

# WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE JOURNAL.

EDITED BY LYDIA E. BECKER.

VOL. XII.—No. 137. PUBLISHED MONTHLY.

JUNE 1, 1881.

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ELECTORAL REFORM.—By WILLIAM COUNT, General Secretary of "The National Union of Working Women," and late Member of the "Bristol Trades' Council." Price 2d. London: George Vickers, Angel Court, Strand. Bristol: John Hayward, 1, Corn-street. 1880.

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## THE CALENDAR.—JUNE, 1881.

MOON.		SUN.		MOON.		SUN.		
5th First Quar., 3h 19m morn.		Rises.	Sets.	18th Last Quar., 9h 18m aft.		Rises.	Sets.	
12th Full Moon, 6h 56m morn.		3 47	8 9	26th New Moon, 2h 4m aft.		3 44	8 18	
		3 45	8 15			3 46	8 19	
MEETINGS, &c.								
1	W	Meeting, St. James's Hall, 1877.						1
2	Th	Meeting, Liberton (Scotland), 1880.						2
3	F	S. Clotilde died 545. Bettisia Gozzadina created Doctor of Law, Bologna, 1236.						3
4	S	Lecture, Greenlaw (Scotland), 1873. Drawing-room Meeting, Portman Square, 1880.						4
5	S	Whit Sunday.						5
6	M	Meeting, Leeds, 1871. Deputation to Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1877. Meeting, Heeley, 1879.						6
7	T	Debate, House of Commons, 1879.						7
8	W	Meeting, Newark, 1871.						8
9	Th	Lecture, Aberfeldy, Perth, Miss Craigen, 1873.						9
10	F	Clara Novello born 1818. Women's Printing Society founded 1876. S. Margaret, Queen of Scotland.						10
11	S	First Examination in Literature and Arts for Women at St. Andrews, 1873, C. D. Act, 1866.						11
12	S	Trinity Sunday.						12
13	M	Francis Burney (Madame D'Arblay) born 1752.						13
14	T	Cambridge Exams. for Women begin.						14
15	W	Lady Sterling Maxwell (Hon. Mrs. Norton) died 1877.						15
16	Th	Meeting, Stroud, 1870. Meeting Deptford, 1880.						16
17	F							17
18	S	Meeting, Hyde Park Gate, 1878.						18
19	S	1st Sunday after Trinity.						19
20	M	Accession of Queen Victoria, 1837.						20
21	T	Miss Porter (novelist) died 1832. Debate Married Women's Property Bill, 1870, House of Lords.						21
22	W	Society for Employment of Women established 1859.						22
23	Th	Lady Hester Stanhope died 1839.						23
24	F	Coronation of Marie Theresa at Presburg, 1741.						24
25	S	Lecture, Cambridge, Miss Craigen, 1872. Lecture, Mexborough, Miss Craigen, 1877. Meeting, Hackney, 1880.						25
26	S	2nd Sunday after Trinity.						26
27	M	Lecture, Four Lanes End (Sheffield), Miss Craigen, 1878.						27
28	T	Lecture, Crawshawbooth, Miss Craigen, 1876. Meeting, Woodseat, 1879.						28
29	W	Meeting, Taunton, 1878.						29
30	Th	Coronation of Queen Victoria, 1838. Defence by the Maid of Saragossa, 1808. Madame Ida Pfeiffer started on her first journey round the world, 1846. London University Summer Examinations for Matriculation begin.						30
		Meeting, Hyde, 1880.						
		Drawing-room Meeting, Frithville Gardens, 1880.						

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WE have to record with regret that Mr. MASON was unable to bring forward his motion on the 27th ultimo as proposed, but he is proceeding with the ballot on every available opportunity in order to secure, if possible, a better place on a future day. The motion stood second on the paper, the first place being occupied by Mr. BLENNERHASSET, who moved a resolution on proportional representation. The debate on Mr. BLENNERHASSET'S motion was, as he had anticipated, a short one, and had the sitting commenced at the usual hour of four o'clock, Mr. MASON would have had an excellent opportunity of introducing the debate. But the Government took a morning sitting on Friday, and consequently the order for Supply, which gives the occasion for the moving of these resolutions, instead of coming on soon after five o'clock, was postponed to nine o'clock. The debate on Mr. BLENNERHASSET'S motion, which stood first, lasted till nearly midnight, and it would have been then too late to have a full and satisfactory debate.

We trust that Mr. MASON will be able to secure a day during June or July for his motion, and we ask our friends to continue their petitions and other efforts to support him. Indications multiply tending to show the satisfactory progress of our principles, and our friends may rest assured that no effort will be spared by our parliamentary leaders to obtain the judgment of the House of Commons on our claim at the earliest possible moment.

WORK in London in various ways has been progressing during the month. An influential meeting was held at the Westminster Palace Hotel on May 24th. Mrs. FAWCETT, in the unavoidable absence of Mrs. M'LAREN, occupied the chair, and the meeting was addressed by Mrs. ALFRED OSLER, Mrs. ASHWORTH HALLETT, Mrs. SCATCHERD, Miss BECKER, Mrs. ASHTON DILKE, and Miss DOWNING. A resolution in the terms of that of Mr. MASON in the House of Commons was submitted to this meeting, and a petition in support of it was unanimously

carried. A meeting was also held in the Grosvenor Hall on May 17th, which was presided over by Miss SIMCOX, member of the London School Board for Westminster, and addressed by Mrs. CHANT, Miss MULLER (London School Board for Lambeth), Mr. HODGSON PRATT, Mrs. PATERSON, Mrs. GRIFFITHS, and others.

A drawing-room meeting was held at the house of Captain and Mrs. SAVILE JACKSON. Colonel HALL presided. The company consisted principally of the families of officers connected with the Royal Military College, Sandhurst. Miss BECKER and Miss C. A. BIGGS explained the object of the movement, and a petition in support of it was unanimously adopted.

A very interesting conversazione took place at 11, Great Stanhope-street, by invitation of Mrs. THOMASSON. The proceedings were of a less formal character than has been usual at drawing-room meetings. There was no resolution; but in the course of the afternoon, Mr. THOMASSON, M.P., briefly explained the object of the gathering, and short addresses of a few minutes' duration were delivered by Miss FRANCES POWER COBBE, Miss ORME, and Miss TOD. There was a very large attendance. Before the party separated Mademoiselle ZAKRESOZKA gave an interesting sketch of the difficulties that beset the pioneers of the medical education of women in Boston eight and twenty years ago.

THE question of women's suffrage has already progressed so far that fresh advances can be recorded every year. The Parliament of the United Kingdom has ratified the principle of women's suffrage by passing the Municipal Franchise Bill for Scotland. It is now twelve years since English women have enjoyed a privilege denied to their Scottish sisters; and every succeeding election has demonstrated with increasing clearness the interest which women take in the vote, and the sound judgment with which they exercise it. The principles which underlie all municipal franchises are precisely the same as those of the parliamentary franchise, and



form the best possible preparation for its exercise. The Scottish ladies will know how to avail themselves of this important gain. We all remember how thoroughly they appreciated the School Board franchise (the first vote to which they had ever been admitted), and showed almost unanimously that they recognised the extent of the power for usefulness in the interests of education which had been confided to their hands. The interests that are affected by the municipal vote are not less important, and are still more varied, and it will be the duty of every woman householder carefully to examine these matters, and conscientiously discharge her new responsibilities for the benefit of herself and all other citizens. The Act will not come into force till next year, but its educational influence will begin immediately. We heartily congratulate the women of Scotland on this substantial triumph.

THE Municipal Franchise (Scotland) Bill was assented to by the Government on the understanding that it should place affairs in Scotland exactly as they are in England. The right of women ratepayers to vote in the election of Town Councillors was secured in England by the Municipal Franchise Act of 1869. Before the passing of that Act the qualification for a vote for the Council was different from that for a parliamentary election, and there were always two lists prepared, separately revised and separately printed, one for municipal and one for parliamentary elections. The Act of 1869 assimilated the municipal to the parliamentary qualification, but retained the separate list. It was under these circumstances comparatively easy to extend the municipal franchise to women without disturbing the parliamentary list.

But the procedure in Scotland differed, inasmuch as the same qualification and the same list was in force for municipal and local elections. When, therefore, the friends of women's suffrage urged that municipal franchise should be extended to Scotch women, they were met by the objection that it would involve a disturbance of the lists, and it was not worth while to agitate separately for the municipal and parliamentary franchise.

Within the last year or two an Act has been passed for England abolishing the separate lists for municipal and parliamentary elections, and thus saving the cost and labour of a double revision and a double printing. This list is divided into three portions. The first contains all persons entitled to vote at parliamentary and municipal

elections, that is, the names of all the men householders. The second, those entitled to vote in parliamentary elections only, that is, the men lodgers. The third, those entitled to vote in municipal elections only, that is, the women householders. The second list is usually non-existent, the lodger franchise being practically a dead letter in most English boroughs. The third list is large and important, being usually about one-fifth or one-sixth of the total number of electors.

Possibly the existence of this supplementary list of women householders to the parliamentary list in English boroughs may have suggested the feasibility of adding a similar supplementary list to the burgess roll in Scotch burghs, thus placing Scotch women householders in the same position as their sisters south of the Tweed. Be that as it may, Dr. CAMERON, M.P. for Glasgow, early in the session introduced a Bill to extend the municipal franchise to women in Scotland. No active opposition was offered, although the measure did not escape the usual process of "blocking," which one or two members seem to practice on every possible occasion. But Dr. CAMERON managed to pilot his Bill safely through the rocks and shoals of obstruction, and it passed the House of Commons before Easter. The Bill was brought forward in the House of Lords by the Earl of CAMPERDOWN, passed on May 13th, and will probably have received the Royal Assent ere these lines are in the hands of our readers. The measure comes into operation on January 1st, 1882.

