

NATIONAL DEMONSTRATION NUMBER

OF THE

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE JOURNAL.

EDITED BY LYDIA E. BECKER.

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PRICE ONE PENNY.
BY POST THREE HALFPENCE.

THE grand national demonstration of women which took place in the Free Trade Hall on the 3rd instant more than fulfilled the highest expectations that had been formed regarding it. It was truly a marvellous meeting—grand in the earnestness of the purpose that had brought vast multitudes of women together from far and near, some from the uttermost parts of the kingdom—grand in the overwhelming numbers that thronged the vast hall and overflowed to another great meeting in an adjacent building—grand in the strong and fervent enthusiasm which stirred the hearts of all present, and gave to each a new revelation of the power of collective womanhood. Never will that night be forgotten by any woman who was there to partake of that outpouring of the spirit—to join in that communion of souls gathered together with the common yearning for freedom and justice, the common claim for enfranchisement, and the common purpose not to falter or to cease from moving until that enfranchisement shall have been won.

THE scene in the Free Trade Hall as Mrs. M'LAREN took her seat might well draw from her the exclamation with which she opened her speech, "Is this a dream or a reality?" The whole of the vast area, galleries, and platform was thronged with a dense crowd composed, with the exception of the reporters and about one hundred and sixty men in the gallery, entirely of women. The gathering was both orderly and enthusiastic, and the audience was, as a local paper represents, "if anything, more quick-witted and responsive than most audiences." After Mrs. M'LAREN's introductory remarks, the first resolution was moved by the Viscountess HARBERTON, and supported by Mrs. OLIVER SCATCHERD, Mrs. LILIAS ASHWORTH HALLETT, Mrs. BUTLER, Mrs. ELLIS, and Miss ELIZA STURGE, and carried unanimously. The second resolution was moved by Mrs. WELLSTOOD (Edinburgh), and supported by Mrs. HASLAM (Dublin), Miss BECKER, Mrs. PEARSON, Miss CRAIGEN, Miss HELENA DOWNING,

and Miss LUCY WILSON. Miss BECKER having taken the chair, a vote of thanks to Mrs. M'LAREN was moved by Mrs. E. P. NICHOL, seconded by Mrs. O'BRIEN, and carried with acclamation. The proceedings closed with several rounds of cheers, and even then the women lingered, seeming loth to separate.

The overflow meeting in the Memorial Hall was presided over in the first instance by Mrs. LUCAS, and was addressed by most of the ladies who spoke in the great Hall and by Miss C. A. BIGGS. When it was about half over Mrs. LUCAS left the chair, in order not altogether to lose the experience of the grand meeting, and during the later portion of the proceedings the chair was occupied by Miss S. M. BACKHOUSE. The resolutions were the same as those of the main meeting, and the proceedings throughout most enthusiastic and interesting.

THE one drawback to the success of this gathering was the limited size of the Free Trade Hall, which could not contain the thousands of women who thronged its precincts and vainly strove for admission. This gave rise to one or two untoward and painful incidents. One poor woman had travelled a distance of thirty miles in order to be present, and when she got to the doors every place was filled. She cried in the bitterness of her disappointment, but it was of no use, the walls were not elastic, and she could not get in. Other ladies, who had secured reserved and numbered seats, found that the tide of the eager throng had proved too strong to be resisted, and only very early comers were able to save their seats. Many of these did not care to go to the overflow meeting, which was exclusively composed of the ordinary class of Manchester burghesses. This meeting, which was held in the Memorial Hall, and presided over by Mrs. LUCAS, sister of Mrs. M'LAREN, was also densely crowded, and we have no hesitation in stating our belief that if the great Free Trade Hall had been double the size it would have been filled in every part with women who came to participate in the

demonstration and to show their sympathy with the movement.

ONE of the most agreeable incidents in the gathering was the cordial interest and sympathy which was manifested by the men. The rule of reserving the platform and body of the hall for ladies was maintained with rigid impartiality; but the gentlemen were admitted to the gallery, a portion of which was reserved for them, and even that which some of the papers called the somewhat prohibitive tariff of half-a-crown for admission did not prevent a large number from availing themselves of the privilege, and many more would have done so if it had not been necessary to limit the sale of tickets for want of room. The gentlemen present were assuredly not, as a body, the least pleased or interested portion of the audience; and though it would be rash to assume that all of them came purely from sympathy with the cause, the majority of them were warm supporters of the claim of women to the suffrage, and their cordial appreciation of the ability of the speakers and the grandeur of the gathering is not the least of the many gratifying tokens of the interest and significance of the gathering.

TUESDAY, February 3rd, 1880, is a day to be remembered, an era in this work, from which it may take a new departure. Never again need women stay to prove their desire to share in the proudest heritage of their country, political freedom; they have but to point back to that day and go on with renewed courage.

Many words may be written, yet they may flow from the pens of but a few; many words may be spoken, yet they may come from the lips of but a few. But a meeting of five thousand women is not the action of a few; a gathering of representatives from every part of the United Kingdom and from every section of society, from peerage to loom, cannot be brought together by the will of only a few. No; the women who spoke that day spoke not for themselves only; not for the multitude before them only, but for the vaster multitude outside.

Those who listened might well feel rapt in amazement, not indeed at the earnest words of the speakers, nor yet at the numbers thronging together in unison, but amazement that, with such a demonstration possible, the nation should still not have recognised that women, who share the highest hopes, affections, and motives of men, need to share also the freedom which so much adds to the worth and dignity of the lives of men. True, a prin-

ciple which lies deep beneath the order of our lives must, by very reason of its depth, be won by slow and painful steps. Yet, as the President reminded us, scarcely forty years ago women had been refused admission to the convention for the abolition of the slave trade, and now we have this great demonstration, organised by women, composed of women. Surely it is an augury that sooner, rather than later, the British people, true to their historic past, will bring their representative system—their greatest contribution to the accumulated wealth of mankind—into harmony with the growth of civilisation, enriching that contribution by the recognition of the equivalence of men and women. H. B.

THE demonstration in the Free Trade Hall appears to have taken the editor of the *Manchester Examiner* by surprise; but to anyone who has watched the steady growth of the women's movement for some years past, such a meeting seems only the natural outcome of forces long quietly at work. Articles and letters have appeared in reviews, newspapers, and periodicals; speeches have been made, lectures delivered, and petitions presented; all expressing in one voice the dissatisfaction of women with their present legal position. These complaints have fallen mostly on indifferent ears, or have been received with ill-timed mirth and mockery; the framers of them have been told that women suffer under no disabilities, or that disabilities are good for them, or that women in all ages and countries have been in an inferior position, or that good women do not wish for a change. These cogent arguments failing, recourse has been had to—

That barren verbiage, current amongst men,
Light coin, the tinsel clink of compliment,

long believed all-powerful in convincing a woman; she has been called the soother and beautifier of life, home's brightest ornament, too delicate and refined for the world's rough work and fierce political strifes. But reasonable demands, reasonably urged, must be met by better answers than these, their lightness and shallowness have rather intensified than allayed the feeling; it has proved itself strong enough to break down all barriers of social distinction and of creed, and to unite in one common cause women of all ranks and religions, and the great meeting of February 3rd has but given expression to it. The feeling once aroused can never be repressed, the women whom it has reached will never again feel at rest in the old limits. Now once their sense of justice has been roused they will never again say of their fireside, however

dearly cherished, this *only* is our world, nor of their domestic duties, however important and engrossing—these alone are our life-work, for us there is nothing beyond.

S. A. N.

WOMEN have hitherto struggled and suffered in solitude, each one bearing her burden alone and in darkness. Men have said and thought women were contented, because discontent has been stifled by fear. Each one feeling as though she were the only sufferer from bad law, from undeveloped faculties, has feared to utter what she thought, dreading the reproach of singularity. So generation after generation of women have drank their own tears in silence, yearning after that fulness of life which might be and is not—dying and making no sign. But from this time forth in England women will dare to speak aloud that last night makes an epoch in our history. On this morning of February 4th, 1880, we rise up to that which seems externally the same state of things to which we arose yesterday. The law which leaves us disfranchised is still in force; the wife is still the serf of the husband; the wrongs which oppressed us yesterday are all the same to-day; and yet in reality everything is changed. We have swept from midnight into morning. Yesterday we were scattered, to-day we are united; yesterday we were fearful, to-day we are full of courage; yesterday we were weak, to-day we are strong; yesterday the world laughed at us, to-day it does so no longer.

What has made this change? We have discovered our own strength, and, having done so, we are weak no longer. Women have been dumb sufferers for ages. Last night the dumb spoke out, to be silent nevermore. We have been like wanderers dispersed over a wide moor, alone and in the dark; we have stumbled on, not knowing our way. Now we see each other's faces, the sun is shining, and the road is plain before us. We are united, and, though the work before us is very arduous, we shall be equal to it. J. H. C.

THE present issue of the journal is, as our readers will perceive, an exceptional and extra publication, in order to give and preserve in our columns an adequate report of the Demonstration, without trenching upon the space to be devoted in the March number to the ordinary events and articles of the month. We beg to remind our subscribers that this number is over and above what the ordinary subscription of one shilling and sixpence yearly includes, and respectfully suggest that they might, if they see fit, send us the three-halfpence to pay for this extra number of the journal and postage, together with—or without—a donation towards the expenses of the Demonstration.

THE GRAND NATIONAL DEMONSTRATION OF WOMEN

IN THE FREE TRADE HALL, MANCHESTER.

