# WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE JOURNAL. EDITED BY LYDIA E. BECKER.

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Leading Articles :—The Irish University Education Act; Notes on the Debate on Mr. Courtney's Amend-ment; Strange Jurors; The Royal Commission on Agricultural Di-tress; Qualifications of a Candi-date; Wires and Railway Damages; Proposed Legis-lation as to Married Women's Property; Women and School Board Elections.
Parliamentary Intelligence:—University Education (Ireland) Bill; The Victoria University.



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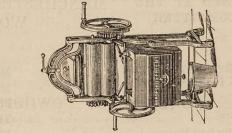
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# WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE JOURNAL.

#### Vol. x.-No. 115. PUBLISHED MONTHLY. REGISTERED FOR TRANSMISSION ABROAD.

A SESSION, otherwise barren of measures furthering the interests of women, has, before its close, passed one which should have important consequences for women in Ireland. By the passing of the Irish University Bill, read a third time in the House of Commons on August 11th, the same summer which has seen women take University honours for the first time in England, at the London University, has given promise that our Irish sisters shall soon enjoy equal advantages in their own country. The Irish. University Act opens the degrees of the new university to students of either sex, but provides that male graduates only are to become members of Convocation.

When brought down from the House of Lords, clause 8 of the Bill provided that the Senate should examine as certificates of proficiency. candidates for matriculation and degrees, "including Thus Parliament has laid down the principle on which the charter must be framed, and Irish women will enjoy as examinations of women for suitable certificates of progreat advantages as any of the other countries which have ficiency." Mr. COURTNEY moved an amendment in granted University education to women. The extension Committee that this clause should run, "degrees for both of those advantages during the last ten years has been men and women," omitting the words relating to certifiremarkable. Within that time Italy has opened all her cates. To this the CHIEF SECRETARY for IRELAND fifteen universities to women; Copenhagen has opened all replied that the words "certificates of proficiency" met the case, that he wished to avoid the admission of women its degrees to them, except theology. Women have graduated in various faculties in Paris, Zurich, Berne, Leipzig, to Convocation, and the distinction between certificates of proficiency and degrees consisted in this only, that the Gottingen. Madras and Calcutta have admitted women to certificates would not admit to Convocation. This statematriculation, and Auckland-first of any educational body in the British dominions-conferred its B.A. degree ment was the more curious that since 1870 numbers of on a woman in 1877. The success attending the inter-Irish women have already held certificates of proficiency mediate Education Bill of last year is sufficient to show from the Queen's University in Ireland, which the new that Irish women are not likely to be slow in availing University is destined to supersede; moreover, the Convocathemselves of the additional advantages of the future tion of Queen's University had, in 1873, passed a resolution H. B. that it was desirable to admit women to degrees; and university. in 1876 the Senate gave permission for a lady to Mr. O'DONNELL, in supporting Mr. COURTNEY'S proposal present herself for the degree of M.D. on her having fulfilled the regulations. No woman had been able to give degrees to women, made the somewhat remarkable statement that this was not a question of "women's to fulfil those regulations, as they required admission rights." While thanking Mr. O'DONNELL for his support to an affiliated college; but to give only certificates of proficiency in a new university, which will not of the just claims of women in this matter, we are at a exact study in an affiliated college, would have been a step | loss to understand the meaning of this statement. The backward. Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN suggested the clause | right of a woman to a good education, the measure of

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should run, "degrees and certificates." Both his amendment and that of Mr. COURTNEY were, however, withdrawn, on a promise from the CHIEF SECRETARY for IRELAND that the question should be considered on report.

On the 11th August the Report of the Committee was considered by the House, when the CHIEF SECRETARY stated that he was not opposed to the admission of women to degrees, only to their admission to Convocation; and moved the insertion of the word male before graduates in clause 4-a clause providing that Convocation should consist of the senate and properly-qualified graduates. The 8th clause was then amended, on the motion of Mr. COURTNEY, by the insertion of words providing for the admission of women to examinations for degrees as well

which shall be her capacity for receiving it, and not any theory of men as to the degree or kind of education which is suited to her needs, and the right to have her acquirements tested by the same standard, and crowned with the same reward, as the acquirements of men, are among the most important of the "rights of women," and as such have always been upheld by their upholders.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL, in the debate on the Irish University Bill, said that he would vote against the proposal to give degrees to women because GOD had made women different from men. Now it has been proved by experiment that women resemble men in the capacity to acquire the learning and pass the examination necessary to qualify for the degree; it would therefore appear, if the proposition of the honourable baronet is correct, that GOD has made women able, like men, to earn the degree, but not able, like men, to wear it. The ways of Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL'S Providence are indeed inscrutable.

INTERPRETERS of the intentions of Providence have been found in all ages, and of many minds. A debate in the House of Commons on any question affecting the rights of women usually produces a prolific crop of Parliamentary prophets who deem themselves inspired to declare the mind of GOD regarding the subjection of women. We may, therefore, be allowed to quote an authority not less weighty on our side of the question. St. AUGUSTINE says "If GOD had designed woman as man's master, He would have taken her from his head; if as his slave, He would have taken her from his feet; but as He designed her for his companion and equal, He took her from his side."

No words could more aptly describe the movement for the enfranchisement of women than that it is a claim for woman to be regarded in all things as the companion and the equal of man.

MR. BERESFORD HOPE is very much exercised in his mind over the proposed admission of women as eligible for degrees in the Victoria University. He is strongly opposed to this "innovation upon the ancient system of academic degrees," and seems to desire that the Government even at the eleventh hour should interfere with a refusal to grant to the promoters of the charter the powers they seek in this direction.

may become, like the Matterhorn, a "ladies' mountain." We are told that when a mountain has once been climbed by a lady, every man thinks himself qualified to do the same, and the achievement ceases to confer any distinction But such protests are now out of date. They should have been made when it was first proposed to allow women to learn the alphabet. When this was conceded the whole question was virtually settled. Women who have learned the alphabet will go on until they can read; women who can read will be led on to study; women who study will ask to have their acquirements tested ; and women who pass the test cannot be justly denied the honours and substantial rewards which an academic degree confers upon those who attain it.

If men desire to maintain their pretensions to intellectual supremacy over women, they must do so by honest labour and study. They will be no longer permitted to exclude women from the chances of comparison in order to maintain their own superiority unquestioned.

WE occasionally hear fears professed as to what would happen if women were allowed to discharge responsible duties such as those of jurors. We should imagine that the worst fears that have been expressed on this head are surpassed by the actual experiences of the ways of some men jurors. No one has pictured a jury composed of women which have been capable of the enormity of "tossing up" to determine the awful issue of life or death for a fellow-creature. Yet this has practically been done by a jury composed of the sex which arrogates to itself a monopoly of the judicial faculties.

Had a jury composed of women been guilty of such a dereliction of duty, the circumstance would doubtless have been regarded as conclusive evidence that women were unfit to be jurors. If women were to apply the logic to the other sex, they would seem to have abundant ground for it in the example of Derby juries. A correspondent of the Times calls attention to another case in which a man, who was proved to the satisfaction of the judge and of the prosecuting counsel to be insane, was found guilty; and of a similar case at Leicester, in which it was so absolutely proved that the prisoner was insane that the counsel for the prosecution did not ask for a verdict of guilty. Yet, after hearing their duty clearly explained by Lord Justice THESIGER, who concurred in the course pursued, the jury, after retiring to "consider," returned a verdict of guilty, with a strong recommendation to mercy. It Perhaps Mr. BERESFORD HOPE fears lest Parnassus turned out afterwards that they were under the impression September 1, ]

September 1,

that if they found a verdict of not guilty on the ground of | friend, and that to extol a man as a "hopeless duffer" and insanity the prisoner would be set free !

whether, after all, sex is so sure a guarantee of intelligence that it may be safely adopted as a test to distinguish frustworthy from untrustworthy jurors or electors.

In spite of the strenuous efforts made by Mr. BURT and others to obtain the appointment of a representative of the labourers on the commission which is to be appointed to inquire into the causes of agricultural distress, the Government have not seen fit to comply with the demand. This refusal is very much on a par with the refusal to appoint women on the commissions of inquiry which have taken place with regard to the labour laws. In both cases representation on the commission has been refused to a large class of persons whose interests are directly affected by the laws which are the subject of the inquiry, and in both cases the class so excluded is composed of persons who have no votes in the election of members of the House of Commons, and therefore whom it is not necessary for the Government to conciliate in view of the coming election.