Although nothing new in principle is established by this measure, there is great gain in the extension of the practice of women voting in popular elections in large constituencies. The minds of both women and men become familiar with the spectacle of women at the polls, and it ceases to strike people as unnatural or strange. There is also a great advantage in calling forth from the obscurity in which they rested, unrecked of and uncounted, the thousands of women ratepayers in Scotch burghs, and in bringing the separate list of them before the mind of the people. By this means "women's suffrage" ceases to be an abstract idea, and gains all the advantage that can accrue from being presented to the public in a concrete and visible form.

THE Married Women's Property Bill has again lost through a count out what appears to be its last or best chance of passing its final stages in the House of Commons. It stood for Committee on Tuesday, May 24th, and as it was

second on the order book there was a reasonable prospect of its being reached before it could be blocked by the operation of the half-past twelve o'clock rule, if a sufficient number of members would have assembled to make a House at nine o'clock, when the House resumed after the morning sitting. But for this forty members were required, and at nine o'clock only thirty-six were present. The House was therefore instantly counted out, and the chances of passing this measure of justice for women were indefinitely postponed. In the crowded condition of the order book it is doubtful whether another equally favourable opportunity can be obtained, and the measure may remain throughout the session a standing testimony to the difficulty of obtaining the attention of the House to measures affecting the interests of an unrepresented class of the community.

ALTHOUGH we have not to record this month the expected debate in the House of Commons on the removal of the political disabilities of women, we have the pleasure of presenting to our readers a notice of a debate on the kindred subject of removing the educational disabilities which took place last week in the Convocation of Durham University, and which conveys in small compass the pith and marrow of many of the arguments for and against the enfranchisement of women. The essential question is one and the same, whether the claim which is the immediate subject of discussion be that for educational, industrial, or political rights, and the arguments and objections urged respecting one claim do duty with little alteration for another.

We desire especially to draw attention to the speech of the Rev. Canon EVANS in opposing the proposal to admit women students to the University. This speech appears to us to embody the essence of the spirit in which the opponents resist the demand for the recognition of the political claims of women, and the nature of the objections which they offer to it. Time was when such objections would have sufficed to stay the progress of the question and to close the portals of learning to women. But the days of such exclusion are overpast. The resolution to admit women was carried by fourteen votes against four, a majority of more than three to one. Thus the landmarks which defined the boundary within which the scope of women's activity was limited are being removed one by one, and the opportunities afforded them of shaping and living their own lives are rapidly being accommodated to the changed conditions of modern life which exercise

so potent an influence in modifying the daily lives and personal experience of both women and men.

It is sometimes asserted by the objectors to women's suffrage that if women are to have votes, they ought to be liable to serve in the police force. Perhaps such objectors may be surprised to hear that policemen are specially disqualified not only from voting, but from influence in elections. By an Act passed in the nineteenth year of the present reign, it is ordained that no head or any other constable, except special constables, shall be capable of giving his vote in the election of any person to any municipal office in the borough in which he serves, or in any election of a member of Parliament for the districts in which his duties lie; nor shall any such constable by word, message, writing, or in any other manner endeavour to persuade any elector in giving his vote in such elections. This disqualification attaches to a constable not only during his term of service, but for a period of six months after he shall have ceased to be a constable.

The whole tenor of the enactment seems designed to dissociate in the most marked and absolute manner the physical force which carries into effect the behests of the Legislature, whether imperial or local, from the electoral force which determines the character of legislation. The principle hereby exemplified lies at the very root of civil liberty. The contrary principle on which the objection to which we referred is founded, namely, that physical force is the foundation of civil rights, is directly subversive of every principle of political justice, and every safeguard of popular freedom, for according to that principle the rights and liberties of either women or men are lawfully subject to the will of any power which can organise a sufficient body of physical force to crush them.

#### PARLIAMENTARY INTELLIGENCE.

HOUSE OF LORDS, *Friday, May 27.*

##### MARRIED WOMEN'S PROPERTY (SCOTLAND) BILL.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR, in moving the second reading of this Bill, said its object was to extend the operation of the Acts of 1861 and 1877, to enlarge the wife's rights and, of course, to diminish those of the husband in Scotland. The effect of the present Bill was this—in regard to those married after the Act all the personal and real estate the wife had at the time of marriage, or which she might afterwards acquire by literary, scientific, or artistic exertions, was to remain secured to the separate use of the wife, unless there was a contract to the contrary. The 3rd Clause provided that the Act should not apply to those already married, with this exception, that property coming to them after the Bill passed should be subject to its provisions. That, no doubt, was wider in its scope than the corresponding provisions of the English Act. The 4th section provided that married persons might, if they thought fit,



by a certain procedure, which should be registered, place themselves under the Act. The 6th section contained a provision which had been introduced in some of our colonies, especially Canada, and which appeared not unjust or unreasonable in principle. It was that, with regard to parties domiciled in Scotland, in the case of the intestacy of the wife the husband should take such an interest in her estate as the wife would take in similar circumstances in the estate of the husband. He begged to move the second reading of the Bill.

After a few words from Earl CAIRNS, the Bill was read a second time.

#### HOUSE OF COMMONS, May 2. SALE OF WOMEN IN NATAL.

Mr. SUMMERS (Stalybridge) asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the British Government in Natal recognises the sale of women, and sanctions the right of a native insolvent to include the marriageable value of his daughters in the assets of his estate; and whether he will lay upon the table copies of any papers that may be at the Colonial Office relating to native customs in Natal.

Mr. GRANT DUFF said his reply to the first part of the question was that the native population of Natal, who outnumbered the whites by a hundred to one, were to some extent governed by their own laws and customs. One of these laws or customs was that a bridegroom, when he asked a girl for marriage, was required to give to her father a certain number of cattle for his consent to the marriage. The arrangement would be recognised by our authorities provided there was evidence that the young lady consented. (Laughter.) He had no information to answer the second question, but no such cases as were referred to in the question had come to the knowledge of the Colonial Office. In reply to the third question, he had to say that papers on this subject were already in the hands of members, and there was no further information of importance on the subject in the Colonial Office; but if the hon. gentleman wished it, he had no objection to give him whatever information they had got.

#### ELECTION INTELLIGENCE.

##### KNARESBOROUGH. DEPUTATION TO MR. MILNES GASKELL.

On May 11th, a deputation of ladies waited upon Mr. Gaskell, at his committee rooms, for the purpose of ascertaining his views in regard to the question of women's suffrage. Amongst those present were Mrs. Scatcherd, Leeds; Mrs. M'Cormick, Manchester; the Rev. A. Johnson, Knarborough; Mrs. Needham, Mr. Edwin Johnson, Mrs. Edwin Johnson, &c.

Mrs. SCATCHERD said they had come to urge and bring before Mr. Gaskell's notice the question of women ratepayers having the parliamentary franchise conferred upon them. They hoped to have his support in the future, if he felt he could conscientiously do it. They wanted the franchise conferred only upon those women who paid rates. There were about 500,000 of these women in the land who had already the municipal franchise, and so far as they had been able to observe they had used it as largely in proportion to their number as the men had. They took the money from women in the shape of rates, but they had no vote. They were really connected with the election, and would have to pay their share of the rates incurred by the Royal Commission of inquiry into the corrupt practices alleged to prevail in the borough. After referring to some of the laws under which women suffer, she thought it would do good to the nation and be a great benefit if women had a voice in political matters. In conclusion she appealed to Mr. Gaskell to give the question his serious consideration, not hurriedly or impatiently, but to look at it unbiassedly, and if he conscientiously agreed with them to give them his support if elected as member for that borough.

Mrs. NEEDHAM said she entirely agreed in Mrs. Scatcherd's remarks. For years she had been a supporter of women's suffrage.

Mr. GASKELL, in reply, said with much Mrs. Scatcherd had said he entirely agreed, but the only question was the means by which an object could be attained. That they wished to give women a vote appeared the main question, and it should have his most

serious consideration. During this century advance had been steadily made in women's position generally; and Mrs. Gaskell, a near relative of his own, from 1820 to 1830 was one of the most ardent advocates of women's rights. Every effort had been made to attain this object, and there was no doubt they were progressing favourably towards the enfranchisement of women. He was delighted with what had been said, but he would have required many days' thought before he would be prepared to answer Mrs. Scatcherd's exhaustive address.

The Rev. A. JOHNSON moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Gaskell for the most courteous reception accorded them, and the deputation then withdrew.

#### YORK LIBERAL COUNCIL.

The Liberal Council is the authorised exponent of the Liberal party in York, containing representatives from the various wards, &c., and uniting the different sections of which the party is composed. At a meeting of the Liberal Council held at the Club Rooms, Castlegate, Jos. Rowntree, Esq., in the chair, the secretary reported that he had received a letter from the Women's Suffrage Association asking Liberal Associations to send representatives to join a deputation which it was proposed should wait upon Mr. Gladstone, due notice of which would be given. The communication having been read by the secretary, Mr. Coun. E. T. Wilkinson moved: "That this council be represented on such proposed deputation." He urged the claim of women ratepayers to the suffrage as a measure of absolute justice, pointing to the position of such in boroughs where election commissions had been sitting, and who were heavily taxed for electoral malpractices in which it was impossible for them to have any share. He strongly censured the selfishness of those who refused this right because they believed Conservatism would reap the largest advantage from it; declaring, amid cheers, that Liberalism existed to put down abuses and rectify wrongs, and not merely to perpetuate its own existence, and concluded by affirming that those who maintained the present state of things had not a shred of reason or justice to support them.—The Chairman cautioned the council against rash action. He said the Liberal party in York had never yet declared in favour of women's suffrage, and he trusted they would weigh well the consequences of their action. If the suffrage was given to women, however serious the consequences, it could never be reclaimed. He pointed out that thoughtful men like John Bright and Goldwin Smith were opposed to it—that before they voted they should make up their minds as to what was woman's work and sphere. Is politics part of it? Would it not injure them without benefiting society?—Mr. Swales and Mr. Skerry supported the resolution.—Mr. Wilkinson pointed out that women had the suffrage already in municipal, school board, and parochial elections, and defied anyone to point out one single disadvantage which had resulted either to the sex or to society, and ridiculed the grave tones of remonstrance and alarm which had been assumed. As to John Bright and Goldwin Smith, if it were a question of great names, he could adduce names of equal authority on the other side. As to woman's work and sphere, he advised them to leave the field open, and let nature have free play and she would settle the question of woman's work and sphere far better than our clumsy laws.—The resolution was carried by a large majority; and Henry Rowntree, Esq., and Councillor E. T. Wilkinson, were appointed to join the deputation.

