

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE JOURNAL.

EDITED BY LYDIA E. BECKER.

VOL. X.—No 117. PUBLISHED MONTHLY.
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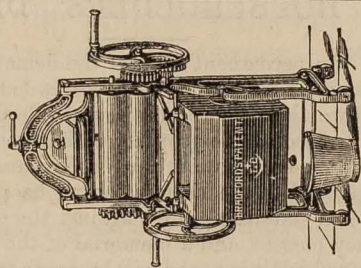
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tors' Trade Society and Women Compositors; Curious Advertisement for a Wife. Medical Scholarships for Women. Public Meetings:—Stockport, Bolton, Manchester (St. Michael's Ward, All Saints' Ward), Leeds, Hollinwood, Clerkenwell, Paddington. Debating Societies:—Grimsby, Falmouth. Social Science Congress.

The Parliaments of England. Correspondence. Trades Unions and the Employment of Women. The Recent Meeting at Cork. Admission of Women to University College. Courageous Ladies. University Extension. Treasurers' Reports:—Manchester, Glasgow, Central Committee.

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Preliminary Notice.

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 12th, 1879. The chair to be taken at three o'clock. The attendance of friends is requested. Admission free. Principal entrance in Albert Square.

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

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THE RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF WOMEN IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT. A Paper read by Miss Becker, at the Conference on behalf of extending the Parliamentary franchise to women, held in the Victoria Rooms, Clifton, Bristol, on January 24th, 1879.—Manchester: A. Ireland and Co. May be had also at 28, Jackson's Row, Manchester.

THE BIBLE AND WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE, By JOHN HOOKER, of Hartford, Connecticut. Reprinted from a tract issued by the Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association. Price Threepence. A. Ireland & Co., Manchester.

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MARYLEBONE.—On the 2nd November, at 8-30 p.m., Miss C. A. Biggs will open a Debate at the Bryanston Club, 72, Seymour Place, Baker-street, W., on "Women's Suffrage."

CLERKENWELL.—On the 9th November, at 8-30 p.m., Miss Brown will open a Debate at the London Patriotic Club, Clerkenwell Green, E., on "Is Women's Suffrage a Question Affecting the Working Classes?"

PADDINGTON.—On the 9th of November, at 11-30 a.m., J. H. Levy, Esq., will open a Debate at the Cobden Club and Institute, 2, Landseer Terrace, Kensal Road, W. (close to Westbourne Park Station), on "Women's Suffrage."

TOWER HAMLETS.—On the 11th November Miss C. A. Raisin will open a Debate at the Tower Hamlets Liberal Club, 43, Beaumont Square, E. Subject: "That the Suffrage should be given to Women Properly qualified."

NOTTING HILL.—On the 23rd of November, at 8-30 p.m., Miss E. Tomlinson will open a Debate on "Women's Suffrage" at the Progressive Club, Uxbridge-st., Notting Hill, W.

THE LAWS RELATING TO WOMEN, by ERNEST EILOART, of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-Law. London: Waterlow and Sons Limited, printers, London Wall, 1878. Price, 1s.

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

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

CONTENTS FOR OCTOBER, 1879.

1. Social Science.
2. The Coming School Board Elections.
3. Men's Views of Women's Duties.

Reviews.

Wood Engraving for Women.

Record of Events:—Admission of Women as Members of the Pharmaceutical Society—University College, London; Somerville Hall—Newnham—Irish Intermediate Education Examinations—Mr. Jacob Bright on Female Education—London School of Medicine—Technical Instruction—Girls' Friendly Society for Ireland—Manchester Society of Women Painters—Women Householders in Stockport—Women as Factory Inspectors—Women in Libraries—Women in Mines—Temperance Work—Miscellaneous.

Correspondence.

Foreign Notes and News.

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

FUNERAL AND MOURNING REFORM ASSOCIATION.—Supported by the Earl of Essex, the Viscountess Harberton, the Bishops of Hereford and Ripon, Miss Becker, Mr. Ruskin, and many others. Its object is to aid in bringing into general use Funeral and Mourning Customs, unobjectionable on sanitary grounds, simple, rational, and free from ostentation and extravagance.—For particulars apply to the Hon. Secretary, Miss L. WHITBY, Peckleton House, Hinckley, Leicestershire.

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WOMEN HOUSEHOLDERS' DECLARATION.

A desire has been felt to form a record of a permanent kind of the demand of women, otherwise legally qualified, to exercise the Parliamentary franchise. When the names of such women are appended to petitions to the House of Commons, they are usually mixed up with those of the men and women who are not householders, and when once the petition has been laid on the table of the House of Commons the signatures become the property of Parliament, and are no longer accessible for reference. It is therefore proposed that women who possess the qualification for the Parliamentary vote should, in addition to signing petitions to Parliament, send in their names to be appended to the declaration to be preserved in the offices of the Central Committee of the National Society for Women's Suffrage, as a standing protest against the deprivation of the Parliamentary franchise attached to the household or property qualification they possess, and a memorial of the desire and demand of women for the suffrage.

The following is the form of declaration, which it is hoped will become a record of permanent historical and political value:—"We, the undersigned, possessing qualifications which would entitle us, if we were men, to vote in elections for members of Parliament, declare that we consider our exclusion from the privilege on the ground of sex an infraction of the principle that taxation and representation should go together, and we hereby express our desire for an alteration in the laws, which shall enable all women possessing the qualifications now enabling men to vote to exercise the Parliamentary franchise, if they desire so to do."

Women householders are invited to write (stating name, address, and qualification, and) authorising their names to be attached to the declaration to Miss BECKER, 28, Jackson's Row, Manchester; or to Miss THORNBURY, Secretary of Central Committee, 64, Berners Street, London, W.

COURAGEOUS LADIES.

A few days ago a very interesting presentation was made at Padstow, on the coast of Cornwall, to five young ladies, the Misses Prideaux Brune, and Miss Nora O'Shaughnessy, in the shape of five silver medals and votes inscribed on vellum, which had been awarded to them by the National Lifeboat Institution in acknowledgment of their intrepid and determined services in proceeding in their boat through a rough sea, and having at considerable risk of life rescued an exhausted sailor from a boat which had been capsized during the squally weather off Padstow on the 9th September, two of his companions having perished before their arrival. Samuel Bate, late assistant-coxswain of the Padstow lifeboat, was towing the ladies' boat astern of his fishing smack, when seeing the accident to the boat, they nobly requested to be cast off, and on that being done, he states that they rowed "like tigers" to the rescue, implying that they rowed with the full conviction of the danger in the heavy sea before them, and he has no doubt that the man saved would have perished like his companions but for their prompt help. The presentation to the ladies was made at a meeting of the Committee of the Padstow Branch of the National Lifeboat Institution, by the Rev. Richard Tyacke, the local honorary secretary. The ladies wore their boating costumes on the occasion. Mr. Prideaux Brune, father of four of the ladies, returned thanks on their behalf for the honour thus conferred on them by this great and national institution, and expressed the gratification their parents felt at seeing their daughters and friend thus decorated. He added that he and his wife accepted with grateful feelings

the general vote of the National Lifeboat Institution recording the event, which, as an interesting family document, would be permanently kept in his house.

ADMISSION OF WOMEN TO UNIVERSITY COLLEGE.

The second session since the admission of women to full rights of students in the classes of Arts and Science at University College, London, began last month. Except that the women have a separate common room with female attendants, and that there are, for different reasons, a few classes open only to women, and a few open only to men, the Faculties of Arts and Laws and of Science at University College admit women and men as fellow-students upon terms in every respect equal. In the last session, which was the first of the new system founded on ten sessions of experiment, the number of women studying in the College was 211. In the last two of the years during which only male students had been recognised, the annual increase in the number of entries to these Faculties had been respectively 11 and 10. In the first year of the new system the increase of men alone was 50, which, added to the 211 women then first admitted, made a total increase of 261. There was no difficulty whatever in the working of the system: the sense and courtesy that regulate society in the outside world, where men and women are accustomed to meet daily, are not wanting in the minds of students; there was no breach of college discipline, nor was there even a breach of courtesy within the knowledge of the Deans.

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THE Municipal Elections which take place to-day afford an excellent occasion for the exercise of women's suffrage. Ever since the grant of the municipal suffrage to women in 1869 it has been observed that, in the larger boroughs at least, women have voted in equal proportion with men to the number of each on the register, and in many cases the proportion of women voters has been greater than of men. This fact is a sufficient answer to the oft-repeated objection that women do not value the suffrage. It is easy for objectors to assume that women are indifferent to the vote, but there is no possibility of proving that they are so, short of giving them the vote, and so testing their appreciation of it. But we who believe that women, if they were enfranchised, would take a lively and intelligent interest in elections can bring a presumption that amounts to proof in the use women make of their municipal votes, and the active part they take in the School Board elections.