A grand demonstration in support of the movement for obtaining the parliamentary franchise for women was held in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, on February 3rd. The meeting was composed almost entirely of women, gentlemen being admitted only to the galleries, and even here ladies formed the great majority of the audience. Ladies had exclusive possession of the platform, and conducted the whole of the proceedings. The arrangements had been made by the ladies themselves, and they are to be congratulated upon the splendid result of their labours. Long before the hour fixed for the commencement of the proceedings the great hall was crowded in every part; and the proceedings of the evening were of the most enthusiastic and earnest character. Some hundreds of people being unable to obtain admission to the hall, an overflow meeting was promptly arranged, and held in the Memorial Hall, Albert Square. The demonstration was a national one, and there were present delegates and representatives from all parts of the United Kingdom. Amongst these were the following: Miss E. Petrie, Rochdale; Mrs. Littlewood, Rochdale; Mrs. Bowman, Bolton; Miss T aylour, Galloway; Mrs. Wellstood, Edinburgh; Mrs. E. P. Nichol, Edinburgh; Miss A. Evans, Chester; Mrs. E. Ellis, Dewsbury; Mrs. A. Wood, Dewsbury; Mrs. Philips, Liverpool; Miss L. Whittle, Liverpool; Miss B. Morrison, Liverpool; Miss M. Ridgway, Liverpool; Miss Huckwell, Liverpool; Miss E. Kirtland, Edinburgh; Miss H. Downing, London; Miss Sturge, Bewdley; Mrs. Evans, Liverpool; Miss A. Wood, Liverpool; Mrs. T. Archer, Birmingham; Mrs. C. Ellis, Batley; Mrs. Nutton, Halifax; Mrs. D. Vero and Mrs. Green, Batley; Mrs. Porritt, Bradford; Mrs. Holyoake Smith and Miss Smith, Birmingham; Mrs. Abel Heywood, Manchester; Mrs. Abernethy, Heckmondwike; Mrs. Jones, Formby; Mrs. Pullein, Wakefield; Mrs. Barker, Sheffield; Mrs. T. K. Whitehead, Miss Whitehead, Miss A. Whitehead, Rawtenstall; Mrs. Leach, Yarmouth; Mrs. H. Colley March, Rochdale; Miss Blackburn, Kensington; Mrs. C. Servante, Stratford; Mrs. Sunley, Armley; Mrs. J. Donkin, Manchester; Miss C. A. Biggs, Mrs. Lucas, London; Mrs. Ford, Miss D. Goodall, Leeds; Mrs. S. Cattell, Birmingham; Miss Thompson, Liverpool; Mrs. Somerville, Mrs. Tod, Dalkeith; Mrs. Gell, Manchester; Mrs. Haslam, Miss Gough, and Miss Ellen Webb, Dublin; Mrs. Gerard, Aberdeen; Miss Carson, Liverpool; Mrs. O'Brien, Birkenhead; Miss Wilkinson, York; Mrs. B. S. Wilkinson, Bolton; Miss Lamplough, Derby; Mrs. Netherwood, Huddersfield; Mrs. W. Hoyle, Rochdale; Mrs. G. Radford, Ben Rhydding; Miss J. Petrie, Rochdale; Mrs. J. Crook, Bolton; Miss E. White, Liskeard; Miss A. S. Petrie, Rochdale; Mrs. M. Ilquham, Cheltenham; Miss Tanner, Bristol; Mrs. Scarth, Guisbro'; Miss Hurst, Leeds; Miss Barton, Manchester; Mrs. Barton Wright, Prestwich; Miss Woodcock, Old Trafford; Mrs. Paxton Hood, Manchester; Mrs. R. V. Yates, Liverpool; Mrs. Furnival, Liverpool; Mrs. Sutton, Manchester; Mrs. Hill, Manchester; Mrs. Freeston, Blackley; Mrs. Thomas Taylor, Aston Rowant; Miss A. Brown, London; Mrs. C. James, London; Mrs. Drey, Rusholme; Mrs. Leatham, York; Mrs. Edward Smithson, York; Mrs. Luccock, Leeds; Mrs. Alex. M'Laren, Manchester; Mr. James Eccles, Manchester; Miss Edwards, Manchester; Mrs. Dale, Romiley; Mrs. Chandler, Grange-over-Sands.

The delegates from the Edinburgh Branch of the National Society for Women's Suffrage were Mrs. M'Laren (president), Mrs. E. P. Nichol, Miss Louisa Stevenson, Miss E. Kirkland,

Edinburgh; Miss Burton, Midlothian; Miss Tod, Miss Somerville, Dalkeith.

The chair was taken by Mrs. DUNCAN M'LAREN, wife of Mr. D. M'Laren, M.P., Edinburgh, and she was supported by the following ladies, in addition to those already mentioned:—The Viscountess Harberton, Mrs. Pearson, Mrs. Rhys, Oxford; Mrs. Steinthal, Miss M. Atkinson, Sale; Mrs. John Mills, Bowdon; Mrs. Oliver Scatcherd, Miss Campbell, Miss Becker, Manchester; Miss Lomas, Stockport; Mrs. Butler, Liverpool; Mrs. Colman, Bristol; Miss Young, Glasgow; Miss Lucy Wilson, London; Mrs. M'Cormick, Miss Backhouse, and many others.

MISS BECKER, who was most cordially received, announced that a great many ladies had been unable to obtain admission to the meeting, and that a second meeting had been arranged in the Memorial Hall, to be addressed by the ladies who would speak at that meeting. They had done all they could to provide accommodation for their friends, but it was not their fault that they could not increase the area of the Free Trade Hall, so as to receive all friends. Letters of sympathy with the demonstration, and of regret at not being able to attend, have been received from Lady Legard, Mrs. Augusta Webster, Mrs. Arthur Arnold, Mrs. Emily Pfeiffer, Mrs. Lowry Whittle, Mrs. John Hullah, Mrs. Thompson Butler, Mrs. William Burbury, Miss Helen Taylor, Mrs. Surr, Miss A. E. N. Bewicke, Mrs. Chas. Hancock, Mrs. Westlake, Miss Orme, Miss Babb, Miss Courtenay, Mrs. Hensleigh Wedgwood, Mrs. Arthur Williams, Mrs. Stephen Winkworth, Mrs. Hind Smith, Miss Anna Swanwick, Mrs. and Miss Donkin, Mrs. Ronniger, Mrs. Pennington, Dr. Garrett Anderson, Hon. Mrs. Maurice Drummond, Mrs. Alfred Hunt, Mrs. Richmond Ritchie, Mrs. Perrier, Miss Edith Simeox, Miss Brown, Miss Boddy, Miss M'Kee, Miss F. E. Albert, Misses Rhoda and Agnes Garrett, Miss Merryweather, Mrs. Southey, Women's Peace Society, London; Miss Oldham, Surbiton; The Dowager Lady Bulwer Lytton, Sydenham; Miss Mary Gurney, Wimbledon; Lady Jenkinson, Gloucester; Miss Gay, Falmouth; Miss Courtney, Penzance; Lady Bowring, Exeter; Mrs. James Clark, Street; Mrs. Fawcett, Cambridge; Miss Tabor, Malvern Link; Miss Prideaux, Ivy Bridge; Mrs. Stewart, Ongar, Essex; Miss Blackwell, M.D., Hastings; Mrs. Bodichon, Hawkhurst; Miss Dixon, Ventnor; Miss Meteyard, Reading; Miss Hall, St. Leonards; Miss Dunn, Miss Whatoff, Hereford; Miss Jessie Boucherett, London; Mrs. Talbot, Kidderminster; Miss Parsons, Miss Phillips, Shiffnal; Miss Arnold, Tamworth; Lady Florence Herbert, Lymington; Mrs. P. A. Taylor, Mrs. Latham, Mrs. King, London; Mrs. Elmy, Congleton; Mrs. Southall, Mrs. Alfred Osler, Mrs. Talbot, Mrs. Impey, Miss Evans, Birmingham; Mrs. George Dixon, Mrs. Ryland, Mrs. Taylor, Miss H. Edmunds, Mrs. Rogers, Edgbaston, Birmingham; Mrs. Jacob, Bewdley; Miss Maud Phillips, Mrs. Hume-Rothery, Cheltenham; Miss Priestman, Bristol; Miss Shepherd, Mrs. Spender, Miss Le Geyt, Bath; Miss Bigg, Women's Suffrage Committee, Luton; Miss Dunbar, Women's Suffrage Committee, Dover; Miss Gill, Women's Suffrage Committee, Leicester; Mrs. Ernestine Rose, Mrs. Hallock, America; Mrs. Heath, Crewe; Mrs. Stevens, Chester; Miss Porter, Bradford, Girls' Grammar School; Miss Dracup, Rotherham; Mrs. Swanwick, Chesterfield; Mrs. Thompson, Dudley; Miss Sunter, Nottingham; Miss Marianne Farningham, Northampton; Mrs. Guthrie, Northallerton; Mrs. Curzon, New Shieldon, Durham; Mrs. Hoopell, Spennymoor, Durham; Miss Smith, Carlisle; Mrs. Notley, Stone, Staffordshire; Miss Pearson, Wilmslow; Mrs. Crofts, Mrs. Lawson, Mrs. Tatham, Leeds; Miss Rutherford, Miss Worthington, Mrs. Henry Richardson, Mrs. Fielden Thorpe, Mrs. Southam,

Mrs. Mason, York; Mrs. Dale, Mrs. Lucas, Miss Procter, Miss Prideaux, Miss Kipling, Darlington; Mrs. Eastwood, Miss Edith Brooke, Huddersfield; Miss Brown, Wigan; Miss Balgarnie, Mrs. Moses, Scarborough; Mrs. Robinson, Mrs. M'Clelland, Keighley; Mrs. Norton, Derby; Miss Hunter, Mrs. Robertson, Miss Jex Blake, M.D., Miss Agnes M'Laren, M.D., Miss Hope, Mrs. Livingstone, Edinburgh; Miss Dick, Burntisland; Miss Aldridge, Charlton; Miss Readie, Perth; Miss Stuart, Markinch; Mrs. Ormerod, Brighouse; Mrs. Holgate, Mrs. Hartley, Accrington; Mrs. Henry Wilson, Sheffield; Mrs. Horsfall, Alderley Edge; Mrs. Alcock, Bury; Mrs. Pearson, Eccles; Mrs. Stephenson Hunter, Preston; Miss Hutchison, Nottingham; Mrs. Brooks, Dewsbury; Mrs. Simpson, Portobello; Mrs. Murray, Dollar; Mrs. Ewart, Mrs. Byers (Ladies' Coll. School), Miss Tennant, Belfast; Miss Reeves, Eunis; Miss A. J. Robertson, Blackrock, Dublin; Miss Butler, Kerry; Hon. Emmeline Canning, Garvagh; Mrs. Walsh, Kinsale; Mrs. Ashford, Birmingham; Miss Cooper, Norwich; Mrs. Thomasson, Bolton; Mrs. Higginson, Swansea; Miss Johnson, Llandudno; Mrs. Suthers, Oldham; Miss Protheroe, Fishguard; Mrs. Layton, Bideford; Miss Muir, Alloa; Mrs. Lynch, Beckenham; Mrs. Lazenby, Waterfoot; Miss Laffan, Dublin; Mrs. Timmins, Handsworth; Mrs. John Ashworth, Turton; Miss Bostock, London; Miss Boulton, Liverpool; Miss Grace Fowler, Norwood; Miss M. A. Finch, Rock Ferry; Mrs. B. J. Fox, Wigan; Mrs. Greg, Miss Hazer, Macclesfield; Mrs. Heal, Ripon; Miss Sara Hennell, Coventry; Miss Jaffrey, Helensburgh; Mrs. Mathews, Birmingham; Mrs. and the Misses Hugh Mason, Ashton; Mrs. Charles M'Laren, London; Mrs. Pearson, Eccles; Miss Louisa Stevenson, Edinburgh; Mrs. Stroyan, Burnley; Mrs. Reed, Dartford; Mrs. Muntz, Birmingham; Mrs. Barran, Leeds; Mrs. P. Rylands, Warrington; Mrs. Benjamin Whitworth, London; Mrs. J. M. Holt, Balham; Miss Spence, York; Miss Barnes, Southport; Mrs. Turner, Clapham; Mrs. Howarth, Bury; Mrs. Addy, Cork; Miss M. A. Evans, Alderley Edge; Mrs. Paulton, Woking; Miss Pilcher, Fallowfield; Miss Wigham, Edinburgh; Mrs. J. K. Spender, Miss Emily Spender, Bath; Miss O'Brien, Foynes; Mrs. Pesel, Bradford; Mrs. Wilson, Garstang; Mrs. Butler, Killiney Vicarage, County Dublin; Lady Wilde, London; Mrs. Roby, Pendleton; Miss Boucherett, Market Rasen; Mrs. Coward, Heaton Mersey; Mrs. William Mather, Higher Broughton; Princess Mele Barese, Naples; Miss Wedgwood, London; Madame Venturi, London; Mrs. Scott, Kersal; Miss Fazakerley, Denbigh; Lady Wilson, Brighton; Mrs. Gordon-Barlow, St. Helens.