#### SCHOOL BOARD ELECTION.

##### WOLVERHAMPTON.

The Wolverhampton School Board held a meeting on May 6th to fill a vacancy. The chairman (the rector of the Collegiate Church) proposed the election of Miss Amy Mander. There were, he said, 75 female teachers in the Board's employ, and for their sakes it was desirable that the Board should have a lady member. The vice-chairman (a Nonconformist) seconded the motion, which was passed. Two members—a clergyman and a Roman Catholic Priest—refused to vote. Miss Mander has been hon. sec. to the Cambridge Examinations (junior and senior) for girls for nine years, and of the higher local examinations for the local centre five years.

#### PUBLIC MEETINGS.

##### LONDON. WESTMINSTER PALACE HOTEL.

A largely-attended and enthusiastic meeting, principally of ladies, was held on Tuesday afternoon, at the Westminster Palace Hotel, to consider the resolution, which has been placed on the order book of the House of Commons by Mr. Hugh Mason, in favour of extending the parliamentary franchise to women who possess the qualifications which entitle men to vote. In the absence of Mrs. Duncan M'Laren, who, for reasons appearing below, was unable to be present, Mrs. FAWCETT, wife of the Postmaster General, was unanimously appointed to the chair. She was supported on the platform by Mrs. Alfred Osler, Mrs. Hallett, Miss Becker, Mrs. Oliver Scatcherd (Leeds), Miss Tod, and Mrs. Ashton Dilke. The following ladies and gentlemen were also in the room: Viscountess Harberton, Miss Sharman Crawford, Miss Caroline Biggs, Mr. Theo. Fry, M.P., and Mrs. Fry, Mr. Hallett, Mr. Geo. Palmer, M.P., Mrs. Savile, Mrs. Leach (Yarmouth), Mrs. E. Rose, Miss Downing, and Mr. Thomasson, M.P. On the opening of the proceedings, Miss BECKER announced that she had received the subjoined letter:—

Green Bank, Rochdale, May 23, 1881.

My dear Miss Becker,—I am truly sorry that it will be out of my power to fulfil the engagement I made with you to preside at the meeting at the Westminster Palace Hotel, to be held to-morrow, in favour of women's suffrage. A deep sorrow has called me here. I trust you will have a good meeting, and I hope, if there are any there who have hitherto only "touched the garment hem" of the truth we are advocating, that the arguments used will enable them to see it in its fuller dimensions, and to recognise its capacity to cover many needs of the body politic which has so long remained neglected.—I am, dear Miss Becker, yours faithfully,

PRISCILLA M'LAREN.

(Applause.) A letter had also been received from Mr. Lewis Pugh, M.P. for Cardiganshire, who while expressing regret that he could not be present, said he would be happy to do anything he could in behalf of the cause.

Mrs. FAWCETT rose to speak from the chair amid cordial applause. After a few words of regretful reference to the absence of Mrs. M'Laren, who represented a family always foremost in questions of electoral reform, she proceeded: Unworthy as I feel I am to occupy her place, I must attempt to do so on this emergency. I will say only this first, that I experience some difficulty in coming to make a speech here again in favour of our movement. You know what we ask is that the parliamentary franchise should be extended to women who possess the qualifications which entitle men to vote, and who in all matters of local government have the right to vote. Now this proposition seems to be so obviously and entirely right and just that it is almost impossible to conceive what can reasonably be said on the other side. In attempting to discuss this question I feel almost as if I were asked to prepare an elaborate argument in favour of a resolution setting forth that two and two make four. (Hear, hear.) But unfortunately we know quite well that a great deal is said against this movement. And the arguments which have been used against women's suffrage are difficult to answer; not, however, on account of their substantial character, but on account of the extraordinarily flimsy character which they generally assume. I will quote a few of the arguments that have been used from time to time, even by many of our most distinguished opponents, against the proposal which we meet here this afternoon to advocate. For one thing, we have been told that women should not have the vote because the battle of Hastings was won and lost by men, and not by women. (Laughter.) Another distinguished opponent—a member of Parliament—said that women ought not to have a vote because, when women committed murders, they ran a risk about one per cent less than if they were men of being hanged. (Renewed laughter.) Another hon. member appears to be in such a confused state of mind that if to its confusion were added another element of disorder, which he thinks would be contributed if women had votes, there would be some danger of his forgetting the simple lessons which he learned at his mother's knee. Another gentleman, rather more philosophical, perhaps, than the rest, said that women ought not to have votes, because if Miss A. had a vote Mrs. B. would leave off loving her children. (Laughter.) In one breath, sometimes, we have heard this double-barrelled argument, that women ought not to have votes because

they did not want them, and because, if they had them, they would sacrifice everything, including home duties and affections, for the sake of plunging into the midst of political excitement. Still, we must remember that these arguments, such as they are—and I might, if I did not want to make enemies, quote the names of members of both Houses of Parliament who uttered them—were made use of a long time ago. Things have gone on very rapidly since they were used. A few years merely in time have passed by, but those years mark a very great movement in the history of this question. While we have been talking, and while members of Parliament have been talking about whether or not women ought to have votes, a very great social change has steadily been evolving itself. It is taking place, and will continue to take place. This is a change which we have been arguing in favour of, and the legislative change which we are met to advocate is only a phase of it. For instance, the question whether women should be allowed to enter the medical profession has been settled finally and for ever in the affirmative. Then, in another direction, look what has taken place in the Universities. The London University has thrown open its degrees entirely to women. No difficulty whatever is now placed in the way of women becoming graduates of that University. Cambridge, the other day, made a very great step in advance, and by the enormous majority of something like 300 to 30 decided that women should be allowed to enter for the honour examinations of that University. The other Universities are following gradually in the same course. Oxford has begun; the Scotch Universities are doing something; Durham even is doing something for women's education, and so all along the line we see the movement that has taken place. The high schools that have been established over the country for the improvement of the education of girls show how enormously that side of the question has progressed since the Schools Inquiry Commissioner reported on the subject of girls' schools. Another important movement has been made in the direction of throwing open some branches of the Civil Service to lady clerks—(applause)—and the ladies who are engaged in that service do their work quite as well as the gentlemen who work in the same department. Then, there is the experience we have had of the work of women on School Boards, and the useful and excellent functions they have performed there. (Hear, hear.) We have the experience of women voters in School Board and municipal elections, and we see thousands of women going to the poll without any of those dreadful things happening which were retold. At the last general election we had an experience of rather a new kind; that of ladies of every rank taking a very active part in electioneering. It seems to have been made a sort of fashion with ladies of high rank to take part in election meetings and work for their husbands and brothers, just as actively as if they had the franchise. Things of the same kind are happening now, and will continue to happen, whether women are voters or not. The question is reduced to this—Is the legislative status of women to be made to correspond to their actual social status, such as they have made it by their own efforts during the last five years? In considering what a very large amount of experience has been gained on every branch of this question, I think one is justified in asking, What are the opponents of women's suffrage afraid of? I don't think they can be afraid of society being turned upside down, because they said that those things which have happened already would turn society upside down, and many years ago, when the new Houses of Parliament were being built, it was said that it would turn society upside down if women were admitted even behind bars to listen to the debates in the House of Commons. Yet, these things have happened, and as with the famous curse in "The Jackdaw of Rheims," "nobody seems a penny the worse." (Laughter, and "Hear, hear.") Society gets on better. Then, what are our opponents afraid of? Are they afraid that if women be admitted to political equality by obtaining the franchise, it would tend in any way to dry up the springs of that courtesy which a true gentleman is always ready to show to a woman? I don't know whether there is any serious fear of that; but if there should be, I think it would be interesting to those who entertain such fears to look what countries are those in which women are best treated socially. I mean the countries in which women have the greatest social liberty, and where they are able to go about quite alone, without suffering the slightest annoyance and inconvenience. I have no hesitation in saying that those two countries are England and America. There, I believe, women will get their political



rights long before they get them in any other country. (Hear, hear.) I am firmly convinced that we are going to win in this question—(applause)—and we are going to win very quickly. I think it is only a question now of a very few years. It is quite possible that women will vote in the next general election, and I think it is almost certain that if they don't vote in the next, they will vote in the general election after that. ("Hear, hear," and applause.) I don't know whether there are any members of Parliament here who have not yet had the opportunity of voting on this subject; or perhaps there may be some gentlemen here who may be candidates for parliamentary honours at some future day. I will ask them to think twice before they set themselves on bad terms with a part of the new electorate. (Laughter and applause.) We are really beginning to be worth being friends with. We shall be able to give a substantial record of our friendship, perhaps, before many years have elapsed. I have one word of advice or caution to our friends. I know that some of those who have worked most eagerly for the benefit of women feel some shade of compunction that things are not going faster. They think that more might have been done, and that, even if the measure for which we are immediately agitating be carried, much will remain to be done before entire justice can be secured. That is true. No one measure can be so sweeping as to set everything right at one blow. But I think it is to advantage to go slowly. We run much less risk of a reaction setting in against us, and we are sure to be backed up continually by the support of public opinion. A great master of history—the greatest of living English historians—has said something which turns on this point, and which I should like to read: "Blame any age, blame any man in any age, if it can be shown that such an age, that such a man, really and wilfully went backwards. But blame no age, no man, that really went forwards, merely because we are tempted to think that the forward course might have been speedier. Blame no age, no man, that really reformed something, merely because something was left for later ages and later men to reform. Such judgments are unfair to the age or to the man so judged; for every age must be judged according to its own lights and its own opportunities. And such judgments are also shallow in themselves, for the work that is done bit by bit, as each bit is specially needed to be done, will be really stronger than the work that is turned out spick and span, according to some preconceived theory. A few anomalies here and there, a few signs that the work was done faster in one part and slower in another, will do no practical harm. The house will not be thereby the worse to live in, and it will better tell the tale of its own building. Here in England, at least, we ought to believe that freedom, civilisation, toleration—anything else that we prize—is really all the better and stronger because it has not been cut out all at once, but has grown up, bit by bit, by the struggles of generation after generation." (Loud applause.)