THE meetings of women that have been held in connection with municipal elections have been extremely interesting. On September 25th, a party of seven hundred women assembled in the Mechanics' Institution, Stockport, by invitation from Mrs. PENNINGTON, wife of one of the borough members. After tea, an address was delivered by Miss DOWNING, on the duty of women to the country as well as to the home. Next day Miss DOWNING gave a similar address at a large meeting in Bolton, chiefly consisting of ladies.

In Manchester, Miss BECKER addressed meetings of women electors in the only two wards where there was a contested election. Cards of invitation were sent to all the women on the citizens' roll in these wards. In the largest, St. Michael's Ward, there are 1,868 women and 10,939 men electors. As the room was a very large one, it was not deemed necessary to reserve it for women, but the result showed that such a precaution would have been wise, for long before the time of meeting a large crowd of men took possession, and when the women who had been invited came with their cards there was no room for them.

It was, therefore, necessary to hold a second meeting the succeeding night, when the hall was wholly reserved for women. The population of the ward consists mainly of small shopkeepers and working people, and the women electors almost all belong to the poorest class of the community. Yet the large hall was filled with a crowd of between 700 and 800 women, most of them seemingly heads of households. It was moved and seconded in due order that Miss BECKER should take the chair. The women listened eagerly to the speeches, and at the close of the proceedings Miss BECKER took a show of hands for each candidate for the Council. The election turns principally on political principles, and the voting showed that both sides were well represented in numbers in the room. But as one candidate had a decided preponderance of support, Miss BECKER was enabled to declare which of them had the voice of the women electors of the ward.

A meeting of women electors of All Saints' Ward was held on October 28th, which was addressed by Miss BECKER and by representatives of each candidate.

In Salford a similar meeting of the women electors in the two contested wards was held, on October 29th, in the Broughton Town Hall.

In Leeds, Mrs. OLIVER SCATCHERD has been addressing meetings of women electors for many evenings in succession; and Mrs. ASHFORD has been engaged in similar work in Birmingham.

A SALIENT feature in the proceedings of the recent meeting of the Social Science Congress at Manchester was the number of the papers that were contributed by ladies, or which dealt with questions affecting the special interests of women. In the audience at the proceedings of the section there was, as usual, a large preponderance of ladies. This is a characteristic feature of most of the Congresses, such as the British Association, and the numerous Societies of which it may be considered the parent. It is, therefore, not at all surprising that the papers by ladies attracted a very large share of the

interest attaching to the Congress and drew a crowded attendance.

The Congress opened on October 1st, with an able address by the Bishop of MANCHESTER. Next day a paper was read by Mr. WHATELY COOKE TAYLOR on Civil Service Appointments for Women; and another paper was sent by Mr. BOYD KINNEAR, on the Legal Position of Married Women. On October 3rd, Miss MARY C. TABOR read a paper on the Training and Registration of Teachers. On the 4th, Miss CAROLINE A. BIGGS read a paper on Girls' Public Day Schools. On October 6th, Miss BECKER gave a sketch of the progress of the movement for the enfranchisement of women. The day was the thirteenth anniversary of the day on which a paper by Mrs. BODICHON was read at the former meeting of the Congress in Manchester, in October, 1866; from the reading of which paper the public agitation of the question of the franchise for women may be said to have begun. Of papers by ladies on general questions, there was one by Miss MABEL SHARMAN CRAWFORD on the need of legislative action to improve the homes of the poor, and one by Miss TOD on elected Licensing Boards. Besides reading and contributing papers, ladies took an active part in the sectional discussions.

During the Congress week, the Committee of the Manchester National Society for Women's Suffrage gave two afternoon parties to the members of the Social Science Congress in the Memorial Hall. The tea tables were elegantly set out by the ladies of the committee with silver and china, and decorated with plants and flowers. The ladies who presided were Mrs. J. P. THOMASSON, Mrs. S. ALFRED STEINTHAL, Mrs. THOMAS DALE, Mrs. GELL, Mrs. OLIVER SCATCHERD, Miss MARIA ATKINSON, and Miss BECKER. The cards were issued to the members of the Social Science Congress, a large number of whom were present, and appeared to think that the tea and social intercourse were an agreeable refreshment after the labours of the day. The interest of the gathering was enhanced by the exhibition of some beautiful specimens of point lace, part of the wardrobe of King CHARLES I. These relics were preserved by ELIZABETH, daughter of Lord Keeper COVENTRY, who was Chancellor at the time of the King's death, and handed down in the family to the present representative, whose daughter, Miss HELEN BLACKBURN, kindly lent them for exhibition.

DURING the recent London registration of voters, an incident occurred which brings forcibly before us the logical

absurdity of depriving a class of responsible householders and ratepayers of the privileges belonging to their position. On September the 26th the revising barrister in Westminster discovered a large number of ladies' names which had been left by the overseer on the register. He immediately caused them to be struck off, and censured the overseer sharply. The barrister only dealt with the law *de facto*, but we very much doubt if the overseer who had interpreted it *de jure* merited the censure. It might puzzle a wiser head than the overseer's to discover the reason of the anomaly that our registration lists present. On the one hand we find the municipal list registering the names of every householder and ratepayer in a spirit of equity, laying the same burthens on all, balanced by the same privileges; on the other side we find two arbitrarily classified lists, in which equal burthens are imposed without equality of compensation. In local elections the franchise is an incident of property; in parliamentary elections of property and sex.

In 1869, when the Municipal Franchise Bill was under discussion in the House of Lords, Lord CAIRNS declared that "as an unmarried woman could dispose of her property and deal with it in any way she thought proper, he did not know why she should not have a voice in saying how it should be lighted and watched, and generally in controlling the municipal expenditure to which that property contributed." Parliament endorsed this opinion by passing the Act. Eight months previously the Court of Common Pleas had rejected the right of women ratepayers to vote, one of the judges expressing his hope "that their unanimous decision would for ever exorcise and lay the ghost of a doubt which never ought to have been raised." It is possible that if at the time an appeal could have been carried to a higher court, the judgment might have been reversed. Meantime, we have before us the astonishing anomaly that while in the majority of elections the vote of a woman ratepayer is equal to that of a man ratepayer, in the one election which influences most deeply her life, the laws under which she lives, and the control of her property, her name has no more right to be on the register than if it had been the name of a dog or a horse (*vide* Mr. Justice BYLES). In the local elections which take place all over England in this week, in the still more exciting School Board elections which will come on in three weeks' space, we shall see women ratepayers taking their full and honourable share: availing themselves of that right attached to their property which has been expressly guaranteed to them by Parliament. In the far

more momentous election which must take place ere many months are over, these women must stand silent and powerless, their claims set on one side, their position as householders and citizens rejected.

The law allows it and the Court awards it, but neither observers, revising barristers, nor the Court of Common Pleas itself can give the reason why. C. A. B.

GREAT exertions are being made in London to secure the return of a larger number of well-qualified ladies as members of the next London School Board. The proportion on the present Board is only four women out of fifty members, a manifestly inadequate number to fulfil the special duties which demand their attention. These ladies, Mrs. SURR in Finsbury, Mrs. FENWICK-MILLER in Hackney, Mrs. WESTLAKE in Marylebone, and Miss HELEN TAYLOR in Southwark, intend to seek re-election in their respective divisions. In addition to these, several more ladies are already in the field.

Mrs. WEBSTER, who has issued her address to the electors of Chelsea, is well known in the literary world for her Greek translations, her poems, and for excellent articles on social and domestic subjects in various reviews, some of which have been reprinted in a volume called "A Housewife's Opinions." She has had some experience in education, and is an accomplished speaker. Her list of supporters is very large and influential.

Miss HELENA DOWNING, who has been requested to come forward in Tower Hamlets, is well known as a public speaker. For the last six or seven years she has untiringly worked for the suffrage question, and also on behalf of working women, both at the time of the passing of the Factory Acts, and subsequently in the establishment of benefit societies. She seeks to represent a working-class constituency, the Tower Hamlets, and is in favour of free, compulsory, and secular education.

Miss MÜLLER, who is seeking the suffrages of Lambeth, is also a Liberal. She is known among the friends of education as having herself, when at Girton, obtained the highest honours the Cambridge University gives to women. She has had subsequently practical experience in superintending large Board Schools in the south of London.

Miss ROSAMOND DAVENPORT HILL comes forward as an independent candidate for the City, in which the long professional connection of her father, the late Mr. MATTHEW DAVENPORT HILL, and the services of her uncle, Sir ROWLAND HILL, have given her peculiar interest. Miss HILL was a colleague of MARY CARPENTER in her reforma-

tory efforts, and had considerable experience in the management of a Ragged School which received children from the very lowest class. Her father's efforts in the repression of juvenile crime are well known. She established also, and carried on for many years, a certified Industrial School for Girls, and has been for three years a local manager of one of the large London Board Schools.

