

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE JOURNAL.

EDITED BY LYDIA E. BECKER.

VOL. XV.—No. 173. PUBLISHED MONTHLY.
Yearly Subscription, Post Free, 1s. 6d.

MAY 1, 1884.

DOUBLE NUMBER.—PRICE TWOPENCE.
By Post THREEPENCE.

Contents.

Leading Articles:—The Crisis at Hand; Mr. Woodall's Amendment; Speeches on the Second Reading of the Franchise Bill; Prospects of the Question; Meetings during April; Effect of Mr. Woodall's Clause; Electoral Act of the Isle of Man; The Canadian Franchise Bill; Municipal Franchise for Women in Nova Scotia; Election of Women as Guardians; Women Overseers and Churchwardens; The Strike against Women at Kidderminster; The Vote of Oxford Convocation.
Parliamentary Intelligence.
Memorandum:—Mr. Woodall's Amendment on the Franchise Bill.
Mr. Fawcett at Salisbury.

Opinions of Members of Parliament.
Great Meeting in St. James's Hall.
Preliminary Meetings:—New Cross, Kensington, Bermondsey, Kennington, Whitechapel.
Newcastle-upon-Tyne:—Meeting in the Town Hall; Overflow Meeting; Subsidiary Meetings.
Public Meetings:—Bath.
Lectures:—Maidstone Radical Association, Woolwich, Tower Hamlets Radical Club, Westminster Democratic Club, St. George's Liberal Club (Pimlico), Birmingham.
Drawing-room Meetings:—South Kensington, Hampstead, St. Leonards.

Liberal Associations:—Streatham, Clay Cross, Sheffield, Chelsea, Hastings, Bridport.
Liberal Meetings:—Hyde, Mansfield, Sheffield, Three Towns' Women's Liberal Association. Scotland: Govan, Liberton; Drawing-room Meetings—Edinburgh, Kelso, Ireland: Debating Societies—Boosterstown, Dublin.
Opinions of the Press.
List of Parliamentary Friends of Women's Suffrage.
Women's Suffrage in Sweden.
Women Poor Law Guardians for 1884.
Treasurers' Reports:—Central Committee, Manchester, Bristol and West of England, Edinburgh Demonstration Fund.

It is always safe
to use
**Reckitt's
Blue.**

NOTICE.—To the Nobility, Clergy, Gentry, and all whom it may concern in the United Kingdom. By sending Eightpence in stamps you will receive a bottle of

OGDEN'S UNSURPASSED REAL OLD ENGLISH FURNITURE CREAM, by which you can produce a brilliancy on all kinds of Furniture, unrivalled by none.

J. E. OGDEN,
65, Tennyson Place, Bradford, Yorkshire.

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

CONTENTS FOR APRIL, 1884.

1. The Infants Bill.
2. The Convention in Washington.
3. A Co-operative Work Society in Italy.
4. A Lady Captain of a Vessel.
5. Poor Law Guardian Elections.

Nursery Gleanings.

Correspondence.

Record of Events:—Representation of the People: Speeches in Parliament—Scottish National Demonstration—Other Meetings—Custody of Infants, Debate on: Division List—Election of Poor Law Guardians: Scotland, London, Bristol, &c.—Miscellaneous.

Foreign Notes and News.

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

THE NEW VOLUME.

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE JOURNAL.—Volume XIV. January to December, 1883. With coloured cover, price, post free, One Shilling and Tenpence.—London: Trübner and Co.; or at the office of the *Women's Suffrage Journal*, 28, Jackson's Row, Manchester.

PETITION! PETITION! PETITION!—Friends of Women's Suffrage are earnestly exhorted to aid the cause by at once collecting signatures for petitions, to be presented in support of Mr. WOODALL'S amendment for including women householders in the Franchise Bill. The debate may come on in May, and petitions should pour in during the whole month. 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, 29, Parliament-street, London, S.W., or 28, Jackson's Row, Albert Square, Manchester; Miss BLACKBURN, 20, Park-street, Bristol; or Miss KIRKLAND, 13, Raeburn Place, Edinburgh.

CAMBRIDGE.—A Public Meeting of the Cambridge Working Men's Liberal Club will be held at the Sturton Town Hall, on Wednesday, May 7th, at 8 o'clock, in support of including women householders in the present Franchise Bill. Prof. Sidgwick, Mr. A. W. Dale, Mrs. Beddoe, Miss Tod, and Mrs. Fawcett are expected to speak.

NEW Leaflets, being OPINIONS OF MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT—Messrs. W. Agnew, W. S. Caine, L. Courtney, H. Fawcett, H. Fowler, Theo. Fry, Lewis Fry, A. Illingworth, Coleridge Kennard, Hugh Mason, Arnold Morley, Rt. Hon. Sir S. Northcote, J. Slagg, Rt. Hon. J. Stansfeld, John P. Thomasson, W. Woodall, J. R. Yorke, &c.; Statistics about Women's Suffrage; Viscountess Harberton, Mrs. Eva M'Laren; United Methodists in Canada, &c. Price Fourpence per 100 assorted, post free; in quantities for distribution 1s. 6d. per 1,000, exclusive of carriage.

WHAT IS WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE, AND WHY DO WOMEN WANT IT? By VERITAS. Price One Penny. To be had of the Secretary, 29, Parliament-street, London; 28, Jackson's Row, Manchester.

NEW PAMPHLET.
WOMEN AND THE NEW FRANCHISE BILL. A Letter to an Ulster Member of Parliament, by ISABELLA M. S. TOD. Price One Penny. To be had of the Secretary, 29, Parliament-street, London, and 28, Jackson's Row, Manchester.

**TOWLE'S
CHLORODYNE**

Invaluable for Coughs, Asthma, Bronchitis, Diarrhoea, Consumption, Spasms, &c. One Dose speedily relieves. TOWLE'S CHLORODYNE LOZENGES and JUBUBES. 6d. and 1s. per box. A. P. TOWLE, Chemist, 75, Back Piccadilly, Manchester, and of Chemists.—Post free, 13d., 2s. 9d., 4s. 6d.

BASINGSTOKE.—A Lecture will be given on Tuesday evening, May 6th, at the Town Hall, Basingstoke, by Mrs. Fenwick Miller, M.L.S.B., on "Women and the New Reform Bill." The chair will be taken at 8 o'clock by the Rev. H. BARRON. Henry Blatch, Esq., Mrs. Harriet Staunton Blatch, Rev. — Adams, and others are expected to be present. Admission Free.

HACKNEY.—Mrs. FENWICK MILLER will Lecture on "Women and the New Reform Bill," at the United Radical Club, Hackney, on Wednesday, 11th May.

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

THE HISTORY OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE. Illustrated with steel engravings. Edited by Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Matilda Joslyn Gage. Complete in three octavo volumes. Vols. I. and II. now ready. Price, cloth, two pounds.

The question of Woman Suffrage, the rights and status of Woman, has already become one of the vital political issues of the day; therefore, its relation to political, social, and religious questions should be thoroughly understood.

The *Phila. Evening Bulletin* says: "The magnitude of this history prevents us from giving even a sketch of it, but we simply and honestly say that it is a noble production, honourable to its editors and to its subject, and fairly representing the characters of the really great women, like Mrs. Stone, Lucretia Mott, Harriet Martineau, and scores of others in England and this country, who made the claim of equal rights of suffrage a part of their political and religious creeds."

The *N. Y. Observer* says: "The able editors present this work as an arsenal of facts, to which all interested in the subject may resort and find whatever is worth knowing in regard to the movement. The history of such a movement is full of interest, and while the material is at hand and easily gathered, the editors have done well to gather it into these thick volumes, and preserve it as a part of the record of this remarkable age. The portraits of women here presented make us acquainted with the features of some who have become famous."

To be had from the office of this Journal, 28, Jackson's Row, Manchester.

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE JOURNAL.—Communications for the Editor and Orders for the Journal to be addressed to Miss BECKER, 29, Parliament-street, Westminster, London, S.W.; or to the Office, 28, Jackson's Row, Albert Square, Manchester.

ST. JAMES'S HALL, April 24th, 1884.

INTRODUCTORY MUSIC.

National Anthem.

God save our gracious Queen,
Long live our noble Queen,
God save the Queen.
Send her victorious,
Happy and glorious,
Long to reign over us :
God save the Queen.

Organ Solo—Marche Prophète.

"Liberty," from "Judas Maccabæus."

Aria.—O Liberty, thou choicest treasure,
Seat of virtue, source of pleasure,
Life without thee knows no blessing,
No endearment worth caressing.

Aria.—Come, ever smiling Liberty,
And with thee bring thy jocund train :
For thee we pant, we sigh for thee,
With whom eternal pleasures reign.

Aria.—'Tis Liberty, dear Liberty, alone
That gives fresh beauty to the sun,
And makes all nature look more gay,
And lovely Life with pleasure steal away.

Chorus.—Come, ever smiling Liberty, &c.

Aria.—O Liberty, &c.

The Morn of Victory.

Tune—"Men of Harlech."

Sisters, up! the morn is breaking :
Up, your slumbrous couch forsaking :
Up, from coward sloth awaking ;
Hail the rising day!

See, your ancient wrongs are ending ;
Truth her power on earth extending ;
Justice, now, from heaven descending,
Gilds the opening day.

Hearts will soon be lighter,
Eyes will shine the brighter,
Mirth be guest in every breast
That boldly dares invite her.

Sisters, wake, and join the chorus
While the star of hope shines o'er us ;
Hail the victory before us
In the coming day

See, your claims, too long neglected,
Now begin to be respected ;
Claims for right, erewhile rejected,
Patient bearing gain.

Wrongs, the growth of countless ages,
Once assailed by noble sages,
Soon will come, though envy rages,
Tumbling down amain.

Freedom soon will greet you,
Men as friends will meet you
(Slaves no longer to the stronger),
Not as children treat you.

Fathers, daughters, sons, and mothers,
Wives and husbands, sisters, brothers,
Each will stand and help the others
Freedom to maintain.

Hark! oppression's knell is tolling,
Many a weary heart consoling ;
Freedom's chariot, onward rolling,
Brings you joys unknown,

Justice, by your foes' confession,
Soon must win a large concession ;
And ere long, in glad possession,
You shall grasp your own.
Ancient seats of learning
Then, with ardour burning,
Wide shall fling their gates, and bring
You in, no longer spurning.
In the council of the nation
You at length shall find your station ;
Then shall peace, with exultation,
Fix on earth her throne.

Sisters, wake! the world grows older ;
Up, and strive with courage bolder ;
Up, and say to each beholder,
"Ours the victory!"

Rally round your noble leaders ;
Ne'er had truth more valiant pleaders ;
Close your ranks and stand like cedars,
Sure of victory.

Join while earth rejoices,
Hearts, and hands, and voices,
Careless though each baffled foe
Should mock with senseless noises ;
What reck we that fools deride us ?
Worth and wisdom walk beside us ;
God Himself will surely guide us
On to victory.

Hark! the Sound of Myriad Voices.

Tune—"Hold the Fort."

Hark! the sound of myriad voices
Rising in their might ;
'Tis the daughters of Britannia
Pleading for the right.

CHORUS.

Raise the flag and plant the standard,
Wave the signal still ;
Brothers, we must share your freedom,
Help us, and we will.

Think it not an idle murmur,
You who hear the cry ;
'Tis a plea for human freedom,
Hallowed liberty !
Chorus—Raise the flag, etc.

O our country! glorious nation,
Greatest of them all ;
Give unto thy daughters justice,
Or thy pride will fall.
Chorus—Raise the flag, etc.

Mighty Empire! to thy watchword
Would'st thou faithful be,
All who dwell beneath thy banner
Must alike be free.

CHORUS.

Raise the flag and plant the standard,
Wave the signal still ;
Brothers, we must share your freedom,
Help us, and we will.

Auld Lang Syne.

Should auld acquaintance be forgot, etc.

THE MARCH OF REFORM.

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE JOURNAL.

EDITED BY LYDIA E. BECKER.

VOL. XV.—No. 173. PUBLISHED MONTHLY.

MAY 1, 1884.

DOUBLE NUMBER.—PRICE TWOPENCE.
By Post THREEPENCE.

THE supreme crisis is at hand. The House of Commons this day went into Committee on the Franchise Bill, and the question whether women are to be included in the measure may be practically settled before another number of this *Journal* is placed in the hands of our readers. Now that the Committee stage of the Bill is arrived at, Mr. WOODALL'S clause may be reached at any time. Our friends should be ready for the emergency, and use earnest and diligent effort in support of the proposal. This is the moment of action; let it be used so as to become the herald of the hour of victory.

MR. WOODALL has placed on the paper of the House of Commons the following notice of motion in Committee on the Representation of the People Bill:—

New clause: "For all purposes connected with and having reference to the right of voting in the election of members of Parliament words in the Representation of the People Acts importing the masculine gender include women."

The motion will be seconded from the Conservative side of the House by Baron DE WORMS, who seconded Mr. MASON'S resolution last year.

DURING the adjourned debate on the second reading of the Franchise Bill, Mr. WOODALL found his opportunity to announce that he would move his proposed clause in Committee on the Bill. He said that the fundamental principle of the Bill, as it was described by the PRIME MINISTER, was to give a vote to every householder, but there was no provision that the franchise should be given to such householders if they happened to be women, and he intended when the Bill got into Committee to propose the insertion of a clause which should remedy this omission. Mr. BERESFORD HOPE intimated that he should oppose the proposed clause. Mr. STANSFELD said that the clause would have his support.

On April 7th, in the adjourned debate, Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE said they were told it was a matter of

advantage to the State that the largest number of capable citizens should be admitted to the franchise. He believed that about one-seventh of the electors of the municipalities of the kingdom were women, and on the principle on which they were proceeding it would be difficult to say those women were not entitled to vote.

THE prospects of success for Mr. WOODALL'S amendment are of a very encouraging nature. There is reasonable ground for the hope that when the division takes place Mr. WOODALL may carry a majority into the lobby. The number of members now in Parliament who have voted or paired, or in other ways declared themselves in favour of the principle, is estimated at 260. We have reason to believe that some who opposed the measure when it was presented as a separate Bill at a time when no other proposal for reform was before Parliament will support it now that it comes as a part of a general measure for the extension of household suffrage throughout the country.

The clause proposed by Mr. WOODALL is necessary in order to give complete effect to the principle laid down by Mr. DISRAELI as the basis of the Reform Bill of 1867—to give the franchise to every householder rated for the relief of the poor—and to the declared intention of Mr. GLADSTONE, in introducing the present Franchise Bill, to get at the heads of households and enfranchise them.

LARGE and enthusiastic meetings have been held during April in support of Mr. WOODALL'S proposal for including women householders in the Franchise Bill. At Bath, the Mayor presided over a large meeting in the Guildhall, which was addressed by men of both political parties, and by Mrs. BEDDOE, Miss EMILY STURGE, Mrs. JEFFERY, Miss BECKER, and Mrs. ASHWORTH HALLET.

An immense meeting took place in the Town Hall, Newcastle-on-Tyne, under the presidency of the MAYOR (Dr. H. Newton). The crowd was so great that an overflow meeting had to be arranged. The lady speakers were Mrs. ASHTON DILKE, Miss TOD, Mrs. EVA M'LAREN,

and Mrs. OLIVER SCATCHERD. The audience was largely composed of miners and working people, and the enthusiasm manifested for the ladies was something wonderful. The reception of Mrs. ASHTON DILKE was a touching incident. It was the first occasion on which she had appeared in public in Newcastle since the time when she used to be seen with her husband, and tears glistened in many eyes as the men who were his constituents welcomed her among them once more. Some miners walked twelve miles to hear her, and twelve miles back after the meeting, who had to go down the pit at three a.m. next morning. Some could not get in, and pleaded piteously for an overflow meeting. "We've come a long way to hear Mistress DILKE; do bring her." Some women, after hearing Miss TOD, said "She's worth hearing twice is that," and insisted on following her to the overflow meeting. The resolutions were carried with the greatest enthusiasm.

A great meeting was held at St. James's Hall, under the presidency of Sir RICHARD TEMPLE, G.C.S.I., which was addressed by Mr. W. SUMMERS, M.P., Mrs. FAWCETT, the Right Hon. J. STANSFELD, M.P., Mrs. CHARLES M'LAREN, Mr. WOODALL, M.P., Mr. J. RANKIN, M.P., Miss TOD, Mr. J. R. HOLLOND, M.P., Viscountess HARBERTON, and Miss JANE E. COBDEN. Preliminary meetings were held in New Cross, Kensington, Bermondsey, Kennington, and Whitechapel, which were addressed by the Right Hon. J. STANSFELD, Mrs. CHARLES M'LAREN, Miss TOD, Mrs. ASHTON DILKE, Miss RICHARDSON, Miss LILLIE STACPOOLE, Mrs. LUCAS, Mrs. FENWICK MILLER, Mrs. COOPER OAKLEY, Mrs. ORMISTON CHANT, Miss MULLER, Rev. BROOKE LAMBERT, Viscount HARBERTON, Baron DE WORMS, M.P., Miss BECKER, Miss FLORENCE STACPOOLE, and others.

A drawing-room meeting was given by invitation of Mrs. FRANK MORRISON, under the presidency of Mr. WOODALL, M.P. The lady speakers were Mrs. ASHTON DILKE, Miss FRANCES POWER COBBE, Mrs. CHARLES M'LAREN, and Miss BECKER. The Misses DAVENPORT HILL gave a drawing-room meeting, at which the Rev. T. D. C. MORSE, Vicar of Christ Church, presided. The meeting was addressed by Mrs. WESTLAKE, Mr. W. H. WILLS, M.P., Miss ANNA SWANWICK, Miss LYDIA BECKER, and others. At St. Leonards, Miss FRICKER HALL gave a drawing-room meeting, at which she herself presided, and which was addressed by Mrs. CHANT, Miss GANT, Mrs. TUBBS, and others.

THE question has been and may again be asked,

whether the clause to be moved by Mr. WOODALL will, if it becomes law, enable married women to vote. It is desirable that there should be no doubt whatever on this point, for members of Parliament when asked to vote on any proposal have a right to know exactly what they are voting for, and what will be the practical effect of the measure under consideration.

Mr. WOODALL has circulated a memorandum in order to set this point at rest. In this memorandum it is explained that the clause as it stands will, according to the best advice obtainable, not apply to married women. The question whether a married woman is entitled to vote at municipal elections was decided in the negative by the Court of Queen's Bench in 1872. Lord Chief Justice COCKBURN said that, at common law, a married woman had no right to vote, and that the Legislature, by their enactments as to the property of married women, never intended by a side wind to alter the whole law on the subject. Mr. Justice MELLOR said that the Act conferring the municipal franchise on women had reference only to the disability of women by reason of sex, and had no reference to the disability of women by reason of the status of coverture. The Court therefore adjudged that a married woman, though qualified by occupation and payment of rates, and put on the burgess list, could not vote at the election of town councillors.

From this judgment it appears that before any married woman could be entitled to vote, either in a municipal or Parliamentary election, special legislation having reference to the marriage status would have to take place. Mr. WOODALL'S amendment does not in any way touch this question. Legislation having special reference to the marriage status forms no part of the programme of the Women's Suffrage Society. Such legislation is not attempted in the proposed amendment to the Franchise Bill, although the precedent of the Municipal Act has not been departed from by introducing into the proposed clause words specially excluding married women. Such words are held to be unnecessary under the conditions of the law.

In Committee of the House of Commons the clause will be subjected to a careful scrutiny and its effect fully discussed. If any amendment should be necessary in the wording or in the scope of the clause in order to make it more generally acceptable to the House, Mr. WOODALL will doubtless be willing to assent to such proposal. If, therefore, any friends in or out of Parliament should be troubled by doubt as to the precise effect of the

proposed clause, they may rest assured that it is intended practically to include in the household suffrage Bill women who are independent heads of households; and that the mode and the degree in which the enfranchisement of such women is to be accomplished is a matter which must be left for the consideration and determination of the Committee of the House of Commons.

IN reply to a question from Sir EDWARD WATKIN, whether the Attorney-General would lay on the table and cause to be circulated a copy of the Bill now pending in the Parliament of the Dominion of Canada, which provided for the political enfranchisement of women possessing the qualifications fixed for men, and also a copy of the ordinance passed by the House of Keys, Isle of Man, for the political enfranchisement of women, Sir HENRY JAMES replied that any private person could have access to these documents.

Acting on this hint, and believing that the information would be useful and interesting at the present time, we present it to our readers.

THE Electoral Act of the Isle of Man, which was promulgated on January 31, 1881, on the Tynwald Hill, begins: "Be it enacted by the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lieutenant-Governor, Council, Deemsters, and Keys of the said Isle in Tynwald assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows," &c. Section 5 of the Act runs, "From and after the promulgation of this Act every person who is of full age, and not subject to any legal incapacity, shall be entitled to be registered as a voter, and when registered to vote for a member or members to be returned for an electoral district who is qualified as follows, that is to say:

"1. Being a male, or spinster, or widow, who is the owner of real estate within the district of the annual value of not less than four pounds on the twelfth day of May in any year, and has been during the preceding twelve months.

"2. Being a male, is the occupier, &c.

"3. Being a male, as a lodger has tenanted," &c., &c.

The Bill as it passed the House of Keys gave all the franchises provided by it to women on the same terms as men, but the Council or Upper House struck out the occupation and lodger franchise for women, while confirming the grant to them of the franchise attached to the ownership of real property.

The Bill received the Royal Assent on January 5, 1881,

but according to the ancient law and usages of the Island, it did not become law till it had received the assent of the people at the formal promulgation on the Tynwald Hill.

Mr. STEPHEN, of the House of Keys, to whose courtesy we are indebted for a copy of the Act, writes that the franchise for women in the Isle of Man has worked remarkably well, and without any of the difficulties generally predicted. He wishes for the women of England the good fortune which has already fallen on their more favoured sisters in Mona.

Mr. STEPHEN also writes that he has given notice of the introduction of a Married Women's Property Bill in the House of Keys, and that he has lately succeeded in getting a clause into another Act, the Ecclesiastical Courts Jurisdiction Transfer Act, by which the Court can grant a woman a separation from a worthless husband, and a protection order for her earnings.

THE enfranchisement clauses in the Canadian Bill were given in full, so far as they related to women, in our issue of March last. There is no special or separate clause extending the franchise to women, but in every case where the franchise to be granted is defined, words describing the person to be enfranchised, such as "male person," "female person unmarried," "his," or "her," are introduced. The franchise is given generally to unmarried women on the same conditions as men, but there are some complicated provisions arising out of local conditions which preclude the application of a simple quotable enfranchising clause relating to women.

THE Legislature of Nova Scotia have taken an important step in the right direction, by passing an Act extending the municipal franchise to women.

THE number of ladies who are serving as poor-law guardians has been increased by the recent elections, and there are now forty-four women who are performing the duties of this important public office. These ladies only represent English and Scotch towns; at present Irish ladies are disqualified from being elected as guardians, a disability which we must hope this session will remove. London has fourteen, Edinburgh eight, Birmingham five, Bristol four; Leeds, Bradford, and Eastbourne two each; Scarborough, Brighton, Cambridge, and two or three small parishes, one each. The number of ladies competent to serve will be greatly increased as

soon as the property qualification, which is found unnecessary in the case of members of the School Board or members of Parliament, has been removed, as the ladies who are most actively engaged in philanthropic pursuits are generally not those who are fulfilling the duties or complying with the burdens of "capable citizens" and householders. That so large a number of ladies should have already engaged in the arduous duties of guardian shows how increasing is the capacity of women for public functions. As voters in this election, ladies are also showing a keen sense of their responsibility, and a lively desire to place fitting people in this important post. The good servant who had "been faithful in a very little" received authority over ten cities. Is not the sense of duty which women manifest in electing these minor officers, and conscientious faithfulness in performing their public duties, a sure evidence of their fitness for the *many things* of political life? C. A. B.

WE observe that a lady has just been appointed to the office of overseer in the parish of Couthorpe in Lincolnshire. Another lady, Mrs. GOSSET, has been elected churchwarden in a parish in Wales.

There is nothing novel or unusual in such appointments. We believe they take place in some parish or other every year in England and Wales. In sparsely populated districts such appointments as overseer, etc., are taken in turn by the farmers and substantial ratepayers, and women serve their turn when it comes round.

Women have from time immemorial been not only eligible, but liable and compellable to serve in such offices as overseer, waywarden, etc., under the same penalties for refusal as men. The fact that they may and do fill such offices with advantage to their fellow-parishioners and with credit to themselves seems to prove that such women are "capable citizens," and as such are entitled to the Parliamentary franchise.

THE strike against the employment of women at Kidderminster has terminated in a compromise. The manufacturers have consented to put four youths on the altered tapestry looms and four females on the new plush looms. They give a guarantee to keep the youths on the looms for six months, and consent to employ youths or women in equal numbers at any future extension.

The *Kidderminster Shuttle*, in commenting on this arrangement, says, "It will be seen that neither side can claim the victory, beyond the glorious victory of peace.

The manufacturers have recognised the male labour on the new looms, while the men on the other hand consent to the principle of females being employed in weaving the new fabric."

The curious point in this discussion seems to be that two sides only are recognised as parties to the arrangement, the masters and the men. The women whose labour and whose living are in question are ignored. Their condition may be likened to that of the shuttle in their own looms, bandied about between the two powers whose decrees regulate the industry of the district, without being permitted to have a voice in determining the conditions under which they shall work and live. Nothing would tend to raise them from this condition of helplessness so immediately and effectively as the extension to them of that political influence which men have found so necessary for the protection of their own industrial liberties.

CONVOCAION at Oxford has affirmed by the overwhelming majority of 464 votes to 321 the statute providing for the admission to the Honours examinations in the University. The substantial advantage thus secured to women who are pursuing the higher education, either for its own sake or as a means of obtaining an honourable livelihood, will be very great. But this material advantage, great as it is, is outweighed by the value of the verdict now given by perhaps the most ancient and conservative seat of learning in the kingdom, that there is no intellectual barrier between women and men, and that what the University may teach women may learn.

Oxford has assumed the responsibility for training the minds of women, and for testing their acquirements and abilities by the same methods as are used to test the abilities and acquirements of men. Although comparatively few women will probably avail themselves of the training and tests thus provided, the intellectual *status* of all women has been recognised and advanced in public opinion by the action of the University of Oxford in formally removing the stigma of intellectual incapacity to pass the higher examination which it has hitherto attached to them on account of their sex.

Messrs. Chapman and Hall will shortly publish a complete collection of Mrs. Frank Snoad's poems, including the second (revised) edition of "Clare Peyce's Diary." Mrs. Frank Snoad is well known in the philanthropic world in connection with many schemes for the benefit of women and girls—the Belmont Home for ladies in reduced circumstances being founded by the proceeds of her pen—and is an ardent and able advocate of the suffrage for women.

PARLIAMENTARY INTELLIGENCE.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, April 1st.

REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE BILL.

The adjourned debate on Lord J. Manners's amendment to the second reading of this Bill was resumed.

