

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE JOURNAL.

EDITED BY LYDIA E. BECKER.

VOL. VIII.—No 94. PUBLISHED MONTHLY.
REGISTERED FOR TRANSMISSION ABROAD.

DECEMBER 1, 1877.

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WOMEN HOUSEHOLDERS' DECLARATION.

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

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

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

DIRECTIONS FOR PREPARING PETITIONS.

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

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

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

The humble Petition of the undersigned

SHREWETH,

That the exclusion of women, otherwise legally qualified, from voting in the election of Members of Parliament, is injurious to those excluded, contrary to the principle of just representation, and to that of the laws now in force regulating the election of municipal, parochial, and all other representative governments.

Wherefore your petitioners humbly pray that your Honourable House will pass the Bill entitled "A Bill to Remove the Electoral Disabilities of Women."

And your petitioners will ever pray, &c.

Write out the above form without mistakes, as no word may be scratched out or interlined, and sign it on the same piece of paper. Try to obtain one or more signatures to follow your own. The petition may be signed by men and women of full age, whether householders or otherwise. Make up the petition as a book-post packet, open at the ends, write on the cover the

words "Parliamentary Petition," and post it, addressed to the member who is to present it at the House of Commons. No stamp is required, as petitions so forwarded go post free. Write, and send along with the petition, a note (post paid) asking the member to present it, and to support its prayer.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

Contributions to the funds of the Central Committee of the National Society for Women's Suffrage, 64, Berners-street, London, W., from October 20th, to November 20th, 1877.

| | £ | s. | d. |
|----------------------------|-----|----|----|
| Anonymous | 120 | 0 | 0 |
| Mrs. Glover | 5 | 5 | 0 |
| Miss J. Boucherett | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Mrs. J. Hullah | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Mrs. Thomas Taylor | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Crook | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Mr. James Howard | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Mr. and Mrs. Percy Bunting | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Mrs. Charles Hancock | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Mrs. Askey | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. Charles Colbeck | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Mrs. Lucas | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Miss Elise Walker | 0 | 10 | 6 |
| Miss A. M. Dixon | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Sir R. K. Wilson, Bart. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Miss Cowper Baines | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Mrs. Edward Benham | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| A Friend | 0 | 5 | 0 |
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THE Annual Meeting of the Manchester National Society for Women's Suffrage was held on November 7th in the Lecture Theatre of the new Town Hall, under the presidency of the Mayor of Manchester, Mr. Alderman HEYWOOD. Notwithstanding the regretted absence of Mr. JACOB BRIGHT, which deprived the meeting of that which has hitherto constituted its main feature, the attendance was remarkably good, and the proceedings were of an interesting and satisfactory character.

The report of the Executive Committee, and the speeches in support of the resolutions, contained satisfactory assurances of the progress of public opinion in favour of the measure, and earnest exhortations to the friends of the cause to take advantage of the present movement towards a re-arrangement of the basis of representation in order to place the claims of the women householders, as well as those of the county householders, plainly before Parliament and the country. In order to do this the usual means of political progress must be vigorously used during the coming season. Public meetings and lectures must be held, and petitions industriously promoted. We therefore ask our friends to aid the movement by their personal co-operation and support from the platform when meetings are held, by discussion of the subject in their clubs, public and private societies, and in conversation in their own home, by writing letters on articles in the public press, by promoting petitions to Parliament in support of this Bill, and last, though not least, by liberal subscriptions to the funds of the various societies. With these agencies in active operation, as we trust they will be up to the opening of Parliament, we may reasonably hope to maintain and improve the position we have now in the House of Commons; and that next session, when the adjourned debate on the Bill shall be resumed and the division take place, the result will be such as to reward us for the efforts we shall make, and encourage us to persevere towards success.

MR. GLADSTONE'S recent article on the County Franchise, contributed to the *Nineteenth Century*, furnishes a perfect armoury of weapons wherewith to strive for women's suffrage. MR. GLADSTONE says that both he and Mr.

LOWE must be prepared to stand the recoil of their own guns, and that they have no right to withhold the franchise on the ground that the peasantry will in the long run follow the parson and the squire. The objection that women householders would be under similar influence is frequently urged against their claim to the suffrage; but after the foregoing declaration we may assume that MR. GLADSTONE sees no force in it, and that it will never be allowed to weigh with anyone who respects and assents to MR. GLADSTONE'S views on this aspect of political justice. He says the old system prior to 1832 was not condemned on its working demerits, but for anomaly and irregularity, and especially the exclusion of the middle class, and if that class had no divine right then it must be asked whether any other class of the *male* community or indeed the mass of a community had the qualifications. MR. GLADSTONE'S careful use of the word "male" tends to raise in the mind of every reader of his essay the reflection which seems to have occurred to his own mind when he added the words "or indeed the mass of a community"—why should the inquiry be limited to the question whether any other class of the *male* community had the qualification? No association of politicians advocates the indiscriminate enfranchisement of men, nor do we advocate the indiscriminate enfranchisement of women; but we have a right to ask, and moreover we have a right to receive an answer, why, unless the male householder has a divine right to vote in the election of members of Parliament irrespective of the qualification of property and taxation, which is the legal basis of the suffrage, the female householder who has precisely the same qualification should not have the same legal rights.

THE spirit of the following words in the speech addressed by MR. GLADSTONE to the citizens of Dublin, must commend itself to us all, even while many must feel that they do not accurately describe things as they really are. MR. GLADSTONE says: "I do not believe that anything has contributed, perhaps nothing so much contributes at this moment, to the solidity of British institutions as the fact that the people are trained politically in the habits of

self-government, that they understand political right and understand political duty, and, understanding the relations which prevail between right on the one side and duty on the other, they carry with them a talisman which is a safeguard in the main and in the long run invaluable against those dangers which have threatened and those mischiefs which have lacerated other great and distinguished nations." Can it be truly said that the *people* are trained politically in habits of self-government, when one half know of those habits only at second-hand? Can the *people* be truly said to understand political right and duty when one half are taught by the legislature itself that they should have no part in political rights.

We can imagine that when Mr. GLADSTONE uttered these words there rose before his mind the large numbers of persons in this realm concerning whom his words are true; and so the very extent of their truth hid the large numbers to whom they are not applicable. Nevertheless Mr. GLADSTONE himself told us only the other day in the *Nineteenth Century*, "that every section of the community knows something, and something material to the common weal, which the other sections do not know, and can thus make a contribution to the common stock, which without its intervention would be wanting." Why, then, are half the people forbidden to make this contribution, and thus excluded from the means of learning the habits of self-government that prove so useful to our institutions? Shall we be told that women are not a section? If they are not most appropriately described as a section, it is because they are a section of every section; an integral, yet a distinguishable part of every section; and, as such, having their own qualifications, their own experiences, therefore their own quota to contribute to the common stock.

It must add to the safeguards of the nation to bring the interests of home and country into closer harmony, and implant a right apprehension of the relations between right and duty at the fireside as well as in the office and the market place, for as has been well said, "genuine duties support each other." H. B.

