

# WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE JOURNAL.

EDITED BY LYDIA E. BECKER.

VOL. XIII.—No. 155. PUBLISHED MONTHLY.

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

**PETITION! PETITION! PETITION!**—Friends of Women's Suffrage are earnestly exhorted to aid the cause by collecting signatures during the recess for petitions, to be presented in support of Mr. Mason's Resolution, which is expected to come on for discussion in Parliament at an early date next session. Petitions from women householders or others who possess the qualifications which entitle men to vote are particularly valuable. Special forms of petition to be signed by such women, as well as general petitions, ready for signature, will be supplied on application to Miss BECKER, 64, Berners-street, London, W., or 28, Jackson's Row, Albert Square, Manchester; Miss BLACKBURN, 20, Park-street, Bristol; or Miss KIRKLAND, 13, Raeburn Place, Edinburgh.

### PLYMOUTH.

GREAT MEETING IN THE GUILD HALL.

A PUBLIC MEETING

will be held in the

GUILD HALL, PLYMOUTH,

ON MONDAY, DECEMBER 4TH,

In support of the extension of the Parliamentary franchise to women who possess the qualifications which entitle men to vote.

The Chair will be taken at 8 p.m., by

DR. MERRIFIELD.

Miss BECKER (Manchester),  
Mrs. BRINE (Shaldon),  
Mrs. ASHWORTH-HALLETT (Bath),  
Mrs. OLIVER SCATCHELD (Leeds),  
Miss BLACKBURN (Bristol.)  
Mr. W. N. ELLIOTT,  
THOS. PITTS, Esq., Q.C.,  
Rev. W. WHITTELY,

And other gentlemen are expected to take part in the proceedings.

The following approve of the object of the meeting—Mr. Alfred Balkwill, Mr. and Mrs. Bishop, Rev. Benwell Bird, The Misses Bragg, Mr. W. F. Collier, Mr. Wm. Digby, C.L.E., Mr. R. Reynolds Fox, Mr. Isaac Latimer, Mr. A. Norman, J.P., and Mrs. Norman, Rev. W. E. and Mrs. Mellone, Mrs. Pearse, Mr. Charles Radford, Rev. E. Read (Devonport), Mrs. Read, Rev. J. E. Risk, Rev. W. Sharman, Mrs. Sharman, Mr. Worth, etc.

Admission Free.

DEVONPORT.—A Public Meeting in support of the extension of the Parliamentary Franchise to women who possess the qualifications which entitle men to vote, will be held in the Temperance Hall, Devonport, on Thursday, Nov. 30th. The Chair will be taken at 8 p.m. by ALFRED NORMAN, Esq., J.P., supported by Rev. W. E. Mellone, Rev. E. Read, R. B. Welch, Esq., and others. Mrs. Oliver Scatcherd (Leeds) and Miss H. Blackburn (Secretary to the West of England Society) will address the Meeting on behalf of the Women's Suffrage Society. Admission free.

SWINDON.—A Public Meeting will be held in the Mechanics' Institute, Swindon, on Monday, December 11th. The Chair will be taken at 8 p.m., by JAMES SADLER, Esq. Mrs. Ashworth-Hallett and Miss C. A. Biggs will attend as the deputation. Further particulars in local announcements.

CARDIFF.—A Public Meeting will be held in the Assembly Rooms, Cardiff, on Wednesday, December 20th. The Chair will be taken at 8 p.m. by the MAYOR of CARDIFF, supported by Mr. Alfred Thomas (ex-Mayor), Mr. Sonley Johnston, Mr. John Cory, Mr. Richard Cory, and other gentlemen. Further particulars in local announcements.

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

CONTENTS FOR NOVEMBER, 1882.

1. Are Wives Supported?
2. Education of Women in India.

Record of Events:—Royal University of Ireland—Queen's College, Belfast—Ladies' Collegiate School—Intermediate Education—London School Board—Demonstration in Glasgow—Suffrage Meetings in England—Municipal Elections: England and Scotland—London School of Medicine—Married Women's Property Committee—Work of Women Poor Law Guardians—Moral Reform Union—Dublin Prison Gate Missions—Miscellaneous.

Reviews.

Correspondence.

Foreign Notes and News,

London University Examinations.

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## DIRECTIONS FOR PREPARING PETITIONS.

We earnestly exhort our friends to help the cause by promoting petitions in their several localities. If desired, petitions ready for signature will be forwarded on application to the office of this *Journal*; but it is better that friends should prepare their own petitions according to the following directions.

Write out the form given below on any kind of paper that may be at hand. A sheet of foolscap or even note paper opened out will do.

To the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled.

The humble Petition of the undersigned

SH EWETH,

That in the judgment of your petitioners 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.

Wherefore your petitioners humbly pray that your Honourable House will pass a measure to remove the Electoral Disabilities of Women.

And your petitioners will ever pray, &c.

The form given above may be signed by men and women of full age, whether householders or otherwise.

It is, however, highly desirable that women householders should sign a special petition. The following form may be used for this purpose, but the same woman should not sign both petitions.

To the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled.

The humble Petition of the undersigned women ratepayers of

SH EWETH,

That your petitioners possess the qualifications which entitle men to vote, and desire to be admitted to the exercise of the Parliamentary suffrage.

Wherefore your petitioners humbly pray that your Honourable House will pass a measure to remove the Electoral Disabilities of Women.

And your petitioners will ever pray, &c.

The form should be copied without mistakes, as no word may be scratched out or interlined, and signatures must be on the same piece of paper. If more room is required more sheets of paper may be pasted on to the bottom of the original sheet. Petitions prepared during the recess should be carefully preserved until the opening of Parliament, or they may be forwarded to one of the offices of the National Society for Women's Suffrage, to be forwarded at the proper time.

## THE CALENDAR.

## DECEMBER, 1882.

MOON.		Rises.	SUN.	Sets.
2nd	Last Quar., 2h 56m aft.	7 47	.....	3 52
10th	New Moon, 3h 38m aft.	7 57	.....	3 49
17th	First Quar., 4h 39m aft.	8 4	.....	3 49
24th	Full Moon, 3h 41m aft.	8 7	.....	3 52

  

1	F	
2	S	Ordinance admitting Women to Examination, Queen's College, Ireland, 1869.
3	S	First Sunday in Advent.
4	M	
5	T	"L'Esperance" (first Women's Paper in Switzerland) started 1871.
6	W	
7	Th	
8	F	
9	S	
10	S	Second Sunday in Advent.
11	M	
12	T	
13	W	Accession of Queen Isabella to throne of Castile, 1479.
14	Th	Princess Alice died 1878.
15	F	Women's Suffrage adopted at Conference of National Reform Union, 1875.
16	S	Cambridge Michaelmas Term ends. Eliza Carter b. 1717. Jane Austen b. 1775.
17	S	Third Sunday in Advent.
18	M	Oxford Term ends.
19	T	
20	W	
21	Th	Women's Suffrage passed by the Governor, Keys, and Council, Isle of Man, 1880. Secondary Education of Girls decreed in France, 1880.
22	F	Decision in the Agar Ellis case (custody of infants), 1880.
23	S	
24	S	Fourth Sunday in Advent.
25	M	Christmas Day. Lady Grizzle Baillie b. 1665.
26	T	Mrs. Somerville born 1780. Bank Holiday.
27	W	Joanna Southcote died 1817. Mrs. Grote died 1878, aged 86.
28	Th	
29	F	
30	S	
31	S	First Sunday after Christmas.

At a meeting of the St. Austells Board of Guardians on November 10th, Miss Roberts, who has been assisting her father in the duties of rate collector for St. Austells for several years, was a candidate for the post rendered vacant by his death, and was placed second on the list. Mr. W. J. Tredinnick was elected. There was a keen competition for the post, nineteen candidates having made application; but of these twelve did not receive any votes. In the concluding round of voting the candidates were placed in the following order:—Mr. Tredinnick, Miss Roberts, Mr. E. Stocker, and Mr. Tridgian.—*Western Morning News*, Nov. 11th.

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It is now stated that after the recess Parliament will be summoned to meet for the new session in February. In that case it is possible that the debate on Mr. MASON'S resolution may take place during that month. Our friends should be prepared for the contingency, and have petitions in readiness to be forwarded to their local members for presentation to the House of Commons as soon as the session begins.

THE Scottish National Demonstration of Women, which took place in St. Andrew's Hall, Glasgow, on November 3rd, proved that Scottish women are no whit behind their southern sisters in the manner in which they respond to the appeal to gather in their thousands in support of their claim to the Parliamentary suffrage. St. Andrew's Hall seats five thousand, and it was filled, the women who could not obtain seats crowding up the passages towards the platform. Mrs. DUNCAN M'LAREN presided. Her moving and eloquent address was worthy of the occasion. She was followed by Miss WIGHAM, Miss TOD, Mrs. CHARLES M'LAREN, Mrs. ELIZABETH CADY STANTON (one of the pioneers of the movements for the abolition of negro slavery, and for the enfranchisement of women in the United States), Miss CRAIGEN, Miss BECKER, Mrs. BEDDOE, Mrs. SHEARER, Miss FLORA STEVENSON, Mrs. WELLSTOOD, Miss W. STODDART, and Miss BURTON. The women assembled responded with deep earnestness to the sentiments expressed by the speakers, and the resolutions were carried with unanimity and enthusiasm.

Preliminary meetings in addition to those recorded in our last issue were held at Paisley, Greenock, and in seven different districts of Glasgow. These meetings were addressed by Mrs. SHEARER, Mrs. OLIVER SCATCHERD, Miss KIRKLAND, and Mrs. CHARLES B. M'LAREN.

IN England the friends of the movement have been very active. At Leicester a meeting was held under the presidency of the Viscountess HARBERTON, which was

addressed by Mrs. ALFRED OSLER, Miss STURGE, Miss C. A. BIGGS, and Mrs. SCATCHERD. The two last-named ladies also spoke at meetings at Wellingborough and Kettering, along with Mrs. SHEARER and Miss LILLIE STACPOOLE. A letter was read at Wellingborough from the Hon. C. R. SPENCER, M.P., in which he said that he was glad to have the opportunity of stating what were his views on women's suffrage. He thought those ladies who were duly qualified to vote at municipal and school board elections were illogically and harshly treated in not being allowed to vote at Parliamentary ones. He should certainly support their cause with his vote when the matter came before the House.

At Dartmouth a meeting was held which was addressed by Mrs. BRINE, Miss BLACKBURN, Miss JARMAN, and others. A letter has been received from Sir MASSEY LOPES, M.P., in which he stated that he considered that should the franchise in counties be enlarged the claim of the women householders would be considerably increased. At Bridgewater a meeting was addressed by Mrs. W. CLARK, Miss EMILY STURGE, Miss BRADLEY, and Miss BLACKBURN.

Meetings in connection with women's suffrage in municipal and school board elections have been held at Hastings and at Keighley, and a meeting has also been convened under the auspices of the Women's Liberal Association, Darlington.

A lecture on behalf of the National Reform Union was delivered by Miss BECKER at Lindley, Huddersfield, and lectures have been given by Miss C. A. BIGGS at Kibworth, and by Mrs. SHEARER at Blaby.

Discussions have taken place in the debating societies at Forrest Hill, Camden Town, Highgate, Daventry, Stratford (Essex), St. Austells, and Plymouth.

DURING the past month women householders in Scotland have, for the first time, exercised the suffrage in municipal elections. The novelty and interest of the proceedings must have been remarkable, for we learn from the *Scotsman*



in reference to the election in St. Luke's and St. Leonard's Wards, in Edinburgh, that there was observable a good deal more bustle and excitement than was occasioned on the previous Friday by the Parliamentary election. The number of voters in St. Luke's Ward is 972 men, and 279 women—of these 876 went to the poll, about 176 of these being women. One of the sworn-in agents for one of the candidates was Mrs. STEPHEN WELLSTOOD, who wore her blue ribbon, and than whom no more active agent could be desired. In St. Leonard's Ward, the total number of voters is 2,701 men, and 1,566 women—of the women about 300 polled. The number of men who voted is not stated.

In Glasgow the municipal election was attended with more animation than has been the case for a long time. The electors number 79,581, of whom 12,986 are women. In some of the wards a large number of women voted. At Airdrie there was a keen contest; all the women electors but four recorded their votes. At Dingwall there are 50 women on the roll, of whom 33 voted. On the other hand, the return from Ailsa gives no women electors. At Newburgh no women voted. At Galashiels, in one ward, out of 163 women electors only seven voted; in another ward, out of 193 only eight voted; while in another ward, out of 89 women 20 voted. In Dunoon over 200 women voted. In Helensburgh, out of 550 women, about one-half polled. At Rothesay the women bear the unusually large proportion of 507 to 1,647, or about one-third of the whole. The total number who voted was 1,009; of these 296 were women, being about the same proportion as the number of women to men on the register.

It is not possible to obtain exact information as to the proportion of women who record their votes owing to the restriction imposed by the Ballot Act. When women in England first exercised the municipal suffrage it was under open voting, and the comparative proportion was authoritatively ascertained. It was found that in most of the large towns the proportion of women who voted was about the same as the proportion of women to men on the register, and, so far as we are able to ascertain the facts, according to the reports from the papers, the same proportion holds good among the newly enfranchised electors in Scotland. Considerable difference seems to prevail in different localities, which may be easily accounted for by reference to local circumstances. But the manner in which, on the whole, the women in Scotland have used their electoral rights shows that they join with the women of England in

manifesting their worthiness of the electoral rights which they claim by a worthy exercise of those they already possess, and in thus affording a conclusive refutation of the assertion sometimes made that women do not care for the suffrage.

“A HUMBLE member of the junior bar, who has chanced to light upon the story of an extraordinary marriage at Sheffield, as told in the *Women's Suffrage Journal*, for November 1st,” writes to us to say that he “would fain know exactly in what way the fair editress imagines the new Act, had it already come into force, could have operated to protect the fortune of the lady. For his part, he should have thought it rather easier of the two to persuade her to assign everything to her husband the day after the wedding, than to marry her without a settlement in the face of her brother and her solicitor.”

Our reply is, that whether or not it would be easier to persuade the lady to make a settlement of her property after marriage, than to marry without one, this task would have had to be undertaken and accomplished before the husband could have touched one penny of the property, if the marriage had taken place under the new law; whereas, under the present law, he takes it at once absolutely, without further ceremony, or necessity to ask his wife to settle her property on him. Therefore two things would have had to be done instead of one before he could have obtained possession of the money.