In the course of the debate Mr. WOODALL said: The fundamental principle of the Bill, as it was described by the Prime Minister, was to give a vote to every householder, but there was no provision that the franchise should be given to such householders if they happened to be women, and he intended, when the Bill got into Committee, to propose the insertion of a clause which should remedy this omission, which he deemed to be a defect. (Hear, hear.) Women could vote in municipal elections, and could sit as members of some of the local governing bodies, and he failed to see how any arguments which could justify such an enfranchisement were not sufficient to support a suggestion that they should also have the right of voting in Parliamentary elections. It was, of course, idle in these days to talk of finality, but he thought the Bill before the House had in it the elements of completeness—with the exception of the omission to which he had referred, and which he should ask the House to remedy—to a larger extent than any previous measure which had been introduced on the subject; and he believed that if it were passed the country would accept it as a settlement for a long time to come of an important issue on a reasonable and sound basis. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. BERESFORD HOPE intimated that he should oppose Mr. Woodall's proposed amendment.

Mr. STANSFELD said he would not enter into the same line of argument as the hon. member for Stoke, though that hon. member might feel assured that when he moved an amendment in favour of including women householders within this Bill, he would have his support.

On April 7th, in the adjourned debate, Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE said: We are told that it is a matter of advantage to the State that the largest number of capable citizens should be admitted to the franchise. We want to know the meaning of that vague phrase. If you make a capable elector the test, you will find that you are bound to go very much further and in very different directions in some respects to what you have done in order to complete your definition. (Hear, hear.) I take the case of the female franchise. There cannot be a doubt, if you ask who are capable electors, you would find it very difficult to declare that the females who are in a certain position as taxpayers and ratepayers, and who are electors for municipal purposes, are not capable citizens, and that they should not be included in the franchise. (Hear, hear.) I believe that about one-seventh of the electors of the municipalities of the kingdom are females, and on the principle on which you are proceeding you will find it difficult to say that they are not entitled to vote. (Hear, hear.)

Monday, April 7th.

ASSAULTS ON WOMEN.

Mr. MACFARLANE asked the Home Secretary if his attention had been called to a case tried at the Thames Police Court, in which a man named Joseph Dennis was found guilty of an assault upon a woman named Norah Driscoll, which is described as follows in the newspapers of the 2nd April:—"For the last three months he had been following her about, and had frequently illused her, but she had never prosecuted him. About half-past seven o'clock on the evening of the 17th she was walking along Brunswick-street, when he struck her in the right eye and knocked her down. While on the ground he lifted her head up by the hair and dashed it on the pavement, and kicked her on the left side. She became unconscious, and was discovered in that condition by a policeman. At Poplar Hospital it was found that two of her ribs were bent in. Mr. Saunders fined the prisoner ten shillings and ten shillings compensation." And, if he proposes to amend the law relating to brutal assaults.

Sir W. HARCOURT: I am not aware that there is any defect in the law. The Judges and magistrates have power to inflict severe sentences in cases of brutal assault, but of course they are not compelled to do so unless they feel themselves called upon to take that course. I have no power to overrule their discretion by saying

that a magistrate or Judge should inflict higher sentences than he thinks right. I have, however, communicated with Mr. Saunders with reference to this case, and he says that the newspaper report is sensational and inaccurate, and that in view of all the facts of the case the sentence he passed was sufficient.

Mr. MACFARLANE gave notice that when the Bill for cruelty to animals came to be considered in Committee he should move that women be included in the Bill. (Laughter.)

Mr. RITCHIE asked whether numerous complaints had not been made of the lightness of the sentences passed by Mr. Saunders.

Sir W. HARCOURT said that he could not answer a general allegation of that sort without notice.

THE FRANCHISE BILL.

Mr. WARTON (for Sir H. D. Wolff) asked the Attorney General whether it was proposed in the Franchise Bill to give votes to persons serving in the police.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL replied that the present disqualification of police-constables was under the Act of William IV., and if the hon. member referred to the Franchise Bill he would see that it did not touch that disqualification.

MEMORANDUM.

MR. WOODALL'S AMENDMENT ON THE FRANCHISE BILL.

Mr. Woodall will move in Committee on the Franchise Bill the insertion of the following new clause:—

"For all purposes connected with and having reference to the right to vote at Parliamentary elections words in the Representation of the People Acts importing the masculine gender include women."

The proposed new clause is governed in its interpretation by the saving clause 10 of the Franchise Bill, which provides that "Nothing in this Act shall confer on any man who is under any legal incapacity to be registered as a voter and to vote, any right to be registered as a voter and to vote."

The proposed new clause follows exactly, except only the necessary change of subject, the wording of the clause in the Municipal Corporations Act of 1882 relating to the franchise for women. Section 63 of that Act runs as follows: "For all purposes connected with and having reference to the right to vote at municipal elections, words in this Act importing the masculine gender include women."

By adhering closely to the precedent of the Municipal Act it follows that exactly the same class of women who are entitled to vote in municipal elections will be entitled to vote in Parliamentary elections.

Married women are not entitled to vote at municipal elections, and, therefore, under the conditions of Mr. Woodall's clause they will not be entitled to vote at Parliamentary elections.

The question of the legal incapacity of married women to vote in municipal elections was determined by the Court of Queen's Bench in 1872, on an election petition for the Borough of Sunderland. The applicant had lost his election as councillor by a majority of one, and he impeached the votes of two married women which had been recorded for his opponent. In giving judgment, Lord Chief Justice Cockburn said that at common law a married woman had no right to vote, and the Legislature, by their enactments as to the property of married women, never intended by a side wind to alter the whole law on the subject. Mr. Justice Mellor said that the clause in the Municipal Corporation Act, which provides that words importing the masculine gender shall include women, has reference only to the disability of women by reason of sex, and has no reference to the disability by reason of the status of coverture. And the Married Women's Property Act (33 and 34 Vict., c. 93) has no reference to the political disabilities of married women. The Court therefore held, that a married woman, though qualified by occupation and payment of rates, and put on the burgess list, cannot vote at the election of town councillors. See L. R. Q. B., v. 7, p. 361.

The new Married Women's Property Act of 1882, like its predecessor, has no reference to the political disability of married

women. The law as to the voting disability of women by reason of coverture has not in any way been named in it, and the above note seems to remain a correct exposition of the present law on the subject.

Therefore, although Mr. Woodall's clause contains no special reference to married women, it is held to be certain that the decision of the Court of Queen's Bench, declaring that married women are legally incapacitated from voting, coupled with the saving clause in the Franchise Bill, that nothing in the Act shall confer the right of voting on any one who is subject to any legal incapacity to vote, will absolutely bar the extension of the right of voting to married women, should the proposed clause in its present form pass into law.

Before any married women could obtain the right to vote in either municipal or Parliamentary elections, the legal disability of coverture would have to be removed by special legislation for the purpose. No such legislation is proposed in the amendment to include women in the Franchise Bill.

Subject to the reservation as to the legal incapacity of married women, Mr. Woodall's clause would enable women to exercise all existing franchises for which they possessed the statutory qualifications. Should it appear that any amendment, either in the wording or the scope of the clause, would be desirable in order to render it more generally acceptable to the House, Mr. Woodall would doubtless be willing to consent to any suggestion which commended itself to the general sense and wisdom of Parliament.

MR. FAWCETT AT SALISBURY.

At a Liberal gathering at Salisbury on April 9th, held to present a congratulatory address to Mr. Fawcett, senior, on attaining his ninety-first birthday, the Right Hon. the Postmaster-General, in the course of the speech in which on behalf of his father he acknowledged the address, said in reference to the Franchise Bill: "The passing of this great measure of fresh enfranchisement may be delayed. I doubt, however, if it will be, but it cannot be arrested. The day is coming as surely as the sun will rise to-morrow when every householder, whether man or woman, who is not disqualified by crime or pauperism, will be admitted to the rights of citizenship, will be able directly to influence the destinies of this great empire, and will have a voice in determining how the taxes that are taken from his or her hard-won earnings shall be spent." (Loud cheers.)

OPINIONS OF MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT.

MR. THOMAS THORNHILL, M.P.

At a meeting of the Chamber of Agriculture at Sudbury, Suffolk, reported by the *Suffolk and Essex Free Press*, April 23rd, Mr. Thornhill, M.P. for West Suffolk, said, speaking of the Franchise Bill: He could not quite agree that the Bill should be taken as a final settlement of the question for our time, because he would like to see ladies enfranchised, as well as labourers. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Biddell, M.P.: Spinsters and widows.

Mr. Thornhill said he should vote for giving the franchise to spinsters and widows.

MR. WALTER H. LONG, M.P.

The following letter has been received by the Secretary of the Bristol Society:—

Wood Ashton, Trowbridge.

Madam,—I have received from Mr. W. P. Clark a petition in favour of extending the franchise to women duly qualified. I shall have great pleasure in presenting the same, and I have no hesitation in saying that in my opinion any alteration of the franchise will be incomplete and unjust if it does not include women who possess property qualifications, or who are, in the ordinary acceptance of the term, "householders."—I have the honour to be, madam, your obedient servant,

(Signed) WALTER H. LONG.

Miss Blackburn,
April 17th, 1884.

GREAT MEETING IN ST. JAMES'S HALL.

A great public meeting was held on Thursday evening, the 24th ult., at St. James's Hall, Piccadilly, London, in support of the amendment to be moved by Mr. Woodall, M.P., in the House of Commons for including women householders in the Franchise Bill. Sir RICHARD TEMPLE, G.C.S.I., presided, and among those on the platform were Mr. Summers, M.P., Mr. Stansfeld, M.P., Mr. Woodall, M.P., Mr. C. M'Laren, M.P., Mr. Rankin, M.P., Mr. Archdale, M.P., Mr. Hopwood, M.P., Mr. J. R. Hollond, M.P., Mrs. Fawcett, Viscount and Viscountess Harberton, Mrs. C. M'Laren, Miss Tod, Miss Jane Cobden.

There were present as delegates: Mrs. M'Laren, Miss L. Stevenson (Edinburgh), Mrs. Ashford, Mrs. Summerton Heap (Birmingham), Mr. and Mrs. W. M'Laren (Bradford), Mrs. Cowan, Miss Guildford (Nottingham), the Rev. A. Steinthal, Miss Becker (Manchester), Mrs. Edward Smithson (York), Miss Andrews (Belfast), Miss Blackburn (Bristol), Mrs. Bateson (Cambridge), Rev. E. Wells (Luton), Miss Fricker Hall (Hastings), Mrs. Smith of Bothwell, Mrs. F. Smith, Mrs. Barker (Glasgow), Mrs. Garrett Anderson, M.D., Mrs. Pennington, Miss C. A. Biggs, Mrs. Ashton Dilke, Mrs. Lucas, Miss Spender (Bath), Miss Müller, M.L.S.B., Lady Goldsmid, Rev. Wyatt-Edgell, Mr. Benjamin Lucraft, Mrs. Leonard Courtney, Mrs. Frank Hill, Mr. Wm. Capper, Mr. Richard Michel, Mr. Langdon H. Price, Rev. T. L. Marshall, Mrs. Marshall, M.D., Mr. T. Pagliardini, Mrs. Shaw, Miss Cooke Taylor, Mr. C. T. Martin, F.S.A., Mr. W. O. Steinthal, Mr. A. E. Steinthal, Mrs. H. Kemp Welch, Miss Drew, Miss Fennell, Miss Killer, Mrs. Severn, Mr. F. Longman, Mrs. Longman, Miss Lucy Wilson, Miss A. Shore, Miss Borchardt, Mr. Thos. H. Thornton, C.S.I., D.C.L., Mrs. Scott Boys, Miss H. Polley, Mrs. S. N. Watts, Miss M. Miles, Mrs. Fenwick Miller, M.L.S.B., Mrs. Askey, Misses Chesson, Miss Fawcett, Miss Maude Biggs, Mrs. Hoskyn Woodward, Mr. A. W. J. Codd.

At the commencement of the proceedings, Miss BECKER read the following letters:—

Mr. Hugh Mason, M.P., writes: "Kindly excuse me coming on Thursday. I know you will have a crowded, enthusiastic, and unanimous meeting. The question grows, and will triumph in time."

Mr. Gorst, M.P., writes: "I have always been a supporter of the right of women to the franchise since Mr. J. S. Mill's original amendment in 1867, and you may count on my continued support to any proposal in the shape of an amendment to the present Reform Bill that may be brought forward."

Sir W. M'Arthur, M.P., writes: "I much regret I cannot attend the meeting at St. James's Hall to-morrow evening, but I am obliged unexpectedly to leave town. I have, however, a thorough sympathy with the object of the meeting, and will support Mr. Woodall's amendment in the House."

Sir E. A. Lechmere, Bart., M.P., writes: "I may not be able to attend your meeting this evening and support my friend Sir R. Temple, but I am quite in favour of the object and shall support Mr. Woodall's amendment. Kindly let me know the views of the Women's Suffrage Union on the Deceased Wife's Sister Bill for or against. I am told that a great many women, especially of the working-class, are against the Bill."

Mr. L. Pugh, M.P., writes: "It is with great regret that I find myself unable to attend to-day's meeting as I am obliged to go down to Wales to-night. You may rely, and so may the Committee, upon my doing everything in my power to promote the objects of the meeting."

General Alexander, M.P., writes: "Though I shall certainly support Mr. Woodall's amendment in Parliament, the state of my health obliges me to avoid public meetings in order that my constituents may not suffer. I am, therefore, unable to attend on April 24th as you request."

Mr. A. Pease, M.P., writes: "I have received your invitation to take part in your meeting in St. James's Hall on the 24th. I hope to support Mr. Woodall by my vote, but with many engagements in connection with subjects in which I have taken a more prominent part, I do not feel called upon to take platform work in connection with the female suffrage question."

Mr. A. Staveley Hill, Q.C., M.P., writes: "I shall support by

my vote Mr. Woodall's amendment. I cannot, however, promise to be at your meeting on the 24th prox."

Mr. Thomasson, M.P., Clifton, writes: "I much regret that I shall not be in town on the 24th inst., and shall therefore be unable to attend the meeting in St. James's Hall in support of Mr. Woodall's amendment to the Franchise Bill."

Mr. Thomas Burt, M.P., writes: "If I am in London on the 24th, and if (Oh, these ifs) the business at the House of Commons will allow me to leave for an hour, I shall do my best to put in an appearance to show the side I am on. I am sorry I can promise so little. With best wishes and great respect."

Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Bart., M.P., writes: "Thanks for yours. I am afraid that I cannot be at your meeting on April 24th, but I hope to be "all there" when the matter comes before the House."

Letters expressing sympathy with the movement had also been received from Mr. Slagg, M.P., Mr. M'Arthur, M.P., Mr. P. A. Taylor, M.P., Mr. Theodore Fry, M.P., Mr. Henry Leatham, M.P., Mr. J. B. Firth, M.P., Mr. Henry Richard, M.P., General Alexander, M.P., Mr. Arthur Pease, M.P., Mr. Staveley Hill, M.P., Sir Wm. M'Arthur, M.P., Mr. Stewart Clark, M.P., Mr. Pugh, M.P., Mr. Illingworth, M.P., the Lord Mayor of London, M.P., Dr. Cameron, M.P., Mr. T. A. Dickson, M.P., Sir Andrew Lusk, M.P., Mr. H. B. Samuelson, M.P., Mr. G. Anderson, M.P., Sir Matthew Wilson, Bart., M.P., Mr. Geo. Palmer, M.P., Mr. J. R. Yorke, M.P., Mr. J. A. Blake, M.P., Mr. T. Roe, M.P., also the Countess of Camperdown.

The following telegrams were also received:—

Mr. Lewis Fry, M.P., telegraphs from the House of Commons: "I regret that I am not able to come to the meeting, being detained here."

The Fishguard Committee telegraphs: "The Fishguard Committee send congratulations and best wishes for a glorious meeting and speedy triumph of right and justice."

Miss Elizabeth Smith, Hon. Sec. to the Women's Suffrage Society, Hyde, telegraphs: "I hope your meeting will be a great success. I regret that I shall be unable to be present."

Mrs. Anna M. Haslam, Rathmines, Dublin, telegraphs: "Warm greetings from Dublin friends. May your voices resound through Downing-street, and carry conviction to the hearts of the Government. Fifty thousand women householders in Ireland waiting for enfranchisement."

The CHAIRMAN then rose and said: As there are two very important resolutions to be proposed this evening, and as these resolutions will be supported by speakers of eminent ability and eloquence and experience, it will suffice that my opening address as chairman this evening should be brief. I may remind you that we are assembled this evening to vindicate the principle of political justice, and that principle plainly is this—that those women who are single and independent, who own property, who manage estates, who pay taxes, who pay also local rates, who exercise various municipal and local functions, and discharge responsibilities for the national good—that they should also have the political franchise. Those who do the work should have the privilege. We have cases of distinguished ladies who own these large estates, who do all this work, who have many male servants and dependants, over whom they legitimately exercise either territorial influence or that influence which always appertains to the superior mind—we have such ladies in this position, who, while their own servants have the franchise, themselves have no vote. Surely this is an anomaly which is certain to provoke a bitter and persistent feeling of discontent, discontent which will find utterance from time to time, and which will be sure to win its just and lawful object. It is not hard to perceive what the end must be, but though the end is certain at last, it may be long in coming, and the shortness or length of the time will depend upon your own exertions. The number of those who will be enfranchised if your efforts are successful is sufficiently large to render this matter one of national concern; but, nevertheless, the number is not so large as to be excessive, or as to endanger the Constitution, or to cause any dislocation of the ancient political arrangements of this country. But surely there is a practical object in view—that of amending the laws relating to the welfare of women. I have lived so much abroad that I scarcely feel entitled to speak with authority on this subject, but, nevertheless, I happen to be president of the Social Science Association, and in that capacity I receive from various sources

distressing evidence of the injustice which is inflicted upon various classes of women, either by the state of our laws, or by the condition of our social arrangements and of our organisation. I am sure all the manifold injustices will be remedied if women have the franchise, indeed it will be more quickly remedied than it ever could be otherwise. (Cheers.) Though in this meeting I do not deem it necessary that I should enlarge upon the progress which women have made within this last generation in respect to education, but I may say one thing—that history of all ages shows that women have proved great sovereigns, great governors, and great rulers, and in all times of public peril befalling any nationality in any part of the globe, women have shown a gentle and quiet heroism, a spirit of self-sacrifice and devoted patriotism. I am sure that if women are enfranchised they will add to our national legislature refinement of thought, elevation of ideas, and generosity of sentiment. (Cheers.) And, ladies, and your friends, you may well be encouraged by the success which you have already made in various lines, especially relating to the scientific professions and the great seats of learning. You have broken down the barriers of tradition, you have now admission to the lecture room of the universities, and I am sure that in the end you will win admission to the polling booth. (Great cheering.) You have long been distinguished members of the London University. When I was travelling in America I was told that with all the education they could give the ladies they could not come up to the standard of the lady-graduates of the London University. You have won a great victory at Cambridge, and I believe if you bring all your friends up to the mark, you will win a similar victory at Oxford. (Cheers.) All this should be encouragement to persevere at this present crisis, for now that a new Reform Bill is coming on the opportunity, if you do not successfully snatch and seize, may not recur. If it does recur, it will be only after a lengthened interval, for it is one thing to obtain your enfranchisement as part of a general Reform Bill, but it is a far different thing if this Reform Bill shall pass without your being enfranchised. It is a far more difficult thing to obtain the sanction of the Legislature to a separate measure. Now is your time. Act upon the old maxim, and strike while the iron of public opinion is hot, and strike home. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. W. SUMMERS, M.P., then moved: "That this meeting learn with satisfaction that Mr. Woodall will move an amendment in Committee on the Franchise Bill to extend the Parliamentary suffrage to women householders, and pledge themselves to support his action by every means in their power." He said it appeared to him that the resolution raised two important considerations—the one a matter of principle, the other a question of tactics. With regard to the principle, he did not think there was much difference of opinion in the audience he had the honour of addressing. (Hear, hear.) The principle for which they contended was this—that women householders ought to possess the suffrage on precisely the same conditions on which men householders now enjoyed it. They held to the old principle of the British Constitution, that taxation and representation should go together. This was their syllogism, and to put it in a nutshell: taxation and representation ought to go together. Women householders were taxed. Therefore, women householders ought to possess political privileges. (Cheers.) They already had the right to vote at municipal contests and for school boards and boards of guardians. Why, then, should they not have votes for members of Parliament also? Why should sex act as a disqualification in the case of women who paid rates and taxes to the State? The argument in favour of women's suffrage seemed precisely the same as the argument in 1867 for enfranchising householders in boroughs, and precisely the same as the argument now used for enfranchising the agricultural labourers in counties. Why should the law pass by the houses occupied by the women as if there were no human beings there who had rights to protect or interests to defend? The principle upon which they went was the great principle that a class not directly represented in Parliament was sure to have its interests neglected by Parliament. (Hear, hear.) It was a consequence of the unjust and unequal condition of our electoral system that many of the laws that had been made by Parliament had been harsh and injurious, so far as concerned the weaker and unrepresented sex. (Hear, hear.) Only during the existence of the present Parliament there had been conceded to married women rights over their own property; and it was still possible for husbands, without assigning any reason whatsoever, to deprive their wives of the custody of their children. (Shame.) They would be told that these were

survivals of a barbarous age, and that a more enlightened spirit was coming over the Legislature. But how had this been brought about? By the springing into existence of the movement in favour of women's suffrage, and by such meetings as that he was now addressing. Many people were in favour of women's suffrage, but they said this was a most inconvenient time to raise the question. But he asked what more proper occasion they could possibly have for raising the issue of women's suffrage than the passage through committee of a bill which went by the name of the Representation of the People Bill? (Cheers.) Mr. Woodall's amendment did not strike at the principle of the measure, it simply attempted to extend its scope and make it what it professed to be, a real household suffrage bill. (Cheers.)

Mrs. FAWCETT, in seconding the motion, said recent ministerial declarations had considerably simplified their task. The question now was, were the women householders of Great Britain and Ireland capable citizens? Mr. Gladstone, in introducing the Reform Bill, said his object was to enfranchise capable citizens. Mr. Chamberlain followed suit, and said that in the eyes of Liberals the extension of the suffrage was a good thing in itself, and it was desirable that as many capable citizens as possible should be included. Women believed that that which had been good for men would be good for them also, and they desired that which men desired and for the same reason. It had been denied that women could be capable citizens because they could not serve in the army or navy. But ninety-nine men out of every hundred never had borne and never would bear arms in defence of their country, whilst women householders supported the army in the same way that men did by paying the taxes by which it was maintained. (Hear, hear.) In further support of her argument as to the claim of women to the full rights of citizenship, Mrs. Fawcett pointed to the women who carried on the business of farmers and graziers, and to the 20,000 women teachers of England. Women were not such helpless beings as they were sometimes represented, and for her own part she could not understand why they were to be debarred from enjoying the political privilege of a vote which was looked upon by men as such a priceless blessing. (Cheers.) She had every confidence in the future of their movement; but she counselled them not to lose heart if they had to wait a few years, and if success was not so near as she believed it to be. A great deal had been done since the movement had been on foot, and if they did not triumph to-day she was confident that victory could not be long postponed. (Cheers.)

The Right Hon. J. STANSFELD, M. P., in supporting the resolution, said he should not discuss at length the question of woman's suffrage, but rather wished to deal with the present situation of it and the course that its supporters ought to pursue. First as to the situation,—what was the Franchise Bill that was before Parliament and the country? Nominally the principle of the Bill was that of household suffrage, but if that were really the case the Bill ought to be clear in principle, simple and logically complete. But it was none of these, because it went out of its way to omit from its scope the whole class of women householders. What, then, was the duty of the supporters of the woman's suffrage movement? It was to amend the Bill. He was not blaming the Government for introducing the Bill with that great defect; he was only speaking of their duty in respect to it, and he could not too strongly express his conviction that they must fight—that they must use every effort to amend the Bill. When he considered how long and how patiently women had waited to be enfranchised; how strenuously they had worked to accomplish their object, by holding public meetings and by sending petitions to Parliament; when he considered how intelligently they had laboured, and with what success, to convert members of Parliament to their views; when he considered all this and then contemplated the possibility that they were now to be refused their right, he could not help feeling that such a refusal would be indeed an injustice and a new and greater injury than before. (Applause.) How could the exclusion of women from the suffrage be justified in argument? Every household, rich and poor, would, under the new Bill, possess a vote save those where the heads of them were women. (Hear, hear.) Now household suffrage was either based upon the right of the head of a family to possess a vote, or it was a test of fitness for the franchise. It could not be refused to women on either of these grounds. (Applause.) On what ground, then, could it be refused? On the ground of sex alone. (Hear, hear.) Men did not choose that women should have the Parliamentary vote. But that

was an absolute and perpetual exclusion on principle, and therefore if the present Franchise Bill continues to exclude women, it cannot be said that household suffrage is the principle of the measure, and the Government and the Liberal party would inflict the heaviest and cruellest blow of all upon the claims of women householders to the franchise. (Applause.) Now the friends of the movement were not going to submit to this without a struggle. (Applause.) Certainly Mr. Woodall did not intend to do so, and it should be known positively that they intended to take a division upon the question. (Hear, hear.) He knew that they would have some timid counsels as to the necessity of not endangering the Bill, or of interfering with its integrity and simplicity. But he had no hesitation in saying that the measure would be simpler and more complete if women were included. (Applause.) And he did not believe there would be the least danger to the Bill if the amendment were to be carried in either House. Indeed he believed the principle they were contending for would receive the support of a majority of the House of Commons—(hear, hear)—and it would be found that there would be so much of character and ability in that majority that if the victory were once gained it would never be questioned. (Applause.) He would say further that when the victory was gained in the House of Commons, and the Bill was sent in its amended form to the House of Lords, it would not be this particular amendment that that branch of the Legislature would refuse to accept. (Hear, hear.) He said again that he did not blame the Government for not including women in the Bill. They considered in drafting the Bill that they would be justified in not bringing any debatable matter before the House. But, on the other hand, he said that as this was a question on which both parties were divided, it could not be said to be a party question. He said that it was a question that ought to be decided by an appeal to the sense of the House. (Cheers.) He refused to believe, and he did not believe, that Her Majesty's Government would, by putting coercion and restraint upon their followers, and, indeed, upon some of themselves—(hear, hear)—throw the whole weight of the Government into the scale against Mr. Woodall. (Applause.) He believed the Government would leave it as an open question to the decision of the House, and to that tribunal, with all the force and all the energy of which he was capable, he should make that appeal. (Loud cheers.)

Mrs. CHARLES M'LAREN also supported the resolution. She said that the present was a time in which they ought to press the claim of women to the franchise with increasing energy. They saw that the whole of our electoral system was now under consideration, and the doors of political power were to be opened to a new and lower body of men. A Bill was before the country which professed to enfranchise every householder. If from this Bill women householders should be omitted, it was not difficult to see that their position in the future would be one of increased difficulty and of increased danger. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Gladstone, in his speech introducing this Bill to the House of Commons, admitted that it was not perfect, and the first imperfection that he cited was the fact that it did not enfranchise women, while Lord John Manners, who moved the opposition to the Bill from the Conservative side of the House, said that if they enfranchised the hedger and the ditcher, and not the woman farmer who employed the hedger and the ditcher, it would be treating the woman farmer in a very cavalier fashion. (Hear, hear.) She would remind them that Parliament could not pass this Bill and leave women householders where they were at present. Either they must rise with the other householders or they must sink below them. In former times when a few aristocrats had exclusive possession of political power the women of the upper classes shared many privileges with their husbands and their fathers and their brothers. Now all these privileges were swept away. They had seen class after class rise above them, and women now stood almost alone in their exclusion from political power. They found that the very servants who obeyed their orders and ate their bread had become their political masters. What was the reason why this humiliation was inflicted upon women? If women had been in all times the most unfairly treated class, yet they had always been the most long suffering. (Hear, hear.) Women had yielded to none in their enthusiasm for their country and for the public good. (Applause.) Sir Wilfrid Lawson had only recently borne testimony to the efforts of women in the cause of temperance. There was no need to remind them of what women did in connection with slavery. (Hear, hear.)