At a conference of Liberals in Southwark, held October 23rd, it was resolved to support Miss M. E. RICHARDSON and Mr. HAWKINS, as candidates in favour of the policy of the Board. It appears, therefore, as if there may be two lady candidates in Southwark.

We trust that in the next School Board for London all the Metropolitan divisions will have the benefit of a woman's experience and insight in carrying on the great work of education.

THE Pharmaceutical Society have now removed the last remaining inequality in their treatment of women pharmacists, by admitting them to membership of the society. At their meeting on the first of October, Mr. HAMPSON moved "that the following Pharmaceutical chemists, having tendered their subscriptions for the current year, be elected members of the society—ISABELLA SKINNER CLARKE, London; ROSE COOMBES MINSHULL, London." He said the two ladies in question, having passed the requisite examination and become registered, were without any doubt eligible, according to the Act of Parliament, to become members. The duty of the Council was not to make the law, but to carry out the law, and it seemed somewhat impertinent to say, "Because you are a woman, although you have gained admission to the rights of pharmacy under the Act of Parliament, when you apply under another section of the Act of Parliament to become a member of the society, you shall be refused." This refusal had continued for several years, but it seemed to him that to put any stumbling-block in the way of carrying out the Act of Parliament was illegal. But apart from the legal question, it appeared to him ungenerous, he would almost say unmanly, to continue this persistent refusal. They would do the society honour by admitting to its ranks properly-qualified lady members. Besides, by the refusal, the ladies were denied the privileges of using the library and museum, the title of membership which was considered of great value, and the Journal. Mr. WOOLLEY seconded the motion. After a discussion in which every speaker, save the President, supported the

motion, the resolution was carried by an almost unanimous vote, the President being the only dissentient.

This action on the part of the Pharmaceutical Society offers a favourable contrast to the action of the British Medical Association. Although by the existing rules the association found itself unable to refuse to elect Dr. GARRETT ANDERSON and Dr. FRANCES HOGGAN, they have since adopted a rule which will enable them in future to refuse to elect women who are duly qualified and registered medical practitioners as members of the British Medical Association. Besides this, we understand that very strong pressure has been brought to bear to induce the ladies already elected to resign.

VISCOUNTESS HARBERTON, in a letter to the *Daily News*, comments on the comparatively mild sentences pronounced in a case of gross assault by a cabman on a young lady at Stockton. Eighteen months' hard labour was considered by the judge an adequate punishment for what was admitted to be a brutal outrage on a woman. She asks if this does not supply an additional proof that until women are allowed a voice in legislation they will never be looked upon as of the same importance as men by those who make and administer the laws. Nothing rouses human nature like fellow feeling, and that, of course, men have not, for injuries they themselves are safe from. "A WOMAN," in the same paper, gives expression to the feelings of horror with which she read the account of the outrage, and of surprise and indignation that so dastardly a crime should have met with the totally inadequate sentence of eighteen months' hard labour. The ladies who have thus expressed the natural feelings of women in observing how inadequately men protect women, represent multitudes of other women who are unable or unwilling to write letters to newspapers. Indeed, if every woman who feels indignant with the way in which women's wrongs are dealt with in the law courts were to write to the papers, the editors would have to enlarge their columns in order to find room for their just complaints.

On October 24th, WILLIAM WOOD, 27, a hammerman, was charged at the Lambeth Police Court with assaulting his wife by striking and kicking her. The prosecutrix had her right arm in a sling. She had not been married eight weeks to the prisoner, and a few days after the marriage he began to knock her about. On Thursday night, while she was walking along the Walworth Road, he rushed upon her and struck her on the face and head with his fists and

loosened several teeth. He knocked her down and kicked her on the head and body until she became insensible, and remembered no more until she found herself at the station attended by a doctor. Her arm was so severely injured that she could not use it. He was jealous of another man, and the prosecutrix said there was no cause for his suspicions. Mr. SAUNDERS said a cowardly and violent assault had been committed, and even if there were cause for jealousy it would be no justification for such an attack. He sentenced him to one month's hard labour. We learn from the report in the *Standard* that the prisoner exhibited great jollity, and went out of court laughing at the sentence.

In a speech at the annual meeting of subscribers to the Manchester College for Women, Mr. JACOB BRIGHT said he desired to discuss briefly whether this was the best means of affording high education to the ladies of the district. He could not forget the existence of the Owens College. That was a great institution of learning; it had commodious lecture rooms, a noble laboratory and library; it had every appliance for giving a high education to the people of the district; it had a staff of professors who were said to be equal to the professors of any learned institution in the land. It appeared to him to be the duty of a great institution like that to do the work which the college for women was founded to accomplish. A very learned man was once credited with making a very commodious hole for the cat, and then making a small hole for the kitten. It seemed to him as if the learned men of Manchester were engaged in a task of that kind at the present moment. This shutting of the doors of Owens College upon one-half of the community seemed to him to be a superstition of a peculiar kind. They looked abroad upon the world, and they saw men and women everywhere intermingling. In churches, places of amusement, the lecture rooms of the British Association and Social Science Congress, the same sight was to be seen. The Governors of Owens College were not in the least appalled at this sight, but when they were asked to let the same circumstances exist within the walls of their college as without, some dreadful spectre frightened them, and they took a course which in his opinion was unfortunate for the district.

It is to be hoped that the experience in University College, London, Firth College, Sheffield, and other educational institutions which open their doors impartially to all who come for instruction, will have the effect of

calming the fears which appear to deter the authorities of Owens College from admitting women students.

In the course of his address on October 20th, on opening the Firth College, Sheffield, His Royal Highness Prince LEOPOLD said: "I trust there will be many a Sheffield child who will take advantage of the benefits here alluded to, who, born in a poor and humble home, will attend your excellent primary schools, will gain one of your primary scholarships, will follow the course of your Firth College, and will proceed thence to take his or her degree with honours at one of the Universities to which Firth College will be affiliated. I say designedly 'his or her degree,' for your new College offers its teaching and its certificates to young men and young women alike. The University of London does the same thing, and Oxford and Cambridge have taken important steps in the same direction, and I am told the new Victoria University will not be behindhand in recognising the claims of women's minds to respect and to cultivation. It is greatly to be hoped that the young men and women of Sheffield will not neglect all these opportunities, and that they will learn to estimate the examinations they will be invited to pass at their true value—that is, as a means of guiding and stimulating their studies, and of showing to others how far they are competent to fill this or that position in life."

Hitherto, we have been accustomed to hear men extol the benefits of university education for boys and men alone. After the illustrious example set at Sheffield, we may hope henceforward to see every new college that is established opening its classes to men and women on equal terms, and every public speaker on education recognising the equal claims of women and men to the highest culture they are capable of receiving.

We desire to call the attention of those who assert that the interests of working women are safe in the hands of working men to the arbitrary attempt to prevent women from earning their bread which is related in a letter from Messrs. SMYTH and YERWORTH in the *Times*. These gentlemen began to employ women as compositors four or five years ago, and as they saw the advantages of so doing they increased their number from time to time. Some six weeks ago they were informed by a deputation from the Compositors' Trade Society that a by-law had been made to the effect that none of the men who worked in their establishment were to be allowed to make up, finish, or do anything to work that was set up by women. The

employers did not yield to this threat, and their men gave notice to leave. All other employers of women compositors are, it seems, to be dealt with similarly.

This action is very similar to that taken in Manchester ten years ago, when about thirty young women were being taught the trade of type-setting. As this Journal was about to be started, we desired to ascertain whether there was any trade difficulty in having the type set up by these girls. We made inquiries at one of the principal printing offices in Manchester. The foreman was called in, and he said there was no prohibition of that kind in the rules of their society. But before we had time to leave the office the foreman came back, looking rather ashamed, with a paper in his hand. This proved to be a circular just received, addressed to all "fathers of chapels," *i.e.*, trades officials in printing shops, and directing that if any master allowed type set up by women to be printed on his machines, every compositor must immediately "drop his stick." As this would have had the effect of causing an entire cessation of business, the masters were compelled to decline printing from women's type. Thus the efforts of these girls to better their condition by entering a new industry were frustrated.

AN economical gentleman inserts the following advertisement in a Manchester paper: "Matrimony. Widower, aged 36, with small family and no means, wishes to correspond with suitable domesticated female servant, with a view to matrimony. Write, enclosing carte," etc.

Here is a golden opportunity for a woman who desires an engagement of life-long servitude without wages. We suppose that if this gentleman with "no means" should succeed by this device in getting his children nursed and his housework done for nothing, he will, according to the received theory of the marriage state, be supposed to "maintain" his wife. As for the woman, if she were to come to the man as housekeeper for wages, she would, according to the classification in the census returns, be held to be "self-supporting;" but, if she comes to do the self-same work for the household as a wife without wages, she is regarded as being "supported" by her husband!