Then it is just possible that the husband might have found the lady after marriage as averse from the notion of a settlement as her solicitor found her to be before it. She knew that the bridegroom would most probably have refused to sign a settlement, and that she would have missed her marriage had she insisted on it. But the marriage once effected could not be undone by the subsequent refusal of the lady to settle her fortune on her husband, and if he had attempted by ill-usage or threats to force her to divest herself of her property the law might have interposed for her protection.

There are many men who would not hesitate to press a marriage suit on a woman with money, even while refusing to sign settlements, who yet might hesitate to press their wives to give up their property, and many a woman might say “yes” to a man who asked her for her hand and fortune together, who might say “no” if asked to give up her fortune after marriage. So long as the law gives the property of a wife to her husband the vast majority of men simply appropriate the money without a

thought of doing any injustice in taking what the law assigns them. The law produces in the minds of husbands and wives (but principally in the minds of the former) a general sense that it is right that husbands should dispose of their wives' money. The change in the law will slowly but surely produce a change in public sentiment on this point, so that the very same men who under the present law appropriate their wives' money without scruple will, under the new law, no more dream of taking possession of property not legally their own when that property belongs to their wives, than they would of taking property belonging to their sisters or their children.

The new law gives additional protection to rich unmarried women against the risk of spoliation through marriage, first by interposing in the way of the fortune-hunter the additional barrier of the need of a deed of gift or settlement before he can touch the money; secondly by creating a state of public opinion which will tend to make it appear a mean and dishonourable action in any man to seek to deprive his wife of her property when that property has been legally secured to her separate use.

As a matter of fact it is generally found that husbands respect the property rights of their wives in the not unfrequent cases in which wives enjoy property specially declared to be for their separate use. We may therefore expect that husbands will do the same when their wives have property secured to them, not by special deeds and settlements, but by the ordinary law of the land.

\*THE condition of mind of the Bishop of LONDON, who, as recorded in the journal of CAROLINE FOX, forbade ladies to attend Professor WHEATSTONE'S lectures on the electric telegraph, seems to have found a parallel in the attitude of two Catholic priests in Quebec, towards a lady who exercises the profession of a dentist in that city. She is not only hotly opposed by the local newspapers, who accuse her of “usurping an occupation unfitting for her sex,” but the Catholic clergymen of two parishes have, it is said, forbidden their flocks to employ her. We do not suppose that the prohibition could be sustained if any “aggrieved parishioner” who desired to employ the lady chose to disregard it, or to appeal to the Bishop on the matter, but the incidents seem to show that in this respect the ecclesiastical, and even the lay mind, in Canada has not advanced much beyond the stage marked by the incident recorded by CAROLINE FOX nearly half a century ago.

THE triennial elections of School Boards have taken place

during November with conspicuous success as regards the lady candidates; not one of whom, so far as we know, has failed in the contest. In Manchester and Birmingham the retiring lady members, Miss BECKER and Miss KENRICK, have each been returned second on the poll. In London three of the ladies who were members of the late Board, Mrs. SURR, Mrs. WEBSTER, and Miss SIMCOX, did not seek re-election; only one new lady candidate, Miss HASTINGS, came forward in Tower Hamlets. When the votes were counted it was found that Miss TAYLOR again headed the poll in Southwark, for which district Miss RICHARDSON was also returned; Miss DAVENPORT HILL was re-elected for the City, Mrs. MILLER for Hackney, Mrs. WESTLAKE for Marylebone, Miss MULLER for Lambeth, and Miss HASTINGS elected for Tower Hamlets.

The election of ladies in Sheffield and Bradford may be attributed to the effect of the great demonstrations of women held in these towns in November and February last. Up to this time there had been no organised effort by women in these districts to obtain representation on the School Boards. But the demonstrations seem to have produced a general feeling in the minds both of women and men that something should be done. The Liberal Association of Sheffield were the first to admit this principle in their preparations for the election. They invited Mrs. WYCLIFFE WILSON to allow herself to be put in nomination among their list of candidates. All the Liberals were returned, and Mrs. WILSON obtained an honourable position on the poll.

In Bradford a memorial, signed by one thousand women electors, was presented to the Executive of the Liberal Four Hundred, asking them to nominate a woman on their list of candidates. The Executive summoned the Four Hundred to discuss the matter. After a lively debate the decision went against the memorial by a small majority. The local women's suffrage society also discussed the subject, and they came to the conclusion that the proposal to nominate a woman at the present time was inopportune.

But the spirit of the people was roused. They put forth the names of two ladies, one of whom withdrew. They then appealed earnestly to the remaining one, Miss EDITH LUPTON, to consent to go to the poll. An enthusiastic meeting was held by the local friends to inaugurate her candidature. Miss BECKER appeared in support, as a woman who had served twelve years on the School Board of Manchester. Miss LUPTON also addressed the meeting,



and resolutions in support of her candidature were adopted. Miss LUPTON subsequently prosecuted a vigorous canvass, and addressed many meetings in various districts of Bradford. A large meeting was also held in the Temperance Hall, at which Miss BECKER and Mrs. SCATCHERD attended. The men took up her case so warmly that they asked her to come out as the people's candidate.

The local Liberal leaders, while professing to be friendly to the principle of representation of women on School Boards, felt bound to use all their influence in support of their own eight candidates, and to deprecate the bestowing of Liberal votes on Miss LUPTON. Some of the friends of the Church candidates, on the other hand, expressed hopes that some votes would be given to her. Miss LUPTON herself came forward mainly on the ground of the need of women's work in dealing with parents as to the duty of enforcing attendance and with other subjects from the women's point of view.

The polling showed a Roman Catholic at the head of the poll. Miss LUPTON was second. The eight Liberal candidates were all returned.

It may be assumed as almost a foregone conclusion that any lady who will consent to undertake the responsible duty of serving on a School Board, will always find constituents ready to show by their votes that they are eager to avail themselves of such valuable work.

In the earlier days of the Education Act this was not so. Several ladies were defeated at first. We may, therefore, presume that their uniform success now indicates the sense of the public of the value of their work as tested by the experience of the last twelve years.

WITHIN the last few days there has passed from among us one of the earliest and most able of the workers for the enfranchisement of women. Many who have in former times been touched and thrilled by the burning words of RHODA GARRETT, will learn with deep sorrow that that eloquent voice is mute, and that warm, generous heart is still. Latterly Miss GARRETT has been unable to continue her active help to the cause, partly owing to delicate health and partly to the pressure of other occupations. But her interest in the movement continued unabated. She was a member of the Central Committee at the time of her death, and her last public act in connection with the cause was to send a letter of sympathy and encouragement to the promoters of the Scottish national demonstration of women which has just been held in Glasgow.

## SCOTTISH NATIONAL DEMONSTRATION OF WOMEN.

GREAT MEETING IN ST. ANDREW'S HALL,  
GLASGOW.

A great demonstration in support of a memorial to Her Majesty's Government, praying for the extension of the Parliamentary franchise to women householders and ratepayers, was held in the St. Andrew's Hall, Glasgow, on November 3rd. The meeting was specially a women's one, the only portion of the hall to which men were admitted being the balcony. Mrs. DUNCAN M'LAREN, the president of the association, occupied the chair, and was supported by the following ladies:—Lady Collins, Mrs. M'Grigor, Mrs. T. M. Lindsay, Mrs. M'Kindrick, Mrs. Edward Caird, Misses Ure, Mrs. David Greig, Miss Barclay, Miss Greig, Mrs. J. M. Blair, Mrs. Edward Parker, Mrs. J. M. M'Cullum, Mrs. M. M. Black, Miss Woyka, Miss Mavor, Mrs. David Russell, Mrs. Nichol, Mrs. Neilson, Mrs. Walker, Mrs. Dr. Young, Mrs. Thom, Miss Burton, Mrs. Nichol, Miss Maitland, Mrs. Paterson, Miss Louisa Stevenson, Miss Flora Stevenson, Miss Wigham, Mrs. Wellstood, Miss Kirkland, Misses Hope, Miss Hunter, Miss Walls, Miss Anderson, Miss Fraser, Edinburgh; Mrs. M'Kinnel, Dumfries; Mrs. Blair, Girvan; Miss Stuart, Wemyss Bay; Miss Simmons, Dunoon; Mrs. Arthur and Mrs. Robertson, Paisley; Miss Becker and Mrs. M'Cormick, Manchester; Mrs. Scatcherd, Leeds; Mrs. C. B. M'Laren, Mrs. Lucas, Mrs. Shearer, Miss Craigen, Miss Torrance, London; Mrs. Thomasson, Bolton; Mrs. Beddoe and Miss Sturge, Bristol; Mrs. Smith and Mrs. F. Smith, Bothwell; Miss Tod, Belfast; Mrs. Vero and Mrs. Ellis, Batley. Amongst the gentlemen on the balcony were Sheriff Murray, Professor Edward Caird, Professor Lindsay, Dr. A. B. M'Grigor, Rev. John Douglas, Captain Hatfield, &c.

The PRESIDENT: We shall open this remarkable meeting with prayer.

Miss Wigham having engaged in prayer, The PRESIDENT said: Women of Glasgow and its neighbourhood,—Scotland has witnessed many a noble gathering in the cause of liberty, but never one nobler than the one I look upon to-night, and over which I have the honour to preside. It has not been called by "tuck of drum," but by the gentle voice of women telling of the need there is to raise woman's position in the State, and whatever raises her position there will raise it also on the family hearth. Your position has been raised by the possession of the right to vote at municipal elections, and the meetings which have been held in and around Glasgow during the last fortnight have been for the purpose of stimulating you to exercise your newly-acquired right on the 7th of this month intelligently and faithfully. I wish every woman householder could feel with regard to this duty the same high sense of moral obligation which marked the conduct of a poor widow in one of our manufacturing towns near Manchester. The stern messenger which takes no denial had visited her home and taken away her child. The sorrowing mother laid the beloved form—all that was left to her—in its little shroud. "Shall I go to vote?" she asked herself. "My child needs no more earthly care; it seems hard to leave it; but I'll do my duty." She locked the door upon what she so sacredly loved, went to the polling booth, recorded her vote, and returned to the silent companionship of her lifeless babe, stronger in soul for what she had done. Such a mother deserved full political rights. I told the story to a member of Parliament who was arguing against women's suffrage. He replied, "That woman has converted me. I shall vote for you after this." We must not, however, expect too much from women at first. Men don't take so much interest in municipal elections as they ought. The franchise is an educational measure, and the good conferred will increase every year. To our friends who have been working so zealously amongst you, you have given a warm and intelligent welcome; indeed the position wherever they go may be compared to what we call in our households a "cold fire," ready for the match. The match has been applied, and you have heard, as it were, the crackling of the wood as one fire after another has been kindled, until this great meeting has been gathered to stand out like a beacon-light (and we have had eight such beacon lights) to show the Government and the House of Commons the strength of our position. We are met here to-night to ask that the Parliamentary franchise shall be conferred on

women householders. I believe with Professor Caird, who spoke the other evening so nobly in our cause, "that next to the Education Bill, it would be the greatest possible educational influence that could be brought to bear upon women." I was glad to see that he strongly urged that women should be placed on your School Board—and, let me add, on your Parochial Board also, for nowhere are they more needed. We have worked for this franchise sixteen years. We have gained much during that time, but still we are not politically free. The delay with which our claim has been met has given us time to know our own strength by using it. We were met at first in the House of Commons by much rancour and ridicule. We fear no such attacks now. Knowing that right was on our side, and "scorning to be bound by fear of blame," we persevered, and marvellous is the change which has come over the spirit of our country. That we can assemble here in so many thousands, sympathised with and helped on by the voices of the best men and women of Glasgow and its surrounding towns, to ask that the Parliamentary franchise shall be conferred upon women, is of itself a proof that we ought not to be far from realising our wishes. When I think of victory I mourn, as we all do, that some of our friends who helped us at first are no longer here to rejoice with us at the end and to receive our thanks. Amongst these is Sir David Wedderburn. We never asked his help and were denied it. On public platforms, at drawing-room meetings, and in the House of Commons his sympathy and help were freely given. After long periods of foreign travel he came back true to us as at first. He had to the last the courage of his convictions, and has left a bright example that neither prejudice nor party should stand before duty in the mind of any honest man. It was in 1871, when Mr. Jacob Bright's Bill in favour of women's suffrage was under discussion, in the House of Commons, that Mr. Gladstone, after acknowledging how much women suffered from legal injustice for want of political power, said that man would be a real benefactor to his country who by an alteration in the law respecting political power could put the relations between men and women on a more satisfactory basis. It is eleven years since Mr. Gladstone raised our hopes that he would be that man. It is three years since he strengthened those hopes when in addressing the women of Dalkeith he told them there was a side of politics that belonged to women, and exhorted them to discharge faithfully such political duties as devolved upon them. That is the side of politics which is chiefly uppermost in the present day. When two Liberal candidates offered themselves to Edinburgh a fortnight ago, the *Scotsman* mourned because they were both such little men—they could only see the moral and social questions which interested the different sections of society. He said in effect that Edinburgh ought to have a big man who could overlook such questions, who was tall enough to see grand imperial questions. I think women would have faith to believe that he who would be faithful over small duties "would be made ruler over more." They would prefer the so-called little men who could see the stumbling-blocks in the way of social reform and help to remove them. I wish we had more men both inside and out of the House of sufficient mental strength and stature to see how one Imperial question is sapping the roots of our national morality. The most persistent argument that has been used against giving us the franchise is that it would take women out of their sphere. I'll tell you what takes women out of their sphere. Our large standing armies. Thousands of men taken away from home life, making home life impossible to thousands of women, many of whom, denied the life the Creator intended for them, are dragged down into sin and degradation, until they are deemed nuisances, and police laws are framed to render them homeless. I do not ignore the difficulties of the question, but I cannot help contrasting their position with that of the men who have dragged them down to their pitiless condition, and who are deemed worthy to be heads of households and of influencing the government of our country. Do you wonder that a God of justice and purity is calling out women, not only in our land, but everywhere, to protest against all this injustice? We meet with almost no opposition except from men who are afraid of what influence we might have on these moral questions, and but for this opposition might slightly alter the words of Beranger, the French poet, and say—

The time the right were given;  
The storm has ceased to blow.