THE *Annual Register* for 1819, describing the agitations of that year in Manchester, Leeds, Stockport, and other manufacturing towns, says, "An entirely novel and truly portentous circumstance was the formation of a *Female Reform Society* at Blackburn, near Manchester, from which circular letters were issued inviting the wives and daughters of working men in different branches of manufacture to

form *sister societies* for the purpose of co-operating with the men, and of instilling into the minds of their children 'a deep-rooted hatred of our tyrannical rulers.' A deputation from this society attended the Blackburn reform meeting, and, mounting the scaffold, presented a cap of liberty and an address to the assembly. The example of these females was successfully recommended to imitation by the orators at other meetings." The formation of this *Female Reform Society* is perhaps very rightly described as a "portentous circumstance," not because it used vehement terms—palliated enough by the utter misery and depression of the time, but because it marked the beginning of women taking part in political action. The population were roused to the conviction that politics touched bread. When they saw that bread was connected with politics, women could not but be conscious that they touched them also. That consciousness once thoroughly awakened could not slumber again. That it was thoroughly awakened for large numbers the following passage of a speech by Mr. GEORGE WILSON, given in Mr. HENRY ASHWORTH'S *Recollections of Mr. COBDEN*, will further testify:—"It is well known that from the first, many ladies have attended our meetings, and countenanced by their presence the greater portion of our public proceedings; that in a time of great distress in our manufacturing districts, when our petitions to the Legislature had failed, they memorialised her Majesty the QUEEN, praying that it might please her to look upon the sufferings of the people, and to admit them by admitting duty free the corn which was then lying in bond. The ladies obtained signatures to that memorial by a personal canvass from door to door and in the depth of winter, throughout the manufacturing districts of the north of England. They did more. In 1841 they held a bazaar in Manchester which realised the sum of £10,000." How many names prominent in the women's suffrage movement are names honoured in the *Anti-Corn Law struggle*! Surely if those who took part in that agitation would give us their recollections it would be seen that the *National Society for Women's Suffrage* is the necessary corollary of the *Anti-Corn League*, which first brought women into immediate contact with political action, and that the foundations of the women's suffrage movement were laid by an agitation which brought political interests direct to the hearths of the people as they had never been brought before, an agitation concerning which historians agree that never in this or any other country was any political agitation at once so extensive, so long continued,

and yet so peaceful, fought only with the weapons of reason and eloquence, as befits one in which women found their part. H. B.

WE give in another column some interesting experiences of a lady engaged in work in Colorado during the recent vote on women's suffrage in that State. The general observations as to the men who will support or oppose women's suffrage in the far West are, we believe, equally generally true of the men of this country, although here as well as there, exceptions will doubtless be found. The ladies report as the result of their observations during the day—

1. Married men will vote for women's suffrage, if their wives appreciate its importance.
 2. Men without family ties, and particularly if they have associated with a bad class of women, will vote against it.
 3. Boys who have just reached their majority will vote against it more generally than any other class.
- The liquor interest went entirely against us.

OUR ancestors had a fine uncompromising method of dealing with inconvenient complaints from women. We learn from the *School Board Chronicle* that "in the church of Walton-on-the-Thames is preserved a specimen of an old instrument of adult education—a 'Scold's Bridle.' It is made of iron, and fastens round the mouth with a sort of lock, so as to keep it shut. The inscription, which bears date 1632, runs as follows:—

'Chester presents Walton with this bridle,
To curb women's tongues that talk too idle.'

The tradition respecting this bridle—one of the very few which still remain in England—is that a person named Chester gave it to the parish of Walton because he had lost an estate through the instrumentality of a gossiping and lying woman."

The "Scold's Bridle" belonged to an age which tolerated the stocks and the pillory for men; but while the spirit of the present day has abolished all tendency to resort to the latter, we fear there remains a strong feeling in the minds of many men that it is right to stop women's mouths by force whenever they utter sentiments displeasing to men, whether these be complaints of the existing law or a desire for political power in order to effect an amelioration of their condition.

UNDER the common-place heading, "Exciting Fatality," a Manchester newspaper records a deed performed by a child of nine years of age at the cost of her life, which

if it had been done by a man would have earned him an heroic name. The facts appear in the report of an inquest held by Mr. GILBERTSON, coroner, at the Adlington police station, near Chorley, on the body of ELIZABETH ELLEN, aged nine years, the daughter of JOHN CLARK, of Blacking Mill Lane. The deceased was playing with her infant brother on the banks of the Leeds and Liverpool Canal. The infant fell into the water, and the deceased leaped in to save him. JANE FAIRLEY, a neighbour, seeing this, screamed, and the mother of the children rushed out of her house and also jumped into the canal to save the children. SETH BENTHAM, who had also heard the scream, ran to the spot with a rope, which he threw to the mother, who had then a child under each arm; but in grasping the rope she lost her hold of the deceased, who was drowned. The body was recovered in about a quarter of an hour afterwards. A verdict of "Accidentally drowned" was returned by the jury, who added a presentment that the canal ought to be fenced off at the place in question.

The jury, in making their presentment, do not appear to have thought that the conduct of either the girl who lost or of the mother who risked her life by jumping into the canal worthy of commendation or comment. Perhaps they considered that to endeavour to save the lives of others by an act of daring bravery was to overstep "woman's sphere."

WHEN a disturbance of the public peace occurs it is expected that the police will put it down, but the manner in which they set to work sometimes shows a remarkable proportion of that discretion which is said to be the better part of valour. A Lancashire rough is an unpleasant antagonist, but boys and women are more easily subdued. Lately, at Burnley, a trade disturbance took place in consequence of a number of workpeople having come into the town to supply the place of those on strike. As they were going home from their work the new comers were assailed with cries of "knobsticks." While the shouting was going on, a boy was seized by an officer. The mother of the lad interfered, and the officer laid hold of her. A daughter of the woman then remonstrated with him. This conduct of the police appears to have angered the people, for a disturbance was threatened, and the police drew their truncheons. It might have been expected that these formidable weapons would have been directed against formidable foes, but we read that MATILDA DUERDEN, a young woman, was struck on the mouth, and

carried home stunned. The crowd then rushed upon the police, and several of the officers were kicked and otherwise illused. We do not defend anyone who commits a breach of the peace, but we can scarcely imagine any spectacle more calculated to provoke one than the sight of policemen striking down young women with their truncheons.

THE claim of women to the Parliamentary franchise is the advanced standard under whose protection all other claims are gained individually. It may be that this painful method of obtaining one after another the rights for which we ask—the rights of married women to their property and to the custody of their children; the right of qualified women to practice law and medicine; the right to a share of the national educational endowments, and to University degrees; the right to the municipal, and to the Parliamentary suffrage—may prove eventually as good for us as even the readier concession of our demands. Had women gained everything they wanted, as fast as they asked for it, the movement would have occupied or interested comparatively few, and the training for public work which these claims have successively involved would have been lost. As things have happened, every year that passes by while they struggle for their rights makes thousands of women more anxious to obtain them, and more fit to use them when obtained. When we reflect on the training in public matters which every Englishman above an agricultural labourer goes through in the course of his boyhood and manhood—in school, in the alehouse, or the club, in the jury box, at the Board of Guardians, the Sessions Courts, and the electioneering meeting—and compare it with the utter lack of all such opportunities in the ordinary existence of a woman, we may feel that the time has not been altogether lost through the prolongation of an agitation which is itself an apprenticeship to political freedom. F. L. C. B.

HIGHER EXAMINATION OF WOMEN.

The report of the Oxford Local Examination delegates respecting the results of the newly-instituted examination for women over 18 years of age, says that Miss Rogers, daughter of Professor J. E. T. Rogers, was placed in the first class of Latin and Greek. "The examiners," says the report, "had no hesitation in recommending for first-class honours the only candidate in this section. They consider that she showed throughout all her work a thoroughly sound and even knowledge of Greek and Latin scholarship, and that such defects as there were resulted from the absence of the special training

and frequent examinations by which candidates for honours before the moderators have usually been prepared for their trial."