The labouring classes of men in counties and the labouring classes of women everywhere are composed of persons socially weak, and, politically, ciphers, and they need not expect that Governments will pay any particular attention to their interests until they obtain a place among the represented classes of the community.

WE learn from the Birmingham Post that Lord CLAUD HAMILTON, M.P., in speaking at a recent prize distribution at King's Lynn, said, by way, we suppose, of encouraging the boys in the pursuit of learning, that "He remembered the case of a schoolfellow of his, but he must not mention names. That boy was such a hopeless duffer, that at school he could not do anything, and was obliged to leave school and join the army. He had since performed a wonderful ride, and now his fame was European, and he trusted soon to see him in the House of Commons." The noble lord the member for King's Lynn has been one of the most persistent opponents of the claim of women to vote in the election of members of Parliament. Perhaps he is one of those who assert that women would be guided in giving their votes by the consideration of the physical rather than the political qualifications of the candidates; or is it that he fears that women would not appreciate such recommendations as he proffers on behalf of his measure will depend much on the LORD CHANCELLOR,

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a "wonderful rider" would not be the most effectual way Women who read of these things may well ponder of commending him as a candidate for the suffrages of women electors, however well these qualifications might serve him in gaining the votes of men?

> AT the Liverpool Assizes just held, JOSHUA HOLT, an ironmonger, carrying on business at Wigan, and his wife ANN, brought an action against the London and North-Western Railway Company to recover damages for personal injuries sustained by the female plaintiff through the negligence of the company's servants. The liability was admitted, and the only question was the amount of damages to be awarded. Mrs. HOLT was in a train which came into collision with another train; she was very severely shaken, and was unable to appear in court. The jury gave a verdict for the plaintiffs for £1,220.

> We desire to call attention to one or two points of law in this and kindred cases. In the first place, Mr. HOLT does not appear to have been in the train which came into the collision, and consequently he sustained no personal injury at all. Yet he alone could bring the action to recover damages for the injury to his wife, and he alone is entitled to the £1,220 which the jury have awarded as compensation. It is true the name of the wife was joined in the pleadings, but that was a mere matter of form. It does not give her any right to the damages recovered from the company.

> One cannot sufficiently admire the wonderful arrangement of the law which decrees that when a wife gets smashed in a train her husband shall pocket the damages, and which denies to her the protection of securing for her personal use the sum awarded as compensation for the loss and disablement she has suffered through personal injuries.

> IT is stated that the LORD ADVOCATE has informed Mr. GEORGE ANDERSON, M.P., who introduced the measure, that in the opinion of the Government the Married Women's Property (Scotland) Bill, as it stands, ignores many important matters which ought to be kept in view. They are of opinion that the question should be dealt with by the Government of the day, and they have given instructions for the preparation of a Bill giving effect to their views. Mr. CRoss has also stated, through the LORD ADVOCATE, that although a Bill on the subject properly originates in the Home Office, the preparation of such a

who has always taken a great interest in the assimilation, so far as possible, of the law of Scotland and England.

If this should be the principle on which the Government Bill is to be based, it is earnestly to be desired that the English law should be amended and made thoroughly just before the projected assimilation takes place.

THE triennial elections of the School Board in London and most of the large districts in England take place next November, and already the note of preparation is sounded in many localities. The selection of candidates will be going on actively during the months of September and October. We trust that those concerned in putting forth lists of representative candidates to support particular lines of policy will be awake to the importance of securing a due representation of the interests of girls and women by the nomination of a woman on their lists of candidates wherever such nomination is feasible.

The policy thus advocated is desirable not only in the interests of justice, but also in an electioneering sense. Parties or candidates who seek the suffrages of a constituency on grounds of general School Board politics appeal to women electors as well as to men, and women form a section of the electorate which no candidates can afford to disregard. Their number entitle them to nominate a candidate of their own, and would enable them to return such candidate by means of the cumulative vote. A woman candidate on a list would therefore add an element of strength to the party which put her forward by her appeal to the suffrages of voters of her own sex, as well as to those of the very large proportion of men who desire to see women adequately represented on School Boards.

A review of some of the elections that have taken place under Mr. FORSTER'S Act shows that this policy has been confirmed by experience. At the first election in 1870 Mrs. GARRETT ANDERSON headed the poll by an overwhelming majority, and in each succeeding election the lady candidates have held their own in the division of Marylebone. In Manchester the leaders of the "unsectarian" party, after much cogitation, came to the conclusion that it would tend to weaken their chances of success to adopt a woman as one of their candidates. The lady in question, therefore, withdrew her name from the list and was nominated independently; but when the poll was declared the votes recorded for her exceeded by many thousands the numbers cast for those who had feared that the candidature of a woman would weaken their party.

elected. At Bristol the Liberal party had brought out their list without including a woman; but Miss RICHARDSON. who came forward independently, obtained a very high place on the list of successful candidates. At Leeds and Brighton Mrs. BUCKTON and Miss RICKETTS came out at the head of the poll. At Northampton Mrs. MANFIELD stood second on the poll, with 5,247 votes. At the first election her husband, Alderman MANFIELD, had been the candidate, and he had polled 1,236 votes. These instances are given in order to suggest to those engaged in forming lists of candidates, that if they will bring forward suitable candidates in the persons of ladies who are known to take an interest in the promotion of education, and in the welfare of young children, such candidates will be likely to strengthen the cause of the party which brings them forward, as well as to promote the interests of the real constituents of the School Boards--the children for whose education the schools are provide l.

### PARLIAMENTARY INTELLIGENCE.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, August 5th, 1879.

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION (IRELAND) BILL.

In Committee on this Bill, clause 8, "The senate shall institute and make provision for carrying on such public examinations of candidates for matriculation and degrees, and such other University examinations in secular subjects, including examinations of women for suitable certificates of proficiency, as may be necessary; and for the purpose of conducting such examinations the senate shall from time to time appoint examiners in the several subjects of secular learning usually studied in a University, and shall make regulations for the conduct of such examinations, and the appointment, removal, and remuneration of the examiners," Mr. Courtney proposed to leave out from "including" to

"necessary," in line 4, and to insert "both of men and women." He stated that in the first year of extended examinations to women as well as men at the University of London the results had been extremely satisfactory. Sixty-five women had entered for examination, and the percentage of women who had obtained honours was higher than that of men.

Mr. O'Donnell sincerely hoped the amendment would be accepted, as this was no question of women's rights, and it was desirable that women should cultivate their brains more than they had hitherto been able to do.

Sir G. Campbell remarked that the amendment was founded on an assumption that women were the equals of men. He was of opinion that God had made women different from men-(laughter)-and upon that ground he should vote against the amendment. (Renewed laughter.)

Mr. Lowther thought certificates for proficiency would meet the case. (No, no.)

Mr. O. Morgan and Dr. Playfair held that women should be placed on an equality with men in this respect.

Mr. Lowther had no objection to their employing equality of examination, and only wished to prevent women being In 1876 all the lady candidates who came forward were members of the Convocation. He promised to consider the

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mestion in relation to the examinations of the London University before the report. Mr. B. Hope urged the right hon. gentleman to do nothing

of the kind, but to resist the arguments of the "squire of dames" opposite.

Mr. O'Shaughnessy contended that Irishwomen ought not to be debarred from a privilege enjoyed by English and Scotch women in this respect.

Mr. Shaw wished the examination for proficiency to be retained in any case. (Hear, hear.)

The amendment was withdrawn, and the clause agreed to.

## THE VICTORIA UNIVERSITY.

Mr. B. Hope asked whether there was any foundation for the statement contained in the Times of Saturday, the 9th, that the draft charter of the proposed Victoria University contains powers for conferring degrees upon females, and whether, if the statement be accurate, any opportunity would be afforded for Parliament to pronounce an opinion upon this innovation upon the ancient system of academic degrees, as well as upon other provisions which may be contained in the draft charter.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer : The draft charter which has been submitted by the promoters of the Victoria University does contain a proposal to give power to grant degrees to women as well as to men. It has been remitted to the Committee of the Privy Council, and is now under consideration. As my hon. friend is no doubt aware, under a recent act it would be necessary that the charter when granted should be laid on the table of Parliament for one month, I think, before it takes effect.

