# WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE JOURNAL.

EDITED BY LYDIA E. BECKER.

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JANUARY 1, 1879.

PRICE ONE PENNY. BY POST THREE HALFPENCE.

### Contents:

Leading Articles:—Mr. Courtney's Resolution; Bills affecting Women; Work during December; Women and Petitions; Policemen and the Franchise; A Mother not Entitled to Claim Damages on behalf of her Child; the Judgment in the Agar-Ellis Case; Miss Charlotte Williams Wynn on Mothers; "Verax" on Mixed Marriages; Mr. O'Shaughnessy's Bill; The Death of Princess Alice.

Parliamentary Intelligence.
Election Intelligence:—Bristol, Maldon, Londonderry
County, Warrington, West Cheshire, City of
London.
Public Meetings:—Warrington, Crewe, Scanthorpe,
Hertford, Lowestoft, Kingsland, Tower Hamlets,
Dublin.

Drawing-Room Meetings:—London, Pimlico, Westonsuper-Mare, Bristol.

Debating Societies:—Oldham, Leeds, Lichfield.
Correspondence:—Women's Views and the Press;
Taxation and Representation; Chelsea Hospital for Women,
Position of Women in Russia.

Girls and the Sense of Responsibility.

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

CONTENTS FOR DECEMBER, 1878.

- "Pegging Away."
- 2. The Agar-Ellis Case, by Jessie Boucherett.
- 3. The University of Copenhagen and Women Students.
- 4. Indian Women of Culture.
- 5. Woman's Work: a Lady Eentist.

Record of Events:—Lectures in Oxford: Sandwell College—Girton—Intermediate Education, Belfast—Parliamentary Business— Suffrage: Taxation and Representation—
Cases under the Married Women's Property
Act—Inspection of Factories—Political
Club for Women—London School Board—
Swimming Clubs—Miscellaneous.

Correspondence: Agar-Ellis Case-Mrs. Main. Published by Trübner and Co., Ludgate Hill, and at 22, Berners-street, London, W.

LONDON SCHOOL OF MEDICINE FOR WOMEN. — The FIFTH WINTER SESSION begins on the 1st October, 1878. The course of study comprises all the Lectures required for the Medical Examinations and Clinical Instruction at the Royal Free Hospital.—Apply to Mrs. THORNE, Hon. Secretary, 30, Henrietta-street, Brunswick Square, W.C.

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DETITION! PETITION! PETITION! - Friends of Women's Suffrage are earnestly exhorted to aid the cause by at once beginning to collect signatures for the petitions to be presented in support of Mr. Courtney's resolution on and after the re-assembling of Parliament on February 13th. Written petitions, ready for signature, will be supplied on application to Miss Becker, 28, Jackson's Row, Albert Square, Manchester; or to Miss Thornbury, 64, Berners-street, London, W.

BRISTOL.—A Public Meeting will be held in the Victoria Rooms, Bristol, on Thursday, January 23rd, in behalf of granting the Parliamentary Vote to Women. The chair will be taken at 8 p.m. by Rev. J. W. CALDICOTT, D.D. Leonard Courtney, Esq., M.P., Rev. Mark Pattison (Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford), Mrs. Lilias Ashworth Hallett, Miss Becker, Mrs. Helen Bright Clark, Miss Sturge, and others will be present and address the meeting. A Conference will be held the following morning, when papers will be held the following morning, when papers will be read and discussion invited. Professor Masson (Professor of Rhetoric, Edinburgh), Mr. A. W. Bennett, London, Rev. J. B. Spring, M.A., Bristol, Miss Becker, Miss Le Geyt, Corston, and others, will take part in the proceedings.

TOWER HAMLETS.—A LECTURE will be given by Miss HELEN TAYLOR, at the Tower Hamlets Radical Association, Club and Institute, Assembly Hall, Beaumont-street, Mile End, E., on 26th Jan. Chair will be taken at 8 p.m.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE.—An "At Home" will be held in the Offices of the Society, 64, Berners-street, W., on Tuesday, the 14th January, 1879, from 3 to 5-30 p.m. Miss ARABELLA SHORE will give an ADDRESS on "The Political and Social condition of Women." Tickets of Admission may be had on application to the Secretary, Miss Thornbury, 64, Berners-street, W.

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ing."—Examiner.

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DIRECTIONS: FOR THE TIMES and CHELSEA HOSPITAL FOR WOMEN.

DIRECTIONS: FOR THE TABLE OF WOMEN.

The EDUCATIONAL GUIDE AND SUBJECT AND SUBJECT ALL FOR WOMEN.

To any Greek, Miss During Mary Gurney, Miss Dawling Opinions of Women on Women's Suffrage, being those of Mary Gurney, Miss Mary Gurney, Miss Davenge, being those of Suffrage, being those of Norwell Suffrage, being those of Suffrage, being those of Warrey, Miss Mary Gurney, Miss Davenge, bing those of Norwell Suffrage, being those of Norwell Suffrage,

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### DIRECTIONS FOR PREPARING PETITIONS.

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

may be at hand. A sheet of note paper or foolscap opened out servants, and the actual poor, who may be subject to those will do.

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

The humble Petition of the undersigned SHEWETH.

mentary elections, although possessed of the statutory qualifications that it is expedient that this disability should be forthwith repealed.

And your petitioners will ever pray, &c. paper. Try to obtain one or more signatures to follow your own. When the original heading has been filled up with names, more paper may be added, if necessary. The petition may be signed by men and women of full age, whether householders or otherwise. Make up the petition as a book-post liamentary Petition," and post it, addressed to the member required, as petitions so forwarded go post free. Write, and Chelsea, S.W.—I am, madam, your obedient servant, send along with the petition, a note (post paid) asking the member to present it, and to support its prayer,

### CHELSEA HOSPITAL FOR WOMEN.

To the Editor of the Women's Suffrage Journal.

Madam,-I would ask you to allow me the opportunity of making known in your columns the objects of this charity, and to urge its special claims to the sympathetic consideration of the benevolent. The sphere of its operations is among a class whose intense sufferings excite our keenest sympathy. Gentle-Write out the form given below on any kind of paper that women reduced to necessitous circumstances, governesses, terrible diseases incidental to the female sex, are treated within its walls, their only qualifications being suffering, respectability and poverty. It is the rule to admit them in rotation, but unfortunately the accommodation isso confined as to first demand the acceptance of cases of the greatest urgency. Many are That the electoral disabilities of women are injurious to the best interests | therefore obliged to linger in anticipation of a vacancy and thus That the electional distinguished recognition for society.

Wherefore your petitioners humbly pray that your Honourable House will pass the following resolution:

That it is injurious to the best interests of the country that women who and support accorded to the charity testify to two facts, first, the value and humanity of its work, and secondly, the merits of its administration. A freehold sight for the new hospital has recently been purchased, and nearly £4,000 is invested in Government stocks for the building fund, but there is a very Write out the above form without mistakes, as no word may | considerable deficiency to be met ere the board of management be scratched out or interlined, and sign it on the same piece of can be freed from their fixed policy not to build without the means in hand; and as the land in consequence cannot be utilised, I earnestly appeal to a generous public, feeling assured that in no way can the influence of both wealth and name be better employed than in providing for the alleviation of the sad sufferings of respectable women. I would invite all who have packet, open at the ends, write on the cover the words "Par- a sympathetic interest in this work and who would be willing to exert their influence in its behalf, to communicate with me who is to present it at the House of Commons. No stamp is or with the Secretary, addressed to the Hospital, King's Road,

December 19th, 1878.

ST. GERMANS, President of the Hospital.

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Mr. Courtney has given notice in the House of Commons that on going into Committee of Supply on Friday, the seventh of March, he will move a resolution in favour of removing the electoral disabilities of women.

the thirteenth, and between that date and the seventh of March there are only seventeen days inclusive, when the House of Commons will be sitting, and petitions can be presented in support of Mr. Courtney's resolution. We need not exhort our friends to be diligent in the preparation and forwarding of their petitions; we rely with confidence on their zeal and intelligence to take care that every day after the re-opening of Parliament the House shall be besieged with petitions setting forth the grievance of the disfranchisement of women, and praying for

There is an appropriateness in the occasion which must strike every woman who is forced to contribute to the supplies that are voted by the House of Commons. Mr. COURTNEY'S resolution is made on going into Committee of Supply. The constitution provides that before supplies are voted an occasion shall be given for the redress of grievances, and an opportunity afforded to the representatives of the people to refuse supplies to the Crown if their grievances are not considered. This arrangement seems as good as any that can be devised for the protection of the interests of the men who vote for the members who grant the supplies that keep up the House that

All that women ask is that the same admirable system shall be extended to them, and that they shall not be forced to contribute to the supplies voted by Parliament, without the corresponding right of appealing through their representatives in the House of Commons for the redress of their grievances when they are required to contribute such supplies.