Mrs. ALFRED OSLER moved the first resolution: "That, in the opinion of this meeting, the parliamentary franchise should be extended to women who possess the qualifications which entitle men to vote; and who, in all matters of local government, have the right of voting." She said: My only excuse as a stranger for speaking a few words to-day is that I come from a not unimportant town as a messenger, and I am glad to have an opportunity of adding my testimony to the increasing success and popularity of the women's suffrage movement. I think our local committee have always considered Birmingham, despite its well-known Liberalism, as culpably and shockingly indifferent upon this question of women's suffrage, and therefore we were not very sanguine about success when it was proposed to hold a demonstration in Birmingham in February last, similar to those which had been held in London, Manchester, Bristol, and Nottingham. When our Town Clerk was consulted as to obtaining a room for an overflow meeting, he was so very greatly amused that he could scarcely be brought to consider the ladies' proposal seriously. In spite of his amusement, an overflow meeting was required; and notwithstanding a whole day of continuous snow, hundreds of women went to it who were not able to gain admission to the crowded Town Hall. The Birmingham demonstration did not fall behind those of other towns, either in numbers or enthusiasm. (Applause.) We cannot over-estimate the value of such demonstrations as these, nor the effect which they must have in lessening the opposition to our claim. Nothing is more striking in the machinery of our Government than the enormous amount of political pressure which is necessary before any reform can be obtained. As a

historian of our own time remarks, Parliament rarely attends to the moral claims of right and justice. Its tendency is to yield only when sufficient pressure has been put upon it to signify coercion. Important as it is to secure the support of members of Parliament for our resolution in the House of Commons, I think they would be the first to assure us that a still more important thing is to raise the level of political interest among women of all classes of the community. And when you find timid retiring women, who have never before given their minds to public questions, aroused to ask, "Are these things true then? Is there not a duty here for us to do as women?"—then I think it is a sign that the time is coming when women's influence must be felt in the ruling of our country; and I, for one, have met with many such cases. Women, rich and poor, ignorant and cultivated, have come to our meetings, many with doubt and hesitation; some with a vague dislike of our movement, and have afterwards come to bid us God-speed, and have said "Are these indeed the things you are asking for? We have always been taught that you were trying to turn women into men and abolish nature herself by Act of Parliament." And it is quite true that there still exists a considerable number of people who really believe that Parliament is a more august force than nature, and that those laws which are so loudly proclaimed immutable and perfect can yet be reversed and destroyed at any moment by the decision of the British House of Commons. (Applause.) With this class of people patience and individual influence, and, still more, the knowledge spread by this agitation, are doing very much. It may often be true that "speech is silver, but silence is golden;" but we women who politically have been silent for so long cannot help feeling sympathy with that eloquent Irish member of the House of Commons who lately declared that so long as Ireland was silent England was deaf to her grievances. (Applause.) We are constantly told that women cannot be considered an oppressed class, but emphatically those grievances which we hope to remove are grievances which affect them as a class. Individual women now-a-days are as chivalrously honoured by men as at any time in the past, and they are not the less sensible of that because they have awakened to the knowledge of some grievances to which many of them have hitherto been blind. During our agitation in Birmingham a gentleman there said to my husband, "Is your wife such a very unhappy woman that she wants all these laws altered?" Now, it is this way of looking at things from a purely personal and selfish standpoint which we have combated and are combating in women. Mr. Ruskin has written some beautiful words about the selfishness of bounding our views of life by the interest of our own joys and sorrows. He has described a young and beautiful woman, with her child at her breast, going out into her garden in a morning, with a happy smile upon her face and not a cloud upon her brow, because there is a little wall round her place of peace, and yet she knows in her heart that if she would but look outside that rose-covered wall the wild grass is turned up by the agony of men. Miss Frances Power Cobbe, adapting the words of a Roman poet, has given a motto for women, "I am a woman, and nothing which concerns women is alien to me." (Applause.) And when all women are proud to enlist under this banner of English womanhood, their question will be—not "What good will this reform be to me?"—but "What effect will this reform have upon women generally?" (Hear, hear.) That is what the women's suffrage movement is gradually and surely effecting. It is drawing and binding together women of all ranks, and of all circumstances, in one common bond of sisterhood. I don't know whether even the result of gaining representation for women will not be subordinate to the other result of having conducted women to a more active sympathy with one another's needs and sorrows and difficulties, and to a higher sense of the duty they owe to humanity. (Applause.)

Mrs. HALLETT seconded the resolution with the following words: Mrs. Fawcett has brought forward a number of the objections we have been accustomed to hear urged against the claims of women to the suffrage; but when, as she states, the time is coming in which this question will be settled, it is, I think, a little unmerciful to these gentlemen to bring up the things they have said against our cause. (Laughter.) The other day, on looking over the debates which have taken place upon this question, I turned to a speech made by Mr. Gladstone in the session of 1871. In that year our Women's Disabilities Bill was for the second time introduced into the House of Commons, and Mr. Gladstone rose to explain the position of the

Government in regard to the proposal. He said it was important that all legislation should be founded on mature and free consideration, and with a view to this free consideration he desired to leave all the members of his Government free to take what course they thought best in regard to women's suffrage; while, at the same time, he considered the intervention of the Government as a body to be premature. But the whole tenor of his speech was in favour of the change advocated. He went on to say: "Then comes the question of the parliamentary franchise, and we have to ask ourselves whether we shall or shall not go further. Now I do go so far as to admit that my hon. friend" (Mr. Jacob Bright, who had charge of the Bill) "has a presumptive case for some change in the law, although I will go no further until I know more of the nature of the change to be effected." Now, since those words were spoken, the question has been debated again and again in the House of Commons. It has been discussed in great meetings throughout the country. It has been discussed in great meetings consisting wholly of women, and now, when Mr. Gladstone is again in power, and when the Government has been elected on the promise of a new Reform Bill, we ask that when the time shall come for introducing that measure, it shall be so framed as to include the extension of the parliamentary franchise to women, and thus settle this question which, through long years of earnest work, has obtained that mature consideration upon which Mr. Gladstone tells us that legislation should be founded. (Applause.) Last session of Parliament, when this Ministry came into power, we were told in the speech from the Throne that the Government intended to bring in a Bill for lowering the franchise in Ireland. When this Bill was before Parliament, two of our friends placed on the paper amendments in favour of altering it so as to include women. The Bill was withdrawn, but whilst it was before Parliament I happened to be in an Irish borough which returns two members. I mentioned the proposal to lower the franchise to a number of people, but they did not seem to think it could be taken seriously. One magistrate said already the franchise is so low that at the last election one coat had to serve for fifty electors. (Loud laughter.) It appeared that the free and independent electors were anxious to appear, as they expressed it, "decent" at the poll, and having no garment adequate for the occasion, what may be termed a "general fitting coat" was provided, which was passed rapidly from one voter to another as they were brought up to the poll. Now, I daresay the want of a coat will be considered by some of our Radical friends as an additional reason for extending the suffrage, on the ground that an extension of the suffrage is an elevating influence, and might even be the means of supplying men who are without coats with these sartorial privileges. Far be it from me to criticise the attempt to give votes to men who have no coats. But I think it is not unreasonable, in these circumstances, to inquire, "What have these men done, that they should be made rulers over us?"—(applause)—and to ask the Government when they give this right to the least of these our brethren, to give it to us also. (Renewed applause.) Mrs. Fawcett referred to the great changes which had taken place in regard to education in this country, partly owing to the agitation we have carried on for the suffrage. The other day, Earl Granville, in presenting the certificates of degrees to the successful students at the University of London, warmly congratulated the lady students on their success, and said the infusion of feminine graduates would add to the utility, as it had already added to the grace, of the proceedings. It is well known that the opposition to opening the Universities to women, and to admitting women to the professions, has been just as bitter as the opposition to admit women to the franchise. Such objections have been very ably summed up in the words of Mr. Leatham, the member for Huddersfield, who said that "these changes ignore the career, that revelation, and the experience of all ages have marked out for women." Notwithstanding the very serious character of these objections, we have all lived to see a great and important change in the education of women. We have lived to see one University after another open its doors to women, and when the newspapers record these events, it is rather curious to see the comments they make. One newspaper on Saturday told its readers that, notwithstanding the fact of women graduates, the relations of the sexes will remain unchanged. (Laughter.) Well, undoubtedly they will. (Renewed laughter.) But they will remain unchanged because there are women graduates, and because women are admitted to share in the progressive educational advantages of men. Those

who advocate electoral reform, and those who have been advocating the opening of the universities to women, have done so in order that the relations of the sexes may remain unchanged. If men move on in education as they do, but women stand still as they have done, the relations of the sexes will be changed; and if men move on in political power as they do, and women stand still in political disabilities as they have done, then the relations of the sexes will be changed. If the individual man continually develops, while individual woman's development is arrested, then the relations of the sexes must be changed, and instead of equal and united progress, the sex whose progress is arrested will be merely a drag upon the other. (Applause.) In the speech of Mr. Gladstone to which I have referred, he admitted that under present representation the laws are in favour of men against women, and thus present representation changes the relations of the sexes. Recent legislation proves that when the House of Commons has been asked to deal with questions especially affecting the relations of men and women, women have been placed in an inferior position to that which they occupied under ancient laws. The wider, the lower you make the franchise for men, the more serious becomes the position of women. We are asking for the franchise to-day, and we have asked for it for years, in no antagonistic spirit; but we ask for it in order that the balance which unequal progress continually disturbs may be restored. We ask for it in order that we may be permitted to join our special powers with those of men for the common good, in order that justice and harmony may prevail. I have very great pleasure in seconding the motion. (Applause.)