We learn from *Le XIX. Siecle* that a young lady who is "directrice" of the common school of Flemcress, Algeria, has just passed at Aix her examination for the "baccalaureat des lettres" in the most brilliant manner. She received the warm congratulations of the examiners.

Mdlle. Blanche Edwards has just passed a successful examination in Paris for the "baccalaureat des lettres."

A L A D Y B. A.

At the public presentation of the degree of B.A. to Miss Edgar, of Auckland, Bishop Cowie and the Rev. David Bruce made speeches highly complimentary to the lady's ability and the high honour she had obtained. Dr. Cowie, in saluting the oldest and at the same time the youngest Bachelor of Arts who is a lady in New Zealand or the British Empire, said he himself submitted to no higher intellectual test for other degrees than that which has admitted to that degree. As to the value of the degree conferred on Miss Edgar, he testified that it was quite as good, and in some respects more valuable than an ordinary B.A. degree conferred by Cambridge, certainly in his time. The admission of a lady to that degree was the triumph of a great principle, upon which the community might fairly and reasonably congratulate itself. Mr. Bruce, who, like Bishop Cowie, is a member of the senate of New Zealand University, said it was customary to estimate the value of these things by comparison. Now the standard of examination in some Scotch universities is even higher than that of Cambridge. The standard of the University of Victoria was, until lately, the highest, but the standard of the University of New Zealand is even higher than that of Victoria. It is now the highest in the world for admission to a B.A. degree, such as the degree Miss Edgar has obtained. Miss Edgar has received an appointment in the Canterbury Ladies' College, at a salary of £300 a year.—*Otago Guardian*.

LETTER FROM MR. JACOB BRIGHT, M.P.

The following letter has been received by the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Manchester Liberal Association from Mr. Jacob Bright, M.P. :—

"Villa del Borgo, Nice, October 31st, 1877.

"My dear Leake,—It has been my habit, as you know, to take some part in the public proceedings of Manchester during the winter months, and to meet my fellow-citizens from time to time on occasions when important subjects have been discussed. To be permitted thus to share the varied and energetic life of my constituents has been to me a great privilege, and it is a subject of constant regret that for a time I am unable from indisposition to pursue my ordinary course. I fear I shall not be present this winter at your meetings. Please explain the cause of my absence to my political friends. They have always been generous to me, and will be so now. They will feel that when in health I have not shrunk from the labour attending the position in which they have placed me, and with restored health, which I trust ere long to enjoy, I shall again be found taking my old place among them, and aiding as far as lies in my power their manifold efforts for the public good.—Believe me faithfully yours,

"R. Leake, Esq."

"JACOB BRIGHT.

PUBLIC MEETINGS.

MANCHESTER NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE. ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

The Annual General Meeting of the Manchester National Society for Women's Suffrage was held on the 7th of November, in the Lecture Theatre, New Town Hall, Albert Square, Manchester. The chair was taken by the MAYOR of MANCHESTER (Mr. Abel Heywood). There were also present Miss Becker, Miss Maria Atkinson, Miss Helen Blackburn, Mrs. Oliver Scatcherd (Leeds), the Rev. S. A. Steinthal, Mr. Robert Whitworth, Mr. B. L. Green, Secretary to the Manchester Liberal Association, Mr. Alderman Baker, Mr. Councillor Windsor, Mr. J. P. Thomasson, Mrs. Winkworth, and others.

The TREASURER read the report, from which we make the following extracts :—"The work of your committee during the past year has been carried on with unremitting diligence, and they have every reason to feel assured that the question of the enfranchisement of women has received increased consideration and favour from all classes of society. The unexpected termination of the Parliamentary debate has, however, occasioned the loss of the usual means of testing the Parliamentary strength of the cause by a division, for which the friends of the measure were fully prepared." After describing the introduction and debate on the Bill the report continues :—"In the absence of the crucial test of a division list, your committee have no means of arriving at a complete estimate of their present strength in the House of Commons, since many changes have taken place in its composition since the division of 1876. The following list of constituencies whose members are favourable to the measure is corrected up to the present date, so far as their information enables your committee to do so. Those members are counted as supporters who have either voted for the Bill or expressed themselves in favour of its principle. On this basis six of the three-cornered constituencies—namely, Birmingham, Buckinghamshire, Glasgow, Leeds, Liverpool, and Manchester—give either their full vote, or each a majority of their vote, in support of the Bill. Thirty-four constituencies, as against twenty-four in the last Parliament, give their full vote of two each in favour of the Bill. Eighty-one constituencies, as against seventy in the last Parliament, give their full voice of one each in favour of the measure. Twenty-eight constituencies give one vote to the Bill, their other vote being neutral or unknown. Thirty-two constituencies have given one vote for and one against the Bill, being 32 on each side. Thus 119 constituencies, as against 94 last Parliament, give clear and full votes for the Bill; and 32 clear, though not full, votes for it. Therefore 151 constituencies appear as clearly ranged in favour of the Bill." The report indicates the special work done through the society, and also notes the deputation which waited on the Chancellor of the Exchequer in June, a full report of which appeared at the time in this *Journal*. The report states that, "the reply of the Chancellor of the Exchequer is so far satisfactory that it seems to carry an intimation that he would be prepared to support the grant of the franchise to women householders, in case of any future amendment of the laws regulating the representation of the people. The forthcoming season is one which will demand earnest and energetic work and a persistent presentation of the question for the attention of the country. The proposed extension of the principle of household suffrage to the counties is rapidly rising to the front; and from the attitude assumed towards it by the leaders of the Liberal party,

we may regard the introduction of a new Reform Bill as an event that may occur at no very distant date, and for which it behoves the supporters of women suffrage to be prepared. The moment when the doors of the constitution are being opened to admit a new class of voters would be a favourable one for pressing the claims of any excluded class; and should the Women's Disabilities Removal Bill not have become law before the introduction of a more general measure of Parliamentary reform, the opportunity should be taken of pressing the claims of the women, as well as of the county householders, on the attention of those responsible for the introduction of such a Bill, and on the Legislature itself. Meantime, it is the duty of all who are convinced of the justice of the cause to support the efforts of those who are engaged in promoting the movement, and to strengthen the hands of the Parliamentary leaders by a renewal and increase of petitions, public meetings, and all other recognised modes of influencing and manifesting public opinion. Your committee ask for a renewal of their trust with the earnest determination to spare no pains in carrying out its object, and with the confident belief that the fruits of the ten years' agitation of the question are beginning to appear in increased strength of opinion in its favour." The balance sheet showed on the debtor side a balance of £156. 2s. 2d., £1,241. 6s. 2d. subscriptions, and £258. 18s. 9d. from other sources. The expenditure had been £1,552. 13s. 4d., leaving a balance in the hands of the treasurer of £106. 15s. 9d.

The CHAIRMAN said that he thought they might fairly gather from the report that if this movement was to be successful it must be made a success by the ladies themselves. The admission in favour of it made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer was one that a great many people, both Liberals and Conservatives, throughout the country were prepared to endorse. (Hear, hear.) The report was extremely well worthy of the attention of the members, and the association must feel grateful to some of the ladies who had been doing its work for the great exertions they had made during the past year, and for the manner in which they had placed the women's suffrage question before the public in so many towns and cities throughout the country. (Applause.)