We are deeply indebted to Mr. Fawcett for having in his recent

speech at Liverpool clearly shown our constitutional right to the franchise, and for having declared that it was time public opinion should speak out on the question. The London *Daily News* expressed entire agreement with him. Well, public opinion has spoken out very plainly in Glasgow, and, as I mentioned not long ago here, the Convention of Royal Burghs, a representative body of all Scotland, has spoken out and petitioned Government to give us our constitutional right without further delay. Every argument has been exhausted on this question. We have all been interested in hearing how much Mr. Gladstone enjoys the healthy exercise of cutting down trees in his times of leisure. There are trees of longer and deeper growth than any our forests can boast of, and which spread their branches wider. We 5,000 women here, and the many thousands elsewhere who are with us in spirit to-night, ask Mr. Gladstone to lay his axe to the roots of those trees of prejudice and injustice which bind women down to that political inequality which in 1871 he acknowledged was the cause of the unfairness of the laws with regard to them. Yet what do we see in 1882? Whilst the educated women of Edinburgh were holding their annual suffrage meeting last March, supported by many of their best citizens, one of the judges of the Court of Session and four advocates were engaged in trying a case whether a municipal election in a neighbouring borough should be declared void, owing, among other things, to an alleged irregularity in the way in which certain illiterate male voters had recorded their votes. Now, could we be otherwise than indignant that Parliament should make such elaborate provisions for illiterate men to exercise the franchise both in municipal and Parliamentary elections, and that the time of the highest court in Scotland might be occupied in seeing whether those provisions had been fully carried out, whilst educated women were excluded from giving an intelligent vote for a member of Parliament? (Applause.) There has been a Parliamentary election to-day in Edinburgh. If Mr. Waddy shall have been the successful candidate, the finger on the dial-plate of freedom will have been turned back in that city, and Edinburgh will send no voice to the House of Commons in favour of women's suffrage. For ten years Justice, irrespective of sex, has been inscribed on the flag which our representatives have carried there. I maintain that men who have always supported us in this agitation are as little justified in voting for a candidate who would not vote for our enfranchisement as they would be in voting for one who would not support a measure for assimilating the burgh and county franchise had they always been in favour of the latter. No one has more opportunity of seeing the sadder phases of life than a practising barrister; but men grow callous by what they habitually see. It was a woman's pitying eye that saw the miseries of Newgate, and her hand helped to clear away the impurities of that loathsome prison. There are duties yet connected with prison discipline which are awaiting the hands and hearts of women to deal with—duties which would be more easily performed if they had political powers. Nothing can be more demoralising than a continual round of punishment with impossible reform. Asylums ought to be opened to those hapless women "torn in the brambles," to whom the honest paths of life are for ever closed—asylums, not called prisons, with a little green grass to walk upon, where they can see the sky overhead; that we may not see old women of 77 sent to prison for ten years for a petty theft of 1s. 3d.—the kindest sentence the law could give, the only way to give her a home. I was staying not long ago at West Shandon, and was much interested in seeing large ships which had braved many an ocean storm sail up your beautiful Gareloch to a point sheltered from disturbing forces to have their compasses set right. I sometimes thought there might be some analogy between that calm lake and the clear judgment of some women whose faith in God and His precepts had been undisturbed by contact with those greater evils of life with which men are too familiar; and to that quiet haven, it seemed to me, men might come with advantage to have their moral compasses set right, and made to point more directly to purity of life and justice to all, without which no nation can be truly great. (Applause.)

Miss WIGHAM: There have been a great many letters of apology, very beautiful letters, but one only it has been decided to read to-night, and that is from Mrs. Peter Taylor, whom we may consider the mother of this movement. (Applause.) She was the first woman, I believe, who took into hand the organising of women for the purpose of securing women's suffrage. Her letter is addressed to Mrs. M'Laren, and she writes as follows:—"I should delight in



speaking to a Scotch audience and you by my side—I should feel inspired; but my work of that kind is over. I must be content with having helped a little a good cause. It is a great thing to have lived and seen the emancipation of the negro in America, and if I live to see women emancipated I shall die in peace. May you be spared to carry on the noble work.—Ever yours, (Signed) MENTIA TAYLOR." Telegrams have been received from the Central Committee in London, the Liverpool, Bristol, Nottingham, Leicester, St. Leonards, Dublin, and Birmingham Associations, York Women's Liberal Association, and from Miss Muller, Viscountess Harberton, and others. (Applause.) The Viscountess Harberton says: "Accept warmest congratulations and good wishes for the grand meetings you are holding among the women of Scotland and helping the cause of freedom." She has sent another telegram this very evening, congratulating us also on having received the municipal franchise. There are a great many telegrams from other people in the same strain, while letters of apology for not being here, and of sympathy with the object of the meeting, have been received from the following ladies:—Mrs. Fawcett, London; Miss Jane Cobden, London; Miss Agnes Garrett, London; Miss Rhoda Garrett, London; Dr. Jex Blake, Edinburgh; Mrs. Ashton Dilke, London; Mrs. Hill Burton, Edinburgh; Mrs. Clarke, Street, Somerset; Mrs. Surr, London; Miss Dick Lauder, Edinburgh; Miss Ramsay Smith, Edinburgh; Miss Augusta Wyld, Edinburgh; Mrs. Pilkington, Edinburgh; Mrs. Hodgson, Bonaly Tower, Edinburgh; Miss Gibson, Edinburgh; the Misses Craig, Edinburgh; Mrs. Nairn, Edinburgh; Mrs. B. Mein, Kelso; Miss Eliza Sturge, Birmingham; Miss Dick, Burntisland; Mrs. Cowan, hon. secretary, Nottingham; Mrs. Somerville, Dalkeith; Mrs. Gerard, Aberdeen; Mrs. Dunn, Aberdeen; Miss Lamb, Elgin; Mrs. Alfred Illingworth, Bradford; Mrs. Clarke, Headingley, Oxon; Mrs. Duncan Morrison, Naughton, Fife; Mrs. Pochin, Bodnant, Wales; Miss Priestman, Bristol; Miss Blackburn, secretary, Bristol; Mrs. Haslam, hon. secretary, Dublin; Mrs. Readdie, Perth; Mrs. Ford, Leeds; Mrs. Masson, hon. secretary, Edinburgh; Miss Taylor, North Wales; Miss Dalziel, hon. secretary, Wigtonshire; Mrs. Robson, Glasgow. As we read over these names, one after another, ever so many associations rise up before us of those who have worked all these years—some who worked from the very first of the movement, and some who have come in in later days. (Applause.) Now we gather all together, and we hope these names will continue with us till we shall see the success of our great movement. (Applause.)

Miss TOD: The resolution I have the pleasure of moving is as follows:—"That the exclusion of a large part of the intelligence, industry, and property of the country from participation in its government is injurious to the highest interests of the nation; therefore the Parliamentary franchise should be extended to women who possess the qualifications which entitle men to vote, and who in all matters of local government have the right of voting; and that petitions to this effect to both Houses of Parliament be signed by the president on behalf of the meeting." The circumstances under which we are met to-night invite us to consider what our position is at this moment, what stage we have reached in the way of obtaining the Parliamentary franchise for women; for although we have been at work now for about a dozen years, and have not yet obtained the Parliamentary franchise, not only has this not been lost time, but for every hour so employed we have some real gain to show. (Applause.) One of the best recent writers about the British Constitution remarks that Englishmen, as a rule, are not quick of apprehension in politics. Someone urges a just claim upon him—say the claim of qualified women to have the suffrage—and he cries out, "Never heard of such a thing in my life," and he thinks that this is a sufficient refutation of the argument. (Laughter and applause.) He shies at a new idea as a nervous horse shies at a new object on the road, and the only cure in both cases is gently to get him accustomed to the sight of it. Well, that is what our suffrage societies and kindred societies have been doing for the last ten or twelve years. Nobody now cries out indignantly that "he never heard of such a thing." He has heard, and has to argue it more or less, if he is not prepared to admit its justice. Moreover, arguing, when we have right on our side, leads very soon to partial concessions. Our opponents, wishing to be fair, look out for what they feel inclined to yield to us, by way of showing us that if they refuse the main thing it is not so wholly from want of sympathy as we are apt to suppose. So during our

struggle for our franchise we have gained many other things. The educational claims of women have been acknowledged in twenty different ways; an instalment of justice, though a very small one, has been done in regard to protecting girls; the long battle for the security of the property of married women has been gained; and many local franchises have been given or restored to women, the last of which is that which strongly interests you here, the gaining of the municipal franchise for women in Scotland. (Applause.) Every advance of this kind makes a further advance more certain, and brings it nearer, not only because women use these new helps in a way that is proved to be for the advantage of the whole community, and not only because the arguments that have convinced the public and the Legislature in the one case are also those that will convince them in the other, but because power always incites to power. Do not listen to people who say that you will be losers in the estimation of men by your obtaining your rights. (Laughter and applause.) It is not so. I have never pressed the claim of women to the franchise upon any special perfection, but because we are human beings, with the same joys, sorrows, dangers, and difficulties. We require the same self-government which has been proved to be best for the world. As a rule, however, women care more deeply for their religious convictions than men, and they carry them into common life. At an early age girls learn their sense of responsibility, and they grow up to know that they have to care for others. They have been taught that this does not apply to public affairs. But the moment they feel this sense of responsibility attaches to public work, they will prove equal to the call upon them. Members of Parliament are by no means those who will gain the less by the accession of women to public life. They will greatly gain by having their sense of justice quickened, and will make them look more at the justice of a case than at its expediency, as they do at present. I do not consider these twelve years during which we have been working for the suffrage as lost time. We have done much, but we have a great deal before us. But the great gain we shall have made will be the new idea of justice into public life—justice unto women made the common possession of the world. This is the thing for which we ought to thank God and take courage, and never rest till it has been achieved. (Applause.)

The PRESIDENT said: I shall call upon Mrs. Charles M'Laren to second the motion. Her mother, Mrs. Pochin, along with Miss Becker, spoke upon the platform of the first meeting ever held upon the question of women's suffrage, and has written the most exhaustive treatises on the subject. (Applause.)

Mrs. CHARLES M'LAREN: We have met to protest against a great injustice. It is now some years since we began to agitate this question; but until recently we have confined our efforts to prove the justice of our cause and answer the arguments of our opponents. But we see, if we are to win, it is of no use to have a just cause unless we have a strong cause. It is to prove to Glasgow and to the whole of Scotland that our cause is strong that we have summoned this great meeting together. No one can look around this crowded hall and doubt that our cause is strong; but if they would know how strong it is they must remember that meetings as great as this have been held in Birmingham, Manchester, Sheffield, and London; they must remember that this is not an English or Scotch question alone; for in America it counts even greater advocates than with us. In France, Germany, and Italy it is coming to the front. Debates have taken place about women's suffrage in the Legislative Assemblies of Australia and New Zealand, and in the other Colonies all over the civilised world. Women are awakening up to a sense of their duties and responsibilities. The long night of suffering and degradation is far spent, and for all women the dawn of a happier to-morrow is at hand. (Applause.) But while you are helping us with your presence here to-night, we want every woman here to understand why we want laws to vote for members of Parliament. It is to ensure that just laws may be made by Parliament for women as well as for men. At present, you see, there is one law for men and another and harder law for women—(hear, hear)—you see that there is one law for the strong and another for the weak. But it is not to protect the weaker from the stronger that this difference is made; it is to give a strong and additional advantage. If a tax is levied, the woman at the head of the household has to pay; if a woman steal, she is put in prison; if a woman commit murder, sentence of death is passed upon her. In these the laws are equal; but when it is a question of real property to be inherited, or a little honour to

be enjoyed, or a good salary to be earned, it is then you find a difference is made between men and women. If you examine the marriage laws you will find they are not equal; if you examine the laws of inheritance you will also find they are not equal. The laws which relate to the custody of infants are not equal. You find in this country a woman may be put in prison without trial for doing an act which a man may do, and which it is perfectly legal for a man to do. (Hear, hear.) I tell you these wrongs will never be righted, and equal laws will never be passed by Parliament for women until women themselves have a voice to say which man shall and which man shall not sit in the House of Commons to rule over them. (Applause.) Now, I was talking to a member of Parliament about the injustice of the laws towards women. He said, "Yes, there is a great deal in what you say, but it is not practical politics." He was quite right in what he said, for practical politics now-a-days is just carrying into law the wishes of the electors, and those who have no votes must wait till no wrong of an elector is left unredressed. If women have to wait for that, they may have to wait a long time. You will remember that previous to the Reform Bill of 1832 political power in this country was possessed by a few aristocratic families who ruled over the men and women of England according to their somewhat limited light. But the Reform Bill of 1832 admitted the commercial classes, and that of 1867 the working classes. As years go by more and more men will be numbered with the rulers, and soon women will be left alone unrepresented. Then there will be the domination of sex over sex, and then what coercive legislation will they provide for us? Has not man sufficient advantage already? Is it fair to give him more power by Imperial law to crush his rival and dictate to her when and where and under what condition she shall earn her bread? I tell you it is not fair. Bring her once into the sphere of practical politics. As years go by more power gets into the hands of the working classes, and when the House of Commons is filled more by trades' unions Parliament will attend more to their interests. Therefore it is necessary there should be members to speak for women too; or in the strife of parties they will be trampled upon. (Applause.)

Mrs. CADY STANTON, an American lady: I can assure you I appreciate the honour that has been conferred upon me in being permitted to celebrate with you this grand event of the crowning of thousands of Scottish women with the great right of franchise. (Applause.) It was here in Scotland where was fought over and over again the great battle of freedom; here where your own glorious poet Robert Burns sang the glad songs of equality for humanity that have gone round the world; here where your grand novelist Sir Walter Scott drew his heroine, grand, brave, self-asserting, for I believe the pen of Scott never drew a weak woman; here, too, where your great divine Chalmers so eloquently defended the rights of individual conscience and judgment; and it is fitting that here at last the right of the franchise should be conferred on your women. (Applause.) And what is this right of suffrage—a right so laughed and scorned at by those who do not appreciate its blessing and its power. The right of suffrage gives you a voice in the regulation of your homes, of your streets, of your schools, of your religion, of your politics. It is vain to talk of the home being woman's sphere so long as she has not a word to say in regard to the laws that govern that home. I was very much pleased with the remarks of the speaker who preceded me in her rebuke of your members of Parliament and the House of Commons. But remember, my friends, behind every one of our legislators there stands a woman. And what has been the influence of the women in high places in this great reform. They have whispered into the ears of our legislators, our statesmen, our philosophers that they had all the rights they want. Our trouble has not been with the men—they have been open to reason—our trouble has been with the women themselves. (Applause.) It is the saddest sight to me to see a woman well clothed, fed, and sheltered, in the midst of most fortunate surroundings, robed and mantled, all complacency about herself, and saying, "I have all the rights I want." O, selfish one, I ask you to look over your garden gate, where all is beauty, fragrance, and peace, unto the wilderness beyond, where the immortal flowers are fading fast, with no kind hands to lift their drooping heads or any kind hearts to speak to them words of peace and love. (Applause.) Remember, mothers of Glasgow, our jails and prisons are regulated by law, and all the dens of infamy and vice are regulated by law, and what a power you have in your hands in trying to build up

higher and better towns and cities in your midst. Remember man is the representative of justice, woman of mercy, and we need these two grand elements everywhere hand in hand walking up and down the highways of life. (Applause.) It has sometimes been said that this movement of ours is antagonistic to man. My friends, how can that be? The women on all our platforms have sons as well as daughters, and think you a mother would do aught to take from the dignity, the honour, the glory, and the praise of her sons? (Applause.)