Amongst the telegrams read to the meeting were the following:—From Mrs. Biggar, Londonderry: "Friends of the women's suffrage cause met here to-day, send their hearty good wishes for the success of your meeting."—From Dora Greenwell and Agnes M'Dowell, Denmark Hill: "We send greeting and heartiest good wishes for the cause."—From S. C. Nelson, Downpatrick: "Simultaneous meeting here to-day. Resolved to petition for women's suffrage; new earnest recruits."—From the Rev. H. R. Moore, Queenstown: "Cordial meeting of friends here to-day send their hearty good wishes for the success of your meeting."—From Robert Young, Belfast: "North of Ireland Committee send greeting and their hearty good wishes for the success of your meeting this evening in Manchester."—From Miss M'Dowell, Dublin: "The committee of the Dublin Branch Women's Suffrage Association in meeting assembled desire to express their extreme gratification at the progress of the movement, and their best wishes for the success of the demonstration in Manchester to-night."—From Dr. Frances Hoggan, 7, Trevor Terrace, London: "Professional business will, I find, prevent my going to Manchester for the meeting this

evening; very sorry to be absent."—From Mrs. Wm. S. Clark, Street: "Regret not being able to attend meeting; will help towards expense."—From Wicklow Suffrage Friends, in Wicklow: "We wish you all success, and hope you will have a particularly good meeting to-night."—From Rev. Dr. Kinner, Letter Kenny, Ireland: "Numerous friends of women's suffrage, Letter Kenny, Co. Donegal, have commissioned me to send their sympathy and good wishes to your demonstration this evening in Manchester; we wish success to your meeting and your memorial to Her Majesty's Government in favour of women's suffrage."—From Mrs. Daniel Harrison, Shirley House, Beckenham: "Cordial good wishes for the return of a Liberal Parliament and the enfranchisement of the women." Signed, Anna Harrison, Mary Harrison, Marion Ritchie, Agnes M'Donnell, Annie M'Donnell, Lucy Harrison, Ellen Matthews." From E. M. Lynch, Warrenstown, Dunsany, Ireland: "Mrs. Johnson, Mrs. Leonard, and other Irish ladies and myself earnestly sympathise with your demonstration, and wish you every success."—A letter was received from Mrs. Addey, conveying hearty congratulations and sympathy from friends in Cork.

The following addresses had been sent to Mrs. M'Laren:—

"We, the undersigned friends of the cause of women's suffrage in Waterford, desire to express our cordial sympathy with you and your fellow-workers in the object of your meeting to be held to-morrow evening in the Free-trade Hall, Manchester, and our grateful appreciation of your continued promotion:—Geo. Walpole, Abby Walpole, Sarah Jacob, Jane Taylor Jacob, Edward Garnett, Anne Garnett, Caroline E. Neale, Joseph Neale, N. Harvey, Elizabeth Harvey, Edmund Harvey, S. M. Walpole, Octavia Jacob, Louis Jacob, Henrietta H. Jacob, Helen C. Harvey, Hannah L. Harvey.—Waterford, Feb. 2nd, 1880."

The undersigned finding that Mrs. M'Ilquham, of Staverton House, near Cheltenham, intends to be present at the proposed women's suffrage demonstration at Manchester on the 3rd of February, request her kindly to act as a delegate to represent the friends of the principle in Cheltenham, and for her willingness to do as requested, beg to express their thanks to her, and their best wishes for the success of the meeting:—John Robberds, B.A., Elizabeth Robberds, Battledown Tower; M. A. Scott, East Hayes; Mary Jane Briggs, Vallombrosa; J. Crowther Hirst, Lennox Villas; Margaret Price, Stoneleigh, Bayshill; Councillor J. S. Lenthall, 156, High-street; James Downing, 135 and 136, High-street; Albert Bukingdale, 111, High-street; T. R. Sornley, High-street; B. B. Thomas, Eldon Lawn; Edwin Fisher, 375, High-street; Charles Frederick Mills, 100, Cheltenham; John Joyner, 408, High-street; John D. Steel, jr. (Councillor), 6, Queen's Circus; John D. Steel (Councillor), 2, Sandford Terrace; J. H. M'Ilquham, Staverton House, Staverton, near Cheltenham; de Ferriers, Bays Hill House.

To Mrs. Scarth, Stanghow House, Guisbrough, Yorks.

Dear Madam,—We, the undersigned, knowing the deep interest you take in the subject of the rights of women, beg to request you will do us the favour of personally attending the proposed demonstration in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester.

We highly appreciate the efforts you are making, both by voice and pen, to place woman in her proper position, and to secure for her the enjoyment of those privileges to which she is justly entitled:—(Signed), S. M'Cutcheon, M.D., George G. Taylor, S. K. M. Scarth, D. E. Baker, H. M. B. Taylor, Isaac Scarth.—Mary Scarth, January, 1880.

The following are among the letters which have been addressed to Miss Becker:—

From Miss JANE E. COBDEN.

14, York Place, Feb. 1st, 1880.

Dear Mrs. M'Laren,—It is with much regret that I am obliged, in consequence of a most severe cold, to give up my contemplated journey to the North to-morrow, and the great satisfaction it would afford me to be present at the meeting to be held in the Free Trade Hall on Tuesday. This demonstration will long be remembered by those who have the privilege of witnessing it, and will not be the least among the many proofs that this much-needed reform in the representation of the country is very widely and generally desired throughout England.

From Miss Tod, of Belfast.

Queenstown, 23rd January, 1880.

I cannot easily express to you my regret at being unable to attend the great demonstration at Manchester on 3rd February; but I am still so much an invalid as to be absolutely forbidden to travel till the winter and spring are over. You have, however, two Irish representatives among the ladies who are to be present on that occasion. Let me add my testimony to theirs, to the steady growth of conviction of the righteousness of our cause among all classes in Ireland. Every portion of the kingdom is alike interested in securing that the approaching general election shall truly express the mind of the whole people, and thus give us guarantees for the justice of future legislative action. But many of us here feel that the excluded women householders and ratepayers have duties, rights, and interests of an unusually important kind in regard to the settlement of our special social problems. On both grounds, therefore, we concur most heartily in the proposition to lay a memorial before her Most Gracious Majesty at an early date; and in furtherance of that object I, speaking as I know for thousands of Irishwomen, most cordially wish success to the Manchester meeting.

From the LUTON COMMITTEE.

Luton, January 9th, 1880.

As there is some doubt whether any member of our committee will be able to attend the meeting at Manchester on the 3rd of February, we desire to assure you by letter of our warm sympathy with its objects and our hope that the efforts of the Manchester Committee may meet with the success which they merit. The cause of women's suffrage has made progress during the last few years with a rapidity unlooked for by its chief supporters, and this is especially the case in our own town. We therefore look forward to the future with hope, and trust that the 3rd of February will mark a crisis in the history of the great cause in which we have the honour to be your co-workers. Accept, dear madam, our best wishes for such a success as you yourselves would desire.

LOUISA BIGG, Hon. Sec.

From the LEICESTER COMMITTEE.

29th January, 1880.

At a meeting of the Women's Suffrage Committee held in Leicester on the 23rd inst., I was requested to express to you our earnest interest in your meeting to be held on February 3rd, though we do not at present see our way to sending a deputation. The one specially noteworthy event here last year was the experiment we tried with regard to eliciting the opinion of our women householders. They were thoroughly

canvassed, and the result was eminently satisfactory. There are here about 2,600 such householders, and we reached 2,000 of these, 1,500 of whom actually signed the petition asking for the franchise. We think that no better answer could be given to the objection that women do not want the vote, and we shall be glad to hear of the experiment being tried in other places and with similar results. J. PAGE HOPPS.

From Mrs. ELIZABETH BLACKWELL, M.D.

Rock House, Hastings, Jan. 12th, 1880.

I shall not be able to go to Manchester Feb. 2nd. I am very glad, however, that it is proposed to call a meeting, which will show that women are considering the conduct of public affairs with keen interest. It is a grave error on the part of statesmen to suppose that women are not worth consideration in political arrangements; that wars, treaties, the administration of colonies, &c., should be planned with no recognition of the evils of institutions which, like slavery and polygamy, destroy all possibility of the growth of women in virtue, and the maintenance of just and wise government. I therefore express to your committee my earnest wish to be able to show by the vote of a citizen, that I have reflected on our national measures of home and foreign policy, and will support such measures as are worthy of a Christian nation.

From Mrs. EMILY PFEIFFER.

Mayfield, West Hill, Putney, S.W., January 13th.

We are on the eve of leaving England for Cannes, where we purpose to remain three months for the benefit of my health. We shall thus be far from the scene of action when the important demonstration, of which you have sent me the notice, takes place. Firmly believing that the object your endeavours will have so eminently assisted will be a fact of the not far-distant future, thinking also that the gain and loss inevitable to any great social change duly summed up, the gain will preponderate in this step in the world's progress, it would have been a satisfaction to me to have testified my sympathy by my presence; as it is, you have my fervent wishes for the speedy success of the cause you have spent your life in furthering.

From Miss ELLICE HOPKINS.

Percy House, Brighton, January 13th, 1880.

I regret that a previous engagement with the Bishop of Lichfield, in connection with my work, will prevent my being present at your meeting.

I should wish, however, to express my sympathy with your object; and how very strongly I have felt in combating the degradation of women, the want of more direct women's influence in the legislature to represent and guard the interests of women and children. The scandalous state of the English law with regard to the protection of young children from corruption could not exist if women had a more direct voice in legislature.

From Mrs. ERNESTINE ROSE.

32, St. Petersburg, Place, Bayswater,

London, Jan. 31st, 1880.

Thanks for the invitation to the women's suffrage demonstration. I need hardly assure you that it would give me great pleasure to be with you, and to aid with all in my power the attainment of the great object for the promotion of which I have worked for over forty years. But unfortunately I am suffering from neuralgia in my head and eyes, and am not able to

undertake the journey. I hope you will have a grand demonstration. But our cause does not depend upon numbers, but on justice. That all women do not ask for the suffrage don't make the demand of it less just. All the slaves did not ask for their freedom, but that did not make slavery less wrong. It is now an accepted principle in every free and civilised country, that "taxation without representation is tyranny." To tax woman, therefore, without giving her the right of representation, is an injustice, and would be an injustice even if she did not demand it. No great moral reform was ever demanded by every person of a nation, but when once granted was always accepted, and so it will be with the suffrage. But if there are women who prefer the badge of inferiority to equal citizenship with man, they would not be forced to make use of the suffrage, for man is not forced to do it, and many do not vote, yet that is no reason why all others should be deprived of that right.