Mrs. OLIVER SCATCERD moved the adoption of the report and balance sheet. In doing so she said there was a peril and loss to the society if they met together merely as a matter of routine, just to hear a record of the work which had been done, and then returned to their homes thinking that the work would be carried on without any special effort on their part. They should endeavour to lift the subject out of the rut of mere routine, and make such meetings as this a means of encouragement for future work. The report was a faithful record of work done in the past year. The public meetings that had been held had all been good ones, the last one at Grimsby being exceptionally so. One noticeable feature was the number of lawyers who had been able to accompany them on the platform and speak in their favour. On four occasions they had had a lawyer as chairman. No one knew better than lawyers that the law was equal as between man and man, but not as between man and woman, and they were often called upon to witness the injustice and hardship with which the law bore upon women. One of the foremost and most important questions of the day was the equalisation of the borough and county franchise. Scarcely a member of Parliament appeared before the public without mentioning this subject. The reason given by the Marquis of Ripon why he supported such equalisation was that their time-honoured Constitution should be put on the widest possible basis. If that were so she did not see how they could logically exclude women householders. The friends of woman's suffrage held that all women house-

holders might be safely entrusted with the franchise, a large proportion of whom earned incomes for themselves; and the general condition and character of those women householders to whom it was proposed to give the vote are beyond reproach. They had experience to guide them, seeing that for some years past those women had taken part in the municipal elections, and in proportion to their numbers they had voted quite as freely as the men electors, and every year those municipal contests were fought more and more on political grounds. She read extracts from Mr. Gladstone's article in the *Nineteenth Century*, and said that every argument used in favour of conferring the franchise upon the men in counties was equally applicable, if not more so, to women's suffrage. Mr. Gladstone seemed to have had some suspicion that the arguments he brought forth might be read strongly in women's favour, for she noticed that in speaking in detail he had taken the trouble to insert the words, "male adults." Mr. Gladstone said that one great advantage of a wide suffrage was that every section of the community knew something material to the general weal, and would make a contribution to the common stock which, without its intervention, must be wanting. Women said they were a section of the community, and knew something that was very material to the general weal, and which, without their contribution, must be wanting. Mr. Gladstone pointed out, in the first place, that men should have the power of voting because by paying rates, taxes, and using consumable articles they contributed to the public revenue. Well, so did women. In the second place, he said men by their labour contributed to the public wealth; so did women. In the third place, in more than nine cases out of ten man had given a pledge to society by constituting himself the head of a family; so had women. And fourthly, as a man was possessed of the means of making himself useful, so also he largely possessed the means of making himself a pauper, vagabond, criminal, or otherwise, or to make himself mischievous or burdensome to the nation; so could women. Never was their question in a healthier condition than at present, for go where they would, their views were most favourably received, and their duty was simply to go to fresh fields and pastures new, and educate the people up to the views of this society. (Applause.)

Mr. ROBERT WHITWORTH seconded the motion, which was carried unanimously.

Mr. J. P. THOMASSON moved:—

"That the cordial thanks of this meeting are hereby rendered to Mr. Jacob Bright; the Right Hon. James Stansfeld; the Right Hon. the Recorder of London; Sir Robert Anstruther, Bart.; Mr. Forsyth, Q.C.; Mr. Hopwood, Q.C.; Mr. M'Laren; Sir J. M'Kenna; the Right Hon. J. W. Henley; and Mr. Courtney, for introducing and supporting the Women's Disabilities Bill; and this meeting respectfully request their Parliamentary friends to take steps for the re-introduction of the Bill at an early period of the forthcoming session." He spoke of the opposition to the Women's Disabilities in Parliament last session as disgraceful, and said that the House of Commons entirely forgot the usual courtesies of debate in refusing to hear Mr. Courtney. He should be glad if the meeting would urge the re-introduction of the Bill, even if it were only to insist on the hon. member's right to be heard. He dared say that the friends of the Bill had little to hope from the present Parliament, but the time was now approaching when another Parliament would have to be elected, and it rested with the Women's Suffrage Society and its supporters to do their utmost in the meanwhile to enlighten the constituencies respecting the question. (Hear.) While women were denied the franchise they stood before the law in a position of in-

feriority to men, and as long as that was the case those who had power over women would treat them as inferiors. (Hear, hear.) There were unfortunately many ignorant and brutal husbands, fathers, and brothers amongst us, and as long as the law placed women in an inferior position such men would feel encouraged in exercising their authority in a way prejudicial to women.

Mr. ARTHUR G. SYMONDS, Secretary of the National Reform Union, seconded the resolution. In doing so, he said that he was glad for once to find himself on the same platform as his opponents on a political question. On these grounds he felt that he was not expected to treat the question from a party standpoint, but as a matter on which many people on both sides were agreed as a matter of abstract justice. He was glad to be able to think that the movement had made real and substantial progress during the past year; and though he agreed with the committee in regretting the inconclusive result of the last debate in Parliament, he did not personally attach so much importance to this point. Debates in Parliament were useful, as they elicited the opinions of thinking men, and men who could speak with a certain amount of authority; and the annual ventilation of any subject in Parliament practically insured its ventilation outside. But, after all, divisions in Parliament were only relative, not absolute, tests of the strength of a question, and, if his political opponents present would forgive his saying so, this was especially the case in the now-existing Parliament. The true test, and the only one really worth having, is the popular test. If a movement has strength and vitality amongst the people, that is worth far more than any other test, whether in Parliament or out of it. This test, he was glad to say, his personal experience showed to be strongly in our favour, and especially was that the case in the agricultural districts, where political life was far more healthy and vigorous than was generally thought to be the case. This led him to refer to the passage in the report, in which the committee recommended that advantage should be taken of the movement now so strong for extending the franchise in the counties, in order that when the doors were thrown open women should use their utmost endeavours to get in at the same time with other householders. He would state as his opinion, based on wide personal experience, that if they did not attain their object simultaneously with the next extension of the franchise, they would immediately afterwards, and almost as a necessary consequence, because of the enthusiasm on the subject among the agricultural labourers and the unenfranchised classes generally. He believed that one of the first measures which a reformed Parliament would undertake would be one to do political justice to women. This was no reason for slackening our efforts; rather the reverse; but at the same time it was, in his opinion, a source of encouragement and congratulation.

The Rev. S. A. STEINTHAL supported the resolution, and said that no doubt they had all seen in the newspapers within the past few days a letter which had been addressed to Mr. Leake explaining why Mr. Jacob Bright, M.P., was unable to attend any meetings in Manchester this winter. He (Mr. Steintal) was certain that there was not one association from whose meeting Mr. Jacob Bright would be absent that would more deeply regret the cause of his absence than the Women's Suffrage Association. (Applause.) They knew how hard he had worked, and trusted that the enforced rest which he was now taking would enable him soon to come back to Manchester in full strength again, and take up in the same chivalric spirit which he had always displayed those noble causes to which he had devoted so much time and labour. (Cheers.) Mr. Bright was not, however, the only member of Parliament who

had given the cause of women's suffrage assistance, for they had received most valuable support from every quarter, and sometimes from unexpected quarters; and they had no fear of the ultimate result. (Hear, hear.) The extraordinary conduct of their opponents in the House of Commons last session gave them much encouragement, for when they found the antagonists of any measure ransacking heaven and earth to find means to crush that measure, they came to the conclusion that the opposition was beginning to be regarded as desperate. (Hear, hear.) Referring to the finances of the association, Mr. Steintal said that if all the work which their energetic secretary had planned during the past year had been carried out their funds would not have been sufficient; and he hoped that their friends would not allow such a state of affairs to continue. (Applause.)

The motion was unanimously agreed to.