Miss CRAIGEN: The exclusion of women from representation is really to place in a condition of serfdom half of the English and Scottish people; for what is serfdom but to have one's life regulated by laws made by others without our opinions being asked, without our consent being obtained? (Applause.) We are here, therefore, to-night to make a protest in behalf of a very great principle—a principle which is at the foundation of all modern progress—the perfect equality of all citizens before the law. Without distinction of race, of colour, of sex, every one who has to obey the law should have a hand in the making of it, and every one who has to work for the wealth of the country should have a power over the spending of it. (Applause.) We are here to ask for the alteration of a state of things which in the words of the resolution is injurious to the highest interests of the nation. Justice and liberty are the highest interests that any nation can have. Socially the consequences of this serfdom are very serious. We have in Great Britain more than three millions of adult women returning themselves as getting their living by their own labour, and the result of this political serfdom is that these women, not being considered by the legislators, have been neglected when the laws were made. They have been left unprotected as far as personal honour and domestic relations are concerned, demoralised by these sad conditions, untaught, in many cases uncared for. They are brought into the labour market to compete with the free labour of men, and competition among workers, which is always hard, is made ten-fold more bitter when it is between a mass of serf, inferior, under-paid labour on the one side, and more highly-paid free labour on the other. Give us the power over the law which will enable us to protect ourselves, and then we shall go into the labour market to compete with men and on equal terms. (Applause.) This would be the highest interest of our nation. Secondly, political integrity is the highest interest of any nation, especially to-day, for the times were in our country—in days of despotism—when kings and statesmen had to find the wisdom which was to give us prosperity at home and peace abroad. That is not so any longer. To-day the Ministers are or ought to be the servants of the British people; to-day they are only the expositors of popular opinion. Our kings of to-day are no longer in Windsor and St. James' as they were in the olden days. They are in the counting-house and workshop, and if you go through the streets on a summer evening you may see them at the corners, or passing in and out of the doors of the public-house with caps on their heads and short pipes in their mouths. (Laughter and applause.) But if these kings who are to govern us have not the wisdom, alas, to govern themselves, what is to become of us? The outlook is not so hopeful as I could wish. There is a great deal of political error, of political apathy, and I am sorry to say of political corruption, amongst our men. (Laughter.) I know one burgh in Yorkshire where in an election, municipal or Parliamentary, I could go and purchase 300 votes, and they are not women's votes any one of them—(laughter)—and I will tell you the price. The whole 300 electors go in a body at twopence a piece. (Laughter and applause.) How are you going to cure that? You cannot cure it while women take no interest in politics. Men want to be honourable in our eyes, and while we think nothing of this dishonour, they will think nothing of it. Men can no more progress without women than you could go up one side of the street with one half of your body leaving the other half on the other side. (Laughter.) We are here to-night to say that freedom amongst us shall grow and not decline. We are here to say our future shall be greater than our past, and the past of Great Britain has been very great. Scotland has her full share of the greatness. (Applause.) I speak as a Scotchwoman of my native land. For England we have authentic details that it has been three times conquered, but Scotland never was conquered. (Laughter and applause.) From age to age our country has been the nursery of heroes and the unconquered stronghold of freedom.



There is not a spot of our native land that is not made up of the dust of our martyrs; there is not a hill or mountain in the Highlands that does not send echoing along to us with its traditions of the past the rallying cry for liberty. (Applause.) Let us be faithful to our past, true to our future. Let us send up to-night the united voice of the women of Scotland to the House of Commons; let us tell them that whatever they do or don't do in England, to us, at least, the daughters of women who dared to die for faith and liberty, the inheritors of a glorious and unconquered past, they should give the freedom that we claim. (Applause.)

The resolution was then put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

Miss BECKER said: The resolution I have the honour to propose is as follows: "That the following memorial to Mr. Gladstone be adopted and signed by the president on behalf of this meeting:—

"To the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P., First Lord of Her Majesty's Treasury,

"The memorial of Scotch women and others in public meeting assembled on November 3rd, 1882, in St. Andrew's Hall, Glasgow,

"Respectfully sheweth,

"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.

"Wherefore, your memorialists earnestly pray that in any measure for the extension of the principle of household suffrage which may be submitted by Her Majesty's Ministers for the consideration of Parliament, provision may be made for enabling women qualified according to the statutory conditions to be registered as voters and to vote in the election of members of Parliament.

"And your memorialists will ever pray, &c."

The occasion is indeed a momentous one. Since I came into this room I have been imagining what would happen supposing that the members who are engaged in the House of Commons could have a kind of telescope directed to this hall, and could see this grand gathering. If the telescope were slightly out of focus, they might at this distance well be excused for fancying it was a gathering of the men of Glasgow. (Laughter.) I can imagine the flutter that would go through the hearts of your representatives. They would say—"What, surely there must be something very important going on, and we must look to this instantly." They would set the telegraph at work, wishing to know what the men of Glasgow wanted from them. We could imagine that the telescope being properly focussed, they saw there was not one voter in this meeting. Would they not give a sigh of relief and turn to business? (Laughter.) Well, I say, without fear of contradiction, that for intelligence and public spirit this meeting could not be exceeded in Scotland, and the advice of such a gathering deserves to have an influence in the councils of the nation. (Applause.) Now, ladies, you have the municipal franchise and the School Board franchise, and we are not asking you to take something untried. Of the School Board franchise I know something. This very day we are in the excitement of a hotly-contested election of the School Board for Manchester, in which I have the honour to be a candidate. (Applause.) The other night, at a meeting on behalf of our candidature, an irrepressible gentleman got up and insisted upon airing his views on vaccination, and on being told that had nothing to do with School Board politics, he said, "Oh, but I've got a vote!" (Laughter.) Of course he had to be heard—(laughter)—and his remarks were as to whether we would sanction some sort of spy system in the Board schools. Well, when a woman can appeal to a member of Parliament and say, "You must listen to me, I have got a vote," she will have an amount of attention she cannot have in any other way. (Applause.) I will read to you the following letter addressed to Mr. Hugh Mason, M.P.: "Bombay, 12th October, 1882.—Sir.—At the request of a number of Parsee, Mohammedan, Hindoo, and Portuguese residents of this city, who are desirous that the Parliamentary franchise should be extended to women who possess the qualifications which entitle men to vote, I have the honour to forward this day to your address a petition to that effect, and at the same time request that you will be so good as to present the same to the honourable the Commons of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled.—I have the honour to be, sir, your most obedient

servant, A. F. LYNCH, Justice of the Peace for the City of Bombay." These Mohammedans and Hindoos see women lowered to the depths of degradation through the political and social institutions of that country, which deny her a soul. The Parsee women are in a better position. Anyhow, these men come to ask Parliament to enfranchise the women of England in the hope and belief that enfranchisement of the women of England will react upon the millions of women in India who are shut out from everything in life. (Applause.)

Mrs. BEDDOE said: When a resolution has been moved by Miss Becker, the seconder of it has a pleasant feeling of want of responsibility. I can only say it is very gratifying to me to be here to-night. I have been present at several of the women's demonstrations in the great towns of England, but this is the first time that I have had the pleasure of meeting my own countrywomen. We know that Scottish men are always to be found in the van wherever there is an effort after progress, and such as the men of the country are such will the women be also. Still I own that the sight of this vast assembly fills me with profound emotion and astonishment when I recall the beginning of this movement. The West of England Society, which I have the honour of representing, held its first meeting in a private room under the presidency of the late Mr. Commissioner Hill, a gentleman who was distinguished for his philanthropy, as he was for his extensive legal and general knowledge. We were then told, and we believed, that the claim for the electoral franchise on the part of properly qualified women was so clearly just that it had only to be put forward in the proper quarter to be at once freely granted. Little did we think that after fourteen years we should still be agitating for the same cause, but as little did we think of the collateral benefits which would accrue from the exertions we should be obliged to put forth. By this time next year we have good hope of meeting again to celebrate the passing of our Bill, and I am sure that all present will sympathise with me in trusting that it may be under the presidency of the lady who now occupies the chair, and who has endeared herself to every one of us. But even should we, the pioneers of the movement, not see the fruition of our labours, I think we have some reward in having formed a bond of sympathy betwixt women of many different towns, of diverse opinions in religion and politics, and of all ranks of society. In our time and in our country we have too much of class isolation and class prejudice. It is well when we can find a common ground on which to meet as equal members of the great human family. It is said, and said too truly, that women are apt to take a narrow and a selfish view of public matters. Surely such intercourse as this will be the best way to cure the defect. The single women have done their best in moving Parliament to secure, or rather to restore, to married women the right to their own property. In return, we shall not cease from our work till we have procured for them that to which we consider they are entitled as self-supporting and ratepaying members of the community. I know that there are women who regard the exercise of the electoral vote as unladylike and unfeminine, and we ought to pay some regard to their prejudices; but it seems to me that if they cannot act with us, the least they can do is to be silent in the matter, and for this reason, that if the suffrage were granted to women to-morrow, there is no law in the land which could take them to the poll against their wishes. Then even from their own point of view their position will be more honourable than it is at present, when they actually do possess this right, and for the reasons I have given, refrain from exercising it. I shall detain you no longer, except to beg of you, my friends, to take advantage of this great opportunity to carry the resolution, and to carry it unanimously, thus showing that we are of one mind in our desire for this act of common justice. (Applause.)

Mrs. SHEARER, in supporting the motion, said that there was a sprinkling of gentlemen present desirous to know how the ladies conducted themselves at the public meeting; but she thought after that night's meeting, and after the several speeches that had been delivered, they had better all go home and learn the prayer which was said by the Jewish boys from the time they were able to repeat prayers at all—"I thank Thee, oh Lord of our fathers, that Thou hast not made me a woman." (Laughter.) She should think that after hearing some of the laws and some of the hardships under which women laboured, it was a very rational and reasonable prayer to teach the Jewish boys. There were the same difficulties and the same hardships suffered then by women as had been through long ages up till now. She was happy that a brighter day was dawning.

Her words, she said, would be addressed to those ladies of Glasgow who, being happy and comfortable themselves, did not want women to agitate for rights they in particular never felt the need of. But they forgot the rights of their sisters who had to make ulsters at 2s. 6d. the dozen, and who had to accept degrading employment for a livelihood. These were women born of as good flesh and blood as themselves, and perhaps would stand their superiors on the great day of account. Religion and piety were two different things. With some ladies piety consisted in going in a fashionable dress to a fashionable church to hear a fashionable sermon. But in that kind of piety there was little of the religion which Christ taught. No; His religion consisted in assisting the poor and miserable. If they adopted His example, and took a greater interest in this suffrage and other questions, they would be all the better wives and mothers, and their children would not be worse but better brought up. (Applause.)

Mrs. WELLSTOOD also supported the motion, which on being put to the meeting was carried unanimously.

Mrs. FLORA STEVENSON moved the third resolution: "That this meeting desires to express its gratitude to George Anderson, Esq., M.P., and Dr. Charles Cameron, M.P., members for the city of Glasgow, for the carrying through of two measures of great benefit to the women of Scotland—viz., the Married Women's Property Act (Scotland) of 1881, and the Municipal Vote to the Women Household-holders of Scotland, 1881." She was sure all who were interested in the subject would feel deeply grateful to the two honourable members for the successful carrying through of these very valuable measures. If the question could be decided by the Scotch members, women would ere this be in the enjoyment of the Parliamentary franchise.

Miss STODDART said: I second this resolution of hearty gratitude to those friends who have secured so much for us, not without a consciousness that my gratitude is tempered with the proverbial lively sense of favours to come. We have a cordial faith that those who have done much for us in the past are best able and probably most willing to do all that remains to complete our electoral equality. The course of events now developing and strengthening the capacity of women is the best real argument that they should be admitted to the Parliamentary franchise. They are in every field of activity, except that of practical politics; they take their full share of the world's work, as they have always done, although tedious, harassing, and little glorious work has hitherto fallen to their share. In education and in domestic management how often have they shared the burden of drudgery, of petty economy, of painful contrivance, sowing in tears and failing to reap in triumph. Now they labour no longer in seclusion, but in the face of all as great teachers, as skilful physicians, as true poets, inspired painters, powerful sculptors, thrilling and delightful actresses, as patient and perfect nurses, as docile and reverent students of history of science, as practical managers, exact subordinates and excellent artisans, even as much-enduring householders and faithful subjects, to whom the Parliamentary franchise must be extended at their request if reason and justice are still to rule our National Council. The power of numbers has helped to achieve these successes for women, for what are the supernumeraries to do, who must be their own breadwinners or die? Would our opponents and the doctrinaires counsel infanticide or polygamy to get rid of the difficulty? The great evolution will take its own course, will soon be recognised by all men as a natural and harmonious event, and men will be as they have been, the active and sympathetic agents in its completion. (Applause.)

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

A vote of thanks, on the motion of Miss HILL BURTON, to the president concluded the proceedings near eleven o'clock.

We are indebted for the following graphic description of the meeting to the *Christian Leader*, a Glasgow paper:—

Mrs. Cady Stanton has been working for nearly forty years in every movement in which the most enlightened women of America have taken part, and she declared that she had never before seen such a magnificent demonstration of women as the one which she addressed on Friday evening last in Glasgow. With respect to its numerical magnitude, nothing like it has been witnessed before on either side of the Atlantic. St. Andrew's Hall seats five thousand, and it was filled—the whole of the vast area, and the greater portion of the

space in the galleries, with women—this, too, on one of the most miserably cold and wet evenings which even the united force of November and Glasgow could produce. It was indeed a most impressive spectacle; and I could not help reflecting on the fact that it was witnessed in a city one of whose daughters wrote the first book on women's rights. That forgotten pioneer was my old friend Mrs. Hugo Reid, who before her marriage was Miss Kirkland. The genetic force which the land of Knox and Adam Smith and James Watt has exerted in the social and religious progress of humanity has been widely recognised; but it may be news even to some who are now in the front of the movement that the enfranchisement of women was first advocated in a printed book by a Glasgow lady. Everybody knows that the most potential work on the subject has been written by a Scottish philosopher, John Stuart Mill. It was meet, therefore, that Scotland should be the arena of a demonstration that was a marvel even in the experienced eyes of Mrs. Cady Stanton. The little land north of the Tweed has not ceased to march in the van of the nations.