## THE BRITISH ASSOCIATION. SHEFFIELD, AUGUST 25th.

A paper was read in this section, over which Mr. Mundella, M.P., presided, by Dr. Gladstone, member of the London School Board, on "Elementary Natural Science in Board Schools." In the course of the paper Dr. Gladstone stated that out of 1,074 male and 1,790 female teachers, 888 males and 442 females hold advanced science certificates, and that out of 248 boys', 218 girls', and 46 mixed schools, more than half include in their course of instruction scientific specific subjects, which are thus distributed :-

the first the selection wards		Boys	'Schools.
Mechanics			1
Animal physiology			99
Physical geography	14		.68
Botany		7	4
Domestic economy			11 <u>1 1</u> 6 500

An interesting discussion took place, in the course of which Miss Becker (Manchester School Board) said she was sorry the science of mechanics was confined to the boys' school, because any girl or woman who had to do household work was painfully conscious that she had frequently to move weights, and mechanical operations were much better done on scientific principles. In the interest of babies it was most desirable that the elements of physiology should be taught to those who would become the mothers of the future generation. She sometimes appeared as a champion for the rights of women, but here she should like to say a word on behalf of the boys. They ought to have equal rights with the girls as to the knowledge of the subjects, such as the laws of health, &c., included in the code under the head of domestic economy.

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#### ECONOMIC SCIENCE AND STATISTICS.

Girls' Schools.

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#### PUBLIC MEETINGS AND LECTURES. LLANGOLLEN

Miss Becker gave the first of a series of addresses on the claims of women to the Parliamentary franchise in the Assembly Room, Llangollen, on July 28th. Mrs. Oliver Scatcherd, of Leeds, had been announced to preside, but was unable to fulfil her engagements owing to the dangerous illness of her father, which has since proved fatal. Mr. Philip Minshall was called to the chair, and, after reading a letter from Mrs. Scatcherd explaining the cause of her absence, introduced the lecturer. Vote of thanks to Miss Becker, moved by Mr. Fell, concluded the proceedings.

#### BARMOUTH.

On July 29th Miss Becker delivered an address on the claims of women to the Parliamentary franchise before an audience principally composed of visitors. The chair was taken at eight o'clock, by the Rev. W. Rigby Murray, of Manchester, in the absence of Mrs. Oliver Scatcherd, who had been announced to preside. A letter was read from Mrs. Scatcherd explaining the cause of her absence. After the address, Miss Becker replied to several questions put by persons in the audience, and the hearty thanks of the meeting were voted to her on the motion of Dr. Raby, LL.D., B.A., B.Sc., of Youlgreave, Derbyshire, seconded by Mr. Edward Davies, clerk to the Local Board ; and after a similar compliment to the chairman the meeting separated.

#### ABERYSTWYTH.

On July 30th an address was delivered by Miss Becker in the Temperance Hall, Aberystwyth. In the absence of Mrs. Scatcherd the chair was taken by Mr. Alderman Philip Williams. At the close of the lecture a vote of thanks to Miss Becker was moved by Dr. R. D. Roberts, seconded by Mr. Griffith Jones, and carried unanimously.

#### CRICCIETH.

On July 31st Miss Becker delivered an address in the National Schoolroom, Criccieth. The Rev. Erasmus Parry, vicar of Criccieth, occupied the chair. On the conclusion of the lecture a vote of thanks was moved by the chairman and seconded by the Rev. David Lloyd Jones, curate of the parish, and the meeting separated.

#### PORTMADOC.

On August 1st Miss Becker lectured in the Town Hall, Portmadoc. Mr. Rowlands, of Duffws, occupied the chair. After the lecture, a vote of thanks was moved by Mr. Breese, who made some comments on the lecture. Mr. William Jones (Baptist minister) seconded the vote in an effective and humorous address in the Welsh language, which seemed highly appreciated by the people. The motion was also supported by Mr. Owen Morris. In acknowledging the vote, Miss Becker referred to the observations of Mr. Breese, and, after a vote of thanks to the chairman, the meeting separated. The following is an abstract of the speech of Mr. Jones: Wrth gefnogi pleidlais o ddiolchgarwch i Miss Becker am ei hanerchiad rhagorol; dywedodd Mr. Jones fod yn dda ganddo wneyd hyny, ac ar yr un pryd ddatgan yr hyn a ddaeth i'w feddwl wrth wrando yr anerchiad. Sylwodd fod y rhyw fenywaidd yn allu cryf a phwysig iawn yn sefyllfa gymdeithasol y byd. Hwynt-hwy yn y cymeriad o Famau sydd mewn mantais, i raddau helaeth i ffurfio cymeriad y byd pan yn ei fabandod. Dywedodd fod sefyllfa y rhyw fenywaidd yn ddieithriad, yn isel a thruenus yn mhob man lle y mae diffyg gwareiddiad a dysgeidiaeth. Ona wrth eu dyrchafu i freintiau gwladol rhaid gofalu na roddir gormod yn eu ffafr, oblegyd y

maent yn lliosocach na dynion yn mhob gwlad a thref, yna, os cant ormod o awdurdod, cariant bob peth a ewyllysiant yn ddirwystr. Cafodd llawer un o honynt cyn hyn eu dyrchafu yn freninesau, rhai y buasai porthi moch yn orchwyl rhy anrhydeddus iddynt. Dichon fod y ffaith mai y foneddiges Victoria sydd yn awr ar orsedd Prydain yn creu gormod o awydd yn y merched am freintiau gwleidyddol, credai ef fod y cwestiwn pwysig hwn heb gael yr ym chwiliad a ddylai gael. Amheuai yn fawr a ydynt yn mwynhau eu hawliau cyfreithlon yn mhob ystyr ai peidio. Ni ddylai y merched gael eu cadw i lawr yn ormodol; gadawer iddynt yr hyn sydd iawn, a dim yn y chwaneg.

#### BANGOR

Addresses were delivered by Miss Becker and Mrs. Colman in the Penrhyn Hall, Bangor, on August 4th. The Very Rev. the Dean of Bangor presided. After a few introductory remarks from the Chairman, Miss Becker delivered her lecture. Mrs. Colman was the next speaker. In the course of her remarks she observed that it was for the opponents of the movement to prove that men had an exclusive right to a vote. If men said that they had a right, and they alone, to make laws, she asked them where did they get their right from ? (Hear, hear.) Men would have great difficulty in proving from the Bible that it was their exclusive right. Members of Parliament sometimes said, "I asked Lady So and So, and she said she did not want a vote." Was that any reason why another woman should be deprived of her right ? Many said that men and women were so different from each other. Yes, and it was because they were so different that it would be so great an advantage to the men to consult with the women. (Hear, hear, and a laugh.) After some further remarks the speaker concluded by moving a vote of thanks to the Chairman for presiding. (Applause.)

The Chairman, in replying to the vote of thanks, said it had given him great pleasure to preside at that meeting. He was sure that all those who had had the wisdom to attend had been very much instructed. (Applause). They had had put before them materials for thought which would occupy their mind for some time to come. He could not say that he had formed any very strong or definite opinion upon this subject, but he certainly did go a very considerable way with those opinions which had been advocated there that night. (Hear, hear.) He was firmly of opinion and had been for some time, that it was a gross injustice that women who represented a substantial interest in the State, and which would have entitled men to vote, should have no voice whatever in making the laws of the country. He considered the case alluded to by Miss Becker-the case of a widow who lost her tenure of a farm because she was a widow and could not have a vote-was a very hard one-(hear, hear)-and there was no doubt such cases were very frequent. (Hear, hear.) He did not think, however, that it was necessary to dwell upon the details which had been brought before them. He preferred to look at the question from that point of view in which it had been placed before them in both the addresses which had been delivered. The question for them to consider was whether it was right that women should have a voice in making the laws of their country. If, as Mrs. Colman told them so pointedly, it was a right then to withhold, it was an injustice, and the commission of an injustice injured not only those upon whom it was inflicted, but injured still more deeply and lastingly those by whom it was inflicted. (Hear, hear.) If women had a right to a voice in the making of the laws, then so long as that right was suppressed the State suffered from its suppression. He was decidedly of opinion that the infusion into the life of this country of a greater amount of female influence would be a decided advantage. (Hear, hear.) He was satisfied that there were a great many questions in connection with which the

influence of woman would be most salutary. Miss Becker had referred to the education question. He believed that women would vote wisely upon that question. It was quite unnecessary that they should dwell upon the question of the capacity of women to exercise the Parliamentary suffrage. The intellectual capacity of women had been proved so thoroughly in every field of human intelligence, that he felt that it was quite unnecessary that so humble an individual as himself should pay a tribute to their intellectual power and wisdom. Even a surerficial view of the subject offered a rebuke to those who were apt to meet the arguments brought forward by ridicule. and senseless, heartless jeering. (Hear, hear.) He was happy to say that the practice of jeering at the advocates of this movement was rapidly becoming obsolete. (Hear, hear.) After some further remarks the Chairman said he was satisfied that if the suffrage were given to those women who held property, it would be very beneficial to the political and social life of this country. (Hear, hear.) He took a great interest in the temperance question, and he said that temperance reform was essentially necessary to the progress of this country. (Hear, hear.) Now if one-seventh were added to the number of electors by giving votes to those women who had property, an enormous impetus would be given to that movement. (Hear, hear.) He believed that women would vote for an amendment of the licensing laws in order to promote temperance. (Hear, hear.) As had been observed it was really monstrous that women of first-rate ability, and women who were qualified in every respect, should have no vote in Parliamentary elections, whilst ignorant men who were in every respect unqualified should have it. He honoured the courage of these ladies in speaking in favour of the enfranchisement of women. As Mrs. Jolman had told them, social prejudices were strong, and it required some courage to stand upon a platform to advocate a change which appeared at first so novel and so startling. He was convinced that there was very little to be said against the change in the moderate form it had been advocated there that night, except what was derived from ignorant and unreasoning prejudice. (Hear, hear.) The proceedings then terminated.