Dr. JOHN WATTS moved the appointment of the executive committee for the ensuing year. Having complimented the committee on the results of their labours during the past year, he said he supposed the meeting had not assembled to discuss the whole round of what was commonly called women's rights, but to confine themselves to a strictly Parliamentary position—literally to ask the Parliament to carry out the existing law which gave us household suffrage. The law was distinct. It enacted household suffrage, but when that law came to be applied, then they found that there were some persons shut out from the benefit. The question arose whether that ought to be. If the householder were a woman, and the qualification one of property, and the woman was not represented by her husband, was her property to be entirely unrepresented simply because she was a woman? If so, then, according to the old maxim that taxation without representation was tyranny, many women were the subjects of legal tyranny, and that was a thing we ought not to submit to. (Cheers.)

Mr. Alderman BAKER seconded the resolution, which was supported by Mr. Councillor WINDSOR.

Mrs. EDWARD PARKER also supported the motion, which was passed unanimously.

A vote of thanks was then, on the motion of Miss MARIA ATKINSON, seconded by Miss BLACKBURN, accorded to the Mayor for presiding, and the meeting closed.

BRISTOL.

A public meeting of the Bristol branch of the National Society for Women's Suffrage was held November 20th, at the Temperance Hall, Bedminster, Miss RICHARDSON presiding. Miss RICHARDSON said she supposed that she was asked to take the chair because at present she was not connected with the society. Her reason for not joining the movement was that she did not think that women would vote more wisely and judiciously than men, and that being so, they would only add to the number of votes without increasing their value. If she could think that women would earnestly come forward and take up what she thought the most important topics of the day—and other important subjects in the sight of others—then she should go in earnestly for women's suffrage. She thought the claim that women made was perfectly just. The most determined opponents of women's rights willingly consented to women paying taxation, and it was the principle of English law that those who paid taxes should have some voice in electing those who spent the money. If they allowed them to pay taxes it was reasonable and right that they should have some voice in the management. At present women were appointed to most uncomfortable offices, such as overseers of roads and the poor. Surely if they were capable of looking after roads and after the poor, they were fit to vote for members of Parliament who made the laws of the nation. She could imagine the horror

that this claim caused in some masculine minds. It would be just as if the ladies of the harem asked to be allowed to sit down at dinner with their lord, or appear in public unveiled. So it was with many men, they could not bear the idea. They knew that women had ready tongues, and perhaps they thought that if women commenced to speak men would have no chance. (Laughter.) Miss Richardson then dwelt at some length upon the evils of intemperance, and urged her hearers to become teetotalers.

Miss PRICE moved the usual resolution affirming the principle. She contended that there were many things that specially affected women, and wanted to be looked at from their point of view—more especially the Married Women's Property Bill, and laws relating to children. They required to educate public opinion up to their views. The fact was that their legislators felt it was not dangerous to refuse what they asked, that they were too gentle to rebel. But there was a pressure to which Parliament must yield, and that was the pressure of accumulated reasons that had never been answered. She characterised the objections to the Bill as amusing.

The Rev. J. B. SPRING seconded the motion, remarking that they did not contend that women would exercise the franchise more wisely or more discreetly than men; all that they contended for was that there was no reason to suppose that they would exercise it less discreetly or less wisely. (Hear, hear.)

The motion was carried unanimously.

On the motion of Mrs. WALKER, it was resolved to present petitions to both Houses of Parliament based on the foregoing resolution; and a vote of thanks was accorded to Miss Richardson for taking the chair.

DRAWING ROOM MEETING.

BRISTOL.

On the 16th November a drawing-room meeting on the woman's suffrage question was held at Stoke House, by the kind consent of Mrs. Budgett. Nearly 150 people were present. The chair was taken by Mrs. CHARLES THOMAS, who, after a few words of introduction, called on Miss Cobbe to address the meeting.

Miss COBBE said that there were several classes of persons who, like women, were excluded from the representation given by a parliamentary vote, and that the exceptions with whom a woman found herself classed were scarcely flattering to her intellect or her moral sense. First of all, boys under age were excluded; and women of years and experience might justly resent having no more power of influencing the Legislature than an inexperienced youth of twenty. Again, Idiots were among the unprivileged classes, and no one would complain of women for objecting to be classed with these. And lastly, the Criminal class, concerning whom it might fairly be considered that those women who would be affected by the extension of the franchise to women householders would be among the least offending classes of the community. Many people said that women were already sufficiently represented. If so, how did it happen that when any woman's question came on it was almost impossible to get a House to discuss it? Six times in one session the House had been counted out when the Married Women's Property Bill was brought on. How, for instance, could we believe that women possessed such great influence when we saw the difficulty there was to procure any protective legislation for those unfortunate wives whose husbands beat and kicked them to death? These things were continually in the papers, and yet no effective measures were taken to prevent them. As Miss Becker recently observed, "If the women of England took it into their heads to poison or murder their hus-

bands, it would not be very long before we heard of an act for the protection of married men! (Laughter.) But there was one aspect of the question of even greater importance than those already touched upon: the moral influence on politics which we may hope will follow the admission of women to the franchise. Probably, taking the average, the intellectual power of women is not equal to that of men, it will scarcely be denied that their moral sense is as keen or keener. Of this finer moral sense, of the desire for the absolutely right and just apart from expediency and interest, there is a great need in political life; and we can hardly doubt that the influence of women would be to give more prominence to moral considerations, and to seek to forward those ends which are in themselves for the highest good of the nation and of mankind.

At the close of Miss Cobbe's address, the President inquired if there were not anyone present who would like to address the meeting on the opposite side.

Dr. STUART said that, although he had not come prepared to speak, he would like to refer to some points which seemed to him to constitute very valid objections to the case which had been so ably put forward on the other side. Dr. Stuart began by saying that he was a great admirer of the other sex; that perhaps no man in the world had a higher opinion of women than he had, but for that very reason he was entirely averse to their mixing in the rough and rude world of politics. The influence of women was incalculable, and great in proportion to its silence; it worked unconsciously and unobtrusively, and women would only lose this if they tried to gain open political power. It had been said the vote was asked for for women of property. What proportion of women of property were there who would be represented? He confessed ignorance on this point, but imagined the number would be very small; and the women without property, who were they, and what was to be done for them? Dr. Stuart could not understand, if women were to be represented at all, why married women should be unrepresented. But, said Dr. Stuart, if married women had votes, what would be the result? I am a Conservative; suppose my wife to be a Liberal, and suppose my wife to have a vote, she would use it in opposition to me. Evidently such an occurrence must put an end to all domestic felicity and conjugal bliss, and introduce discord into the house. Dr. Stuart thought there was too much talk of justice being done, and too little weight given in the matter to sentiment. He implied that the surest protection for women was to be found in the sentiment entertained for them by men, and in their own influence.

Miss COBBE, being called on by the Chairman to reply, remarked that she thought Dr. Stuart gave more weight to the effect of sentiment in the world than it deserved. There was plenty of sentiment for young, well-born, and beautiful women, and for fashionable and wealthy women, but how about those women who were not beautiful and not young, whose lives were hard and lonely, and who had to go into the world and work for their bread? there was not much sentiment towards them! Miss Cobbe said that many times she had thought that gladly would she have exchanged the uniform courtesy and consideration which she had met all her life at the hands of men for simple justice, if that justice were extended to all women in all ranks of life.

The Rev. Mr. MACPHERSON next addressed the meeting. We had to congratulate ourselves, he said, that this question was not one of party. It was a great advantage to have a question which we could discuss calmly and fairly, and which could not be made capital of by either party, or brought forward as, what was now euphuistically styled, a policy. The great questions of policy reminded him of Lord Mayors' Shows, which

blocked the streets and called forth the enthusiasm of the crowd, while they were all the while obstructing the thoroughfare, and hindering the progress of the useful water cart. This question before us was one of those useful water carts whose progress was impeded by more showy obstacles. He was for admitting women to the franchise as an act of justice; he thought that having once made up our minds that an act was just, we ought not to be deterred from it by party considerations, or from a fear that it might strengthen the hands of one party or another, and he entirely agreed with Miss Cobbe that the proposed change would tend to give a higher tone to political life.

