

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

✓ CENTRAL COMMITTEE

OF THE

National Society for Women's Suffrage,

*Presented to the General Meeting, July 15th, 1880.*

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IN once more laying before you their Annual Report, your Committee believe that the movement for Women's Suffrage has entered on a new stage with the election of the present Parliament. The majority of the members of the new House of Commons have been returned on the understanding that, during its existence, a large measure of Parliamentary Reform will be brought forward. Our measure therefore, no longer stands as an isolated proposal, but will form part of the general question of Parliamentary Reform ; and it may fairly be expected to receive a greater degree of support, both on the part of those Liberals who, having pledged themselves to extend household suffrage to the counties, will find it anomalous to continue to withhold the franchise from one sixth of the householders in boroughs and counties ; and from those Conservatives who, it is presumed, have in some degree refrained from supporting a measure

giving representation to one sixth of the holders of property, from a disinclination to re-open, too early, the question of reform. The efforts of this Society should now be directed to obtain the removal of the electoral disabilities of women as a part of the next Reform Bill ; and parliamentary action, meetings, petitions, etc. should have special reference to this object.

Your Committee have observed with pleasure that Mr. Blennerhassett, M.P. has intimated his intention to move in committee on the Irish borough franchise Bill, an amendment, extending the franchise in Irish boroughs to women householders. Sir Edward Watkin, M.P., has given notice of an amendment on the second reading of the Bill, which also raises the question on Women's Suffrage ; but the forms of the House make it improbable that a division will take place on his amendment. The real struggle may be expected to be on Mr. Blennerhassett's amendment, which will, if the government persevere with the Bill, lead to a debate and a division. Your Committee therefore earnestly exhort their friends to support Mr. Blennerhassett's action by every means in their power.

During the recent general election, candidates were questioned and placards and hand bills, inviting public attention to the claims of women to the suffrage, were issued. The response was in many cases very cordial, and your Committee have the satisfaction of knowing that very many warm friends of the cause have been returned to the present House of Commons.

Your Committee have the pleasure to record the steady increase of active support which their work is receiving from women. This increasing interest had been already shown in the early spring by the large and influential gathering of upwards of 6000 women, presided over by Mrs. McLaren in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester ; and your Committee, being desirous that the new Parliament should have this public opinion among women brought to their notice, organized, at the beginning of this session, a meeting of women, in St. James' Hall, at which Viscountess Harberton presided. The attendance was so great that it was necessary, as in Manchester, to hold an overflow meeting. The following Memorial was adopted :—

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

“The Memorial of Women in public meeting assembled, on May 6th, 1880, in St. James' Hall, London.”

“Sheweth,—That in the opinion of this meeting, the franchise attached by law to the occupation or ownership of property, liable to imperial and local taxation, should be exercised by women in the election of members of Parliament.”

“Wherefore your Memorialists pray, that in any measure which may be introduced by her Majesty's Ministers for the extension of the household suffrage in the counties, provision may be made for the exercise of the parliamentary franchise by all duly qualified women in boroughs and counties.”

“And your Memorialists will ever pray.”

This National Demonstration of Women was preceded by a large number of meetings and lectures, namely : at the Anchor Coffee Palace, Hammersmith ; Angell Institution, Brixton ; Artizans' Institute, Upper St. Martin's Lane ; Assembly Rooms, Wandsworth ; Beaumont Hall, Mile End Road ; Clapham Hall ; Collingwood Hall, Southwark ; Drill Hall, Bermondsey ; Evangelical Hall, Homerton ; Gospel Mission Hall, Homerton ; Gunter Hall, Fulham ; Literary Institute, St. Thomas' Square, Hackney ; Magdala Coffee Palace, Notting Hill ; Mall Hall, Notting Hill ; Memorial Hall, City ; Mission Hall, Hackney ; Myddleton Hall, Islington ; New Cross Hall ; Portcullis Hall, Westminster ; St. Thomas' Schools, Charterhouse ; The Walmer Coffee Tavern, Seymour Street ; Webster Hall, Southwark. Your Committee take this opportunity of recording their grateful sense of the active co-operation of the Manchester and other Societies in relation to these meetings.

The interest felt by the working population, men and women, was so plainly shown at these meetings, that your Committee authorised Miss Craigen to convene a series of meetings, subsequent to the National Demonstration, in Clerkenwell, Limehouse, Poplar, Bow, Bromley, Holborn, Mile End, Deptford, and New Cross. Sixteen such meetings were held, some of which, in the open air, have been attended by upwards of 2000 persons, and they have largely added to the popularity of the movement,

Lectures and meetings have also been held at Bedford; Chiselhurst; Cork; Kettering; Kings Lynn; Norwich (where in St. Andrew's Hall 3000 persons assembled,) and at Wisbeach; and in London, at the Bryanston Club; Cobden Club and Institute; The Dublin Castle; Finsbury; Goswell Road; London Patriotic Club; Progressive Club; Soho; South London Protestant Church; Tower Hamlets Liberal Club; Tower Hamlets Radical Club, and at the rooms of the Women's Provident League.

Your Committee beg to offer their earnest thanks to those ladies who have given the substantial help of lending their drawing-rooms during the past season for the purposes of discussion. These thanks are due to Mrs. Leach, the Misses Cobden, Miss Lucy Wilson, Mrs. Evans Bell, Mrs. Pennack, Mrs. Pryce, Mrs. Eiloart, Mrs. Luke, Mrs. Roberts, Mrs. Ladell, Mrs. Wade, Mrs. Wates, the Misses Davenport Hill, Miss Williams, Miss Tod, Mrs. Leon, Mrs. Surr, Mrs. Septimus Buss, the Misses Kent, Mrs. Willis, Mrs. Ashton Dilke, Mrs. James Smith, Mrs. Lucas, the Misses Lupton and Scott, and Miss Lucy Harrison. Your Committee earnestly desire to call your attention to this valuable method of spreading information upon the question among those who are unable to attend public meetings, and they ask for extended co-operation in this method of work. The value of these meetings is very great, whether they are held in large or small rooms.

As there was no Bill before Parliament, your Committee considered that it would be unnecessary to direct any special efforts toward the circulation of petitions. During February and March the total number of petitions presented to the last Parliament was 36. Of these 33 were from meetings and were signed officially. During the present session 175 have been presented, of which 46 were signed officially. Of these 38 were obtained by friends of your Committee.