The whole of the work in organising the meeting, as also in conducting it, was done by women; and even veteran members of the Fourth Estate, who have small sympathy with the movement, were forced in candour to acknowledge that they had never seen such work so well done. Indeed, the main part of the preliminary organising had devolved upon two women, the ladies who in the background of the platform held up as each speaker rose a huge placard bearing the speaker's name (a simple expedient which male organisers might copy with advantage at their gatherings), and to whom Mrs. Duncan McLaren paid a glowing tribute at the close of the proceedings. Mrs. McCormick, of Manchester, and Miss Kirkland, of Edinburgh, were the organisers. Among the sneers directed against the movement one of the most frequently repeated is that which ascribes it to the discontent of ladies who have not got husbands. Even Mr. Bouverie, the former member for Kilmarnock, condescended once in Parliament to utter this poor sneer in its most vulgar and insolent form, talking of these ladies as "social failures." Of the fourteen women who spoke on Friday night eight were married ladies. Seven, I believe, were Scotswomen; though some of the English ladies are married to Scottish gentlemen. The key-note was struck in the prayer with which Miss Wigham, of Edinburgh, a well-known member of the Society of Friends, opened the proceedings; it gave simple, heart-moving expression to the exalted motive by which she and her sisters are animated—the purifying of the State. Incidentally, it may also have conveyed to the ministers in the balcony a lesson as to the manner of public prayer, while, at the same time, it was fitted to rebuke the prejudice against women engaging in public religious services.

#### A SPEECH BY JOHN BRIGHT'S SISTER.

Mrs. Duncan McLaren, who presided with quiet and gentle dignity, spoke for about twenty-five minutes. Her speech was one that would have done credit to her illustrious brother, both as to its substance and form; and anyone who is at pains to analyse it must be struck with its remarkable likeness in structure to some of the most effective orations of John Bright. She had copious notes, which she used freely, having many points to notice, on account of her official position, which could not be trusted entirely to memory. What raises women in the State will raise the State itself was the main burden of her argument; and she insisted on the educational influence of the franchise. This remarkable meeting she described as a beacon-light to show to the Government the strength of the movement. Thanking Professor Edward Caird for a recent "noble speech" of his, she showed how useful women might be on School Boards, and also on Parochial Boards. The movement, met in the House of Commons with rancorous abuse when first spoken of there sixteen years ago, had got far beyond that point now; and this naturally led to a touching allusion to early friends who are gone, especially to Sir David Wedderburn, who had the courage of his convictions to the last, and who had left a bright example. Eleven years had elapsed since Mr. Gladstone raised their hopes; nearly three since he strengthened these hopes by the address to the women of Dalkeith, when he told them that there was a side of politics that belonged to women, and exhorted them to a practical recognition of this fact. They now asked him to lay his axe to the roots of those trees of prejudice and injustice which bind women down to that political inequality which he acknowledged in 1871.



Very effective was the passage of the speech in which she reminded us that it was a woman's pitying eye that first saw the miseries of Newgate; and the figure got on the shores of the lovely little Gareloch during a recent sojourn at Shandon formed a fine peroration. There she had seen the large ships which had braved many an ocean storm sail up to a point sheltered from disturbing forces to have their compasses adjusted. "I sometimes thought," she said, "there might be some analogy between that calm lake and the clear judgment of some women whose faith in God and His precepts had been undisturbed by contact with those greater evils of life with which men are too familiar; and to that quiet haven, it seemed to me, men might come with advantage to have their moral compasses set right, and made to point more directly to purity of life and justice to all, without which no nation can be truly great."

#### THE MOTHER OF THE MOVEMENT.

Miss Wigham, who rose with a great sheaf of letters and telegrams apologising for absence, read only two—the first from Mrs. Peter Taylor, "the mother of the movement," and the second from the Viscountess Harberton. One of the letters, she said, was from Miss Dick, of Burntisland, who, though now past eighty, never hears of a meeting of this sort without sending a message; and loud cheers greeted the mention of letters from Miss Jex Blake; Mrs. Hodgson, of Bonaly Tower, the widow of the lamented Professor; and Dr. Agnes M'Laren. There was also a hearty cheer at the mention of the Misses Garrett, members of the brilliant Suffolk family which includes Mrs. Fawcett and Mrs. Garrett Anderson, M.D. Miss Tod, in a speech of twelve minutes, delivered without a scrap of paper, moved the first resolution, that petitions be sent to Parliament praying for the extension of the Parliamentary franchise to women who possess the qualifications which entitle men to vote. With conspicuous logical force she showed that the influence of female electors would quicken the sense of justice in our legislators; and her speech was as full of humour as of logic. The motion was seconded by Mrs. Charles B. M'Laren, whose mother, Mrs. Pochin, spoke at the first meeting held upon the question of women's suffrage, and is the author of the most exhaustive treatise on the subject. Into sixteen minutes this young lady packed an immense number of practical points. She also spoke without notes, and enforced her arguments with energetic but exceedingly graceful action. Equal laws, she said, would never be passed for women until women themselves have a vote. More power is getting into the hands of the working classes, and when the House of Commons is more filled by the trades' unions, what will become of women if there are not members to speak for them too? In the strife of parties they will be trampled down. This suggestion evidently made a strong impression on the meeting.

#### A PIONEER FROM AMERICA.

The next seventeen minutes were occupied by Mrs. Cady Stanton, a stout, white-haired lady, apparently not much over sixty, with a homely and most benignant look, and just a slight touch of the Yankee intonation in her speech. What she said partook more of the character of an oration than anything we had as yet heard. The British speakers have entered on their public career since oratory began to grow more conversational; but their American visitor was familiar with the platform when rhetoric was more in vogue, and she spoke, no doubt, in accord with a long-established habit. Her tones were more masculine than those of the British speakers, and yet her words were less distinctly heard. She confessed that their greatest trouble in pushing forward the movement in America had been with the women themselves; and the central idea of her speech was that women's love required to be put into legislation. The most telling part was the reminiscence of the world's convention on slavery, held in London forty years ago, when only five of the male delegates, including her own husband, voted for the admission of the twelve women who were in attendance. That rejection in London saw the good seed sown out of which this glorious meeting in Glasgow had grown.

#### A NOBLE ORATION.

For twenty minutes Miss Craigen held the audience spell-bound. This lady is one of the greatest orators I have ever heard. She gave the impression of being an independent and original thinker, fearless in speaking out her convictions; and some of the passages of her speech might be justly described as logic on fire. There was an almost Shakspearean dignity and music in some of her sentences.

In this, for example: "If women are to help men to nobler thoughts, they must think themselves. How can they think if they are not free? There is no thought in slavery." She contended that political corruption will never be cured until women take an interest in politics; and one of her remarks under this head might have been spoken by Carlyle: "Our kings of to-day," she said, "are no longer in Windsor and St. James's. They are in the counting-house and workshop, and if you go through the streets on a summer evening you may see them at the corners, or passing in and out of the doors of the public-house with caps on their heads and short pipes in their mouths. But if these kings who are to govern us have not the wisdom, alas, to govern themselves, what is to become of us?" It was this speaker who raised the meeting to the highest pitch of enthusiasm which it had reached, when speaking "as a Scotchwoman of her native country," she pronounced a glowing eulogy on unconquered Scotland, in which "there is not a spot that is not made up of the dust of our martyrs." For thrilling oratorical power this was the speech of the evening; and when it was done the resolution was carried unanimously, no one venturing to stand up against it. Every woman in the hall seemed to hold up her hand in its favour. Miss Lydia Becker, was pointed and business-like in moving a memorial to Mr. Gladstone, asking that women qualified according to the statutory conditions should be included in any measure for the extension of the principle of household suffrage which may be introduced by the Government. To be the mouthpiece of such a meeting was the greatest honour, she said, it had ever been her lot to receive; and intense interest was excited as she proceeded to read a letter from Parsee, Mohammedan, and Hindoo residents of Bombay, asking that the Parliamentary franchise should be extended to women. This they have done in the hope and belief that such a measure would react upon the millions of women in India who are shut out from everything in life.

#### MRS. BEDDOE, OF BRISTOL.

Mrs. Beddoe, who had come with Miss Sturge as a delegate from Bristol, seconded the resolution. She had been present at many women's demonstrations in the great towns of England, but this was the first time she had the pleasure of meeting her own country-women; and she said that the sight of the vast assembly had filled her with profound emotion and astonishment when she recalled the first meeting on the subject that she attended fourteen years ago. It was too truly said that women were apt to take a narrow and selfish view of public matters; but such intercourse as this would be the best way to cure the defect. Some women regard the exercise of the electoral vote as unladylike and unfeminine. To these she appealed, asking that they should at least remain silent in the matter, since, even if the suffrage were granted to women, no law could force them to the polling-booth. I never heard a male speaker pack up so much matter in a five minutes' speech as Mrs. Beddoe did; and Mrs. Shearer, who seconded, was equally pointed in her appeal to the "happy and comfortable" ladies who do not want the franchise, asking them to remember the rights of their sisters who have to make ulsters at 2s. 6d. the dozen, and who have to accept degrading employment for a livelihood. Let us have no more of this selfish talk, she exclaimed. Some ladies indulged in it in the name of religion; but religion and piety seemed often to be two totally different things. With some ladies piety consisted in going in a fashionable dress to a fashionable church to hear a fashionable sermon. But in that kind of piety there was little of the religion which Christ taught. No; His religion consisted in assisting the poor and miserable. Mrs. Wellstood, of Edinburgh, in a sentence happily illustrated by some lines from a poem of the late Henry Vincent, supported the resolution; and after it had been carried, thanks were heartily voted to the members for Glasgow for the carrying through of the Married Women's Property Act, and the Act conferring the municipal franchise on women.

#### MR. WADDY'S OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

Miss Flora Stevenson, of Edinburgh, who moved this resolution, said a telegram had just arrived intimating the election of Mr. Waddy; and in a few trenchant sentences she disposed of that gentleman's objections to the conferring of the franchise on women. He does not want to see women mixed up in the turmoil of an election contest; but, thanks to the ballot, there is now no more difficulty in voting than in posting a letter. Mr. Waddy, she added,

## PUBLIC MEETINGS.

### ENGLAND.

#### MANCHESTER NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

##### ANNUAL MEETING.

The annual meeting in connection with the Manchester National Society for Women's Suffrage was held on Tuesday, November 7th, in the Town Hall, Albert Square, Manchester. The chair was occupied by the MAYOR of MANCHESTER (Mr. Alderman Baker), and there were upon the platform Mr. Ald. Bennett, Mr. Ald. G. Booth, Mr. H. Marcus (Liverpool), Dr. Whittle, Miss Laura Whittle, the Rev. S. A. Steinthal, Mr. Ald. Heywood, Miss M. Atkinson, Mrs. Gell, Mrs. Roby, Mrs. Heywood, Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Mrs. Moss, Mrs. Oliver Scatcherd, the Rev. R. Craig, Mrs. Armstrong, Mrs. M'Cormick, Miss Backhouse, and others. There was a good attendance.

Miss BECKER (the secretary) announced that letters had been received from local Parliamentary friends explaining that pressure of Parliamentary duties would prevent their attending the meeting. Mr. Hugh Mason, M.P., sent his best wishes for the success of the meeting—(applause)—and Mrs. Mason stated in a letter received a day or two ago that her husband was still improving, and took a drive daily. The letter also intimated that Mr. Summers, M.P., had consented to take charge of a petition, forwarded to Mr. Mason on behalf of a number of Parsee, Mahometan, Hindoo, and Portuguese residents of Bombay in favour of the extension of the Parliamentary franchise to women. (Applause.) Miss Becker then read the fifteenth annual report, which has been published in a separate form.

The Rev. S. A. STEINTHAL (the treasurer) submitted his statement of income and expenditure, from which it appeared that the year commenced with a balance in hand of nearly £20, including which the income had amounted to £2,034, the subscriptions and donations having totalled £1,571. 17s. 6d. The expenses had been £1,996. 4s. 8d., leaving a balance of £38. 1s. 10d.

The MAYOR, in opening the meeting, said: Ladies and gentlemen, the first public meeting that I attended in my official capacity as mayor of this city two years ago was the annual meeting of the Women's Suffrage Society, and this is the last public meeting at which I shall preside previous to my going out of office, for I shall be officially defunct on Thursday next. (Laughter.) If, therefore, you have the first words of my official life, and the last words of my official life, you may fairly come to the conclusion that I am as enthusiastic in the cause which has gathered you together as any one among you. (Hear, hear.) The subject of women's rights has been a debatable subject for a very long time. We are now close upon the end of a century, and at the beginning of the last century a question connected with woman's rights came before the Chief Justice of the Court of Queen's Bench for decision. It was as to the right of a woman to fill the very important office of parish sexton. (Laughter.) A man named John Oliver and a woman named Sarah Bly were the opposing candidates for the vacant sextonship of the parish of St. Bardolph, and Sarah won by thirteen votes. Oliver did not like to be beaten by a woman, and took the matter into the law courts for the purpose of ascertaining whether a woman could hold that responsible and onerous office. The case was fully argued, and I dare say the gentlemen of the long robe put some very handsome fees into their pockets, and argued the point with all the skill and eloquence with which the Bar was even then famous. The judge was a remarkably intelligent man, in point of fact he was a man who might have lived in these days—(laughter and cheers)—for he said he was clearly of opinion that a woman might fill the office of sexton of a parish. (Cheers.) He illustrated his judgment by particularising some of the offices that a woman had held. He said women had held very much higher offices than that which then came before him for decision. Women had filled the office of Queen of England, of Marshal, of Great Chamberlain, of Great Constable—a woman had held the office of Champion of England, a woman had filled the office of Lord Lieutenant of a county, a keeper of a prison, and a woman had been a returning officer of members of Parliament. (Cheers.) Now, said the Lord Chief Justice, with all these cases before me, how can I decide against the woman who claims to have been legally elected to fill the office of sexton of the parish of St. Bardolph. I hold that she has been

could not relieve the women of the duty of paying the taxes; and when he said that if the women had votes they must be ready to go as soldiers, he forgot that the soldiers have not the franchise. Miss Stoddard, of Kelso, showed that women were in every field of activity except that of politics, and expressed a confident belief that the great evolution would take its own course and soon be recognised by all men as a natural and harmonious event. Miss Burton, sister of the late Dr. Hill Burton, the historian of Scotland, said she was ashamed of Edinburgh; but Mr. Waddy could no more turn their movement back than he could turn the tide. With characteristic humour she said Mr. Waddy was "only an Englishman"—they might have felt his election more if he had been a Scotsman. "We'll let Mr. Waddy be," she said, "we can afford it." Mrs. Arthur, of Barshaw, moved a vote of thanks to Mrs. M'Laren for her conduct in the chair, and Mrs. Scatcherd, of Leeds, the youngest lady who had spoken, gracefully seconded the motion, expressing her pride in the fact that she was a country-woman of Mrs. M'Laren, and speaking of the ladies of the Bright household as worthy of their distinguished brothers. Mrs. M'Laren spoke like a true wife in a brief allusion to the work done in Edinburgh that day; and I suspect that Mr. Waddy had better revise his opinions on the subject of woman suffrage, or he may find himself in an awkward fix when the ladies get their votes, as they are bound to do.