The PRESIDENT here remarked, in reference to Dr. Stuart's fear of the effect of a woman's voting on domestic peace, that she thought the more women and men could receive a similar education the more they could share in the same interests and same duties, the greater and not the less would be the happiness of their homes. To differ from those they love and respect is often a very valuable discipline for people, and not necessarily a cause of dissension.

The Rev. URIJAH THOMAS objected to Dr. Stuart's assertion that the influence of women was great in proportion as it was secret; he believed that influence held openly, and for which people felt responsible, was far more valuable than that which was indirect and for which they were not accountable. He differed also from Dr. Stuart concerning the roughness and rudeness of political life on which that gentleman had laid so much stress. He did not see how quietly and calmly forming an opinion on matters of principle, and, at certain times, recording that opinion by dropping a paper into a ballot box could of itself make a person rough or rude. He knew men who, holding strong political views, were neither rough nor rude, but were on the contrary among the most refined of men.

Miss PRIESTMAN said that it was probably difficult for many of those present to imagine how sorely the franchise was needed for those working women who had to gain their own living,—of the many ways in which the want of representation told in closing remunerative trades to them, and in making still harder that life which at the best was so hard for them. In Lancashire and Yorkshire, for instance, where the working classes were more happy and prosperous, and the women better paid perhaps than in any other part of England, the working men were petitioning their representatives to shorten the hours of work for women, and so by placing legal restrictions on the employment of women tending to throw them out of employment altogether.

Mr. WATSON then moved that a petition from this meeting for the enfranchisement of women householders be presented to Parliament.

This having been seconded by Dr. ELIZA DUNBAR, an amendment was proposed by the Rev. Mr. DAVIS to the effect that the time was not yet come for such a step. He said that, although not altogether opposed to the principle of the move advocated, he thought there were already so many anomalies existing in the English system of representation that it would be only adding new complications to grant any extension of the franchise till these had been remedied.

In reply to this, Mr. ALAN GREENWELL stated that the existence of many anomalies seemed to him only an additional reason for hastening to remove one.

Dr. STUART, with a few further remarks on the injustice of excluding married women from the franchise, seconded the Rev. Mr. Davis's amendment.

A show of hands was taken, and a large majority were found to be in favour of the original resolution.

AYR.

On the 14th of November a drawing-room meeting was held in the house of Dr. Macdonald, rector of the Ayr Academy. There were about forty ladies present, and although some among the audience affected to be as yet not enthusiastic on the question of women obtaining votes, all present listened with admiring interest to a paper read by Mrs. Rosaline Orme Masson, which explained the present state of politics in Britain with regard to women in a clear and concise manner. Miss Mary Burton then made some observations on Acts passed in Parliament during a past session, and showed that they were all calculated to be of importance to female householders. After the meeting was over Miss Burton and Miss Kirkland (secretary to the Edinburgh Association for Women's Suffrage) visited the unmarried and widow lady proprietors in Ayr, with favourable results. This speaks well for this renowned little town, the birthplace of the large-minded and liberal poet Burns. The Secretary on leaving Ayr went on to Ardrossan, where considerable interest in the cause was aroused, and thence proceeded to visit other towns on the west coast of Scotland.

DEBATING SOCIETIES.
SOUTHPORT.

St. George's Mutual Improvement Society, in connection with St. George's Presbyterian Church, had a debate recently on Women's Suffrage. The voting was all but unanimous in its favour, two hands only being held up against it, one by a man, and the other by his umbrella.

LETTER FROM THE LATE JOHN STUART MILL.

The following letter was addressed by Mr. John Stuart Mill about ten years ago, in the beginning of the present agitation for women's suffrage, to a lady eminent in philanthropic work, who had expressed to him some doubts as to the expediency of joining the society. The lady subsequently gave her name to the movement, and became a steadfast supporter of the cause.

Avignon, December 29th, 1867.

"Dear Madam,—I have to thank you for your letter of August 11th, which a journey of some length on the Continent, and much occupation ever since, have prevented me from answering before now.

"If you think that to give your name in aid of the movement for the political enfranchisement of women might be in any degree injurious to the work you have chosen, I cordially agree that those who are working in another department than your own for the public good have no claim upon you. Whether giving your name to our Society would have any such mischievous effect you are far better qualified to judge than I am, and I will not therefore venture upon an opinion. I will content myself with thanking you for the pleasure with which I learn from your letter that you are with us in principle, and with expressing the hope that the time may not be very far distant when the progress of events and of public opinion may remove the obstacles which prevent you from joining us.

"There are, however, one or two points in your letter in which I cannot agree with you. To take the most important first—most important because it is a point of moral obligation. You say you do not desire a vote for yourself. I have too great a respect for you not to venture to say that, in my opinion, this is dereliction of the duty you owe to your fellow-creatures. If your vote could affect only yourself—that is to say, if you only could be the sufferer, materially speaking, from allowing yourself to be governed by others—it would still be a question whether, unless those others govern you with perfect justice, you are morally entitled to forego the right and power which a

vote would give you to force them to do justice, and thereby become themselves better moral creatures. But it is not the fact that the possession of a vote would enable you only to protect yourself. Every citizen possessed of a vote is possessed of a means of protecting those who cannot vote, such as infants, the sick, idiots, etc., as well as of a means of helping others who can vote to do good in every conceivable way in which just and provident legislation can affect human happiness. I am deeply persuaded that nothing but a most regrettable absence of thought on this subject can account for or even partially excuse, for wholly excuse it cannot, the very common neglect of the power of voting which prevails among gentlemen and educated persons. I am certain that a time will come when it will be felt that a man, and I need not add a woman too, because any rational creature, is committing a most gross dereliction of duty when he habitually neglects to make use of this power conscientiously, and at any cost of labour to himself. He owes it as a return to the civilization to which he owes not only all the security and peace, all the highest enjoyments of his life, but also the possibility of attaining refinement and moral education. He owes it, therefore, by the deepest debt that man can owe to his fellow-creatures. Nor is it less imperative that he should pay it, because, if the duty of voting is not fulfilled from virtuous and public motives, the power of voting will be left to people who are induced to exercise it by the spur of selfish interest or ambition. Thus I can conceive no duty, not even the most primary duties of private or personal morality, that it is more absolutely essential to the happiness of mankind that every virtuous and rational citizen should fulfil steadily and carefully. The right of voting is, in my opinion, not only a power to be coveted (although it is a legitimate power, which may be honestly coveted by an honourable ambition), but it is still more essentially an obligation to be dutifully fulfilled. You will see from this that I cannot agree in the wish you express that the right should rather be 'given to woman by those who deprive her of it, than from her own demand.' Because even if any sentiment of generosity should make one feel that it is a more beautiful thing to receive a legitimate power unasked than asked, there can be no generosity and nothing noble or beautiful in waiting to have a duty thrust upon one, instead of asking to be allowed to take it upon oneself for the good of everybody concerned.

"In regard to the third point upon which you express yourself uncertain—whether the time has yet come for agitation—there are several reasons which concur to make me think it has. In the first place, to agitate for the change in the law is not to obtain it, and therefore, even if any of us think that women are not yet prepared to exercise the suffrage, that will still not be a reason against agitating for it; because much smaller changes than this can never be obtained until after the agitation for them has lasted some time, and the agitation itself will be the most effectual means of preparing people for the change whenever it comes. The great change now taking place in the right of voting among men is, however, the main reason for bringing forward this question at this particular time. The subject of the right of voting is under discussion, and people's minds are comparatively open to receiving new ideas on the subject. If it is true that women ought to vote, it is wrong to lose the present opportunity of spreading this truth as far and wide as possible. By doing so we are only sowing seed, to bear fruit in due time, if it is good seed, suited to the soil and the climate. We do not dream of reaping the harvest directly.