It is with deep regret that your Committee have to record the loss by death, since the last Report was issued, of Mr. W. H. Ashurst, late Solicitor of the Post Office, one of the earliest and most efficient members of this Committee, to whose labours they are greatly

indebted; and of Mr. Sergeant Cox, Mr. Stacpoole, M.P. and Mr. W. T. Thornton, C.B., early and tried friends of the movement.

Your Committee have received the resignation by Mrs. Whittle of the office of Hon. Secretary, to which she was appointed in 1878. They desire on this occasion to express their sense of the great obligation under which the Society lies to her for the services she has kindly rendered.

With a view to carrying on a wider system of meetings and lectures, your Committee have appointed Miss H. P. Downing as their organising agent, and they feel confident that her ability and energy will be the means of greatly extending the movement.

Your Committee congratulate their friends on the increased strength and activity manifested in various parts of the country on behalf of the enfranchisement of women. They take this opportunity of thanking the friends of the Society for liberal aid to the funds in the past, and of appealing for their increased efforts in the future. Confident of the continued help of all those who have hitherto aided in the cause, and of a large accession of new friends in the coming year, your Committee look forward with hope to another term of energetic and successful work.

RECEIPTS and PAYMENTS from May 1st, 1879, to June 30th, 1880.

RECEIPTS.		EXPENDITURE.	
£	s. d.	£	s. d.
To Balance in Bank at last Account	19 17 1	By Salaries	210 7 5
" Cash in Secretary's hands	4 18 3½	" Rent	80 15 0
" Donations	231 7 0	" Office Expenses	22 1 7¾
" Subscriptions	467 4 11	" Newspapers	68 14 7
" Sale of Tickets and Publications	67 17 10½	" Postage and Carriage	78 13 3
" Shilling League	1 2 6	" Office Books and Stationery	7 4 0½
" Special Funds, Guarantee	151 4 0	" Meetings, Demonstration...	7 11 6
" " " Demonstration	161 4 0	" " General	377 18 6½
" Sale of Stock (£300)	288 0 6	" Advertisements	185 8 7
" Interest on Capital (£400)	5 17 6	" Printing	1 7 0
" Balance of Funds from Local Committees	6 0 7	" Grant to Local Committee	93 18 0
" Sub-letting Office	1 10 0	" Incidentals, Bank Commission	3 0 0
		" Auditing accounts, 2 years	£2 0 2
		" Parliamentary Agents	6 4 2
		" Balance in Bank	120 10 0
		" Cash in Secretary's hands	£76 5 5
			66 12 0½
			142 17 5¼
			£1,406 11 2

Examined and found correct,

CHARLES DUNBAR,

July 12th, 1880.

Auditor.

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS.

FINANCIAL YEAR,  
MAY 1st, 1879—JUNE 30th, 1880.

		Donations.		Annual Subscriptions.	
		£	s. d.	£	s. d.
Abbott, Dr. E. A.	...	...	...	0	10 6
Agate, Mr. John	...	...	...	0	2 0
Albert, The Misses	(1879-1880)	...	...	0	10 0
Albright, Mr. J.	...	...	...	0	10 0
Allen, Mr. J. B.	...	...	...	0	10 0
Allen, Miss	(Demonstration Fund)	0	2 6	...	...
Anderson, Miss	(Demonstration Fund)	0	5 0	...	0 10 0
Anderson, Mrs. Garrett	(Demonstration Fund)	2	0 0	...	1 11 0
Anderson, Mr. S.	...	...	...	...	...
Anderson, Mrs. Hall	(Demonstration Fund)	0	10 0	...	2 2 0
Andrewes, Miss Turner	...	...	...	...	0 10 0
Andrews, Miss M.	...	...	...	...	0 2 6
Andrews, Miss Ward	...	...	...	...	0 2 6
Angus, Mrs.	(Demonstration Fund)	0	2 6	...	...
Anonymous	(Demonstration Fund)	0	5 0	...	...
Anthony, Miss	...	...	...	...	0 5 0
Apps, Miss	(1879-1880)	...	...	...	0 10 0
Armstrong, Mr. H. B.	(1879-1880)	...	...	...	2 0 0
Arthur, Miss	...	...	...	...	3 0 0
Askey, Mrs.	(1879-1880)	...	...	...	2 0 0
Astley, Miss	...	...	...	...	1 0 0
Atkinson, Mrs. B.	...	...	...	...	0 5 0
Attendants at the Mall Hall and Gunter Grove Meetings		0	9 0	...	...
Babb, Miss C. E.	(Demonstration Fund)	2	0 0	...	2 2 0
Babb, Mr. John Staines	(1879-1880)	...	...	...	2 2 0
Bailey, Mrs. Walter	...	...	...	...	0 10 0
Baines, Miss Cowper	...	...	...	...	0 2 6
Baines, Mr. F. E.	...	...	...	...	0 5 0
Baines, Miss Rose	...	...	...	...	0 5 0
Balgarnie, Miss F.	(Demonstration Fund)	0	2 6	...	...
Barrett, Mrs. L.	(Demonstration Fund)	0	2 6	...	0 5 0
Barretto, Mrs.	(1879-1880)	...	...	...	0 4 0
Barry, Mrs.	...	...	...	...	0 2 6
Bassett, Mr. W. J.	...	...	...	...	0 2 6
Bateson, Mrs.	...	...	...	...	1 1 0
Bayley, Mrs. ...	...	1	1 0	...	1 1 0
Bayley, Mr. Edric	(1879-1880)	...	...	...	2 2 0
Beanham, Mrs	...	...	...	...	0 1 0
Beddard, Mrs.	...	...	...	...	1 0 0
Beddoe, Mrs.	(Demonstration Fund)	1	1 0	...	...
Beevor, Miss ...	...	...	...	...	0 5 0
Bell, Mr. A. G.	...	...	...	...	0 2 0
Belloc, Madame	...	...	...	...	0 2 6
Benham, Mrs. Edward	...	...	...	...	0 5 0
Benham, Mr. J.	(Demonstration Fund)	1	0 0	...	0 10 6
Bennett, Mr. A. W.	...	1	1 0	...	1 1 0