The world had not been slow to recognise what Florence Nightingale did for the soldier. (Applause.) In fact, whenever there has been raised any question affecting the poor, the sick, or the oppressed, women had always been strong to help, silently perhaps, and with little influence, but with their whole hearts. (Loud cheers.) What had the agricultural labourers to show in comparison with this that they should be held to be capable of citizenship, and that women should not? Mr. Gladstone, in his speech in the House of Commons on this Bill, told the Conservative party that it was their duty to trust the people—(hear, hear)—and Lord Randolph Churchill—(cheers and groans)—speaking at Birmingham a few days ago, assured his hearers that he did trust the people—(cheers)—but she thought that the trust of both these gentlemen was something of the nature of the trust that strained at a gnat while it swallowed a camel. (Laughter.) They would trust two millions of agricultural labourers, but they would not trust educated women. (Hear, hear.) Radical statesmen should remember it was the Liberal Ministry that limited its trust to one-half the nation, while Sir Stafford Northcote and his colleagues were willing to put their trust in both. (Hear, hear.) But members of Parliament were very apt to tell them that the sphere of woman lay apart from political life. A member of the Government once told the House that "Women were the silver lining that gilded the cloud of men's existence." (Laughter.) But human existence was not a cloud, it was a hard struggle. (Cheers.) Women were not merely the silver linings; they were rational beings, with hands to work and interests to defend. (Hear, hear.) Politics to women meant rights to their children, rights to the heritage of property, rights to earn their own living by their own labour, and the right to enjoy the results of that labour. For members of Parliament to say that women had nothing to do with politics was for them to be wilfully blind to the most obvious social facts. (Hear, hear.) Let them take any row of houses or cottages in any of our large towns. In one of these houses a widow, say, was living, and was supporting her family by her own earnings—doing the double duty both of father and mother to her children. She (the speaker) defied anyone to tell her of any political question which affected the occupants of the other houses and which did not affect that widow too. (Cheers.) Was it a question of taxation or of economical government? Such a question interested that woman more even than her neighbours, for the woman earned less and inherited less. Was it a question of social order? Was it a question of trade disturbance? Here again the woman was more interested than any of her neighbours, for there were fewer industrial careers open to a woman, and in times of social disturbance it was the weak who was always first to suffer. (Cheers.) Or was it a question like that which had recently been under the consideration of the House of Commons—the question of the expenses of elections being paid out of the rates? In that question she had even more interest than men, because the men at any rate got value for what they paid in the services of their representatives in the House, who were bound to consider the interests of those who had votes to give, while they were not bound to consider the woman's interests who had no vote. They might never even give a thought to the conditions under which she led her life; they might go to the House to make unjust distinctions between the interests of men and women. (Hear, hear.) The election canvassers all passed the house of the widow; but the tax-gatherer was sure to call. (Loud cheers.) She (Mrs. M'Laren) saw no reason whatever why that woman should bear all the burdens of citizenship and yet be debarred from exercising its privileges. (Cheers.) When Mr. Chamberlain addressed the House of Commons in support of the second reading of the new Reform Bill, his voice quivered with emotion when he told the House that the Bill proposed a remedy for a great injustice, by which men paying taxes to the State and discharging the duties of citizens were shut out from political power. Well, there were women who discharged the duties of citizens, and who paid taxes to the State. (Hear, hear.) Had Mr. Chamberlain no grain of sympathy for them? (Laughter and cheers.) Did all his generous enthusiasm freeze upon his lips when he thought of them? (Loud cheers.) The other day when he was addressing his constituents at Birmingham, Mr. Chamberlain said that it was always opportune to do right and justice. That was a noble maxim, and worthy of him who had used it, but she only hoped that Mr. Chamberlain would serve it all round—(cheers)—and not keep it solely for occasions when he thought it was likely to serve himself

and his party. (Cheers and laughter.) But, again, men often said that women had no need of votes—that they had an indirect influence on politics that was quite sufficient for them. Well, she had had a good deal of experience of this supposed indirect influence, and she found that in politics indirect influence was very apt to miss its object. The difficulty in connection with this indirect influence was the old difficulty that you must first catch your hare before you can cook it. (Laughter and cheers.) Indirect influence was not only a weak, but, she contended, it was a bad influence. She had never herself been able to see how any amount of wheedling could make a wise thing unwise, or a just thing unjust. (Cheers.) Surely members of Parliament would not tell them that they were prepared to yield to a smile or a pretty bonnet what they were not ready to yield to a cry for justice, or to political need? What did this pretence of indirect influence mean to women when their interests were threatened? It meant that they were always to be trespassers upon the courtesy of members of Parliament, because there was no one to whom they had a right to go. They were to be always out of their right place because there was no place in politics that they could call their own. (Cheers.) It meant that they would have to carry on an expensive agitation until they had convinced a majority of the people of the justice of their claim. Some men did not like that agitation on the part of women. Well, let them stamp it out. (Laughter.) The only way to do that was to give the women what they wanted. (Cheers.) Let them have some small place within the pale of the constitution from which in comparative obscurity they might exercise a direct and constitutional influence in the House of Commons. Let them, standing on their own ground, be in a position to say to the member of Parliament who represented them, "Mr. Smith, we consider that such and such measures are dangerous to our interests." Mr. Smith would be ready enough to listen to them, then. There would be no bother in catching him, and there would be no trouble in wheedling. (Laughter and cheers.) Mr. Smith would be ready to promise all they wanted, and the threatened danger would be averted. (Cheers.) But no, people said "any way but this way out of the difficulty." She was very sorry, but, just because she knew it was not only the easiest way, and the best way, but the only way—(cheers)—that she asked the enfranchisement of women. (Loud applause.) Certain learned Professors had told them that the basis of government was physical force, and that women had no physical force. What, women no physical force? (Loud cheers and laughter.) If that was so, how did they get all the clothes washed and the floors scrubbed? (Loud laughter.) Was it necessary to remind men that a great part of the hard work of the country was done by women? (Cheers.) She supposed what the professor meant to say was that women were not quite so strong physically as men. Well, taking that to be so, if it took 650 members of Parliament to represent some fifteen millions of men, she would like to ask how many members did they think should go to represent sixteen millions of women? (Laughter.) Was a woman half as strong as a man? Then give her half the amount of representation. (Laughter and cheers.) Was she one-third as strong; was she one-quarter or one-seventh as strong? If they would only give women one-seventh of the representation, just votes for women householders, they would be content. Surely no one would say that a man was more than seven times as strong as a woman. (Cheers and laughter.) But after all she must consider that all these arguments were beside the question. In the case of a man the law made no inquiry as to physical force; the weak and the infirm voted as well as the strong. The law made no inquiry as to intelligence, for the dunce voted as well as the educated man. The law made no inquiry as to the man's moral character: the drunkard and the released thief had a vote. The only thing that the law exacted was that the voter should have a house. (Hear, hear.) A woman who had a house therefore fulfilled all that the law required, and the exclusion of women from the franchise was an anomaly and a blot upon our political system. (Cheers.) Sometimes they were told that if women had votes all that deference and courtesy which the other sex showed to them would be done away with. Well, she had stood before an assembly of working women, and had asked them what vast amount of this deference and courtesy did they enjoy? (Hear, hear.) Were their opinions more thought of because they were a woman's opinions? No; a woman's opinions were less thought of. (Hear, hear.) Did they find, when they went to their husband's

clubs, or places of amusement, that they were met with courtesy and were shown to the highest places? No; the door was slammed in their face! (Cheers and laughter.) Did they find that they were paid better for their labour because they were women? No; it was well known that women were paid only half as much as men. (Hear, hear.) To tell four millions of working women that they ought not to have political rights because of the deference and courtesy that were paid to them by the other sex was merely a bitter jest. (Cheers.) If men paid deference and courtesy at all it was to the young, the wealthy, and the pretty women, who could do just as well without it; they were not in such a hurry to pay attentions to the old and ugly, and poor and fallen, who had so much need of it. (Cheers.) And if men did wait upon women to some extent in public, with how much more care did women wait upon men in private? The fact was, the only reason why men were supposed to pay reverence to women did not depend upon whether or not she took part in politics—it depended on the great laws of nature. (Hear, hear.) Men had received from women far more than they could ever pay back. If any man was proud of health and strength, let him remember he owed it to the tender care of some woman who cared for him when he was small and helpless, ugly and uninteresting to every eye but one. That was why a man handed his sister to her carriage, or gave his arm to his mother as she walked along the crowded street. (Hear, hear.) But if men really wished to render women some real return, let them cease repaying her with paltry attentions and do something worth doing. Let them repeal the law that classed women with idiots, and prisoners, and lunatics, and declare her for the first time a capable citizen of our common country. (Loud cheers.)

The resolution was then put and carried almost unanimously, amid loud cheering.

Mr. WOODALL, M.P., moved the second resolution, as follows:—

“That the following memorial to Her Majesty's Government be adopted, and signed by the chairman on behalf of this meeting, and forwarded to Mr. Gladstone, and that petitions to both Houses of Parliament to the same effect be also adopted:—

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

“The Memorial of the inhabitants of London and others in public meeting assembled on April 24th, 1884, at St. James's Hall, London:—

“Sheweth,—

“That your memorialists earnestly pray that in the measure for the extension of the principle of household suffrage which has been submitted by Her Majesty's Ministers for the consideration of Parliament, provision may be made for enabling women who are heads of households to be registered as voters and to vote in the election of members of Parliament.

“And your memorialists will ever pray, &c.”

He said that he must first express his acknowledgments for the cordial way in which the preceding resolution had been adopted at meetings not inferior to the present in numbers held in all the great provincial centres, and to say how extremely satisfactory and helpful it was that a similar decision to that which had been arrived at with wonderful unanimity and enthusiasm in all parts of the country should now have received a metropolitan endorsement. (Hear, hear.) He acknowledged that he felt very acutely the sense of the responsibility that devolved upon him with regard to the task of taking charge of the movement in the House of Commons. He knew that he had done nothing to merit the distinction that had been conferred upon him, and he was quite sure all who were present would sympathise with him when he said how much he regretted that the ladies who had spoken that night were not able to plead their own cause in Parliament. (Cheers.) But they all felt how wonderfully their great principle, which they had so long and persistently contended for, had grown since the day when Mr. John Stuart Mill first submitted it to Parliament, under the advocacy of the able men who from time to time had taken charge of the resolution submitted to the House of Commons. (Hear, hear.) It did appear to him that the objections to the proposal which they had to meet in the present day were feeble in the extreme as compared with those they had to contend with years ago, and he felt that this was very much due to the fact that they had had an opportunity of submitting to a practical test the mode

in which women exercised the vote in municipal matters. (Hear, hear.) Surely it was only a grim jest that while by the London Municipal Reform Bill a vast number of women householders would be given the right to vote, the very same persons who were proposing that Bill should withhold from women householders throughout the country the right to vote in the election of members of Parliament. (Cheers.) It was urged that it was inopportune to press that question at present in the House of Commons. He quite agreed with Mr. Stansfeld that it was not incumbent on the Government to include the enfranchisement of women in their present scheme, but let him ask what would be said if at such a time as the present those who had so long contended for the principle of woman's suffrage were to allow such an opportunity to pass without pressing the matter upon Parliament and upon the Government? (Hear, hear.) They would certainly be reproached for having missed an obvious and legitimate occasion for pressing forward their claim, and would be told that having allowed to pass without providing for the enfranchisement of women a Bill that was designed to be, and which emphatically claimed to be, a complete and logical settlement of the whole franchise question, they would be inconsistent in the extreme if they should subsequently seek to raise the question as a separate proposition. (Cheers.) Last year many meetings were held in support of the resolution which was ably put before the House of Commons by Mr. Mason. That resolution received a very large amount of support, but there was a feeling that it was not a practical proposition: that it was an academical contention for an abstract right rather than a direct and immediate political proposal. But it was also fully believed that the question was one that must grow—as, indeed, it was growing—in importance throughout the whole country to a wonderful extent, until at the present time, if they could judge from the interest that the movement was exciting in all the great centres of population, and from the approval that it had met with from all political parties, it was clear that the country realised the fact that the proposal about to be submitted to Parliament was one of immediate and practical importance, and that it ought to receive the assent of the House of Commons. (Hear, hear.) He felt very much the force of what had been said by Mr. Stansfeld and other speakers with regard to the possibility of the Franchise Bill passing without containing any recognition of the rights of women. It was perfectly true that if the Bill did so pass it would be re-imposing disabilities upon women of a more odious kind than they had ever suffered before—disabilities which would be attributed to their sex and to their sex alone. (Cheers.) Reference had been made to the able and vigorous speech of Mr. Chamberlain upon the second reading of the Bill, in which the right hon. gentleman said that the agricultural labourers had suffered grievously in their interests in the past from not having had the Parliamentary vote. But surely the same remark could be made with reference to women with at least as much force as it was made with regard to the other unrepresented classes. The position of the supporters of the movement was really a very simple one. They all knew that in every movement for the extension of the franchise there was the same difficulty with regard to the most expedient method of proceeding. There had been the same objection in all the various agitations that had led at different times to the enfranchisement of the people. They all knew that those who in the past had contended for household suffrage had had to argue with those who urged the theory of manhood suffrage. But at the present time there was an apparent agreement among all parties in favour of the principle on which the present Franchise Bill was based—the principle of household suffrage. He had gathered from the mode in which references to certain politicians had been received by the meeting that it was certainly not composed of the holders of one particular set of political opinions. The fact that they had in the chair a distinguished member of the Conservative party showed that the scheme was not one that was exclusively supported by Liberals. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Gladstone had laid it down as the fundamental theory on which his measure was based that a capable citizen was to be found in the head of every household, that they who had accepted the responsibility of submitting the claims of women to Parliament had contented themselves by adopting the form of words which confirmed the right of voting now exercised in the case of the election of town councillors under the Municipal Corporations Act. Those words were extremely simple, and could be applied to the present Bill without any real interference with its provisions. (Hear, hear.)

The present measure practically accepted the principle that where there had hitherto been various forms of franchise, appertaining to freehold and other qualifications, it would not interfere with those franchises. Well, he would take the Bill exactly as it was, and all that he would ask was that this one disability should be removed from women in precisely the same way as it had been removed in the case of municipal voters. (Hear, hear.) In conclusion he said that he claimed to be one of the most loyal and devoted followers of Mr. Gladstone, but he also knew that there would be a considerable amount of support to his resolution from the opposition side of the House. He therefore thought it right to ask that upon a question that was so far removed from party lines he should be left free to vote as he pleased. He was sanguine enough to hope that that would be the case, and he was equally sanguine in his belief, from what he had heard in and out of the House, that if there were no restraint and no serious protestation on the part of the Prime Minister, there was a reasonable probability of the disability being removed, and of women householders being included among capable citizens, as had been so long and persistently claimed for them. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. J. RANKIN, M.P., in seconding the resolution, said that he apprehended that he had been honoured by being asked to occupy that position, because the promoters of the meeting wished to show that that was not a party movement, and, therefore, they had asked him as a Conservative to second a resolution that had been proposed by a member of the Liberal party. In doing so he laboured under two difficulties: the first was that everything that could be said had been said by previous speakers, and the second was that whenever he came to say anything on this subject he always found that there were no real objections to women's suffrage to demolish. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) There was really only one objection, and that was that those who were asking for their rights were only women. (Hear, hear.) The point had already been eloquently dwelt upon that night as to whether or not women were capable citizens. That was the question which they had to work upon, and he maintained that on every test that could be applied women had come out very well. (Hear, hear.) He was not himself altogether of the opinion that there should be no test with regard to the franchise. He was, indeed, rather of opinion that there should be some test, but he did say most decidedly that whatever test was applied if women were allowed to compete with men in the tests they would come out exceedingly well. (Cheers.) The test that he should like to see was that the voter was trying to maintain himself without coming upon the poor rates, and if that test were imposed it would be found that women in the position of householders would stand at least equal with men. (Hear, hear.) Another test was that of education, and that test would apply only to the lower ranks of society, and he ventured to say that in those ranks women were better educated than men, and especially was that the case where the women were heads of households. In the borough which he represented, which was a rural borough, there were women farmers who held a considerable amount of property, and discharged all the duties pertaining to their position equally with men, and he thought these women ought not to be cut off from the privilege of voting for members of Parliament if they wished to exercise the right. (Hear, hear.) Then it was often thrown into their teeth that women did not want a vote. Well he had two answers to that. That meeting was his first answer—(cheers)—and his second answer was that any woman who did not want a vote need not exercise it. (Hear, hear.) Because some women did not want it was no reason why those who did want it should be prevented from having it. Sometimes it was said that if they gave women the vote they must also admit them into Parliament. But he drew a great distinction between these two propositions, and if he thought that the leaders who were at the head of this movement were determined to follow it up and say, when women had got the vote, “we must sit in Parliament also,” he did not know that he would be there to support the giving of the franchise to women at all. He drew a great distinction between voting for a member of Parliament and sitting in Parliament, and there could not be any doubt that there was an essential difference in the two things. (A voice, “Why?” and interruption.) Well, a person might be able to give a sensible vote for a member of Parliament without being fit to sit in Parliament and to take part in its business, and he thought that women might be capable of giving a vote without being capable of sitting in Parliament. (“No,” and cries of dissent.) That was his view, and he was quite

sure that the ladies who were promoting this movement would not think any less of him because he stated his view honestly. (Hear, hear.) They had an instance of what he had said in the case of the clergy, who were allowed to vote but were not allowed to sit in Parliament. If they took that as an analogous case, it was quite competent for him to say give women the vote, but do not allow them to sit in the House of Commons. There was no doubt that women took as much interest as men in questions that affected the national life, and it was absurd that a large proportion of the people should not have the opportunity of directing the views of the Parliament of the nation. For these reasons he should certainly support the amendment to the Franchise Bill which was to be proposed by Mr. Woodall. (Cheers.) A great poet had said that the proper study of mankind was man, and he (the speaker) had no doubt that when the poet used those words he meant to include not only the male but the female sex as well. (Hear, hear.) He believed it would be a great benefit to have a number of women voters; it would lend a gracious influence to political life, and he could conceive of nothing in which they would detract from the constitution of the country. He had never yet heard of women having done any harm by giving them votes in those instances where they were entitled to vote, and he did not think when they got the power to vote in elections of members of Parliament that they would do any harm, but a great deal of good. As they shed a gracious light upon every path of life that they trod, so he believed they would shed such a light upon the political life of the country. (Hear, hear.) He did believe, speaking from the knowledge he had of the views of many Conservatives on that subject, that Mr. Woodall would have a large support from that side of the House. He sincerely trusted that Mr. Woodall would be successful, and he could promise that so far as his humble efforts were concerned they should be given to the support of the movement. (Cheers.)

Miss TON was next called upon to support the resolution, and said that the chief reason why she had been asked to address a few words to the meeting was that she not only represented an earnest association of Irishwomen joined with Englishwomen, but Irishmen also, who desired to support their sisters in their effort to secure fair play. She could tell the meeting that in Ireland the feeling was almost unanimous in favour of the principle they were contending for. Irishmen and Irishwomen were alike agreed that the Franchise Bill would not be complete unless it recognised women householders as well as men. (Hear, hear.) She believed also that this was one of many questions that would be of great value in uniting and drawing towards each other the people of the two countries. She believed this and other social questions would draw together class and class, and so would tend at the same time to draw together country and country. She had been particularly struck with this view of the matter, when, a few days ago, she took part in that enthusiastic meeting at Newcastle, at which a very large number of men, who were looking forward themselves to being enfranchised by the new Bill, joined together in declaring that they only wished to have the electoral privilege along with their sisters. (Cheers.) She was not in the least afraid of the admission of women to the franchise causing any increase to the pressure of business in Parliament. It was quite true that there was already too much work for the House of Commons to do, and that it was difficult for it to get through its work; but this was the first time she had ever heard that when one locomotive was not sufficient to draw a train it would hinder the work to put another locomotive to help it. (Laughter and cheers.) She believed that women would bring special knowledge and influence to bear in advancing legislation without endangering the interests of any class of the community. Right injured no man, and to be just in one respect implied justice in every department of life. She had been struck a few days ago, in reading one of the weekly journals, by some remarks on the Franchise Bill that might well be applied to the claims of women to the suffrage. Speaking of the class that would be enfranchised by the new Bill the writer said that whatever other knowledge they had they at least knew their own needs, and whatever experience they had they at least had had experience of their own difficulties; and that this special knowledge and this special experience could not be provided by any other class. And yet those who said this were excluding women from the franchise. They must either believe that women had no wants and no difficulties, or else they deliberately and cynically resolved that they

should not be attended to for fear of some interference with the comforts of men. (Cheers.) She did not believe that such cynicism as that would be longer allowed to rule in political matters. She believed that in a great majority of cases men were opposed to woman's suffrage simply because they had not had their attention specially called to the inequality. She could not doubt that men cared for the opinion of their wives and mothers and sisters, and she felt that for this very reason when once they thought about the matter and when once their attention was drawn to it they would see that there was a great deal to be done in order to put women into the position to which they were entitled. It was perfectly true that the wife of an influential public man could make herself felt to some purpose in public affairs. But laws were passed affecting working women, and they had no means of making themselves felt. (Hear, hear.) It was exactly those upon whom the laws pressed most hardly who could not make themselves felt. (Hear, hear.) One speaker had remarked that this was a question that did not so much affect those who already possessed the franchise as those who did not possess it. Women were not satisfied to be told by men "We have done nothing that will hurt you, and have omitted nothing that will benefit you." She was reminded when men talked in this way of the story of the shoemaker at Oxford who made a pair of boots for a gentleman. The gentleman when he came to put them on found that one of them pinched his foot, so he went to the shoemaker to complain and to have it altered. But the shoemaker persisted that the gentleman was wrong. "I made that boot myself," he said, "and I know that it cannot pinch your foot!" (Loud laughter.) There were men who thought they knew all that their countrywomen required, but it was only the class that suffered that could really express an opinion as to where the shoe pinched and as to what they wanted in the way of relief. (Hear, hear.) But she said more than that; she said that women understood what was good for the country and what was good for the national welfare even better than men. (Hear, hear.) She had had opportunities of working with many excellent and high-minded women in social matters, and she knew that women could and did feel for others and entered into their wants and needs. She, therefore, was convinced that it would be a benefit to the country that women should have the franchise, besides being only bare justice to them. (Cheers.)

Mr. J. R. HOLLOND, M.P., also supported the resolution, and said that he had of late, from being doubtful on the question, come to be a supporter of the movement. He attributed his conversion mainly to what he had seen in his experience in the House of Commons. That experience had taught him that all questions that were not taken up by large numbers of persons who were interested in them and who had the means of making their views felt were sure to go to the wall. (Hear, hear.) The pressure of business was so great that the only business likely to be taken up and attended to was that which was taken up by a large number of members and by a large number of their supporters outside the House. There was a constant struggle for existence in the House of Commons, and all interests that were not fully represented would not come to the front, and would not receive the attention that they deserved. He had felt that this was particularly the case in reference to measures in which women were chiefly interested. It was true that they had made some progress of late years, that the Married Women's Property Act was an instance of what might be done in certain cases even without the votes of those who were principally interested, but there were still many questions on which much remained to be done—questions, for instance, as to the regulation of female labour. Many persons, in the supposed interests of women themselves, thought the hours of labour for women should be limited by law, but he confessed that he did not think a right decision on that question could be come to without hearing the views of those who were most interested—the women themselves. (Cheers.) After all, the question of the hours of labour was, with women as with men, a question of gaining a livelihood—(hear, hear)—and if they unduly limited the hours of female labour they unduly limited their power of earning their livelihood. (Hear, hear.) These were the main reasons that induced him to think that the demand that had been raised for the enfranchisement of women was a wise demand and one that could not long be denied. (Cheers.) Sometimes it was stated that the interests of the Liberal party might suffer if women were allowed to vote. Well, even if he admitted that such a result might ensue at

first, he did not think the effect would be permanent. But whether or not he said that the reform ought to be granted if the demand for it was just. (Hear, hear.) Nothing had struck him so much in the differences between this country and France as the difference in the views held in the two countries on this subject, and the great divergence on social questions that existed in France between men and women. He thought that we ought to avoid that danger: the views of men and women on great social questions ought to be on the same plane, and he believed this could best be promoted by giving women the vote and by interesting them in political questions rather than by keeping them constantly in the background. For all these reasons he was prepared to give his cordial support to the movement. (Cheers.)

The resolution was put to the meeting and carried unanimously. Lady HARBERTON moved: "That the best thanks of this meeting be given to Sir Richard Temple for presiding on the present occasion." Her ladyship said that their chairman was not one of those who waited in order to see what others would do before giving his support to the movement. "He gives twice who gives quickly," and Sir Richard Temple was deserving of their thanks because he had at once acceded to their request to take part in the proceedings of that meeting.

Miss JANE E. COBDEN seconded the motion, and said that she hoped that the present year would see their labours on behalf of this movement brought to a termination, but if the Government should prove obstructionists—(laughter)—and if they should as a consequence have again to hold a series of meetings in order to agitate the question afresh, she sincerely hoped that they would often see Sir Richard Temple taking part with them in the movement. (Cheers.)

The resolution having been carried with acclamation, Sir RICHARD TEMPLE, in acknowledging the vote, said that if ever his services should be again required in the cause he would willingly place them at the ladies' service. He thought that the present was undoubtedly the time when the matter should be pressed to a decision. (Cheers.) Now, when the sun of sympathy was shining upon their movement, they ought to make hay. Truth and justice was on their side—(hear, hear)—and if they could not say "now or never," he thought they might say "now or not for a long time" in order to describe their present position. (Laughter and cheers.)

The proceedings then terminated.

PRELIMINARY MEETINGS.

NEW CROSS.

On April 21st a public meeting was held at New Cross Public Hall, in support of the amendment about to be moved in the House of Commons by Mr. Woodall to extend the franchise to women householders. The chair was occupied by the Rev. BROOKE LAMBERT, vicar of Greenwich, who observed that those who were opposed to the franchise of women had two difficult arguments to meet. First, why should property when represented in the male person be entitled to a vote, but when represented in the female person it was not entitled to a vote? Secondly, why women, if allowed to vote in School Board and municipal elections, should be disqualified to vote on other matters connected with the government of the country?

Mr. E. HUGHES moved: "That in the opinion of this meeting any Reform Bill to be satisfactory should include provisions for extending the franchise to duly-qualified women householders."