MEDICAL SCHOLARSHIPS FOR WOMEN.—At the examination held on the 24th and 25th September, at the London School of Medicine for Women, 30, Henrietta-street, Brunswick Square, W.C., the scholarship offered by the Birmingham Association for Medical Education of Women, value £30 a year for three years, was awarded to Miss Emily Tomlinson, who entered Girton College, Cambridge, in 1875, as the Lady Goldsmid Scholar. The Entrance Scholarship, offered by the executive council of the school, value £30, was obtained by Miss Frances Harris, who took the first place in the Arts Examination at Apothecaries' Hall in January, 1879.

PUBLIC MEETINGS.

STOCKPORT.

On September 26th, by invitation from Mrs. Pennington, wife of one of the members for the borough, a party of seven hundred women assembled to hear an address from Miss Downing, on the "Duty of women to the country as well as to the home." Tea was served by relays to the guests. The room was decorated with plants, and the tables with cut flowers, and pictures of eminent men connected with the political history of the borough were displayed on the wall. Shortly before eight o'clock, Captain Turner, president of the Reform Association, led Miss Downing to the platform, and they were received with a vigorous clapping by the feminine audience, which filled the body of the room, the gallery, and overflowed into the aisles. Captain Turner presided. After the singing of a glee and a few words from the chairman, Miss Downing delivered her lecture, which was very cordially received. A vote of thanks to the lecturer was moved by Mr. John Walthew, seconded by the Rev. J. Black, and carried unanimously. After a vote of thanks to the chairman, proposed by Mr. E. Walmsley and seconded by Major M'Clure, the chairman proposed a vote of thanks to Mrs. Pennington, which was carried with acclamation, and, after cheers for Mr. Pennington and Mr. Hopwood, the borough members, the meeting separated.

BOLTON.

On September 25th a large and fashionable gathering, chiefly composed of ladies, assembled in the Lecture Hall of the Mechanics' Institute, Mawdsley-street, to hear Miss Helena P. Downing, of London, lecture on "The duties which women owe to the country as well as to the home." Mr. HENRY LEE, J.P., occupied the chair, and he was supported on the platform by Mr. J. P. Thomasson and Mrs. Thomasson, Mrs. Carter Hollins, and others.

After address from the chairman, Miss Downing delivered her lecture, which was received with loud applause. Mr. J. P. THOMASSON moved a vote of thanks to the lecturer, which was seconded by Mrs. CARTER HOLLINS, and carried with acclamation.

Mr. JOHN BRAMWELL moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Lee for presiding. He hoped that when Mr. Lee entered St. Stephen's as a member of Parliament he would ever be ready to raise his voice in favour of giving the parliamentary franchise to women. (Hear, hear.)

The Rev. JOHN BEVAN seconded the motion, and it was carried unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN, referring to the observation of the mover of the resolution, said he did not of course know how soon or how long the time would be before he became a member of Parliament. They were all liable to be defeated, and he was quite prepared for a defeat, although he was quite prepared to win. (Hear, hear.) At the same time, he did sympathise with the feeling that as the Legislature of this country had given women the franchise with regard to municipal affairs, they could not in justice withhold it from them with regard to parliamentary matters. (Cheers.)

The meeting then separated.

MANCHESTER.

ST. MICHAEL'S WARD.

A meeting of the women electors of this ward was held on October 23rd, in the Public Hall, Churnett-street, Rochdale Road; Alderman Worthington presiding. The meeting was intended principally for women, but long before the time at which it was advertised that the proceedings would begin the

hall had been crowded by male supporters of the respective candidates for the ward. As a consequence, when the women entered the hall they could not obtain seats, and had to stand. On the platform, in addition to a large number of ladies, were Miss Becker and Councillors Brown, Brierley, and Rowley. It was explained that that was not a meeting in support of the candidature of Mr. Brown or Mr. Richards, both gentlemen having been invited to attend and state their views on municipal matters. In opening the proceedings the Chairman said this was not a party meeting—(cheers)—or he would not have consented to preside. Miss Becker spoke of St. Michael's Ward as the largest in the city, and said there were on the Burgess roll as many as 10,939 men and 1,868 women. She would impress upon the women electors of the ward that there were many questions with regard to which they could influence the City Council for their own benefit. Miss Becker proceeded to speak of the necessity for the establishment of wash-houses adapted to their requirements, but she was frequently interrupted, and at length sat down without completing her remarks. Mr. W. Brown, who also spoke amid considerable interruption, said that to deny the right of women to exercise the franchise was to do them a great injustice. Miss Jessie Craigen (Retford) spoke on the general question of woman's suffrage. She said that women wanted the suffrage as men wanted it, because they suffered and were oppressed, and thought they could make it a lever with which to move the law for their deliverance. Mr. C. Rowley made a pointed appeal to the women electors to go to the poll and vote "for the best man, whoever he might be." Mr. Ben Brierley also addressed a few words to the meeting. The Chairman announced that there would be an adjourned meeting next night for women only, in order to afford those who had been disappointed in obtaining admission an opportunity of hearing the address, and the proceedings terminated.

The adjourned meeting was held on October 24th, when the hall was filled with women, all seemingly heads of households, of the class of small shopkeepers or working women. Miss Tinker, an elector of the ward, moved that Miss Becker should take the chair; the motion was seconded by Mrs. Smith, put to the meeting, and carried. Miss Becker then delivered her address, which was received with great attention. Miss Craigen afterwards addressed the meeting. Miss Becker then invited any lady present, who wished it, to address the meeting. Mrs. Thomson said she had read the discussions in the Social Science Congress, and she wished that the authorities of Owens College would provide medical instruction for ladies, so that women might have a qualified medical adviser in matters in which they shrank from consulting men. Miss Fossard also said a few words. Miss Becker then called for a show of hands on the proposition that Mr. Councillor Brown, the retiring councillor, was a fit and proper person to represent the ward in the Council. A large number of hands were held up. Miss Becker then asked those who were in favour of the candidature of Mr. Richards to hold up their hands; a considerable number did so. Miss Becker declared the show of hands to be in favour of Mr. Brown. This offered a satisfactory proof that the meeting was not of a party character, and that the women, although of different political colour, could be both earnest and orderly in their meeting. Although at one time the mention of the candidates' names caused some excited feeling, yet, on an appeal from the chair, quiet was at once restored. The contrast in the behaviour of the persons attending this meeting and that of the previous evening was such as to force the conviction of the superior intelligence and self-control of the women to the men of the lower classes of the community, and of the greater fitness of the former for political power.

ALL SAINTS' WARD.

On October 28th, a largely-attended meeting of women electors was held in the Chorlton Town Hall; Mr. Councillor Little in the chair. Although the meeting was announced as for women only, a large number of men crowded round the doors, so that there was a difficulty in obtaining entrance. After an address from Miss Becker, the meeting was addressed by Mr. John Roberts in support of his candidature for the ward, and by representatives of Mr. Ryder, the other candidate, who was unfortunately prevented from attending. When questions were invited, a lady asked if Mr. Roberts was in favour of giving women the parliamentary as well as the municipal vote. Mr. Roberts replied in the affirmative. Mr. Ryder had expressed by letter his support of the same principle. After more speeches in behalf of the respective candidates, the Chairman asked for a show of hands, first for Mr. Ryder, afterwards for Mr. Roberts. He declared the vote to be in favour of Mr. Ryder, and after a vote of thanks to Miss Becker and to the chairman, the meeting separated.

LEEDS.

A meeting—the first of a series—of the women ratepayers in North-east Ward, Leeds, was held on October 27th, at No. 10 British Workman, Mabgate. Mr. Councillor Ward presided, and Mrs. Oliver Scatcherd gave an address on the duties of women electors. The meeting was also addressed by Miss Goodall and Mr. Roberts. The proceedings were hearty, and cordial votes of thanks were passed to the chairman and the other speakers.

HOLLINWOOD.

On October 14th, Miss Becker delivered an address on the Claim of Women to the Parliamentary Suffrage, in the Congregational Church, Pump-street, Hollinwood, near Oldham. Dr. Heyworth occupied the chair. The lecture was warmly received, and the usual votes of thanks concluded the proceedings.

CLERKENWELL.

An address on Women's Suffrage was given by Miss Orme on the 12th October, at the London Patriotic Club, Clerkenwell Green.

PADDINGTON.

Miss Orme delivered an address on Women's Suffrage on the 26th October, at the Cobden Club and Institute, 2, Landseer Terrace, Kensal Road.

DEBATING SOCIETIES.

GRIMSBY.

At a meeting held in the Friendly Societies' Hall, Grimsby, on October 13th, it was resolved to form a Town's Debating Society. On the consideration of the rules, Mr. A. Smith proposed:—"That at all meetings of this society ladies be admitted on an equality with gentlemen." After some little opposition the motion was unanimously carried.