The meeting lasted two hours and a half; and if any of the gentlemen in the balcony—and among them were sheriffs, professors, ministers, and lawyers—can say that they ever heard the same uniform good speaking at any meeting they attended in their lives before, or as many effective points crushed into the same space of time, I shall be greatly surprised. The truth seems to be that the ladies can say more in fewer words than the men; they eschew exordiums and perorations, and, above all, when they have nothing more to say they sit down. There was, perhaps, nothing so striking in the whole of the proceedings in the St. Andrew's Hall as the sudden cessation of each speech. We looked for the regulation winding-up. But each lady stopped when she was done. Her disappearance was so sudden that many wondered where she had gone. It was a most refreshing novelty. REUBEN ROSENEATH.

#### PRELIMINARY MEETINGS.

##### PAISLEY.

On October 26th a meeting was held in the Templar Hall, Paisley. Provost M'Kean presided. A drawing-room meeting was held the same day at Barshaw, at the residence of Mrs. Arthur.

##### GREENOCK.

Mrs. Shearer and Mrs. Scatcherd addressed a public meeting in the Temperance Institute, on Oct. 27th, which was held to promote the forthcoming meeting in Glasgow to urge that the Parliamentary franchise should be extended to women. Dr. Marshall occupied the chair. The usual resolutions were adopted.

##### GLASGOW.

The following meetings were held in various districts of Glasgow: Campbell-field U. P. Church, October 30th. Chairman, ex-Bailie Burt. Speakers, Mr. Smeal, Dr. Ferguson, Mrs. C. B. M'Laren, Mr. Ellis.—Sydney Place, Upper Church Hall, October 31st. Chairman, ex-Bailie Salmon.—Mission Hall, Anderston, October 31st. Chairman, Rev. Albert Goodrich.—Milton Hall, Cowcaddens-street, November 1st. Chairman, Councillor Jackson.—Southside Hall, Nelson-street, November 1st. Chairman, Mr. Jas. Buchanan.—St. James' Hall, Stirling Road, November 2nd. Chairman, Sir William Collins.—Assembly Rooms, Crown-street, November 2nd. Chairman, ex-Bailie Scott, J.P.—A fellowship meeting was held in the Y.M.C.A., Crosshill, on October 19th, and a drawing-room meeting, on October 28th, at the residence of Mrs. Smith, Fairmont, Bothwell.

##### DUNDEE.

A meeting having for its object the extension of the franchise to women was held on Tuesday, November 7th, in the Hall of the Young Men's Christian Association, Dundee. Provost Moncur presided and introduced the speakers, Misses Wigham and Craigen. Miss Wigham moved the adoption of a resolution in favour of extending the Parliamentary franchise to women, and that a petition to that effect should be forwarded to the House of Commons.—The motion was seconded by ex-Bailie Macdonald.—Miss Craigen supported the resolution, which was declared carried. The customary votes of thanks brought the proceedings to a close.



legally elected, and I hope she may live long to discharge the duties of her office. (Cheers.) Now, ladies and gentlemen, that occurred in London in the early part of the last century; but when I spoke some years ago in the Council chamber of this city in reference to the feeling of Manchester on this subject, I referred to a pamphlet which had been written by George Philips at the close of the last century, in which he stated distinctly that in his opinion there was no reason whatever why a woman should not have a vote for returning members of Parliament. (Hear, hear.) The author of that pamphlet was afterwards created a baronet, and became Sir George Philips. With your knowledge of the Philips family of subsequent generations, you may concur with me in saying that they have all of them been true patriots. There was first Mr. Robert Philips, of the Park, near Manchester; then his son, the late Mark Philips, who stood highest on the poll as the first member which Manchester had on the passing of the Reform Bill; and after him comes another son, the present Robert Needham Philips, the member for Bury—all men of liberal and intelligent opinions. I cannot come to any other conclusion than that intelligence and advanced views are characteristic of the race. (Hear, hear.) You all of you know—for the matter has been brought prominently before you very lately—that a woman may be a member of the School Board. You know also that our friend, Miss Becker—(cheers)—has been upon the Manchester School Board ever since its establishment, and that her attendances have been highly satisfactory, and that she has done as much good work as any other member of the Board. I bring this subject before you for a specific purpose, and that is to remind you that the School Board election takes place next Saturday. I do not say one word for whom you are to vote. I say that upon that point you will use your own discretion, but I do say that if there is any woman having a vote who does not go to record it, that woman does not deserve the privilege which has been granted her. (Cheers.) Let my words have some effect, and do let me see, when the votes have been recorded, and when people know who have and who have not voted, that the women have borne in mind the words of the great hero, Nelson, who said that England expected every man—and I say every woman—(laughter and "hear, hear")—to do his and her duty. If the women do not do their duty, how can they expect the men to do their duty? (Laughter.) I have not done with the women yet. (More laughter.) It is entirely the fault of the women that an Act of Parliament enfranchising women has not been passed before this. You desire to be informed how that is. I will tell you, and you will see at once. There are only comparatively few women who are in favour of women's suffrage. If all the women were in favour of having their rights, I want to know how their husbands could live without their having them. (Loud laughter.) I can tell you that as far as my domestic peace is concerned I should, under such circumstances, be disposed to yield and let the wife, who is qualified to vote, have the privilege of doing so. Let me impress upon you that this is an important matter. There are upon the register of voters in this city nearly 56,000 voters, and there are nearly 10,000 women voters. If the women voters will go—as one man I was about to say—(laughter)—and record their votes, I will venture to predict that the result will be that the women will have their own way as they always have. (Laughter.) I have only one further observation to make, and it is that Manchester and Salford have been very influential with their members of Parliament upon the enfranchisement question. All the members of Parliament for Manchester and Salford are in favour of women's suffrage. (Cheers.) It is at the present moment one of the vital questions of the day, and I think that the concurrence of the local members of Parliament upon it shows the importance which they attach to it. The resolution I have to propose is "That the report and statement of accounts read be adopted and printed for circulation." (Applause.)

The motion was supported by Alderman GEORGE BOOTH, and adopted.

Alderman BENNETT moved the following resolution: "That this meeting earnestly requests Mr. Mason to take steps for introducing the question of extending the Parliamentary franchise to women who possess the qualifications which entitle men to vote at the earliest period after the opening of Parliament, and pledges itself to support his action by every means in its power next year." He stated that he had come to the conclusion that if one wanted an eloquent speech one must look to a woman for it. (Hear, hear.) Although there had not been much progress made by the women's suffrage movement during the past year, they were in hope that

greater progress would be made in the coming year. Although the subject under consideration had never been a party question, he would be very glad to see the present Government, with its enormous majority—as was proved the other night by a majority of 84—do justice to the women electors of this country. (Applause.) Why, in the name of common sense, should women be able to vote for members of town councils and school boards, and not be able to vote for members of Parliament? (Hear, hear.) He was surprised sometimes to hear from men who should know better various objections to this movement. Only the other day a professional man remarked to him that if women served in the offices in which men were liable to serve, such as on juries, he should very likely be in favour of the movement. He immediately turned on that man with the question of whether he was liable to serve in such capacities. (Laughter.) Professional men, as they were aware, were exempt from such service, and yet they had votes. Why should the case not be the same with women? He, however, did not see why women should not serve on juries. (Applause.) He believed that the majority of men would keep women out of the suffrage as long as they could, and it rested with the women themselves to go forward—he was going to say as one man—(laughter)—but at any rate as women of one mind, and say that if they paid rates and taxes they would have Parliamentary votes. He sincerely hoped that the movement would make more progress during the next session of Parliament than it did in the last. Circumstances then were unfavourable for Mr. Mason, but if the Liberal Government was as liberal as its name implied—(laughter)—he thought it would take up the question and carry it by a large majority. (Applause.)

Mrs. Moss, in seconding the proposition, observed that the past had been unfavourable for testing the House of Commons. As bearing on their agitation they did not know what our rulers, who were said to be so wise and able, might be, but if Mr. Mason could introduce the question in Parliament it would be a kind of stock-taking. (Laughter.) The condition of the movement now was such that they would rarely find an intelligent politician argue the question seriously, because they very well knew that the weapon which the leaders of the movement were using had been used over and over again in respect of every fresh extension of political power in this country, and that was the great truth that taxation and representation ought to go together. (Applause.)

Mrs. ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, who supported the motion, could see no reason why women who voted in municipal elections should not also vote for members of Parliament, and she could see every reason why they should, because every human being who was subject to the law should have a voice in respect of the laws and the lawgivers. Of course the women of England should be deeply thankful for the modicum of justice extended to them in regard to the municipal vote, but they should not rest with that. They should give their rulers no peace till the whole right was accorded them, for as long as members of Parliament could make and unmake laws with the interests of women wholly unrepresented, this Married Women's Property Act over which the country rejoiced to-day might be taken away to-morrow. It was only by actual representation of their own rights that they were safe and sure. She was in England forty-two years ago, and sat in the great Anti-slavery Convention held in London. The Convention was summoned as "a world's convention," the lovers of freedom who had taken part in the great anti-slavery struggle being invited to come there and sit down in council. As a good part of the abolition work in America had been done by many of their noble women, some of them were sent over as delegates, but when they arrived in London they found that English public sentiment was not quite prepared for their reception, and by a large vote women were, after an entire day's discussion, rejected. She could not tell them how delightful it was for her to look back over those long forty-two years of struggle and effort by the women of England and America alike, and to find in that great hall that day that not only were women speaking from the platform, but that their honoured Mayor was presiding. (Applause.) It was a great change, and one that ought to encourage every woman present to work on bravely to the end, for what they were now demanding would as surely be achieved as what they had sought had already been accomplished. She knew that some people viewed with foreboding the effect of such a change in the order of things as they advocated, but they might take comfort from the experience in the territory of Wyoming. There for

years the women had voted on the same qualification as men, and held the same rights of property and the like, and the testimony each succeeding year was still in favour of the experiment. Mrs. Stanton mentioned some of the privileges enjoyed by women in the United States, and urged that what the friends of women's suffrage were labouring for was in harmony with the great law of progress, and was essential to the best interests of the people. She believed that the greatest obstacle in their way to-day was the indifference of women. The majority of men in all communities could be carried by an appeal to their reason, and if they could rouse the women at every fireside they could easily win the day. She hoped that they in America would hear in the future that the friends of the agitation in England were moving on in the right direction, and trusted that they would secure victory in the end. (Applause.)

The resolution was carried. Miss BECKER moved: "That this meeting expresses its satisfaction at the passing of the Married Women's Property Act, 1882. It looks upon this measure as a woman's emancipation Act of unprecedented magnitude, and believes that the success of the effort to place the property rights of women on a just and safe basis will give a strong impetus to the movement for equal justice to women in every department of personal and political rights. It desires to tender to the members of the Married Women's Property Committee hearty thanks and congratulations on the zeal and ability with which they have conducted the agitation, and on the success which has attended their efforts."

The Rev. S. A. STEINTHAL seconded the motion, which was cordially adopted.

On the motion of Mr. Alderman HEXWOOD, who expressed the confident belief that women would obtain the Parliamentary franchise, of which the municipal and school board vote was the forerunner, supposing their use of their present power was satisfactory, seconded by the MAYOR, the Executive Committee for the ensuing year was appointed.

Thanks to the Mayor for presiding were voted on the proposition of Mrs. ROBY, seconded by Mr. J. PHYTHAN.

#### LEICESTER.

On November 15th a meeting was held in the Temperance Hall in favour of giving women who are ratepayers the right of voting in Parliamentary elections. Viscountess HARBERTON occupied the chair, and was supported on the platform by Aldermen Chambers and Windley, Councillors T. Wright and J. Gimson, Revs. J. Page Hopps and J. Moden, Mr. R. Walker, Mrs. Lucas, Miss Biggs, Mrs. A. Osler, Mrs. Scatcherd, Miss Sturge, Mrs. Chambers, and other ladies. There was a large audience, principally composed of ladies.

The Rev. J. P. Hopps read a letter which had been received from Mr. P. A. Taylor, M.P., who stated that he need hardly say how heartily he was in sympathy with the object of the meeting at Leicester that night. The progress of the question had been perhaps the most marked of any important one of the time. He remembered speaking on the question of women's rights some forty-five years ago, and he did not believe there were at that time one hundred persons who would have voted for the suffrage for women. Now the supporters of the question were becoming a great power in the country, and would soon be powerful enough to command the waverers—he feared the most numerous party in the State on all great questions. Political enfranchisement for women was a necessity naturally growing out of the existing condition of society. It was their right, and their highest policy. Even supposing—a great admission—that the enfranchisement of women would only increase their indirect influence upon the questions of the day, it was nevertheless of immense importance that the men who were still practically to see to the business of legislation should have been educated by mothers who in the matter of political responsibility were no longer classed amongst criminals, idiots, or minors.

A letter was also read from Mr. A. McArthur expressing his sympathy with the movement; also from Mr. Heygate and from Mr. W. Simpson, jun.