Baron DE WORMS said the merits of the case were very strong and very good. When the question was brought forward in 1866 he had the honour of seconding Mr. Mason's motion, and he hoped to have the same honour with respect to Mr. Woodall's amendment. (Hear, hear.) It had been well said that the only way to get anything in this or any country was to agitate, and at this moment, when they had one of the most vast and important Reform Bills before the country, agitation was especially in place, and if the supporters of women's suffrage did not seize this particular moment he ventured to think that such an opportunity would never occur again. He would not go into the political merits of the question, but, personally, he was not in the least opposed to the extension of the franchise; all he wanted to see was that it was properly and equitably distributed. Some persons were of opinion that the franchise was a right, and others

that it was a privilege—in the one case they could not withhold it from women, and in the other he knew no act by which they had forfeited their claim to the privilege. The question never had been a party one, and he hoped it never would become one. In 1866 Mr. Disraeli said, "A woman having property ought now to have a vote in a country in which she may hold manorial courts, and sometimes act as churchwarden;" and in 1869, he said, "What we desire to do is to give everyone who is worthy of it a fair share in the government of the country by means of the elective franchise." He did not think they would say that women were unworthy of it. It had been argued that they were not unworthy, but were intellectually unfit for it. He gave a general denial to that statement. The new Reform Bill had been justly introduced on the principle that those who were unrepresented ought to be represented. If that were so, would it be just to give the franchise to two millions of employés, many uneducated, and refuse it to highly-educated employers where that employer was a woman. The new Bill would principally affect the agricultural interest, and the census returns of 1872 showed that out of the whole number of owners of one acre and upwards in England and Wales, 37,806 were women, or a proportion of one in seven; in Ireland the proportion was one in eight. They might take it that the proportion of women householders in municipal and unincorporated areas was the same, and that would give a total of three or four hundred thousand women householders in 1872 paying rates for the relief of the poor and rightly entitled to the vote. It was hardly conceivable that in an enlightened country such as this there could be found men who would bring forward specious arguments to show that women who were employers of labour were not entitled to the vote. If it were argued that the impressionability of women was greater than that of men, and that they would be led more by sentiment, it would be found that their sentiments generally led them aright. It was argued that if you gave women a vote the logical *sequitur* would be to give them a seat in Parliament. If he thought that were so he would not be on that platform. Ministers of religion had a vote, but they were not able to sit in Parliament; and if the Legislature could prevent a class from occupying a seat in the House, it was needless to say that the same Legislature could prevent women from occupying a seat there. He did not believe that women would desire to fill a situation which he might designate as unwomanly. They were no more called to do it than to join the ranks of the army or stand on the quarter-deck of a ship of war. They should have a vote because they were members of the State—they paid rates and taxes, they enjoyed the privilege of voting in regard to School Boards and Boards of Guardians—and it was hardly possible to see on what principle of logic they might not vote upon the question of whom they thought best fitted to represent them in Parliament. (Applause.) They were considerably affected by domestic legislation, as was shown in the Married Women's Property Act, and other measures affecting them were pending. Why should not women say to their representatives, "We hope you will support this measure, because women are more feeble and unprotected than men and more open to oppression?" The very fact of the weakness of women was the best argument why they should have the vote. They had records of great women in their history, and in a country of warriors, ruled over by the delicate hand and silken touch of a woman, they would be cowardly if they feared to extend to women those rights and privileges which they themselves enjoyed. (Cheers.)

The resolution was supported by Mrs. ORMISTON CHANT; by Miss BECKER, who remarked that Mr. Woodall's amendment would add 800,000 women to the electorate; by Mr. COOKE BAINES, London School Board; and Mr. SEYMOUR TROWER. An amendment protesting against the proposal to give the franchise to women as "inconsistent with constitutional government" was put to the meeting, but it received little support, and the original resolution was carried by an overwhelming majority.

A resolution adopting petitions to both Houses of Parliament and memorials to Mr. Boord and Baron de Worms, members for the borough of Greenwich, was moved by Mr. J. WATSON, seconded by Miss FLORENCE STACPOOLE, and carried. The Rev. E. GARDINER SMITH moved a vote of thanks to the chair-

man, which was seconded by Miss MULLER, M.L.S.B., and carried, and the proceedings terminated.

KENSINGTON.

A public meeting in support of Mr. Woodall's amendment to include women householders in the Franchise Bill was held on April 22nd, at the Kensington Town Hall, the Right Hon. JAMES STANSFELD, M.P., in the chair, supported by Mr. C. M'LAREN, M.P., and Mrs. M'LAREN, Miss C. A. Biggs, Miss Stansfeld, Mrs. Ashton Dilke, Miss L. Stacpoole, Miss Tod, Miss Richardson, Mr. T. H. Hardcastle, Viscount and Viscountess Harberton, Mrs. Currie, Miss G. Andrews, and others.

In opening the meeting the CHAIRMAN said he wanted the supporters of women's suffrage to understand that within a week they would be in Committee on the Franchise Bill, and that within six weeks the question of the admission of women under any conditions to the Parliamentary franchise would have been decided for probably a generation. It would be impossible to exaggerate the critical urgency of the situation, and it behoved those who took an interest in the question to exercise all their influence on behalf of the cause they had at heart. Referring to the advance that had been made, he said that a large number of members on both sides of the House, if not the majority, had been converted to the side of women's suffrage, and the time had come for closing their hands and thinking only of the victory to be won. They were about to enter on a decline, and they wanted women to support them against the difficulties and weaknesses, and even vices, of a male democracy, of which all writers agreed that it was akin to despotism in its inclination to take one man and make him supreme. He did not blame the Government for not including women householders in the Franchise Bill, but he would blame them very strongly if they opposed it. Liberals who seemed afraid to call their souls their own talked about endangering the Bill, but that was all nonsense. All illusions on that point must vanish, for they would not allow any question of endangering the Bill or the Government to prevent their discussing and dividing on the question.

Mrs. C. M'LAREN moved a resolution declaring that the coming Reform Bill to be satisfactory should include provisions for extending the franchise to all duly-qualified women householders. Dealing with the argument that women should not receive the franchise because they did not become soldiers, she said if they wished to do so the law would not permit them, and if it did votes were not given to soldiers.

Miss TOD, in seconding the resolution, said every rank of the community would benefit by the admission of women to the franchise. They were the social cement that kept society together, and could alone efficiently bridge over the widening gulf between class and class.

The resolution was then carried unanimously.

Mrs. ASHTON DILKE also addressed the meeting. She said they were told that this was not an opportune time to bring the question forward, but she did not believe they were real friends who said this. If they allowed this opportunity to pass they were not likely to get such a favourable one again, and, as Mr. Chamberlain said, the time was always opportune to do justice.

A further resolution to petition Parliament in favour of Mr. Woodall's amendment, moved by Miss RICHARDSON, of the London School Board, and seconded by Miss L. STACPOOLE, was also adopted.

BERMONDSEY.

On April 22nd the Town Hall, Spa Road, was opened for the purpose of holding a demonstration in favour of women being admitted into the franchise, the free use of the hall having been previously secured by a requisition presented to the vestry by fifty ratepayers.

The chair was occupied by Mrs. LUCAS, who said she was a householder and could not see why she should not have the privilege of the franchise. (Hear, hear.) They had no wish to trammel the Government—"question"—although some would seem to think that course would follow.

The first resolution was proposed by Mrs. FENWICK MILLER, seconded by Mr. JOHN MENZIES, supported by Miss WILKINSON, and carried without a dissentient.

Mrs. COOPER OAKLEY moved the second resolution as follows: "That petitions to both Houses of Parliament, based on the foregoing resolution, be adopted and signed by the chairman on behalf of this meeting, and that memorials to Professor Rogers and Mr. Cohen, Q.C., the members for the borough of Southwark, asking them to support the amendment to the Franchise Bill to be moved in committee of the House of Commons by Mr. Woodall be also adopted and forwarded to them."

Mr. F. LONG seconded the resolution, which was supported by Mrs. ORMISTON CHANT, and adopted.

A hearty vote of thanks was on the motion of Mr. QUELCH, duly seconded, accorded Mrs. Lucas, and the proceedings terminated.

KENNINGTON.

On April 23rd a well-attended public meeting was held at the Horns, Kennington, in support of Mr. Woodall's amendment now before Parliament to extend the franchise to women householders. The chair was occupied by Mr. E. J. WATHERSTON, who remarked that he was heart and soul in favour of the object before them, and he had never heard a sound argument against these claims. In reference to the argument that women were physically incapable of interfering with politics, he would remind them that such a distinction was not recognised by the tax-gatherer and rate-collector. The franchise was about to be extended to farm labourers, and surely the same privilege should be extended to the 20,000 women in England and Wales who owned those farms. If the amendment were carried the Liberal party would become more united as a party, there would be more free libraries and less public houses, less drunkenness, pauperism, and crime, and probably there would be more religion and less cant. (Cheers.)

Mr. J. C. WHITELEY contended that the measure was just and right, and justice should be done in all circumstances and at all times. The want of women's franchise was an injustice to the claims of property and a loss to the country. The government were ready to treat the Irish people on an equality with England and Scotland, and although it might not be altogether convenient, they believed the principle was right; and the same principle, he thought, should be extended to the case of women. It would not be a question of generosity, but of justice; and he thought they could not consistently or logically refuse to grant a vote to those women who possessed the necessary qualifications. It would if carried be a great Liberal triumph, and one which would be founded on supreme justice. (Cheers.) He moved, "That in the opinion of this meeting the coming Reform Bill to be satisfactory should include provisions to extend the franchise to duly-qualified women-householders."

This was seconded by Mr. ORMISTON CHANT, and supported by the Rev. W. H. TACKELL, and ultimately carried, an amendment to the contrary having been negatived by a large majority.

Miss MULLER then moved a resolution petitioning the two borough members and the House of Commons generally to support female suffrage.

This was seconded by Mr. HILL, and supported by Miss KING, and also carried.

WHITECHAPEL.

A meeting was held on April 23rd, in support of Mr. Woodall's amendment for including women householders in the Franchise Bill, in St. Mary's Schools, Whitechapel. The chair was occupied by Viscount HARBERTON, who said: The object of our meeting this evening, and for which we hope to gain your support, is the extension of the Parliamentary suffrage to duly-qualified women. By this we mean women who are heads of families and householders who would be entitled to vote if they were men, and who are disqualified by reason of their sex alone. This movement has now been going on for many years and has made very considerable progress, but we have now reached a crisis in its history when all those who in favour of it are called upon to make the utmost efforts in its behalf, and it is therefore with much pleasure that I have accepted the honour of taking the chair here to-night, because it enables me to do something, if ever so little, towards forwarding so excellent a cause. Few are aware that in the new Reform Bill, by which a very large increase is to be made to the electorate of this country, and

which is intended as far as possible to be a final settlement of the question, there is no provision made for the extension of the suffrage to women. If, then, the Bill were to pass through the House of Commons in its present shape, without this defect being remedied, it would no doubt prove a heavy blow to their interests. Mr. Woodall, therefore, is moving an amendment in Committee to supply this omission, and we are endeavouring by meetings, like the one here to-night, to afford him all the assistance in our power. It is too late now to treat the subject with ridicule, or to speak of the claims of women to the suffrage as outside the range of practical politics. It will not be the fault of our supporters in the House, and it will not be Mr. Woodall's fault if those claims do not appear to be of as much practical consequence as they are undoubtedly reasonable and just. We are asking for nothing that is not included in the principle of the Bill. The Bill is intended to remove unjust and unreasonable distinctions, and that is precisely the object of Mr. Woodall's amendment—to remove an unjust distinction which is left untouched by the Bill. But we are told women are represented already through their fathers and brothers and husbands. I will not deny that some women may be so represented, but that has nothing to do with us. Then who would come in under the terms of the amendment? Would the single women living on their own resources, some independent householders, others earning their living in a great variety of ways? They are not represented either directly or indirectly, and they must continue to be unrepresented unless the franchise is extended to them. And yet is there any ground on which the suffrage is demanded for men which does not apply to these women? They add to the national wealth by their industry, they are compelled to contribute to the national expenditure, they are, moreover, liable to be made the subjects of special legislation—well meaning no doubt, but often very ignorant—and yet they have no means of making their wishes felt. Take again the case of women who are in an independent position as householders. They have all the burdens and all the duties, but none of the privileges, of citizenship. They have to pay rates and taxes as men do, they do useful work on School Boards and as guardians of the poor, but when it comes to voting for members of Parliament, then and then only their sex is held to be a disqualification. Indeed if you put the matter before opponents of the suffrage in this light, and ask them if they sincerely think that women, if they had the suffrage, would give their votes with less intelligence or less honesty than men, they are forced to admit they would not. But then they tell you women do not want votes, and if they had them they would be of no use to them. Well, if women do not want the suffrage, it seems strange that so many women, and them too who have the best means of knowing what is passing in the minds of other women in consequence of the many works of public usefulness in which they are engaged—it seems strange to say that women of this kind, who are not generally over-burdened with business, should waste time and thought in forwarding this movement, if they neither cared for the thing themselves nor found any response in their fellow women. It is remarkable, too, that in all parts of the country large numbers of women will assemble to hear this subject discussed, that they will listen with the greatest attention to the speeches, and show the utmost enthusiasm in its favour. But when any extension of the suffrage is proposed it is the stock argument against it that the class intended to be benefited does not care for it, a statement which generally means that those who say so do not care they should have it. As to the question of what use the suffrage would be to women, it might be sufficient to say if they desire it, and they certainly do desire it, and have taken all the means in their power to show they do, they must themselves consider it to be for their advantage, and they are the best judges of their own interests. But, indeed, there is something of absurdity in arguing a point of this kind. Men do not value the suffrage on purely sentimental considerations, but because they find it a powerful defence to their interests against injustice and neglect. Why should women stand less in need of this protection, and with what propriety can they be excluded from the benefits of a Bill, brought in by a party whose motto is equal rights and equal liberties for all? Indeed, speaking as a Liberal, I feel

this is hardly a credit to our party, and I am afraid our Conservative friends, whom I am glad to say are many, will not fail to twit us with our inconsistency in this respect. Married women and women living with their fathers and brothers may be said to have their interests protected, for they are bound up with the interests of those with whom they live. But this is not so with those whose case I have endeavoured to put before you. They have their own special interests—interests not certainly opposed to those of men, but which they feel and understand, as no man can feel and understand for them. There are subjects on which they feel strongly and have every right to make their voices heard, but they want that influence the suffrage would undoubtedly bestow on them. There is no valid reason why women should be deprived of this influence, and this is one of those steps in the path of progress which may be delayed and hindered, to the injury of all concerned, but which must in the end inevitably be made.

After speeches by Mr. J. HILTON, Mr. R. GARNET MAN, Miss LYDIA BECKER, Mrs. COOPER OAKLEY, and Miss TOD (of Belfast), a resolution was passed declaring that the Franchise Bill, to be satisfactory, should include duly-qualified women householders.

A resolution was also passed for the adoption of petitions to both Houses of Parliament, and memorials to the borough members, Messrs. Ritchie and Bryer, and the proceedings concluded with a vote of thanks to the noble chairman.

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.

ENTHUSIASTIC MEETING IN THE TOWN HALL.

On April 21st a public meeting, in support of Mr. Woodall's amendment for including women householders in the Reform Bill, was held in the Town Hall, Newcastle. There was a crowded audience. In front of the platform a banner, bearing the inscription "Women claim equal justice with men," was displayed, and others of a similar description were hung in various parts of the hall. Previous to the commencement of the proceedings there was an organ recital. The MAYOR (Dr. H. Newton) presided, and was supported by Mrs. Ashton Dilke, London; Mrs. Oliver Scatcherd, Leeds; Mrs. Eva McLaren, Bradford; Miss Tod, Belfast; Mrs. McCormick, Manchester; Dr. Watson, Mr. Reid, Durham; Mr. W. Stoker, Rev. H. E. Radbourne, Mr. J. H. Burn, Mr. John Nixon, Councillor J. C. Laird, Councillor Andersen, Mrs. Henry Batchelor, Mrs. Spence Watson, Miss Richardson, Mrs. Merz, Mrs. Rankin, Mayoress of Gateshead; Mrs. John Mawson, Councillor Jonathan Ellis, Alderman Angus, J.P.; Mrs. Wilson Worsdell, Councillor Hensell, Councillor Calvert, Mr. Pumphrey, Mr. Martin, and others.

The Mayor said his duty that night would be easy, because the advocates of the Women's Suffrage Association were present to speak for themselves, and it would be agreeable, because the object of the meeting had his most cordial approval. (Applause.) He was at a loss to know why the Reform Bill now before the House of Commons did not include women. In the city of Newcastle were 4,000 women who were equally entitled with men to have votes at Parliamentary elections. They were very graciously permitted—(a laugh)—to take a part in the School Board elections, elections of Boards of Guardians, and the election of city councillors, but a line was drawn between them and Parliamentary elections. Those who contributed to the revenues of the State ought certainly to be permitted to say how the money should be spent. If the women were not to have votes, the men should have the manliness to say that they should be exempt from taxation. The position of the women of to-day was different to what it was in 1832. During the past twenty-five years their sisters had made rapid strides, and were now able to stand shoulder to shoulder with men in the march of social life, in the march of education, and in political work. The ladies who were there that night had had a great success on the other side of the Border, and he was quite sure that the people of Newcastle would be equally loyal to the women's cause. (Applause.)

Mrs. OLIVER SCATCERD (Leeds) read communications from Mr. J. Priestman (Shotley Bridge), Mr. T. Burt, M.P., Councillor Youll. The following telegrams were also read:—

TELEGRAMS.

Mrs. Duncan McLaren, Edinburgh, telegraphs: "My heart is with

you. Tell the brave Newcastle men to-night to be faithful to true Liberalism, and send a strong message to Gladstone showing that no Reform Bill can be just which excludes such women as are assembled in Newcastle to-night, and such women as are everywhere in England."

Miss Eliza Wigham, Edinburgh, telegraphs: "Edinburgh Association sends cordial greeting. Hopes your demonstration will be grand success, like Edinburgh, and powerfully propel the righteous cause."

Miss Flora C. Stevenson, Edinburgh, telegraphs: "We send our heartiest congratulations and sincere wishes for the success of your meeting."

Rev. S. A. Steinthal, Manchester, telegraphs: "We hope your meeting is a great triumph, and will help Mr. Woodall to victory in the cause of justice."

Leeds Committee for Women's Suffrage Association telegraphs: "Accept warmest wishes for success. Can a Government be called Liberal when they refuse our demand for justice?"

Dr. Lindsay, Glasgow, telegraphs: "Heartiest congratulations from Glasgow to the Newcastle meeting."

Miss Clara Lucas, Darlington, telegraphs: "Hearty congratulations from Darlington Woman's Liberal Association. An enthusiastic meeting in Newcastle will greatly assist our cause in the north."

Miss Jane Cobden, Boughton Woking, telegraphs: "I wish the meeting this evening all success and deeply regret that ill health prevents my being with you."

Mrs. Cowen, Nottingham, telegraphs: "Nottingham Committee sends greeting. Hopes your meeting will be a great success. You are doing a splendid work."

Mr. REID (Durham) moved the first resolution: "That this meeting has heard with satisfaction that Mr. Woodall, M.P., has given notice that in committee on the Reform Bill he intends to move an amendment for extending the Parliamentary franchise to all women possessing the statutory qualifications for the same, and pledges itself to use all constitutional means of securing the adoption of this wise and just proposal." He congratulated the people of Newcastle upon the large attendance that night, and said if there was any place where a question of that kind would be well received, and helped it was canny Newcastle. (Applause.) He advocated the claims of women to the suffrage, and said it was now their duty to do all in their power to support the amendment of Mr. Woodall, and show to the House of Commons that they were determined that this anomaly should no longer exist. (Loud applause.)

Mrs. ASHTON DILKE, who was received with loud and prolonged cheering, seconded the resolution. She said she was there that night to say a few words to them upon a cause which she had very much at heart, which she had worked for earnestly among the many thousands of women who had worked for that great cause; and if the people of Newcastle would add their voices and their help to that question, she was sure that it would not be very long before it was settled. (Applause.) They had had splendid meetings lately. Their committee had organised large meetings at Edinburgh, as they had heard; at Birmingham also, and at dozens, if not hundreds, of towns, boroughs, and villages all over the country. But that was the largest and most enthusiastic meeting that she had seen for some time. And she did not believe, as she had already said, that question could be pushed in the background when such meetings as that insisted upon bringing it forward and determined to have it carried. (Applause.) Reform was in the air. Reform was being called for from many households. Reform was practically granted in many households. But there was one class of households that had been entirely left out. There were some who said to them, "Universal suffrage is not a long way off; why do you trouble about these few thousand women householders? When universal suffrage comes you will certainly be put in it." She did not think they were their best friends who urged them to put off trying the experiment of women's suffrage. They had now an opportunity of granting the suffrage logically in the present Reform Bill to a limited number of the women of this country. Those who thought that there should be a property qualification should especially support them. There was nothing that could give the Reform Bill some finality, and make it practical, so much as including all householders within it. People talked about England having the household suffrage; but many thousands, nay millions, outside the boroughs knew that it had not been a reality. But now, with the Reform Bill, it was to

be a reality. But there was one omission, and it was that omission that they wished to put in. In the present Bill there were clauses that they maintained were less logically part of the Bill than that for which they asked. There was the service franchise, for instance, which they did not ask to be excluded; but they said it was less logically part of the Household Suffrage Bill than the women householders. (Applause.) This question was in a different position within the last few days. It was only some fortnight ago that Liberal members of Parliament could not bear to have the question put before them at all. They were in a state of doubt and perplexity as to whether this great Reform Bill was to become law this session. But the second reading passed by a majority of 130, and this made it quite certain that it must pass this session, at any rate the House of Commons. (Applause.) Now that there was no danger of the principle of the Bill becoming law, she thought a little attention might be paid to the simply logical amendment which they proposed. There were amendments which were dangerous to the principle of the Bill. There was the amendment moved by Mr. Albert Grey—(hisses)—to put off the Bill entirely until redistribution should be passed. ("Shame.") There might be some danger in such an amendment as that. (Hear, hear.) But in such an amendment as would include logically the few remaining householders left outside the Bill, it seemed to her there could be no real danger. It must not be thought for a moment that they grudged a vote to any man. They did not grudge a vote either to the miner in the country or the agricultural labourer in the village—or to the men of Ireland either. They did not object to service franchise, but they did say that it was time they were not left out also. Then people began to ask them, "How will women vote? What will they do with their votes? What good can votes be to them?"—and many other questions. They did not ask, in giving the agricultural labourer the franchise, whether he would vote Liberal or Conservative. Mr. Gladstone was the last man to ask such a question as that. (Loud applause.) And, curiously enough, they were told continually, on the one hand, that all women were revolutionary; and, on the other hand, that all women were Conservatives. (Laughter.) Obviously, women, like men, would vote on the side on which they had been brought up, on which their interests and associations lay; the side on which, to a great extent, their convictions lay. (Applause.) She did not think that there would be any very great difference. They would not find the women rank entirely on one side or the other. But she wished especially to say that it seemed to her that that question should not be asked. If they could prove that women would honestly try and vote for the best man and the best party, and that they were educated enough to understand different questions, it seemed to her that there the whole gist of the matter lay. (Applause.) Some had urged that women were obviously weaker than men, that they had less physical force. And some seemed to think that that was an argument why women should not have votes. Would they have constitutional government at all if it was merely a question of the strongest voting? It was because it was found impossible to allow the strongest to rule, and to allow that might was right, that the system of voting was invented, in order to give the weak some power and some claim, and a way in which to make their grievances heard. It did seem to her illogical that men should turn and say women were the weaker sex, and therefore they should not have a vote. She felt inclined to answer that as women were the weaker sex, therefore they especially wanted the vote. (Loud applause.) She did not come to make too much of the grievances under which women suffered. There were some very great grievances. Their own children did not belong to them. In property there was no equality; there was no equality on many questions of education; there was no equality on many questions of labour and work. There were many grievances that she could speak upon; but she would like to point out to them that they were increasing the duties and responsibilities of women by every Act of Parliament that was passed, and that therefore they must have votes to defend these duties and these responsibilities, and to defend their own rights that these duties created. (Applause.) When the Married Women's Property Act was passed, two years ago, that Act was looked forward to by women with the greatest expectancy. They worked their utmost to see it passed. But the Bill increased the duties of woman; it threw upon woman the duty of being a trustee; it threw upon woman the possibility of becoming a bankrupt; it threw upon woman the duty of maintaining her family. These were duties

that were formerly entirely undertaken by men. So it was in other branches of legislation. They found that their duties were increased; they were called upon to hold the position of men, and yet they were not given votes. They found that the political agent, when he walked up the street canvassing for votes, went into five-sixths of the houses; but the sixth house was occupied by a woman, and he did not call at that house. (Laughter and applause.) When the woman householder did wrong, however, the policeman did not miss that house. The woman was called upon to obey the laws, to pay the taxes, and to do all the duties of a citizen without having a vote. Some people seemed to think that giving women a vote would have an extraordinary effect upon those women. They seemed to think that in some way it would unsex them to go to the polling booth once in three or four years. They seemed to think that to read the newspapers and to take an intelligent interest in political questions would make them different. Yes, it would make them different. It would make them more intelligent. It would make them better wives and daughters. (Hear, hear.) Women would suffer less from dullness and listlessness and want of interest in life, and in every way, it seemed to the speaker, it would make a difference. But that it would unsex them, that it would make them less feminine, she could not for a moment admit or believe. The number of women who were earning their own livelihood throughout this country was increasing enormously, and the whole of the labour questions, whether discussed in Parliament or in the country, affected these women very intimately. It seemed to the speaker that it was an excellent thing that women should earn their own livelihood, for every woman who earned her own livelihood relieved some man from that duty, made some man's task in life lighter, and the more they encouraged women to earn their own livelihood, the greater would the division of labour be. It seemed to her that one of the great questions of the day was how to divide labour better, how to divide wages better, how to diminish the number of drones, and to increase the number of working bees in the British Empire. (Applause.) They did not throw difficulties in a boy's way when he was trying to earn his own livelihood; they did not try to make it difficult for him to earn his own livelihood. Yet for a girl to earn her own livelihood and to become independent, required an energy and an enterprise which were not required of a boy, and which, in her opinion, would be looked for in vain in a large number of boys in this country. (Hear, hear.) Considering the amount of good they did by thus earning their livelihood, if they said to them, "You will make our task easier; you will help us; you will do that which will be beneficial not only to us, but to the community in giving us votes"—it seemed to her that they should not be refused. But she was repeating the old, old arguments. They had been told them over and over again, and she need scarcely repeat them, as she knew they all agreed with them upon this subject. But after all one must say the old arguments over and over again until they were impressed upon the minds of those who made the laws of the country, and until the women obtained that vote for which they were working so hard. The working men of this country had done an immense deal of good since they got their vote. It was not so much by having members in Parliament—although they had one or two excellent working men representatives there—but by the possession of the franchise that they had been able to settle labour questions in the House of Commons in a fair and just way. She did not know of an instance in England when a class that had been given the franchise had exercised that franchise for the sole advantage of that class, and not for the benefit of the community generally. (Applause.) The working men had not done it most certainly, nor had the middle classes, and it seemed to her that if they gave women the suffrage, although they might get some of their special grievances done away with, they would consider that their votes had been given to them for the benefit of the community at large. (Loud applause.)