THE opening of the session has, as usual, been accompanied by the renewal of the efforts of private members to obtain an amelioration or an alteration of the laws respecting

women. In addition to the notice of resolution given by Mr. Courtney, we find that a Bill to amend the law regarding the property of married women in Scotland has been brought in by Mr. Anderson, Sir Robert Anstruther, Parliament stands adjourned to Thursday, February Mr. ORR EWING, Mr. M'LAREN, and Dr. LYON PLAYFAIR, to be read a second time on Wednesday, the fifth of

> A Bill to amend the Medical Act of 1858 will afford an opportunity, if it does not provide, for the removal of present restrictions on the entrance of women to the

A Bill to abolish the property qualification for members of local governing bodies, introduced by Mr. MUNDELLA, Mr. CHAMBERLAIN, Mr. BURT, and Mr. SULLIVAN, would probably have the incidental effect of enabling married women to act as guardians of the poor. An unmarried woman may now be a guardian if she is rated in the required amount; but as a married woman cannot be rated, she is not eligible under the present law as to property qualification to be elected as a guardian.

Mr. O'SHAUGHNESSY has obtained leave to introduce a Bill to enable persons about to marry to make valid and binding agreements with regard to the bringing up of their children

THE work was carried on with its wonted activity during December, until operations were suspended by the approach of the holiday season. Large public meetings, addressed by Miss Becker and Mrs. OLIVER SCATCHERD, have been held at Warrington and Crewe. Miss Helen Taylor and Miss Helena Downing have attended a meeting in the Shire Hall, Hertford. These ladies and Miss CAROLINE BIGGS have severally given lectures in various parts of London, and attended drawing-room meetings at the houses of ladies who have held receptions of this kind in London. Mrs. John Hullah, Miss Helen Black-BURN, and Mrs. ERNESTINE Rose have also addressed drawing-room meetings in London. At Bristol and at Weston-super-Mare drawing-room meetings have been addressed by Mrs. Tanner, Miss M. Priestman, Miss

January 1, 7

STURGE, Mrs. S. WELLSTOOD, Dr. ELIZA DUNBAR, and others. Petitions have been adopted at these meetings.

Many petitions have been presented while Parliament was sitting in December. No official report has yet been made of them, but we have extracted the list published

Deputations to the candidates at the recent elections for Maldon, Bristol, and Londonderry, have taken place, with a generally satisfactory result.

THE only governmental right recognised as belonging to woman is that of petitioning. Every time a petition goes before Parliament a blow is struck, an effect produced, no matter whether visible at the time or not. A single drop of rain seemingly amounts to nothing, only disturbs the dust a little; but drop after drop at last made the

"I'm tired of petitioning," say many. It is tiresome work and unpleasant work to beg for the recognition of one's natural rights, but it is not so unpleasant nor so tiresome as to be deprived for ever of those rights. Petitioning is not so unpleasant as it is to be taxed without one's consent. It is not so unpleasant as to be deprived of one's own earnings; it is not so unpleasant as to have no right to one's own children; it is not so unpleasant as it is to be governed by laws to which we have not consented; it is not so unpleasant as it is to be political slaves.

Demand your rights through a petition; if not heard at first, demand again and again. Men will not be convinced that women desire their rights unless they thus demand them. Petition! Petition! Petition!

N. C. B. B.

Women are not the only members of the community who object to be taxed while they are deprived of the franchise. Lately, at the Liverpool Police-court, Policeconstable James was summoned for the non-payment of £2. 12s. 6d., the amount of general rates due in respect of a house he occupied. The defendant argued that the rate was too heavy, and asked for a modification of it. He did not object to the payment of rates; but what he did object to was that policemen were rated as heavily as everybody else, and at the same time they were deprived by reason of their position as policemen of the ordinary privileges of voters. He, therefore, thought that under the circumstances some abatement should be made in the rating of members of the police force.-Mr. JACK, the

magistrate, said the point raised was hardly one for that court, and ordered the rate to be paid.

According to some of our opponents, women ought to be deprived of the ordinary privileges of voters, because they do not become instruments of physical force. If this theory were correct, we should have a curious example of one law for men and another for women as to voters. It would seem that a woman is to be deprived of her vote because she is not a policeman or a soldier; a man is to be deprived of his vote because he is a policeman or a

THE legal maxim that "a mother's rights are nil" has just been illustrated by a decision in the Sheriff's Court at Greenock. A widow, named JANET CUNNINGHAM, or M'INTYRE, sued Mr. ADAM GOSSMAN, valuator, residing in Gourock, for £50 as damages for injuries sustained by KATE M'INTYRE, the pursuer's daughter, in respect of her having fallen over a bridge separating an area at 8 M'Intyre-street, Glasgow. The defender denied liability, and in a preliminary plea disputed the pursuer's title to sue. Sheriff FRASER has issued an interlocutor on appeal, dismissing the action. In a note his lordship says: "A mother is in no sense a guardian of her child, and therefore she is not entitled to claim damages on account of

Comment on this judgment is superfluous. Let the wives and mothers of England ponder these things in their hearts.

THE decision in the AGAR-ELLIS case brings into prominence that theory of the relation between the sexes which asserts the absolute supremacy of man and the absolute subjection of woman. The legal and political position of women in this realm is anomalous in the extreme. In some respects women have co-equal rights and responsibilities with men; in others they have no rights at all as against men. The tendency of modern life is to extend and bring into prominence those civilising agencies and conditions which men and women share in common, and in which their mutual relations are those of social equals. But every now and then the harsh barbarism of the law of subjection is forced on the consciousness individual women in their personal affairs, and sometime a specially noteworthy occasion arises when this law sounded forth from the judgment seat all over th land, and women everywhere are shown the hard reality that underlies the conventional utterances of men as to the privileges and deference accorded to their sex.

The English law does not recognise the mother in the parental relation—the father alone has rights, the mother's ights are nil. In fact, the English law is based on the principles of the Koran. A writer in the Contemporary Review says: "The East has long been noted for the subordination of women, and this subjection is not only practised by Mussulmans and Buddhists, but even by Christian churches." "Woman is not regarded as a person, but as a 'field,' cultivable or not as the possessor desires." "As a field can have neither faith, nor intellect, nor will of its own, it would be absurd for a man to occupy himself about what a woman believes, thinks, or wishes. She is absolutely nothing but her master's domain;" he cultivates it and reaps the harvest, for the harvest belongs to the proprietor," These words, taken from a recent work, Les Femmes en Turquie, by Osman Bey, accurately describe the spirit of the injunction laid on Mr. and Mrs. AGAR-ELLIS by Lord Justice JAMES. To the wife and mother he explains that she has no right except to teach her children what her husband believes, whether she believes it or not. The law does not concern itself with what a woman believes, thinks, or wishes. She is in law absolutely nothing but her husband's domain. To the husband the LORD JUSTICE says that he is in no way bound by a promise given to a woman-his rights as a father are absolute and indefeasible, and he cannot make a covenant to divest himself of them. As Omnipotence compared to nothingness, so are the legal rights of fathers and mothers. Nay, even Omnipotence might make a covenant with Abraham respecting his children, but the omnipotence of an English father may not be bound by any covenant. Having thus entirely cleared from the mind of the husband any glimmering notion that he owed any duty or consideration for the faith or wishes of his wife, the Judge proceeded to admonish him to have a sole regard to what he believed to be for the temporal and spiritual welfare of his children, and that he was, by law, the proper and sole judge of that.

ONE very remarkable point in the judgment appears not to have received the attention it deserves. That portion which refers to the doubts entertained by the Court whether they were called upon to interfere at all, whether the Court, recognising the father's undoubted right to be king and ruler in his own family, could be called on by him to be ancillary to the exercise of his jurisdiction,

mands by his own authority within his own domain. The Judge said that throughout the argument they felt that was the very strong inclination of their opinion. They felt a difficulty about the Court's enforcing an order of a private person which they disclaimed the right of

The Court got over this difficulty in an ingenious way. They said: "It is not a question between the father and the Court, it is a question of the wards, and to permit them to be taken to religious observances in disobedience to their father's command is a wrong to them. On this ground solely they interfered. It, therefore, appears that if the Hon. AGAR-ELLIS had not made his children wards of Court the judges would have refused to interfere, and have told the father that he must settle his family matters by his own authority and in his own way. Had they taken this course it would, we believe, have commended itself to the judgment of most persons, and a great injustice would have been avoided.

MISS CHARLOTTE WILLIAMS WYNN, in one of her letters. has given utterance to the following sentiments about fathers and mothers in reference to her sister's troubles with her family.