Viscountess HARBERTON said she was afraid some people there would be inclined to think that the Married Women's Property Bill was to set all legal questions with regard to women at rest. But such was not the case. The object of the meeting was clear and simple, it was to demand that those persons who were legally qualified in

every other respect to vote for representatives in the House of Commons should not be debarred merely on account of their sex. If it was to be ratepayers and householders who were to have a vote, then let it be all ratepayers and householders, and not merely the chosen few. Women had their grievances, and many of them—why should they not have the same constitutional means as men of redressing them? She felt thankful to those gentlemen who had assisted in passing the Married Women's Property Bill. It seemed to her that the question of men legislating for women was intolerant. They wanted to legislate for themselves. (Applause.) They knew far better than men how to regulate the laws relating to themselves. There was not the slightest reason for denying the suffrage to women. She hoped there was a better time coming for the women, and in conclusion her ladyship asked for support to the cause.

Councillor T. WRIGHT moved: "That the exclusion of a large part of the intelligence, industry, and property of the country from participation in its government is injurious to the highest interests of the nation; therefore the Parliamentary franchise should be extended to women who possess the qualifications which entitle men to vote, and who, in all matters of local government, have the right of voting; and that petitions to this effect to both Houses of Parliament be signed by the chairman on behalf of the meeting."

The resolution was seconded by Mrs. LUCAS.

Miss BIGGS supported the motion.

Mrs. A. OSLER, in supporting, said it was not with any selfish aim that women claimed the suffrage. It might be that individual women there had no personal grievances, and might not suffer hardship even if any of the laws relating to women remained. But there was a commandment very often neglected and much forgotten which said, "Thou must love thy neighbour as thyself." It was asked of the One who gave this injunction who was a neighbour, and she (the speaker) gathered from the parable of the good Samaritan, which was given in response to the interrogation, that a neighbour was any one for whom you could do good. (Hear, hear, and applause.) She had never heard that that commandment was only intended for man. (Laughter and applause.) If it was not, it surely followed that they all, women as well as men, had a duty to perform towards their neighbours. Woman had been the means of good in various spheres to which she had been admitted, and the speaker went on to contend that she had a right to have Parliamentary representation. Let them, she concluded, look forward to a time when men and women should work together for good.

Mr. G. G. FLAWS rose to move an amendment. He said it had been the assumption that night that the vote both to man and to woman was a right, not a gift nor an expediency. He had heard reference to the Queen as being at the head of politics, and that that was a strong argument in favour of women's franchise. To this he replied that the Queen was in a position outside and above politics, and in which position he hoped to see her. Woman was small in the great sphere, and very great in the small sphere. If he called the home the small sphere the woman was great in that sphere. If any woman told him that night that the polling booth was greater than the home to her, it was a thing he could not understand. Mr. Flaws then went on to speak of various ways of doing good, which were open to spinsters and widows, whom the resolution affected, if they had not the sphere of a home to work in. If women, he continued, had the vote and became full citizens, sex apart, was it not proper that they should take part in the responsibilities of citizenship, that in case a war broke out, for instance, they should enlist as soldiers and fight for their country. (Interruptions.) If not, he should retort that if they declined to be governed by men he should decline to be governed by them. (Hisses.) This thing he wished them to consider. In the world there was tremendously rough work to do; that work, he contended, by a great law of nature was thrown upon the man's shoulder as the stronger being; while the place of the woman was to economise the man and to console him. (Hisses and applause.) The amendment he had to move was: "That this meeting, until better reasons have been shown for so doing, considers the extending of the right to vote at contested elections to women inexpedient."

Mr. BARRS seconded. He did not, he stated, agree with the amendment nor with the remarks by which it was introduced, but he seconded simply hoping that the amendment might be submitted to the meeting.



The amendment received about six supporters, and the resolution was consequently carried.

Mrs. SCATCHERD moved: "That the following memorial be adopted and forwarded to Mr. Gladstone: The memorial of the inhabitants of Leicester in public meeting assembled on November 15, 1882, in the Temperance Hall, respectfully sheweth—That in the opinion of this meeting the Parliamentary franchise should be extended to women who possess the qualifications which entitle men to vote. Wherefore, your memorialists earnestly pray that in any measure for extension of the principle of household suffrage which may be submitted by Her Majesty's Ministers for the consideration of Parliament, provision may be made for enabling women qualified according to the statutory conditions to be registered as voters, and to vote in the election of members of Parliament." In her speech, Mrs. Scatcherd referred to the objections advanced by Mr. Flaws.

Miss STURGE seconded, and Rev. J. P. HOPPS, after referring briefly to the remarks of Mr. Flaws, said it had been remarked that women did not want this vote. The women who had spoken on that platform that night declared that those women who were householders and ratepayers did want that vote. They did not merely assert it for themselves. They knew what the majority of women householders thought and wanted in the matter, and they spoke for them. As a practical proof that the women of Leicester wanted an extension of the suffrage, the rev. gentleman gave the result of a canvass made three years ago with regard to a petition in favour of it. There were 2,600 women ratepayers on the register. Of these 456 were not at home or deceased, 520 refused to sign, 23 had been married, 140 had left, and 1,471 signed in favour of it. In conclusion, Mr. Hopps appealed for funds to support the society.

A vote of thanks, moved by Mr. R. WALKER, was unanimously accorded to Lady Harberton for presiding, and a similar compliment having been paid to those who had been instrumental in getting up the demonstration, the meeting terminated.

#### WELLINGBOROUGH.

On November 10th a public meeting in support of women's suffrage was held in the Reading-room at the Corn Exchange, Wellingborough. Mr. D. DULLEY presided, and there were also present upon the platform Miss Caroline Biggs, Mrs. Shearer, Miss Lillie Stacpoole, and Mr. J. R. Wilkinson. The room was well filled with ladies and gentlemen.

The CHAIRMAN, after some remarks, read a letter from the Hon. C. R. SPENCER, which ran as follows:—

"Spencer House, St. James's Place, 2nd Nov., 1882.  
"Dear Mr. Dulley,—I am glad to have an opportunity of stating what my views on women's suffrage are. I think those ladies who are duly qualified to vote at municipal and school board elections are illogically and harshly treated in not being allowed to vote at Parliamentary ones. Moreover, I can see no sensible reason whatever why this right should be denied to those duly qualified, and I shall certainly support their cause with my vote when the matter comes before the House. If women can be rated, and they are rated, they should be allowed a voice in choosing those who help to administer the taxes.—Yours, &c., "C. ROBERT SPENCER."

The Chairman, in a few further remarks, adduced figures showing that a large number of women competent to engage in business pursuits were at present unable to vote, and in reply to objections he pointed out that the ballot deprived voting of many of its terrors. He thought that Englishmen should be the last to deny ladies the privilege of voting in view of the illustrious lady who swayed the sceptre of this realm. (Cheers.)

Miss STACPOOLE proposed 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."—Miss C. A. BIGGS seconded.

The resolution was put to the vote, and carried unanimously.

Mr. J. R. WILKINSON proposed the adoption of a petition to Parliament, based on the foregoing resolution.—Mrs. SHEARER seconded. Mr. E. SHARMAN proposed in cordial terms a vote of thanks to the Chairman, which was seconded by Miss Biggs, and heartily accorded. The Chairman briefly responded and a similar compliment having been paid to the ladies taking part in the meeting, the proceedings terminated.

#### KETTERING.

A public meeting in support of the admission of women householders to the household franchise was held under the auspices of the Kettering Liberal Association, in the Fuller Chapel Assembly Room, on November 9th. The chair was taken by Mr. T. WALLIS, who was supported on the platform by the deputation, Miss C. A. Biggs, Mrs. Shearer, and Miss Lillie Stacpoole; Mrs. F. Wallis, Mrs. D. Gotch, and Messrs. Hutchen and Wickstead. The body of the room was well filled with an attentive audience, the majority of whom were ladies.

The CHAIRMAN remarked that this meeting was unprecedented in Kettering, as they had never before had three ladies to address a political meeting.

Mr. WICKSTED 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 to vote already." Ever since he had formed any ideas of politics he had held the opinion that to extend the franchise to women would not only be an act of justice, but would do the community at large a great deal of good. Women had to obey the laws and pay the taxes, and he thought that ought to give them constitutionally the right to have a voice in the making of those laws and taxes.

In seconding the resolution, Mr. HUTCHINS said he could see no reason why women, equally qualified with men, should not be entitled to the franchise, especially as they had the municipal franchise.

Miss CAROLINE BIGGS supported the resolution.

Before putting the resolution, the Chairman asked Miss Biggs whether, if manhood suffrage became law, they would want womanhood suffrage, because, if so, the matter wanted serious consideration, because it was well known that the ladies were in the majority. (Laughter.) Miss Biggs replied that it was an axiom of Lord Palmerston that it was the part of a true statesman, as of an honest man, to judge the question which came immediately before him, and to let the future provide for itself. (Hear, hear.) She thought that would apply here, but if a time were to come when there was manhood suffrage, then she said the Liberal party should not shrink from the issue, and should make the Government really representative. But she believed the law of marriage at present disqualified a married woman from voting even in those matters for which her property would qualify her to vote, and she gave an instance in support of this.

Miss LILLIE STACPOOLE moved: "That a petition to both Houses of Parliament, based on the foregoing resolution, be adopted and signed by the chairman on behalf of this meeting."

Mrs. SHEARER seconded, and the resolution was carried. Mr. A. Gotch proposed, and Mr. J. Wallis seconded, a vote of thanks to the deputation, which was responded to by Miss Biggs, who proposed a vote of thanks to the Chairman.—Mrs. Shearer seconded, and, in response, the Chairman said he most heartily approved of women's suffrage.

A collection was made at the close on behalf of the school fund.

#### DARTMOUTH.

A meeting was held on November 2nd in the Subscription Room, and was fairly attended, women ratepayers being well represented. Mr. R. F. Pound presided, and addresses were delivered on behalf of the West of England National Society for Women's Suffrage. Mrs. Brine, of Teignmouth, first addressed the meeting, and Miss Helen Blackburn (secretary to the Society) followed. A petition to Parliament in favour of the extension of the Parliamentary franchise to women was moved by the Rev. B. Dinnick, seconded by Miss F. L. Jarman, and signed by the Chairman on behalf of the meeting. A vote of thanks to the ladies for their able addresses closed the proceedings. The following letter, acknowledging the petition, has been received by Mrs. Brine from Sir Massey Lopes, Bt., M.P.:

"Mariston, Roborough, South Devon, 8th November, 1882.  
"Dear Madam,—I have received your petition, and shall have much pleasure in presenting it to the House of Commons. Should the franchise in counties be enlarged, I consider that the claims of female householders for representation will be considerably increased.—Believe me, yours truly, (Signed) "MASSEY LOPES."

#### BRIDGWATER.

A public meeting was held in the Town Hall, Bridgwater, on November 7th, under the presidency of Mr. W. J. Clark, of Street, in support of the movement for extending the Parliamentary franchise to women householders and ratepayers. The Chairman was supported by Mrs. Clark, Miss Sturge (of the Bristol School Board), Miss Bradley (Clifton), Miss Helen Blackburn (secretary to the society), Miss K. Thompson (Bridgwater), and Messrs. F. J. Thompson and L. Thompson. The attendance was very limited, owing to the severe inclemency of the weather.—The Chairman, in opening the proceedings, contended that women householders were now unjustly deprived of the Parliamentary franchise, and that it was very wrong to set up the notion that women were inferior to men.—Mr. Lewis Thompson proposed: "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 that the meeting adopts a petition to the House of Commons, to be signed by the Chairman."—Mrs. Clark, in seconding the resolution, remarked that if they were successful in getting the measure carried by and by, she believed it would benefit the women of this country very materially.—Miss Emily Sturge, of Bristol, supported the resolution.—Miss Bradley (of Clifton) followed with an eloquent and effective speech in favour of the movement, after which the Chairman invited questions from the audience.—After remarks from Mr. William Thompson and Miss Blackburn, the proposition was put to the meeting and carried with but one dissentient.—The Chairman said the gentleman who objected might possibly wish to state his objections, and Mr. R. Squibbs then stepped forward from the body of the hall and remarked that one of the speakers had said an ounce of practice was worth a pound of theory. He (Mr. Squibbs) was a much married man, and had the ounce of practice. (Laughter.) He held that ladies were not fitted for the Parliamentary franchise and only for the matrimonial franchise. He would advise them all to get married as soon as possible. He had the greatest respect for the ladies who had spoken, and was very pleased with the speeches. Mr. F. J. Thompson proposed a vote of thanks to the Chairman and the lady speakers.—Mr. Squibbs: May I have the pleasure of seconding that.—Mr. A. G. Barham supported the motion, which was unanimously carried. The memorial was then signed by the Chairman, and also by a majority of those in attendance.

#### DARLINGTON.

A meeting was held on November 6th under the auspices of the Darlington Women's Liberal Association, in the Mechanics' Hall, Darlington. Mr. J. G. BLUMER presided, and was accompanied on the platform by Mr. W. C. Parker, Mr. G. Lucas, Mr. J. T. Shewell, Mr. W. J. Cudworth, Mr. Spafford, Mr. J. W. Wood, Mrs. Shearer (London), Mrs. Blumer, Mrs. Walford, Miss Lucas, Mrs. Thompson, Mrs. Parker, Miss Prideaux, Mrs. Wood, Mrs. Fisher, Mrs. Hopper, and Mrs. Cluds.

The CHAIRMAN, after reading a statement setting forth the object of the Association, briefly referred to the new Act relating to Married Women's Property.

Mrs. SHEARER next addressed the meeting on the "Duties and Responsibilities of Women as Citizens," and in explanation of the new Married Women's Property Act.

Mr. W. C. PARKER, in moving a vote of thanks to Mrs. Shearer, observed that that lady had not only vindicated her right to stand on a public platform, but had amply vindicated the purpose of those ladies in Darlington who had formed themselves into a Liberal Association. Speaking of the desirability of women participating in the public business of the country, he desired to express his strong conviction that it would be a great advantage to the Board of Guardians of every town if it consisted of some two or three ladies to take part in the administration of the law.

Mr. SPOFFORTH, in seconding the proposition, referred to the difficulties and the litigation likely to arise out of the new Act. He suggested that the ladies of Darlington should take part in the coming School Board election, and secure, if possible, a lady representative on that Board.

Mr. SHEWELL expressed himself favourable to the question of women's electoral rights, believing that they undoubtedly were rights. He would not have any one suppose that there was anything unreasonable in the conduct of those who advocated those rights. It was only consonant with right and justice that those ladies who

paid rates and taxes should be placed on the same level as men who contributed in a like manner to the revenues of the country.

A vote of thanks to the Chairman brought the proceedings to a close.