Miss TOP (Belfast) supported the resolution. She said they had just been listening to an old friend, but she came amongst them as a stranger. But she brought with her the heartiest wishes of the North of Ireland to that meeting at Newcastle. She knew that the English people were often exercised in their minds about the Irish and their affairs. (Laughter.) But in the country which she represented there that night there were two classes of questions which were uniting the interests on both sides of the Channel. One was the group of questions of moral reform, upon which they

were walking side by side with the English; and the other was the group of questions respecting justice to women and the introduction of women into the electorate of the country. They were, as they knew, divided in religious feeling and in political feeling. But upon this great question Liberals, Conservatives, and Home Rulers, Protestants and Catholics, rich and poor, she was thankful to say, were with them, their supporters upon the question of women's suffrage. (Applause.) It had been her fortune to hear several of the debates that had taken place in the course of the discussion upon the second reading of the present Franchise Bill, and she had been very thankful that so many men of understanding and influence had spoken of their claim, and had spoken of it as one which was necessary to complete the Franchise Bill, and to make it really what it professed to be—a Household Franchise Bill. In listening to these debates, there was one thing that struck her, and she was not aware that the gentleman who uttered it had ever been a friend of theirs. If not, she begged to commend his own utterance to his own attention. She referred to Mr. Mellor, the member for Grantham, who said that that question of the franchise was not so much one to be considered by those who possessed it already, but by those who did not possess it. (Applause.) That was, in Parliamentary phrase, what they had heard said many a time—that it was the wearer of the shoe that knew where it pinched. (Laughter.) In that capacity, the women said most emphatically that it would pinch them sorely, and it would hurt the whole country as well as them if that Bill were passed without including women. What they had to do—the women who had the vote already no less than those who had not got it yet—was to say that that Bill must include women; that they would not even face the possibility of its failing to do so. She believed that a few firm statements of that kind from such meetings as that would go very far to fulfil their own desire, and to make it impossible that the Bill should fail to include them. They had, of course, enemies to meet, as they always had had. They had the old set, who disliked everything in the shape of justice to women. But she was struck, when listening to the debate in the House of Commons, to see how these men, these old-fashioned determined opponents to justice to women, obtained no new recruits to their own ranks. Debate after debate, the same old claims, with which they had been familiar for the last fifteen years, came to the front. The very same people raised the very same objections, and apparently could get no other men to take them up. (Laughter.) At the same time, the ranks of those in favour of women's suffrage were gaining in force and in numbers every day. They counted new recruits from amongst the men who were engaged in philanthropic work, doing their best for the good of their fellow-creatures, and new recruits from the younger men who were growing up in a wholesome atmosphere, and under more generous traditions, than their forefathers had done. Still, that old residuum of enemies remained. And they really could do very little with that class. They had tried to convert them, and they thought it was hardly worth while to try any more. (Laughter.) But they had other enemies—or rather, she would call them uninstructed friends, who really were not aware that what they were asking was nothing new, nothing contrary to the principle of the British constitution. It was perfectly true that while class after class of men had been brought within the range of the electorate, no class of women had yet been included. Nevertheless, they were not stepping one inch beyond the precedent which had been already set, and she knew that precedent was very dear to the English heart. (Applause.) They had already given the municipal franchise to women in England. They in Ireland had not got it yet. They had already given the School Board franchise; they had already given every local franchise. She asked them whether the heavens had fallen, or whether anything terrible had happened since. She did not think that anything dangerous had occurred from the bestowal of the local franchise upon women. This franchise which they now asked followed precisely the same lines. The women whom they asked to be included in the franchise were, for the most part, educated, thoughtful people, who were already doing a large part of the work of the world. They were those who thought of and cared for every person; who felt for the poor, the children, the sick, the ignorant, the criminal, the tempted, the fallen. These were their clients, to whom they were bound by the strongest of all human ties—the tie of duty to God. To whom they felt that they owed all their

strength. But they felt also that their strength was but weakness with the instruments which they at present possessed, and that they must obtain the only weapon which was sufficient and efficient for the self-governing representation of a country, namely, a share in the representation. She asked every man there who made a conscience of the way in which he used his vote to say whether he would not be strengthened by their wives, and sisters, and daughters having votes, and aiding them in every good work he had to do. (Applause.) But there were those who were their true friends, and who, while desiring to see the women enfranchised, were so anxious to have the present Franchise Bill carried intact, that they would rather they should wait. These people were not aware how sorely the shoe would pinch them if they had to wait. They asked that meeting to help them to say that this would not do; that they must get the equality they sought in the present Bill. They must remember, among other things, that it was extremely difficult to reopen the question of reform when once it was supposed to be closed. (Applause.) They knew themselves how much that was the case. When the urban householders obtained the franchise in 1867, the men who lived outside of the towns did not suppose they would have to wait so long before the question should be raised of their obtaining a vote. They at present were dependent entirely upon the personal goodwill of their friends to obtain a hearing at all. The working men in the counties and the women must fight together the one battle of justice. She was thankful to say that she had been able to make a good many converts among the members of Parliament, and she had sometimes said to them, when speaking to them, that they themselves would be among the greatest gainers when the women's suffrage question was settled upon a just basis, for it would help to clear away doubts and difficulties; it would help them to care more for conscience in all the duties which they would have to perform. She had said that to them, and they had acknowledged the truth of it. She asked them to say it again there that night, and to record the opinion of the people of Newcastle upon the important subject. Nothing that they proposed to do in this matter could injure any man. The doing away with a monopoly would hurt nothing and nobody. In the old days, when one manufacture was protected by duties, and another manufacture was protected by duties, it was supposed that any change that would simplify the trade of the country, that would make bread, and clothing, and the comforts of the people cheaper, would do somebody some harm, that it would injure those who were in some way mixed up with it. She asked them to look round upon the country, even when trade was not so prosperous as it used to be, and to say whether the country was better or worse for doing away with these evil monopolies. She was sure they must see that no permanent injury had been done to anyone. Right wronged no one. (Applause.) Justice to women would do them all good, for women would be morally and intellectually better for their open admission as citizens, and men would be the better for looking at things through the eyes of their beloved near and dear ones—their mothers, wives, and sisters. Doing away with monopolies was good for everybody, and she asked them to do away with the monopoly of representation by men. She did not feel inclined to speak of specific grievances under which women were suffering. There was no man who knew the realities of life who was not well aware that women suffered, and very grievously, from the want of representation. She did not wish to speak of these grievances. She only asked them to speak out and say that women must now be enfranchised at the same time as the other householders of the kingdom. She could only say once more that that was a question upon which the whole of the three kingdoms were united. (Loud applause.)

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

Mr. W. STOKER moved: "That memorials be signed by the chairman and sent to Joseph Cowen, Esq., John Morley, Esq., Wentworth B. Beaumont, Esq., and Albert H. C. Grey, Esq., members for the borough and county, respectfully requesting them to support Mr. Woodall's amendment, whereby duly qualified women wish to be recognised as 'capable citizens.'"

Mrs. EVA M'LAREN seconded the resolution, and said that one or two speakers had said they did not care to go into the question of women's special grievances. She admitted herself that it was not a very pleasant platform to take, and she rather agreed with the lecturer who once said that she wished she need never have to do

it, but merely support the subject, on the plea of simple justice. But she wished to go into it a little herself that evening. They had heard the abstract reasons given of why women should have a vote. She wished to put in a plea for those women that the last lady speaker mentioned—the women who suffered under the unjust and unequal laws of this country—and the reason she wished to do so was because she believed from what she saw of that meeting that they were agreed that it was but a simple measure of justice that they were asking for women. (Applause.) They had recognised that already. What she wanted them to see was the urgency of the question. They wanted the suffrage now, at the moment, at the same time that hundreds and thousands of men in the country had it. (Applause.) The women wanted it now to prevent further injustice and injury to women. She wanted to bring to their mind and illustrate to them, if possible, in a few words the way in which women suffered from not being enfranchised. The direct consequence of men only having a voice in the law-making of this country had been that justice had been often done to the men almost at the expense of the women, with the result also that the claims of women had been overlooked. Of course it may be urged that at any rate in one of the laws they had had a grievance redressed, for they had seen the Married Women's Property Act passed into law. But even in the matter of property they did not obtain that act of justice without asking loudly for it. Numbers of brave women had been working for it for twenty-five years, and the fact that that measure became law was simply one of the results of this agitation, which they were keeping up for the purpose of getting women's suffrage. (Applause.) As one of the speakers had hinted, the State did not see that the unrepresented of this country were those who were most liable to suffer. Therefore they ought to be the first to receive consideration. The State then, like other bodies of legislators, did pretty much the same under similar circumstances—ignore the claims of the unrepresented altogether as to the laws under which women suffered. There were several, and she would name two or three of them. Probably the one that hurt women most of all was that of the custody and guardianship of children, where the rights were entirely on the side of the father, and where the mother was entirely ignored. She believed there were numbers of people who were absolutely ignorant of the working of this law. They did not know that a father was absolutely the master as regarded the children, and that the woman had no voice at all. They did not realise it, because it was only in exceptional cases that it came to the front. In families where there was union, where the father and mother were both agreed as to the education and religion of the children, it need never come to the surface. But where there was a difference of opinion, and where the law had to be consulted, the law was very hard upon the weaker one—upon the woman, who had had, they must own, most of the trouble, at any rate, of rearing the children to begin with. (Hear, hear, and applause.) Not only had the father a right during his time to influence the education and religion of his child, but he had a right to appoint guardians to act after his death, and to leave the mother out entirely—willing his children away to outsiders, as if they were ordinary property, and ignoring the mother altogether. When this was done it was supported by the law, because before the law there was but the father and the child. The mother practically did not exist in this matter at all before the law. Now, another law in which females suffered was that relating to the protection of young girls. She did not think there was such a law—she did not think the children of this country were protected. All who had read these cases in the newspapers must have realised the almost nominal punishments inflicted for assaults upon children and women, and how shocking it was that in a country like England the age of protection should be put at thirteen. At that age a child was supposed to be able to protect herself and care for her own honour; but they must all feel that a child of that age scarcely understood what her honour was; yet she was not afforded even the poor protection which the law could give her. (Applause.) Another way in which she thought they had been rather badly treated was in the matter of brutal assaults upon women. This was a question which had been coming up a great deal lately. They could see every day in the newspapers accounts of the brutal assaults committed by men upon their wives and mothers, or upon women who happened to come across their path when they were not very sober. A man seemed almost able to commit what brutality he liked with impunity—at any rate,

he was not so much punished for half killing a woman as for stealing a pair of boots or a suit of clothes. She thought one of the strongest proofs of the indifference of the legislators to the ill-treatment of women, the unrepresented class, was to be seen in the reply which the Home Secretary gave to a question which was put to him not three weeks since. Mr. Macfarlane said to him in the House of Commons, drawing his attention to a nominal sentence which had been passed upon a man for most brutally ill-treating a woman, "Do you propose to bring forward any scheme for the amendment of this law?" The Home Secretary replied, "I do not know that there is any defect in the law." The magistrates could, if they would, pass severe sentences for assaults of this kind upon women. What the speaker maintained was this, not perhaps that the law was unsound in the maximum of punishment, but that it was decidedly unsound as regarded the minimum. The minimum was infinitely too low, and all those who read the papers could see that for some reason or other the magistrates were almost always nearer to the minimum than to the maximum in these cases. (Hear, hear.) Now, to draw the connection rather closely, it was the opinion of the speaker that if Sir William Harcourt had had about 500 women amongst his constituents at Derby, his reply would have been different. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) As one of the speakers had said, they had a great number of friends on their side—friends who, at any rate, believed that it was only justice to women to give them the vote, but who were not very keen that it should be brought forward just now; and their excuse for holding back was that they would be deck-loading the Reform Bill. She supposed that if they looked back at the different Reform Bills which had been passed, it would be found that there was scarcely a Bill which had had a better chance of passing than the one which had recently been read a second time by such an enormous majority. The Government need have no fear that an amendment doing simple justice to a few thousand women would endanger the measure. It seemed to the speaker to be a very feeble and paltry excuse. Apart altogether from the interests of women, this question should be settled now, because it was well that the franchise question should be settled at once. It was very bad for all concerned that the basis of electoral power should constantly be altered, and for this reason, in addition to the women's interest, they wanted the question settled now. (Applause.) She had endeavoured to show in what way women really suffered under the injustice and inequality of the laws. The connection between their grievances and the suffrage was, she thought, not very difficult to see, and needed no explanation. Apart from the abstract justice of the claim of the agricultural labourers, were not their special grievances given as a reason for their enfranchisement. They were told that until the agricultural labourers had electoral power at their backs, they would never get a full redress for the grievances under which they suffered. What was the result of the artisans in the towns being enfranchised? The Education Act. Just as that was the case, so would the enfranchisement of women be followed by measures of justice to them. (Hear, hear.) She quite agreed with those speakers who said that the enfranchisement of women would be right and just and good as regarded men also. (Hear, hear.) She did not think that a great number of educated and cultivated women could possibly be enfranchised and take part in political life without affecting the whole nation for good. (Applause.) But she thought that, as in the case of all other classes who had been enfranchised, special measures of justice to them would follow. (Hear, hear.) Was it not right that in England there should be equal justice for all men and all women, for rich and for poor? Cobden said once that whatever sphere women walked in they would be on the side of mercy, of justice, and humanity. (Applause.) Were we not wasting a very large part of the power of the nation by excluding women? (Applause.)

Dr. WATSON supported the resolution, which was carried unanimously. Dr. RUTHERFORD moved: "That petitions be signed by the chairman and sent to both Houses of Parliament, praying them to embody the principle of Mr. Woodall's amendment in the new Reform Bill." He asked if there were not a danger of monotony in our political life, and if women would not import some freshness into political work. (Applause.)

Mr. LAIRD seconded the motion.

Mrs. OLIVER SCATCHERD (Leeds) supported the resolution, and

she certainly did so with the most intense pleasure. They had carried the two previous resolutions so heartily that she felt in very good spirits about this one. She thought, and rightly thought, that a petition to both Houses of Parliament from such a meeting as that would have very great weight indeed. Newcastle was one of the leading political centres, if not the leading political centre, in the North of England. (Applause.) It was happily the freest political centre of all. (Hear, hear, and applause.) In that great Town Hall they had held many large meetings on various questions; they had fought many good battles there, and upon their historic Town Moor. But she ventured to say that never had they met upon a more interesting subject than that, or upon one that was of more vital significance to the nation. (Hear, hear.) Now, the people of Newcastle had been appealed to directly within the last seven months four times upon this question, and right well had they responded every time. In last September they had a monstrous demonstration upon their Town Moor in favour of the extension of the franchise. To their honour be it said, six of the men who spoke from those platforms remembered the women householders of the country, and pleaded for justice for them as well as for others. (Applause.) That fact would ever keep the memory of Newcastle green in the hearts of women. (Hear, hear.) Last October the Liberal Association, which was so ably presided over by so just a man as Dr. Watson—(applause)—met to select delegates to send to the great Liberal Conference which was held at Leeds, and she was glad to say the effect of that meeting went in favour of women's suffrage; the Newcastle delegates were left perfectly free, and she believed all of them voted for female suffrage. On Sunday an appeal was made on the Sandhill to 2,000 men of Newcastle, and right well did they respond, not one hand being held up against the motion. That night they made their last appeal, and it seemed that they had gone from one victory to another, and that that was the greatest of all. Mr. Gladstone said that he did not wish to overload his Bill. She thought they had had it explained to them that Mr. Woodall's amendment could not by any possibility do any harm to the Reform Bill. The second reading was an immense fact—it had been carried by such a huge majority that, as Mrs. Dilke had said, it was safe at any rate as far as the House of Commons was concerned. So that the men need not fear they would be doing any injustice to themselves or the country if they voted for Mr. Woodall's amendment. They knew from a very careful calculation that a majority of the members of the House were in favour of women's suffrage. This was the time for trying them. Were they going to be true to the women? (Laughter and applause.) They were never allowed to forget that indecision and irresolution were not feminine qualities only, and they found that men often took advantage of what was generally supposed to be solely a woman's privilege, and changed their minds. (Laughter.) Were they going to do this now? A gentleman said to her not long ago, "I quite sympathise with the movement for which you are struggling, but you will never get it." She asked "Why?" and the reply was "Because you cannot be nasty enough." (Laughter.) Well, women did not want to be nasty—they would be very glad if the men would do that part of the business for them. (Renewed laughter.) How were they to get what they wanted? Men all over the country were saying that they approved of the amendment, but to approve was a different thing from caring for it, and she said, "How much do you care?" She wanted the men of Newcastle to do more than adopt resolutions. Let them write to their members, and let the women householders write. It was said that it would be courteous for the women to stand aside for the present and allow the Bill to pass as it was; but she thought there was not much courtesy in enfranchising two millions of men and requesting the women to stand aside. Women did not know what political courtesy was, and were not going to know what it was. They were told that they ought to be patient. Well, they had been patient for many days, and they were now rebellious, and were not going to be politically patient any longer. (Hear, hear.) They had talked long enough, and intended now to translate speech into action. Some of her friends had refused, and would go on refusing, to pay taxes; they were going to resist the officers of the law to the utmost, and were going to put their silver out of the way, so that only the heavy furniture should be left to be taken out. (Laughter.) If they took the advice of Mrs. Lucas, they would stick a bill in the window to let them know why it had been taken out. (Laughter.) And then men

told them, "O, you will get it sooner or later; it is only a question of time." Very well, they said they wanted it sooner, and if they were to have it sooner they must fight their battle, they must raise their voices, even if it shocked some rather fastidious people, and if they were even to give some selfish people a little trouble. Why should they be told to wait; why should millions of women and children continue to suffer until two millions more men got the vote? They were not content, and meant to fight. They were told that this was not any class question. Of course there were laws that affected all women hardly. But those of them who had comfortable homes, who did not know what it was to want at all, and were surrounded by comfort and affection, those women perhaps did not think of the vote much. But behind them whom did they see? Massed together, there were millions and millions of their fellow country-women who rose early and toiled till late, who worked and suffered and could not speak for themselves. It was for those that they were there that night to speak for. (Loud applause.) She admitted that the educational position of women had improved of recent years. She admitted also that in a certain way her industrial position had improved. But she thought that in some respects her moral position had been pushed back practically by the law. The question was had her legal position to remain so far behind her educational position? And they hoped the men of Newcastle would help them to remedy that state of things. It had been said that they could not fight, and that that was the reason why they should not have the vote. Well, there was a very good reason why. They had more sense. (Loud laughter.) But she would tell them what they had to do. They had to put their hands into their pockets and pay, as the men did, for somebody else to fight for them. (Laughter.) And they might just as well say that they should not have a vote for the town council because they could not be policemen. (Laughter.) Yet nobody ever said or suggested that the women should not have a municipal vote. (Cheers and applause.) She was at a banquet held in Leeds not long ago when a gentleman gave the toast of "The Ladies," and in the course of his speech he called the ladies the "weaker vessels." A man at the banquet at once shouted out, "I only wish you had our Sal to deal with for a fortnight." (Loud laughter.) And there were a good many Sals if they wanted them to try it on. (Renewed laughter.) It was not for her at that late hour to go through the list of grievances from which women suffered. But there was one danger which had been woven round the lives both of men and women, especially about the lives of women, that she wished to point out. It was especially injurious to the women because they had no vote to protest against it. She referred to the ever-increasing way in which their lives were being placed under inspectors and under policemen. (Applause.) Men suffered from that; but women knew bitterly what it was to suffer from under inspection. Their legislators seemed to have no other idea of dealing with women than by placing them under police control or under inspection of one kind or another. She was glad to have read, and she hoped many of them had read and studied, the two recent able articles of Mr. Herbert Spencer upon this subject, in which he strongly protested against this, and in which he showed what an army of inspectors we were raising up and paying them salaries year by year in order to watch our lives indoors and out of doors. She was glad that Sir William Vernon Harcourt in his speech followed suit. She could tell those two gentlemen that their words had found an echo in the minds of hundreds and thousands of intelligent educated women, and in the minds of hundreds and thousands of hard-working and suffering women throughout the country. They had heard a good deal of talk lately about Christian chivalry to women. Why, the word had an old world flavour about it. Chivalry! When the law of England did not compel a man to support his own wife and children unless she became a pauper and threw herself on the parish and went into the workhouse. Chivalry! When they protected young men up to twenty-one years of age from money lenders, and left the fact to be burnt into the mind of every one of them—when the law of England refused protection to a child if she was over the age of thirteen. Chivalry! When they put women into prison for an act for which they allowed men to go scot free. Chivalry! When a fine of half-a-crown or five shillings, or a week's imprisonment at most, was deemed a sufficient punishment for a man who had perhaps gouged out his wife's eye, stamped upon her body, or perpetrated some other unutterable

cruelty upon the poor creature. Chivalry! Out with it, and give them in its place one shred of Christian justice. (Loud applause.) She was done, but she could not close her speech without a hearty word of thanks, on behalf of herself and her colleagues, who had worked to get up that meeting, to the men and women of Newcastle for the way in which they had received them. She had said that that was a political centre. She felt it. She had not been in their town two days until she saw the difference of working amongst them as compared with working in other towns. They were grateful, too, for the help they had given them. They would carry away with them very pleasant memories from Newcastle. They wished them to carry their resolutions into practice, and to let their members know that they meant to go through the door of Reform when it was open. (Applause.)

The resolution was carried unanimously. Mrs. SCATCHERD proposed a vote of thanks to the mayor for presiding, and said that when she went to see him his kindness and courtesy, and his ready and prompt help were a very great relief to her, and cheered her on in her work. He had had a charming meeting to preside over, and a very orderly one, and she was sure they would accord him their heartiest thanks for taking the chair that night. (Loud applause.)

Mrs. R. S. WATSON seconded the proposition, which was carried by acclamation.

The MAYOR, in returning thanks, said that the people of Newcastle had secured the female franchise. The wave of reform rolled from Newcastle in the old Chartist times, and the wave of reform would move from Newcastle once more, and would carry the ladies on the top of that wave. (Applause.) He had only one more request to make, and that was to give the missionaries of that agitation three North-country cheers. (Applause.)

Three cheers were given with great enthusiasm.

Mrs. ASHTON DILKE returned thanks on behalf of herself and colleagues, and said that she had only one wish, and that was that Mr. Gladstone himself could be there to see the enthusiasm of their town upon that question. She had been touched to a degree by the reception they had accorded to herself, and equally touched by the kind way in which they had received Mrs. Scatcherd, who had laboured so hard and so earnestly to get up that meeting, and who had made one of the best speeches ever made by woman that night. She only wished that she could speak so well. She could not conclude without thanking them most heartily and sincerely for all their kindness that night, and for the way in which they had received them, and also the question of female suffrage which they had brought before them. (Loud applause.)

The highly successful proceedings then terminated.

OVERFLOW MEETING.

A large overflow meeting was held in the Corn Exchange, beneath the Town Hall, under the presidency of Mr. J. HALL. Addresses were delivered by Mrs. Ashton Dilke, Mr. D. Reed, Mrs. Scatcherd, Miss Tod, Mrs. Eva M'Laren, and Mr. Copland. The following resolution was adopted: "That this meeting is of opinion that no settlement of the Franchise Bill now before Parliament will be satisfactory which does not include duly qualified women, and that a memorial be sent to each house in support of Mr. Woodall's amendment."

PRELIMINARY AND SUBSIDIARY MEETINGS.

On April 7th, a largely attended mothers' meeting was held in the Central Hall, Newcastle-on-Tyne. Mr. Lambert presided, and Mrs. M'Cormick gave an address on "The great good the Parliamentary vote will do for women." This was listened to with deep attention, and at its close the mothers pressed round for literature on the subject, asked questions, and gave examples of how hardly the law bore on many of them. They all thanked Mrs. M'Cormick for visiting them, and loudly applauded as she bid them adieu.

On April 18th, a meeting of ladies was held, by kind invitation of Mrs. Spence Watson, at her residence, Benshaw Grove, Gateshead. There was a good attendance, and Mrs. Scatcherd's address was highly appreciated and caused much discussion. Mrs. Mawson moved, and Mrs. Rankin, Mayoress of Gateshead, seconded, that petitions to both Houses of Parliament be signed by Mrs. Spence Watson on behalf of the meeting, and forwarded by her. This was unanimously agreed to.

On April 19th, Mrs. Oliver Scatcherd sang at a large temperance concert, held in the Central Hall, Newcastle, and afterwards gave a short address showing the connection between temperance work and the franchise. This was well received, and much interest in the great meeting on 21st excited. Mrs. Sunley also recited a poem by G. R. Sims.

On April 20th, a meeting was held on the Sandhill, Newcastle, at which over two thousand persons were present, to discuss the question of women's suffrage. Mr. J. Hall presided, and Mrs. Oliver Scatcherd and Mrs. Agnes Sunley, of Leeds, attended as a deputation. The Chairman having briefly introduced the purpose of the meeting, Mr. Phillip Shotton proposed the following resolution: "That this meeting is of opinion that no settlement of the Parliamentary franchise will be satisfactory which does not include duly-qualified women; and that a memorial be sent to both Houses embodying the above motion, and also that Mr. John Morley be requested to present the same." Mr. Shotton spoke at length, and said that great improvement had taken place in the conditions under which women were forced to become keen competitors in the race with men. The sex still laboured under many inequalities and disabilities. But now, as they had been entrusted with the right to serve on school and parochial boards, and the power to vote for town councillors, they came forward and claimed the further right to vote for members of Parliament. An old cry used to be "No taxation without representation." To this they still held. (Cheers.) All the women householders who were left the heads of families performed the double function of husband and wife, and paid the rates and taxes. Mr. Copland seconded the proposition. Mrs. Oliver Scatcherd and Mrs. Agnes Sunley also supported the resolution, the latter, speaking as a working woman, having experienced many of the unfair regulations and laws which pressed upon her sex. On the motion being put, after due time being given for any amendment, it was carried without a dissentient. A vote of thanks to the deputation brought the meeting to a close.

On April 22nd, Mrs. Sunley visited the same hall, where a women's temperance meeting was being held. She recited "The Painter of Seville," and then gave a short address on women's suffrage, inviting those present to come forward and sign a petition in favour thereof. This invitation was well responded to.

23, Onslow Square, South Kensington, S.W.,

April 24th, 1884.

My dear Mr. Mayor,—The Franchise Bill is not perfect, but it is practical. It reduces a glaring inequality. I want it to become law, and the best way to attain that end is for its friends not to delay its progress by unnecessary speaking, or impossible amendments. There are, however, exceptions to every rule. I am prepared to make one in the case you write about, and will vote, as I have always hitherto done, for extending the suffrage to women householders.—Yours very truly,

JOS. COWEN.

The Right Worshipful Mayor of Newcastle.

Berkeley Lodge, West Hill, Putney, S.W.,

April 24th, 1884.

Dear Mr. Mayor,—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of the memorial that you have been good enough to forward to me, and to assure you that so important an expression of opinion shall have its full weight with me.—With many thanks, believe me, yours very truly,

JOHN MORLEY.

Bretton Park, Wakefield, 25th April, 1884.

Dear Sir,—I have duly received the memorial you have been so good as to send me from a meeting in Newcastle, over which you presided, in favour of adopting female suffrage in the coming Reform Bill. I have long been of opinion that women ought not to have the franchise, and I therefore regret I shall be unable to give the movement in which you are interested any sympathy or support. I need not say how much I regret to find myself in difference with you, but I am consoled by the reflection that, after all, there are few political subjects upon which our views are not in harmony.—I am, very faithfully yours,

W. B. BEAUMONT.

The Worshipful the Mayor of Newcastle-on-Tyne.