"Certainly children do owe considerable duty to their mother-I had nearly said parents, which would have been an absurdity—for her health goes in bringing them up. If children could but be planted like the lilies of the field, and one could trust to the rain and the sun to rear them !--conceive the comfort to the mother. Plant the two legs in the ground, and the father might come and cultivate the head as much as he liked."

This illustration does really not inaptly describe the theory of English law as to the relative position of fathers and mothers.

Mr. O'SHAUGHNESSY'S Bill to enable persons about to marry to make valid and binding contracts as to the bringing up of their children has doubtless been framed in reference to the circumstances of the AGAR-ELLIS case. Should the Bill pass, it will, in a certain sense, be a gain; yet we hold that the remedy for the admitted gross abuse should be sought in another direction.

An able letter on this subject, under the well-known signature of "Verax," has recently appeared, and the writer gives some objections to the proposed Bill, which appear to us very forcible; indeed, they would be irreand whether he ought not to be left to enforce his com- fragable if the actual condition of the legal relations of

He writes: "I assume that the two parties are equal in relation to the pre-nuptial promise after as well as before marriage, and the sole question I ask is whether it is desirable that a promise of that sort should be enforceable by law. I think it is not desirable. I think the fulfilment of the promise should be left to the honour of the parties, and to such moral and coercive influences as the estate matrimonial abounds in."

equal in relation to the promise after as well as before marriage. But after marriage the natural equality of the parties is destroyed by the law, which says that in regard to the children the father's rights are absolute, and the mother's nil. "Verax" would not desire that the law modicum of rights in regard to the instruction of her children as the father should have agreed before, and as a condition of the marriage to allow her; yet he seemingly approves of the decision by which the Court interferes to prevent the mother from exercising such rights. In other words, the law may properly interfere between husband and wife to protect the husband, but may not interfere to protect the wife.

for the law to recognise both parents as joint guardians of the children, and to leave all questions of religious or other of units who all join in the expression of the same desire. training for them to settle between themselves. The Court | A few centres there must be to gather up the experience should refuse to interfere in family affairs unless in cases of alleged neglect, abuse, or cruelty. When parents cannot of the units should flow, so as to fall most speedily and live together the custody of the children should be given | directly into the central stream; but in the concentration upon petition by either father or mother, to either parent of individual effort lies our strength. It is not by comaccording to the circumstances of the case. Where either | mittees that members of Parliament are affected, but by parent dies the survivor should be the legal guardian, unless in cases of proved misconduct. A widowed mother should have the power to appoint a guardian to her children. A father only has this power now.

based on the recognition of equal rights in both parents, there would be no need for such appeals as that of Mrs. AGAR-ELLIS, and no occasion to legislate in order to redress the injustice of such decisions. But as we are very far indeed from such a happy condition, it may be necessary that a palliative measure of the nature of Mr. O'SHAUGHNESSY'S Bill should be proposed to the considera- all who are united by one common cause does victory belong. tion of Parliament.

husband and wife were what he assumes them to be. must be made, when all electors will be called on to declare anew the national will: to choose representatives who will give true expression to the national sense of need. In order that the deep undercurrent of desire for the enfranchisement of women may find its due expression when that appeal comes, we shall need the utmost concentration of purpose.

There are, broadly speaking, two forms of organisation by which action is directed: the form which works from Nothing could be better than this if the two parties were many centres, and that which works from one or few. One gathers all its workers into numerous, small, compact groups, with greater or less cohesion between the groups; the other inspires workers all over the country with one common aim, leaving each to work independently, but bound all together by one central principle. The former courts should interfere to secure to the mother such is best adapted for local interests, which require steadygoing, persistent routine; the latter is to be preferred where action has to be brought to bear on one point. They are to each other as irrigation, which spreads the waters over a wide surface, is to drainage, which gathers the floods together from every side to flow in one deep, steady stream on to some great mill-wheel.

Our work is like the last. Our energies are all directed on one point; our mill-wheel is the House of Commons. The true remedy for the evil would be in our judgment | The strength which will ultimately flow deep and steady enough to turn that wheel must come from the numbers necessary to point out the channels along which the efforts the opinions of men and women whose character and whose experience they respect—and on this question by the opinions of women perhaps even more than by those of men. Some machinery of committees there must be, If the laws relating to the custody of children were to collect experience, to diffuse information; but the less the machinery, the more perfect the organisation for the end in view. We would earnestly remind our readers, now when the time of test may be near at hand, that to the fearless, earnest expression of the conviction of each one who believes in the justice and righteousness of our cause, must that cause trust for success. To the continuous influence of H. B.

THE death of the Princess ALICE is a national grief, and A LITTLE sooner or a little later an appeal to the country is a loss to the world of an influence for good. One

more name is added to the roll of the noble army of martyrs, of women who have fallen in the discharge of their peculiar duties, who have crowned a life of love in the performance of duty to others with an act of selfdevotion even unto death.

January 1, 7

The Princess was a devoted daughter, wife, and mother, and enjoyed the highest domestic felicity. She did not, however, limit her affections and duties to the domestic circle. She looked beyond the sphere of home life, and sought to benefit the world outside. She used the opportunities of her princely rank not for the purposes of ostentatious display and vainglorious extravagance, but to aid in the amelioration of the condition of her people and to encourage them by her example to engage in works of improvement and of mercy.

The industrial condition of women in her adopted country engaged her earnest attention. Her name is associated with various "unions" or other institutions for the benefit of women in Darmstadt. The social and industrial condition of women in Germany is far behind that of English women, and an English Princess found a congenial task in the endeavour to introduce among her new subjects the ideas and reforms which had been found beneficial in her island home.

All women everywhere who are engaged in working on women's questions feel that they have to mourn in Princess Alice one who laboured in the same cause, and whose virtues and intelligence adorned, while they were rendered more conspicuous by her exalted rank.

### PARLIAMENTARY INTELLIGENCE

HOUSE OF COMMONS, Thursday, Dec. 5th, 1878.

Mr. Courtney gave notice that he would, on an early day after Christmas, draw attention to the electoral disabilities of women, and move a resolution in favour of their repeal.

A petition was presented by Sir F. Perkins, from Southampton, for removing the electoral disabilities of women. December 6 .- By Mr. Holt, from Rawtenstall; by Mr. Charley, from Pendleton.

December 9 .- By Mr. Wheelhouse, from Holbeck; by Sir G. Greenall, from Warrington; by Mr. Samuelson, from Banbury; and by Sir C. Dilke, from Chelsea.

December 10.—Petitions in favour of Women's Disabilities Removal Bill were presented by Mr. Courtney from Bury (Lancashire), Elton, Romford, Wisbeach, and Dorchester; by Mr. Hardcastle, from Eccles, Ramsbottom, and Reform Club, Castleton; by Mr. F. Cartwright, from Towcester and Greens Norton; and by Mr. D. Chadwick, from Macclesfield and

December 12.—By Mr. Colman, from Norwich.

December 13.—By Mr. R. Winn, from Scanthorpe, Lincoln-

December 16.—Petitions in favour of the Women's Disabilities Removal Bill were presented by Mr. Courtney, from the Dublin Women's Suffrage Association; by Mr. Samuelson, from Banbury; and by Mr. S. Morley, from Westbury and

### HOUSE OF COMMONS, December 9th.

### MARRIED WOMEN'S PROPERTY ACT, 1875.

Mr. P. TAYLOR asked the Attorney-General whether his attention had been called to a decision lately given at the Manchester Police-court, to the effect that a married woman udiciously separated from her husband, and to whom a protection order had been granted, had nevertheless no legal redress against her husband who had taken away her property; and whether, if such were the state of the law, he would propose the necessary amendment of the Married Women's Property Act, 1870.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL said before the question of the hon. member appeared in the paper his attention was not called to the subject. Since notice of the question was given he had endeavoured, but without success, to ascertain the nature of the decision. If the hon, member would furnish him with further particulars, he would be happy to state whether in his opinion any amendment of the law was necessary.-

### MARRIED WOMEN'S PROPERTY ACT, 1870.

Mr. P. Taylor asked the Attorney-General whether he had received any further information in regard to the case of Mrs. M'Carthy, whose husband having taken away in her absence certain property belonging to her (she having a protection order as well as a decree of judicial separation, and all her property having been upon her marriage settled upon her for her absolute use), Mr. Headlam, stipendiary magistrate for Manchester, has decided adversely to her upon the ground that he "did not believe that section"—section 11 of the Married Women's Property Act, 1870—"was intended to enable a women to prosecute her husband for stealing her goods;" and if he could state whether the Government intended to propose any amend-

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL believed the facts were correctly stated in the question of the hon, gentleman. It would not become him to answer a question as to the correctness of the decision of the stipendiary magistrate, that being liable to an appeal to a court of law. It seemed to him that the provisions of the section were plain and intelligible. He was, therefore, of opinion that no amendment was required.—Times, Dec.