	Donations.			Annual Subscriptions.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Bevington, Mrs. A. ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bewicke, Miss ... (Demonstration Fund) ...	0	5	0	...	...	...
Bidmead, Mrs. Fanny ... (Demonstration Fund) ...	0	10	0	...	...	...
Bigg, Mrs. ... (Demonstration Fund) ...	0	10	6	...	...	...
Bigg, Miss ... (Demonstration Fund) ...	0	10	6	...	...	...
Biggs, Miss C. A. ... (Demonstration Fund) ...	1	1	0	...	...	...
Biggs, Mr. J. ... ..	...	...	...	1	1	0
Bird, Miss ... (1879-1880) ...	...	...	...	0	10	0
Bird, Mrs. ... ..	...	...	...	0	2	0
Birmingham Committee (Guarantee Fund) ...	5	0	0	...	...	...
Blair, Mrs. ... (Demonstration Fund) ...	0	2	6	...	...	...
Blair, Mr. W. T. ... ..	...	...	...	0	10	0
Boddy, Miss C. ... (Demonstration Fund) ...	0	5	0	...	...	...
Boecker, Miss ... ..	...	...	...	1	0	0
Bolton, Mrs. ... (Demonstration Fund) ...	1	0	0	...	...	...
" ... (1879-1880) ...	...	...	...	1	0	0
Bonus, Mrs. ... ..	3	0	0	...	...	...
Boucherett, Miss J. ... ..	5	0	0	...	...	...
" (Guarantee Fund) ...	25	0	0	...	...	...
Boutwood, Mrs. John ... (Demonstration Fund) ...	0	2	0	...	...	...
Bramley, Mr. W. T. ... ..	...	...	...	0	5	0
Branch, Mrs. ... ..	...	...	...	2	2	0
Brandreth, Mr. H. S. ... (Demonstration Fund) ...	0	2	6	...	...	...
Bromham, Mr. James, Jun. ... ..	...	...	...	0	10	0
Brooke, Mr. T. T. ... ..	...	...	...	0	10	6
Brooks, Mrs. Maurice ... (Demonstration Fund) ...	1	0	0	...	...	...
Brooksbank, Mrs. ... ..	0	5	0	...	...	...
Brown, Miss Helen ... ..	...	...	...	0	2	6
Browne, Mrs. S. W. ... ..	...	...	...	3	0	0
Bruce, Mrs. ... ..	...	...	...	1	1	0
Buchan, Lady ... (Demonstration Fund) ...	3	0	0	...	...	...
Burmingham, Miss ... ..	...	...	...	0	5	0
Burn, The Rev. Robert ... ..	...	...	...	0	2	6
Buss, Miss ... (Demonstration Fund) ...	2	2	0	...	...	...
" (1879-1880) ... ..	...	...	...	2	2	0
Buss, Mr. and Mrs. Septimus ... ..	0	10	0	...	...	...
Butler, Miss ... ..	...	...	...	0	10	0
Butterworth, Mrs. ... ..	...	...	...	0	2	6
Butterworth, Mr. A. ... ..	...	...	...	0	3	0
Cable, Mrs. ... (1879-1880) ...	...	...	...	0	2	0
Cadwallader, Miss ... ..	...	...	...	0	10	6
Caird, Mrs. J. ... ..	2	0	0	...	...	...
Canning, Hon. E. R. ... ..	...	...	...	1	0	0
Carpenter, Mrs. R. L. ... ..	...	...	...	1	0	0
Carter, Miss Bonham ... ..	...	...	...	1	0	0
Carter, Miss Mary ... (Demonstration Fund) ...	0	4	0	...	...	...
Chamberlain, Mrs. V. Ind. ... ..	...	...	...	0	10	6
Chamberlain, Mr. G. ... ..	...	...	...	0	2	6
Charlesworth, Mr. and Mrs. ... ..	...	...	...	0	5	0
Chesson, Mr. and Mrs. F. W. ... ..	...	...	...	1	0	0
Clark, Mrs. (N. Elswick) ... ..	...	...	...	0	1	0
Clark, Miss (Norwich) ... ..	...	...	...	0	10	0
Clarke, Mrs. (Headington) ... ..	...	...	...	0	5	0
Clarke, Miss Isabella ... ..	...	...	...	0	5	0
Clarke, Mrs. (St. Peter's Park) (Demonstration Fund) ...	0	5	0	...	...	...
Clarke, Mrs. Pickering ... ..	...	...	...	0	5	0
Clarke, Miss M. E. ... ..	...	...	...	0	5	0

	Donations.			Annual Subscriptions.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Clegg, Mrs. ... (Demonstration Fund) ...	0	10	0	...	...	...
Cobb, Mrs. H. P. ... ..	...	...	...	0	10	0
Cobbe, Miss F. P. ... (1879-1880) ...	...	...	...	2	0	0
Cobden, Miss Jane E. ... (Guarantee Fund) ...	1	1	0	...	...	...
" (1879-1880) ... ..	...	...	...	2	2	0
Colbeck, Mr. Charles ... ..	...	...	...	1	0	0
Colby, Miss Maria ... ..	...	...	...	0	5	0
Condon, Mrs. ... ..	...	...	...	0	5	0
Conway, Mr. and Mrs. Moncure ... ..	...	...	...	1	2	0
Cook, Miss ... ..	...	...	...	0	2	6
Cook, Mrs. ... ..	0	7	6	...	...	...
Cooper, Miss Aspland ... ..	...	...	...	0	10	6
Cooper, Miss K. E. ... ..	...	...	...	0	2	0
Cooper, Mrs. R. A. ... ..	...	...	...	0	10	0
Corfield, Miss ... (Demonstration Fund) ...	0	2	0	...	...	...
Cornish, Miss ... ..	0	4	0	...	...	...
Coulton, Mr. James ... (1879-1880) ...	...	...	...	0	10	0
Courtauld, Miss ... ..	...	...	...	2	2	0
Courtauld, Mr. S. ... ..	...	...	...	1	0	0
Courtenay, Miss ... ..	5	0	0	...	...	...
" (Demonstration Fund) ...	10	0	0	...	...	...
" ... ..	5	0	0	...	...	...
Courtney, Misses ... ..	...	...	...	1	1	0
Courtney, Mr. L., M.P. ... ..	5	0	0	...	...	...
Cowell, Mrs. ... ..	...	...	...	1	0	0
Cox, the late Mr. Serjeant ... ..	...	...	...	1	0	0
Craig, Miss Lillias ... ..	...	...	...	1	1	0
Crewell, Mrs. ... (Demonstration Fund) ...	0	2	6	...	...	...
Crook, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph ... ..	...	...	...	2	2	0
Culley, Mr. ... ..	...	...	...	0	1	0
Cumming, Miss ... (Demonstration Fund) ...	0	5	0	...	...	...
Curtis, Mrs. ... ..	...	...	...	0	10	0
Dakin, Mrs. ... ..	...	...	...	2	2	0
Dalton, Mr. H. R. S. ... (1879-1880) ...	...	...	...	0	5	0
Davies, The Rev. Llewelyn ... ..	...	...	...	0	1	0
Dawson, Miss Ellen ... ..	...	...	...	0	5	0
Dawson, Mr. N. T. ... ..	...	...	...	0	5	0
Deacon, Mr. R. ... ..	...	...	...	0	5	0
Debenham, Mr. F. ... ..	...	...	...	0	2	6
De la Cour Carroll, Rev. ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...
De Morgan, Mrs. ... (Demonstration Fund) ...	1	0	0	...	...	...
Deptford Working Men (thro' Miss Craigen) ...	0	4	0	...	...	...
Dick, Miss ... (Demonstration Fund) ...	0	10	0	...	...	...
Dilke, Sir Charles, Bt., M.P. ... ..	...	...	...	1	1	0
Dixon, Mr. George ... ..	...	...	...	1	0	0
Donkin, Miss ... (1879-1880) ...	...	...	...	0	10	0
Donkin, Mrs. ... (Demonstration Fund) ...	1	0	0	...	...	...
Dowsett, Mr. ... ..	...	...	...	0	10	0
Drummond, Hon. Mrs. M. ... (Guarantee Fund) ...	0	10	6	...	...	...
Drysdale, Lady ... ..	...	...	...	1	0	0
Duckworth, Canon ... ..	...	...	...	0	2	6
Dunbar, Miss ... (Demonstration Fund) ...	2	0	0	...	...	...
" (1879-1880) ... ..	...	...	...	0	10	0
Du Sautoy, Mrs. ... (1879-1880) ...	...	...	...	0	10	0
Earle, Mrs. C. W. ... (Demonstration Fund) ...	1	0	0	...	...	...
Edgell, The Rev. E. Wyatt ... (1879-1880) ...	...	...	...	2	0	0
Eiloart, Mrs. ... (Demonstration Fund) ...	1	0	0	...	...	...