Mrs. M'LAREN, who was received with prolonged cheers, said: When I look at the scene before me, and think of my position here, I am fit to ask, Is it a dream or a reality? It is no dream, and only grave realities could have brought so many women together from all parts of the kingdom to form this magnificent meeting, which I feel it is a great honour to have been asked to preside over. It can no longer be said that women do not wish for the suffrage. This meeting is a true demonstration of national feeling. (Cheers.) It is composed of women of all ranks, and I am glad to see a goodly gathering amongst us of working women. When the working men and women rally round us, we shall win in so good a cause. It has been beautifully said that "Palaces, baronial castles, great halls, stately mansions do not make a nation. The nation in every country dwells in the cottage." Then we are glad to have so large a portion of the nation here to-night. (Hear, hear.) I well remember before household suffrage was given to one-half of the nation how my heart used to go out in sympathy with the working men when I saw them standing around the hustings at election contests, and when the only means they had of expressing themselves on the side of freedom and justice was by their uplifted hands and earnest faces; that sight often affected me deeply, and I ask the working men, now that they have got a direct power of expressing their opinions, that they will help women to get equal justice by insisting that candidates at elections shall promise to support our enfranchisement also. (Cheers.) I have been asked more than once, "How can you, a staunch Liberal, ask a Conservative Government to grant you the suffrage?" My answer is that this is no party question, and it is both our privilege and our duty to apply to the Government in power and to Parliament for the redress of our grievances.

This hall was built in the cause of freedom, and some of us have learnt our political lessons within its walls many years ago, with distinguished men for our teachers, and we have learnt from them how persistent effort leads to success in getting grievances redressed. Victory in one moral fight always leads to new warfare in other fields.

Men perish not in moral fight,
Nor crippled come they from the field;
Rather they grow in life and light,
And learn new powers to wield.

There is an honoured delegate on this platform, I am proud to say, from Edinburgh, who could thrill this meeting were she to give you her long experience of this truth. More than forty years ago this lady, then Elizabeth Pease, came forth from private life to aid in the great anti-slavery struggle. It required much courage for women to act in public at that day. So unusual was it, that Wilberforce, it is said, objected to it, saying it could

only lead them to work out greater freedom for themselves in the future. An instructive acknowledgment of their capacity to work in that great cause proved their own birthright to freedom. There was about that time what was called a world's convention held in this country on the great question of slavery, and noble women were sent from America to join some of our best women here as delegates to that convention. But they were refused admission as delegates, on the ground that it was contrary to English usage, that it would subject the convention to ridicule, and that it would prejudice the cause of human freedom. I am not here to blame those benevolent men. They acted up to their light. I would only ask some men of the present day to learn from them how dim their own vision may be. William Lloyd Garrison—(cheers)—that great man who has now been called to join the "just of all generations," refused to take his seat in that convention so long as women were excluded. However, it was soon found that the sympathy and aid of women was necessary to the success of that great cause, as it has been to that of every other which has succeeded it. Slavery has been abolished, and Elizabeth Pease, now Mrs. Nichol—(cheers)—along with all of us here, is yet appealing for that political freedom which has, years ago, been granted to the negro whom she helped to make free. (Renewed cheers.) I cannot think we are far from gaining this just demand when we find the two real leaders of the political parties of the nation so much in sympathy with regard to the true position of women. (Hear, hear.) I read the other day in "Coningsby," one of Lord Beaconsfield's novels, "It is the spirit of man that says I will be great, but it is the sympathy of women that usually makes him so." It seemed to me that this sentiment fitted in remarkably with those beautiful words which Mr. Gladstone recently addressed to the women of Dalkeith, and which I hope may bear much fruit in raising the minds of women of this kingdom to see what their duties really are. On that occasion Mr. Gladstone said, "women are not inclined to the harder and sterner side of politics." But he said there was a side of politics which was associated with the heart of man, and that was woman's side of politics. Surely it is now time to turn to that side of politics which Mr. Gladstone calls ours. It was a remarkable phrase. I often think that God puts words into the mouths of His own instruments as they are needed. "New occasions bring new duties," and these must be recognised, however much some may cling to things as they have been. Well, if there be two sides of politics, and we women are fitted for one side, as Mr. Gladstone stated, and men for the other, we ask from him and from those with whom he is associated that, should the opportunity be given them, they will by a legislative measure enable us practically to fulfil the duties which he says have been appointed to us. Need we wonder that the beneficent designs of Providence have been so imperfectly carried out when only one-half of the intellect and heart of the nation has hitherto been called into action, and the powers of the other half have been almost wholly suppressed. Women are learning along with good men that politics in their true sense have to do with human interests at large. They are learning that unjust laws, whether handed down from ruder ages or whether of more recent date, help much towards "the sin and sorrow of the world," and they long "to alleviate a little the burden of life and to take out of the way of struggling excellence those impediments at least which the folly or the graver offence of man has offered as obstacles in his progress." (Cheers.) These are Mr. Gladstone's words, and how strikingly applicable they are to the condition in which we find many women at the present day. He also told the women of Dalkeith to remember the rights of the savage, to remember the happiness of his humble home

and the sanctity of life in the hill villages of Afghanistan is as inviolable in the eye of God as could be their own. Whilst we honour that sentiment with hearts full of admiration for him who uttered it, we urge, in like manner, that the happiness of the humblest home in Britain, and the sanctity of life and of virtue, is as inviolable in the sight of God as is that of the palace homes of England; and yet when we have petitioned and memorialised our House of Commons, and individual members composing it, that they would recognise this sentiment, how have our appeals been received? Either by silence or by rebuke, or by an overwhelming majority against us. There are, however, good men there who have the justice and the moral courage to plead our cause. (Hear, hear.) Amongst those, will you forgive me if, through his sister, I single out one, your member, Jacob Bright—(cheers)—who, after John Stuart Mill had made women's suffrage one of the political questions of the day, carried it on through its most difficult stage, that of ridicule, with the moral courage and firmness which are his great characteristics, and when, in the future, Manchester shall speak of him and his virtues, it will acknowledge with pride and approbation the great services he rendered to those questions of purity and justice connected with the interests of women. (Cheers.) I state only what many women have felt for years, that ever since a growing knowledge of the injustice of our laws towards women has stirred their hearts to move on their side of politics that they have felt much "pain and just mortification," not because they have been unwilling to fulfil the duties which they knew to be theirs, but because, however much they have laboured and petitioned in favour of any good cause, the House of Commons has turned a deaf ear to them, knowing they had not the parliamentary franchise. (Hear, hear.) We have reached a crisis in the social questions of this nation, even as in our foreign politics; and thus it was that Mr. Gladstone was led to utter an important truth to the women of his country at a time when he was bringing all the powers of his great intellect and his large heart to gather together the scattered ranks of the Liberal party in Scotland and elsewhere with a power which astonished friends and foes alike. He was led to gather us—his countrywomen—in, as one large and important part of the body politic, telling us that he was making no inappropriate demand in asking us to fulfil our duty on that side of politics that naturally belonged to us. Could language be more impressive and solemn than that in which he urged us to come forward and discharge the duty which he said was ours? In effect saying, if our nation is to be upheld in her true greatness, it must be by the help and sympathy of women. The papers next morning, in commenting on that meeting, advised us not to attach too much meaning to the words which had given rise to it. We refuse such advice, believing that Mr. Gladstone, with his large conscientiousness, would not step out of his way to offer his countrywomen a loaf which, when they came to use, was found to contain only a stone. (Cheers.) But the question remains, how is this duty to be performed? The seed then sown did not fall on stony ground. A most influential meeting, including both men and women, was held a fortnight ago in the room where these sentiments were uttered, and a resolution was enthusiastically and unanimously carried by that meeting affirming that the only practical, quiet, and legitimate way in which women could take part in the political crisis of their country was by the exercise of the parliamentary franchise. (Hear, hear.) I fear I have already occupied too much time, but I cannot conclude without reading to you a few words written by an eminent statesman many years ago in reference to Queen Victoria's accession to the throne, which seem to foreshadow our advent to political freedom. After speaking of her

Majesty as the Queen of every sea and of nations in every zone, he adds: "It is not of these that I would speak, but of a nation nearer her footstool, and which at this moment looks to her with anxiety, with affection, perhaps with hope. Fair and serene, she has the blood and beauty of the Saxon. Will it be her proud destiny to bear relief to suffering millions, and, with that soft hand which might inspire troubadours and guerdon knights, break the last links in the chain of Saxon thralldom?" These are the words of Lord Beaconsfield, written thirty-five years ago. We trust they may soon be realised, and that the women of Great Britain and Ireland may through future generations associate their freedom with the reign and the name of Queen Victoria. (Loud cheers.)

The Viscountess HARBERTON moved the first resolution:—

"That the following memorial to Her Majesty's Government be adopted by this meeting, and signed in its behalf by the president.

"To the Right Honourable the Earl of Beaconsfield, K.G., &c., &c., &c., First Lord of Her Majesty's Treasury.

"The memorial of women delegates and others in public meeting assembled on February 3rd, 1880, in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester,

"SHEWETH,

"That your memorialists respectfully submit that women are entitled to the parliamentary franchise on the same grounds of expediency and justice as those on which they have been admitted in England to the municipal and school board franchises. That the experience of the action of women in the discharge of the trusts of the municipal and school board vote warrants their claim to become parliamentary voters. Wherefore your memorialists submit the claim of women to be admitted as parliamentary voters on the conditions that have been approved by experience, and they respectfully urge that they should be enfranchised before another general election, so that in consulting the judgment of the nation their wishes and opinions might be heard, and allowed their due weight in questions affecting their interests and well-being as taxpayers and subjects of the Crown.

"And your memorialists will ever pray."

She then moved the following resolution:—"That this memorial to Her Majesty's Government be adopted by this meeting, and signed in its behalf by the President." She had great pleasure in moving that resolution, because she thought until women had the franchise extended to them they never would be looked upon as anything but nonentities, who might possibly hold property, but as it conferred on them none of the advantages that it did on men, their wishes and interests would invariably be set on one side. Now let them suppose that those people whom they called the Home Rulers had no vote, what sort of interest would their wishes excite in the minds of Englishmen? (Hear, hear.) She did not say that the Government ought to grant everything immediately that anyone asked for it, but she did say that where one class only was unrepresented, that class's grievances would never be looked into as long as every other class could bring forward its grievances with so much better effect. For instance, this particular subject of theirs was generally a subject of laughter among the less intellectual members of the House of Commons—(laughter)—who would hardly examine into the laws or consider the grievances of women. Those members did not consider themselves answerable to women, but only to their constituents, and she felt sure that one of the worst consequences of that was that it lowered all women in the public estimation. In consequence of that, when a woman was insulted or assaulted, the first feeling in people's minds was not