ELECTION INTELLIGENCE. BRISTOL.

A vacancy was caused at Bristol by the resignation of Mr. Kirkman Hodgson. Mr. Hodgson was at first an opponent of women's suffrage, but he said if one-half the women ratepayers of Bristol signed a petition for the Bill, he would present their petition and vote for the Bill. The number of women burgesses of Bristol is upwards of 2,400; of these about 1,400 signed the petition for the parliamentary vote. Mr. Hodgson proved that he considered promises to women binding; and he kept his word faithfully by always afterwards voting for the Bill.

Mr. Fry and Sir Ivor Guest did not return unfavourable answers to the deputations they received respecting women's

in the place of Mr. Hodgson, our numerical strength is unimpaired in the House of Commons.

### MALDON.

By the resignation of Mr. Sandford, who was a supporter of women's suffrage, a vacancy was caused at Maldon which was filled by the election of Mr. George Courtauld. Both candidates were interviewed on the question of women's suffrage. Mr. Courtauld said he would give the subject his best consideration; and as he was introduced on taking his seat by Mr. Jacob Bright and Mr. Peter Taylor, we must hope that his views will be found in accordance with theirs upon it. Sir M. Abdy, the Conservative candidate, said he would, if elected, vote as his predecessor had done.

### LONDONDERRY COUNTY.

The lamented death of Professor R. Smyth caused a vacancy in the representation of Londonderry County. The late member was actively engaged in many social movements, especially in temperance legislation. The ladies of his congregation, and constituency, who were interested in these found a ready helper in him, and they entrusted him with many of their petitions and letters on various subjects. It was understood that he was favourably disposed towards women suffrage; but to the surprise of his friends he voted against Mr. Forsyth's Bill in 1875. Upon this the ladies who had formerly regarded him as an ally left off communicating with him. He complained that the ladies would not speak to him after he had voted against this Bill, and the trouble this caused him led him to perceive that the demand of women for the suffrage was the result of a deepseated conviction among intelligent and earnest-minded women, and that this reform lay at the foundation of any effectual effort to deal with the various social evils which press so injuriously on the best interests of society. The lesson thus impressed on their member by the ladies was quite effectual, and he became a steady supporter of the Bill. He voted for it in the last

The election took place on December 20th, when Sir Thomas M'Clure, Liberal, was returned by a majority of 601 over his Conservative opponent, Mr. Alexander. Sir Thomas M'Clure sat for Belfast in the last Parliament, and voted for Mr. Jacob Bright's Bill in 1873, and has promised to continue his support.

WARRINGTON. Mr. M'Minnies, the selected Liberal candidate for the representation of Warrington next election, is a supporter of women's suffrage. He wrote as follows in response to an invitation to attend the recent meeting: "I am with you on the question. I have never seen a good and sufficient answer to the argument that, if a woman occupies the position of head of a family, householder, and occupier, she ought to have the rights

and privileges that a man in the same position would possess.' Sir Gilbert Greenall, Bart., the sitting member for Warrington, voted for the Bill in 1875,

### WEST CHESHIRE,

Mr. George W. Latham, the Liberal candidate for West Cheshire, signified his adhesion to the principle in a letter in reply to an invitation to attend a meeting at Crewe. "I cannot promise to attend your meeting at Crewe, though I should like to do so. Logically, the claim of women to the suffrage is unanswerable.'

### CITY OF LONDON.

The Baron de Worms and Mr. Alderman R. N. Fowler, who are selected as Conservative candidates for the City of London,

suffrage, and we therefore trust that by the election of Mr. Fry | at meetings held in support of the Bill, and Mr. Fowler voted for it in the House of Commons in the last Parliament, when member for Penryn and Falmouth.

### PUBLIC MEETINGS.

### WARRINGTON.

On December 2nd, a meeting was held in the Public Hall, Warrington. The chair was taken by the MAYOR (Mr. J. Fairclough), and there were on the platform Miss Becker, of Manchester, and Mrs. Oliver Scatcherd, of Leeds (who attended as a deputation), the Rev. J. Yonge, and Councillor J. Brown.

The MAYOR said the first thing he had to announce was that they had received letters from Sir Gilbert Greenall, Bart., M.P., Mr. M'Minnies, and Mr. Peter Rylands, M.P., stating their inability to be present that evening, but that they were quite favourable with the objects for which they were met together that evening. He had been requested to take the chair that night, and he hoped that they would give the various speakers patient hearing. He thought that he should not be doing his duty if he did not at the commencement of those proceedings state his own feelings in regard to the matter. At present, he might as well say that he had no sympathy with the objects for which they had met together; but before the evening was over, no doubt he might be convinced. It might be that some of the ladies had not the same feelings at the polling booth as the sterner sex. His opinion was that women's rights were a loving husband and a happy home. He then called upon

The Rev. J. Yonge, who moved the following resolution :-That representation being based on household qualifications, it is unjust to exclude on the ground of sex only those householders who fulfil the conditions which entitle to vote in the election of members of Parliament, and that this meeting is of opinion that the electoral franchise now exercised by women in municipal and school board elections should be given to the parliamentary elections." He said his feelings with regard to that matter were very different to those of the chairman, but he was glad to hear the Mayor say that he was not beyond conviction or conversion. It must strike them all that the resolution he had moved went straight to the point which they had come there that night to talk about. He believed that if they could get the women to take a sympathic interest in the politics of the land they would see an advance made in social and sanitary reforms, which was a matter of great urgency in the present day. Women knew what was right and what was wrong as well as anybody else. Why, then, should they not have conceded them this power which they sought? He moved the resolution very earnestly.

Mrs. OLIVER SCATCHERD seconded the resolution.

The Mayor then put the motion to the meeting, and it was carried unanimously.

Mr. Councillor John Brown next proposed "That petitions to both houses of Parliament based on the foregoing resolution be adopted and signed by the chairman on behalf of this meeting, and that a memorial to Sir Gilbert Greenall, Bart., the Right Hon. R. A. Cross, and Colonel Blackburne, members for the borough and county, requesting them to support the bill to remove the electoral disabilities of women be signed by the chairman and forwarded to them."

Miss Becker seconded the resolution. After explaining fully her views on the matter.

The MAYOR, previous to putting the resolution, remarked that notwithstanding what had been said he might tell them that with regard to changing his opinions, they were not altered at present. Many unanswerable arguments had been are in favour of women's suffrage. Baron de Worms has spoken used that night in favour of the question they had met together subjected to such excitement. He then put the resolution to the meeting and it was carried.

A vote of thanks to the Mayor for presiding was then passed, and Mr. Fairclough having acknowledged it, the meeting separated.

On December 3rd a crowded meeting was held in the Town Hall, Crewe; the MAYOR in the chair. Miss Becker and Mrs. Oliver Scatcherd attended as a deputation, and there were on the platform Mrs. M'Cormick, of Manchester; the Mayoress of Crewe, Mrs. Briggs, Mrs. M'Neill, Mrs. Pedley, Mrs, Prosser, Miss Hulme, Alderman Ainsworth, Councillors Pedley, Priest, Wadsworth, Eaton, Cotterell, Bradshaw; the Revs. W. Mellor, A. W. Potts, D. S. Prosser, R. M. Barritt, and Mr. Cliff (Willaston).

The MAYOR, who occupied the chair, in introducing Mrs. Scatcherd and Miss Becker, said this was one of those subjects which was just now being brought prominently forward through-

out the length and breadth of the land.