#### PENMAENMAWR.

On August 5th Miss Becker delivered an address in the Gladstone Hall, Penmaenmawr; Mrs. Colman presiding. The audience was mainly composed of visitors, and the speakers were listened to with much attention.

#### BEAUMARIS

An address was delivered by Miss Becker on August 6th in the Town Hall. Beaumaris, which had been kindly granted for the purpose by the courtesy of the Mayor. Mrs. Colman presided, and also addressed the audience on the subject of the franchise for women. A vote of thanks was moved to the Mayor for the use of the room, and the meeting separated.

#### COLWYN BAY.

On August 6th Miss Becker lectured in the Presbyterian Church, Colwyn Bay; Mrs. Colman in the chair. The audience seemed fully alive to the importance of the movement, and the remarks made as to the desirability of enlarging the number of occupations open to women were particularly well received.

#### LLANDUDNO.

Miss Becker delivered an address on August 8th in St. George's Hall, Llandudno. Mrs. Colman presided. The audience was mainly composed of visitors, and a vote of thanks, moved by Mr. B. L. Green, of Manchester, concluded the proceedings.

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#### HYDE

and I have shown you clearly what we could make of a vote to A number of Liberals of Hyde, who were not satisfied with get justice done. Now, I want to know the feeling of this the inactivity of the local Liberal club, put themselves in direct meeting on this question. Would you like votes ?" There communication with the National Reform Union. In conwas an outburst, "Yes, yes, yes," from all parts of the hall. sequence of this, a meeting was advertised to be held in the The petition was put to the meeting. Mrs. Shepherd and Market Place, to be addressed by Miss Becker and the Rev. J. other women spoke in support of it, and it was carried by Freeston. The meeting was one on the general questions of acclamation. Liberal policy and Parliamentary reform, and had no special The petition was in the following form :-reference to women's suffrage, although this has been adopted The humble petition of working women of Rochdale, in as one of their principles by the Radicals of Hyde. The meeting was held in the Market Place, on the evening of public meeting assembled, in the Temperance Hall, on the 5th of August, 1879, August 19th. The "platform" was a lurry, on which a form Sheweth. and chairs were placed. An immense crowd of between 2.000 That your petitioners have taken into consideration the and 3,000 persons gathered round the speakers, in defiance of present state of the laws which more particularly affect a steady drizzling rain, and listened with patience to the end. women as apart from men, especially directing their attention Mr. H. Barlow, of Gee Cross, presided. He said that the to the effect of such laws on the condition of the women of the number of Parliamentary voters in the district of the Hyde working class. Local Board was 961. But, if they had a member of their That your petitioners have unanimously come to the conown, with household suffrage, the number of voters would be clusion that many great and serious evils and oppressions are the same as the number of electors of the Local Board, namely, at the present time originated or sanctioned by the law of the 6,741. The chairman moved a resolution respecting the policy land, by which women of the working class are injured and of the Government, which stated, "That this meeting, comdemoralised posed principally of persons debarred by unjust laws from the That your petitioners believe that the extension of the parexercise of the franchise, and therefore unable to share in the liamentary franchise to taxpaying women would afford a means selection of those by whom they shall be governed, calls earnestly by which grievances might be redressed. on their fellow-countrymen, at the forthcoming general elec-That your petitioners are further of opinion that when tion, to do their utmost, &c., &c." Mr. Rowcroft seconded women are called upon to pay taxes, they should be adequately the resolution, which was supported by the Rev. J. Freeston. represented in your honourable House. And that women are Miss Becker then addressed the meeting. In the course of her at present not adequately represented in that House. speech she said she was much interested in the figures referred Therefore your petitioners humbly pray that your honourable to by the chairman, who said they had 961 Par iamentary voters. House will pass a measure for the removal of the electoral disawhile the Local Board electors numbered 6,741, and she gathered bilities of women from him that what they desired was that the Parliamen'ary And your petitioners will ever pray, &c. vote should be given to all the electors of the Local Board. Signed, on behalf of the meeting, by She should like to remind them of a fact which might not be JANE BUTTERWORTH. in their minds, that out of these 6,741 there would be nearly 176, Ramsey-street, Rochdale. 1,000 women, and she trusted to them to make it particularly clear that when they were asking for household suffrage they On August 8th a meeting of above 2,000 men and women meant that all householders should have the vote, and that they took place in the square before the Town Hall, Rochdale. did not mean that women should be left out in the cold. She After an address by Miss Craigen, a resolution in favour of the asked them to make this clear to the Liberal party, because franchise for women was passed unanimously; copies of the while it had been agreed to make it a party question that the resolution, signed by the Chairman, were ordered to be sent to men householders should have the vote, they had not agreed Mr. T. B. Potter, M.P. for Rochdale, and to the Right Hon. that the women should be included. It was only just that they John Bright, M.P. should be admitted, and the people should tell the party that HEYWOOD. they would not be satisfied with less. After some further A meeting was held by the lamp-post, Heywood, on August speeches from other persons the resolution was carried, and the 9th. Mrs. Samuel Butterworth presided, and after addresses meeting terminated with the usual votes of thanks. from her and from Miss Craigen, a petition was unanimously adopted. MILNROW

On August 4th Miss Craigen lectured on the Fair-ground, Milnrow, near Rochdale. Mr. John Heyworth occupied the chair. There was a very good attendance, including a large number of women mill-hands. The petition was passed unanimously.

One of the ablest advocates of woman suffrage in Colorado first became convinced of its wisdom and justice by endeavouring to write an argument against it. He was appointed chairman ROCHDALE of a committee on the subject by a hostile Legislature, because On August 5th Miss Craigen addressed a large meeting of he was known to be a pronounced opponent. It became his many hundreds of adult women in the Temperance Hall, duty to prepare a report upon it. Being a fair-minded man, he Rochdale. Mrs. Samuel Butterworth presided. The hall was sat down and endeavoured to state the arguments and objections densely crowded in every part. Miss Craigen, in concluding pro and con. To his surprise, all the arguments were on one her address, said : "They tell us we know nothing of politics, side, and all the objections vanished. Contrary to his preand care nothing. We don't know much, certainly, but we conceived opinions, and against his own wishes, he found himself want to learn ; and as to saying we don't care, that is not true. compelled to report in its favour. This impossibility of making I have explained this matter, and you all understand that the a logical argument against it without denying the theory of House of Commons makes the law; but the voters make the representative government altogether, is the crowning argument House of Commons. You have seen what bad laws we have, for woman suffrage.-Woman's Journal.

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## WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE JOURNAL.

#### THE CROWNING ARGUMENT FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

#### THE ENFRANCHISEMENT OF WOMEN THE LAW OF THE LAND. BY SIDNEY SMITH.

#### (Continued from our last issue.)

The judgment of the Court of Common Pleas proceeds on Justice Bovill's two propositions, that "Women are not included in these words, 'every man,' in the Act ;" and secondly. "Women are subject to legal incapacity." The last dictum I will examine first. Does any statute declare it ? Does any resolution of the House of Commons hint at it ? Does any judgment of our courts of law express it ? Aliens, lunatics, outlaws, peers, servants of the crown, the constabulary, minors-for every incapacity attaching to individuals there is the warrant of enactment, resolution, or decision. Chapter and verse can be given for each. But what Act, committee, or court has ever said that women are under a legal incapacity to vote ? Is half the nation to be disfranchised by a single hazy inference of a branch of Westminster Hall ? Mark, Justice Bovill is the first and only judge of England that has so declared. Point to any other shred of authority for such a dictum. If the Pariament of 1832 believed that women were then legally incapable, why did it step out of its way for the first time in the whole course of the statutes at large to insert the word "male" into the Act? Every other uses the term freeholder, people, person, without ever touching upon sex. If women at common law, or by statute, were from time immemorial excluded, why did not the Legislature continue its customary phraseology? Clearly it felt that unless it had employed the term "male," its other provisions would not have excluded women.