one of wrath against the aggressor, but generally one of irritation against the woman for being there at all—(laughter and applause)—and she did not see how it could be otherwise so long as they were not represented in any way, and while what they thought was of no sort of consequence. (Hear, hear.) She had been often told that the proper place for a woman was at home, minding her house and looking after her children. She quite admitted that houses and children did want looking after, but did anybody hear of a suggestion that the heads of large shops should be disfranchised in order that they might look after their people, or that schoolmasters should not have a vote in order to attend to their pupils? (Applause.) Suppose some of their young people at home met with some very bad accident during their absence; there would be a perfect shriek from their opponents. "There, I told you so; that comes of women taking to politics and wanting votes; and I hope that will be a warning to all women." (Laughter.) But suppose, on the other hand, the same thing had happened to the child of some person who had gone to a friend's house to a ball, or to stay for private theatricals or something of that kind. Then there would have been a sympathising wail, "Poor dear Mrs. So and So, how grieved I am; what a shock for her to get the news just as she was enjoying herself"—(laughter and applause)—and not one voice would be raised to say she was neglecting her duty. (Hear, hear.) There seemed to be an impression that the only matters into which women should throw themselves with energy were follies and amusements, and directly they wished to improve their condition and do some good in the world, then they were told that the human race was in danger. (Laughter.) That race was not in danger; what was in danger was the false and fancied supremacy of certain members of it. (Laughter and applause.) Among men the idea was that the lowest and most stupid of them was cleverer than the most intellectual woman. (Hear, hear.) And many women, though they might not acknowledge it, had at the back of their minds a feeling that if the standard of women was too much raised it might be inconvenient for them, so they did not quite see it, and would rather stay where they were. And then both parties would join to cast about for arguments against it until, in this particular subject, the real injustice of what they were doing became among men too strong for their self-respect, and, unlike an hon. member's "best women," the best men were on our side. She thought the best men were those whose love of justice and truth was greater than their egotism—(laughter)—who knew perfectly well that it would in no way be to their advantage to belong to an unrepresented class, and did not, therefore, wish to doom others to a similar fate, and so to reap, perhaps, any advantages there might be by the very meanest form of protection. (Hear, hear.) She had heard them say they were afraid of granting the franchise to women, but had never heard them very clearly say what they were afraid of. Their opponents among women were principally to be found among the rich and prosperous; they had got all they wanted individually in this world; they had nothing else that they cared about; and so they said "We don't want to be troubled; we think such things are very unwomanly, and won't have anything to do with them." (Laughter.) She thought those "unwomanly women" about whom their opponents were so fond of talking might perhaps be found amongst those who by poverty, crime, drink, and that sort of thing had been reduced to an extremely low state, but she thought also that in a minor sense the "unwomanly women" would be found among those who, having got all they individually cared about, did not care whether the laws regarding women were laws flagrantly unjust or not, and who remained wrapped in what she might call mental idleness, refusing

so much as to look into such subjects, forgetting that even their daughters' fate might be a very different one, forgetting that by refusing to assist women to a better position they were leaving those who came after them defenceless, to be overtaken by the battle of life and trampled under foot without what would be and will be their best and surest means of defence. (Applause.) She hoped this cause would triumph, as other just and great causes had triumphed before in that very place, and that they would all, as they could, and how they could, fight for this movement as nobly as their fathers did for those. (Loud applause.)

Mrs. O. SCOTCHERD seconded the resolution. The memorial, she said, was a wisely worded and a weighty one, and it was one which had her entire sympathy. She wished to point out the evils of the restrictions which had been placed on women's labour. There had been during recent years on the part of the Government, and consequently on the part of society, a very strong tendency to restrict the labour of women most unduly. She considered that these restrictions formed one of the most grievous evils from which women suffered, none the less grievous because the danger was not at once perceived, and because these restrictions were often placed upon women under the guise of doing them a kindness. The most recent and notable instance of these restrictions was the Factory (Women's) Act of 1874. She was not now going to enter into any argument for or against that act, for she had never yet heard one argument brought forward which showed that it was good and right that the labour of women should be restricted and that of men left free. (Cheers.) This was an act which did not touch the labour of one single man, but it did most seriously infringe the personal liberty, and, she feared, the right of labour, of many, many thousands of women, and yet those women were never once asked if they wanted that act. Nevertheless in Cheshire, Lancashire, and Yorkshire there were, according to the last census returns, engaged in the manufacture of textile fabrics 546,000 women, as compared with 435,000 men, giving a majority of 111,000 women. Surely, when women were in so large a majority they should have been consulted as to the framing of the law which so interfered with their industry, and which regulated their daily lives. Men's labour was free. Men would not consent to be so restricted one single week; and yet they imposed these restrictions on women. But women had not the power of making their wishes known to Parliament. Women claimed the right to have a voice in the making of these laws. What would they say was one of the first rights of every human being? She would say that it was the right to satisfy hunger by labour. Women were hungry as well as men. (Cheers.) The principle which underlay all such legislation was the right to deny to women to work at all. If they allowed Parliament to limit their hours of labour they also allowed it to say that they should not work at all; and it was monstrous to think that the power to satisfy the cries of hunger should be dependent upon the will of any other person. Women, by their skill and industry, added greatly to the wealth and prosperity of the country. Let that skill and industry have fair play. All class restrictions were most injurious, and had a tendency to drive the restricted class out of special trades; and, say what we would, restriction in the long run handed over the question of wages entirely into the hands of the employers. Forty years ago, when the first Factory Act was passed, it affected men and women alike. The last Factory Act affected women only. Men said that restriction was not good, and would not tolerate it for themselves. When the Home Secretary was asked to receive a deputation of women to state their views against these obnoxious laws, he found it was not convenient to do so; but Mr. Cross found it convenient to receive a depu-

tation of men in favour of the laws. If women had had votes, Mr. Cross would have found it convenient to receive a deputation of women on a subject so nearly affecting them. (Applause.) There were in this country nearly a million more women than men, and the bulk of them had their own living to earn. Talk of putting them out of the labour market! You cannot do it. (Applause.) Do you tell them to stop at home? A great many of them had to make the homes before they had them to stop in. Do you tell them to get married? There are not husbands for them, even if they all wished it. (Laughter and applause.) The question was, Shall these women lead hard, poor, narrow, starved, restricted lives, or will you give them free play for their energy and ability, and let them have as fair a chance of happiness as the rest of mankind? (Applause.) Various trades were closed to women. It might be said they were not closed by the action of the Government. Granted; but she said that society took its tone from the law. The laws had an educating influence; if they taught freedom for all, the whole of the people would begin to believe freedom was a good thing for all, and *vice versa*. Let all trades be opened to them, and women would naturally take to those trades for which they were best fitted. Natural barriers they could not and did not wish to remove; but they did wish to remove all artificial barriers, and they hoped to do it by the aid of the suffrage. Looking at that vast meeting, she thought of those two good and noble men by whose exertions they were enabled to be there—the men who had made the road upon which they travelled. She referred in the first place to John Stuart Mill—(applause)—whose memory would never fade from the hearts of thousands of Englishwomen, and of whom she might say future generations would rise up and call him blessed. The other good and noble man to whom she referred was their honoured member, Mr. Jacob Bright. (Applause.) Women in their hearts had long ago christened him the Right Hon. Jacob Bright. (Hear, hear.) From early life he had ever been on the side of the weak and the oppressed, and it was only the women who suffered and the women who worked in this cause who fully realised what they owed to him. She was proud to find sitting on her left the sister of John Stuart Mill, and on her right the sister of Jacob Bright. (Applause.) It had been said by some persons that this movement was based on a feeling of antagonism to men. This charge was false. They knew too well what they owed to the good men of the past and the present, and it was to the goodness and growing sense of justice on the part of men towards them that the women trusted for the future. (Hear, hear.) She appealed to them to urge upon their fathers, their brothers, their sons, their husbands, that they could not do without their aid. She had heard that what Lancashire said to-day England said to-morrow. She hoped Lancashire would that night say that women should have the suffrage, and that England would endorse the verdict. (Cheers.)

Mrs. L. ASHWORTH HALLETT said that on the platform were assembled women of all shades of political opinion who had gathered together for one common purpose. They wished to memorialise the Government, asking it to confer the suffrage on women possessing the property qualification, before the country was called upon to elect a fresh Parliament. This was not the first time women had memorialised the present Prime Minister on this subject. In the year 1873 a memorial, signed by some thousands of women throughout the country, was presented to Lord Beaconsfield, and on that occasion he used these words in his reply: "As I believe this anomaly to be injurious to the best interests of the country, I trust to see it removed by the wisdom of Parliament." With evidence of sympathy such as this from the head of the Government, it can

hardly appear unreasonable for women to present their claim on the present occasion. It had been said that there was no such thing as political gratitude, but when we see the leaders of both political parties claiming the honour of having conferred the franchise on the working men, and telling them not to forget to whom they owed the boon, it was clear that faith in political gratitude was not altogether extinct. Now, if the Government, which has been accused of neglecting domestic reforms, would grant the prayer of the memorial adopted to-night, if they would grant a reform which would rank among the greatest that civilisation has yet had to record, I believe that they would find that women would be not unmindful of those to whom they owed the boon. Mr. Forster and other opponents have, however, said that the best women do not desire the franchise, though they have not told us who the best women are. Let us suppose that the resolution we are discussing to-night were submitted to a gathering of ladies from what is called the best society in Manchester, attracted, either for their own amusement, or in order to conform to the frivolity of their husbands—(laughter)—to a ball in this hall, I think it is quite possible, I make no rash assertions, but it is not impossible that the resolution might be lost. Our opponents must look for the leaders and supporters of this movement amongst women known in philanthropy and literature, amongst those engaged in education and in advancing every other movement for the benefit of their sex—(cheers)—amongst industrious, earnest women, who have to labour to keep a home for their children, oftentimes for their parents, and not unfrequently for their husbands; women who have borne, as it were, the heat and burden of the day, who must pay to the Imperial revenue what they are ordered to pay, without having a vote to give in favour of the good old cry of "Peace, Retrenchment, and Reform." (Cheers.) I am aware that there is the residuum argument against any extension of the suffrage, and thinking of this I have been led to inquire into the criminal statistics of the country. In England and Wales in 1876 there were 177,453 convictions of women for various crimes, as against 660,767 convictions of men. (Hear, hear.) The total cost of dealing with this crime in the case of women was £709,800, while in the case of men it was £1,933,224. (Cheers.) There were thus between three and four times as many convictions of men as of women, and the criminal male population costs nearly four times as much as the female to keep it in order. (Laughter and cheers.) Now, I do not wish to speak too severely about men, especially at a meeting in which they are not permitted to take any part. I only wish with my friend Miss Becker, that in her constituency of Manchester a hall could have been found large enough to have enabled us to give free seats to men as well as to women. But in regard to these statistics, it would appear that if men were as moral and law-abiding as women we should be saved something like two millions of money in Imperial and local taxation. (Cheers.) Lord Derby—(cheers)—in speaking the other day of criminals, said he found that for the most part they were as much below the average of their own class intellectually as morally. I do not think that it is unfair for a woman to remark that it might seem as though the lowest class of women were intellectually as morally superior to the lowest class of men. We are taxed for this great criminal class of men, but when these male criminals came out of prison, their sentences having expired, they could vote for members of Parliament, a privilege which was denied to the most intellectual and cultivated woman in the land. At a recent political meeting held at Birmingham one of the leaders of the Liberal party unfolded to his audience a great moving panorama, as it were, of the reforms his party had accomplished during the last fifty years. He did this as an encouragement to them