January 1, 7

Councillor Eaton said it was about eight years since he had the honour of introducing to a Crewe audience Miss Lydia Becker, and considerable amusement was created in the minds of some gentlemen who asked whether they were going to advocate sending ladies to Parliament, and he replied that there were many ladies who would be quite as well able to represent us in Parliament as a large proportion of the gentlemen who were sent there. (Laughter and applause.) That meeting was held in the Corn Exchange-not the most comfortable place in creation—and the difference between the large audience now assembled and the small one on that occasion showed that the question had been making an advance, and that it was not now considered such a very outré thing to advocate what were called the rights of women. (Applause.) He moved "That in the opinion of this meeting the exclusion of women, otherwise legally qualified, from voting in the election of members of Parliament, is injurious to those excluded, contrary to the principles of just representation and to that of the laws now in force regulating the election of municipal, parochial, and all other representative governments." It was once said by a South American planter that all men were free except niggers, and we in England had gone upon the principle that all men are born free except women. (Laughter.) That sounded like an Irishman, but it was nevertheless true. He had been amused by a friend of his saying the other day that "women did not belong to mankind." (Laughter.) "Then," said he, "what kind do they belong to?" (Much laughter.) He was wondering whether Professor Darwin had traced woman to some strange ascidian creature; but, after all, he supposed men and women came from the same stock, whether it was bottle-nosed whales or Adam and Eve. (Laughter.) It was an axiom of our constitution that taxation and representation should go together, and it was upon this principle they were working at present. That was essentially a Liberal principle, and one which all Liberals would go in for. Still this was not a party question, and many Tories had voted for it. The municipal franchise already included the ladies, and he was reminded that one or two councillors, who would not vote for the petition lately sent up by the Council in support of this, owed their election, in some degree, to the ladies, for they had been seen going round and soliciting the ladies' support. (Laughter.) The ladies should remember, at the next municipal election, that these gentlemen, who were willing that the ladies should send their

to discuss. (A voice: "Ah.") They knew what elections ladies should have a vote in sending members to Parliament. were. The excitement which men get up at those times was | The ladies had not been allowed fair play in the past, but they very great, and he could not think that ladies should be were beginning to make their mark in the present. It was an astonishing fact that there were a million more women than men in the United Kingdom, and if we went on with wars, as we were doing, very soon we should only have the ladies left to take charge of the affairs of the country. (Laughter.) They would also be astonished to learn that there was one woman to every six men owning land in England and Wales. A gentleman, speaking at Carlisle, where Baroness Coutts had built some churches, had called attention to the fact that that noble lady, with her great wealth and her intelligence, was debarred the parliamentary vote, which was conferred on a man who might, perhaps, be a stupid, ignorant fellow, and a drunken sot into the bargain. No, the Baroness could not be allowed to vote, she had not got brains enough. (Laughter.) He concluded by giving the names of eminent men who were in favour of the measure.

The Rev. W. Mellor seconded the resolution, which was supported by Mrs. OLIVER SCATCHERD, and carried without one

Alderman Briggs then moved "That petitions addressed to both Houses of Parliament be signed by the chairman on behalf of the meeting, and forwarded to Sir Philip Egerton, Bart., M.P., and W. F. Tollemache, Esq., M.P. for the western division of the county, in support of the Bill for the removal of the electoral disabilities of women."

Alderman M'NEILL seconded the resolution. He trusted that when the household franchise was extended to the counties and the redistribution of seats took place (in which they hoped Crewe would have a share), that at the same time the claims of the lady householders would be considered, and that in virtue of the duties and responsibilities imposed upon them they would be placed in possession of the right to vote for

members of Parliament. (Applause.) Miss Becker, in the course of an address in support of the resolution, said it was with peculiar pleasure that she appeared before a Crewe audience, for it was at a public meeting in Crewe that she made her maiden speech. (Applause.) That was about eight years ago, and a great deal has taken place since then. At that time the cause was quite in its infancy; few people had heard of the movement for women's suffrage, but now she supposed there were few persons throughout the length and breadth of the land who had not heard of it and formed some idea, not to say opinion (for opinion required consideration) with respect to it. Ideas the most erroneous were abroad with respect to it, one of which was that they were asking for a vote for every woman in the land. That was of course absurd. They were not asking for a vote for every woman in the land, but for the removal of electoral disability from every woman in the land. Some had said we must not give votes to women because they would vote Tory. Now that was a specimen of the kind of way in which men reasoned about women. (Laughter and applause.) They persisted in forming an idea in their own minds of what women would do under certain circumstances and they acted upon it, without once allowing women the chance of acting for themselves. But she had yet to learn that Tories ought to be disqualified from holding the suffrage. (Applause.) Women's suffrage had been tried in America, and in the midst of a rough and wild community where on election days the whiskey stores were open, and the wildest excitement and riot prevailed, it was found that no sooner was the women's suffrage introduced than these rough men repressed their rowdyism, and although the whiskey shops were still open on the polling day the pronoble selves to the Town Council, were not willing that the ceedings were quiet and orderly, because it was known the

January 1, 7

(Applause.) And were not Englishmen as much of gentlemen as these rough backwoodsmen? One of our own colonies was considering this question. The New Zealand Government had | Mr. Green, and others took part. A petition in favour of the introduced a Bill by which ratepayers would have a right to vote irrespective of sex or race. All this showed a remarkable advance upon the question of women's rights. Since she had come to Crewe they had had women's suffrage in Crewe, for they had become a corporate body, and she had no doubt that the ladies of Crewe had been able to convince the gentlemen that they could exercise the franchise very wisely.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

The Rev. A. W. Potts moved, and Councillor Pedley seconded, a vote of thanks to the lady speakers; and Miss BECKER and Mrs. SCATCHERD having expressed their high appreciation of the hearty welcome extended to them by the people of Crewe,

The Rev. D. S. Prosser moved, and Alderman Ainsworth seconded, a vote of thanks to the chairman, which having been

carried, the meeting broke up.

During the evening an apology for non-attendance was read from G.-W. Latham, Esq., of Bradwall Hall, who pleaded his engagements as an income-tax commissioner as the reason for his not being able to be present at a meeting at which otherwise he should have been only too glad to be present. He gave his thorough assent to the objects they were advocating.

On November 25th, Miss Craigen held a meeting in the Primitive Methodist Schoolroom, Scanthorpe, Lincolnshire. Mr. James Westoby in the chair. The room was well filled with labourers from the ironworks, and the petition passed by a unanimous vote.

A meeting was held in the Shire Hall, Hertford, on December 12th. The Mayor, Dr. Tasker Evans, presided; also present, Miss Helen Taylor, step-daughter of the late Mr. John Stuart Mill, Miss H. P. Downing, niece of Mr. M'Carthy Downing, M.P. for county Cork, Baron Dimsdale, Dr. Evans, Mr. W. P. Willson, Mr. Pollard, Mr. Austin, Mr. Tween, and many others. Mr. Willson moved "That as it is contrary to the principles of free and constitutional government that any class or number of persons should be permanently deprived of direct representation in Parliament, this meeting is of opinion that the parliamentary vote should be given to women on the same conditions as it is granted to men." Miss Helen Taylor seconded the resolution, which was supported by Baron Dimsdale, and carried. Mr. Austin proposed "That a petition to the House of Commons based on the foregoing resolution, and memorials to the borough and county members, be signed by the chairman and forwarded by him." Miss Downing seconded the resolution, which was also carried. Votes of thanks to the ladies and to the Mayor concluded the proceedings. A full report of the meeting appeared in the Herts Guardian, to which the following note is appended: -"We were informed after the meeting that the ladies present did not know they were at liberty to hold up their hands for the resolutions, or more would have

On November 6th, Miss Downing gave a lecture at Lowestoft. The Rev. W. O'Mant in the chair. About 250 persons were present. A petition in favour of women's suffrage was signed by the chairman.

A lecture was delivered at the Kingsland Progressive Club on December 4th, by Miss H. B. Downing, on the "Women's | Society. After a brief address from the Chairman, expressing

ladies were to vote, and so it had been in Wyoming ever since.

(Applause.) And were not Englishmen as much of gentlemen

Tuthill, the president of the club, took the chair. An animated discussion took place after the lecture, in which Mrs. Towers, movement was adopted, and after a vote of thanks to Miss Downing the meeting dispersed.

A lecture was delivered at the Tower Hamlets Radical Club and Institute, on the evening of the 22nd inst., by Miss H. B. Downing, who took as her subject "The political enfranchisement of women a necessity for the permanent progression of Liberalism." Mr. Holt occupied the chair. A discussion followed, in which a lady (whose name did not transpire), the Rev. Stewart Headlam, and Mr. J. R. Shearer took part. The meeting was enthusiastic and carried a resolution in favour of the motion without a dissentient. The chairman suggested that the political enfranchisement of women should form part of the next Radical programme.

A lecture on "Women's Rights," being the first of a series of four lectures in aid of the Servant Training Institution, Lower Baggot-street, Dublin, was delivered on November 27th, by the Rev. F. F. Carmichael, D.D. The Rev. A. C. Thistleton presided.—Dr. Carmichael said that by woman's rights he meant her political rights, and, as a matter of fact, she had no such rights at present. He and many others looked upon that as a very grave wrong. There was a good attendance, and at the close of the lecture a warm vote of thanks was passed to Dr. Carmichael.

### DRAWING ROOM MEETINGS. LONDON.

On December 6th there was a good meeting in Rutland Gate, London, at the house of Dr. Frances Hoggan, M.D., who occupied the chair. Mr. Alfred Bennett, Miss C. A. Biggs, and the Rev. Wyatt-Edgell were speakers; and Dr. Hoggan was asked to sign a petition on behalf of the meeting, which she will present for presentation.