Mrs. SCATCHELD supported the resolution. She said: It refers definitely to those votes which women ratepayers already possess in matters of local government, and I venture to offer a few remarks showing that women do use such votes as they already possess. During the past five or six years, some of us in the North thought we would ascertain definitely what proportion of women, as compared with men, did use local votes. The way we went to work was this: We ascertained the exact number of householders in any given town; then the exact number in the wards of that town; and where a contest took place in any ward, there we were, outside the polling booths all day, counting the number of women who came to vote. After three or four years we compared our observations, with this result, that, as far as we could see, the number of women who voted was nearly two-thirds of the whole proportion of women voters in the large towns of the West Riding. In those towns where nothing had been done to educate women as to the matters which came before the local bodies, of course, the proportion was less; but where any pains had been taken by anyone to call women together and address them upon the subject, there we found the proportion was more than two-thirds. In one ward, which I myself undertook, there were 451 women householders, and of these we can positively state that 413 came to the poll. (Applause.) We can scarcely take up a newspaper in election times, now-a-days, without seeing some such sentence as "Women came largely to the poll;" or, "Women took an active part in this election." Therefore we may say that, according to their numbers, women vote quite as largely as men do in matters of local government. In the smaller boroughs it is even a larger proportion of women that vote. Not long ago I visited the borough of Knaresborough, where the women, though they had nothing to do with the voting, are to be called upon to pay their share of a rate which has been levied to defray the expenses of a Royal Commission of inquiry as to the bribery which took place at the election last year. The rate is 4s. in the pound. I heard from one side the wish expressed that women had voted, because they would then have felt sure of their candidate. The other party said they were glad that women had not voted, because they would have voted against them. Both remarks show plainly that the women of Knaresborough are a power in that town, and so it is. Scarcely a single woman ever stayed at home when the election of guardians came on, this being the one election which the women ratepayers share there with the men. (Applause.) Yet, though these women are not deemed fit to vote for parliamentary candidates, they are deemed fit to pay the 4s. in the pound made necessary by the misdoings of such candidates. Let me now refer to the extraordinary election which not long ago took place at the town of Hyde to appoint a mayor and town council, under a recent charter of incorporation. Many interesting meetings were held, both by men and women, but the largest and the most enthusiastic was one held by women. They had to have a large overflow



meeting, and some of our number went down to observe how the women voted at election time. I believe that out of 1,005 women voters nearly 800 went to the poll. (Applause.) We do say, then, that women show that they take an interest in matters of town government, and that they use their votes to the best of their ability; and not only that, but we maintain that we have proof also that they take an interest in those larger political questions which so deeply stir the hearts of their fathers and brothers. It is now more than a year ago since we were in the midst of a general election which thrilled the land from end to end. The women of the north took a decided part in that election. I was prepared for some movement on their part, but I was scarcely prepared to see them go so far as they did. They called large meetings together, which were addressed entirely by women, and managed entirely by women, excepting one or two gentlemen; but they were candidates. Our chairwoman has told you of aristocratic women who took an active part in the election. I can tell you of thousands of middle class and working women who took a very active and practical part in that election, and not only that, but sent £100 towards the election expenses of their favourite candidate—Mr. Gladstone. (Applause.) That money did not come in in large sums, but in small sums from a penny upwards, sent by working women and all of us. Since that election my colleagues and myself have met, to say the least, 20,000 women in different parts of the country. We have come face to face with them, have put the question plainly to them: "Do you want the franchise, or do you not? Men say you do not. Will you tell us honestly whether you do or not?" With one voice these women have said: "We do want the franchise. We do feel bitterly these restrictions and these cruel wrongs from which many of our sisters suffer, and we are not content with our position. We do wish to raise our whole sex, intellectually and morally, and we will work with you until we can do it." (Applause.) We have with us the working women of the country. That I can testify. We have with us the philanthropic and the thoughtful women of the country. In every town you or I have visited, there are earnest, active women doing some good for the place in which they live, and who have supported us through all the women's suffrage movement. There is a growing discontent amongst women with their position, and we mean to alter it. It seems to me that the very neutral colour of our question in the House of Commons has, perhaps, prevented its advancing so rapidly as those questions which are pushed on by the motive of party force; but I am convinced that the opinion of the country is ripe for this change. Go where we will, we are received with enthusiasm, and kindness, and courtesy; and when the new Reform Bill comes on we insist that it ought to admit women to a share of political power. If it does not, then I am certain that that discontent which I know exists amongst women will be shown in a struggle of another kind. (Hear, hear.) I believe—no, I know—there are cases where women will absolutely refuse to pay their rates. (Applause.) When I spoke to Mr. Herbert Gladstone, a year ago, on this question, he said with him it was one not so much of principle as of detail. I wrote to him the other day to tell him that he might now safely act upon his principles, and leave the details to take care of themselves. (Hear, hear.) He said that what he asked was: Was it for the interest of civilisation that women should have votes? We think it is. When we take up the newspapers and read the horrible cases wherein suffering and cruelty and injustice are shown to women, not only by those who should care for them, and cherish them, but in the name of the law of England, then we say that it is time, in the interests of civilisation, that women should have some share in the making of the laws which affect their daily life, and which they have to obey, whether they find them for their good or not. (Applause.) Now, let me close with a few bright words. The beginning of the end is come. Some women in the dominion of this kingdom have the vote. In the Isle of Man, women who are owners of property now vote for members of the House of Keys. I should like to have been present when her Majesty signed the document which conferred that right. It will ever be one of my brightest recollections that I was in some measure associated in that great event. Together with my friend, our able leader, I went to the Isle of Man. Everywhere we found public opinion in favour of women having this franchise, and though we knew that it would come soon, we had little idea that our thoughts would be so rapidly fulfilled as they have been. The little kingdom of Man is teaching the larger sister kingdom the

right way, and it is no slight gain when we are able to record that 700 women, who are owners of property in the Isle of Man, have a right to vote in the election of members of the House of Keys. (Applause.) And not only have they that right, but an election has taken place since that right was granted. Some of us went over to observe how the women voted, and they came forward in large numbers to vote early for those men who promised to uphold righteous laws for all the inhabitants of the kingdom. (Loud applause.)

Miss BECKER next rose to support the resolution, and was warmly greeted. She said: I will occupy your time for only a few minutes, in order to point out the present position of the question and of the movement, and some of the ways in which those who are interested in our efforts can help us. We have had this question before two Parliaments—before the Liberal Parliament which was elected in 1868, and the Conservative Parliament which was elected in 1874. During the whole of that time we have maintained our ground. The great reaction in general politics which took place in 1874 was not a reaction so far as our question was concerned, because our strength remained undiminished. We are now earnestly desirous of proving what is the sentiment of the present House of Commons in regard to this question. We are very anxious, but it is not always easy to bring the matter before the attention of Parliament. Last session was a broken session. This session, our leader, who had the bill in charge, was summoned by Mr. Gladstone to a place in the Government, and just at the moment when our Bill should have been brought in we had to look out for another member of Parliament to take charge of it. We have now a leader—Mr. Hugh Mason—who has put a resolution on the order book of the House of Commons, and he has a second place for it on Friday night. When this meeting was summoned we expected it would be a meeting immediately preceding a debate in the House on Mr. Mason's resolution, but the Government has taken the day for a morning sitting, and the debate on the first question may probably occupy so much time that Mr. Mason will not be able to bring on his motion that night. He will, however, go on trying all through the session, in the hope of obtaining a favourable day for the discussion of the question. Now we ask you here present to help us in order that we may have a good debate and a good division. We ask all present to use their influence in favour of our cause, particularly those who belong to the families of members of Parliament, and to give us a little active personal help and sympathy. The question of the enlargement of the sphere of women is not confined to this country. I am constantly receiving letters and papers in proof of this. Only this morning I received a paper from Canada, speaking of the recent advance in the Isle of Man, and advocating the agitation of the question in the Dominion. In an interesting work, Mr. Lawrence Oliphant speaks of a tribe he met in Syria who deem it a sin to instruct women in religious faith or knowledge. Would it not be equally unreasonable to hold that it is a political sin to instruct women in political faith or knowledge? And do not Englishmen think that the secular affairs of this country would be advanced by the participation of women in them, as the religious affairs of the country are advanced by such participation? (Hear, hear.) But, as faith without works is dead, so political faith, or political knowledge, will be dead in women without the franchise. We ask for the franchise as the most powerful means of spreading political intelligence amongst women, and as the only way in which that political intelligence can be turned to account. (Applause.) Miss Becker concluded with an earnest appeal to members of Parliament to present that night in the House to support the Married Women's Property Bill, which was set down for committee, but which might be postponed by a count, unless special efforts were made to keep a House.

The resolution was then put and passed by acclamation.