under present circumstances and as a stimulus to future efforts of a similar kind. He reminded them, among other things, of such acts as the removal of the disabilities of Nonconformists, the political emancipation of the Catholics, the abolition of the corn laws, of the sugar, timber, and ship monopolies, the abolition of special Church privileges, and the extension of the franchise from time to time to wider classes of the population. All these are changes which Liberals inscribe on their flag as Liberal victories, and the speaker who proudly unfurled this flag before his constituents had been one of the chief soldiers of its cause. Now if we carefully look over this list of Liberal victories we shall find that they all agree in being the removals of disabilities, of restrictions, of special privileges or monopolies of one sort or the other; they are the extension of equal liberties to different classes of the nation. But if we look at the list again and ask who are these classes to whom liberty in its various forms has been thus extended, it will be seen that the answer is a singularly one-sided one. (Cheers.) The removal of restrictions on purely material things were free advantages for the benefit of men and women alike. But the extension of civil and political rights have been, with scarcely an exception, extensions of liberty to men alone. We are asking to-night that political freedom should be no longer thus restricted. There was an old saying that what was sauce for the goose was also sauce for the gander—(laughter)—but our gander friends appear to forget that what is sauce for the gander might also be good sauce for the goose. (Laughter and cheers.) Nothing can be stronger than the denunciation by Liberal statesmen of that tyranny which has kept down liberty. Unequal restrictions and unequal privileges have been the marks of every epithet of scorn and contempt, and yet it would appear that Liberal statesmen are themselves guilty of that "hostility to freedom and justice" which they denounce in their opponents, that their claim of freedom for men means a claim for subjection as regards women—*Libertas* for the one sex, *Imperium* over the other. (Cheers.) There appears sometimes to be an absolute unconsciousness amongst our Liberal orators that the divine principles of freedom and responsibility with which they seek to illuminate the world should ever touch the souls of women. We might almost conclude that, like our Turkish allies, they had come to think that women had been created with no souls to touch; and yet, until these principles both touch and envelope women as well as men, the illumination can be only semi-darkness, and the boasted development of freedom a positive distortion. We are here to protest against this distortion. We feel that if "the great world spins for ever down the ringing grooves of change," women, who are a part of that world, cannot be wholly at a standstill. We, too, are perhaps sometimes conscious of a moving panorama, as it were, of victories gained, of monopolies abolished, of restrictions broken down. Women have lately broken down the monopoly of medicine, and are now legally entrusted with the health and lives of her Majesty's subjects. Women have overthrown the restrictions of university education, and are taking degrees in the arts and sciences. (Cheers.) We have recently begun to graduate in law, and have already taken honours in its classes. A proportion, and an increasing proportion, of women are now helping to determine the future education of the people. We are, indeed, fairly competing with men in many of their time-honoured pursuits, and are often fairly questioning their "ancient supremacy." But whilst doing this, and conscious of the ability to do more—whilst conscious that our intellectual and moral status is better—we feel that our political status is not only not better, but that it is relatively worse. The electoral suffrage on which Government now depends is not an immemorial usage either for men or

for women. Both were once equally without it. In its early history it is said that both equally had it, but that with women it fell into disuse. Be this as it may, we know that the suffrage is becoming daily more important. We know that large masses of men once equally with ourselves without its pale are now admitted within it. We know that the Liberal party are promising if they are returned to power to extend the suffrage to more than a million additional men in the counties, but at the same time we know that the political claims of women having greater qualifications are ignored, and that thus the political balance is, and is likely to become, more and more overthrown. We ask that an anomaly such as this may be removed and the balance be restored. Of Liberals we ask it in the name of individual liberty; of Conservatives we ask it in the name of national order and equilibrium; of both for justice and for right. (Cheers.) Nor, in asking this, are we moved by any spirit of antagonism or desire of special privilege. We ask for freedom in order to widen our sphere of duty, in order to co-operate with men for the general good. (Cheers.)

Mrs. BUTLER said: It is ten years since I entered upon the active work for my poorer sisters to which I was called. Every year of that work has brought me an ever-deepening conviction that it is necessary that women should be placed on an equality with men in respect to the parliamentary vote. I say it is necessary—necessary because it is just. Our demand is based on justice, and justice is necessary; for, after all, the universe is governed by principles of justice. Righteousness is the only thing that will finally compel submission, and every departure from principles of justice brings upon us, as individuals and as a nation, its sure retribution sooner or later. There is one eternal law for men and women, rich and poor. God is one, and his law is one. But man did not like it to be so, and hence there has crept in among us the unequal standard of morality which has so long prevailed, and man has set up one code of morals for himself and another for woman. From this unequal standard there result of necessity unequal laws and false social opinions. In all these efforts which we are making we are aiming at the restoration of the equal standard of morality; we are, in fact, proclaiming the forgotten truth of the unity of the law which governs the universe. We claim also that the laws enacted shall be just and equal, and that in order that they may be so they shall be the expression of the will of the entire community, men and women alike. It is often asserted that the sense of justice is weak in women. It may be that it has become weak. Her depressed condition has prevented the free exercise of her judgment. Her sense of justice has been injured by not being permitted to express it in an open and legitimate manner, or to bring it to bear on large and grave questions. But on the other hand the sense of justice is impaired in men also; in some men it is almost extinguished, but by a different process. It has been warped and corrupted by the exclusive possession of power in one direction, and by the privilege he has assumed to himself of forming a judgment on all that concerns one half of the human race, irrespective of any judgment which that half of the human race may have formed concerning its own interests. Privilege, even more than subjection, deadens and kills the sense of justice within the soul. I have seen something of the wrongs and sorrows of the daughters of the people, of the ruin which unequal laws, based on an unequal standard of morality, have brought to many a poor man's home. With the recollection of all that I have witnessed during my life when looking down into that dark gulf of despair, I come before you this evening to tell you how I feel on the question before us here. There are others far more able than I to address you in eloquent

words on this subject, but I should be untrue to my conscience and to God if I did not seize this opportunity offered me to express my conviction. It is this—that the demand we are making here is a holy demand, a holy because a just demand, and that if we are true to our principles and to each other the God of justice will grant to us our heart's desire.

Mrs. ELLIS said: Mrs. M'Laren and friends, for such she would call them that night, as she saw many working women there, and she was a working woman herself. She said she would follow in the same line as Mrs. Scatcherd had taken, and tell them about her experiences of the restrictions of women's labour in Yorkshire, where she came from, restrictions made by Parliaments, in choosing which women had no votes. The first case she would give was of a young woman she knew, who had been working short time for twelve months. Well, now that trade was a little better, instead of her having more work she had to stop at six o'clock at night and give place to a man, who got twice as much, that is, 5d. an hour for working two hours, whilst the young woman could only make twelve shillings a week, or 2½d. per hour, working all day. Another case was where she knew men got thirty shillings a week and the women only sixteen for the same time and the same quality of work. She said she was sure if women were free to make their own contracts, employers would not take such advantage of women. She then spoke of the married women's property laws, and said she knew of a woman who had £400 when she married, and her husband turned out such a tyrant she was obliged to leave him, and, after, their home was sold, and she had to agree to give him half of her four hundred pounds; and now she has to work in a mill again for her living, though she is over fifty years of age. The bankers will only allow her a small trifle of her money at once, the same as a relieving officer would to a pauper.

Miss STURGE, in supporting the resolution, said she hoped that vast assembly was in itself a living proof that the women of this country not only had rights, but that they also dared to maintain them. There seemed to her something singularly appropriate in their meeting in that hall—a place consecrated in all the struggles of liberty, truth, and justice. Did they not in the name of that hall recognise a memorial of the abolition of those cruel and unjust laws which prevented the people from having free bread? And as she also believed that "good with good partakes, and nothing stands alone," she thought that the repeal of the corn laws might have insensibly led women to see that they could do without restrictions just as well as corn. (Hear, hear.) Liberty was sunshine needful to their mental and moral growth. One of Mrs. Gatty's parables related how a nurseryman gave a rose tree to an idiot boy, who deemed it so precious that he boarded it all round and kept out the light, the result being its decay and death. Had not men through mistaken kindness treated women as that poor idiot boy treated his precious plant? She remembered learning in her school days, at the very beginning of Euclid, the axiom that "things which are equal to the same thing are equal to one another." But now she found, when she came to pay the tax collector, that, although he accepted her money just as he would accept that of a man ratepayer, it did not entitle her to the parliamentary vote. Was that just and right? If things which were equal to the same thing were equal to one another, her money ought to be as good as the money of a man ratepayer—(applause)—and entitle her likewise to the parliamentary vote. (Hear, hear.) Men said they wished to keep women from the hurly-burly and bustle of politics, and that women would find it difficult to go and vote in a polling booth. But she thought the polling booths were just as easy of access as the taxpayers' office. (Laughter.) She did not say that people should be equal. God

had given to both men and women different measures of talent; and what she said was—Let the law be equal to all; women can find their level just as well as water if you will only remove the restrictions. (Applause.) She believed that the men who in kindness refused them the political franchise said that women were too good for it, or it was too good for them; and this reminded her of the story of a pedlar and a miller's wife. The miller used to enforce upon his wife the doctrine that men always knew better what was good for women than women could know for themselves; and so the poor woman, whenever the pedlar came to the door, took all the goods he urged upon her, because she was only a woman, and he was a man and knew best. (Laughter.) The miller had to pay the bill; unfortunately he did not see that it was only the fulfilment of his own doctrine. It was because she (Miss Sturge) wished to save men from paying the bill that she asked them to grant the liberty and the justice which that night they claimed. In this world—in our own country even—there was too often government on the doctrine that "might is right." This had led us into terrible evils, and she wished all women to unite and as with one voice maintain that right, and right alone, was true might—

For right is right, since God is God,
And right the end must win;
To doubt would be disloyalty,
To falter would be sin.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Mrs. WELLSHOOD moved: "That a deputation be appointed from that meeting to wait upon Lord Beaconsfield, and to present the memorial which had been adopted." Such a large meeting as that was a complete answer to the statement that the women of England did not desire the franchise. In England the women were better off than their sisters in Scotland, who had not yet the power to vote in municipal elections. There were no doubt many ladies in high positions who did not take any interest in the subject, because they knew nothing of the degrading shackles which were put upon many women by the existing state of the law. But the more that question was becoming known the more Christian women were beginning to see that religion and politics could not be separated. Many ladies were kept away from the movement by the fear of ridicule, but they must remember that it was the right of every woman to raise herself to the highest point to which her Maker has given her the power to rise. And not only must they endeavour to raise themselves, but they must raise their sisters with them. That was the true mission of women. She appealed to them to do all they could to advance the movement, to save their poorer and weaker sisters from sinking; they should join hand in hand and league themselves together to achieve the grand object which they had in view. The cause was a righteous one, and should have the earnest and prayerful support of all good women who were able and willing to help it forward.

Mrs. HASLAM (Dublin) seconded the resolution. She expressed her deep regret that her gifted fellow country-woman, Miss Tod, of Belfast, was unable to be present; she was prevented by indisposition, but she was present in spirit, and had sent messages of cordial sympathy. For herself, she was only a humble worker in the cause; she was not a speaker, but she had come from Dublin simply to take part in their noble demonstration, and had never seconded a resolution with more heartfelt pleasure. Such a meeting would be well worth travelling five hundred miles to assist at. Friends in Ireland, notwithstanding the grievous national calamity which just now weighed upon their spirits, would be cheered, and stimulated, and delighted by so great and splendid a success.