FALMOUTH.

At the monthly meeting of the Church of England Temperance Society, on the 6th inst., at which the rector presided, the subject of women's suffrage was introduced by the secretary, Mr. J. Knight, who pointed out the injustice of depriving an educated and sensible woman, duly qualified, of a vote, while it was granted to the "rough" whose manners and language seemed to proclaim his utter indifference to anything higher than beer. Miss Gay supported Mr. Knight, and their advocacy of the extension of the suffrage to women was warmly received.

SOCIAL SCIENCE CONGRESS.

On October 2nd, Mr. Whately Cooke Taylor read a paper on "Civil Service Appointments for Women" in the Economy and Trade Department. He said that ten years ago he had brought forward this subject, and that since then certain appointments in the postal and telegraph departments had been thrown open to women, and lately it has been announced that the experiment has not been successful. This has never been publicly proved, however, and even if it had, the experiment has been a partial one. Addressing himself to the general question, he showed the difficulty of deciding beforehand what are careers especially suitable to men and women, and denied that there is, at all events, anything essentially masculine in the occupation of a clerk. The only way out of the dilemma appears to be in denying that women are fit for any occupation at all outside the household, which is absurd in a country where 3,000,000 out of 6,000,000 adult women work for subsistence. It must be conceded, then, that they are fit for other work, and not only so, but that the State greatly profits by it. Notwithstanding this, it imposes obstacles on their industry in the name of the national welfare. It thus incurs a commensurate responsibility towards them. It is no good trying to shift this responsibility by asking why they do not all get married, for, however willing to do so, there are not husbands for all, the State itself encouraging, too, this state of things by withdrawing so many men from civil life. The Civil Service offers a fair opening for them. Unhappily, in introducing women into it, just those places were placed at their disposal which they were least likely to fill satisfactorily, the postal and telegraph services involving night work and other disadvantages. It is said, too, that they were more hardly dealt with than the male clerks in several ways, especially as regards their pay. The best way of arriving at the truth is to have a commission of inquiry, and there is an especial need for this as the whole matter seems to be enshrouded in a great deal of mystery. But whatever the result, it would not settle the question as to their fitness for other departments of the Civil Service. This has yet to be tried. There are some posts for which they would be less fit than others; for instance, policemen, gaugers, tax-gatherers; but they are admirably qualified for clerks. A deputation recently proposed to the Home Secretary to have female Factory Inspectors, and in the inspection of dressmakers' workrooms they would probably be useful. There is no reason either why there should not be female inspectors of schools. There is nothing particularly masculine in their duty, and there are male and female teachers and male and female scholars. The State is largely supported by woman's industry, and they are entitled, therefore, to a share of its rewards. If it is justified in preventing them entering certain employments, it is justified in facilitating their entry into others, and it should do so.

The discussion was continued by Mr. Watherston, Mr. Safford, Mr. H. Pitman, Miss Downing, Miss Becker, Dr. Fox, Mr. Hay Hill, the Rev. L. Blackley, and Mr. W. M'Laren. A motion was carried referring Mr. Taylor's paper to the Council with the view of inquiring into the efforts made to introduce women labour into the Civil Service and the results.

The same day a paper was read by Mr. Boyd Kinnear, on "The Legal Position and Property of Married Women." In the course of the discussion, Mr. Jacob Bright, M.P., drew attention to the decisions given by a Manchester magistrate under the Act. A woman who was living apart from her husband charged him with stealing her separate property, but found that she could get no redress. The magistrate dismissed the case on the ground that a wife could not criminally prosecute

her husband under the Act. In another case the husband carted away a great amount of property belonging to the wife, and the woman was informed that she could not proceed against her husband, but only against the person who removed the goods. If those judgments were sound and were upheld, the Act of 1870 was a dead letter. The Attorney General had said that they were not sound, but no appeal could be made, and the law therefore remained in an unsatisfactory state. A wife ought to have equal property rights with a sister, and he believed the question could not be settled on any basis narrower than that.

On October 6th, Miss Caroline A. Biggs read a paper on "Girls' Public Day Schools," which was an interesting account of the progress of the movement for High Schools for Girls, and it gave rise to an interesting discussion.

On October 6th, Mr. Serjeant Cox took the chair in the Jurisprudence department. There was a very large attendance to hear Miss Becker read the following paper, of which a few passages had to be omitted in order to bring it within the twenty minutes allowed by the rules of the Congress:—

ON THE PROGRESS OF THE MOVEMENT FOR THE ENFRANCHISEMENT OF WOMEN.

Thirteen years ago, when the Social Science Congress held its last meeting in Manchester, a paper on the Reasons for the Enfranchisement of Women was read by Mrs. Bodichon. This was, I believe, the first occasion on which the claim of women to parliamentary representation had been brought to the platform for public discussion as a question demanding serious and immediate consideration, and it is not the least of the many services which the Social Science Association has rendered to the country that it has afforded the opportunity for the inauguration of this movement. It seems, therefore, to be strictly in accordance with the fitness of things that when the Congress again meets in this city a review of the course of the movement during the past thirteen years should form a part of its proceedings.

In order to make the story clear, it will be necessary briefly to glance at the position antecedent to the reading of Mrs. Bodichon's paper. There never was a time since men began to agitate for parliamentary reform that women were not found to be making the same claim for themselves. A Manchester Female Union sent a contingent to the field of Peterloo. The earlier Reformers fully recognised the abstract right of women to vote; and the statesmen who resisted the demand of men for representation made use of the argument that the grounds on which the claim was based were equally applicable to women as to men. Petitions from women praying for the recognition of their right to vote were presented from time to time to both Houses of Parliament, but no notice appears to have been taken of them, and the subject attracted no particular attention. In 1855, a pamphlet on the right of women to exercise the elective franchise was published by Mrs. Pochin; and in 1857 an article by Mrs. Stuart Mill, on the enfranchisement of women, appeared in the *Westminster Review*. Although no apparent result was produced by these and similar expressions of opinion, there can be no doubt that they instructed the public mind, and prepared the way for the more definite agitation which exists at the present time. Certain it is that the intention of making this claim in a serious manner was in the minds of thoughtful women, who only awaited a favourable occasion to put it forth. This seemed to arise with the return of Mr. J. S. Mill to the House of Commons in 1865. In 1866, during the discussions on the proposed Reform Bill, words were spoken by Mr. Disraeli, in reference to the franchise for women, which seemed to indicate

that the time for action had come. Three ladies, Mrs. Bodichon, Miss Jessie Boucherett, and Miss Emily Davies, determined to institute a petition, and they wrote to Mr. Mill for his opinion. He replied that if they could find one hundred women who would sign such a petition, he would be happy to present it, but he would not like to present one with less than one hundred names. A petition was then circulated which set forth that as the possession of property carries with it the right to vote in the election of members of Parliament, it was an evident anomaly that some holders of property are allowed to use this right, while others forming no less a constituent part of the nation, and equally qualified by law to hold property, are not able to exercise the privilege; also that the participation of women in the government was consistent with the principles of the British constitution, as women have always been held capable of sovereignty. The petitioners, therefore, prayed that Parliament would consider the expediency of providing for the representation of all householders without distinction of sex. The petition was circulated amongst ladies interested in the subject, and, instead of 100, no less than 1,499 signatures were obtained, and it was presented to the House of Commons by Mr. Mill in the same session of 1866.

The movement thus begun soon spread. The next overt step was taken by Mrs. Bodichon in reading her paper, at Manchester, on October 6th, 1866, just thirteen years ago. She began her paper by representing "that a respectable, orderly, independent body in the state should have no voice and no influence recognised by law, in the election of the representatives of the people, while they are otherwise acknowledged as responsible citizens, are eligible for many public offices, and required to pay all taxes, is an anomaly which seems to require some explanation;" and passing over the consideration of the objections that have been advanced to the suffrage for women, she stated that she should endeavour to show that it was positively desirable. She showed that women's interests in the matter of education were much neglected; that owing to the unwillingness of landlords to accept tenants who have no votes, many women are ejected from their holdings on the death of their husbands. One estate in Suffolk was referred to, in which seven widows had been ejected, who, if they had had votes, would have been continued as tenants. She said the fact that the deprivation of the rights of citizenship cast a slur on those so deprived, and tended to lower them in social consideration; that giving votes to women would tend to promote public spirit by bringing women into hearty co-operation with men; that the result of teaching women that they have nothing to do with politics is that their influence goes towards extinguishing the unselfish interest—never too strong—which men are disposed to take in public affairs. She then briefly mentioned some of the laws in Austria, Hungary, Italy, and Sweden, which recognised in some way, more or less direct, the right of women to be represented, and concluded by urging that the class of women freeholders and householders should not be excluded by the particular qualifications of the Reform Act of the future.