	Donations.		Annual Subscriptions	
	£	s. d.	£	s. d.
Elder, Mr. A. L. ... ..	...	...	1	1 0
Elliot, The late Lady Charlotte ... ..	...	...	0	10 6
Ellis, Miss Jane ... (1879-1880)	...	...	2	2 0
Ellis, Mr. A. J. ... (1879-1880)	...	...	2	2 0
Ellissen, Mrs. ... ..	...	...	0	2 6
Estlin, Miss ... ..	...	...	1	1 0
Fawcett, Rt. Hon. Henry, M.P., and Mrs. ...	1	1 0		
" " (Demonstration Fund) ...	5	0 0		
" " (1879-1880) ...	...	...	4	4 0
Fawcett, Mr. and Mrs. W. ... ..	...	...	0	10 6
F. H., ... (Demonstration Fund) ...	0	5 0		
" " (1879-1880) ...	...	...	1	1 0
Finch, Miss ... (1879-1880) ...	...	...	2	0 0
Firth, Miss ... (Demonstration Fund) ...	0	10 0		
Fisher, Rev., G. W. ... ..	...	...	0	5 0
FitzGerald, the Misses ... ..	...	...	0	5 0
Fletcher, Mrs., G. Hamilton ... ..	...	...	2	2 0
Flint, Mrs. ... ..	...	...	0	2 0
Foa, Mrs. ... ..	...	...	0	2 6
Fontanier, Madame de ... ..	...	...	0	2 6
Forshall, Miss ... ..	...	...	1	1 0
Fowler, Miss ... ..	0	5 0	0	10 0
" " (Demonstration Fund) ...	1	1 0		
" " (Demonstration Fund) ...	0	5 0		
Fox, Mrs. Bridell ... ..	...	...	0	2 6
Fox, Mr. Charles ... (1879-1880)	...	...	0	10 0
Fox, The Rev. Wm. ... ..	...	...	0	5 0
Foxley, Miss ... (Demonstration Fund) ...	1	1 0		
Freeman, Mrs. ... ..	...	...	0	5 0
Frewin, Miss ... ..	...	...	0	1 0
Fry, Mrs. Hume ... (Demonstration Fund) ...	0	2 0		
Friend ... (Demonstration Fund) ...	5	0 0		
Friend ... (Demonstration Fund) ...	1	1 0		
Friend ... (Demonstration Fund) ...	0	1 0		
Friend ... ..	...	...	0	2 6
Friend ... ..	...	...	0	0 6
Galpin, Mr. T. D. ... ..	...	...	1	1 0
Garnett, Mrs. ... ..	...	...	50	0 0
Garrett, The Misses ... ..	5	0 0		
" " (Demonstration Fund) ...	5	0 0		
" " (Demonstration Fund) ...	5	0 0		
Gellie, Mrs. ... ..	...	...	0	5 0
Glover, Mrs. ... ..	1	1 0	5	5 0
" " (Guarantee Fund) ...	2	2 0		
" " (Guarantee Fund) ...	10	0 0		
Golds, Mr. Alfred ... ..	...	...	0	5 0
Goldsmid, Lady ... (Demonstration Fund) ...	10	0 0	2	2 0
Goldsmid, Miss C. ... (Demonstration Fund) ...	1	0 0	1	0 0
Goodwin, Mrs. Arnold ... ..	1	1 0		
Grant, Mrs. ... (Demonstration Fund) ...	0	1 0		
" " (1879-1880) ...	...	...	0	10 0
Greg, Mrs. ... ..	...	...	0	5 0
Greig, Mrs. ... (Demonstration Fund) ...	0	2 0	0	3 0
Grey, Mrs. ... ..	...	...	2	2 0
Griffiths, Mr. and Mrs. G. ... ..	...	...	0	5 0
Grimshawe, Mr. and Mrs. ... ..	...	...	1	0 0