#### MUNICIPAL ELECTION MEETINGS.

##### HASTINGS.

A meeting of women householders was held on October 26th, in the Lecture Hall, Wellington Square, Hastings, under the auspices of the Society for the Protection of the Young, for the purpose of considering the serious responsibility connected with the municipal vote. An intelligent and appreciative audience was present, some of whom took part in the discussion. The following resolutions were unanimously passed: 1, "That women are bound to use the vote that has been given them with careful regard to the moral order of towns, to their sanitary condition, to the care of their poor, as well as to the material prosperity of these towns." 2, "That the nomination of municipal candidates chiefly on account of their political opinions is an error, and this meeting pledges itself to use its influence to secure the nomination of burgesses whose intelligence and high moral character are their primary recommendation."

##### KEIGHLEY.

A meeting of women burgesses interested in the Keighley municipal election was held on October 30th, in the Mechanics' Institute. There was a large attendance. Mr. JOHN CLOUGH occupied the chair, and was supported by Miss Carbutt and Mrs. Oliver Scatcherd, of Leeds; Messrs. F. H. Pickles, B. S. Brigg, J. Cattle, W. Clough, R. Sellers, Geo. Howells, W. H. Horne, T. Carr, W. A. Robinson, S. Waring, and Swire Smith.

The CHAIRMAN, in opening the proceedings, explained that the meeting had been called in order that the women of Keighley might receive instruction as to the employment of the vote which they would be called upon to exercise.

Miss CARBUTT, of Leeds, moved the following resolution: "That in the opinion of this meeting it is the duty of every woman on the burgess-roll of Keighley to use her vote at the coming election conscientiously and intelligently, with a view to the good government of the town."

Mrs. O. SCATCHERD seconded the resolution. The resolution was carried amid applause.

Mr. SWIRE SMITH, in moving a vote of thanks to the ladies who had addressed the meeting, trusted that the women electors of Keighley would profit by the instructive words which had been spoken.

Mr. B. S. BRIGG, in seconding the vote of thanks, referred to the remarks which had been made with regard to preserving the health of the town, and said he felt sure that the candidates who had listened to these words would feel that it would be their duty to do nothing that would add to the burdens which the women had to bear in that respect.

The CHAIRMAN put the resolution, which was carried with applause.

Miss CARBUTT moved, and Mrs. OLIVER SCATCHERD seconded, a vote of thanks to the Chairman, which was carried, and the meeting separated.

#### LECTURES.

##### BLABY.

On November 13th a meeting was held in the Baptist Chapel, at which an address in advocacy of the right of female householders and taxpayers to equal electoral advantages with men was delivered by Mrs. Shearer, of London, and resolutions in favour of women's suffrage carried. The meeting, which was moderately attended, was presided over by the Rev. G. Barker.

##### KIBWORTH.

A lecture was delivered in the Village Hall, Kibworth, on November 13th, by Miss C. A. Biggs. Mr. J. Loveday was chairman, and there were also on the platform Miss Gill and the Rev. E. Hipwood. The Chairman introduced the lecturer by a few apposite remarks. The Rev. E. Hipwood seconded a resolution to adopt a petition to both Houses of Parliament, and observed that in their own parish were two landowners who, if they were men, would have votes for members of Parliament, but because they had the misfortune to be women had not votes. The resolution was carried *nem. con.*



IRELAND. BANGOR.

The first meeting of the Mutual Improvement Association, First Presbyterian Church, Bangor, County Down, was held in the church on November 20th. The Rev. Alex. Patton, M.A., in the chair. Despite the severity of the evening the attendance was very large. The inaugural lecture was delivered by Miss Isabella M. S. Tod on the education, employment, and enfranchisement of women. The lecture was listened to with marked attention. A cordial vote of thanks was passed to the lecturer on the motion of Mr. John M'Keenan, seconded by Mr. Geo. M'Kinney.

[The pressure on our space compels us to postpone notices of many meetings and discussions held last month.]

SPEECHES OF MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT.

MR. LEWIS FRY, M.P.

At a meeting organised by the Bristol Operative Liberal Association, held in Colston Hall, Bristol, on November 22nd, Mr. Lewis Fry, M.P., said in the course of his speech: He thought where circumstances cast upon a woman the duty of being at the head of a household, and having to pay taxes and perform those other duties which appertained in that country to the head of a household, he thought she should possess the privilege the law gave the head of a household. (Applause.) Although it was a question he did not wish to discuss at any great length, he repeated what he had said before, and many of them knew he was one of those members in the House of Commons—and they had seats on both sides of the House—who were prepared to say that where a woman was a householder and a taxpayer she should be also a voter. (Cheers)

ELECTION INTELLIGENCE.

RICHMOND, YORKSHIRE.

Mr. H. F. Pease, the accepted Liberal candidate for Richmond, Yorkshire, addressed the electors at Brompton. He expressed himself in favour of Sunday closing, local option, women's suffrage, and county franchise reform.

SCHOOL BOARD ELECTIONS.

MANCHESTER.

The fifth triennial election of the members of the Manchester School Board took place on November 11th. There were eighteen candidates for fifteen seats. The result was declared on November 13th. Mr. Birley, chairman, headed the poll with 29,748 votes; next Miss Becker with 27,368 votes. Miss Becker was returned at the head of the list of six "unsectarian" or Liberal candidates. The lowest on the poll was Mr. Gillow, one of the Catholic candidates, who polled 21,156 votes. There are 55,833 electors on the register, of whom 27,933 recorded their votes.

BIRMINGHAM.

At the Birmingham School Board election on November 17th, Mr. Harker, Independent Liberal, headed the poll with 54,490 votes; Mrs. Kendrick, Liberal, was second with 38,551; the lowest was a Conservative with 20,467 votes. The number on the register is 73,863, of whom 33,172 recorded their votes.

SHEFFIELD.

The Liberal Association of Sheffield placed on their list of candidates a lady, Mrs. Wycliffe Wilson. She was one of six candidates brought out on "unsectarian" grounds. The contest has been the most severe in the history of the Board. The counting of the votes took place on November 23rd. Mrs. Wilson was sixth on the poll with 11,786 votes. The highest candidate (unsectarian) polled 17,614 votes, and the lowest elected 7,864. The Liberals of Sheffield are to be congratulated on their action in having a woman candidate, and on the success obtained at the poll.

BRADFORD.

After the refusal of the Liberal Four Hundred to nominate a woman on their list, Miss Edith Lupton was nominated as "the people's candidate." Her friends prosecuted an energetic movement on her behalf. She was returned second on the poll, with 22,454 votes. The highest candidate (Roman Catholic) polled 25,382 votes, and the lowest elected 12,704.

THE MARRIED WOMEN'S PROPERTY COMMITTEE.

The final meeting of the supporters of the Married Women's Property Committee, whose existence became unnecessary with the passing of the Married Women's Property Act during the present year, was held on Saturday afternoon, November 18th, at Willis's Rooms, London. There was a large attendance. In the absence of the Lord Chancellor, detained by his official duties, and Lord Coleridge, who is unwell, the duty of presiding over the meeting devolved upon Mr. G. SHAW-LEFÈVRE, M.P., Chief Commissioner of Works. He was supported by Mrs. Jacob Bright (treasurer of the committee), Mrs. Wolstenholme Elmy (secretary), Mrs. Arthur Arnold, Lord M'Laren, Sir A. Hobhouse, Q.C., Mr. Jacob Bright, M.P., Mr. Hinde Palmer, M.P., Mr. G. W. Hastings, M.P., Mr. Horace Davey, Q.C., M.P., Mr. Arthur Arnold, M.P., and Mr. G. Errington, M.P.

The CHAIRMAN, who was most cordially received, expressed his sense of the honour which was done him in being called on to preside over the final meeting of an association which had accomplished its task, and which had succeeded, after great effort, in effecting a very important and most salutary reform.

Mr. ERRINGTON, M.P., moved the first resolution: "That this meeting, regarding the Married Women's Property Act, 1882, as a great measure of justice advantageous to all classes of the community, and calculated to raise the dignity and stability of the marriage relation in this country, hereby tenders its hearty thanks to the Lord Chancellor, and to the many earnest friends both in and out of Parliament whose labours have contributed to the passing of that Act." The hon. member expressed his pleasure at having been invited to propose this motion, and, speaking as an Irish member, he assured the meeting that the new Act had been hailed throughout Ireland with approval and gratitude to the Committee.

Mrs. JACOB BRIGHT seconded the resolution, and stated that the Society had received in subscriptions and donations in the last three years £1,055, and had spent all that amount except about £40, and that balance would be required for what they owed.

Lord M'LAREN, in supporting the resolution, said the time had gone by when it was necessary to say much in support of this measure upon grounds of justice, and he thought that a few years hence people would wonder how it could have been deemed consistent with justice that a woman by entering into the honourable relations of marriage should forfeit the most ordinary and characteristic mark of free citizenship—viz., the right to hold and transfer property.

Mrs. ARTHUR ARNOLD supported the resolution.

Sir ARTHUR HOBHOUSE supported the resolution.

Mr. HASTINGS also supported the motion, as the oldest representative of the cause. He expressed the hope that this Act was the precursor of other measures which were still required to place married women in the position they ought to hold.

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN, M.P., as one of the gentlemen referred to in the resolution, returned thanks. The real credit for this measure was not, however, he urged, due to its Parliamentary advocates, but to that devoted band of earnest-minded women who, with very slender resources, in the face of determined opposition, and in the face of indifference almost more difficult to encounter than opposition, were bent upon securing to every poor woman in England that control of her own property which her richer sisters had for the last two centuries enjoyed with the aid of the family solicitor and a mountain of parchment. (Hear, hear.) He moved that the report which had been referred to should be adopted and circulated "under the instructions of the Executive Committee, which, that duty ended, shall dissolve."

Mr. HINDE PALMER, M.P., seconded the motion, and it was unanimously agreed to.

Mrs. SCATCHERD presented Mrs. Elmy and Mrs. Jacob Bright (respectively secretary and treasurer of the Married Women's Property Committee) each with a handsomely bound and illuminated copy of an address of congratulation.

The signatures to the address covered sixteen small quarto pages. After the presentation, Mr. LEVY moved a vote of thanks to the Chairman for presiding, which was seconded, put to the meeting by Mr. JACOB BRIGHT, M.P., and carried by acclamation.

The proceedings then terminated.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE INDIAN PETITION.

To the Editor of the Women's Suffrage Journal.

Madam,—Perhaps the following particulars relating to the women's suffrage petition from Bombay, mentioned in your very interesting Glasgow speech, may prove acceptable to your readers. The Bombay magistrate who forwarded that petition has just sent me the names of 245 of the signatories with these comments: "They are all of them educated, and a good many of them are really enthusiastic in a cause which strikes them as so just. I daresay enemies will say it is easy to get Asiatics to sign anything. But anyone who knows anything of Asiatics will see that this is not true. Asiatics are exceeding careful about signing anything unless they fully understand and approve. . . . There is a general belief among the signatories that if the influence of women were directly felt in the Imperial Parliament, juster and better measures for the whole world (India included) might be expected with reason. You know that this is my belief. I only wish I could do more to propagate it.—I am, madam, yours faithfully, E. M. L.

Obituary.

MISS RHODA GARRETT.—It is with profound regret that we record the death of this accomplished lady, and able and earnest worker in the cause of the enfranchisement of women. She died deeply beloved and lamented on November 22nd, at her residence, in Gower-street, after a painful and exhausting illness.

Miss Rhoda Garrett was the daughter of the late Rev. John F. Garrett, rector of Elton, Derbyshire. She was born in 1841. In the earlier days of the suffrage movement, when few ladies had become public speakers, Miss Garrett's earnest and powerful oratory was of the greatest service to the cause. She gave a lecture at Cheltenham, in April, 1872, which has been reprinted; and she spoke at many public meetings on the question in various parts of England. After a time she, in conjunction with her cousin, Miss Agnes Garrett, resolved to engage in progress in another direction, by entering on an occupation hitherto monopolised by men. After devoting the necessary time for thorough training, the two ladies began business for themselves as artistic house decorators, in which vocation they achieved marked success. Their own house became a poem in itself, under their refined and skilful hands, and the work they did for others was stamped with an artistic grace all their own. The pressure of this occupation, combined with delicate health, precluded Miss Garrett latterly from active co-operation in the movement for the suffrage. Nevertheless the loss of the sympathy of her strong and earnest spirit is felt as a deep personal sorrow by those who have worked with her in the cause. She was interred on November 25th, in the churchyard of Rustington, Worthing, near the country home in which so much of her time was spent, and which she loved so well.

ARCHDEACON HEY.—We regret to record the sudden death of the Ven. Archdeacon Hey, which occurred on November 22nd, at the Residence, York. It was only last week that the deceased, who was 71 years of age, and had been in failing health for some time, entered on the term of residence in succession to the Rev. Canon Fleming. He had since then attended regularly to his customary cathedral duties. A very wide circle of friends will be shocked to hear of the sudden termination of the life of one so highly esteemed and so eminent for his many labours in the cause of education, philanthropy, and the best interests of the community. He had been for some years a friend and subscriber of the society for women's suffrage.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

Table with 2 columns: SUBSCRIPTIONS and DONATIONS from OCT. 23 to NOV. 23. Lists names and amounts.

LAURA M'LAREN, TREASURER, 64, BERNERS-STREET, W.

MANCHESTER NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS, NOVEMBER, 1882.

Table with 2 columns: SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS, NOVEMBER, 1882. Lists names and amounts.

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

BRISTOL AND WEST OF ENGLAND.

SUBSCRIPTIONS and DONATIONS from OCT. 21 to NOV. 23.

Table with 2 columns: SUBSCRIPTIONS and DONATIONS from OCT. 21 to NOV. 23. Lists names and amounts.

ALICE GRENFELL, TREASURER, 1, CECIL ROAD, CLIFTON.

DUBLIN COMMITTEE.

SUBSCRIPTIONS RECEIVED UP TO DECEMBER, 1882.

Table with 2 columns: SUBSCRIPTIONS RECEIVED UP TO DECEMBER, 1882. Lists names and amounts.

Mrs. ANNA M. HASLAM, HON. TREASURER, &c., 91, RATHMINES ROAD.

ADDITIONAL LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR THE DEMONSTRATION OF WOMEN IN GLASGOW, ON NOVEMBER 3rd.

Table with 2 columns: FROM OCTOBER 27th TO NOVEMBER 10th. Lists names and amounts.

JESSIE T. GREIG, 18, LYNEDOCH CRESCENT, GLASGOW, HON. TREASURER FOR DEMONSTRATION.



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