Mrs. ASHTON DILKE moved: "That a petition, based upon the foregoing resolution, be forwarded to the Right Hon. W. H. Smith, M.P., for presentation to the House of Commons." After remarking, amid some laughter, that they must assure themselves that Mr. Hugh Mason would not yield to the temptations of office as Mr. Courtney had done, she said she was sure that there were many not unintelligent gentlemen who opposed this movement from what she might call the muscular Christian point of view. (Laughter.) These gentlemen had two main arguments. One was that women were physically inferior to men, and the other was that women

could not serve as soldiers. As there was no denying these propositions, the only thing to be done was to try and prove that they were not arguments. She had always been used to consider that the government of this country was carried on on constitutional principles. The question of force ought never to come into consideration at all. Constitutional government was a means by which people can regulate differences without coming to blows, and as long as this system is in force in this country, she contended that women have at least as great a right to vote and have a word in the government of the country as men have. (Applause.) The fact that women received injustice from the law, and were not allowed to take part in framing it showed that a change ought to be made. Mrs. Dilke derided the argument that if women got votes they would have to give up all the little advantages they possess at present. The truth of the matter was that they wanted something substantial instead of sweet cakes; and if they obtained the parliamentary franchise every other question which concerned the interests of women would be enormously advanced. (Hear, hear.)

The motion was seconded in a vigorous speech by Miss DOWNING, and unanimously agreed to.

On the proposition of Miss Biggs, seconded by Miss Becker, a hearty vote of thanks was then accorded to Mrs. Fawcett for presiding; and after an acknowledgment by Mrs. Fawcett the meeting terminated.

#### GROSVENOR HALL.

A public meeting was held on Tuesday evening, May 17th, at the Grosvenor Hall, Buckingham Palace Road, in support of Mr. Hugh Mason's resolution in favour of conferring the parliamentary franchise on women householders. Although the evening was wet there was a good attendance. The chair was taken by Miss EDITH SIMCOX (member of the London School Board, Westminster division), who was supported by Mrs. Paterson, Mrs. Chant, Miss Biggs, Miss H. P. Downing, Mr. Hodgson Pratt, &c.

Miss SIMCOX said that the question had now so far approached the stage of practical politics that she looked upon it as certain that women should possess the franchise, and now the question was rather what would women do with the franchise when they had got it? There could be no question of the interest women are now taking in politics. The number of women who looked astray when you began to talk of politics was fast diminishing. She thought it was possible now for all persons to form their opinions by the light of certain fixed principles. One principle was too much neglected, that of considering the rights and interests not only of the political concerns of a section, but the interests of the nation as a whole, and the duty of every member of the state to consider the general interests of the state. We cannot separate the interests of members of the same community. The sins of one class are visited on the other class. The sins of the people who are fond of war are visited on those who like peace. The sins of those who only want to carry on their peaceful interests by dishonest ways are visited on those who are trying to do their duty to their neighbours. The only remedy is by taking broader views of public questions, and considering them not only in the light of the small class of which we may be a member. If we once have an educated, enlightened, disinterested constituency, there will be no doubt of enlightened representatives, and questions will be discussed by the light of general principles, instead of by clamour and force. She believed that women, having fewer vested interests than men, would more easily regard things in a fair light, and consider the interests of their neighbours.

Miss CAROLINE A. BIGGS moved the following resolution: "That in the opinion of this meeting the parliamentary franchise should be extended to women who possess the qualifications which entitle men to vote."

This was seconded by Mrs. CHANT, who pointed out the progress which had been made since that society was formed in 1866, when much abuse was hurled against its promoters, but their efforts had resulted in a great educational movement. The grandest side of politics was the domestic side, which touched women much more nearer than it did men. There was no war in which they were not concerned, for they had to give their husbands, and brothers, and sons. It was not well to separate the interests of husbands and wives, and women were as much interested in questions of education, pauperism, and crime as men were, and should therefore possess the power of voting for their parliamentary representatives.

The resolution was supported by Mr. GRIFFITHS, and criticised by Mr. WARBURTON, who was ably answered by Miss Downing.

Miss MULLER (member of London School Board, Lambeth division) remarked that Mr. Warburton had said that was a question of political expediency. That was somewhat of a new cry, and they replied that it was a question of justice and pure right. There was nothing to be said against that question, and it was said that it was not a question of practical politics. In speaking to a gentleman connected with the British Museum on that subject, he had referred to the customs of ancient Egypt and to high positions which women occupied there. When that country came under the influence of Grecian ideas, women were degraded, and as soon as that happened, Egyptian civilisation declined. The only state of long permanence had been that of the old dynasties of Egypt, and the amount of freedom accorded to women in that country had never been exceeded. Those who believed that the unity of the family was the unity of the state knew that unless woman possessed that right which they claimed the permanent supremacy of the civilisation of the country was impossible.

The resolution was then put to the meeting and carried by an overwhelming majority.

Mr. HODGSON PRATT moved the second resolution: "That a petition to the House of Commons be adopted by this meeting." He said it was as much a man's question as a woman's—a question which concerns the whole community apart from any question of sex. He thought that if some visitor from another planet, where distinctions of sex are unknown, were to come to this world ignorant of its institutions, its laws, and its constitution, but able to hold communion with its inhabitants, and were to sit down by the fire-side of artistic, literary, and professional men and statesmen, and converse freely with our men and women at those firesides, such a visitor would be very much surprised to find that there were such immense distinction between the social and political relations of men and women. He would find no less moral feeling and common sense, mental acuteness, and moral force on the part of women than men, and he would be very much puzzled to know how there should be this distinction between the powers of the two. He would be surprised to find that one had been looked upon as inferior to the other, and then the visitor would inquire how this state of things came about. There is but one answer to explain it. That inequality was based not on any actual facts, moral or intellectual, but on an heritage of an evil past, of those ages when physical force was everything, and moral and intellectual force and the higher powers of reason and justice had no influence in the world at all. It was natural in periods of pure barbarism, when men were so much in the stage of the animal world. In that state of things, women being physically weaker would become subject to the authority which superior force would give. But just in proportion as we leave the ages of brute force, the laws and influence of judgment and reason and justice become paramount, and so will the sense of the equality of the sexes become apparent to all. Allusion has been made to Rome and Greece during the short interval when brute force gave way to intellect and all that was noble in man; and then woman began to play a part in human society and human life. Egypt was referred to, and it is remarkable that Egyptian civilisation rested for many years upon peace and upon the arts of peace. And under that state of things peace became the prevailing influence, and the necessity for brute force diminished and art became paramount, and the influence of women assumed a higher and different position from what it had previously done. In the very earliest period of Egyptian history, in that very ancient and complete civilisation, a law was passed recognising the equality of women, and even her sovereign power in Egypt. If such be the history of the subjection of woman and her inequality, anything based upon injustice and tyranny is a harm not only to the person imposed upon, but it does equal harm to those who think they are benefited by anything based upon injustice. It is not to be wondered at that as we leave behind the ages of force and approach that age when reason and conscience shall be paramount in the world, it will be seen that there is nothing to justify such inequality as this meeting comes to protest against. There can be no doubt but that as women obtain larger influence in society there will be new influences brought to bear upon society and politics. While I have said there is no radical inequality in women, yet no one can ignore the fact that there are different characteristics between men and women. It would be of the greatest value to human society to have the full influence of



those qualities of women brought to bear upon the arrangements of human society. That will give the greatest stimulus to them to qualify themselves for those new influences, and that women having that higher culture which political life will induce them to obtain, you will have new influences in society. There is room for improvement in the political world—in the violent public spirit and low ambitions which play so important a part in the political world, there is room for improvement, and he believed that by the introduction of women's influence our whole political and social public life will gain by that new influence brought to bear upon human society. Therefore it is for all our interests that the largest influences of true refinement and moral influence of women should be introduced; and, therefore, I hold that those women who desire to exercise that influence on society should not be deprived of the means of exercising it. (Applause.)

Mrs. PATERSON then proposed the adoption of a petition to Parliament in favour of Mr. Mason's resolution, which was agreed to, and the meeting was closed after a vote of thanks had been accorded to Miss Simcox for presiding.

#### DRAWING ROOM MEETINGS. GREAT STANHOPE-STREET.

On Thursday afternoon, May 26, Mr. and Mrs. Thomasson received a large gathering of the friends of the suffrage movement at their residence, 11, Great Stanhope-street, Park Lane. Amongst those present were Miss Cobbe, Viscountess Harberton, Mrs. Fawcett, Mr. Carbutt, M.P., and Mrs. Carbutt, Mrs. Lewis Pugh, Mrs. Blake, Mrs. James Howard, Mrs. Maurice Brooks, Mr. and Mrs. Pfeiffer, Mrs. A. W. Hunt, Mrs. Lucas, Mrs. Garrett Anderson, Mr. and Miss Pennington, Mrs. Benjamin Whitworth, Sir Antonio Brady, Miss Becker, Miss J. Boucherett, Mr. and Mrs. Hallett, Mrs. Oliver Scatcherd, Mr. and Mrs. Cowen (Nottingham), Miss Guildford (Nottingham), Mrs. Leach (Yarmouth), Mrs. Gell (Manchester), Mrs. M'Ilquham (Cheltenham), Miss Macdowell (Dublin), Miss Lucy Wilson, Miss Tod, Miss C. A. Biggs, Miss Drew, Miss Downing, Misses Staçoole, Miss Thornbury, Miss Zakresozka, M.D. (Boston, U.S.A.), Miss Sprague Boston, Mrs. W. S. Browne and Miss Browne, Miss Beswicke, Miss Kennedy, Mr. and Mrs. Rose, Mrs. Hallock, Miss Neill (Belfast), Mrs. M'Cormick (Manchester), Miss Kirkland (Edinburgh), Mrs. Purdie, Miss Blackburn, Mr. and Mrs. Horn-Payne, Mrs. Percy Bunting, Miss Sharp, &c., &c. The busy hum of conversation was suspended for a short interval while the host briefly explained the object of the gathering, and called on Miss Frances Power Cobbe to address a few words to the assemblage.