The paper attracted a crowded audience, and was well received. A committee was formed in Manchester to promote the enfranchisement of women; and similar committees were formed in Edinburgh, Birmingham, and Bristol. A committee was already in existence in London. During the year 1867, these various committees co-operated in supporting Mr. Mill's motion for the substitution of the word "person" for "man" in the Reform Act of 1867; and in the year 1868, the several committees joined in the formation of the National Society for Women's Suffrage, the object of which is thus defined:—"To obtain for women the right of voting in the election of members

of Parliament, on the same conditions as it is, or may be, given to men."

At the time of the formation of the Society, it appeared to be generally assumed that the admission of women to electoral rights was an innovation on the constitution, which needed to be granted by express legislation. But there are the strongest reasons for believing that this assumption was unsound. Mr. Chisholm Anstey, in a paper read before this association, presented arguments to show that the supposed constitutional restraint on the exercise of the parliamentary franchise by women did not in fact exist; that women had exercised the function of returning members to Parliament without dispute in former times; that there was neither statute nor judicial decision declaring women incapable of voting in parliamentary elections, and that they were in common with all the people of this realm included in the provisions of the ancient laws regulating the franchise, and legally entitled to vote in virtue of every statutory qualification not granted specifically to male persons. Words restricting the franchise to male persons occur for the first time in English law in the Reform Act of 1832, and then only in respect to new franchises created by that Act, all existing rights under the ancient law being carefully preserved. In the Act of 1867, the specific words "male persons" are discarded for the general term "man," which in a general sense comprehends both sexes. There exists, moreover, a statute declaring that in all Acts of Parliament words importing the masculine gender shall be deemed and taken to include females, unless the contrary were expressly provided. As no provision to the contrary was made in the Reform Act, women were justified in believing that they were entitled to vote under its provisions, and great numbers of women, including 5,000 women householders of Manchester, claimed to be put on the parliamentary register in 1868. The overseers of Salford interpreted their duty by the wording of the Acts of Parliament, and put all the ratepayers on the register without distinction of sex. The same thing was done by the overseers in many districts throughout England. The revising barrister for this district struck off the names of the Salford women ratepayers, and disallowed the claims of those of Manchester, but granted a case. This was argued before the Court of Common Pleas in November, 1868, the judgment of which disfranchised half the people of this realm, and by the provisions of the Act which gave to the Court of Common Pleas the power of determining questions of qualification under the terms of the statute this judgment was without appeal. In all probability it was intended by the Legislature that this final jurisdiction should apply simply to questions of technical qualification. It could hardly have been intended that a great constitutional question, involving the rights of half the people, should be dismissed in so summary a fashion.

This decision, though its practical effect has been to debar women from the exercise of what they believe to be their legal rights, has not been allowed to pass unchallenged. Recently the whole of the arguments in this case have been carefully reviewed by Mr. Sidney Smith, the legal agent to the city of London Liberal Registration Association, whose experience in connection with the laws regulating the franchise gives to his opinion a special weight. The thesis he maintains is that "By the laws of England women are entitled to be registered as parliamentary electors; and the single decision—the single judgment of the Court of Common Pleas, which it has no opportunity to reverse, and from which no appeal is competent, is *bad law*."

This thesis he has supported in a most able and exhaustive analysis, which has been published in pamphlet-form. Besides pressing their legal claim, women have taken advantage of

many opportunities they have had of actually recording their votes. In the bye-election for Manchester in 1867, when Mr. Jacob Bright was first returned to Parliament, it was found that the names of two women were on the register. One of these, Lily Maxwell, recorded her vote for Mr. Bright. No objection was made by the polling clerks or the returning officer to the reception of this vote, and considerable attention was excited throughout this country and also in America. The *Times* devoted a leading article to the incident, the practical effect of which was to establish, once for all, by the crucial test of actual experiment, that there is no natural incapacity in women to vote in the election of members of Parliament. In 1868 the overseers of many parishes in various districts of the country, believing that women were legally entitled to vote, placed their names on the register, and large numbers of women voted without let or hindrance in the general election of 1868. But next year the decision of the Court of Common Pleas came into force. The overseers were constrained to remove the names of women from the register, and only those women could then vote whose names, like that of Lily Maxwell, had been accidentally retained in the process of weeding the rate-book of the names of the women ratepayers in order to form the parliamentary lists. In the year 1872 even this chance of showing that they could and would vote when they had the opportunity was removed by a clause in the Ballot Act. Up to that period the register was the standard which guided the polling clerks. The vote of a person whose name was on the register could not be refused by the returning officer, although it might afterwards be struck off on petition, if found to be that of a person not legally qualified. But the officials may now refuse to give a paper to women or other persons who are under legal incapacity, even if their names are on the register.

The decision of the Court of Common Pleas, whether it is good or bad law, can now only be overruled by the High Court of Parliament itself. The first effort made to extend the electoral rights of women were directed to the municipal franchise. The result of the Reform Act of 1867 was to make the parliamentary qualification easier of attainment than the municipal vote. Mr. Hibbert introduced a Bill to amend the Municipal Corporations Act, and, with his consent, an amendment was introduced in committee giving to women ratepayers equal voting rights with men in the election of town councillors. It appeared, from the inquiries that were made into the subject of the ancient rights of women in local government, that women had always possessed the right to vote; that the rights of women ratepayers were carefully guarded in the Public Health Act and all statutes regulating local government, with the solitary exception of the Municipal Corporation Act of 1835, wherein, according to the strange and evil precedent of the Reform Act of 1853, the franchises created were limited to "male persons;" that as a direct consequence of this restriction, whenever a district was incorporated as a municipal borough, the women ratepayers resident within its boundary were summarily disfranchised—for examples, Darlington and Southport. The latter town was incorporated in 1867. In 1866, 2,085 persons were qualified to vote for commissioners; 588 of these were women. From the moment of incorporation these votes were extinguished without a reason being assigned, and this large proportion of the ratepayers of the district deprived of representation. There were in England 78 non-corporate towns, which were not parliamentary boroughs, with populations varying from 20,000 to 6,000. In these every ratepayer voted. There was little, if any, difference between their government and that of municipal towns. Who could assign a reason why women should vote in the one and not in the other?

These considerations being unanswerable, the Government

agreed to support the proposed amendment. The then Home Secretary, Mr. Bruce, stated in the House of Commons that the proposer of the amendment had shown conclusively that the proposition was no novelty, and that in every form of local government, except under the Municipal Corporations Act, women were allowed to vote. The clause introduced no anomaly, and he should give it his cordial support. In the House of Lords an attempt was made to reverse the decision of the Commons, but the proposal found no seconder, and fell to the ground. These circumstances afford a sufficient answer to the allegation sometimes made, that the concession of the municipal franchise to women was given unadvisedly. The House of Lords, after their attention had been specially called to the question, deliberately affirmed the principle of the electoral rights of women. The Earl of Kimberley spoke in support of the proposal on behalf of the Government, and Lord Cairns from the Opposition benches said that, as an unmarried woman could dispose of her property and deal with it any way she thought proper, he did not know why she should not have a voice in saying how it should be lighted and watched, and generally in controlling the municipal expenditure to which that property contributed. The Municipal Franchise Bill received the royal assent on August 2nd, 1869. In 1870, the principle of women's suffrage received a further development in the Elementary Education Act, when women were not excluded either from the right to vote or to be elected on School Boards.

Encouraged by the success of the Municipal Franchise Act, and believing that the principles thus affirmed covered logically and necessarily the parliamentary as well as the municipal vote, the promoters of women's suffrage requested Mr. Jacob Bright to introduce a Bill in the succeeding session of Parliament. This Bill was discussed in the House of Commons on May 4th, 1870, and the second reading was carried by a majority of 33; the number being for the Bill 124, against 91. But before the time came for going into committee, it became known that the Government intended to depart from the principle they had laid down, of leaving the question an open one, to be decided by the House of Commons on its merits; and the strongest pressure that the Treasury Bench could bring was used to defeat the measure, which was lost on going into committee by a majority of 126.

Since that period the Bill has taken its place as a parliamentary annual motion, of which it takes rank next after the proposal to extend the household franchise to the counties, as the one which commands the largest number of votes. Session after session, although the numbers fluctuate slightly, it was found that about 150 members came down on a Wednesday afternoon to record their votes for the Bill to remove the electoral disabilities of women. During this period there have been presented to the House of Commons in favour of the Bill petitions with upwards of 2,000,000 signatures, and upwards of 1,300 public meetings have been held, that is an average of two meetings per week for the last thirteen years.