A drawing-room meeting took place on December 13th, at the house of Mr. and Mrs. Rennick, 42, St. Charles' Square, W. Mrs. Rennick presided. The discussion was opened by Mrs. J. Hullah, followed by Mrs. Ernestine Rose and Miss Biggs. Mr. Mitra, a Hindoo gentleman, raised a few objections, and Mrs. T. Wright said a few words, followed by Mrs. Heatherley and Mr. King, who moved "That the meeting should authorise the chair to sign a petition to Parliament in support of Mr. Courtney's Bill," which was unanimously

### PIMLICO.

A meeting for discussion was held on the 13th December, at Mrs. Hallock's, 54, Denbigh-street, Pimlico, which was addressed by Miss H. Blackburn. 'The Rev. Stewart Headlam followed, and a few words from Mrs. Hallock closed the

### WESTON-SUPER-MARE.

A large and influential drawing-room meeting was held on the 6th of December, at Tynedale Lodge, Weston-super-Mare, the residence of the Rev. John Temperly Grey. The chair was taken by Mr. H. BARON SMITH. Mrs. Tanner (Sidcot), Miss Sturge, Miss M. Priestman, and Mrs. S. Wellstood (Edinburgh) attended as a deputation from the Women's Suffrage

Mrs, TANNER read a very able paper on the history of female franchise, maintaining that it was no new thing, but having traditional precedent on its side, seeing that some three centuries ago women actually voted in the election of members

Miss Sturge explained the object of the society in a very lucid speech, combating the arguments of those who opposed the movement.

Mrs. Wellstood gave some interesting reminiscences of her experience in America, and cited some striking instances in which in municipal and school board elections the votes of women had been used with the happiest results.

The Rev. J. TEMPERLY GREY made some remarks expressive of his hearty sympathy with the aims and object of the society. An animated discussion took place, in which Miss Priestman, Mr. W. H. Taylor, and the Revs. F. Hastings, G. Follows, D. 1) avies, and E. Shelton took part, and a petition was signed by those in sympathy with the movement.

A drawing-room meeting was held at the house of Mrs. G. Dymond, Westbury Park, Bristol, in December. Mr. Alan GREENWELL in the chair. Dr. Eliza W. Dunbar, Rev. A. C. Macpherson, Miss Priestman, Mr. E. W. Cox, and others took part in the proceedings.

The CHAIRMAN, after thanking Mrs. Dymond for kindly convening the meeting, said that the object of this society was to gain for qualified women the parliamentary vote, and that men well-known, both Liberal and Conservative, had at different times taken charge of the measure in the House of Commonsviz., Mr. Jacob Bright, Mr. Forsyth, and Mr. Courtney, the present leader. He said if it was true that a man should be able to express his opinions on the various political questions, and that as he had read "the man who had no vote was only half a man," it was also true with regard to women, who have an equal interest in our foreign, financial, and social relations. They should be allowed a practical expression of their opinions. He considered a nation only half a nation that refused to grant full privileges to a large body, and now that the franchise was being extended so much to men, surely women had every cause to be dissatisfied that they were not treated with equal liberality. In ormer times women had a far more influential position than at present, as their husbands being chiefly occupied in protecting heir homes, the whole of the education of the children and mportant correspondence devolved on the wife. He would ask who considered this society right in principle to use every ndeavour to forward its work.

Dr. ELIZA W. DUNBAR moved the following resolution : That the exclusion of women otherwise legally qualified from voting in the election of members of Parliament is injurious to hose excluded, contrary to the principle of just representation, and to that of the laws now in force regulating the election of nunicipal, parochial, and all other governments." She said she believed one of the chief causes that had prevented this extension of the franchise was that in most men's minds there seemed such an incongruity between women and politics. There was also the sentimental objection that women should be sheltered from politics, that their finer feelings should be guarded. She thought, however, that if a true feeling of hivalry existed, it would show itself better by granting women what they had been asking for a long time. Men must feel now much more pleasant their position was in the full enjoynent of their privileges than that of women seeking what they have not yet been able to secure. Some thought the number | Mercury.

his anxiety for information as to the aim and scope of the of votes gained would be too insignificant. Women's votes would average one-seventh. There were 2,412 women ratepayers in Bristol, and she did not think either of the candidates now seeking the suffrages of the electors could afford to despise 2,412 votes. They would be sufficent to turn an election, and as all women would be united in their own cause pressure could then be brought to urge forward women's questions. It was by women's influence that the great reform in education had been brought about. Through their medium an Act had been passed allowing the universities to open their doors to women. The ladies had all logic and reason on their side, as the contradictory objections raised by their opponents proved. Mr. Leatham urged as a reason for keeping them in their present position, "That in all hordes of savages, when first discovered, the women are in a state of subjection, and if they are once allowed free action no one knows where it will end." But they also found that most savages were cannibals, given to the use of the bowie-knife, &c. Would Mr. Leatham desire that all this beautiful simplicity be also cherished? Some argued that women would be all for peace; others that they were so fond of show that there would be no end to the army expenses. Some said that women could not rise to the position; others that they would forget their domestic duties. All these objections only rose from ignorance, levity, and prejudice; and if women in former years, with less advantages, could act nobly, as they did, there was no reason why now their hands should be tied and their judgment crippled.

The Rev. A. C. Macpherson seconded the resolution.

Mr. E. W. Cox having addressed the meeting,

It was moved and seconded that a petition be sent to the House of Commons based on the foregoing resolution, and carried unanimously.

A vote of thanks to the chairman terminated the proceedings.

### DEBATING SOCIETIES. OLDHAM,

In December the members of the Oldham Political Debating Society met to discuss the Women's Disabilities Bill; Mr. C. Schofield in the chair. Mr. Hulton supported the principles of the Bill, and was followed on the same side by Messrs. Crompton, Hussey, Ingham, Hibbert, Allen, and others. A very strenuous opposition was manifest. Messrs. Bollomar, Finnie, Kidger, Jennaway, sen., and Owen were the principal opponents. The debate showed that both sides were well prepared, and took great interest in the subject. At the close a vote was taken, and the chairman declared in favour of the opposition by a majority of one. It is, perhaps, needless to remark that none of the persons whose interests were the subjects of the discussion took part in the vote.

On November 14th, a paper on "Women's Rights" was read by Mr. G. W. Tinsley, before the Congregational Society of Queen-street Chapel, Leeds. 'The attendance, was larger than usual, sixty-four members being present; with three exceptions, all voted in favour of the parliamentary suffrage being conferred on women householders.

An animated debate on women's rights took place in the rooms of the Working Men's Association and St. Mary's Society, on December 16th. The chief feature in the discussion was the opening in the affirmative by the Rev. H. E. Wetherall, who was supported in the division by 18 votes to 7. The majority is indicative of a growing feeling in favour of the extension of the parliamentary franchise to women. - Lichfield

January 1, 7

### CORRESPONDENCE.

### WOMEN'S VIEWS AND THE PRESS.

To the Editor of the Women's Suffrage Journal. Dear Miss Becker,—I sent a letter as nearly as I can

recollect like the enclosed to the editor of the Daily News a day or two after the decision on the Agar-Ellis case, but it has not appeared. As I have noticed that the strongest argument usually urged against granting the women's suffrage or altering the marriage laws is the indifference of women themselves (except a very small coterie), I shall be glad if you can kindly suggest a way by which married women of the middle class, with homes which they cannot often leave, and without means, influence, or leisure to organise meetings or collect signatures for petitions, are to show their interest in these questions, if they cannot make their views known through the newspapers. Their columns are not filled up just now with long parliamentary debates, and seem to have space for matters varying in degrees of interest and importance -accounts of pleasant dinners, where loyal toasts are drunk, and speeches made about everything, after the usual fashion of masculine after-dinner dis cursiveness; a description of a tastefully-renovated clubhouse, where all the modern appliances for cookery suggest the prospect of more good dinners to come; experiments with electric light, painfully interesting to gas-shareholders; notice of the exact degree of frost in remote portions of the globe; critiques on three volume novels or music, on acting or nocturnes; news about unions, and school boards, and prisons, and drains; with exhaustive comments on Afghan and the Ameer. Now I would not for a moment be thought guilty of supposing that making good laws for women is as important as making good dinners for men: or that to provide women with a better education is as urgently needed as to provide men with a better light in coming to their momentous decisions; but I cannot help thinking a little space might be spared in which women may protest, not only against an oppressive law, which if universally acted upon would neutralise the influence of every mother in England, but against the discourtesy of a judge who could accompany his decision with remarks stinging, insulting and humiliating to the spirit and understanding of every high-spirited wife in the country. I feel sure there are numbers of married women who, like myself, have no personal interest in the matter, and who by no amendment of the marriage laws could possibly gain more consideration and respect for themselves than they at present enjoy, who yet feel how unjust and one-sided they are, and that by placing irresponsible power in the hands of the husband and father, women are not only in many cases oppressed and tyrannised over, but men themselves when of weak, self-assertive natures, become hopelessly hardened and brutalised.—Apologising for troubling you with so long a letter from a perfect stranger, I am, dear Miss Becker, yours obediently, S. A. N. obediently,

December 3rd, 1878.