But it is also evident that the Parliament of 1832 did not regard women as subject to legal incapacity, else it would not have employed the tautology of "male." If women were in the same category as aliens, lunatics, or minors, the word male was quite superfluous. The terms "every person not subject to legal incapacity" would have included women-would have left them outside the constitution, without the use of any adjective specification. Still more singular is it, that in reserving and keeping alive all the qualifications in existence before those itself created, this statute falls back exactly to the accustomed phraseology of the earlier Acts. Whenever it confers a new right, it restricts it to every "male person." Whenever it perpetuates existing franchises, it continues them to "every person," leaving the word "male" out on set system. At the very least, Parlia. ment manifestly leaves the question open; and I have shown that, by the constitution, the House of Commons, that "High Court of Parliament," is the only tribunal competent to determine the rights of electors. Let me not be misunderstood. It is not necessary for me to argue that the franchises created by the statute of 1832 included women. It is not worth while to | for women to pretermit the discharge of public duties which by argue the point, because if the earlier and later qualifications extend to them, I can make misogynists a present of the first Reform Act

Nineteen years subsequently to the date of that statute, and sixteen years before the date of that of 1867, Lord Romilly's measure for shortening the language of Acts of Parliament provided "that in all acts words importing the masculine gender shall be deemed and taken to include females, unless the contrary as to gender is expressly provided." With that provision full in view, adopting its very provisions in its own clauses, the statute of 1867 enacts that "every man shall . . . be entitled to be registered as a voter . . . and to vote for a member . . . to serve in Parliament . . . who is my own act." In the election for Lyme, Luders observes, . . of full age and not subject to any legal incapacity." Before the Bill was passed into a law, the Hon. G. Denman, Elizabetha filia Thomas Hyatt, Crispina Bowden vidua, Alicia

himself at present a Judge of the Common Pleas, gave notice of a question on the subject to the Government, which he afterwards put thus : "He desired to know why, instead of the words 'male person' in the Act of 1832, the word 'man' had been substituted in the present Bill. In the fifth clause of the Bill he found that after saying that every 'man' should he entitled to be registered, it proceeded to say or a 'male person who has passed any senior middle-class examination. If the Court of Queen's Bench had to decide to morrow on the construction of these clauses, they would be constrained to hold that they conferred the suffrage on female persons as well as males." That question was not answered by the Government or its law officers, and Justice Denman recorded his vote to the effect of his opinion. I hardly know how to approach the casuistry by which a conclusion so inevitable has been evaded. Does "man" import the masculine gender ? Then it must be "deemed and taken to include females." Does it not import the masculine gender ? Then it does not exclude females. Bu the Act does not stop here. It leaves no room for the judgemade law of Westminster Hall-" No loop nor peg to hang a doubt on." It permits no casuistic exception through which forensic ingenuity may carp its sinuous way. It provides that the word "man" shall include females, "unless the contrary as to gender is *expressly* provided." It will not do that the contrary may be *implied*. The clause is not to be explained away by a quirk suggesting that something else may be inferred. The contrary must be expressed, and the expression must be provided-that is, a provision directly pro re nata must be embodied in a clause, to permit sophistry to shirk an order of interpretation plain and "palpable as a mountain."

This were enough, but it is by no means all. Why was the vir of 1832 changed into the homo of 1867 ? Why was the term 'male" specifying gender transformed into the word "man" signifying species, and comprehending humanity at large-the whole race ? Had the transition no meaning ? Was it entirely per incuriam that the most important clause of an Ac of literally incommensurable significancy, was thrown off at a heat, by the great inquest of the nation ? It is a palpable inference, incapable of avoidance, that this marked deviation from the terminology of the leading and principal Act had an object. And what other purpose could it be designed t serve than that for which I contend ? It is in harmony with the whole genius and spirit of the nation. Selden, in hi "Epinomis," states, among the Britous "women had prerogative in deliberative sessions touching either peace, government or martial affairs." We choose a queen to govern us. Scotch and English of us have always disowned the Salique law. Our Augustan age was that of a female, who took an active part in ruling her empire, and brought it to a point of greatness i never before had reached. As a rule, where it has been a custom reason of their property, residence, or descent the owners had a right to exercise, it has been simply on account of want of interest in the function, or by exemption, not by reason of exclusion or disqualification. In the election for Gatton the ' Commons' Journal" records that "Mrs. Copley et omnes inhabi tantes returned." Heywood, in his "County Elections," quotes the following return : "Know ye me, the soid Dame Dorathe Packyngton (tenant in dower of the town of Aylesburye), to have chosen and appointed Thomas Lichfield and George Burden, Esquires, to be my burgesses of my said town Avlesburve, and whatsoever the said Thomas and George shall doe in the present Parliament, I do ratify and approve to be list of Burgenses sive liberi tenentes was put in, and included

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in the case of women challenged by anticipation the maxim of Justice Probyn, led the Puritan Long Parliament to object to the examination of women before the House as witnesses, on the fanatical pretence out of Saint Bernard that "a woman ought not to speak in the congregation." Let this commentary precede and explain the case following. In 1640 occurred an election for the county of Suffolk. Sir Simonds D'Ewes being High Sheriff. The election began on Monday. "Upon Tuesday morning some women came to be sworne for the two Knights, and Mr. Robert Clerke did suddenly take them. . . . There were divers supravisers, but they found no fault with the clerkes in my hearing." Such are extracts from the notes of the proceedings reported by a certain Samuel Dunson, one of the "clerkes." Sir Simonds D'Ewes himself supplies the following :--- "By the ignorance of some of the clerkes at the other table, the oaths of some single women were taken without the knowledge of the said High Sheriffe ; who, as soon as he had notice thereof instantly sent to forbid the same, conceiving it a matter verie unworthy of anie gentleman, and most dishonourable in such an election to make use of their voices, ALTHOUGH THEY MIGHT IN LAW HAVE BEEN ALLOWED; nor did the said High Sheriffe allow of the said votes, upon his numbering the said poll, but with the allowance and consent of the said two knights themselves, discount them and cast them out." The two puritan candidates did not need the female votes, having a good majority without, and standing in awe of Sir E. Coke and Saint Bernard. The carnal reason of worldlings-" the In the case of Olive v. Ingram, the judges held "upon the law," gave the right of voting to "some single women," and the clerkes knowing and obeying "the law," took their oaths and entered them in the poll books; but the godly Sir Simonds, "with consent" of the "unco' gude" puritan candidates, gave their consciences the benefit of a sacrifice that cost them nothing. The significancy of these facts, however, is not to be mistaken. The "single women" knew they had their rights : devout women. they took the oath; the clerks, accustomed to the procedure, took and recorded them; the High Sheriff, fully acquainted with the law and the procedure at elections, makes his report to Parliament that "they in law might have been allowed." If at that time there was no such custom or understanding of the law, is there any likelihood he so would have reported ? Moved by these facts and authorities Bovill, C. J., in the very case now under review, is obliged to concede "it is quite true that a few instances of women being parties to indentures of returns of members of Parliament have been shown, and it is quite possible that there may have been some other instances in early times of women having voted and assisted in legislation. Indeed, such instances are mentioned by Selden" ("Epinomis," vol. 3, p. 10). Yet all his Lordship can oppose to his own admissions is that "the fact of the right, not having been asserted for centuries, raises a very strong presumption against its ever having had legal existence ;" although afterwards he candidly says, "there is no doubt that in many statutes 'man' may properly be held to mean woman." have proved that the very words of the common law and of the statutes creating the franchise apply indifferently to women as to men-that the only presumption contended for against woman's rights is non-user, and that non-user never renders