Last session the form of procedure was varied by the introduction of a resolution instead of a Bill. The resolution contained an expression of opinion that the disability should be forthwith repealed. The debate was of the highest significance, and the outcome of it is not by any means to be measured by the numbers in the division list. Although the resolution was rejected by a majority of 124 votes, there were among this number some who were in favour of the principle, and who have expressed themselves as willing to adopt it when the time shall come for action. The leader of the House of Commons, speaking in his place and as it seemed on behalf of the Government, said that he felt bound to vote against a resolution which declared that the electoral disabilities of women should

be at once repealed, because to support such a proposal would be to pledge the Government to bring in a measure for altering the law in that respect. But, while he deprecated the passing of such a resolution as this, he wished to state his opinion upon the abstract question. Women had shown by the manner in which they had exercised the electoral functions permitted to them that they were not unworthy and not incapable of exercising such functions, and at a fitting time and under fitting circumstances he should be prepared to assent to a proposal that the same rank should be given to them as to others. The *Times*, in commenting on the debate, said, "this engagement is not definite, but it is no small triumph that it should have been obtained," and that "when the claims of the agricultural labourer are to be satisfied; and when the time thus arrives for a great general re-casting of the electoral scheme, the case of the women may be thrown into the crucible with the rest."

It appears, indeed, now no longer probable that the question of the franchise for women will be dealt with by the Legislature apart from the general question of Parliamentary Reform, but that question must arise at no distant period, and its settlement may, for aught we know, be close at hand. We live in the days of political surprises. Since the fateful morning in January, 1874, when Mr. Gladstone astounded the nation by suddenly dissolving a Parliament which had been summoned to meet for the despatch of business, and thereby loosed the forces which hurled him from power, we have not known what a day might bring forth on the political horizon. For six years a compact and overwhelming parliamentary majority has confirmed the behests of the Government of the day. But the crisis of their existence is approaching. Next session must be the last of the present Parliament. Some questions relating to Parliament must be dealt with next year. There are the vacant seats to be distributed before the general election, and the Ballot Act expires in 1880. The franchise is claimed by or for the agricultural labourer, and the demand for a re-distribution of seats is pressing for solution. Who can tell whether the Government may not even now have a new Reform Bill reposing quietly in their pigeon-holes, ready to be produced at a moment's notice if it may serve to take the wind out of their opponents' sails? It is quite possible that Parliament may next session be called upon to deal with the general question of Parliamentary Reform, and it is quite certain that whenever the subject of the representation of the people does come up for discussion, the settlement will be neither final nor complete unless it includes the enfranchisement of women.

The precise scope of the measure we propose is to remove from the interpretation of the statutes regulating the franchise all legal disability which prevents women, otherwise duly qualified, from voting in the election of members of Parliament. The practical effect of the measure would be that indicated in the original petition presented in 1866, namely, to provide for the representation of all householders without distinction of sex. It would place on the parliamentary register for boroughs all women whose names appear on the municipal register, or who are electors of any Local Board. It is estimated that under these conditions the proportion of women to men on the electorate would be from twelve to sixteen per cent on an average throughout the country, but the proportion would vary considerably in different districts. Sir Charles Dilke, in a recent letter to the *Echo*, estimates the proportion of women householders in Chelsea at 16 per cent. Specifically, then, our claim is for the exercise of the parliamentary suffrage by a certain number of women, small in proportion to the number of men electors, and small in proportion to the number of women in the country. But, broadly, our claim is for the enfranchisement of

women, and this would be effected, as the enfranchisement of men is effected, not by giving to every individual man or woman a vote, but by admitting to the exercise of the suffrage any individual who complies with the conditions which the people, through their representatives, have adopted as those on which the vote is to be granted. Women claim the right to vote, not as a boon to be granted by Parliament, although they must receive it, as any disfranchised class of the people must receive it, through the machinery of an Act of Parliament, but as a right inherent in them as members of the community. Women claim the suffrage because they form an integral portion of the people by whose assent and for whose benefit Parliament has the power to legislate. The people do not derive their political rights from their representatives, but the representatives derive their authority from the people. By the people is not meant the electorate merely, but the whole body of the people. Members of Parliament for a particular district consider themselves as sent to the Legislature to represent the interests not of those electors only who have voted for them, nor yet of those persons only who are registered electors, but of the whole of the inhabitants of that district. It is by the concurrence and consent of the whole of the inhabitants of the country that the duty of nominating the representative assembly is entrusted to the registered electors; and if any section of the people withholds such assent and concurrence, and claims a share in the direct nomination of their representatives, the claim is for an indefeasible right. We are asking for our own; we are not asking men to give to us something which is theirs by divine right, to the exclusion of our rights. We are asking for that which is ours by the same right that men have. In appealing to the Legislature to pass the Bill which is necessary before we can exercise the functions of citizens, we appeal not as to a sovereign body which is to create new rights and confer them upon us—we appeal as to a High Court of Equity, for a decree to give effect to a just claim. There are no considerations which can be urged in opposition to the claim of women to the rights of citizenship which cannot be used in resisting the claim of various classes of men to the same rights. Slavery has been defended on grounds almost identical with those on which it has been deemed right to keep women in ignorance and servitude, namely, the supposed necessity for such condition in order to secure the interests or the comfort of the masters for whose benefit the subject class was assumed to exist. But the conscience of men has been aroused to the iniquity of slavery; it is to this awakened conscience, and not to any revolt on the part of the masses of the slaves themselves, that the abolition of slavery is due. It is through the working of the same principle that the enfranchisement of women must be won.

It is noteworthy that coeval with the rise and progress of the movement for the recognition of the political rights of women, agitation in other directions for the enlargement of their sphere of activity, and for the amendment of the laws affecting their property and personal rights, has been going on. During that period we have seen a complete revolution in public sentiment regarding the question of education; the extreme hardship of the law which confiscates the property and earnings of married women has been somewhat lessened; a slight amendment has been made in the law regarding the custody of infants, by which under certain circumstances women who are rich enough to pay for the privilege may have their children awarded to them until they are sixteen years of age. This Act, however, bears internal evidence of having been framed in the interests of the lawyers rather than of the mothers. An Act for the deliverance of wives from legal servitude to the husbands who violently assault them has been

passed; we have seen university examinations and university degrees opened to women, and there are even symptoms of an effort to provide them with the education necessary to pass the examinations and qualify themselves for the degrees; the medical profession has been opened to women so far as examinations and degrees are concerned; and perhaps some day they may be admitted to the medical schools. The range of employments has also been extended. Women have been admitted to the civil service, as postal and telegraph clerks, although a retrograde movement in the latter direction has set in, and it is not unlikely that in a few years all the women clerks in the service of the Government will be discarded in favour of men, unless women are armed with the protection of the suffrage to guard their industrial rights. What has been gained for women is a matter for congratulation; and of thankfulness to those women who have stood out fearlessly to claim their rights on behalf of their more helpless sisters, and to those just men who have been found ready to support and concede their demands. What might have been gained during this time had women succeeded in establishing their claim to the suffrage under the Reform Act of 1867 can never now be known; but we believe that had this been effected there would have been more just laws regarding the property and maintenance of wives; more complete recognition of the sacred rights of mothers; more efficient protection for the maimed and miserable victims of murderous outrages on wives; more freedom to engage in professional and industrial occupations for the increasing number of women who must depend on their work for their living; more scope for the energies of women who do not need to work for their livelihood in public affairs, such as the relief of the poor, the supervision of workhouses, parochial schools, and prisons where women are immured; in short, there would have been more progress in every direction in which women have been seeking to improve their own condition and to render service to the community. For women do not ask for their rights in order to further selfish interests, or with a view to forsaking their natural duties. They ask for their rights in the interests of the community, and in order that they may better perform the duties that devolve upon them as members of the family and citizens of the state.

The address was warmly applauded.

The discussion which followed was opened by a question from Miss Lord, who asked whether she was justified in thinking that the reason why women were being got rid of in the employment of postal clerks was that too much work—much more than was asked from men—was demanded from them, and that they had this choice—either they must do this work, which was too much for them, or they must go.

Miss Becker said she had no specific information on the subject, but she believed that if there had been a design to get rid of the women clerks, excuses would not be wanting, and it was very easy to frame regulations which would have the effect of actually driving out the women while giving the appearance that they were resigning of their own accord. (Laughter and "Hear, hear.")

The discussion (which throughout was almost unanimously favourable to the views expressed in the paper) was continued by Mr. Emerton (Oxford), Miss Downing, Mr. Whitwell, Mr. J. H. Raper (Manchester), Mr. J. W. Thompson, Mr. F. W. Chesson (London), Mr. Statham, Mr. Lloyd, and Miss Müller (London).

The Chairman said the question lay in a nutshell. The Legislature had thought fit to say that certain persons should exercise the franchise, and that others—including paupers, convicts, and women—(laughter)—should not. The burden of

proof was to show that women should not possess the qualification or be allowed to exercise it, and he had as yet found no plausible argument why women, simply because they were women, should be deprived of the exercise of this privilege, which men having the same qualifications were allowed to use. After a short reply from Miss Becker the section adjourned.