### To the Editor of the Daily News.

Sir,-Once more a wife and mother has left a court of justice with rights unacknowledged and wrongs unredressed; once more the popular fiction that women gain more by their "privileges" than they would by just laws breaks down in the face of everyday facts; and English matrons everywhere have been told that the children they have borne in anguish, and for whose rearing they have spent many self-denying days, are not theirs after all, but the father's; with their minds, their hearts, their consciences, their religious convictions, their

mother has nothing to do, as startling revelation, and women may well be excused asking what in the eye of the law is their rightful sphere of action after all? They have been told for centuries that it is not public life, but home life; not making laws, but training law-givers; not the weilding of legal power, but moral power; and now this Catholic mother is told that she has done wrong in teaching religion to her children, in the only way in which she could teach it according to her own religious convictions, and that the father's views and opinions only are what for the future must be inculcated. Englishmen are fond of boasting in Parliament, and out of it, of the consideration shown to women; while they allow remnants of oppressive barbaric laws to remain on their statute book, the boast is little worth. It may be a court of law, but it certainly is not one of justice, when a father is told by one of the highest udicial authorities in the land (with sage cautions to "discard all petty feelings of personal dignity and personal supremacy) that he is master in his own house, king and ruler in his family," and the mother's rights are entirely ignored; and young women cannot be blamed if they prefer, many of them, earning an independent livelihood in any of the trades or professions opening out to them to becoming wives and mothers in a country where their identity is not acknowledged in one relationship, nor their authority in the other. S. A. N.

### TAXATION AND REPRESENTATION.

To the Editor of the Women's Suffrage Journal.

Dear Madam,-Had it been my good fortune to be present at the annual general meeting of the Manchester National Society for Women's Suffrage on November 6th, I think I should have asked permission to say a few words on that occasion. Will you allow me a little space to do so now? We, who have been earnest workers for the political enfranchisement of women since it first took definite form and action (it has lain for ever in the hearts of all true women), know that petitions are scarcely now of much value in the House of Commons. Mr. Courtney's speech convinces me of this more than ever. I quite agree with him that force, blowing up prisons, etc., are uxiliaries to which women would not desire to appeal, however powerful such proceedings may seem as arguments to a House of Commons. There is, however, one kind of protest-made as yet in this matter only by myself and one other lady-to which I think we might resort with every prospect of helping our cause. From the earliest times the granting or withholding of the supplies for the State service has been the special privilege of the representatives chosen by the people. Men, who are even to this day the only represented half of the nation, have not hesitated to deny grants of supplies to the Sovereign or the Government when they have considered their liberties imperilled, or have disapproved of the object of the proposed expenditure. America won freedom by insisting upon representation as a privilege on taxation. Let women do likewise. There can be no reason why the money paid by women householders should be used without their consent any more than that the money of men householders should be. Readers of the Journal advocating women's suffrage must be as familiar with the argument as any member of Parliament. For my own part, I can only say that in having allowed my goods to be seized and sold for the State taxes this year, for the seventh time, I believe I am protesting in the most earnest, most peaceable, and, if taxation and representation should go together, the most constitutional way known to me.—Yours faithfully,

Dec. 2nd, 1878. CHARLOTTE E. BABB.

### POSITION OF WOMEN IN RUSSIA.

The following interesting particulars relating to the civil rights of women in Russia are taken from a Russian writer in the December number of the Contemporary Review :-

"It is not generally known in foreign countries that Russian women enjoy a degree of civil equality with men, holding a position much superior to that of the sex in other European States. Our national institutions, it should be remembered, did not follow a course of gradual development, but proceeded by leaps from one stage, and often from one extreme, to another, without intermediate periods. The absolute power granted to the monarch enabled him to realise immediately the reforms he thought fit to order. Not being obliged to consult his people's wishes, or preparatively to influence public opinion, he had only to legislate. Peter the Great may be called the first emancipator of women. He set them free from the confinement in which they had before lived, not being allowed to see any man but their husbands, their fathers, and brothers; he also ordered them to put on European dress, and appear in public at the balls, called assemblies, which he organised at St. Petersburg and Moscow. This ukaze caused much discontent, the public appearance of women being considered no less a sin than the shaving of beards in men. However, the Czar's orders were not to be trifled with, and his subjects, though they

"This first step was soon followed by others. After the Czar's death, a woman, Catherine I., for the first time ascended the throne of Russia. As soon as the sceptre was entrusted to female hands, the Empresses naturally thought of bettering the condition of their sex. l'eter the Great's own daughter, the Empress Elizabeth, who reigned from 1741 to 1761, granted to them civil rights equalling those of men. Since that time, there has not been the least difference made between the sexes in relation to the rights of property, to legacies, &c. Girls are no more subjected to legal guardianship than boys, while husbands have no more right to dispose of their wives' fortunes than the latter have to dispose of their husbands' property. A woman's possessions are held quite as independently as a man's, and when she marries they remain her own as heretofore. For selling or mortgaging, the husband must get her formal consent, given in the same terms to him as to a total stranger. He cannot receive at the post-office money which is addressed to her, and, indeed, his signature is nowhere accepted in lieu of hers. In one word, he has no legal right over her property, and she may do with it whatever she pleases, without at all asking his consent. After her death he inherits the seventh part of her estates, and the fourth of her personal goods, that being the proportion which falls to her share of his property if

"This law gave rise to very curious cases before the emancipation of the serfs. As the nobility had alone the right to possess peasants, when a girl of the nobility married a tradesman, though she did not lose her privilege, she could not transfer it to her husband and her children. Her husband was not allowed to manage the property, or to exercise any authority over the serfs; they belonged specially to his wife, and after her death the village was sold again to a nobleman.

"There occurred another class of instances still more strange. Some landladies married their own serfs, without condescending to set them free; when they did not feel satisfied with the behaviour of their husbands it was still in their power to offer them as military recruits, or to banish them to Siberia. Such occurrences were but exceptions, which did not represent the normal course of life, but we quote them in order to illustrate girls and boys, and the prospects held out to them from the

all sides of the question. But the common effect of the independence to which the law had elevated women was to give them a habit of reflecting and of calculating and generally to develop their ability for business. Being free to dispose of their fortune, they learned to manage it without always relying on the help of men, and from the end of the last century downwards it has been no uncommon thing to see great riches amassed by women. Not only did they attend to their lands as well as control their serfs, but they sought often an additional branch of revenue in the establishment of manufactories. Nearly anyone here could easily name several ladies of his acquaintance who had in these ways become the founders of large fortunes. Long before the emancipation of the peasants, it was quite a common thing to see the husband engrossed with his official duties, while the whole management of the estate, including manufactures and commercial operations, devolved on his wife. To-day a considerable number of landed estates still belong to women, and are governed by them. If they do not show themselves very able agriculturists, at least they are more patient than the generality of landowners. They go on applying their old systems of cultivation, but they try hard, and do not give up completely, so saving agriculture from utter ruin. These landladies belong mostly to the old generation, educated during serfdom, and are unable to understand the conditions of free labour; which is the reason why they cannot obtain the same profits as their mothers and grandmothers, and why they find the world sadly changed for

"It is a fact deserving to be noticed, that in the historical course of events woman in Russia was put in possession of civil rights before it had been thought necessary to give her any education. In this way it came to pass that she learnt to manage business without having had any school lessons, and that many of the remarkably practical female managers in the beginning of our century had no notion whatever of spelling

### GIRLS AND THE SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY By JESSIE FOTHERGILL.

What a great deal one hears and reads, sometimes, here and there, about the want of judgment displayed by women, not only in emergencies, but in the common routine of daily life; about that carelessness of what appear to men serious interests, above all, about their propensity to act on impulse and feeling, rather than reason. There is a parrot-like ring about this cry, and when the assertion comes to be analysed, it will be found to have about as much significance as most other parrot-cries, that is to say, it will turn out to be an extended echo of some original complaint which had truth in it. After this, it may perhaps sound odd to say that I admit to a great extent the justice of the complaint, that, so far as my own experience goes, there is a want of judgment in the conduct of women, young and old-or, to put it more distinctly, an absence of the sense of responsibility for their actions, which is often astonishing, always lamentable, and which gives rise to many heartburnings, to much inconvenience, and endless difficulties. But, having admitted so much, the questions then arise: Whence comes this defective sense of responsibility? Is it a necessary quality of the feminine mind, or is it only accidental—the result of training and surroundings; and, if it is curable, how? They are questions admitting, and almost demanding, careful and extended investigation, but space permits only of a glance at the phenomenon—its causes and results.