Mr. Albert Grey, M.P., writing on the same subject, says he does not think he should be justified in binding himself as to the course

he shall take in reference to the amendment; but he is in favour of giving the vote to women who are the heads of households.

Mr. Gladstone, in acknowledging the receipt of a copy of a resolution passed at a women's suffrage meeting recently held at Newcastle, says he recognises the importance of the question raised by Mr. Woodall's amendment, but he is bound to consider the risk in which the entire Bill might be involved were the Government to give countenance to proposals entailing changes of importance.

PUBLIC MEETINGS.

BATH.

GREAT MEETING IN THE GUILDHALL.

On April 2nd a crowded meeting was held at the Guildhall, Bath, in support of the extension of the Parliamentary franchise to women householders and ratepayers. The MAYOR (Mr. T. Wilton) presided. There were also present Mrs. Beddoe (Clifton), Miss Sturge (member of the Bristol School Board), Miss Becker (member of the Manchester School Board), Mrs. Jeffery (Bath), Mrs. Ashworth Hallett, Miss Blackburn (secretary of the West of England Suffrage Society), Mrs. L. Daubeny, Miss Weld, Mrs. Townshend, Miss Lee, Mrs. Blomefield, Mrs. Pakenham, Rev. Sir John R. Bunbury, Bart., Rev. Preb. Anderson, Rev. T. Child, Dr. Brabazon, Dr. Viner, Messrs. W. H. Brumby, A. W. Weston, H. Hancock, T. W. B. Cox, M. Pakenham, R. King, W. Parham, R. D. Commans, W. Pumphrey, S. G. Mitchell, J. Cross, C. Milsom, F. E. Shum, J. Chirnside, Townshend, P. Braham, J. Dyke, C. Daubeny, A. Hammond, J. Theobald, S. Hayward, J. Rubie, and J. G. Wilton.

The MAYOR said that in accepting the invitation that was made to him by the secretaries of this branch of the Association, he considered that he was not in any way infringing upon that rule which his predecessors and himself had observed, that they should in no case, and in no matter in which a purely political question arose or was to be discussed, take part in it. That was a rule which ought to be strictly observed, and it was one which ensured the impartial performance of the duties which attach to the office of mayor of the city. The question that they had before them now was not a party political question in any sense—it was simply one of justice. (Applause.) We had cast away from us the old feudal rule which almost obliterated the individuality of women, and had reverted to that Saxon law which recognised the separate rights, interests, and properties of females. (Hear, hear.) At the present time we recognised to the fullest extent the rights of women to hold property of every kind whether real or personal. We recognised the rights even of married women to carry on separate trades at their own risk, independent altogether of any liability on the part of their husbands, we recognised also other qualifications which they possessed, and we were bound to recognise that they possessed as high an intelligence as men. (Hear, hear.) With all these qualifications, we insisted upon their responsibilities, and having such responsibilities, such rights, they were entitled to the same privileges as men in respect of the same qualifications. Having those views, he should be ashamed of himself if he had not the courage of his own convictions and had accepted the position to which he had been invited, and if he did not wish this movement every possible success. He thought the present time was one when they should energetically and earnestly press the matter forward. The Legislature was now considering the extension of the franchise, and this was a fitting and proper opportunity in which the rights of women should be considered—(hear, hear)—and he trusted they would be successful in obtaining those rights, which for so many years they had been endeavouring to obtain. (Hear, hear.) After a reference to the death of Prince Leopold, Duke of Albany, and having asked the audience to signify their regret by holding up their hands, his worship read the following letter:—

Sion Hill Place, Bath, 2nd April, 1884.

Dear Mr. Mayor,—I greatly regret that I cannot support you to-night in promoting this great cause. The position of women with regard to Parliamentary voting is a shameful injustice. The present state of the Reform question suggests that we now speak with the utmost vigour. It is encouraging to feel that since this agitation began legislation on behalf of women has been more frequent and more equitable. As to the agitation itself, it must be

successful sooner or later. The whole drift of practical Christianity moves in that direction, and before long the prejudices against which we now contend will have vanished from every rational Christian mind, and will remain the exclusive possession of the Turks, and possibly a few members of Parliament.—I am, dear Mr. Mayor, faithfully yours,

(Signed) R. HAYES ROBINSON.

Miss BLACKBURN read the letters which had been received regretting inability to be present. The first was from Mrs. Fawcett as follows:—

March 31st, 1884. 51, The Lawn, S. Lambeth Road.

Dear Mrs. Hallett,—I much regret that my engagements prevent my acceptance of your kind invitation to attend the Bath meeting in favour of extending the Parliamentary franchise to women who possess the qualifications which the law demands from the male elector. What women are now asking for is the simple application to their own case of the usual arguments in favour of representative government, and they believe that this moment, when the suffrage is about to be extended to the agricultural labourers of the three kingdoms, is a favourable one for asking that a similar confidence should be shown in themselves. Women's suffrage, I am aware, is no party question; but I think we, among its supporters, who are Liberals, may take our stand on the broad principle laid down by Mr. Gladstone in introducing the Representation of the People Bill last month, when he said: "The enfranchisement of capable citizens, be they few or be they many—and if they be many so much the better—is an addition to the strength of the State. The strength of the modern State lies in its representative system."—Heartily wishing you a most successful meeting, believe me, yours truly,

(Signed) M. G. FAWCETT.

March 29th, 1884. The Rectory, Newton St. Loe, Bristol.

Madam,—I much regret that I should be unable to be present at your meeting on the 2nd. The contemplated extension of the franchise seems to me to accentuate the justice of your claim, which should commend itself to every fair politician, whether Conservative or Liberal.—I remain, madam, yours faithfully,

(Signed) EDWIN LASCELLES.

30, Sussex Place, Onslow Gardens, S.W., March 30th.

Dear Mrs. Hallett,—Pray allow me to express the warm sympathy I feel in the efforts you are making to place beyond doubt the desire of women to be included in the new Reform Bill. Viewing the measure from my own point of view, which is that of a Conservative, I think the admission of women to the franchise will be a most truly Conservative measure, since none are so interested as we in the preservation of order and morality, and the maintenance of that blessed institution of the English home whereby our country is differentiated from all others. On the other hand, and placing myself for a moment in your standpoint as a Liberal, I think the concession is no less demanded by Liberal principles. In fact I take leave to say that the man who professes Liberal principles and yet refuses the suffrage to qualified women is—let us put it politely—an impostor.—With sincere regard, dear Mrs. Hallett, yours,

(Signed) FRANCES POWER COBBE.

Northstoke Rectory, Bath, April 2nd, 1884.

Dear Madam,—I regret very much that it will not be convenient for me to attend the meeting at the Guildhall this evening. I trust that the meeting will be a success, and that the issue of the labours of the National Society for Women's Suffrage may be the speedy admission to the franchise of women householders and ratepayers.—Believe me to be very faithfully yours,

(Signed) FREDK. O'MELIA, Rector of Northstoke.

The following was received later:—

Bathwick Rectory, Bath, April 2nd.

Dear Mrs. Hallett,—I am sorry that I cannot attend your meeting to-night, because there are no more eloquent and persuasive advocates of a cause than those you seek to enfranchise. I am in favour of the movement, thinking it unreasonable that of two equally qualified independent householding ratepayers one should be disenfranchised solely on account of sex.—Yours very truly,

(Signed) GEORGE TUGWELL.

Letters regretting absence were also received from the Rev. R. Poole (rector of Limply Stoke), Dr. W. F. Tuckett, Dr. Cardew,

Mr. T. W. Gibbs, Mr. W. Hunt, Mr. C. F. Marshall, Mr. R. O. Heywood, Mr. T. D. Archard, Mr. F. Shum, Rev. Prebendary Wood; also a telegram from Mr. T. G. Palmer Hallett, detained by business in Ireland.

Mr. HAMMOND moved the first resolution:—"That in the opinion of this meeting the coming Reform Bill will not be satisfactory unless it extends the right of voting in Parliamentary elections to duly qualified women, who in all local matters have already the right to vote; and this meeting urges the Government to agree to include women householders in their Franchise Bill." This was, he said, a very important question, whether ladies who were qualified by position and property should have a voice in the representation of the country. There could be no doubt that ladies were eminently qualified by their experience of life and the candid and cool view which they took of matters, to exercise a vote at a Parliamentary election. Representation ought to be based upon property, and there was no substantial reason why, when the property was in the hands of the woman, she should be disqualified, for if it came again into the hands of a man he would have a vote in respect of it. He thought that this was an unfair distinction, as many women were more capable of exercising the franchise than some men. He found that in twelve of the principal streets in Bath they had 316 houses, and only 165 voters; that was to say 151 houses were disqualified simply because they were owned by ladies who were either unmarried or widows. Was that a fair state of things, to say that these houses in the bettermost part of the city should be disqualified simply from the fact that they were owned by ladies, and the balance of the representation given to the lower parts of the town? He did not wish to raise any feeling between classes, because he held that one vote was as good as another, and therefore he said that a woman's vote was as good as a man's. They could vote for overseers, guardians, and in municipal elections, and had exercised their votes in the most cautious and proper manner possible. The ladies had a great influence on the members of Parliament, and he always said of Lady Hayter that she represented Bath, for Sir Arthur, he was sure, never gave a vote without consulting with her upon it. (Laughter.) And this was the case in many other instances. Professor Fawcett had said that he would never accept the verdict of the nation on the subject of the disestablishment of the Church unless accompanied by the voice of the women. It would not be a fair verdict otherwise, for the women loved the Church and its institutions as much as the men. It was not a question of politics but of justice. Was it fair that a woman, because she was a woman, should have no vote? He was sorry to see that four cathedral cities had been involved in bribery at the last general election, and he contended that if women had their rights and were enfranchised they would affect the morals of the constituencies for good. To women he would say: Be just and active and fear not, knock, knock, keep knocking at the door of a reluctant Legislature; agitate by all lawful means, and in the end you must be successful. Right must triumph against might. Nay, by your very importunities you must extort what is your undoubted privilege and your indefeasible right, and which your own mental capacity must estimate at its proper value. (Applause.)

This was seconded by Miss STURGE.

Mrs. BEDDOE, who supported the resolution, said that during the first year of the existence of the West of England branch of the Society, it had required no little moral courage to support a measure which, perhaps, more than any other had brought down upon itself public ridicule; and yet when the fashion changed people would be perhaps a little ashamed that that should have been the case with a measure which originated with John Stuart Mill, and which had had the support of most of the able and upright public men of the day without any reference to different sides in politics. It was at first said that the desire for this political vote was confined to a small number of idle and discontented beings. That had been abundantly answered by the meetings of women which had been held in all the different towns throughout the country. Some said that if women obtained a political vote they would be withdrawn from their own proper sphere in life. It was rather a difficult thing properly to describe what that sphere was. Easterns it could easily be conceived considered that women—and men, too, for that matter—possessed more liberty than was good for them, but it was hard to see how registering a vote once in three or four years, in favour of the

gentleman whom they thought best to represent them in Parliament, was to have that effect, more especially as many women were householders and managers of their own public and private affairs. Others told them with great pathos that if they were so unwise as to procure this representation, women would be deprived of the benefit of that sentiment by which men were actuated in their dealings towards them—a sentiment of chivalry, or whatever it might be called. That sentiment had not shown itself in legislation, and had it existed we should scarcely have had laws such as those regulating the property of married women and those relating to the position of a mother to her children. Women owed nothing to that sentiment in the past, and she thought they might safely leave it for private life, and for the benefit of the individual. They asked for justice, and why should men deny to women that privilege which they seemed anxious to thrust upon others who did not possess the qualifications owned by women. (Applause.)

Mr. S. HAYWARD said that the speeches of Mrs. Beddoe and Miss Becker must have convinced all present of the right of women householders to the franchise, but he did not think that the extent of the injustice of their exclusion was fully realised. He would, therefore, give a few statistics of the position of the case in the city of Bath. There were 1,619 women householders in the city possessing the municipal franchise, the qualification for which was in the main the same as the Parliamentary franchise. Now, the number of (male) Parliamentary voters was 6,258; consequently more than one-fourth of the householders of Bath were deprived of the franchise under a so-called household suffrage. Now, surely that could not be a complete or perfect household suffrage which excluded one-fourth of the householders. He found likewise that the whole rating of the city was just above £274,000, and the rating of the women householders was upwards of £90,000. Consequently nearly one-third of the rateable property was excluded from Parliamentary representation, though paying fully one-third of the taxes imposed by Parliament. Taking one district, chiefly inhabited by the upper classes, viz., the Royal Crescent, Marlborough Buildings, Church-street, Brock-street, Gay-street, and the Circus, averaging a rental of above £90 per house, he found that out of 169 houses, 84, or just one-half, were women householders, the total number of Parliamentary voters being 77. Now these votes were exactly neutralised by two streets in the adjoining district, viz., Avon-street and Milk-street, inhabited by the lowest class with an average rental of £10, containing fewer houses and but few women voters. In Grosvenor and Bathwick, with about the average rental of £75, more than half the householders were women. In the above districts the total number of women householders were 247 out of 521 houses. All of these paid income tax and house tax, besides other rates and taxes common to all, and judging from the average rates and rental to gross expenditure, nearly half a million of money was expended by these women householders, and yet they were told they were not fit to be entrusted with the franchise. Going to the opposite side of the city, Lyncombe and Widoombe, he found that out of 779 houses, with an average rental of £35, there were 367, or nearly one-half, women householders. Taking another district in the centre of the city, viz., the North and South Parades and the lateral streets, Duke-street and Pierrepoint-street, chiefly tenanted by lodging-house keepers, with an average rental of £45, he found that out of 55 houses 34 were women householders, the total number of Parliamentary voters being 20. Immediately adjoining were 10 houses let in tenements, averaging £8 rental per tenement, whose voters amounted to 24, more than neutralising the 55 houses before mentioned. He asked was this a fair representation, either of numbers or property? The inequality was not confined to one class, as he had endeavoured to show by the various rentals. They were going, and he thought justly, to enfranchise two millions of men chiefly belonging to one class and specially open to class prejudices and sectional opinions, but as it was now a generally accepted axiom that representation should include all large sections of the community, with what justice could they exclude half a million of householders, embracing every class and every phase of opinion, religious, social, and political?

Miss BECKER also spoke in support of the resolution. The speaker remarked that Mr. Gladstone had in effect told the women householders that they should not hunger for the franchise, but that they must learn to wait and subdue their appetite for political life and knowledge; but she was confident they would not subdue

their agitation until they had obtained what they were legitimately entitled to in the matter. She was present in the House of Commons the other night when Lord John Manners alluded to the anomaly which the provisions of the new Bill would create, and she noticed that not a member of the House rose up to defend that anomaly. The question was now in a very important and critical condition, and she was one of those who believed that when the Franchise Bill became law the women householders would be found to be included along with the others. She was in the House of Commons on Tuesday night, and heard Mr. Woodall express his intention of moving in committee that a clause be inserted including women in the measure, and she believed that proposal would be carried. (Applause.) Quoting during her speech the names of certain prominent statesmen, there was some confusion caused by cheering and hooting by partisans at the back of the room. Miss Becker observed that it was said women were too emotional to have votes, but she saw that men were emotional also, so emotional that she must, instead of referring to a popular statesman by name, term him as Mr. Blank. (Loud laughter.) Instead of its being true that by taking this question of justice to women on board they would endanger the whole ship, she believed it would rather be found to be a ballast which would add to the safety of all interests concerned. (Applause.)

The resolution was then carried by a large majority.

Mr. M. PAKENHAM proposed the following resolution:—"That this meeting adopt petitions to the Houses of Lords and Commons based on the foregoing resolution; also memorials to Sir Arthur Hayter and Mr. Wodehouse, members for Bath, and Sir Philip Miles and Lord Brooke, members for East Somerset, asking their support to the clause to be moved for by Mr. Woodall in the new Reform Bill; and a memorial to Col. Sandys, candidate for Bath; and at this meeting authorise the chairman to sign and forward these on its behalf." He argued that the great social questions which were now coming up for discussion, and which would have to be solved, were arguments for the extension of the franchise to women, who were even now in the forefront doing what they could to mitigate evils. (Hear, hear.)

Mrs. JEFFERY seconded the resolution. She felt that if there were any influence, however slight, that she could use by publicly advocating this measure she ought not to shrink from doing it, although much had been so well said by previous speakers. When she became a householder and had the responsibilities of one who had to pay the rates and taxes, she felt that she ought to make herself acquainted with municipal and Parliamentary government, and that it ought to be a matter of interest to her how the money was spent. She argued that those ladies on the platform were not there because they liked the work, but they were there from the highest sense of duty, and because they believed that the franchise would help women socially, morally, and mentally, and give them more power than any other measure. There were in Bath and neighbourhood 10,000 more women and girls than men. Would anyone undertake to bring to Bath 10,000 men to work for these 10,000 women and girls? (Laughter.) Then if not, as they could not suppose that they were all rich, they must maintain themselves by work. Men were ready enough to help rich women, but if a woman were poor she had to bear her own troubles, and it was to enable her to do this better that they asked the power of the franchise. (Applause.)

Mrs. ASHWORTH HALLETT, in supporting the resolution, said since the introduction of the Reform Bill that meeting was the first public meeting that had been called in Bath or in the district around to consider the question of electoral reform. They had not, however, met to criticise or discuss the provisions of the Bill as it was framed, but to complain of an anomaly it would perpetuate, of an omission in its provisions, an omission which was exciting considerable discussion and interest within the walls of Parliament and outside in the country—the omission of women from the advantages of Parliamentary representation. In the present Reform Bill if Mr. Woodall's amendment were carried, if what Mr. Gladstone called the central idea of his Reform Bill were in truth accepted and every householder given a vote, no less than one-fourth more voters would be added to the citizens roll of this city. They had, therefore, a special interest in knowing what their local members would do in regard to Mr. Woodall's amendment. Hitherto they had voted against household suffrage for women, but they had never ventured to say one word in regard to the question. They had not attempted to justify their

position or their votes. She had looked at the speeches made by the members for Bath last February, and they both had something to say about reform. Sir A. Hayter said he "had always failed to understand what reason there could be for depriving a householder of the franchise because he lived outside the pale of a recognised borough." Now women wanted to ask Sir Arthur what reason there could be for depriving a householder of the franchise who lived inside the pale of a recognised borough. Then, again, Sir Arthur said, "What possible difference can there be between a tradesman of Trowbridge or a tradesman of Chippenham?" In her turn she asked what possible difference could there be between a tradesman of Milsom-street and a tradeswoman of the same street, both voted in all local elections, both paid much the same taxes, they lived next door to one another, why should they not both be permitted to vote for Sir Arthur Hayter? Then there was Mr. Wodehouse. He described in his speech the condition of Ireland, and he said, "There are thousands of young Irishmen, artisans, shopmen, and farmers, who never hear or read any other political language than the language of sedition, plunder, and murder. It is the only political education they ever get," and he asked should these men be given the franchise, and then added "I say yes, undoubtedly yes." Women were peaceable, law-abiding citizens, their political education could be described as on the side of order, temperance, morality, and domestic reform in all its many phases. If men were to be enfranchised whose only political education was that of sedition, plunder, and murder, might it not at such a crisis be specially wise and statesmanlike to add at the same time to the electorate the names of citizens whose characters were of a diametrically opposite kind, whose loyalty was unquestioned and unquestionable. The members for Bath could not object to women taking part in politics. That was not for one moment to be supposed. They owed too much to the kindly help and the tact and courage of a lady to hold any such view as that. On this question, which directly affected the political status of so large a proportion of the householders of Bath, they had some claim to a clear explanation of the hostile vote hitherto given by their members. It might be asked why should women in Bath appear specially Conservative? She had made enquiry, and she found that the machinery of the Liberal party had been largely used to keep the names of women ratepayers off the burgess roll, and a number of ladies, some of whom she knew as Liberals, owed their position on that roll to the kindly offices of the Conservatives. There was an old saying that you cannot both eat your cake and have it, and if they destroyed voters they could not expect to have the votes. For the last twenty years every Liberal candidate for Bath had been against giving women Parliamentary representation, while every Conservative candidate for Bath had stood by that good old maxim that taxation and representation should go together—that women who were taxed should elect those who taxed them. (Applause.)

The resolution was carried.

Miss BLACKBURN proposed a vote of thanks to the Mayor, who was an old friend of the cause.

Mrs. HALLETT seconded, and it was adopted.

LECTURES.

MAIDSTONE RADICAL ASSOCIATION.

LECTURE BY MRS. ASHTON DILKE.

On Wednesday evening, April 17th, Mrs. Ashton Dilke delivered a lecture in the spacious hall of the Junior Liberal Club (which had been kindly granted for the occasion), in connection with the Maidstone Radical Association. The subject of the lecture was "Women Householders and the Reform Bill," and the admirable way in which the lady dealt with the subject gave entire satisfaction to a large audience, which was presided over by Mr. W. WILLET, Chairman of the Maidstone Radical Association, and which included a good sprinkling of ladies.

The CHAIRMAN having briefly opened the proceedings,

Mrs. ASHTON DILKE, who had a warm reception on rising, delivered her lecture, at the conclusion of which she resumed her seat amidst loud and continued applause.

Mr. C. BEALE, jun., member of Maidstone School Board, moved the following resolution:—"That in the opinion of this meeting no measure of Parliamentary reform can be regarded as satisfactory

which does not make provision for the extension of the franchise to women who possess the household or property qualification which entitles men to vote, and who in all matters of local government already have the right of voting. That copies of this resolution be sent to the Prime Minister and the borough members, urging them to support the amendment of Mr. Woodall, when it comes before the House of Commons."

Mr. W. CARR seconded, and the resolution was carried unanimously.

The Rev. C. JONES moved a vote of thanks to Mrs. Ashton Dilke for her admirable lecture, and this was seconded by Mr. Rowcroft, and carried unanimously.

The Chairman then handed the lady lecturer a handsome bouquet, and following a response by Mrs. Dilke to the vote of thanks, resolution of thanks, moved by Mr. E. S. JACKSON, and seconded by Mr. W. COMBER, was carried to the committee of the Junior Liberal Club for the use of the room.

WOOLWICH.

Mrs. Ashton Dilke has also given a lecture at Woolwich, Mr. Woodall, M.P., in the chair, a detailed report of which has not reached us.

TOWER HAMLETS RADICAL CLUB.

Mrs. Fenwick Miller lectured on "Women and the New Reform Bill," at the Tower Hamlets Radical Club, to an audience of about 200 persons, on Wednesday, April 9th. Mr. Mellish, president of the club, occupied the chair, and speeches in support of the resolution were made by Messrs. Vanderhout, Rosenbut, and Joyner, members of the club, and by Mr. Frederick A. Ford, after which the resolution was carried unanimously, and a hearty vote of thanks concluded the meeting.

WESTMINSTER DEMOCRATIC CLUB.

The club lecture room of the Westminster Democratic Club was well filled, on April 20th, to hear a lecture by Mrs. Fenwick Miller, at the end of which she proposed a resolution to the effect that the Reform Bill should include women householders. This was spoken to by Messrs. Cowdrick, Smith, and Bennet, members of the club, and supported by Mr. Ford. The Chairman of the Club presided, and in putting the resolution, which was unanimously carried, urged the members to take a personal interest in the question of representation for women.

ST. GEORGE'S LIBERAL CLUB, PIMLICO.

Mrs. Fenwick Miller lectured on April 27th at the St. George's Liberal Club, Pimlico. There was a good attendance of a highly respectable class, and after the meeting there was a discussion, only one out of seven speakers opposing the resolution. The opponent took the ground that politics would corrupt women, and that women would all vote Conservative. After effective replies to this from other speakers, Mrs. Miller reviewed the whole debate, and the resolution was unanimously carried.

BIRMINGHAM.

A lecture on "Women and the Reform Bill" was delivered in the Town Hall, on April 4th, by Mrs. Fenwick Miller, of London, under the auspices of the Birmingham Women's Suffrage Association. Miss J. COBDEN occupied the chair, and there was a large though not crowded attendance, the floor and side galleries being well filled by an audience composed largely of men. Amongst those on the platform were Miss Sturge, Mrs. Ashford, Mrs. C. E. Mathews, Mrs. Archer, Mrs. Cox, Miss Taylor, Mrs. H. Smith, Mrs. W. H. Ryland, Mrs. C. S. Heap, Mrs. Dawson, Councillors Whateley and Eli Bloor; Messrs. A. Albright, W. H. Ryland, W. B. Smith, E. M. Mitton, T. Hewins, &c.

Miss COBDEN, in introducing Mrs. Miller, said that they were met to speak upon what seemed to her to be as great an injustice upon half the English nation as any that had in times past called forth the righteous condemnation of the meetings which had assembled in that hall. If the resolution passed at that large gathering in Leeds last October—a representative gathering of Liberals throughout the country—in favour of the extension of the suffrage in the counties had been afterwards overlooked by the Government, or put on one side that something else might take precedence of it, she wondered what the people would have said. They would have said, "This thing shall not be; we demand that our fellow-countrymen in the counties shall share the same

privileges that we in the towns have enjoyed for many years." They would have held indignation meetings throughout the country, and would have made their wishes pretty well known upon the subject. This was what the women of England were doing. They were the unrepresented half of the nation. They asserted that at that large representative meeting at Leeds a resolution was distinctly taken in favour of the inclusion of women householders in the Reform Bill, and, whatever anyone might say to the contrary, that vote was as honest an expression of the feeling of the gathering as any that was taken at it. She had that upon the authority of Mr. John Morley, who presided at the conference. But notwithstanding that vote, and notwithstanding that Liberal associations, one after another throughout the country, had sent up petitions in favour of their claim, the Government was for overlooking their just demand for a voice in making the laws which governed them, as no Liberal Government should do. The women were doing what the men of England would have done under the circumstances. They were holding monstre meetings throughout the country, and saying this injustice should not be. She hoped the people of Birmingham would not be behind in that great march of reform. They who were foremost in demanding that the wishes of the people should not be overlooked, knew that there was something beyond party considerations; that there was something which carried the repeal of the Corn Laws against a giant enemy, that there was something which carried all great reforms—and that was principle. She believed that principle would win the day in this case. It was no question of overloading: the vessel would come safely into port with the 300,000 women over and above the 2,000,000 men it had undertaken to carry. (Applause.) She had lived more or less all her life amongst agricultural labourers, and such was her sympathy for them that if she thought the demand of the women would jeopardise their Bill, she for one, would feel inclined to hold her peace. But she thought the gate was wide enough to admit the labourers and the 300,000 women at the same time, and they demanded to be admitted. (Loud applause.)