Miss COBBE remarked that as she might consider the present meeting one almost exclusively of friends, it was unnecessary to *prêcher les convertis* and go over once again the grounds of their contention for female suffrage. It would be more to the purpose to consider in council by what methods they could overcome opposition, that opposition being, as they were all aware, much more founded on sentiment than on logic. There were two opposing sentiments wherewith they had to contend—the sentiments of women and the sentiments of men; that of women was by far the most important to conquer and win over to their side. It had been said lately that the present Government ruled Ireland "by kicks and kisses." Now women were ruled almost entirely by kisses; and it was very hard to make some of them who had never known anything but the kisses understand that other women had occasionally to suffer the kicks; and that even the happiest and best beloved might one day or other awaken to the painful discovery that under the existing laws of England frightful cruel wrong might be done to them—the very judges on the bench admitting as much, but having no power to give a different sentence. Miss Cobbe had a lady friend who had once told her that she had not the slightest interest in the women's suffrage movement, in fact she disapproved of it altogether; "only she wanted to be secured against" this, that, and the other injustice which she had learned (sometimes by experience) might befall her under the existing law. The lady was somewhat startled when Miss Cobbe reminded her that it was precisely by obtaining the suffrage that women—at present an unrepresented class—could hope to abolish such unjust laws and see their claims recognised. Miss Cobbe recommended that a leaflet or pamphlet should be drawn up by some competent lawyer succinctly setting down, under the proper heads,

the liabilities of women to suffer injustice as regards their property, their persons, and their maternal rights, under the present law of England. When this paper should be in our hands it might be possible, as occasion served (and being careful never to bore, or lug in the matter neck and crop, *à tort et à travers*), to lure on our female friends to take note for themselves of their own perils, and of those of other and less happy women. When women were more universally gained over, men would no longer refuse them the suffrage, and she believed that to many generous men the idea of the legal wrongs of women was more intolerable than to women themselves, and such a paper as she proposed would be more convincing.

Miss Orme also was asked to speak, and remarked on the great help any serious steady work is in bringing women to desire the franchise. Next Miss Tod, who urged the duty of Christian women to do their utmost to gain a power which would extend their influence—the social influence of many women must be very limited, but by the vote the poorest woman adds her influence. Manners may be stronger than laws, but law influences manners.

Before the guests were dispersed, Dr. Maria Zakresozka, of Boston, U.S.A., gave an account of the progress of women in the medical profession in America, whither she had gone from Berlin as a young woman nearly 30 years ago to help Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell, at the first beginning of the movement—times when she overheard herself and her friend described in an omnibus as "horrid women who chewed tobacco." But they had lived down prejudice, and had established now hospitals which had been the school of many women in New York and Boston; and now they, the women doctors, were accepted as facts by the medical profession.

#### YORKTOWN.

On May 16th a drawing-room meeting took place at the house of Captain and Mrs. Savile, The Terrace, Yorktown, near Sandhurst, Surrey. The chair was taken by Colonel Lonsdale Hale, R.E., and among those present were General Napier and the Misses Napier, Captain and Mrs. Pilleau, Canon and Mrs. Beach, Mrs. Rosser and Major Rosser, Dr. Manders, Major and Mrs. Moorsom, Mrs. Cutbill, Mrs. Green, Mrs. Buckle, Mrs. and Miss Davies, Mrs. Walford, Mrs. Kitchener, Mrs. Porter, Mrs. Purnell, Mrs. Robertson, Mrs. Parsons, Mrs. Atkinson, Mrs. Pigott, Mrs. Boweller Bell, and many others. Letters were received from Mrs. Napier and from Admiral Sir Jas. Sullivan, K.C.B. The latter said: "The injustice of not allowing widows and spinsters who are ratepayers votes has been forced on me by the fact that numerous lady ratepayers here (Bournemouth) of good position and property have been unable to vote, though their gardeners have done so, yet for all local elections they have votes." Miss Becker and Miss C. A. Biggs attended the meeting as a deputation from London, and explained the objects of the society. After some observations from Dr. Manders and Captain Pilleau, a petition in favour of Mr. Hugh Mason's resolution was cordially adopted by the meeting and signed by the chairman. A vote of thanks to Colonel Hale for presiding and to Captain and Mrs. Savile for their hospitality terminated the proceedings.

#### CONVOCATION OF DURHAM UNIVERSITY.

##### ADMISSION OF WOMEN STUDENTS.

A meeting of the Convocation of Durham University was held on May 24th, in Bishop Cosin's Library, Palace Green, Durham, to adopt the following resolutions, which had been passed unanimously by the Senate of the University:—

1. That female students who shall have fulfilled the requirements of the University respecting residence and standing, shall be admissible to the Public Examinations and the First Degree in Arts of the University.
2. That the residence of such students shall be passed, either (a) in a College or Hall, licensed by the Warden and Senate, the regulations of which shall be under the direction of the authorities of the University; or (b) in some institution which shall be established for the purpose of private individuals with the permission, and under the control of the University.
3. That these regulations shall take effect in Michaelmas Term, 1881.

The Warden of the University (the Very Rev. the Dean of

Durham) presided, and was supported by the members of Convocation. The body of the hall was well filled with ladies and gentlemen, and the gallery around the building was packed with undergraduates, who amused themselves by heartily greeting every one who entered the hall. The appearance of the Warden and the Senate was the signal for a noisy disturbance in the gallery of cheering and hissing. During the whole of the discussion the remarks of the different speakers were freely applauded and hissed from the gallery.

The WARDEN said it was proposed that the following questions should be brought forward for discussion, and he would therefore read the first resolution. (Cheers and hisses from the gallery.) Before proceeding to the business of the House, he should like to point out that they were there to enter upon a very serious discussion—a laugh—and one of great importance. It was highly desirable, therefore, that it should be discussed in a seemly and becoming manner—(applause)—and that there should be nothing of the appearance of disorderly conduct which might in any way affect the right discussion of the subject before them. (Applause.) He would, therefore, impress upon them his earnest request that, for the prestige and the credit of the University of Durham, they would act seemly during this important debate. Coming to the question before them, he said that Oxford and Cambridge and the higher schools of education had already decided that the time had come when the giving of a university education to women could no longer be set aside. (Hisses and applause.) This subject had, therefore, been forced upon their attention more than they had forced it upon themselves; and it was for them now to say whether they would adopt, under the special regulations that had been laid down by the Senate, that which on all sides had been forced upon their consideration. (Applause.) There was a very general feeling throughout the country; and they would not be surprised to learn that the matter had been taken up and favourably received in all parts of the country. (Applause.) He held now in his hand about one-fifth of the petitions which he had received from all directions in favour of the propositions, and these petitions were as significant of the general feeling on the subject, as petitions generally were. (Applause.) They had to ask themselves practically these two questions—had the time really come when it was desirable that the higher education of women should receive a University finish and completion—(a Voice in the gallery: "No," and laughter)—and if that time had come, was it desirable for the credit of the University of Durham, or the discredit of the University of Durham, to give or not to give it? He had himself no doubt upon the point. (Laughter.) This was the kernel of the whole question. He would venture to say that three of the most precious years of the life of a lady were generally lost, from an educational point of view, and he believed the agreement was universal on that point. It was very desirable, therefore, that there should be from 17 to 20 years of age, an impetus given to female education. (Cheers and hisses.) There was a large class of ladies, and they were very much to be found in the North of England, probably more than in any other part—(cheering)—who had by unhappy circumstances to earn their own livelihood. For this large class of ladies, who were mistresses of schools, governesses, teachers, and many who took part in the work of public offices, the proposal opened out a wide field of usefulness, and he could not imagine a better discipline and training which would give them a greater knowledge of human nature, better habits of study, thought, and action, than that which it was proposed to confer upon them by opening the university for their admission to the public examinations. (Applause.) Then they arrived at the question whether there was any reason why Durham University should not be thrown open to women. (Applause.) The authorities of Oxford and Cambridge had found no disadvantages arising from the admission of women, and he believed that in course of time no difficulty would arise to undo that which they proposed to do in the resolution before the House. He also thought that female students should be allowed all the privileges of unattached students. (Applause and hisses.) He trusted that they would carry the motion with something like unanimity; and in doing so they would be meeting a very generally expressed want in the higher education of women; they would be acting in harmony with the majority of feeling in the university and the country, and would be conferring a great boon on a very great part of the community, and, he thought, would be adding to the prosperity of the University of Durham. (Interruption, applause, and hisses.)

Rev. A. PLUMMER, Master of the University, supported the resolution. He said they could not contemplate a change of this kind except as a very serious breach in the traditions of their University, and with feelings of anxiety. Nothing venture, however, nothing have, and he believed the change would be for the benefit of the University and to a large class of females who by their education had to make their way in the world. When they looked at the question from that point of view, the appeal came home with great force to them, because it placed in the hands of any female who succeeded in obtaining a degree a diploma of merit, with which she could go forth into the world. (Loud applause.) It was really their duty to support the measure as far as they could. He was quite willing to take his share of the responsibility—(applause)—and it rested with them to turn the movement into a success.

Professor PEARCE also spoke in favour of the resolution, and hoped that the University teaching of women would be animated by a high Christian tone. (Applause.)

The Rev. Canon EVANS thought it not improbable, when we lived in such marvellous times of successive revolutions, that the very next time he would have the honour of addressing those assembled he would be compelled to commence his speech with the words not "Mr. Warden and gentlemen," but "Mrs. Wardess and ladies." (Loud laughter.) It was impossible to say where the march of events would lead them. He would vote against this measure, and he would state a few of his objections. (Cheers and laughter.) Of all questions this was a matter which involved a vast variety of social obligations. It was a tree, so to speak, of many branches, and some of the branches were laden with forbidden fruit. (Laughter and applause.) In the New Testament certain passages occurred which certainly ought to have been considered as bearing upon the moral feature of the subject. Their object was to improve the education of ladies; but were they taking the best method of improving that education? (Loud cries of "No, no," "Yes, yes.") He would allude, first, to the identity of the studies which he was persuaded would lead to what he might call the unsexing of the sexes. They read in a certain epistle addressed to the Church at Corinth of the subordination of women to men—(laughter)—and it seemed to him that the adoption of the measure would lead to rivalry between the sexes—(laughter)—and should he say matrimonial jars. (Loud laughter, during which Canon Evans resumed his seat, but rose again and expressed his disapproval of the measure.)