First, then, is there not a sharp distinction drawn between

few boys (I speak of that order of the middle class in which "eldest sons" are not privileged above the others, and where all have to work for their livelihood sooner or later) are not taught early enough that some day they will have to work—if they want a home like the one they live in, they must work for it; if they want money to spend, like a man, they must work for it; that they may get these things provided (here comes in the sense of responsibility) the work be well done, and the duties that will arise creditably performed. Boys discuss these things in the nursery, and may be heard loudly declaring what line of life they will adopt in future days; and fathers say to their sons, between jest and earnest, "My boy, what will you be when you grow up?" Girls, with some exceptions, as when the family know they must all work. or as when from different reasons domestic responsibility falls on a girl's shoulders, are not brought up with this feeling that in future days they will be responsible beings. As a rule, the only responsibility they are entrusted with is that of being agreeable, and, if possible, accomplished members of whatever class of society they may happen to move in. They are expected to dance, to play, to be fond of the society of what is known as "young people of their own age." (And oh, how dreary sometimes are those young people of one's own age!) And if, at last, they marry a man who is well off, they are considered to have amply discharged their part of the responsibilities of life. A boy at school, who neglects his lessons or grumbles at the work he has to do, is almost always spurred on with some such words as, "You really must persevere. What will you do when you have your own way to make, if you neglect your studies now?" Does anyone pretend to give such stimulus to girls? Is it not rather, "You must try to get on, or you will look so ignorant; every girl knows such and such things now, and you must learn them too?" No one suggests that her studies will be necessary to her in after life, as, indeed, in the majority of cases they will not. She is learning. Why ? Because every other girl learns, and she must be like other girls—it is so nice to be like other girls, and does not look strange-and then, if, by any chance, calamities should overtake the bread-winner, and the family should be reduced, she must rub up these subjects which she is now studying with no particular object, and therefore with no particular pains, and. armed with what remains of them, she must sally forth, and attempt the process of teaching the young idea, &c. Having finished her school career, she returns home. It is needless to recapitulate the tenor of her life there; but I appeal to everyone concerned with that life—the girl herself, her parents, her brothers and sisters, and friends-is there anything in it to rouse and sustain in her a strong, healthy sensation of being needful to others, or even to herself, the sensation that, should her work go wrong, she will be disgraced, and those concerned in it will be made uncomfortable, or put to inconvenience? I say, that in the majority of the lives of such girls as I am speaking of there is nothing of the kind; every condition of their existence tends to make them irresponsible beings. Their society, their amusements, their pleasures, are selected for them; in many cases the very choice of the books they read is undertaken by the mother or father, and the supervision of the letters they write. And most assuredly I do not think they can be called responsible for their own thoughts and opinions on the deeper and greater questions which arise and confront us in this our life - such subjects as religion, morality, ethics. They are instructed very seriously, and there is no doubt, generally very lovingly, that these are im-

very beginning of life, from nursery days? Is it not true that | and what is wrong in the matter, but they are not taught by their parents: "Such is my view of the case, but I am aware that many persons think differently, and I would have you think over the matter yourself, when I will give you the best advice I can upon the subject." They are, on the contrary, taught: "Such and such views are right; the others are wrong, and it is a very great misfortune to think wrongly upon such things." With this kind of training, or rather no training, is it to be wondered at that so many girls and women should be justly accused of being wanting in judgment, careless of the things which men think serious, and given to acting on impulse rather than on reason?

To make out a good case for the theory that these women who, from what reason soever, have had more than the usual amount of responsibility put on their shoulders, are, as a rule, more prudent, judicious, and reliable than their sisters, would require much more copious data, and much more elaborate reasoning than this fugitive paper can pretend to furnish; but I believe that, taken all in all, such is the case, and would suggest to girls of an inquiring turn of mind that they should collect evidence on each side of the subject and consider it carefully for themselves. It will be strange if they do not, in consequence, at least come to the conclusion that work is holier, nappier, and healthier than idleness, that some share of responsibility is bracing, both to mind and body-higher, better, more honourable; and, above all, that while there is no kind of honest toil which may not be ennobled and ennobling, there is, on the other hand, no possibility of living in idleness without mental and moral degradation and deterioration.

December, 1878.

### REVIEW.

La Science Politique. Revue Internationale paraissant le premier de chaque mois. Dirigée par le Professeur Emile Acollas. Paris, Administration et Abonnements Librairie A. Ghio. Palais-Royal, Galerie d'Orléans 1, 3, 5, et 7.

We heartily commend to our readers this able and interesting periodical. The principles advocated may be understood from he matter on the title page-"Sur notre drapeau est écrit : Emancipation par la Science; Justice et Liberté pour tous." In regard to women, the reviewer adopts the motto quoted by C. Radenhausen, "Il faut, nous autres hommes, nous habituer à considérer et à traiter la femme, non pas comme un instrument de plaisir et de jouissance, mais comme notre égale." The number for December, 1878, is the sixth. Among the articles which have appeared in which women are especially concerned are an essay on "La Science du droit," by the editor; another, "Le Mariage," by the same writer; on "Universal Suffrage" by Sigismond Lacroix; and one "La Femme, sa nature physiologique et sa destinée sociale," by Dr. Louis Buchner. The co-ordinate position of woman and equality of rights between the sexes are fully maintained. The articles are brilliantly and powerfully written, and contain much valuable and suggestive thought.

Mrs. Russell Gurney has signified her intention of presenting to Girton College, Cambridge, the sum of £1,000 for the foundation of a "Russell Gurney" Entrance Scholarship, in portant topics, and that unfortunately there exist persons who memory of her late husband, who was one of the earliest and think very wrongly on them, and then they hear what is right | most valued friends of the College.

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

January 1, 7

SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS RECEIVED DURING DECEMBER, 1878.

Ithour ( and )		,		7	Mr. M. Fowler 0 10 0
		£	100		Mr. W. E. Welch 0 5 0
Mr. J. P. Thomasson		 50	0	0	Mr. W. L. Robertson 0 5 0
Mrs. Abel Heywood		 2	2	0	Mr. G. Foster 0 5 0
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	Councillor Pedley	 		0	5	
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	Councillor J. Knott	 ***		0	5	
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Ir. John Barrow	 	 	 0	5	
Irs. Rimmer	 	 	 0	2	
Irs. McKerrow	 	 	 0	2	
Irs. Sarjeant	 	 	 0	2	
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Ir. R. Cameron		 	 0	5	
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Miss Alice Lucas ... ... ... ...

Rev. W. Elliott ... ... ... 0 2

Miss Clara Lucas ... ... ... 0 2

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE JOURNAL.—
Volume IX. January to December, 1878.
With coloured cover, price, post free, One Shilling

JEXENTH ANNUAL REPORT of the Manchester tional Society for Women's Suffrage, presented the Annual General Meeting of the Society, d in the Town Hall, Manchester, November 1878. In coloured cover, price 6d., to be had the Secretary, 28, Jackson's Row, Albert Square, probestor.

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	***	***	34	0	0
	***	111	20	0	0
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Mr. Courtney		***	5	0	0
		***	5	0	0
Mrs. Hargreaves		***	5	0	0
Mrs. Pochin			5	0	0
Mrs. Charles Wood			5	0	0
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Mr. Serjt. Parry			2	2	0
Dr. Berneys			1	1	0
			1	1	0
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Miss Reid			.0	5	0
Rev. R. Spears			0	5	0
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Mr. John Agale			0	2	6
Miss Beale			0	2	6
Miss Van Putten			0	2	6
Mrs. Bush			0	1	6
Mr. C. E. Tox			0	1	6
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A. W. BENNETT, TREASURER			E97	15	6

### PETITIONS.

SUPPLEMENT TO THE

TWENTY-SIXTH REPORT

		5—16 August, 1878.	LU I.
	Aug.	Brought forward, Petitions Signatures 17	
16853	5	RIPON, public meeting, Adam	3,024
		Cuthbertson, chairman (Earl	
		de Grey)	1
16857	11	THIRSK and RIPON (Earl de Grey)	22
16858	12	ASHTON-UNDER-LYNE, public	22
		meeting, Henry Chorlton, chairman (Mr. Mellor)	- 1
16859	- 7	NORTHAMPTON, public meeting,	opla
		Alfred Johnson, chairman	
		(Mr. Phipps)	1
16860	9	ASHTON-UNDER-LYNE, Women	
		of (Mr. Mellor)	4
16861	,,	ASHTON-UNDER-LYNE, public	
133		meeting, Thomas Grundy,	
	a language	chairman (Mr. Mellor)	4
16862	13	Dublin (Mr. Parnell)	467
176.116		CALL STATE OF THE	-

Total No. of Petitions 730-Signatures 174,022

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