Toller vidua, and the names also of several men. In another history seems to have tainted his judicial authority, and who list of liberi homines five names of women occur. Markwhen the woman returns to the status of *feme sole*, her right revives. This was in the ninetcenth of Elizabeth. In the twenty-first, in a similar roll of liberi burgenses and liberi homines, sixteen women are included. When the present Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, in arguing as counsel for the appellants, stated "there can be no legal incapacity attributed to women unless it be from non-user, and that cannot take away a public right," Mr. Mellish, for the respondent, admitted, "No doubt, if it were conceded that the right once existed, that which is urged as to non-user would be nuite correct." What reasoning in a circle have we here ! The only reason assigned by either counsel or judge for women being excluded from the right to vote, is that they have never been known to exercise it; and when it is answered no public right can be lost by its not having been asserted, it is rejoined-Yes, but you must first prove the original right ! We do prove it. We show that the customary law, and the statutes on which solely the right is based, are applicable to the sexes indiscriminately. Is any denial given to that? The flank is not even attempted to be turned. The objectors do not answer, do not, because they cannot grapple with that plea. They ride off upon another issue ; they contend that women never have used the right, as the sufficing reason for denying it; and then, when they are met with the fact that the exercise of the right is unnecessary to its establishment, women are answered-Yes, but prove you ever had it! foot of the Common Law," that "a person paying scot and lot" was a description that included women. It has been seen that they were deemed, as "substantial householders," liable to serve the office of overseer. The statute of Elizabeth, observes Justice Ashurst, has no reference to sex. "There are many instances where, in offices of a higher nature, they are held not to be disqualified, as in the case of the office of High Chamberlain, High Constable, and Marshal, and that of a common constable, which is both an office of trust and likewise in a degree udicial. So in the case of the office of sexton." "There is a difference between being exempted and being incapacitated." "An excuse from acting is different from an incapacity of doing so." Whitlock observes, "By the custom of England women are not returned of juries, &c., &c.; by reason of their sex they are exempted from such employments." Although all statutes ran in the name of the "Kynge," Parliament held "none but the malitious and ignorant could be persuaded her Highness could not use such lyke aucthoritie," under that statutory description. In Prynne's collection of parliamentary writs, and in the journals of the House of Commons, are records of not a few returns which, made by female electors, were received. "In the cases of Holt v. Lyle, Coates v. Lyle, and Catharine v. Surrey, it was the opinion of the judges," observes Lee, C. J. (King's Bench), "that a feme sole, if she has a freehold, may vote for members of Parliament." "In Holt v. Lyle, it is determined that a feme sole freeholder may claim a voice for Parliament men." Page, J., to the same effect, "I see no disability n a woman from voting for Parliament men." Probyn, J., 'The best rule seems to be, that they who pay have a right to nominate whom they will pay to. . . . An excuse from public rights obsolete. acting, &c., is different from an incapacity of doing so. The There is nothing further to examine in the rationes decidendi case of Holt v. Lyle, mentioned by my Lord Chief Justice, is of the Court against the right, but the attempt the Judges a very strong case. They who pay ought to choose whom they make to govern and override the Statute of 1867 by the Act of will pay." 1832. They say the Act of 1832 restricts the right to male A still more remarkable case, which seems to have hitherto persons. And, first, that is perfectly untrue. It confines, escaped the research of Westminster Hall, remains to be noticed. indeed, the franchises then for the first time created to male It has to be premised that Sir E. Coke, whose unhappy domestic persons, but it is careful to extend the qualifications theretofore

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created to "persons," rigidly omitting the word "male" in to the possession of civil or public rights. It was to be every instance in which it continues these in force. They expected, that women themselves would not be forward to further contend that by the fifty-ninth section of the Statute of 1867, it is provided that it shall be construed as one with the Act of 1832. Even that statement is untrue. The section declares that "This Act, so far as is consistent with the tenor thereof, shall be construed as one with the enactments for the time being in force relating to the representation of the 'people." Mark-it is only so far as consistent with its own tenor it is to be so construed, which practically explodes the pretended restrictions of its interpretation. But further, the construction is not to be limited by the Act of 1832; the plural term enactments is employed, and extends the construction to all those enfranchising statutes which do not suggest one syllable of qualification as to sex, and neither use the words "man" nor "male," but "people," "freeholder," and "person." But to pour water on this drowned rat, the 56th section of the Act of 1867 provides that "the franchises conferred by this Act shall be in addition to, and not in substitution for any existing franchises." It is true, Byles, J., contends, that "Acts in pari materia are to receive the like construction ;" but he fails to tell us which half of the Act of 1832 we are to take to accomplish this feat-the half which gives the new franchise to male persons, or the other half which continues the old franchises to persons, and leaves "male" out in the cold. The same ingenious jurisconsult has discovered that "the word 'expressly' does not necessarily mean 'expressly excluded by words.'" "The word 'expressly' often means no more than 'plainly,' 'clearly,' and the like." Well, a nod is as good as a wink to a blind horse. Pray, how can an idea be "plainly' or " clearly " expressed, but by expressing it ? Does Parliament here mean that it winks or nods "male," and that such "natural language" will have all the effect of the shake of Lord Burleigh's head in the Critic ? "Express" is used in contradistinction to "implied." The clause directs that expression not "plainly" and "clearly" alone, but by a distinct provision is to be given to any deviation from the governing definition. To give expression to an act is to utter it in words. The very object of Romilly's Act is to ordain that wherever the word "man" is used, it shall mean "woman;" and in the very teeth of the one sole object of that Act, it pleases the Court of Common Pleas to insist on ruling that "man" shall not import "woman" - and to hold that "clearly" and "plainly" it does not, although the very sum of the interpreting Act is authoritatively to statute that it shall. I have heard of a coach and six being driven through an Act of Parliament, but have never before seen that feat of charioteering so thoroughly performed as here.

The authority of the Scotch Courts has been taken as a prop for this judgment, but with little reason. Before the Act of 1832 the Scottish franchises had no relation to the English. Acts and rights in the sister kingdom become obsolete and extinguished a non utendo; and there was in the sister kingdom no room for the contention that the Common Law right and the statutes originally imparted the franchise to the lieges irrespective of sex. In fact, before the Reform Act, it could not be said that there was an elective franchise for the people of Scotland of either the one sex or the other.

It has been seen that a distinction had been carefully drawn by the courts of law and the writers of legal institutes between exemption from the discharge of public official duties, and exclusion from the privileges attached to legal rights. By tacit consent or custom, and those usages which naturally prevail in the habits of civilised society, the deference which manhood and good manners extend to the fair sex, naturally

exercise functions, offering no social advantages or pecuniary profits, which would bring them into conflict with the strife of faction, or the struggles of party. Common sense suggests that men would not press wives or spinsters into the service of irksome or unseemly duties, and that their own sex would extend a like discretionary forbearance. Sheriff, overseer constable, sexton, marshal, chamberlain-these were offices which it was unlikely females of position would have any ambition to fill or the community to force upon them; and, therefore, it is not surprising that the records are almost silent on the subject. Yet when of their own motion or by their own desire they chose to step beyond the ordinary offices of their sex, and to discharge duties attaching to certain rights. no objection prevailed to exclude them from acting as returning officer at parliamentary elections, as the constable of their hundred, or the high sheriff of their county. It became their privilege also to do that by deputy or by proxy which the other sex were compelled to discharge in person; and yet the courtesy which good manners bestowed and the refinement of the sex accepted as a privilege and exemption, it is now attempted to torture into exclusion and disfranchisement.

It has especially to be noted that the sole original use of parliaments was to levy money for the Crown. Their germ is to be found in a summons by the sovereign to the wealthiest freeholders and burgesses to be examined as to their means. and to be admonished to pay. To this all contributed without any distinction of sex. The feme sole had to disburse her quota-the famina vestita viro, by her husband for her. Hence it is, that if a female freeholder marries, her husband is entitled to be registered for her freehold, as "in right of his wife." On her death it is lost, or if the demise be to her own separate use. the husband cannot qualify. But who ever heard in law of an absurdity so glaring as that of one person deriving a right from another who has no right ? How could a wife impart to her husband the qualification she herself does not possess? So entirely is the franchise vested in the wife, that whenever she dies, the husband's title ipso facto ceases. Could he ever have derived from her what she herself never had ? Mark-it is not because he has a qualification that he votes. The property is his wife's. If he dies, no process of law or of conveyance i required to re-transfer the qualifying tenement to her. It always was hers. It continues hers notwithstanding her coverture. It is the bare right to vote of which the law constitutes him her proxy-her mandatory-her attorney-to borrow the term used by Dames Packington and Copley. Can a trustee have powers ultra vires of the trust ? Can a proxy do that which his author cannot ? What is an attorney but one executing a power which another has? Who can impart to others a jus devolutum, who themselves have no jus ?