"I have troubled you, dear madam, with a very long letter, but I agree too much with you not to wish to agree still further.—I am, dear madam, very truly yours,

"J. S. MILL."

ELECTION DAY IN COLORADO.

The day for which all other days in Colorado waited in the year 1877 was Tuesday, the 2nd of October. It was the day which would stand out in history for ever, as the day on which the men of that State had the great chance of deciding whether the women of Colorado should have equal political rights with the men of Colorado.

The sounds of preparation had been heard for nearly two years. All over the State, more or less, the discussion went on through the press. Able judges and lawyers and earnest women of Colorado entered the field, with the advocates of woman suffrage who had gone there from the East. Nearly all the lectures were given to crowded audiences. By many a fire-side in city and in hamlet, the conversation for months had warmed with hope or chilled with dread of disappointment. One proud mother, whose comfortable and pleasant home looked out over well-cultivated fields of corn and wheat, and among growing trees and vines, a sight rare in Colorado, said: "My three men will vote for woman suffrage. My youngest son will give his first vote for his mother." The young man's face was fairly radiant with pride and pleasure, that his first political act would be in the interest of the hand that had rocked his cradle. One young woman, whose few years had not counted up to twenty, and who had "often cried herself to sleep, thinking how very hard it is for a woman to be obliged to conquer, or be overborne by, obstacles which are never placed in the way of men," asked a little doubtfully, but asked—"what would be the most fitting way to celebrate our victory?" So closely had she gathered to her heart the great hope that the men of Colorado would be just to woman!

In the home of the miner, in the cabin of the ranchman, on the prairies, among the mountains, amid all classes of people, "the question of the hour" was discussed *pro* and *con*, in all the languages of the world. The great, historic day, October 2, came at last. The sun rose clear, as it almost always does in Colorado. The Rocky Mountains lifted their snowy tops, and the broad, bare shoulders of other countless peaks stood up against the sky, just as they do on other days. But the hearts of many women beat quick and thick, with mingled hope and fear and dread.

The polls would be open from seven in the morning till seven in the evening. Every man in Colorado had a decisive voice in settling the political rights of women. No woman in the State had any voice in the matter. So on that day women rose up early, determined to "do what they could" to help to win equal rights for themselves on that bloodless battle-field. Gray-haired, dignified mothers and young maidens gathered in groups at the polls, in time to greet the very first voter, and to ask him to vote "Woman Suffrage approved." One young woman, a physician, a graduate from the medical department of Michigan University, whose professional practice in Denver had only begun, put it all in peril by taking her post at the polls from seven a.m. till seven p.m. Many another young woman, less known but just as faithful, took her post, at whatever cost, in asking voters to be just to women—to do as they would be done by. Men who had thought or said that "women cared nothing for Suffrage," changed their minds in the presence of the pleading faces of these women, who thus showed how much they cared. No doubt hundreds of voters, in this way and for this reason, were won for Woman Suffrage.

In Denver I visited the different polls, proud and grateful to see how well the women, by womanly means, helped their own battle. There was order and quiet at every one. Over each were the mottoes, "Give Women Equal Suffrage;" "Make Colorado a Free State to-day."

Flowers were on the tables, and, in spite of the strangeness of the occasion, the presence of women evidently was a new and beneficent element there. As a rule, at each poll a part of the women present stood by the rail where each voter passed, to offer him the right ticket and to ask him to vote it, while others sat by the tables to discuss the question with any doubter, or to strengthen the courage of one "almost persuaded." At each poll, too, were men each eagerly urging his candidates and pressing his ticket; the persuaders and the persuaded were there. Rev. Mr. Ellis, who on the Sunday before had preached from the text "Help these women," was using his influence with the doubtful or opposed. Rev. Mr. Bliss, who on the Sunday before had declared in his pulpit that "the only two women whom the Bible mentioned as having meddled in politics were Jezebel and Herodias," was there to warn men not to vote for Equal Rights for women. At one poll I saw an old man brought on an ambulance and carried up, literally like a machine to vote his party ticket. It was in vain that the women asked him to take their ticket. He had his orders, and had been paid his price no doubt, and he voted against woman suffrage. At every poll I heard men of foreign tongue argue away the rights of their own mothers. At others I saw, saddest of all, coloured men, once slaves, who knew what disfranchisement means, vote and get others to vote against the rights of women. When remonstrated with, they said, in one case: "We want the women at home cooking our dinners." A shrewd, coloured woman asked, "whether they had provided any dinner to cook?" and added, "that most of the coloured women there had to earn the dinner as well as to cook it." But these men doubtless were paid also for the melancholy part they took on that memorable day. There were intelligent coloured men and foreigners who voted for equal rights. But ignorance, prejudice, custom, and the love of power, which will neither share nor surrender, carried the day. Late returns show that about 9,400 men voted for equal rights. It is an army to be proud of; but in spite of our theory of government, spite of the spirit of the age, and of the best efforts of many of the best men and women of Colorado, the day was lost, as it was at Bunker Hill.

"Once to every man and nation comes the moment to decide,
In the strife of truth with falsehood for the good or evil side,
Some great cause, God's new Messiah, offering each the bloom or blight,
Parts the goats upon the left hand and the sheep upon the right,
And the choice goes by for ever 'twixt that darkness and that light."

Such a choice was offered to be recorded on the unsullied page of Colorado's history, and the majority of the men of that State made a record, to stand for all time, that while they had by law put the right of suffrage into the hand of every male pauper, idiot, lunatic, thief, and felon, they on that day denied the same legal right to every woman in the State. They began our second century, as the Tories of the first century did, by denying political rights, and they will share the same historic discredit.

But the 9,400 who sought to establish "the consent of the governed" for women are the signers of the new Declaration of Independence, whose historic credit, like that of the signers of the Old Declaration, will grow brighter as the years pass away. When we celebrate our second Centennial, this which they have done will be told with pride, for a memorial of them.—
Woman's Journal. L. S.

WOMEN AT THE POLLS IN COLORADO.

Mrs. H. L. Mendenhall, of Georgetown, Colorado, writes to the *Woman's Journal* a letter describing her experience on the voting day in Colorado, a letter from which we make the following extract:—

"Our course was somewhat as follows: Upon the approach

of a voter we would ask: 'Have you voted?' If he had, we usually troubled him no further, unless he were a person whose opinions we thought it worth while to get at, in which case we talked a little. If he said he had not voted, we asked: 'Can you vote for Woman Suffrage?' If he approved, we supplied him with his ticket, properly marked, and said we were 'very glad he saw the matter in that light.' If he disapproved, we asked for his objections, and we have listened to some comical ones to-day. One man asked me, though not rudely, 'Who is cooking your husband's dinner?' I promptly invited him to dine with us, and see for himself if a dinner were properly prepared at our house to-day. He did not accept my invitation, but voted against Woman Suffrage. Another spoke of neglected household duties, and I said I wished I could show him the loaf of bread I baked yesterday. He said, 'I expect you can bake bread;' but he, too, voted against us. The reliable class of working men, who come promptly to the polls in the morning and then go about their business, gave us our largest support, while the loafers, who hung about during the afternoon, were mainly against us.