Miss BECKER, who was most warmly received, supported the resolution. She said that they were not asking Lord Beaconsfield for anything like universal suffrage or any reform of the electoral laws in order to admit women. What they asked for was that when a woman had a house or owned property, and paid local and imperial taxes, she should have the vote which that house or property would confer on a man. (Cheers.) It did not show much for the intelligence of even the ordinary mass of men that there was some considerable misapprehension on this simple point. She hoped that they would never for one moment lose sight of the fact that the enfranchisement they sought was simply an enfranchisement under the existing ratepaying, household, and freehold qualification which was at present in force with regard to men; they asked that there should be one electoral law for men and women. The question had progressed immeasurably within the last ten years. When they began the difficulty was to have the question considered as an arguable one. Men did not take the trouble to bring any reason against it. They simply laughed at it. They said, "The thing is not a question to be argued." In fact, they treated it as some people were disposed to treat the notion of an inquiry into Home Rule. It was said that if the question was one on which inquiry were allowable the thing asked for must be given if the demand were proved to be reasonable. And with regard to women's suffrage she thought that that process was not very far from the mark. The moment the question was allowed to be an arguable question it was seen that there was no solid argument against it. Men used to try to laugh it down. It was easy to laugh at one or two women if they stood out beyond the rest of women; but she thought a meeting like that was a fact which it was impossible to laugh at, and which could not be explained away. The women of Manchester knew something about the political franchise. She supposed that she was in the presence of a large body of what might be called her constituents. The school board franchise was given to women because the Government said that half the children to be educated were girls, and, therefore, women should be allowed to vote. If that argument was good it was good for other things besides education. If half of the children to be educated were girls, half the people to be governed were women. (Loud cheers.) She would like to say one word disclaiming anything like hostility to, or rivalry of, or antagonism in feeling to men. On the contrary, their movement was in harmony with the best, and highest, and most generous thoughts of men. She would give one instance in regard to what was thought to be so very dreadful in education—that if they admitted women to compete with men in university examinations they would create a feeling of rivalry or hostility between the sexes. What had been the result of that? They knew that the ladies had distinguished themselves very honourably in the Cambridge University examinations, and standing on a Manchester platform she could not refrain from mentioning the honourable position which had been won by Miss Scott, of this city—(cheers)—and to notice the fact that when the Cambridge examiners were reading out the names in the order of merit, and they had come to the eighth name, they made a significant pause; and the undergraduates and students, who knew what that pause meant, filled it up with the name of "Scott, Scott!" in generous recognition of the fact that a lady was next to the man in the seventh place. (Cheers.) And when the nominal eighth wrangler came to the front, the students called out, "Why don't you bring her with you?" She mentioned that to show that all this exultation in the success of the women was not an ungenerous exultation of women over men, but it was men themselves who were generous and enthusiastic in welcoming women into the paths

of learning. (Cheers.) And so she believed it would be in political life. The men would rejoice to see the women enfranchised, and the women looked to the men to receive them with cordiality and without one single feeling of antagonism or rivalry or distrust. (Cheers.)

Mrs. PEARSON, in supporting the motion, urged as one argument in favour of the movement that taxation and representation ought to be inseparable. Women had, she maintained, a perfect right to a voice in the making of the laws they were compelled to obey. The women of England already had the municipal and school board franchises, and she had no doubt that the opinion of that meeting would become the universal opinion of the country, that the experience of the action of women in the discharge of the municipal and school board votes warranted them in claiming the parliamentary vote. She had read the arguments which had been advanced against the movement, and it seemed to her that they were simply the outcome of sentiment and prejudice, and very often utterly devoid of truth, logic, and reason, deviating altogether from the point at issue, whilst the discussion had drifted quite apart from the prayer contained in the resolution. Prejudice had impeded the progress of nations, science, education, and religion, and even in the 19th century men were to be found whose prejudice would extinguish that movement if it had the power. Some men seemed to imagine that if the franchise were given to women all kinds of evil would befall the nation. Those men talked as if women wanted to annihilate all distinctions, to destroy all natural relationships of society, and upset the existing order of things. They did not wish for anything of the kind, and if men would but think and look into the question they would see that their fears were utterly groundless. She had been told that women did not want the franchise. She thought the meetings which had been held during the last week, and that meeting in particular, was a flat contradiction to the statement. Then she had been told that home and not politics was a woman's sphere. In the home she admitted woman would always reign; she was the mainspring, the guiding star, the centre of attraction round which all else revolved. But she would not confine a woman to the routine of domestic life. She would recognise her as a conscious, independent, responsible agent. She would open the whole world to her, and tell her to find usefulness and happiness wherever she could. It had been said that women did not understand politics. Well, she did not profess to be a politician herself, though she knew something about politics; but as she travelled about the country she was impressed with this fact, that there was an increasing desire among her fellow-women to know and understand more of the great social questions that were brought before us from time to time. Only a short time ago she attended a sewing meeting, where she was a perfect stranger to all except two, and during the afternoon the conversation of the ladies turned upon politics. She wished some of the gentlemen had been there—they would have been astonished at the magnificent range of ideas—(laughter)—they would have been amazed at the amount of information these ladies possessed. She sat in perfect silence—(laughter)—listening to their conversation; and she gathered this, that there was among women a diversity of opinion, just the same as among men. She found that some of them didn't at all admire a "scientific frontier"—(hear, hear)—some of them condemned the Zulu and Afghan wars—they could not see any glory at all in killing a few savages. (Applause.) Indeed, she found that if these women could legislate for their country their creed would be this—"They that breed the quarrels should be the only ones to fight"—(applause)—and, however they differed in their opinion on other subjects, they all agreed with the noble lord who recently said that the real British interests were

commercial prosperity and peace. (Hear, hear.) A gentleman friend of hers was very fond of saying to her—(laughter)—"Well, you see, we are the lords of creation, and, as such, we can look after our own interests and yours as well." Now she had no antagonism to any gentleman—(laughter)—she believed that the grandest, the most glorious being in creation was a large-hearted, high-souled, pure-minded man. ("Hear, hear," and applause.) But she would remind the noble lords of creation that after all they were only the half of mankind—(laughter and applause)—the other and the larger half—(laughter)—being womenkind. In the good old Book, which no doubt most of us professed to take for our guide and chart and directory, it was written—"God said, let us make man, and He created man; male and female created He them. And God blessed them, and gave them dominion over the works of His hand." And then we read that at their creation "the stars sung together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy." So she wanted it to be remembered that in the beginning women were created with the same rights as men. (Applause.)

Miss CRAIGEN, in supporting the resolution, said: This demonstration puts a question to the justice of the English people. It is this—We women are taxed; why are we not represented? It is for those who, having their own share of political power, deny to us what they value for themselves, to give the reasons for this refusal. Certainly it will not be possible any more for gentlemen to stand up in the House of Commons and say that women do not want the vote. We do want it. We are asking for it in the plainest possible way. What more can we do than we are now doing to make our wish for it clearly evident? If they look for riot, for turbulence, for that pressure of threatened violence to which many political reforms have been conceded, these are proofs of our sincerity which it is not in the nature of things that we should give; and we hope also that the time for this mode of enforcing justice is passing away. The very claim that is being made to-night tells us that the reign of mere brute force is wearing to a close. I did not know till I came into the hall to-night that it is built on the spot which was the scene of the tragedy of Peterloo. On this ground, 60 years ago, the blood of women was spilt for freedom. On this ground to-night women lift up their voices in peace and security to claim their share of the liberty that has been won. This marks the progress of the people from midnight to morning. The great fact that has impressed itself on me to-night is that of the unity of womanhood, in which our claim is made. We are separated by many barriers of caste, creed, and education. How vast is the interval which divides the rich lady from the poor mill-worker; but these divisions, though they are very real, are not deep or high. They are like the fences in the farmer's fields that rail off the crops of barley from those of wheat or grass; but if you go down into the earth you pass along the gallery of the mine, the coal seam runs along unbroken and you never know when the boundaries overhead are passed, and above the sun shines on all alike. So these divisions of education, social position, and opinion divide us in our amusements, our employments, even sometimes in our churches. We are too much apart, but they do not separate the hearts of womanhood that beat in unity, nor the sunlight of God's justice that shines down upon the rich and poor alike. In the name of this common womanhood we are gathered here to-night, rich and poor, educated and untaught, to raise our voices altogether to ask for justice. Our sufferings have much in common. Gentlemen can be bad husbands as well as poor men. The money that should sustain a household can be melted in champagne as well as in beer or whisky; and though wife-beating is mostly confined to the poorer classes, yet educated men by cruel words, by cold unkindness, can strike blows on the heart which wound as deeply,

and leave scars as hard to heal as any dealt by the hand. The mother's love also is one. The richest woman here to-night that is the mother of children loves them dearly; the poorest does no less. And the laws which wrong the mother's love are an outrage on the common womanhood by the bond of which we have all been drawn together here. Where I am lodging in Manchester I hear a clock strike with a slow, deep-toned bell, and between the strokes other clocks of weaker sound and quicker utterance chime in, filling up the interval, making up a chorus of swelling sounds. These clocks are very various in tone and pitch, but they all say the same thing; they all tell the same story of the hour. So we have here to-night thousands of women whose voices are loud and strong—some of them with all the power of rank, wealth, education, social position. Others there are here, poor, hard-labouring women, who can bring us only their uprightness—their earnestness in our cause—but all their voices, from the loudest to the lowest, are saying the same thing. They all tell us that for us women also the morning hours are breaking. Far away in London the great clock of Westminster, "Big Ben," tells the time with his iron tongue; and in my girlhood—living almost under the shadow of the clock tower—I used to lay and listen to the solemn swell of his tone, telling to the revellers, and wanderers, and watchers, and all that wakened in the great city, the hours as they flew. But even that great clock has to strike at second hand. At Greenwich they set the time for all the clocks in the country, and even "Big Ben," though he is so loud and so proud, has to take his orders from Greenwich. At Westminster also the clock of the empire strikes; every time it sounds it marks an epoch in the history of nations, and far and wide, to the very ends of the earth, men hold their breath and listen for the voice of England pealing out in power from Westminster. But the hands of that great clock of the empire move at the bidding of the people, and there is a political Greenwich as well as a scientific one. Here in the North is the political Greenwich; we in the North set the political time of day, and if the North shall say that this claim made to-night by women is set by the true sun of justice, then we shall soon hear "Big Ben" strike the hour that makes women free citizens of their native land.

Miss DOWNING gave several illustrations to indicate the disabilities under which women suffered, and maintained that some of the grievances which had been brought under the notice of the country for many years had not yet been redressed. She referred specially to the property of married women. She said they wanted real practical homes—homes in which only they could get the real friendship that was to be found in equality between man and wife. It was useless to talk of their having perfectly happy homes whilst one person had the power over his wife's purse, person, children, and homes. (Cheers.)

Miss LUCY WILSON, in briefly supporting the motion, said the ladies present did not need to be educated upon this question. She had thought as the speeches went on that a great many of them were addressed to the gallery and not to the floor. (Hear, hear.) She heartily congratulated those upon whom the active work of forming the meeting had fallen upon the result of their labours.—The resolution was then carried by acclamation,

Miss Becker having taken the chair,

Mrs. NICHOL moved a vote of thanks to Mrs. M'Laren for presiding, and expressed a hope that the gathering would produce a great effect throughout the country.