Groping one's devious way out of the blinking twilight of the law into the "liberal air" and broad daylight of plain English, and the common sense of the lay understanding, may we appeal from the interpreters of Acts to the makers of them? If Parliament was satisfied that women never had the franchise, why, for the first time in the whole range of the statutes at large, and for the last, did it introduce the word "male?" Can it point to a single form of legal incapacity as the result of desuetude alone ? Go through the whole list, and everyone will be found the creatures of express law, of specific statute, or of express resolution. Not one syllable of any of these has the slightest reference to gender. Where does the Constitution erect a moral or intel'ectual test of fitness for the office of elector ? It confers the franchise not on fitness but on right, prevailed in reference to the exercise of duties attached as the co-relative of duty and burden. Provision is made in the

ew Act for those who cannot so much as read the names of than merely to attract, or to "suckle fools and chronicle small the candidates. A felon who has finished his term of servitude beer"-can we wonder that so many merely taught that may make his mark, and have his representative; but George their destiny is to live to please, should at last fall to the Eliot, Charlotte Bronté, Mrs. Oliphant, Miss Edgeworth, Miss depth of pleasing to live! Call them to a mission more Austen, George Sand, or Dé Stael, have no political functions. worthy of their origin, more deserving of their destiny. Arm secause Westminster Hall has declared they are incapable of them with that self-protecting culture that will enable them discharging them. to pursue a useful calling. Fit them-our girls, as we do our Mr. Gladstone has warned his fellow-countrymen that boys-to enter, if need be, upon the great business of life. Fill America is "passing us at a canter." Of all great powers the empty mind, supply the aimless soul with objects, energise ours is the weakest in material resources. More than half the the supine character, by placing before it rational hopes as the result of diligent exertion. Cy gist l'oisiveté. Idleness is the food we consume we have to import, and yearly our state of dependence becomes greater. It is on the breed of our men. mother of the vices, and frivolous pursuits are idleness. Think m our people, on the force of character, the energy of cerebral of it! Think of what we might be and do by calling in to tion, the sum of mental power, we must rely solely to sustain the responsible work of civil society a whole half of all the our position. Our governing class are palpably becoming human beings whose minds we stunt and whose faculties we weaker and less capable to maintain their status. There is cramp until, finding no intelligent and worthy outlet for the cravings of their spiritual energies, they waste the talents among them more pressure, perhaps, and excitement, but less given them to return with usury, and pervert gifts which, faculty of sustained work. Our working men shorten the hours of labour, and deteriorate in productive efficiency. The wisely improved, might double the wealth of society, and immeasurably raise the public virtue of the nation. Replace nilitary standard has to be lowered, and a larger percentage of self-admiration by self-respect. Make our women too proud recruits are yearly rejected. The question of the elevation of our women to higher duties becomes a great political and to be vain-proud of a self-achieved social status; of great duties honestly discharged ; of lofty purposes successfully fuleconomical as well as social and philosophical issue. Civilised up to a point of dangerous over-sophistication, tempted to ease filled ; of moral momentum, solidity of character, and personal independence. "Marriage is chargeable," and is day by day and luxury by an artificial social system that offers a thousand more avoided. It is a lottery into which too many are forced sources of self-indulgence, it is not to be disguised that this but for "necessity of present life," and to which "poverty and not the will consents." What if, in place of adding a domestic nation has reached a most critical point in its history-and that without the unanticipated development of fresh industrial and commercial resources, our future prospect is that rather of burden, it contributed a gainful income-if daughters earned their dower, and propped the falling house they now help to decadence than of progress. If we would not "fall from the mettle of our pasture," it must be by making our women truly undermine? But enough. It must be an exceptional home our helpmates. Call them to offices that demand the exertion to which these suggestions can prove a novelty; and I will only add that in our domestic ecomony lies the future fate of this of higher intellectual powers, and they will impart more efficient endeavour to the rising generation. A masculine understandingnation.

s that to be expected from mothers whose faculties lie fallow, whose moral intrepidity is systematically repressed, and whose aspirations after independence and self-exertion are obstructed and discouraged ?

"The sons of Cornelia were worthy of their mother." It is shocking to anyone who looks to the law of God as the rule and guide of all things, to see the calmness, if not com-Elizabeth, Mary of Sco's, Lady Jane Grey, were eminent placency, with which institutions or circumstances are accepted Grecians and Latinists, accomplishments common to their order. for men which are denounced as fatal to women. Do men need Our dames were the physicians of their time and districts. An religion less than women? Are their relations with their exaggerated sense of sex wastes accomplishments on the pursuit of mere feminine attractiveness, which might minister to and Creator less solemn? their spiritual and moral nature less dependent on Divine aid and guidance? their duties less impromote the highest interests of society. We do not want portant? their life less momentous? their death the hour for The soul to spurn its tenement of clay. a less final award? Or, on the other hand, are they more but only that the tenement shall be subordinated to its tenant ; religious by nature, and therefore less in need of training? and, if we be wise, we shall call into action resources of the Have they fewer temptations to meet? Is the atmosphere in which they live more conducive to purity of thought and value of which we have at present but a faint conception. States are great just in the ratio in which the female character righteousness of action? I do not believe that any thoughtful person will venture to answer one of these questions in the is impressed upon the genius of society, and the public life of affirmative. People think they are uttering an elevating truth nations. when they say that women ought to be more pious, more pure, Of one other thought in this regard I must deliver myself; yet I know not how to speak or to keep silence. Society conmore unselfish than men. But see what is the converse! That men may with little or no blame be not very pious, not very demns our women to bear alone the skaith and scorn of its pure, rather selfish in their lives. And if that is laid down by vices. Hundreds of thousands of them, abandoned and worldimplication in the writings of the moralists, what depths of forsaken, once innocent, trustful, guileless, "for necessity of present life," live but to drag others down to the dust to which impiety, impurity, and selfishness may we not see reached by those who have no higher rule than the opinion of their own themselves have been cast by the human frailties which they tempt, and for which they suffer. This intensification of the idea set? Do we need to go far to learn that such are the results of mere sex-this social persistence in keeping before the female of this double standard of right and wrong? Moreover, it is mind the one idea that they are women rather than immortal not possible to separate the two halves of the community in creatures with reasonable souls, and something else and somethis fashion. Whatever hardens and degrades men, also dething more than a mere gender of the genus homo-this hiding grades, in varying degrees, the women of their circle.-Miss

out of view that they have higher destinies and loftier duties | Tod, in the Irish Daily News.

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#### THE DOUBLE STANDARD.

#### VICTORIA UNIVERSITY.

We believe that the draft charter of the proposed Victoria University has, in accordance with the request of the Lords of the Privy Council, been submitted to that body. We understand that according to this draft the University would have the power of conferring upon all persons, whether male or female, who have pursued a regular course of study in any of its colleges and passed its examinations, all degrees which can be conferred by any other university of the kingdom, with the exception of medical degrees; the Privy Council having declined to confer power as to these at a time when legislation on the whole subject of medical degrees and the licensing power for the practice of medicine has been proposed to Parliament and still remains unsettled. The charter, we are informed, contains provisions for establishing a Convocation of graduates of the University with appropriate rights and functions.

#### THE HOLLOWAY COLLEGE.

About three years ago attention was drawn to a proposal by Mr. Holloway, of Tittenhurst, Sunninghill, Berks, to expend a considerable amount of money in the erection of a college for the higher education of women. Since that time Mr. Holloway has purchased about 95 acres of land at Egham, near Virginia Water, known as the Mount Lee Estate, and has vested the same in trustees. Before deciding upon the form of the building, Mr. Holloway and his architect, Mr. W. H. Crossland, visited the principal collegiate institutions in Europe, and during the past year the plans and specifications have been completed, and a contract has been signed for the building of the college within four years, the contract price being upwards of  $\pounds 250,000$ , exclusive of fittings and furniture. The style is to be that known as French renaissance, and will be carried out in Portland stone and red brick. The proposed constitution of the college, to be embodied in a trust deed, will, among other things, set forth that the college is founded by the desire and counsel of the founder's wife, now deceased, and its object is to afford the best education suitable for women of the middle and upper middle classes, and it is intended to be mainly self-supporting. It is the founder's desire that power by Act of Parliament, Royal Charter, or otherwise, should be eventually sought to enable the college to confer degrees after due exami-nation; and that until such power is obtained the students shall qualify themselves to pass the women's examination of the London University, or any examination of a similar or higher character which may be open to women at any of the existing universities of the United Kingdom. It is intended to provide twenty founders' scholarships of the value of £40 each, tenable for not more than two years in the college. No professor will be required to submit to any test concerning his or her religious opinion, and denominational theology is not to be taught.

