that it was such an interesting discourse on municipal life as it had seldom been his fortune to listen to.

An ELECTOR, who seconded the motion, took the liberty to accuse the chairman of partiality and incompetency to retain his position any longer, for having allowed a young lady to address the meeting after ruling that only questions could be allowed, and having prohibited a gentleman from making a speech.

The motion having been unanimously adopted,

Miss BECKER in acknowledging the compliment referred to the unseemly interruptions which had occurred during the interrogatory portion of the proceedings, and said she hoped the mixing of women and men in such gatherings would have the effect of moderating the exuberance of the latter, for they should remember that the strength of an opinion was not always commensurate with the amount of noise with which it was expressed. (Laughter and applause.) Adverting to the charge of partiality against the chairman, she said that if the person who made the charge had remembered that the meeting was a meeting of women electors, and that properly speaking no man had any right to open his lips except by permission—(laughter)—he would not have made it. With regard to the relief regulations she said they appeared to her exceedingly harsh and inhuman. No doubt they were framed with good intentions, but they were framed by men who did not properly understand the peculiar needs and position of women. This was a strong reason for electing women as guardians, which office by law they were permitted to hold, and she hoped the next time such elections came round they would send one or more women to the boards in this district. Reverting to the washhouse question, she suggested that a cottage should be taken for the purpose in every street, instead of erecting costly

and cumbrous buildings, just like men's way of doing business. (Laughter and applause.) She concluded by moving a vote of thanks to the chairman.

Councillor MAY having seconded the motion, it was carried, with one dissentient only.

The CHAIRMAN, in reply, said he was glad to see there was only one person in that large meeting who charged him with partiality, and with reference to that charge, he had only to say that considering it was a woman's meeting, he thought it did that man no credit to object to a young lady addressing them. (Applause.)—*Manchester City News*, Oct. 26th.

On October 2nd, Miss Craigen addressed a meeting in the Temperance Hall, BANBURY. Mr. W. Bayliss presided, and the petition was carried unanimously.—On October 8th Miss Craigen spoke in the Baptist Schoolroom, TOWCESTER. The petition was unanimously carried, and signed by the Rev. Mr. Fidler on behalf of the meeting.—On October 10th Miss Craigen addressed a numerous meeting in the Wesleyan Chapel, GREEN'S NORTON, and the petition was unanimously passed.—On October 14th Miss Craigen held a meeting in the Temperance Hall, HOLBECK. Mr. S. Boon presided, and the petition was carried by a unanimous vote.

ABERDEEN.

LADIES AND THE LIBERALS OF ABERDEEN.

On the evening of the 18th October, the Earl of Rosebery gave an address in the Aberdeen Music Hall, under the auspices of the Liberal Association. The Association, wishing to be Liberal in the true sense of the term, duly considered the question if ladies as well as gentlemen should receive invitations to the meeting. It was ultimately agreed that all Liberals without distinction of sex should be invited. The meeting was a brilliant political demonstration, in which Lord Rosebery showed, by his earnestness and ability, capabilities for becoming a Liberal leader of a high order. Among the vast concourse of men who thronged the hall were about twenty ladies, including Mrs. Alexander, Mrs. Gerard, Miss Rodger, and Mrs. Ella Burton Rodger. The assemblage was quiet and orderly, and neither by jostling nor by noisy acclamations did any of those present behave in such a way as to disturb the most fastidious gentlewoman. Miss Becker's interesting paper, read in favour of female suffrage last year when the Social Science meetings were held in Aberdeen, may be considered not to have been lost upon the Granite City, whose female inhabitants are showing a livelier interest than heretofore in politics. E. B. R.

YOUNG WOMEN'S FRIENDLY SOCIETY, THORNHILL.

The first annual gathering of the Thornhill branch of the Scotch Girls' Friendly Society was held recently at Capenoch. This society, which, as its name indicates, is an affiliated branch of a central and wide-spread organisation, was originated early in the present year through the efforts of a number of ladies in the district. Its objects, as stated in a little manual issued from the parent office, may be briefly described as the strengthening of good principles, training in exemplary habits, and fostering of friendly feeling. These ends are sought to be attained chiefly by kindly intercourse among the members and "associates." Various means of promoting the welfare of its members are also encouraged, such as classes, savings banks, lending libraries, working parties, &c. The management of each branch is superintended by lady associates, who have the power of admitting members. Membership is open, without restriction, to girls of all classes; the only qualification, and one rigidly insisted upon, being that they shall possess a respectable character, and shall not in any way forfeit it, and each member

is required to pay the nominal subscription of sixpence annually. The Thornhill branch is still in its infancy; but from the marked vitality which it already displays, it may be predicted that a vigorous youth is before it. Its associates are numerous and zealous, and its membership close upon two hundred, drawn chiefly from six neighbouring parishes. Mrs. Gilchrist Clark is the secretary and treasurer. Mrs. Gladstone, an honorary associate, kindly placed at the disposal of the society the beautiful grounds of Capenoch for what may be termed their inaugural general meeting. At two o'clock, over 150 members of the society, chiefly servant girls, assembled at Capenoch Lodge. At four o'clock tea was partaken of. A number of short and suitable addresses were afterwards given; and the very happy proceedings terminated about half-past five. Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone were most hospitable and courteous to their numerous visitors.