	Donations.		Annual Subscriptions.	
	£	s. d.	£	s. d.
Grove, Miss ... ..	...	...	...	...
Gwynne, Miss ... (Demonstration Fund) ...	1	0 0	0	5 0
Hales, Professor J. W. ... ..	...	...	0	10 6
Hall, Mr. Samuel ... (Demonstration Fund) ...	0	1 0	0	2 6
Hallett, Mrs. Ashworth... (Demonstration Fund) ...	5	0 0		
Hallock, Mrs. ... ..	0	5 0		
Hamilton, Miss ... (Demonstration Fund) ...	0	10 0	0	5 0
Hamilton Mrs. ... ..	...	...	1	0 0
Hancock, Mrs. Chas. ... ..	...	...	1	1 0
Harberton, Lady ... ..	2	0 0	1	0 0
" " (Guarantee Fund) ...	1	0 0		
" " (Demonstration Fund) ...	5	0 0		
Hardcastle, Miss Ida ... ..	...	...	0	5 0
Hare, Mr. Thomas ... ..	1	1 0	1	1 0
Harris, Mr. Henry ... ..	...	...	0	1 0
Harrison, Mrs. ... ..	...	...	1	1 0
Hart, Miss E. J. ... ..	...	...	0	5 0
Hart, Miss F. ... ..	...	...	0	2 6
Hart, Miss K. M. ... ..	...	...	0	2 6
Hart, Miss M. ... ..	...	...	0	2 6
Hart, Mr. P. M. ... ..	...	...	0	2 6
Heatherley, Mrs. ... (1879-1880)	...	...	0	10 0
Heblethwhite, Miss ... ..	...	...	0	2 6
Helps, Mrs. Somers ... ..	...	...	0	2 6
Hennell, Miss S. ... ..	...	...	0	5 0
Hertz, Mrs. ... (Demonstration Fund) ...	1	1 0		
Heywood, Mr. James, F.R.S. ... ..	...	...	10	10 0
Higgins, Miss Mary ... (Demonstration Fund) ...	0	5 0		
" " (1879-1880) ...	0	10 0		
Hill, Miss Davenport ... (1879-1880)	...	...	2	2 0
Hill, Miss F. Davenport ... ..	...	...	0	2 0
Hill, Mrs. Frank ... ..	...	...	2	2 0
Hill, Mr. Frederic ... (1879-1880)	2	0 0	2	0 0
Hill, Miss K. ... (Demonstration Fund) ...	0	10 0		
Hoggan, Mr. and Mrs. ... (1879-1880)	...	...	0	10 0
Holland, Miss ... (1879-1880)	...	...	2	0 0
Holland, Miss M. ... (1879-1880)	...	...	2	1 0
Holland, Mrs. Chas. ... ..	5	0 0		
" " (1879-1880) ...	5	0 0		
Hopwood, Mr. C. H., M.P. ... ..	2	0 0		
Horn, Miss ... (1879-1880)	...	...	2	1 0
Hosken, Mrs. ... ..	...	...	1	1 0
Howard, Mrs. ... (Demonstration Fund) ...	0	2 6		
Howard, Mr. James, M.P. ... ..	...	...	1	1 0
Hullah, Mrs. John ... ..	...	...	1	1 0
Impey, Mrs. ... ..	...	...	0	5 0
Jackman, Mrs. ... ..	...	...	0	2 6
Janion, Miss ... ..	...	...	0	2 6
Jarvis, Mrs. ... ..	...	...	0	5 0
Jecks, Mrs. ... ..	...	...	1	0 0
Jenkins, Mr. E. ... ..	...	...	0	10 6
Jermyn, Mr. Alfred M. ... (1879-1880)	...	...	0	5 0
Johnson, Mrs. S. J. ... ..	...	...	0	3 0
Jones, Miss ... ..	...	...	0	3 0

	Donations.		Annual Subscriptions.	
	£	s. d.	£	s. d.
Jones, Mrs. R. C.	...	...	...	1 1 0
Jones, Mr. Edwin	...	...	...	1 1 0
Jones, Mrs. Elizabeth	...	...	...	0 2 6
Justice, Miss D.	...	...	...	0 2 6
Julians, Mrs.	...	...	...	1 0 0
Kelly, Sir Fitzroy	...	...	...	0 2 6
Kenderdine, Mrs.	(Demonstration Fund)	0 2 6	...	0 2 6
Kent, Miss C.	(Demonstration Fund)	0 2 0	...	0 10 0
Kerr, Dr. Norman	(1879-1880)	...	...	0 2 6
Kitton, Miss	...	...	...	0 5 0
Knight, Mr. James	...	...	...	...
Ladell, Mrs.	(Demonstration Fund)	1 1 0	...	0 5 0
Lawn, Mr. J.	...	...	...	0 2 6
Lawrence, Mrs. H. W.	...	...	...	1 0 0
Laye, Mrs. Ramsay	...	...	...	2 0 0
Leach, Mrs.	...	...	...	0 2 6
Lechtie, Mrs.	...	...	...	0 2 6
Lee, Mrs.	(Demonstration Fund)	0 2 6	...	0 2 0
Le Geyt Miss	...	...	...	2 2 0
Leon, Mrs. G. T.	(Demonstration Fund)	2 2 0	...	0 10 6
Leonard, Mr. H. S.	...	...	...	1 0 0
Leslie, Mr. T. E. Cliffe	(1879-1880)	...	...	0 10 0
Levy, Mr. J. H.	(1879-1880)	...	...	0 2 0
Lewin, Miss S.	...	...	...	1 1 0
Lewis, Mrs.	...	...	...	0 2 6
Lewis, Mr. H. K.	...	...	...	2 2 0
Lindley, Miss	(1879-1880)	...	...	2 2 0
Lindley, Mr. Wm.	(1879-1880)	...	...	0 2 6
Livens, Mrs.	(Demonstration Fund)	0 2 6	...	0 2 6
Lord, Miss	...	...	...	0 2 6
Lord, Miss E.	...	...	...	0 10 6
Lord, Mrs.	...	...	...	1 0 0
Lowe, Mrs.	(1879-1880)	...	...	0 2 0
Lowry, Mrs.	(1879-1880)	...	...	1 1 0
Lucas, Mrs	...	1 1 0	...	1 1 0
" " ...	(Demonstration Fund)	1 0 0	...	0 10 0
" " ...	(Guarantee Fund)	1 0 0	...	1 1 0
Lucraft, Mr. and Miss	(1879-1880)	...	...	1 1 0
Lusk, Sir Andrew, Bt. M.P.	...	...	...	1 1 0
Luton Committee	...	1 1 0	...	1 1 0
Lynch, Mrs. ...	...	5 0 0	...	0 2 6
Macartney, Mrs.	...	...	...	1 1 0
Macdonell, Mrs.	...	...	...	0 10 0
Mace, Miss	...	...	...	0 2 6
Mace, Miss	...	...	...	0 5 0
Macfarren, Prof.	(1879-1880)	...	...	0 5 0
M'Kee, Miss	...	3 0 0	...	...
M'Laren, Mrs.	...	1 1 0	...	5 5 0
" " ...	(Demonstration Fund)	...	...	...
M'Laren, Mr. Charles, M.P. and Mrs.	...	10 10 0	...	...
" " ...	(Guarantee Fund)	5 0 0	...	...
" " ...	...	2 10 0	...	...
Main, Mr. P. T.	...	0 10 0	...	2 2 0
Main, Mr. Robert	...	...	...	...
Malleson, Mr. and Mrs. F.	...	...	...	...