Mrs. FENWICK MILLER then delivered her lecture. She asked why her hearers should be interested in the passing of the new Reform Bill? It was not merely because it would remove certain anomalies which now existed, but because they believed in representative government. They believed in representative government, because people who did not stand in a certain position could not comprehend the needs of those who were in that position; and, also, because they had found by experience that, in order to get a thing properly done, they must not only understand that it ought to be done, but they must have the pressure of self-interest. The advocates and supporters of the Reform Bill knew that the class now deprived of the franchise could not get their rights understood and attended to without they had the vote. It was upon those principles that she called upon every man and woman who understood and held them, to care as much about the representation of women as they cared about the enfranchisement of the agricultural labourers. Every reason why they should care for the passing of the Reform Bill applied as strongly to women as it applied to men. As the result of women not having been represented, many laws had been placed upon the statute book which pressed unjustly upon the female sex; indeed, in 1837, Lord Brougham said that the laws relating to women were so bad that he feared to touch any portion of them lest the whole fabric should tumble, and the marriage relation be left without any laws to regulate it. This state of things, which had been brought about by class government, they were slowly trying to alter by difficult and expensive agitation; but difficult and expensive agitation was not the way in which laws ought to be altered in this free country. The use of representative government was that by its means they could get such laws as those to which she referred quietly, legally, constitutionally, and surely altered. Would such laws as that which excluded married mothers from any legal rights over their children be continued if members of Parliament had to meet women among their constituents? It was urged, however, that the claim for the inclusion of women in the Reform Bill must not be urged because it would embarrass the Government. The Government were the servants of the people, and she denied that they could be embarrassed by being told what the wishes of the people were. The talk about embarrassing them was worthy only of a despotic Government. It was perfectly true that there were some members of the Government who were not in favour of women suffrage, and she admitted

that it would be difficult for men like Professor Fawcett and Mr. Chamberlain to stand out within the Ministry against those of their colleagues who were against the proposal. They knew that the Ministry had divided counsels on the matter, and it was for the people to say what was right. In conclusion, Mrs. Miller defended the claim of women householders to enfranchisement against some of the statements alleged against it, and predicted that the inclusion of women in the constituency would be attended with the best results.

At the conclusion of the lecture it was resolved, on the motion of Miss COBDEN, seconded by Mrs. Cox, "That the thanks of this meeting be forwarded to Mr. Woodall, M.P., who has undertaken to move the amendment in the House of Commons for the inclusion of the women householders in the coming Reform Bill."—Votes of thanks were passed to Mrs. Miller for her lecture, and to Miss Cobden for presiding, and the meeting terminated.

DRAWING-ROOM MEETINGS.

SOUTH KENSINGTON.

A largely-attended meeting of ladies and gentlemen was held on Tuesday afternoon, April 1st, at the South Kensington Hotel, Queen's Gate Terrace, by invitation of Mrs. Frank Morrison, to consider the position of the movement for extending the franchise to women householders, in connection with the Franchise Bill now before Parliament. Mr. WOODALL, M.P., presided, and there were present Lady Harberton, Lady Wilde, Dowager Lady Lawrence, Lady Young, Lady Macpherson Grant, Hon. Maud Lawrence, Mrs. Ashton Dilke, Mrs. Chas. McLaren, Mrs. Firth, Mrs. Robert Harrison, Mrs. Pennington, Mrs. Robert Romer, Mrs. Kennard, Mrs. and Miss Princep, Mrs. Hertz, Mrs. Macdonnell, Mrs. Hamlyn, Mrs. Boughton, Mrs. Horace Davey, Hon. Mrs. Grant of Grant, Miss Hill, Miss Power Cobbe, Miss Becker, Miss Grant, Miss Courtney, Sir Henry Lawrence, Col. Grant, the Rev. Herbert Edmonds, and Messrs. Drummond, Wolfe, and Trower.

Mrs. Ashton Dilke announced that letters regretting the inability of their writers to attend had been received from Sir Charles Dilke, M.P., Mr. Thomasson, M.P., Mr. Summers, M.P., Col. Coleridge Kennard, M.P., and Miss Richardson.

The CHAIRMAN, in his opening address, said that Mr. Gladstone had stated, in introducing the Franchise Bill, that its essential principle was that every householder should have a vote, at the same time he had deprecated the full and complete realisation of his own ideal by suggesting that the advocates of women's suffrage should hold their hands during the progress of that measure. They would, however, be traitors to the important cause they had at heart if, at such a time as the present, they refrained from pressing their opinions upon the attention of Parliament. (Hear, hear.) Liberal provisions had been made in the present Bill for giving the humblest head of a household a vote; whilst the 20,000 women who occupied farms in this country, and who were the employers, these very persons were denied the suffrage. The female owners of real property—about one in seven of the whole number in the United Kingdom—were likewise deprived of a vote; and whilst so very large a number of women were allowed to vote at School Board, Municipal, and Board of Guardians Elections, they were still debarred from exercising the Parliamentary Franchise. This question had been fought for a very long time, and now they hoped they were going to reap the fruits of that contest.

Miss POWER COBBE moved: "That in the opinion of this meeting the coming Reform Bill will not be satisfactory, unless it extends the right of voting in Parliamentary elections to duly-qualified women, who in all local matters have already the right to vote." She contended that women householders would be more likely to vote for what they considered the general good than the two millions of men it was now proposed to enfranchise.

Mr. H. S. TROWER seconded the resolution, which was supported by Mrs. CHARLES M'LAREN, and carried unanimously.

Miss BECKER moved: "That petitions to both Houses of Parliament based on the foregoing resolution be adopted and signed by the chairman on behalf of this meeting."

The Rev. HERBERT EDMONDS seconded and Mrs. ASHTON DILKE supported the resolution, which was also unanimously adopted, and a vote of thanks to the chairman, proposed by Miss Hill, brought the proceedings to a close.

The following descriptive report appeared in several newspapers:—

Mrs. Frank Morrison gave a highly-successful "At Home" the other day, at the South Kensington Hotel, for the principal supporters of women's suffrage. There was quite a brilliant company assembled. I noticed Lady Harberton and Lady Wilde amongst the guests. The meeting was held in a charming room, with cream-coloured panels picked out with a narrow line of pale pink and pale blue. All the speakers were good, and the audience delightfully sympathetic. Mr. Woodall, M.P., was in the chair (the member who is going to bring our Bill before the House for us), and the principal speakers were Miss Frances Power Cobbe, Mrs. Ashton Dilke, and Mrs. Charles M'Laren, Miss Becker, and Mr. Seymour Trower. Mrs. M'Laren is a delightful speaker; she is quite young and fashionable-looking, and has a bright, pleasant voice, and is thoroughly mistress of the subject. Miss Cobbe was the first speaker, and delighted the audience very much. She commenced by poking a little good-natured fun at Miss Lonsdale's recent article on "Platform Women," in the *Nineteenth Century*. She said she felt a certain awkwardness in speaking after the severe things Miss Lonsdale had said of platform women. Miss Lonsdale had said that public speaking "rubbed the bloom off" women. "What a dreadful thing," said Miss Cobbe, "to appear without one's bloom!" (Here she looked round at her audience in that pleasant, unaffected way she has, with a humorous expression that was irresistible.) "Byron said that Lord North went over to Ireland in the vigour and bloom of three-score, and but for Miss Lonsdale's article," said Miss Cobbe, "I might have done the same—come down to you to-day with the bloom of three-score." But the idea of what rubbed the bloom off a woman, said Miss Cobbe, was an idea that varied with the century; what was considered very shocking by one age was thought quite proper by the next. Many years ago, her dear old friend Mrs. Somerville was considered to have rubbed her bloom off because she had written a book on astronomy, and if Miss Lonsdale had lived in those days she would have been supposed to have lost hers because she had written an article in the *Nineteenth Century*! Miss Cobbe then took a graver tone, and spoke of the duty of public spirit, and of all it comprehended, of the good work which was being done in the world by such women as Miss Octavia Hill, and of the desire which every woman ought to feel to throw her weight into the scale in the direction of righteousness and goodness. Miss Cobbe was very much applauded on the conclusion of her speech, which, whilst decidedly enthusiastic, was also temperate in tone. ZINGARA.

HAMPSTEAD.

On April 19th a well-attended drawing-room meeting was held at the residence of the Misses R. and F. Davenport-Hill, Belsize Avenue, Hampstead, in support of the extension of the franchise to women. The Rev. T. D. C. Morse, vicar of Christ Church, Newgate-street, occupied the chair. Letters in support of the movement were read from Mr. Leonard Courtney, M.P., Mr. W. S. Caine, M.P., General Alexander, M.P., Lady Eastlake, and others. Mrs. Westlake moved, "That in the opinion of this meeting the coming Reform Bill, to be satisfactory, should include provisions for extending the franchise to duly-qualified women householders." She contended that the claim of women householders was at least equal to that of the two million males who were to be admitted to the franchise by the new Reform Bill, and protested against the continued inclusion of women in the category of minors, criminals, lunatics, and idiots. Women were allowed to vote at municipal elections, and under the new London Government Bill they would have votes for the new Parliament of the metropolis. The exclusion of women from the franchise dated from the time when physical force was held to be supreme; but in these days physical had been superseded by moral force, which strengthened the claims of women to be enfranchised. Political disqualification caused women to labour under practical grievances in regard to social status, educational endowments, &c. As to the argument that women would neglect their homes if admitted to the franchise, the best-managed and most attractive households were those of women who devoted a portion of their time to attending to the wants of those outside. Women like their hostess and Miss Octavia Hill had been amongst the pioneers in many social works. Mr. W. H. Wills, M.P., seconded the motion. He remarked that there were a number of men in the House of Commons who would

not hesitate to grant what was asked in the resolution, but there were also a great number who would hesitate. It was said that women were Conservatives at heart, and that Liberals, in supporting this movement, were preparing a rod for their own backs. He was afraid that the general tendency of the female mind was in the direction of Conservatism, but, nevertheless, he would rejoice to see the privilege now conceded to women in municipal matters extended to the Parliamentary franchise. As to Mr. Woodall's amendment to the Franchise Bill, he thought that if there were considerable feeling shown in its favour on both sides of the House it would be accepted by the Government. The motion was carried unanimously. Miss Anna Swanwick proposed the adoption of petitions to both Houses of Parliament, and of memorials to Lord George Hamilton and Mr. Coope, the members for the county, asking them to support the amendment to the Franchise Bill to be proposed in committee by Mr. Woodall, M.P. Mr. Mark Wilks seconded the proposition, which was supported by Mr. F. Hill and Miss Lydia Becker, and carried. Votes of thanks to the chairman and to the Misses Hill concluded the proceedings.

ST. LEONARDS.

A drawing-room meeting was held at Bonham House, St. Leonards, by invitation of Miss Fricker Hall. Miss Hall herself presided. There was a large representative and fashionable audience of nearly one hundred persons. After an address by Mrs. Ormiston Chant, Mr. Eiloart moved the adoption of petition. Miss Gant seconded the resolution and read a paper on behalf of Miss Betham Edwards. The resolution was adopted. A vote of thanks to Mrs. Chant was moved by Mrs. Tubbs and seconded by Mr. Bray, and a similar compliment to Miss Hall on the motion of Mr. A. M. Forder, seconded by Mrs. Saul Solomons, concluded the proceedings.

LIBERAL ASSOCIATIONS.

STREATHAM LIBERAL ASSOCIATION.

On the evening of April 9th a large and enthusiastic meeting was held in the Schoolroom, Mitcham Road. The President of the Association (Mr. W. Saunders) was in the chair. After a resolution in support of the Government Reform Bill, moved and seconded by the Rev. J. G. Rogers and Mr. Whiteley, M.L.S.B., had been carried unanimously, a resolution was moved by Mrs. Ormiston Chant and seconded by Miss Spender that the franchise should be extended to women householders. This also was carried unanimously, the meeting showing much enthusiasm on behalf of the cause of women's suffrage.

CLAY CROSS POLLING DISTRICT LIBERAL ASSOCIATION.

At a meeting of the Central Committee of the above held on the 21st January, 1884, on the motion of Mr. Shardlow, seconded by Mr. Stollard, it was unanimously resolved, "That, in the opinion of this meeting, any measure for the extension of the suffrage should confer the franchise upon women who, possessing the qualifications which entitle men to vote, have now the right of voting in all matters of local government." It was further resolved, "That a copy of the above resolution be forwarded to the Prime Minister, the Right Honourable W. E. Gladstone."

SHEFFIELD LIBERAL ASSOCIATION.

At a meeting of the executive committee of the Sheffield Liberal Association, held April 23rd, the following resolution was adopted: "That in the opinion of this executive any measure for the extension of the suffrage should confer the franchise upon women who, possessing the qualifications which entitle men to vote, have now the right of voting in all matters of local government, and trusts that the Government will see its way to accept the clause of which Mr. Woodall has given notice, providing that the passing of the Franchise Bill be not thereby imperilled." Copies of the resolution were forwarded to the Prime Minister and to the Right Hon. A. J. Mundella, M.P.

LIBERAL CLUBS IN CHELSEA.

At a meeting of the committee of the four Radical Clubs of Chelsea, on April 27th, a resolution was passed unanimously in

favour of Mr. Woodall's amendment for extending the operation of the Franchise Bill to women.

HASTINGS JUNIOR LIBERAL ASSOCIATION.

On April 21st, at the Junior Liberals' Association Rooms, Mr. W. H. Bennett read a paper on "Woman Suffrage." Mr. G. C. Tassell presided. A discussion followed the reading of the paper, which was taken part in by Messrs. Harvey, Clarke, Groom, Grady, H. J. Bennett, Parris, Judge, Raby, T. Morris, Walter, Simmons, and Bullen. The opener replied, and the proceedings closed with the usual compliments.

BRIDPORT LIBERAL ASSOCIATION.

"THE ELECTORAL DISABILITIES OF WOMEN."

A meeting of the members of the Bridport Liberal Association was held on March 6th, at the Foresters' Hall in Chard's Mead, for the purpose of hearing a lecture by the Rev. E. Francis, Baptist minister, on the subject of "The Electoral Disabilities of Women." The attendance was not so numerous as usual. The chair was occupied by Mr. HOWELL, J.P., and there were included amongst those present the Rev. E. Francis, the Rev. J. Davies, Mr. Alderman Reynolds, Mrs. Reynolds, Miss Stephens, Mr. T. Male (secretary), Mr. F. W. Matterface, Mr. S. Ward, Mr. C. Cook, Mr. E. P. Rendell, Mr. J. Lee, Mr. Hext, Mr. J. Bucknole, &c.

The CHAIRMAN made a few brief opening observations, saying that the subject they had met to consider was a very important one, and he had hoped that a larger number would have been present to have heard what Mr. Francis had to say about it.

The Rev. E. FRANCIS then proceeded with his lecture, which was received with applause.

The Chairman having invited observations, Mrs. REYNOLDS rose to address the meeting, and was received with applause. She said there was one point which Mr. Francis had not alluded to, and that was the ancient custom of the country in regard to this question. In very old times ladies were called upon to vote, and not only to vote but to assist in the councils of the king. In the year 1306 four abbesses were summoned by Edward I. to bring forward the men of his army, and were afterwards summoned to his councils—"Women and widows who owe us service." That was in the old feudal times. Women had then a right to appear at the king's council and advise, either on the carrying out of wars, or in the voting of the money. In 1362 the Countesses of Norfolk, Osmond, March, Pembroke, and Oxford, and other ladies, ten in all, were summoned to take counsel with the king, or to send someone to represent them. In Yorkshire in the time of Edward IV. and V., ladies had the right to vote for the members of parliament who were sent up. There were other similar records of still later date. This showed that it was nothing new which the ladies were asking for. The fact was they had been turned out of their ancient rights, and were now only asking to have them restored to them. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN made a few observations in support of the movement, and moved a vote of thanks to the Rev. E. Francis for the able manner in which he had presented the subject to them. (Applause.)

The Rev. J. DAVIES seconded the vote of thanks to the rev. lecturer.

Mr. COOK said he did not consider that ladies were fit to have a voice in the legislature of the country. Mr. Francis spoke about women being political nonentities. He denied that, for he contended that women used a great and powerful influence in elections, and if they had votes the men would be nowhere. (Laughter.) Even supposing it to be right that women should have a vote, let all the men have it first. There were some millions of men yet to be enfranchised before they thought about the women. Besides all these he hadn't heard yet that women had asked for the vote.

Mr. FLOWER asked if it was proposed to extend to women the right to sit in Parliament.

The Rev. E. FRANCIS replied on the 'discussion at considerable length, in which he said Mr. Cook had totally misconceived the whole question as had been shown by his arguments. As to Mr. Flower's question he might say that the question had never been raised about women sitting in Parliament.

Mr. W. HALLETT moved a vote of thanks to the Chairman, which was seconded by Mr. FLOWER and carried, and the meeting then terminated.

LIBERAL MEETINGS.

HYDE.

The Hyde Branch of the Women's Suffrage Society scored a point at the lecture at the Hyde Reform Club, on April 3rd. The members went about the question they had in hand in a very business-like manner, and with not a little tact. At the doors, a pamphlet was placed in the hands of those attending the meeting advocating the claims of women to the franchise, and containing the following paragraph: "Coming down to the humble women of every-day life, it is found that a very large proportion now wish women householders to have votes. A few months ago 700 women-householders in Hyde, near Manchester, were canvassed to sign a petition in favour of women's suffrage, and of these 700 the petition was signed by 608. A straw shows the way the wind is blowing." When Mrs. Moss rose to submit her amendment in favour of female suffrage, it was very much like firing a bomb-shell into an enemy's camp, but fortunately terms were agreed to, and with the exception of the alteration of a single word, the ladies present had the pleasure of having their proposition carried, but three gentlemen being so ungallant as to vote against it.—*Cheshire County News.*

MANSFIELD.

On March 28th a Liberal meeting was held in the Town Hall, Mansfield, in support of the Franchise Bill now before the House of Commons. The room was well filled by an enthusiastic audience, and Mr. G. Pickard was voted to the chair. A few ladies were on the platform. Among other resolutions the following was moved by Miss Wright: "That in the opinion of this meeting any measure for the extension of the suffrage should confer the franchise upon women who, possessing the qualifications which entitle men to vote, have now the right of voting in all matters of local government." The resolution was seconded by Mr. W. Barringer, supported by the Rev. J. F. Smith (Unitarian minister), and carried unanimously.

SHEFFIELD.

At a great meeting in Paradise Square, Sheffield, on March 29th, in support of the Franchise Bill, Mr. Henry J. Wilson said: I have long been in favour of household suffrage not being confined to men only. (Cheers.) I say where you have an intelligent, good, competent woman conducting the affairs of her family (a woman whose husband has died), it is a cruelty and a shame to take away the vote of that family because the husband is dead. (Cheers.) There are said to be no less than 20,000 widows in this country who are conducting farms—who are conducting agricultural interests alone—20,000 women farmers in the United Kingdom. I want to know is it fair, whether it appeals to our sense of justice as men, that the man who feeds the pigs should have a vote, and the woman who conducts the farm should have no power or authority at all in the conduct and Government of the country? (Hear, hear, and cheers.)

THREE TOWNS' WOMEN'S LIBERAL ASSOCIATION.

A tea and meeting were held in the Borough Arms Saloon, Plymouth, by way of publicly inaugurating the Women's Liberal Association for the Three Towns, on April 3rd. At the tea the tables were presided over by Mrs. Cann, Mrs. Pengelly, Mrs. Twose, Mrs. Deacon, Mrs. Harris, Miss Latimer, and Miss Cooper. The chair at the public meeting was occupied by Mr. I. LATIMER, J.P., President of the Plymouth Liberal Association; and among those present were Misses Bragg, Mrs. Sharman, Mr. and Mrs. Bishop, Mr. Steward, Miss F. Radford, Mr. and Miss Boase, Mr. and Mrs. Penson, Mr. Thomas, Miss Cawse, Mr. and Mrs. Temple-Willis, Mrs. Clarke, Mr. and Mrs. G. F. Smith, Mr. and Mrs. Strang, Mr. Stephens, Mr. and Mrs. J. Norman, Mr. and Mrs. Gameson, Mr. Balkwill, Mr. J. P. Latimer, Mr. A. Latimer, Miss Latimer and Mrs. C. Deacon (hon. secretaries), Miss Cooper (hon. treasurer), and others.

The CHAIRMAN, in opening the meeting, said: "As president of the Plymouth Liberal Association, he had been asked to preside, and he did so with great pleasure. The meeting might be said to be the outcome of one held in January last, when a few ladies came down from Bristol with the object of promoting the formation of a society for the enfranchisement of women. As a result of that visit, a few ladies met at the speaker's house,

and determined to form themselves into a Women's Liberal Association for the Three Towns, its object being to promote the political education of women, to render them better fitted for the exercise of the electoral duties they already had to perform, and ultimately to enfranchise them further, by giving them the right of voting in Parliamentary elections on qualifications similar to those possessed by men. Those objects had his hearty sympathy. (Applause.) He thought that the women of England who maintained households should have the vote. (Hear, hear.) He had thought so for very many years; because he had known many cases in which women had suffered by being ejected from farms which their husbands had occupied, simply because they (the widows) had no vote. That was a most unfair state of things. (Hear.)

Miss BORCHARDT, head mistress of the Girls' High School, Devonport, who was cordially received, said: Women householders already possessed the School Board and municipal franchise, but many of them hardly realised their responsibility as yet, and it would be one of the duties of the association to canvass the constituency on the eve of School Board and municipal elections, and to enlighten the women voters as to their duties. (Hear.) In political elections they had no direct influence as yet. They had a great deal of indirect influence, no doubt. She remembered a case which had occurred within her own experience. When living in chambers in London, at the time Mr. Herbert Gladstone was candidate for Middlesex, the landlady of the house came to consult her as to how her husband should vote. The husband, brother, and brother-in-law each had a vote for Middlesex; but they knew hardly anything about politics, and the old lady asked her if she would be kind enough to tell her which candidate she thought they ought to vote for. Of course she recommended Mr. Herbert Gladstone. So that the Liberal candidate in this case had the benefit of three votes in consequence of the influence one woman happened to be able to exercise. (Hear, hear.)

The meeting was afterwards addressed by the Rev. E. Reed, Mr. C. Radford, Miss Arthur, and

Mr. TEMPLE WILLIS, who said he believed that the political enfranchisement of women would come almost immediately; and he held, as a practical politician and a Liberal, that it was the policy of the Liberal party to welcome the change and endeavour to turn it to the advantage of their own party, honestly believing as they did that the principles of the Liberal party embodied the only political good.

A vote of thanks to the chairman, moved by Mrs. Bishop and seconded by Mr. R. A. Smith, was adopted.

SCOTLAND.

GOVAN LIBERAL ASSOCIATION.

On January 30th, the annual social and business meeting of the Govan Liberal Association was held in the Fairfield Hall, Govan Road. Ex-Provost WILSON, the president, occupied the chair, and he was supported on the platform by Bailie M'Lean, Commissioner Ferguson, Rev. Mr. Fish, ex-Bailie M'Kim, ex-Bailie Marr, Messrs. John Wilson, Hillhead House; John Stephen, Joseph Hutchison, M. Paterson, T. Brown, A. Dougans (Glasgow), A. Hannah, and T. Muir (secretary). There was a crowded attendance of members and friends, including a number of ladies.

The CHAIRMAN, in introducing the business, said he was delighted to see so many present to do honour to the Liberal cause, including the ladies, whom he hoped some day soon would have the honour of voting for members of Parliament. ("Hear, hear," and applause.) After a resolution of confidence in the Government had been passed,

Mr. JOHN WILSON moved the next resolution, which was as follows: "That this meeting is of opinion that the admission to equal electoral rights of the unenfranchised householders in the counties should be carried out at the earliest possible time, and earnestly call upon the Government to introduce a measure for that purpose next session; and that in the opinion of this meeting any measure for the extension of the suffrage should confer the franchise upon women, whether resident in counties or burghs, who possess the necessary qualification which at present entitles men to vote." In moving the resolution Mr. Wilson said he considered it was absurd to think that in a large centre of population like Govan

thousands of respectable ratepayers had not the privilege of voting for members of Parliament. In regard to allowing ladies to vote, it had his cordial sympathy, and he was sure the opinion of the country was ripe for it. (Applause.)

Mr. ANDREW DOUGANS seconded the motion, which was also agreed to.

It was afterwards agreed to forward copies of the resolutions to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone and Sir E. T. Colebrooke, Bart., M.P., and a vote of thanks having been accorded to the chairman for presiding, the proceedings terminated.

LIBERTON LIBERAL ASSOCIATION.

At the annual meeting of this Association, held in Liberton Schoolroom on March 13th, Mr. Caldwell proposed that Miss Burton, a lady who had taken an active part in the last election, and was ready to do so again, should be added to the committee; and the motion was agreed to.

DRAWING-ROOM MEETINGS.

EDINBURGH.

A large and influentially-attended meeting of ladies was held on Thursday afternoon, 20th March, by kind invitation of Mrs. Forbes, 36, Royal Terrace. Miss Blyth presided, and addresses were given by Mrs. Oliver Scatcherd, Miss Florence Baggart, and Miss Burton, who dwelt strongly on the connection between the Parliamentary vote and much of the Christian or philanthropic (?) work undertaken by women. Petition carried. Animated discussion and vote of thanks to Mrs. Forbes closed the meeting.

A similar gathering was held at 8 p.m. at the house of Mrs. Ramage, 3, Oxford-street, when Miss Baggart gave an address on the need of the Parliamentary vote for women. Miss Burton and Miss Wigham moved that a petition be sent to the House of Commons. This was carried unanimously.

At 9 p.m. Mrs. Scatcherd gave a short address to the workpeople of Messrs. Nelson, publishers, who were holding a concert in Park-side School. Proceedings were early brought to a close in order to hear Mrs. Scatcherd, who was well and heartily received.

KELSO.

A drawing-room meeting took place on the evening of March 27th, by kind permission of Mrs. Kirkwood, at the United Presbyterian Manse. Mrs. Mein, of Croft House, occupied the chair, and introduced the business of the meeting by reading letters of apology for unavoidable absence and sympathy with the object of the meeting from the editor of the *Chronicle*, the Rev. J. Burleigh, of Ednam, and other gentlemen. After a few remarks from the chairwoman, enumerating the unanswerable arguments in favour of extending the franchise to women householders, Miss Stoddart gave a short address to the women householders present on their duty with regard to the Parliamentary vote. Mrs. R. Mein then moved the following resolution:—"That, in the opinion of this meeting, any measure for extending the suffrage should confer the Parliamentary franchise upon women householders possessing the qualifications which entitle men to vote." The resolution was seconded by Mrs. Wilson, and ably supported by the Rev. Thomas Kirkwood, after whose speech it was unanimously adopted.

A drawing-room meeting was held at Croft House on March 18th, when Miss Stoddart, Bellevue Cottage, gave an address on Women's Household Suffrage. Those present signed a petition to Parliament.

IRELAND.

A very good letter appealing for support to Mr. Woodall's amendment, signed by Mrs. Haslam and Miss M'Dowell, hon. secs. of the Dublin Society for Women's Suffrage, has appeared in a large number of Irish newspapers.

DEBATING SOCIETIES.

BOOTERSTOWN (CO. DUBLIN) YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION.

At the meeting held on March 4th the subject for debate was, "That the social and electoral disabilities of women should be removed." Eighteen members and about as many lady friends were present. In a prolonged discussion three spoke on each side. A division of the members showed eight for the affirmative, ten for the negative. The chairman then addressed the meeting, giving his support to the affirmative side.

DUBLIN.

THE YOUNG IRELAND SOCIETY.

At a meeting of this society, held at York-street, Dublin, on the 29th February, a paper entitled "Woman's Position: Past, Present, and Future," was read by Mr. Frederick J. Allan, vice-president. A rather animated discussion followed the address, the majority of the speakers agreeing with Mr. Allan in his views on the women's suffrage question, while regretting that they could not go so far as he did in many of the other points that he advocated.