#### CHELSEA HOSPITAL FOR WOMEN, KING'S ROAD. CHELSEA. S.W.

At the recent meeting of the governors of the Chelsea Hospital for Women, the Earl of St. Germans (the president) received at the hands of the Rev. Canon Fleming (one of the Board of Management) an anonymous donation of £1,000 towards providing furniture for the new hospital. In the spirit of true charity it is given on the express condition "That no name is mentioned," it being simply acknowledged as from "A Friend per Rev. Canon Fleming." We know not which to admire the more-the munificence of the gift, or the manner of bestowment.

#### RESULTS OF THE LONDON UNIVERSITY EXAMINATIONS.

MATRICULATION EXAMINATIONS.

The number of candidates who entered were 856 men. 68 women. Of these there passed-

	Men.	Women.	Total.
Honours	26	29	155
Class I 8		22	341
Class II			
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4	75	51	526
Five out of the twenty l	nighest are	women-	in the second second
The 3rd from Ch	eltenham.		
The 9th from Be	dford Colle	ge.	
The 10th from N			School.
The 20th from Cl			
		Honours.	Class I.
North London Collegiat		9	5
Cheltenham Ladies' Coll		5	4
Bedford College		3+2 partly	
Notting Hill High School	ol	2	1 partly
Queen's College		1 partly	1
University College		1	1
North-east London Scho	ol	1	1
Heath Brow School, Ha		ī	1
Belfast Ladies' College		- /	
Bath High School			3
Mount School, York			1
Priva'e Study			4

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#### B.A. AND B.Sc. EXAMINATIONS.

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The lists have also been published of the candidates who have passed the first Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Science Examinations in the London University ; fifteen of these are ladies. Some of these matriculated last January, and others passed the Special Examination for June, 1878, which was declared equivalent to matriculation.

FIRST B.A. EXAMINATION .- PASS LIST .- FIRST DIVISION .-Marianne Andrews, private study; Clara Elizabeth Collett, North London Collegiate School; Edith Elizabeth Maria Creak, Newnham Hall, Cambridge, and private study; Mary Clara Dawes, Newton House, Surbiton; Elizabeth Hills, private study; Marion Isabel Macleane, Ladies' College, Cheltenham.

SECOND DIVISION.—Emily Ann Heppel, Bedford College, London; Katharine Holland, Ladies' College, Cheltenham; Margaret Jane Nimmo, University College.

FIRST B.Sc. EXAMINATION .- PASS LIST .- FIRST DIVISION .-Ellen Martha Watson, private study.

SECOND DIVISION.—Catherine Alice Raisin, private study.

PRELIMINARY SCIENTIFIC (M.B.) EXAMINATION .- PASS LIST.-FIRST DIVISION .- Frances Helen Prideaux, London School of Medicine for Women; Mary Ann Dacomb Sharlieb, University College and private study; Edith Shove, London School of Medicine for Women; Emily Tomlinson (who has also passed in the mathematics of the first B.Sc. Examination and is now admissible to the second B.Sc. Examination), Girton College, Cambridge.

A committee of the Croatian Diet has resolved that women can be elected members of the Common Councils .- Manchester Examiner and Times, August 23rd, 1879.

# MANCHESTER NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE. SUBSCRIPTIONS RECEIVED DURING AUGUST, 1879.

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"A Friend "						 		
Miss Jessie Boucherett						 		
Mrs. and Mrs. Joseph Croo						 		
Miss E. J. Todd						 		
Miss E. J. Tout						 		
Mrs. M'Culloch (Lecture ]	Fund	1				 		
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Mrs. M. Kinnel ,, Mr. A. Hawarth				1000		 		
Dr. Muirhead						 		
Miss Shatwell						 		
Miss Shatwen						 		
Miss Whitelegge						 		
Mr. S. Melling (Wigau)						 		
Miss G. Mackenzie						 		
Mr. J. Crowther (Kansas)								
Mr. Charles Rikerman						 		
Mrs. Jabez Sharman						 		
Mrs. S. Butterworth						 		
Miss Ann Schofield	•••					 		
		KE	NDAI	4.				
Mr. J. Whitwell-Wilson						 •••		
Mr. Barwise						 ••••		
Mr. John Thompson					•••	 	•••	
Mr. J. Robinson						 		
Mr. Thos. Heap						 		
Mr. W. H. Longmard						 		
Mr. John Monkhouse						 		
Mr. T. Simpson				'		 		
Mr. W. Heaton						 		
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Mrs. Henderson						 		
Mrs. Ayrton						 		
Mrs. J. H. Threlfall						 		
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Mrs. Holt						 		
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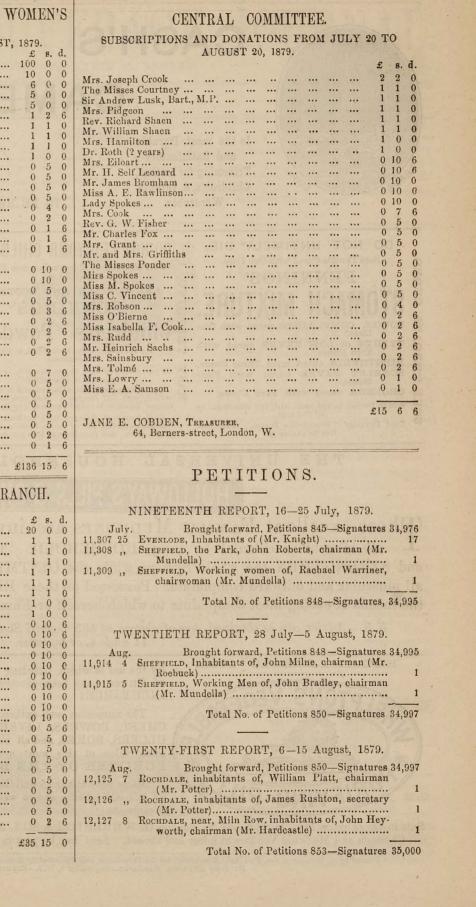
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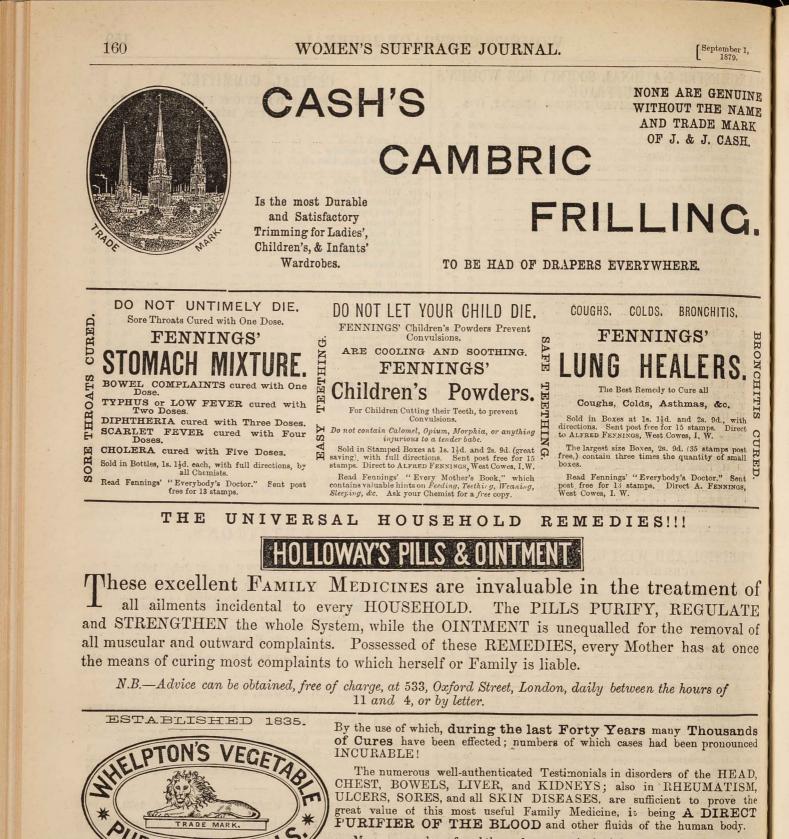
ALAN GREENWELL, TREASUREB, 3, Buckingham Vale, Clifton.

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