	Donations.		Annual Subscriptions.	
	£	s. d.	£	s. d.
Marsden, Mr. Mark	...	...	...	1 1 0
Marshall, Miss	(Demonstration Fund)	0 10 0	...	0 1 0
Mayo, Miss	...	...	...	0 1 0
M. and D.	(Demonstration Fund)	0 2 0	...	1 1 0
Meek, Miss	...	...	...	0 2 6
Metaxa, Count	...	...	...	0 2 6
Meyer, Miss Hannah	...	...	...	0 2 6
Meyer, Miss S. Boyle	...	...	...	0 2 6
Mills, Miss	...	...	...	1 0 0
Molyneux, Lady	...	...	...	0 5 0
Moore, Mr. Ernest	...	...	...	0 5 0
Morgan, Mr. Wm.	...	...	...	1 1 0
Morris, Mr. Lewis	...	...	...	5 0 0
Müller, Miss	...	0 10 0	...	0 1 0
Muller, Mrs.	...	...	...	0 2 6
Murray, Rev. Alex.	...	...	...	0 5 0
Mylne, Miss A. M.	...	...	...	...
Newcombe, Prout, Mr. and Mrs.	(Demonstration Fund)	2 2 0	...	2 2 0
" " "	(1879-1880)	...	...	0 1 0
Newland, Mrs.	...	...	...	1 0 0
Newman, Prof.	...	...	...	2 2 0
Newnham, Miss	(1879-1880)	...	...	2 2 0
Nicol, Mr. Henry	...	...	...	1 0 0
Nicol, Miss L.	...	...	...	...
Nichol, Mrs.	(Demonstration Fund)	2 0 0	...	0 1 6
Norman, Mrs.	...	...	...	0 5 0
Norris, Miss	...	...	...	0 2 6
O'Beirne, Miss	...	...	...	...
Oldham, Mr. Ch. H.	...	0 2 6	...	...
Palmer, Mr. George, M.P., and Mrs.	(Dems. Fund)	2 0 0	...	2 2 0
Parry, Mr. H. and Lady Maude	(1879-1880)	...	...	0 7 6
Paterson, Mr. and Mrs.	...	...	...	4 0 0
Paulton, Mrs.	(1879-1880)	...	...	0 5 0
Payne, Mr. W.	...	...	...	0 2 6
Pennack, Mrs.	...	...	...	40 0 0
Pennington, Mrs.	(1879-1880)	...	...	...
" " "	...	5 0 0	...	...
" " "	(Demonstration Fund)	10 0 0	...	...
Peppercorn, Miss	(Demonstration Fund)	0 5 0	...	0 5 0
Perrier, Mrs.	...	...	...	0 5 0
Phillott, Mrs. Arthur	...	...	...	...
Phipson, Mrs.	(Demonstration Fund)	0 10 0	...	1 1 0
Pidgeon, Mrs.	...	...	...	0 5 0
Plumer, Miss E.	...	...	...	...
Pochin, Mrs.	(Demonstration Fund)	2 2 0	...	0 5 0
Ponder, The Misses	...	...	...	1 1 0
Priestman, The Misses	...	...	...	1 0 0
Prothero, Miss Schaw	...	...	...	0 1 0
Pyall, Mrs.	...	...	...	1 1 0
Ransom, Mrs. Edwin	...	...	...	0 5 0
Raven, Miss	(Demonstration Fund)	0 5 0	...	0 10 0
Rawlinson, Miss A. E.	...	...	...	0 10 0
Rees, Miss E. E.	(1879-1880)	...	...	1 10 0
Reeves, Miss	(1878-1879-1880)	...	...	...
Reid, Miss	(Demonstration Fund)	0 5 0	...	0 5 0
Reid, Miss Emily	(Demonstration Fund)	1 10 0	...	...

		Donations.	Annual Subscriptions.
		£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Reid, Mr. J. S.	...	...	...
Richardson, Miss M. E.	...	...	0 7 6
Richardson, Mrs.	(Demonstration Fund)	...	1 1 0
Ricketts, Mr. E. B.	(1878-1879-1880)	1 1 0	...
Rigbye, Miss	...	...	9 9 0
Roberts, Mrs.	...	...	0 10 0
Roberts, Mr. Owen	...	...	0 10 6
Robertson, Miss	...	...	1 1 0
" "	(Guarantee Fund)	1 1 0	1 1 0
Robson, Mrs.	...	0 10 6	...
Rossetti, Mr. Wm.	...	...	0 4 0
Roth, Dr.	(1878-1879-1880)	...	1 1 0
Royce, Miss Mary	(Demonstration Fund)	...	1 10 0
Rudd, Mrs.	...	0 5 0	...
Ryley, Mr. J., M. D.	...	...	0 2 6
	...	...	0 2 6
Sachs, Mr. Heinrich	...	...	...
Sainsbury, Mrs.	(Demonstration Fund)	...	0 2 6
Samson, Miss...	...	0 5 0	0 2 6
Saunders, Mr. S.	(1879-1880)	...	0 1 0
Saul, Mr. G. T.	...	...	0 5 0
Scatcherd, Mrs.	(Demonstration Fund)	...	1 1 0
Scholefield, Mrs.	(Demonstration Fund)	3 3 0	...
Scott, Miss Eliz.	(1879-1880)	0 5 0	...
Scull, Mrs.	...	...	1 0 0
Sercombe, Miss	...	...	0 10 0
Serrell, Mr. George	...	...	0 5 0
Shaen, The Rev. Richard	...	...	0 2 6
Shaen, Mr. Wm.	(1879-1880)	...	1 1 0
Sharpe, Mrs.	...	...	2 2 0
Shipton, Mr. George	...	...	0 2 6
Sherriff, Miss	...	...	0 2 6
Shore, Miss A.	(Demonstration Fund)	...	2 2 0
Shortt, Mr. J.	(1878-1879-1880)	0 5 0	...
Sims, Mrs.	(Demonstration Fund)	...	3 3 0
" "	...	1 1 0	...
Slack, Mrs.	...	0 10 6	...
Slatter, Miss	...	...	1 1 0
South, Mr. and Mrs. E. Wilton	(Demonstration Fund)	...	0 2 6
Southall, The Misses	...	0 5 0	0 10 0
Smith, The Misses	(Demonstration Fund)	...	0 10 0
Smith, Mr. E. H.	...	2 2 0	...
Smith, Mr. J. D.	...	...	1 0 0
Southey, Mrs.	...	...	1 10 0
Sparling Miss (The late)	...	...	0 2 6
Spears, The Rev. R.	...	...	1 1 0
Spokes, Lady	...	...	0 5 0
Spokes, Miss ...	...	...	0 10 0
Spokes, Miss M.	...	...	0 5 0
Stafford, Miss Ellen	...	...	0 5 0
Steinthal, Rev. S. A.	(Demonstration Fund)	...	0 2 6
Sterling, Mrs. Ed.	...	1 0 0	...
" "	(1879-1880)	1 0 0	...
Stevenson, Miss L.	(Demonstration Fund)	...	2 2 0
Stewart, Miss	...	1 0 0	...
Stobart, Mrs.	(1879-1880)	0 5 0	...
Stone, Miss Ellen	(Demonstration Fund)	...	0 10 0
Sullivan, Mr. John	...	1 0 0	1 1 0
	...	...	0 1 6