CORRESPONDENCE.

INTERFERENCE OR NON-INTERFERENCE.

To the Editor of the Women's Suffrage Journal.

Madam,—In your *Journal* for this month (October) I am grieved to find that Miss F. P. Cobbe has been lectured by an anonymous writer for her noble efforts on behalf of poor Isabel Grant. That a man should have been found to pen the remarks which Miss Cobbe relates is enough to make men worthy the name feel humbled and strongly indignant. That this miserable carper should call himself "a real friend of humanity" is—well, I really have not patience to stigmatise such conduct as it deserves; but, suffice it to say, that his humanity is evidently of that prosaic, useless order which does not merit the name of humanity at all. How are laws to be made or progress to be attained, if not by the exertions of noble-minded people (all too few) like Miss Cobbe, who have the energy and courage to start those righteous agitations which produce righteous laws? Take the present anti-vivisection crusade: would it ever have arisen, but for the noble efforts of Miss F. P. Cobbe? As a proof of the real necessity of women's work I need go no further than the *Times* of to-day, where, under the heading "Mortality of Mothers in Childbirth," I find remarks made by Dr. A. W. Edis, of the Middlesex Hospital, which should make men blush for shame. Truth is stranger than fiction; for it seems incredible that "England," as Dr. Edis tells us, "should share with America the unenviable distinction of caring nothing for the welfare of women as regards the education of midwives." It appears, to quote further from the remarks of Dr. Edis, that "in the thirty years from 1847 to 1876, no less than 106,565 mothers died in childbirth, or one mother for every two hundred children born alive." Well may Dr. William Farr, the Registrar-General, append to his report the ominous remark: "How long is this sacrifice of lives (of lives be it remembered at a most precious age) to go on?" . . . As a result of frequent deputations and continued agitation upon this subject, Lord Derby, in 1875, sent circulars to Paris, Berlin, Brussels, The Hague, Stockholm, St. Petersburg, Vienna, and Washington, asking for returns of any laws existing in those countries as to the instruction, supervision, and registration of women before being allowed to practice as midwives. In reply to this, seven out of the eight countries named stated that such legislation did exist, England, as stated above, with America "sharing the unenviable distinction of caring nothing for the welfare of women as regards the education of midwives." And yet, madam, in spite of proofs like this of the carelessness with which men are found to treat women's questions,—in spite of this a man is found to

deprecate the interference of women, and actually to lecture Miss Cobbe for writing her noble letter—a letter which (were men's chivalry what it should be) men should be found eager to write. After years of grievous and terrible ill-treatment of women by men—after years of shameful assaults which, as Mr. John Stuart Mill told the House of Commons, M.P.s "were found quite capable of allowing to be committed"—after all this a lady has to frame a Bill to remedy this! And yet some men would resent the interference of women! That they may more and more interfere is my wish; for what observant person can doubt that the moral perceptions of women are much keener and brighter than those of men?—I am, madam, yours, with sincerest sympathy, ARTHUR F. ASTLEY. Eton and Harrow Club, Park Place, St. James's, Oct., 1878.

A POLITE LETTER-WRITER.

To the Editor of the Women's Suffrage Journal.

Miss,—I intended to have addressed this letter to Miss F. P. Cobbe but as I have unfortunately mislaid the last copy of your journal, in which I think her address is given, I must therefore address it to you but I hope you will be so kind as let her see it. I have been for a considerable time a supporter of both women's suffrage and medical education but the senseless, absurd, idiotic way in which you have compared the cases of Cornelius Spillane and the woman Grant in your Journal has in fact put me completely against women's rights seeing that they appear to have no judgment at all.

I will however take the pains to show the difference though I know my trouble will be wasted

1st. Isabel Grant used a knife whereas Spillane only used his hand and it has been the law to punish assaults of the former description much more heavily than the latter and more heavily still where firearms are used. I think everyone will believe it right to do so.

2nd. Grant received no provocation further than perhaps an offensive name applied by a drunken worthless husband to a drunken worthless wife. Spillane on the other hand received what was to any man with the remotest particle of virtue the greatest provocation viz. finding his wife drinking whiskey of which she would not render an account.