THE PARLIAMENTS OF ENGLAND.

A very important historical document has recently been compiled and printed by order of the House of Commons, namely, a "Return of the Parliaments of England from 1213 to 1702, this being the first part of returns ordered on the motions of Mr. Gerard Noel and Sir William Fraser. It appears that Mr. Noel in 1876 moved for a "Return of the names of every member returned to serve in each Parliament from the year 1696 up to the present time, specifying the names of the county, city, university, borough, or place for which returned." Sir William Fraser, however, considered that this did not go back far enough, and in 1877 he obtained an order that there be added to this return a "Return from so remote a period as it can be obtained up to the year 1696 of the surnames, Christian names, and titles of all members of the Lower House of Parliament of England, Scotland, and Ireland, with the name of the constituency represented, and the date of return of each." The document recently presented is the first instalment of this comprehensive return, and Sir William Fraser deserves thanks for having made this addition to what otherwise would have been a very incomplete record. The volume now published has been issued entirely in accordance with the terms of his order.

As an addition to our parliamentary history this first volume is particularly valuable. It is also interesting and useful to the genealogist, as it affords ground for inquiry into the descent and locality of the great families of the British Empire.

The earliest return given in the volume is that of the Parliament 18 Edward I, A.D. 1290, summoned to meet at Westminster, "two or three knights to be sent from each county." In the return many of the best-known names in England at the present day will be found. . . . It is to be observed that Gaton, which was first enfranchised 29 Henry VI. (1450), had become a very close borough in the reign of Philip and Mary. In their Parliament of 1554 the following return was made for this constituency:—"That according to the tenure and effect of a warrant bi the said shreve to her in that behalf directid, the said Dame Elizabeth Copley, after proclamacon ther duellie made, hath chosen and electid Willyam Wootton, of Lincoln's Inne, gentlemanne, and Thomas Copley, of the Inner Temple, gentlemanne, to burgessis for the saide borowe of Gaton.—(Signed) By me, ELYZABETH COPLEY.—Morning Post.

CORRESPONDENCE.

To the Editor of the Women's Suffrage Journal.

Dear Madam,—Will you kindly allow me to say that my Addresses on "The Duties of Women," advertised in your last issue, will be delivered at the Westminster Palace Hotel, at three o'clock, on Thursday, November 20, and all the succeeding Thursdays till Christmas. Miss Green, 80, Upper Gloucester Place, will supply tickets and any further information desired. I hope that ladies who may do me the honour to attend, and who may feel inclined to debate anything which I may advance, will understand that I shall esteem it a favour if they will speak freely on the subject at the close of each address.—Truly yours, FRANCES POWER COBBE. October 27th.

TRADES UNIONS AND THE EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN.

The following letter, addressed to the editor of the Times, appeared on October 7th:—

Sir,—As the subject of female employment is one of great public importance, we think it well for your readers to be made aware of the arbitrary manner in which the Compositors' Trade Society is endeavouring to prevent female compositors from earning their bread.

About four or five years ago we commenced to employ female compositors, and as we found the advantages of so doing, we increased the number from time to time. Some six weeks ago we were spoken to by two of our men, who said they were deputed by the society to inform us that none of the men who worked in our establishment were to be allowed to make-up, finish, or do anything to work that was set-up by the females. We stated that there was no such rule in their books, and that if the society wanted to make new rules they should call all the employers together and get them to consent to such new rules first. The men answered that the society had made a "by-law," and it must be carried out. We, of course, stated that this was a roundabout way of compelling us to get rid of the females, and that so long as we paid the men their wages we expected them to do whatever work we gave them, and that we should make no change whatever in our arrangements.

The sequel is soon told. At the end of the week the men all gave us notice to leave. One of these men we were paying two guineas a week—6s. over the society's wages. This man told us that it would be the means of breaking up his home, and we have learnt since that he and another have gone to America at the society's expense.

We leave the matter to the impartial judgment of the public, as our men told us that all other employers of female compositors were to be dealt with similarly.

Apologising for trespassing so much on your valuable space, We are, yours faithfully, SMITH AND YERWORTH. Holborn Buildings, E.C., Oct. 6.

THE RECENT MEETING AT CORK.

Mr. Thomas Ware Corker, chairman of the meeting at Cork, which was reported in our last issue, writes to the Cork Constitution to say that no interruption occurred from those who properly constituted the meeting, such having been solely occasioned by those who had forced themselves in at an advanced part of the evening, who are to be designated as "roughs." His remarks in opening the meeting were well received, as were Mrs. Perren's address, although good-humoured expressions of approval were somewhat too frequent—nothing remarkable in a Cork audience. The friends of women's suffrage, however, have nothing to fear, as the attainment of their object will be nearer and nearer as society becomes better educated and enlightened.

We learn from Nature that, in consideration of marked ability in the study of mathematics, exemplified during a year's residence in Baltimore and previously, the trustees of the John Hopkins University have invited Miss Christine Ladd to continue her mathematical studies in this university, and have voted that she may receive an honorary stipend, equal to that bestowed upon those who are appointed to fellowships.

ERRATUM.—In the list of ladies on School Boards given in our last issue, the name of Bath was given instead of Bristol as the one of which Miss Helena Richardson is a member. Miss Richardson is a member of the Bristol School Board.

MANCHESTER NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

SUBSCRIPTIONS RECEIVED DURING OCTOBER, 1879.

Table listing subscribers to the Manchester National Society for Women's Suffrage, including names like Mr. J. P. Thomasson, Mrs. Philip Goldschmidt, and Miss Kate Mitchell, with amounts in £ s. d.

Table listing subscribers under the heading 'BURY', including Mr. Robert Hall, Mr. Dackworth, and Mr. Ald. Crosland.

S. A. STEINTHAL, TREASURER. £57 6 0

GLASGOW BRANCH OF THE NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

SUBSCRIPTIONS RECEIVED APRIL 1 TO OCTOBER 20, 1879.

Table listing subscribers to the Glasgow Branch, including Professor E. Caird, Professor Young, and Miss J. Greig.

ANNA M. N. YOUNG, TREASURER. £16 17 0

CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS FROM SEPTEMBER 20 TO OCTOBER 20, 1879.

Table listing subscribers to the Central Committee, including Mr. J. P. Thomasson, Miss A. Swanwick, and Mrs. Bateson.

JANE E. COBDEN, TREASURER, 64, Berners-street, London, W. £185 4 6

UNIVERSITY EXTENSION.

The following list will show the large proportion of women who received certificates at the recent distribution at Chesterfield.

Table listing names and terms of University Extension students, including Michaelmas and Lent terms.

LA DONNA.—An educational periodical of contributions by Italian ladies, conducted by Gualberta Alaide Beccari. Published on the 15th and 30th of each month at Strada Stefano, No. 5, Bologna.—Price for each number, 50 centimes.

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

READING CASES to hold 12 numbers of the Women's Suffrage Journal, cloth, with gilt letters, and 12 elastic bands, price 2s. Published by Messrs. Trubner and Co., 57 and 59, Ludgate Hill, London, and Mr. John Heywood, Manchester. To be had of all booksellers.

WOMEN'S UNION JOURNAL, published Monthly by the Women's Protective and Provident League, records the progress of the Women's Trade Union movement; and contains information, collected from reliable sources, about the wages, hours of work, and other conditions under which women are employed in various trades.

Price One Penny; Subscriptions for year, including Postage, One Shilling and Sixpence. Communications for the Editor and orders for the Journal to be addressed to the Secretary, Women's Protective and Provident League, 36, Great Queen street, London, W.C.

SOME OF THE FACTS OF THE WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE QUESTION. By HELEN BLACKBURN. Published by the Central Committee of the National Society for Women's Suffrage, 64, Berners-street, London, W.—Price 2d.

COMMENTS ON THE OPPOSITION TO WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE. By HELEN BLACKBURN. Published by the Central Committee of the National Society for Women's Suffrage, 64, Berners-street, London, W.—Price 2d.

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

OPINIONS OF WOMEN ON WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE. Issued by the Central Committee of the National Society for Women's Suffrage, 64, Berners-street, London, W. This pamphlet was frequently referred to in the recent Parliamentary debate.

THE WOMAN'S GAZETTE; or, News about Work. Published Monthly, post free, 2d., 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.

THE EDUCATIONAL GUIDE AND LITERARY REVIEW. 3d. Monthly. Free by Post for 12 months, 2s. 6d. The Secretary to H.R.H. Prince LEOPOLD writes to the Editor as follows:—"His Royal Highness Prince LEOPOLD wishes to take the Educational Guide and Literary Review for one year, as a slight mark of his appreciation of your labours in the cause of Education." Liverpool, A. W. GIBBS, 99, Gladstone Road, E.; London, Thomas Laurie, 12, Stationers' Hall Court, E.C.

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