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

Pall Mall Gazette, April 25th.

There is no blinking the fact that female franchise is becoming a question of practical politics, and one moreover which will give Ministers a good deal of trouble. Mrs. Fawcett showed true debating instinct in her speech at St. James's Hall last night, when she fastened on the "capable citizen" argument, and it is extremely hard to see how Ministers, who adopted that argument the other day, can with any show of reason refuse the franchise to female householders. It will be interesting when Mr. Woodall's amendment comes on to hear how Mr. Gladstone will deal with the thousands of women who are daily fulfilling all the functions of "capable citizens"—the 50,000 women farmers, for instance, or the 120,000 women teachers, or the large number of women doctors, women Poor-law Guardians, and women Civil Service clerks.

For our own part, the case in favour of giving the franchise to female householders has always seemed convincing, quite apart from the question of capacity. What is of more importance, perhaps, than asking whether such and such citizens are capable, is to ask whether their enfranchisement would strengthen and improve the electorate; and we agree with Sir Richard Temple, who presided at last night's meeting, that "the enfranchisement of female householders would add to the national legislation refinement of thought, elevation of ideas, and generosity of sentiment." And, in the second place, even if that were not so, there can be no question about the advantage of giving direct representation to a hitherto unrepresented class. More than that, however, there is an argument which both parties would do well to consider before Mr. Woodall's amendment comes on. There is a general desire on both sides of the House that the present settlement of the question should be as nearly final as possible; but what chance is there of that being the case so long as such a startling anomaly as the exclusion of women from an otherwise universal household franchise is maintained?

Daily News, April 22nd.

The whole tendency of modern legislation, which does not itself alter the social relations of the sexes, but only reflects and adapts itself to their modification; the responsibilities which the struggles for existence impose upon women, and the legal rights which make it possible to discharge those responsibilities, can only be effectually guaranteed by direct Parliamentary representation. Though the franchise, which is at once a practical and logical necessity, may be denied for some time yet by a people as illogical as they boast that they are, though not always so practical as they think themselves to be, its ultimate concession is certain and not far distant.

Globe, April 23rd.

The right view is that the franchise should be thus extended to women, not because they are women, or because the rights and wrongs of the sex are in untrustworthy hands, or even because the interests of men and women are in any sense opposed or separable, but because all arguments for extending the franchise to the one sex in its lower ranks apply with greater force in the case of the higher ranks of the other.

Evening News, April 22nd.

That Hodge and Giles are the fittest persons to make laws which must be obeyed by ladies of rank and education is too ridiculous an anomaly to be tolerated very long.

LIST OF PARLIAMENTARY FRIENDS OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE. MAY, 1884.

Those marked * entered Parliament for the first time at or since the General Election, 1880. Divisions on the question of Women's Suffrage have taken place in the House of Commons in 1867, 1870 (2), 1871, 1872, 1873, 1875, 1876, 1878, 1879, 1883.

The following Memorial to Mr. Gladstone in favour of Women's Suffrage was presented in 1883, signed by 110 Liberal members of Parliament:—"That in the opinion of your Memorialists no measure for the Assimilation of the County and Borough Franchise will be satisfactory, unless it contains provisions for extending the Suffrage, without distinction of sex, to all persons who possess the statutory qualifications for the Parliamentary Franchise."

Politics.	NAME.	CONSTITUENCY.	ACTION TAKEN IN FAVOUR OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.
L	*Agnew, W.	Lancashire, South East	Voted '83.
L	*Ainsworth, D.	Cumberland, West	Signed Memorial '83.
C	Alexander, General	Ayrshire	Spoke in favour at Ayr '84.
L	Allen, W. S.	Newcastle-under-Lyme	Voted '67, '72, paired '73, voted '75, '79.
L	Anderson, George	Glasgow	Voted '71, '72, '73, '75, '76, '78, '79, '83, signed Memorial '83.
C	Archdale, W. H.	Fermanagh	Voted '76, '78, paired '79.
L	*Armitage, Benjamin	Salford	Signed Memorial and paired '83.
L	*Arnold, Arthur	Salford	Signed Memorial and voted '83.
C	*Ashmead Bartlett, E.	Eye	Spoke in debate and voted '83.
L	*Baldwin, E.	Bewdley	Signed Memorial and voted '83.
L	*Balfour, J. S.	Tamworth	Signed Memorial and paired '83.
L	Barclay, J. W.	Forfar	Voted in favour '73, '78.
L	Barran, John	Leeds	Voted '78, '79, '83, signed Memorial '83.
C	Bateson, Sir T.	Devizes	Voted '70, '71, '72, '73, '75, '76, '78, '79, '83.
C	Beach, W. W. B.	Hants, N.	Voted '67, '70, '71, '73, '76, '78.
C	Bective, Earl	Westmorland	Voted '83.
C	*Biddell, W.	Suffolk, W.	Spoke in favour at Sudbury '83.
HR	Biggar, J. G.	Cavan, W.	Voted in favour '75, '76, '78, '79, '83.
HR	Blake, J. A.	Waterford, C.	Voted '67, '83. (Was out of Parliament during interval.)
L	Blennerhasset, R.	Kerry	Voted '72, '73, paired '75, '78, spoke in debate and voted '79, signed Memorial and voted '83.
C	Boord, Thomas W.	Greenwich	Voted '75, '78, '79, paired '83.
L	*Borlase, W. C.	Cornwall, E.	Voted '83.
L	Brand, Hon. H. R. (Surveyor-General of Ordnance)	Stroud	Voted '70, '73. (Been since out of Parliament till 1880.)
L	Briggs, W. E.	Blackburn	Voted '75, '76, signed Memorial and voted '83.
L	Bright, Jacob	Manchester	Introduced Bill and teller '70, '71, '72, '73, voted '76, introduced Bill '77, voted '78, '79, '83, signed Memorial and spoke in debate '83.
L	*Brinton, J.	Kidderminster	Signed Memorial '83.
L	Brooks, M.	Dublin	Voted '75, '76, '78, '79, signed Memorial '83.
C	Brooks, W. Cunliffe	Cheshire, E.	Voted '83.
L	Brown, A. H.	Wenlock	Voted '70, '73, '75.
C	Bruce, Hon. Thomas C.	Portsmouth	Voted '75, '76, '78, paired '79.
L	Burt, Thomas	Morpeth	Voted '75, '76, '78, '79, '83, and signed Memorial.
L	*Buszard, M.	Stamford	Signed Memorial and paired '83.
L	*Buxton, F. W.	Andover	Paired '83.
L	*Buxton, S. C.	Peterborough	Paired '83.
L	*Caine, W. S.	Scarborough	Signed Memorial, paired '83.
HR	Callan, P.	Louth	Voted '70, '71, '72, and signed Memorial.
L	Cameron, Dr.	Glasgow	Voted '75, '76, '78, '79, '83, and signed Memorial.
L	*Carbutt, E. H.	Monmouth	Signed Memorial and paired '83.
L	Chamberlain, Rt. Hon. J. (President of the Board of Trade)	Birmingham	Voted '78, paired '79.
L	*Cheetham, J. F.	Derbyshire, N.	Paired '83.
C	Christie, W. L.	Lewes	Wrote to the Mayor of Lewes promising to support.
L	*Clark, S.	Paisley	Promised during his election to support.
L	Clarke, J. C.	Abingdon	Voted '75, '76, '78.
L	Clifford, C. C.	Newport, I.W.	Voted '71, '72, '73, '75, '76, '78, '79, '83.
L	*Cohen, A.	Southwark	Signed Memorial '83.
L	*Collings, Jesse	Ipswich	Signed Memorial and voted '83.
HR	Collins, Eugene	Kinsale	Voted '75, '76, '78, spoke in debate and voted '79, signed Memorial and voted '83.
L	Corbett, J.	Droitwich	Voted '75, '76.
L	Courtauld, G.	Maldon	Voted '79, signed Memorial and voted '83.
L	Courtney, L. (Sec. to the Treasury)	Liskeard	Spoke in debate '77, introduced Bill and teller '78, introduced Resolution and teller '79, voted '83.
L	Cowen, J.	Newcastle	Voted '75, '76, '78, '79, signed Memorial '83.

Politics.	NAME.	CONSTITUENCY.	ACTION TAKEN IN FAVOUR OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.
L	*Craig, W. Y.	Staffordshire, N.	Signed Memorial and paired '83.
L	*Creyke, R.	York	Voted '83.
L	Cross, J. K. (Under Sec. for India)	Bolton	Voted '75, '76, '78, paired '79.
C	Cubitt, Right Hon. G.	Surrey, W.	Voted '70, '71, '72, '73, '75, '76, '78, paired '79 and '83.
L	Cunliffe, Sir R.	Denbigh	Voted '83.
L	*Currie, Sir D.	Perthshire	Voted '83.
L	Davies, D.	Cardigan	Signed Memorial, voted '83.
L	*De Ferrieres, Baron	Cheltenham	Spoke in the House and voted '83.
C	*De Worms, Baron H.	Greenwich	Voted '71, '73, paired '72 and '79.
C	Dickson, Major	Dover	Voted '75, '76, '78, signed Memorial '83.
L	*Dickson, James	Dungannon	Teller '70, voted '71, '72, '73, '75, '76, '78, '79, '83, spoke in the House '70, and at meetings.
L	Dickson, T. A.	Tyrone	Voted '70, '71, '73, '76, '78, paired '75, '83, signed Mem. '83.
L	Dilke, Sir C. W., Bart.	Chelsea	Voted '76, '78, '79.
L	Dillwyn, L. L.	Swansea	Voted '75, '78, '83.
L	Dodds, J.	Stockton	Voted '70, '71, '73, '76, '78, paired '75, '83, signed Mem. '83.
L	Dundas, Hon. J. C.	Richmond	Voted '76, '78, '79.
L	Earp, Thos.	Newark	Voted '75, '78, '83.
L	*Edwards, J. Passmore	Salisbury	Voted '83 and signed Memorial.
C	*Elcho, Lord	Haddingtonshire	Voted '75, '76.
C	Elliot, G. W.	Northallerton	Voted '70, '71, '72, '73, '75, '76.
C	Elliot, Sir Geo.	Durham, N.	Voted '79.
C	Ewart, W.	Belfast	Voted '70, '71, '72, '73, '75, '76, '79, paired '83.
C	Ewing, Arch. Orr	Dumbarton	Voted '83.
L	*Farquharson, Dr. R.	Aberdeenshire, W.	Spoke in debate and voted '67, voted '70, '71, '72, spoke in debate and voted '73, voted '75, spoke in debate and voted '76, paired '78, voted '79, '83.
L	Fawcett, Right Hon. Henry	Hackney	Signed Memorial and paired '83.
L	*Findlater, W.	Monaghan	Signed Memorial and voted '83.
L	*Firth, J. B.	Chelsea	Voted '70, '71, '72, '73, '75, '76, '78, paired '79.
L	Fitzmaurice, Lord E.	Calne	Signed Memorial and paired '83.
L	*Flower, Cyril	Brecknock	Voted '75.
C	Forester, Cecil	Wenlock	Voted '71, '72, '75, '76, '78, '79, signed Mem. and paired '83.
L	Forster, Sir Chas.	Walsall	Spoke in debate and voted '83. [Parliament.]
C	*Fowler, H. H.	Wolverhampton	Voted in '70, '71, '72, '73, paired '83. (Was not in last Parliament.)
L	Fowler, R. N.	London	Voted '79, signed Memorial and voted '83.
L	Fry, Lewis	Bristol	Signed Memorial and voted '83.
L	*Fry, Theodore	Darlington	Voted '83, entered Parliament since division '79.
HR	Gabbett, D. F.	Limerick	Paired '79.
C	Giffard, Sir Hardinge	Launceston	Voted '83.
C	Giles, Alfred	Southampton	Promised by letter to his constituents to vote for franchise for women householders.
L	*Gladstone, Herbert (Lord of the Treasury)	Leeds	Approved in letter to a constituent '83. [paired '83.]
C	Gooch, Sir Daniel	Cricklade	Voted '67, '75, '76, spoke in debate and voted '78, voted '79.
C	Gorst, J. E.	Chatham	Voted '70, '71, '72, '73, '75, '76, '78, '79, signed Mem. '83.
L	Gourlay, E. T.	Sunderland	Signed Memorial and voted '83.
L	Grant, Andrew	Leith	Voted '83.
L	*Grant, Daniel	Marylebone	Wrote to say he approved principle.
L	*Grey, Albert H.	Northumberland, S.	Voted '73, was out of last Parliament.
L	Hardcastle, J. A.	Bury St. Edmunds	Paired '78, voted '83.
C	Harvey, Sir R. B., Bart.	Bucks	Paired '83.
L	*Hastings, Geo. W.	Worcestershire, S.	Promised to vote.
HR	*Healy, T. M.	Monaghan	Signed Memorial and voted '83. [voted '79, '83.]
L	*Henderson, Frank	Dundee	Voted '67, '70, '72, '73, spoke in debate and voted '78.
L	Hibbert, J. T.	Oldham	Voted '70, '71, '73, '75, paired '72.
C	Hill, A. Staveley, Q.C.	Staffordshire, W.	Voted '75, '78, '79, paired '83.
L	Hill, T. R.	Worcester	Voted '67, was out of Parliament till '82, signed Mem. '83.
L	Holden, Isaac	York, W. R. N.	Voted '83.
L	*Holland, J. R.	Brighton	Voted '75, '76, spoke in debate '77, paired '78, spoke in debate and voted '79, signed Memorial and voted '83.
L	Hopwood, C. H.	Stockport	Voted '70, '72, '73, out of next Parliament, voted '83.
C	*Houldsworth, W. H.	Manchester	Promised at election to support.
L	Howard, James	Bedfordshire	Voted '70, '71, '72, out of last Parliament, signed Memorial and voted '83.
L	Illingworth, Alfred	Bradford	Voted '70, '71, '72, out of last Parliament, signed Memorial and voted '83.
L	*James, C. H.	Merthyr Tydvil	Voted '83.
L	Jenkins, D. J.	Penryn	Voted '75, '76, '78, '79.
L	*Jenkins, Sir John J.	Carmarthen	Signed Memorial and voted '83.
L	*Johnson, Edward	Exeter	Signed Memorial '83.
C	*Kennard, Col. E.	Lymington	Voted '83.
C	*Kennard, Coleridge J.	Salisbury	Paired '83.

Politics.	NAME.	CONSTITUENCY.	ACTION TAKEN IN FAVOUR OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.
L	Kensington, Lord (Comptroller of the Household)	Haverfordwest	Voted '70.
C	King-Harman, E. W.	Dublin Co.	Voted '83.
L	*Kinnear, John D.	Donegal	Spoken at meetings, signed Memorial and voted '83.
C	Knight, F. W.	Worcestershire W.	Voted '70, '71.
C	*Knightley, Sir Rainald, Bart.	Northants, S.	Voted '72, '73, '76, '83.
L	Labouchere, Henry	Northampton	Voted in '67, was out of Parliament up to '80.
L	Laing, Samuel	Orkney	Voted '75, '79. [signed Memorial '83.]
L	Lawson, Sir W.	Carlisle	Voted '70, '71, '72, '73, paired '75, voted '78, '79, '83.
L	Lea, Thos.	Donegal	Voted '70, '71, '72, was out of last Parliament.
HR	*Leahy, Jas.	Kildare	Voted '83.
L	*Leake, Robt.	Lancashire, S.E.	Voted '83.
HR	*Leamy, E.	Waterford	Voted '83. [and voted '83.]
L	Leatham, W. H.	West Riding, S.	Voted '67, was out of Parliament till '80, signed Memorial
C	Lechmere, Sir E. H.	Worcestershire, W.	Voted '83.
L	*Lee, Henry	Southampton	Signed Memorial and voted '83.
C	Leighton, Sir B.	Shropshire, S.	Paired '83.
L	Lloyd, Morgan	Beaumaris	Voted '75, '76, '78, '79, signed Memorial '83.
C	Long, Walter H.	North Wilts.	Promised to support.
C	Lopes, Sir Massey	Devon, S.	Voted '70, '71, paired '72, '73, '75, '78, '83.
C	Lowther, Right Hon. Jas.	Lincolnshire, N.	Voted '70, '71. [Memorial '83.]
L	Lusk, Sir Andrew	Finsbury	Voted '67, '70, '71, '72, '73, '75, '76, '78, '79, '83, signed
L	*Mackie, R. B.	Wakefield	Paired '83.
L	*Mackintosh, C. F.	Inverness	Voted '75, '76, '78, '79, signed Memorial and paired '83.
L	*Macliver, Peter	Plymouth	Signed Memorial and voted '83.
L	M'Arthur, Alex.	Leicester	Voted '75, '76, '78, '79, signed Memorial and voted '83.
L	M'Arthur, Sir W., K.C.M.G.	Lambeth	Voted '83.
HR	*M'Carthy, Justin	Longford	Signed Memorial and paired '83.
L	M'Clure, Sir T.	Derry	Voted '73, '79.
HR	*M'Coan, J. C.	Wicklow	Paired '83.
HR	M'Kenna, Sir J. N.	Youghal	Voted '75, '76, '78, '79, signed Memorial '83.
L	M'Lagan, P.	Linlithgowshire	Voted '70, '71, '72, '73, '75, '76, '78, '79, signed Memorial
L	*M'Laren, Chas.	Stafford	Signed Memorial and voted '83. [and paired '83.]
L	*M'Innies, J. G.	Warrington	Signed Memorial and paired '83. [75, '76, '78.]
C	Manners, Rt. Hon. Lord John	Leicestershire	Voted '71, '72, spoke in debate and voted '73, and voted
L	*Mappin, Fred T.	East Retford	Paired '83.
L	*Mason, Hugh	Ashton-u-Lyne	Introduced resolution, teller '83, signed Memorial '83.
L	Mathieson, Sir A., Bart.	Ross and Cromarty	Voted '78, paired '79.
L	Milbank, Sir Fred, Bart.	York, N. Riding	Voted '76, '79.
HR	Molloy, B.	King's Co.	Promised to support.
C	Morgan, Col.	Monmouthshire	Voted '83.
L	*Morley, Arnold	Nottingham	Voted '83.
L	*Morley, John	Newcastle	Signed Memorial and voted '83.
L	Morley, Samuel	Bristol	Voted '70, paired '71, voted '72, '73, '75, '76, '78, paired
L	Mundella, Rt. Hon. A. (Vice-President of the Council)	Sheffield	'79, signed Memorial and voted '83.
L	Muntz, P. H.	Birmingham	Voted '70, '71, '72, '73, '75, '76, '78, paired '79. [79.]
C	*Nicholson, W. N.	Newark	Spoke in debate and voted '70, '71, '72, '73, '76, '78, paired
L	Noel, Ernest	Dumfries	Paired '83.
HR	Nolan, Col.	Galway Co.	Voted '75, '76, '78, '79, '83.
C	Northcote, Rt. Hon. Sir S., Bt.	Devon, N.	Voted '72, '73.
L	Norwood, C. M.	Hull	Voted '75, '76, '78, paired '79 and '83, and signed Mem. '83.
HR	O'Beirne, Major F.	Leitrim	Voted '79, signed Memorial and voted '83.
HR	*O'Brien, W.	Mallow	Voted '83.
HR	*O'Connor, Arthur	Queen's Co.	Voted '83.
HR	*O'Connor, T. P.	Galway	Signed Memorial.
HR	O'Gorman Mahon, The...	Clare	Voted '83, was not in Parliament at any previous division.
HR	O'Sullivan, W. H.	Limerick Co.	Spoke in debate and voted '75.
L	Otway, Sir A., Bart. (Chairman of Committee)	Rochester	Paired '78.
L	Palmer, Chas. M.	Durham, N.	Voted '75. [voted '83.]
L	Palmer, Geo.	Reading	Spoke in debate and voted '78, signed Memorial and
L	Palmer, J. Hinde, Q.C.	Lincoln	Voted '72, '73, out of Parliament till '80, signed Mem. and
HR	Parnell, Chas. S.	Cork City	Voted '78, spoke in debate and voted '79. [voted '83.]
L	*Pease, Arthur	Whitby	Signed Memorial and paired '83.
L	*Peddie, John Dick	Kilmarnock	Signed Memorial and voted '83.
L	Pender, John	Wick	Voted '72, paired '73, '75, '78, '79.
L	Pennington, Fred	Stockport	Voted '75, '76, '78, '79, '83, and signed Memorial.
C	Phipps, Pickering	Northants, S.	Voted '75, '76, '78, '79. [76, '78.]
L	Playfair, Rt. Hon. Sir L.	Edinburgh University	Spoke in debate and voted '70, and voted '71, '72, '73, '75,
L	Potter, T. B.	Rochdale	Paired '67, voted '70, '71, '72, '73, '76, '78, '79, '83.
L	*Powell, Walter	Carmarthenshire	Signed Memorial and voted '83.

Table with columns: Politics, NAME, CONSTITUENCY, ACTION TAKEN IN FAVOUR OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE. Lists various MPs and their actions regarding women's suffrage across different constituencies.

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE IN SWEDEN.

A correspondent from Sweden writes:—"I write to tell you of news from us. The Women's Suffrage Bill was on last Saturday, 5th April, for the first time brought before Parliament here. In our Upper Chamber it fell without any discussion or voting, but in the Second Chamber (our House of Commons) it was rejected by only 9 votes, 53 against 44. The question was discussed during an hour and a half. The Bill was brought into the House by a Mr. Fredrik Borg, and was opposed by two speakers only; one of them, the most Conservative man in the House, Count Erik Spowé, ridiculed the idea of women being voters."

The Legislature of Nova Scotia have extended the franchise at municipal elections to widows and unmarried women.

WOMEN POOR LAW GUARDIANS FOR 1884.

Table with columns: PLACE, CANDIDATES, RESULT. Lists candidates and results for women poor law guardians in various locations like London, Birmingham, and Bristol.

We are compelled, owing to pressure on our space, to postpone the petition lists and several notices of debating societies.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE. SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS, FROM MARCH 28th TO APRIL 28th, 1884.

Table listing names and amounts of contributions to the Central Committee, including Mrs. P. A. Taylor, Miss Jessie Boucherett, and others.

Laura M'Laren, Treasurer, 29, Parliament-street, S.W.

MANCHESTER SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS, APRIL, 1884.

Table listing names and amounts of contributions to the Manchester Society for Women's Suffrage, including Mrs. Wm. Hargreaves, Miss H. Righte, and others.

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

BRISTOL AND WEST OF ENGLAND. SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS, APRIL, 1884.

Table listing names and amounts of contributions to the Bristol and West of England society, including Mrs. Hallett, Mrs. Joseph Cross, and others.

ALICE GRENFELL, TREASURER, 26, College Road, Clifton. Office: 20, Park-street, Bristol.

EDINBURGH DEMONSTRATION FUND.

Table listing names and amounts of contributions to the Edinburgh Demonstration Fund, including J. P. Thomasson, Esq., M.P., Mrs. Wigham, and others.

Mrs. M'Laren, Treasurer, Newington House, Edinburgh.

CASH'S EMBROIDERED NAMES AND INITIAL LETTERS FOR MARKING LINEN.

Your Name or Initials Embroidered on our Fine Cambric Tape in Turkey Red, which can be sewn on to any article of dress requiring to be marked.

Can be ordered of HOSIERS and DRAPERS everywhere.
(J. & J. CASH, COVENTRY.)

<p style="writing-mode: vertical-rl; transform: rotate(180deg);">SORE THROATS CURED.</p>	<p style="writing-mode: vertical-rl; transform: rotate(180deg);">EASY TEETHING.</p>	<p style="writing-mode: vertical-rl; transform: rotate(180deg);">SAFE TEETHING.</p>	<p style="writing-mode: vertical-rl; transform: rotate(180deg);">BRONCHITIS CURED.</p>
<p>DO NOT UNTIMELY DIE. Sore Throats Cured with One Dose. FENNINGS' FEVER CURER. BOWEL COMPLAINTS cured with One Dose. TYPHUS or LOW FEVER cured with Two Doses. DIPHTHERIA cured with Three Doses. SCARLET FEVER cured with Four Doses. DYSENTERY cured with Five Doses. Sold in Bottles, 1s. 1½d. each, with full directions, by all Chemists. Read Fennings' "Everybody's Doctor." Sent post free for 13 stamps.</p>	<p>DO NOT LET YOUR CHILD DIE. FENNINGS' Children's Powders Prevent Convulsions. ARE COOLING AND SOOTHING. FENNINGS' Children's Powders. For Children Cutting their Teeth, to prevent Convulsions. <i>Do not contain Calomel, Opium, Morphia, or anything injurious to a tender babe.</i> Sold in Stamped Boxes at 1s. 1½d. and 2s. 9d. (great saving), with full directions. Sent post free for 15 stamps. Direct to ALFRED FENNINGS, West Cowes, I.W. Read Fennings' "Every Mother's Book," which contains valuable hints on Feeding, Teething, Weaning, Sleeping, &c. Ask your Chemist for a free copy.</p>	<p>COUGHS, COLDS, BRONCHITIS, FENNINGS' LUNG HEALERS. The Best Remedy to Cure all Coughs, Colds, Asthmas, &c. Sold in Boxes at 1s. 1½d. and 2s. 9d., with directions. Sent post free for 15 stamps. Direct to ALFRED FENNINGS, West Cowes, I.W. The largest size Boxes, 2s. 9d. (35 stamps post free,) contain three times the quantity of small boxes. Read Fennings' "Everybody's Doctor." Sent post free for 13 stamps. Direct A. FENNINGS, West Cowes, I.W.</p>	<p>FENNINGS' EVERY MOTHER'S BOOK sent post free on application by letter or post card. Direct Alfred Fennings, West Cowes, I.W.</p>

THE UNIVERSAL HOUSEHOLD REMEDIES!!!

HOLLOWAY'S PILLS & OINTMENT

These excellent FAMILY MEDICINES are invaluable in the treatment of all ailments incidental to every HOUSEHOLD. The PILLS PURIFY, REGULATE and STRENGTHEN the whole System, while the OINTMENT is unequalled for the removal of all muscular and outward complaints. Possessed of these REMEDIES, every Mother has at once the means of curing most complaints to which herself or Family is liable.

N.B.—Advice can be obtained, free of charge, at 78, New Oxford Street, late 533, Oxford Street, London, daily between the hours of 11 and 4, or by letter.

ESTABLISHED 1835.



By the use of which, during the last Forty Years many Thousands of Cures have been effected; numbers of which cases had been pronounced INCURABLE!

The numerous well-authenticated Testimonials in disorders of the HEAD, CHEST, BOWELS, LIVER, and KIDNEYS; also in RHEUMATISM, ULCERS, SORES, and all SKIN DISEASES, are sufficient to prove the great value of this most useful Family Medicine, it being A DIRECT PURIFIER OF THE BLOOD and other fluids of the human body.

Many persons have found them of great service both in preventing and relieving SEA SICKNESS; and in warm climates they are very beneficial in all Bilious Complaints.

Sold in boxes, price 7½d., 1s. 1½d., and 2s. 9d., by G. WHELPTON & SON, 3, Crane Court, Fleet-street, London, and by all Chemists and Medicine Vendors at home and abroad. Sent free by post in the United Kingdom for 8, 14, or 33 stamps.