Rev. W. A. SANDAY was prepared to vote for the measure, not on personal or University grounds, but because other considerations such as the desire for knowledge and independence far outweighed these objections. The proposed measure would place in the hands of women instruments by means of which they could push their way in the world, independent of other support. The objections against the measure might have been urged with some reason ten years ago, but they would not hold good now.

Rev. W. MAYOR (Thornley) supported the motion, as it would be a great benefit to those on whom the benefit was proposed to be conferred; it would be a benefit to the University, and it would benefit the north of England. (Applause.)

Rev. Mr. BROWN (Silksworth) briefly opposed the motion.

There were loud cries for Canon Farrar, who did not respond to the call, and,

The Warden proceeded to take the vote, the "ayes" going to the right of the chair and the "noes" to the left. The Rev. A. Plummer and the Rev. W. Sanday acted as tellers. The result was as follows:—Ayes, 14; noes, 4; majority in favour of the resolution, 10.

The other two resolutions were then carried without discussion and the proceedings terminated, the undergraduates giving three hearty cheers as the Warden and the members retired.—*Newcastle Daily Chronicle*.

#### UNIVERSITY EDUCATION OF WOMEN.

A statement has recently been circulated stating that the Senatus of the University of St. Andrews, having received six petitions on the subject of University Education of Women, expresses its gratification at the desire for the higher education embodied in these petitions. The petitioners ask two things:—



First: They all ask for such a course of University instruction as the Senatus may think fit to grant. Second: Some of them ask for admission to degrees in arts.

As to the first, the Senatus expresses its willingness to grant separate courses of systematic University instruction to women, provided a sufficient sum of money is raised by the petitioners (or others) to enable this to be done, especially as during the earlier stages of the experiment, the attendance at the several classes might not be so large as to furnish adequate remuneration to the professors without such a fund.

As to the second, the Senatus resolves as follows:—

1. That, in the meantime, as an equivalent for graduation, women students be recommended to take the LL.A. examination in all the subjects necessary for the M.A. degree, inasmuch as the examination papers used in the two cases are the same.

2. The Senatus is further willing to urge upon Parliament the claims of women to the privileges of matriculation and graduation, provided that the attendance of students, the demand for graduation, and the existing interests of the University warrant such a step.

3. That every female student attending the University shall lodge or board in some house in St. Andrews, to be approved of by the Senatus.

The LL.A. women's examination in connection with St. Andrews University was held simultaneously in St. Andrews, London, Halifax, and Bristol. One hundred and seventy-five candidates entered, being nearly double the number that entered last year. The results were issued May 6. Thirty-three ladies have passed the necessary examinations, and are entitled to the title of LL.A., while the larger proportion of the candidates have been successful in one or more subjects. The scheme is being gradually developed. In 1877, when it was started, nine candidates appeared, in the following year 32, in 1879 72, last year 92, and this year 175. The number of centres have been increased this year by the addition of Bristol, and next year Belfast will be added. More women students have come up for examination in 1881 than there were art students matriculated at the University last session, and in a very important sense these 175 LL.A. candidates may be regarded as a virtual addition to the roll of students at the University of St. Andrews. Of the 175 candidates 23 passed with honours in English literature, 17 in French, nine in German, eight in history, seven in education, two in moral philosophy, one in political economy, three in physiology, two in botany, and three in church history.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE RECENT ELECTION OF A CORONER FOR MIDDLESEX.

To the Editor of the Women's Suffrage Journal.

Madam,—Allow me to inform you that I went to the polling station in Portland Place on Monday last, and there tendered my vote for one of the candidates putting up for the office of Coroner for Middlesex. I stated that I was a freeholder in that county (I had with me the title deeds of my freehold house), and on receiving the reply that only gentlemen were admitted inside the polling booth, I asked why the cards put forth by one of the candidates had the clause printed on them, "All freeholders are entitled to vote," and whether there was any clause in the Act of Parliament relating to the election of coroners, which stated that the right to vote was confined to male freeholders. Without paying any heed to my questions the man in charge of the place—a clerk, I presume—snappishly replied, "Ladies have nothing to do with it." There was a slight titter amongst the by-standers—the policeman at the entrance of the booth seemed specially tickled by the joke of the thing—that a woman, although she might be the subject of a coroner's inquest, although she might be examined as witness at such inquest, although she might be publicly censured by the coroner, should feel any interest in or have any desire to take some share in the appointment of this important official. Being, however, unimpressed by the plainly-conveyed opinion of the clerk and policeman that I was "making myself ridiculous," I again addressed the first of these functionaries, and told him that I should not feel satisfied that I had not legally the right to vote unless the fact of my exclusion on account of my sex

was clearly proved to me, and I desired therefore to see the returning officer. The returning officer, I was told, had "gone away," and no one knew when he would return. It seemed, therefore, that there was no more for me to do, and I left the polling station and returned home very dissatisfied with this experience of how they manage public affairs in England. Can you, madam, give me and other readers of the Women's Suffrage Journal any information as to how the law really stands on this matter of the right of all or of only male freeholders to elect a coroner?—I am, madam, yours faithfully, ELLEN ELOUM REES. 9, Carlingford Road, Hampstead, May 13, 1881.

PETITIONS.

WOMEN'S DISABILITIES—For Removal.

NINTH REPORT 6—25 April, 1881. Brought forward, Petitions 141 Signatures 4,863. Table listing petitions from Dumfries, Peterborough, Dublin, etc.

Total number of Petitions 146—Signatures 5,094

TENTH REPORT 27 April—3 May, 1881.

Brought forward, Petitions 146 Signatures 5,094. Table listing petitions from Bridgwater, Westgate, Exeter, Rawdon, Francis Marsh, London, etc.

Table listing petitions from J. Cripps, Bristol, Mertyr Tydfil, J. Priestman, Withernsea, J. Patrick, Hyde and Gee Cross, London, etc.

Total number of Petitions 164—Signatures 6,500

ELEVENTH REPORT, 4—10 May, 1881.

Brought forward, Petitions 164—Signatures 6,500. Table listing petitions from New Cross, Bristol, M. Scarth, Stranraer, Hill, Langford, Mitcham, Swansea, Bristol, E. Sparks, Exeter, M. Bradley, M. E. Young, London, Hyde, London, Jesse Hamilton, Frances P. Cobbe, etc.

Total number of Petitions 183—Signatures 9,448

TWELFTH REPORT, 10—17 May, 1881.

Brought forward, Petitions 183 Signatures 9,448. Table listing petitions from Westminster, Edgware, Harrow, M. E. Docwra, P. C. Barker, Reading, B. C. Rowland, A. E. Bendelack, Chorley, Brighton, M. Allen, J. Cleworth, A. Perrier, York, March, Redland, John Smith, Appleby, J. Jenkinson, Edinburgh, Mansfield, Torquay, etc.

Total number of Petitions 205—Signatures 10,705

The Petitions marked thus (\*) are similar to that from Swansea [APP. 2]. The Petitions marked thus (?) are similar to that from Stockport [APP. 3]. The Petitions marked thus (C) are from public meetings, and are signed officially.

MUNICIPAL FRANCHISE (SCOTLAND) BILL.—

Against.

FOURTH REPORT, 17—22 February, 1881. Table listing petitions from Arbroath, Haddington, etc.

Total number of Petitions 2—Signatures 2

The Petitioners pray the House not to pass the Municipal Franchise (Scotland) Bill.

MUNICIPAL FRANCHISE (SCOTLAND) BILL.—

In Favour.

FOURTH REPORT, 14—21 February, 1881. Table listing petitions from Aberdeen, Montrose, Dundee, Edinburgh, etc.

Total number of Petitions 4—Signatures 4

FIFTH REPORT, 24 February, 1881.

Brought forward, Petitions 4—Signatures 4. Table listing petitions from Paisley, etc.

Total number of Petitions 5—Signatures 5

SEVENTH REPORT, 10 March, 1881.

Brought forward, Petitions 5—Signatures 5. Table listing petitions from Elgin, etc.

Total number of Petitions 6—Signatures 6

NINTH REPORT, 25 April, 1881.

Brought forward, Petitions 6—Signatures 6. Table listing petitions from Banff, etc.

Total number of Petitions 7—Signatures 7

The Petitioners pray the House to pass the Municipal Franchise (Scotland) Bill. The Petitions marked thus (C) are signed officially.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS, APRIL 20 TO MAY 28, 1881.

Table listing subscriptions and donations from Mrs. H. D. Poehin, Mrs. J. E. Pfeiffer, Mrs. Joseph Cross, etc.

LAURA McLAREN, TREASURER, 64, Berners-street, W.

MANCHESTER NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

SUBSCRIPTIONS, MAY, 1881.

Table listing subscriptions from Mrs. William Hargreaves, Mrs. Addison, Mrs. Long, etc.

S. ALFRED STEINTHAL, TREAS., 28, Jackson's Row, Manchester.

BRISTOL AND WEST OF ENGLAND.

SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS, MAY, 1881.

Table listing subscriptions from Mrs. W. S. Clark, Mrs. Herbert Thomas, Mrs. Schaw-Frotheroe, etc.

ALAN GREENWELL, TREASURER, 3, Buckingham Vale, Clifton.

LUTON COMMITTEE.

SUBSCRIPTIONS DURING APRIL AND MAY, 1881.

Table listing subscriptions from Miss Allen, Mr. William Austin, Mrs. Alford, etc.

LOUISE BIGG, Hon. Sec.





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