I might make this letter longer by pointing out other things but as I know that you are altogether blind to reason I will shut up. As you have such a way of villifying (sic) everyone that differs from you and I do not care to give you an opportunity of doing so to me I am, Miss, 25th Oct. 78

[We print the letter of our anonymous correspondent, if only to show to him and others that we are not so unreasonable as he appears to believe. We do recognise the difference, both in legal and moral guilt, between assaults with the fist and with knives. But this difference is based on the comparative danger of the two modes of assaults as between man and man, without reference to assaults by men on women. An assault with the hand on a man by a woman, and on a woman by a man, are technically and legally offences of equal magnitude; but, practically, there is, or may be, as much difference in their gravity as there is between a blow with a knife and with the hand. A blow with the fist of a man on a woman in the condition of Spillane's wife is as dangerous and deadly as an assault with a knife. As a matter of fact she died from its effects, and such assaults with fatal consequences are very sadly common. In this respect women are insufficiently protected by the law. The other portions of the letter call for no comment; we leave them to the judgment of our readers.—Ed. W. S. J.]

NOVELISTS AND WOMEN'S RIGHTS.

The Daily News, in commenting on Mr. Anthony Trollope's recent novel, "Is he Popenjoy?" has the following remarks:

"We cannot help feeling that the ladies of the 'Rights of Women Institute,' on whom Mr. Trollope is rather hard, may have possessed qualities which to a sympathetic eye would have appeared at least as worthy of respect as those of the idle, pleasure-seeking people to whom he accords a more prominent position. The 'strong-minded females,' as writers who delight in a refined and original style of jocularity are wont to call them, have lately, we observe, developed a tendency to turn upon their bantering opponents—at least, so we judge from the recent appearance in one of their organs of a rather amusing satirical appeal from—

Three tender, clinging things, with palpitating natures.

On the whole, we are afraid that the frequent illicit 'clings' and tender palpitations of Mr. Trollope's fine ladies offer at least as fair mark for unkind observation as the 'isms' and the craving to take part in the serious business of life, which ladies of this type so heartily despise; nor does Mr. Trollope's picture of society seem calculated to convert a single 'strong-minded' young lady from the error of her ways."

WOMEN IN THE CELESTIAL EMPIRE.

The London correspondent of the Manchester Guardian writes as follows:—

"The appearance not long ago of the Chinese Minister's wife as an entertainer in a London drawing-room appears to have startled the residents in the chief cities of the Celestial Empire. More than one journal has commented upon the fact, and a recent number of the Hong Kong Daily Press which has just reached me refers to this new departure as a novel and striking affair. Your Eastern contemporary remarks:—'The higher classes of Chinese, like true Orientals, keep their women strictly secluded from the vulgar gaze. Woman's position in China is not an enviable one. She is looked down upon as an inferior, is seldom educated, and is regarded more in the light of an appanage than as a helpmeet, counsellor, and friend. Mrs. Kwoh, as well as her husband, is likely to become indoctrinated with new and heretical notions. She will see that the position accorded to her sex in Europe is far higher than that which is allowed to ladies in China. She will be able to contrast the respect and homage paid to ladies in the West with the lack of courtesy prevailing towards them in the Celestial Kingdom. If of a very impressionable nature and able to make a convert of her husband, she may return to China an ardent advocate of woman's rights. Her influence, however, unless she gained the ears of the Empress Dowagers, would scarcely go for much.' After the freedom of London perhaps this Chinese lady would not care to return to the subjection of the East."

MARRIED WOMEN AND LICENCES.

The Shrewsbury magistrates have recently given a decision in favour of the right of a married woman to hold a licence in her own name. An unmarried woman in that borough who possessed a public-house took to herself a husband. As she did not wish to transfer to him her business, she asked the magistrate to renew the licence in her own name, and not in that of her husband. The magistrate acceded to her request, and thus the wife holds a licence over which her husband will presumably have no legal control.

MANCHESTER NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS RECEIVED DURING OCTOBER, 1878.

Table listing subscriptions and donations for Manchester National Society for Women's Suffrage, categorized by location: Darlington, Middlesbrough, and Hull.

GRIMSBY.

Table listing subscriptions and donations for Grimsby, categorized by location: Thirsk, Ripon, Northallerton, and Bury.

S. A. STEINTHAL, TREASURER.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS FROM SEP. 20 TO OCT. 20, 1878.

Table listing subscriptions and donations for the Central Committee, categorized by location: Hull and The Hartlepoons.

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Printed by A. IRELAND & Co., Pall Mall, Manchester, for the Proprietors, and Published by Messrs. Triebner and Co., 57 and 59, Ludgate Hill, London, and Mr. JOHN HEYWOOD, Manchester.—November 1, 1878.—Entered at Stationers' Hall.