		Donations.	Annual Subscriptions.
		£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Surr, Mrs.	(Demonstration Fund)	...	...
" "	(1879-1880)	1 0 0	...
Swaagman, Mrs.	(Demonstration Fund)	...	2 2 0
Swanwick, Miss A.	...	0 5 0	...
Swift, Miss	...	...	2 2 0
Symon, Mr. J. S.	...	...	0 2 6
Taylor, Mrs. M. E. (through Executor)	...	...	1 0 0
Taylor, Mr. Benjm.	...	...	0 5 0
Taylor, Miss Helen	(Demonstration Fund)	2 2 0	10 10 0
Taylor, Mrs. Henry	(1879-1880)	...	2 2 0
Taylor, Miss M.	...	1 0 0	...
Taylor, Mrs. Molyneux	...	...	1 1 0
Taylor, Mr. P. A., M.P. and Mrs.	(Guarantee Fund)	10 0 0	...
" "	(Demonstration Fund)	20 0 0	...
Taylor, Mrs. Thomas	...	5 0 0	5 0 0
Tebb, Mrs.	...	...	0 5 0
Tebb, Mr. and Mrs. Wm.	...	...	2 2 0
Tennant, Mrs.	...	...	0 10 0
Thomas, Miss R.	...	0 5 0	0 10 6
Thomas, Mrs. Ch.	...	...	1 1 0
Thomas, Mrs. W. H.	...	0 5 0	...
Thomas, Mr. W. H.	...	0 10 0	...
Thomasson, Mr. M.P. and Mrs.	...	...	50 0 0
" "	(Guarantee Fund)	75 0 0	...
" "	...	100 0 0	...
Tolmé, Mrs.	...	...	0 2 6
Tracey, Miss C.	...	...	0 2 6
Travers, Miss S.	(1879-1880)	...	1 0 0
Trautman, Mrs.	...	...	0 2 6
Turnbull, Miss	(Demonstration Fund)	2 0 0	...
Turner, Mrs.	...	...	0 10 6
Turner, Mrs. (N. Bersted)	...	...	0 5 0
Van Putten, Miss	...	...	0 2 6
Vernon, Miss	...	...	0 2 0
Vialls, Miss Lucy	(Demonstration Fund)	8 10 0	...
Vincent, Miss C.	...	...	0 5 0
Walker, Miss...	(1879-1880)	...	0 6 0
Wansey, Miss E.	...	...	1 0 0
Warren, Miss S.	...	...	0 10 6
Waterall, Mr. Nath	...	...	0 5 0
Wates, Mrs.	...	0 6 6	0 5 0
Watkin, Sir Edward, M.P.	...	5 0 0	...
Webster, Mrs.	...	...	1 0 0
Wedgwood, Mrs.	(1879-1880)	...	2 2 0
Wedgwood, Miss	(1879-1880)	...	1 0 0
Wells, Mr. T. H.	(1879-1880)	...	2 0 0
Wharncliffe, Dowager Lady	...	...	2 2 0
Wheeler, Mrs.	...	...	0 1 8
Whittle, Mrs.	...	...	1 1 0
Whittle, Mr. J. Lowry	...	...	2 0 0
Williams, Mrs. Arthur	(Demonstration Fund)	1 0 0	...
Williams, Mrs. Carvell	" " "	0 10 0	0 10 0
Williams, Miss C.	...	10 0 0	10 0 0
" "	...	10 0 0	...
" "	(Demonstration Fund)	10 0 0	...
" "	(Guarantee Fund)	10 0 0	...



	Donations.			Annual Subscriptions.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Williams, Mr. H. M. ... ..	...	...	...	...	1	1 0
Williams, Mrs. Morgan ... ..	...	...	...	...	1	1 0
Wilson, Mr. Arthur ... ..	...	...	...	...	1	0 0
Wilson, Miss Lucy ... (Demonstration Fund) ...	1	0	0	...	0	5 0
Wilson, Mr. T. ... ..	...	...	...	...	0	5 0
Wimbledon Athenæum ... ..	0	5	0	...	0	10 0
Wood, Mrs. Charles ... ..	5	5	0	...	0	10 0
" " " " " (Guarantee Fund) ... ..	5	0	0	...	0	7 6
Wright, Mr. R. T. ... ..	...	...	...	...	0	7 6
Yates, Mrs. ... (Demonstration Fund) ...	5	0	0	...	0	10 0
Young, Mr. Thomas ... ..	...	...	...	...	0	10 0
Young Ladies at Miss Clark's School, Norwich ...	0	19	0	...	...	...

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING  
OF THE  
CENTRAL COMMITTEE,  
HELD AT THE  
WESTMINSTER PALACE HOTEL, VICTORIA STREET, S.W.

*On Thursday, July 15th, 1880.*

**MR. LEONARD COURTNEY, M.P.,** in the Chair.

The Report of the Executive Committee and Statement of Accounts were read.

*1st Resolution.*—Moved by the Rev. Wm. A. Macdonald, seconded by Miss Downing :—

“That this Meeting adopt the Report and Financial Statement just read, and direct that they be circulated.”

*2nd Resolution.*—Moved by Mr. Hodgson Pratt, seconded by Mrs. Ashton Dilke :—

“That the Executive Committee for the ensuing year consist of the following persons\* and of delegates, the same being members of Local Committees, appointed by Local Associations to represent them.”