The Methodist men were for us; the Presbyterians and Episcopalians very fairly so; and the Roman Catholics were not all against us, some of the prominent members of the denomination voting and working for woman suffrage. Many of those who voted against us had no evident church proclivities. The liquor interest went entirely against us, so far as I know.

The observations of the day have led me to several general conclusions, to which, of course, exist exceptions:—

1. Married men will vote for woman suffrage, if their wives appreciate its importance.
2. Men without family ties, and particularly if they have associated with a bad class of women, will vote against it.
3. Boys who have just reached their majority will vote against it more generally than any other class among men.

We were treated with the utmost respect by all except these last; destitute of experience and big with their own importance, these young sovereigns will speak to a woman of twice their years, with a flippancy which the most ignorant foreigner of mature age will not attempt, and I have been tempted to conclude to-day that no one is fit to exercise the American franchise under 25 years of age."

WOMEN'S RIGHTS IN MONTENEGRO.

The following extract is taken from the "Slavonic Provinces of Turkey in Europe," by Misses Mackenzie and Irby.

"We were anxious to learn what sort of position the law of Montenegro assigns to women. According to Danilo's code, the Montenegrine woman has, in every respect, the same legal rights as a man, and especial provision is made to secure her a full share in the division of property. When a father's possessions are parted among his children, daughters inherit as well as sons, and an only daughter can succeed to the whole property of both her parents. When a woman marries she receives a dowry which passes to her husband's family; but in return, should she be left a widow, she is entitled to her husband's share in the common stock, and, should she marry again, the family of her first husband must continue her a certain pension. In cases of domestic quarrel, where the man refuses to dwell with his wife, they are at liberty to separate, but not to break the marriage. Neither of them may wed any one else, and the maintenance of the wife must be provided for by the husband. Further, care is taken by law that no woman be married against her inclination. When, as is usual, persons have been affianced in childhood the priest is forbidden to marry them without having ascertained that the bride is a willing party;

and if a girl should dislike the spouse chosen for her by her parents and choose one for herself the family is not allowed to interfere, 'such couples,' so runs the sentence, 'are united by love.' 'A woman who murders her husband shall be put to death like any other murderer, only no weapon may be employed in her execution, for it is shameful to use arms against anyone who cannot take arms in defence.' By what agency a woman shall be executed is not provided by the code of Danilo, but, according to ancient usage, in cases of gross crime she is stoned, her father casting the first stone. With this fearful doom was visited every transgression of social purity, and though Danilo's code sanctions capital punishment only in the case of a married woman, by popular custom there is no exception. Nor, according to Montenegrine standard, is crime less degrading to the stronger than to the weaker culprit; the male offender equally forfeits his life, the honour of the family receives as deep a stain; while her father undertakes the punishment of the girl, the man is shot by his own relatives. Thus have they 'put the evil away from among them.' The Montenegrine spurns social impurity as unworthy of his manhood, and even when dealing with their Mahomedan enemies, even in their wildest tchetas, with those 'barbarians' a woman is safe."

A TRAMWAY DISTINCTION BETWEEN MALE AND FEMALE LABOURERS.

The following letter has been addressed to the editor of the *Sheffield and Rotherham Independent*:—

Will you permit me to call attention to what appears a most extraordinary order recently issued by the manager of "The Sheffield Tramways Company." Females engaged in an umbrella furniture manufactory at Carbrook, have (naturally enough it seems to me) availed themselves of the opportunity of travelling from Sheffield by "workmen's car." This morning the conductor informed them that an order had been received by him that in future they must be charged double fare. Now, sir, is such proceeding legal and justifiable? It may happen that women are not supposed to travel by such cars, but does the Act by which these matters are regulated prohibit their travelling by them? and, if not, why should such an order be issued? Surely it is sufficient for the women to endure the semi-suffocation caused by the non-prohibition of smoking in "workmen's cars," and the insults to which I have occasionally heard them subjected, without being denied the opportunity of travelling unless they pay double fare. J. H.

Spital-street, Nov. 16th, 1872.

THE LADIES' DEBATING CLUB.

It is not unusual for gentlemen to set aside one evening of the year in their debating clubs on which to admit ladies, but the process was reversed when the Ladies' Debating Club, on the 20th of November, set aside an evening on which to admit gentlemen on the same terms as other visitors. This first occasion brought together a numerous audience of both gentlemen and ladies at the smaller room at St. George's Hall, Langham Place. Mr. J. G. S. Anderson occupied the chair. The society, while admitting a wide range of topics, shows a decided preference for political questions, as may indeed be inferred from the choice of subject on this particular evening—whether members of Parliament should be paid. This question was opened in the affirmative by Miss Orme, replied to by Miss Gibson, after which the debate was thrown open, and well sustained during the evening. The greater number of the speakers were ladies. On a vote being taken at the close, the majority was against the proposition.

CORRESPONDENCE.

To the Editor of the Women's Suffrage Journal.

Madam,—Is it true as currently reported in London, that a certain great modern "Sociologist," who asserts that the nervous temperament of women renders them totally unfit for political action, was shipwrecked last summer off the Scotch coast, in the company of several ladies and gentlemen? Is it, further, true that the ladies in question, during the alarming moments which ensued before the boats could be launched, behaved with the utmost calmness and courage, extorting the admiration of the crew of the yacht, and even that of the philosopher himself; while that gentleman lost his (very valuable) head altogether?—Yours, &c.,

A LITTLE BIRD.

HABITUAL CONTEMPT FOR WOMEN.

Compared to hardships such as these sentimental grievances may seem trifling, yet I cannot forbear to comment on the habitual tone of contempt towards women expressed in much of the light literature of the day, and in the utterances of many men. Old age, which is venerable in one sex, is regarded as contemptible in the other. When a man desires to use an expression conveying extreme disrespect he chooses the epithet "old woman." The young woman escapes for the time, but if she attains middle age she is liable to find herself in one of two unhonoured conditions, to be taunted as a social failure, or reviled as a mother-in-law. Men use contemptuous expressions about women without any more thought that they are guilty of a breach of kindness and good manners than is shown by those who find amusement in jeering the seasick passengers as they land from the Channel steamers at Folkstone. Probably most of the gentlemen present will think this complaint foolish and unreal; but the ladies will all be conscious that thoughtless sneers levelled at their sex frequently give them pain. If women possessed political power these contemptuous expressions would die out, as contemptuous expressions about the negro are dying out in the American press since his political enfranchisement.

Men exact from women display in dress, and then complain of the cost, and reproach women with frivolity and extravagance in adorning themselves. They preach the virtues of economy and moderation in personal expenses, and run after the best looking and most fashionably dressed girls. They tell us that the great expense of women's dress is a serious hindrance to matrimony; but when they are about to choose wives they don't pick out the plain ones. They act somewhat after the fashion of the young lady on a sea voyage, who found herself perplexed to choose among half-a-dozen lovers. She resolved to jump into the sea to find out which of them loved her the best. Five of them plunged in to the rescue. When all were assembled on deck, the five dripping lovers awaited the lady's choice. She turned to the sixth, who had remained quietly looking on, and remarked, "I think I will take the dry one." It would not be prudent for any young lady to endeavour to increase her chances in the matrimonial market by affecting plainness of attire and the year before last's fashions. She would probably find that faithless man would turn aside to one who had been less self-denying, and "think that he would take the pretty one."—Paper read by Miss Becker at the Social Science Congress, Aberdeen.

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"A weapon firmer set, And better than the bayonet— A weapon which comes down as still As snowflakes fall upon the sod, But executes a freeman's will As lightning does the will of God; And from its force nor bolts nor locks Can shield you—'tis the ballot-box."

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