Mrs. O'BRIEN seconded the resolution, and said that God raised up instruments when they were required for His purpose. The question was a religious one; it was founded on the Bible, and began nearly 2,000 years ago at the foot of the Cross. If they looked at history they would see that as Christianity had

progressed so had the standard of women. England and America were the two great Christian countries, and from them must emanate movements of this kind. Granting that the man was the head of the household, she held that his wife was the neck; and she asked the wives and those who were hoping to be wives, so to turn the heads of the men when the time for election of members of Parliament came that their votes would go in the proper direction. (Laughter and applause.)

Miss BECKER, in putting the motion, said that Mrs. M'Laren, at great inconvenience, had come amongst them as a Christian woman, and at the call of duty, to encourage them, and she (the speaker) hoped they would give her a hearty Lancashire cheer.—The resolution was carried amid hearty cheering.

Mrs. M'LAREN briefly returned thanks, and suggested that their gratitude was due to Miss Becker and the ladies of Manchester who had organised that great gathering. To be present was a thing worth living for, and she wished she had a longer life to live to remember it. It was indeed a glorious sight. (Loud cheers.) She had attended all the anti-corn law meetings which had been held in that hall, but she had never seen a more glorious assembly. (Cheers.)

Cheers were then given for Miss Becker and Mrs. Lucas, and before the proceedings closed Mrs. M'Laren spoke in a few words of the encouragement Mr. Courtney, their leader, would have when he read of that enthusiastic demonstration, which would render more firm his action in the House of Commons on behalf of their cause. (Cheers.)—The National Anthem having been played on the organ, the audience dispersed.

At the overflow meeting, in the Memorial Hall, there was also a large attendance, both hall and galleries being fully crowded, and the proceedings were of the most enthusiastic nature. Mrs. Lucas presided for the earlier portion of the meeting, and the chair was afterwards taken by Miss S. M. Backhouse. Several ladies who addressed the assembly in the Free Trade Hall—Mrs. Wellstood, Miss Becker, Miss C. A. Biggs, Mrs. Oliver Scatcherd, Mrs. Hallett, Mrs. Ellis, and Miss Sturge—also spoke at this meeting. Similar resolutions were passed to those adopted by the larger gathering. A vote of thanks to Mrs. Lucas, and three cheers for Mr. Jacob Bright, brought the proceedings to a close.

The following letter was addressed by Mrs. M'Laren to the Earl of Beaconsfield:—

"February 4th, 1880.

"My Lord,—As president of a meeting of women delegates and others, assembled in the Free Trade Hall in Manchester yesterday, the 3rd February, I have the honour to forward a copy of the memorial adopted by that meeting, and of the resolution appointing a deputation of ladies to present the memorial to your Lordship.

"On behalf of that meeting, I respectfully beg that your Lordship will consent to receive the ladies who desire to present the memorial in person. Should you be willing to grant their request, I have also to beg that your Lordship will kindly favour me with an intimation of the time and place when the ladies may have the honour of waiting upon your Lordship."

The following reply was received:—

"10, Downing-street, Whitehall, Feb. 9th, 1880.

"Madam,—Lord Beaconsfield desires me to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 4th instant, and to tell you that he regrets it will not be in his power, in the pressure of business, to receive the deputation of ladies who desire to place in his hands a memorial in favour of the extension of the franchise to females. Any communication which they may make in writing to Lord Beaconsfield shall receive his attention.—I am, madam, your obedient servant,

(Signed) "J. F. DALY."

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS ON THE DEMONSTRATION.

DISS EXPRESS.

Not only the largeness of the attendance, but the circumstance also that many of the lady delegates had come in this wintry month of February from distant parts of the kingdom, afforded the very best evidence that the suffrage question has been taken up by women in real earnest.

THE STANDARD.

The meeting of the Women Suffrage Association in Manchester yesterday was a certain signal of the Parliamentary Session being at hand. For, like the Deceased Wife's Sister Bill and the Permissive Bill, a debate on the woman suffrage question may be regarded as a semi-political annual. The speeches last evening were as excellent as usual, and the ladies and their friends as crushingly logical as ever. There is no gainsaying their arguments, and therefore we may at once surrender. The spinster or widow who pays her rates and taxes, and possesses every other legal Parliamentary qualification except sex, has just as good a right to vote for a member of Parliament in the future as she has for a School Board representative or a town councillor at present. We are not at all sure that the world will be much better after she has done so, but at all events it will be no worse. The least political woman could not vote less intelligently than half of the men who at present exercise the franchise.

MANCHESTER EXAMINER.

It is hardly too much to say that last night's Demonstration is probably without a precedent in the annals of mankind. Nevertheless, the fact of its being new tells nothing against it. The history of civilisation is a history of novelties. The oldest institutions of to-day were once experiments. Traditions the most remote might at some still remoter period have been seen in their faintest dawn. Since our ancestors dwelt in caves, clothed themselves in the skins of wild beasts, and sharpened flint stones into knives and fish bones into needles, the progress of mankind has been a series of innovations. Men and women have advanced in civilisation and freedom by equal degrees, but women started from a point much more remote than men, and in consequence of the oppression they experienced in savage life they have had much lee-way to make up. They are now pressing to the front, and insisting on equal political rights. We may be on the eve of a new departure in the political development of the world. Perhaps six centuries hence Miss Becker will be revered as the Moses or Simon de Montfort of her sex, and a new era in the prospects of the race be dated from last night's meeting.

MANCHESTER COURIER.

The question as to the admission of women to the Parliamentary suffrage is such an important one, and it seems, at the present moment, to be involved in so much unnecessary complication, that the "Grand National Demonstration of Women," which took place, last night, in the Free Trade Hall, is invested with a good deal of importance. The ladies who are interested in the movement are somewhat unfortunate in having selected the present moment for such a display of their strength. The time immediately before the meeting of Parliament is such a favourite one for political demonstrations—made, presumably, under the impression that the element of proximity is likely to add, considerably, to the influence of the display upon the possibly ensuing legislation—that such a question as the right of women, in certain circumstances, to vote at Parliamentary elections, is apt to be lost sight of under the pressure of other political topics which, for the time being may, possibly, have a more absorbing interest. Such a consideration, however, should not be sufficient to deprive the meeting of last night of the attention which is justly due to it.

MANCHESTER CITY NEWS.

The great Demonstration of Women in the Free Trade Hall on Tuesday night was an unprecedented public meeting. Nothing exactly like it has ever been witnessed in this country, and whether we like the omen or not, we are bound candidly to acknowledge that a new social force is at work. This new social force consists in the organized attempt of women to take part in the conduct of public affairs. There are a million more women than men in the United Kingdom, and, therefore, if women succeed in establishing their claim, they might not only conduct, but they might absolutely control the business of the nation. The singularly interesting meeting of Tuesday assumes importance if we look upon it as the possible beginning of a complete reversal of things; and it is to the extent that people may believe in or wish for this reversal that they will favour this movement.

The Free Trade Hall was crowded as it is only crowded when public feeling is deeply stirred. This was no common audience, come to enjoy the luxury of music or of lecturing. It was composed of people who perched themselves in uncomfortable places, and who laughed or applauded more vigorously than is their wont. Women were admitted free of charge, while the somewhat prohibitive capitation fee of half-a-crown was put upon the men. The consequence of this novel arrangement was that there were very few men in the hall. Now unless a woman belongs to the very humblest class, she wears gloves. To go out with naked hands seems to be considered by genteel people almost an act of immodesty. The very first thing that one was struck with at this meeting was the subdued character of the applause of gloved hands. If anything, the meeting was more quick-witted and more responsive than most audiences. But there were no sharp and decisive rounds of cheering like the salutes of artillery, but only now and then the muffled drums of sympathy. If this meeting provoked criticism, it also excited deep interest and admiration, and it is no flattery to say that the speaking was better and more original than it is at an average public meeting of men.

LEEDS MERCURY.

The friends of the movement for Women's Suffrage certainly deserve to be congratulated on the demonstration in its support which took place at Manchester on Tuesday. Skilful organisation may, no doubt, do not a little to produce the semblance of wide-spread interest in a subject when the reality is wanting; but it would be obviously unbecoming to attempt to represent the gathering in question as got up by a small number of agitators, however skilful and however earnest. The number of delegates present from Women's Suffrage Societies in different parts of the kingdom is of quite subsidiary importance, for these societies may often be of very limited dimensions. The significant fact is that the meeting being composed almost entirely of women, for men were admitted only to the galleries, and even then the female portion was the great majority of the audience, was not only most enthusiastic, but so numerous that the accommodation afforded by the Free Trade Hall was quite insufficient, and a large overflow meeting, equally enthusiastic in its character, was held in another building. After such a demonstration it appears to us impossible that any one can honestly deny the existence of a very strong body of feeling among Englishwomen in favour of the demand for the concession of the Parliamentary franchise to female householders. Hence one of the most common, and, so long as it had an appearance of being based on fact, one of the most weighty of the arguments against that concession, namely, that women do not desire the boon, is seen to be either untenable, or at least only to be advanced subject to very wide qualifications. For ourselves, we are sincerely glad that a corresponding reinforcement should be given to a case which we have repeatedly maintained is based on reason and justice. In these days the burden of proof must be regarded as lying on those who oppose the application in any particular direction of the principle that representation and taxation should go together; and the fact that women are subjected to special legislation constitutes, as we think, one insuperable difficulty to the establishment of any such proof in their case. The various arguments in favour of the female ratepaying franchise were set forth by the speakers on Tuesday evening with much force, and also, generally, with moderation; and the fact that some of them may, perhaps, be regarded as pointing towards larger demands, gives no ground whatever for refusing a moderate and reasonable concession.



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THE CALENDAR.

FEBRUARY, 1880.

MOON.		SUN.		CLOCK.	
		Rises.	Sets.	14m	2s
3rd Last Quar.,	3h 38m aft.	7 38	4 50	14m	2s
10th New Moon,	11h 17m morn.	7 26	5 2	14	28
18th First Quar.,	3h 46m morn.	7 11	5 17	14	12
26th Full Moon,	1h 22m morn.	6 55	5 32	13	11

1	S	Seagesima. S. Bridgett, Ireland, 6th century.
2	M	[Hall, Manchester, 1880.
3	T	Grand National Demonstration of Women in the Free Trade
4	W	
5	Th	S. Agatha, Virgin Martyr, 251. Madame de Sevigné b. 1627.
6	F	
7	S	[awarded to Miss Herschell 1828.
8	S	Quinquagesima. Gold Medal of Royal Astronomical Society
9	M	[liament 36 Ed. III.
10	T	Shrove Tuesday. Peeresses summoned to send proxies to Par-
11	W	Ash Wednesday.
12	Th	Lady Jane Grey beheaded 1554.
13	F	
14	S	
15	S	Quadragesima. Women's Law Copying office opened 1860.
16	M	Women's Disab. Rem. Bill intro. House of Com. first time 1870.
17	T	[Senior appointed Inspector of Workhouses 1874.
18	W	First recorded visit of Mrs. Fry to Newgate 1813. Mrs. Nassau
19	Th	
20	F	Mrs. Angelina Grimke Weld born Charleston, U.S., 1805.
21	S	Mrs. Grant, of Laggan, born 1755.
22	S	2 in Lent.
23	M	Joanna Baillie died 1851, aged 89.
24	T	Women's Union, Leipzig, formed 1865. Lady Nithsdale saves
25	W	[her husband's life 1715.
26	Th	
27	F	
28	S	
29	S	3 in Lent.

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