*3rd Resolution.*—Moved by Miss Müller, seconded by Miss Becker :—

“That this meeting offers its cordial thanks to Mr. Courtney and the other members, who have given their support to the removal of the electoral disabilities of women, and pledges itself to renewed exertion to secure that, in any measure introduced into Parliament for the extension of the Parliamentary suffrage, provision may be made for the exercise of the franchise by all duly qualified women in boroughs and counties.”

\* For List of Executive Committee see page 18.

## CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

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Miss MULLER  
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Rev. S. A. STEINTHAL  
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Miss TOD  
Mrs. WEBSTER  
Miss WILLIAMS  
Mrs. CHARLES WOOD

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Amos, Mrs. S.  
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Boucherett, Miss L.  
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Brine, Mrs.

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Burns, Rev. Dawson  
Burns, Mrs. D.  
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Butler, Mrs.  
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Dilke, Mrs. Ashton  
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Duckworth, Canon  
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Eiloart, Mrs.  
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Ewing, A. Orr, Esq., M.P.  
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Fitz Maurice, Lord Edmond, M.P.  
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Hodgson, Mrs.  
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Kirk, Professor  
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Kitchener, Mrs.  
Knighton, W., Esq., LL.D.  
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Lawrie, Mrs. A.  
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid Bart., M.P.  
Laye, Mrs. Ramsay  
Le Geyt, Miss Alice  
L'Estrange, Rev. A. G.  
Lewis, Mrs. G. H.  
Liddell, Hon. Mrs. Thomas  
Liveing, Professor  
Lucraft, Benjamin, Esq.  
Lush, Dr. J. A.  
Lusk, Sir Andrew, Bart., M.P.  
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MacCombie, Wm., Esq.  
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McLagan, Peter, Esq., M.P.  
McLaren, Alex., Esq.  
McLaren, Miss Agnes  
Macmillan, Alex., Esq.  
Malleison, Mrs. F.  
Malleison, W. T., Esq.  
Malleison, Mrs. W. T.  
Mallet, Sir Louis, C. B.  
Mar, Countess of  
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Masson, Professor  
Miall, Edward, Esq.  
Miller, John, Esq.  
Mills, Arthur, Esq.  
Moore, Lady Jane  
Morrison, Walter, Esq.  
Mundella, Rt. Hon. Anth. J. M.P.  
Murphy, Rev. G. M.  
Murray, Sir John, B.A.  
Mylne, Mrs.  
Nesbitt, H. A., Esq., M.A.  
Newman, Professor F. W.

Nichol, Mrs.  
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 Wyatt-Edgell, Rev. E.

## NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

### CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

The object of the Society is to obtain the parliamentary franchise for women on the same conditions as it is, or may be granted to men.

The Society seeks to achieve this object—

By acting as a centre for the collection and diffusion of information with regard to the progress of the movement in all parts of the country.

By holding public meetings in support of the repeal of the Electoral Disabilities of Women.

By the publication of pamphlets, leaflets and other literature bearing upon the question.

### RULES

PASSED AT THE GENERAL MEETING OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND SUBSCRIBERS TO ITS FUNDS, HELD JULY 17TH, 1872.

1. The Central Committee shall consist of the present members, and such others as the Executive Committee may, from time to time, elect.

2. The Executive Committee shall consist of members of the Central Committee, to be elected at the Annual General Meeting, and of single delegates, the same being members of Local Committees, appointed by Local Associations to represent them; the Executive Committee having power to add to the Central Committee, and to its own number, and to appoint the officers.

3. A subscription of any amount constitutes membership of the National Society.

4. A General Meeting of the Central Committee shall be held once a year, to appoint the Executive Committee, to receive the Annual Report and the Financial Statement, and to transact any other business which may arise.

5. The Executive Committee shall, at its first meeting, appoint the Officers.

6. A Special General Meeting may be called by the Executive Committee at any time; or, at the written request of not less than twenty-five members of the Central Committee, the Secretary or Secretaries shall call a Special General Meeting, to discuss such matters only as are mentioned in the notice of such meeting.

7. Eight days' public notice shall be given of all General Meetings.

8. The above Rules shall not be altered except at a General Meeting, after fourteen days' notice of the proposed alteration, given to the Executive Committee.

---

SECRETARY—MISS K. THORNBURY.

TREASURER—MISS JANE COBDEN.

BANKERS—LONDON AND COUNTY BANK, 44I, Oxford Street, W.

OFFICE OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE—64, BERNERS STREET,  
LONDON, W.

**PUBLICATIONS TO BE OBTAINED AT THE OFFICE OF  
THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE.**

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE JOURNAL.—Edited by Lydia E. Becker. Price for one copy, monthly (post free for one year), 1s. 6d.

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SPECIAL REPORT OF THE NATIONAL DEMONSTRATION OF  
WOMEN IN ST. JAMES' HALL, London, on May 6th, 1880. Price  
One Halfpenny.

SPECIAL CIRCULAR,  
January, 1881.

## MANCHESTER NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

### Executive Committee:

Miss MARIA ATKINSON.	Mrs. PANKHURST.
Miss BECKER.	Mrs. PEARSON.
THOS. CHORLTON, Esq.	Mr. C. ROWLEY, Junr.
Mrs. JOSEPH CROSS.	Mrs. OLIVER SCATCHERD.
Miss CARBUTT.	Rev. S. ALFRED STEINTHAL.
THOS. DALE, Esq.	ARTHUR G. SYMONDS, Esq.
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Dr. PANKHURST.	Mrs. BARTON WRIGHT.

SECRETARY: Miss BECKER.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY: Miss S. M. BACKHOUSE.

ORGANISING AGENT: Mrs. M'CORMICK.

TREASURER: Rev. S. ALFRED STEINTHAL.

### OFFICE:

28, JACKSON'S ROW, ALBERT SQUARE, MANCHESTER.

### BANKERS:

THE MANCHESTER AND LIVERPOOL DISTRICT BANKING COMPANY, KING  
STREET BRANCH, MANCHESTER.

*Post Office Orders payable at the Head Office, Brown Street, Manchester.*

The Executive Committee of the above Society desire respectfully to call your attention to its object and operations, and to make an appeal for subscriptions in view of the present critical period of the movement.

The Society is based upon the principle that a woman who has a qualification, the possession of which would enable a man to vote, should herself have the franchise.

The opportunity of the introduction of the Bill, which the Government are pledged to bring forward before they dissolve Parliament, to extend household suffrage to the counties, offers

THIRTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

OF THE

✓ MANCHESTER NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR  
WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

PRESENTED AT THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING,  
DECEMBER 8th, 1880.

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MANCHESTER:  
ALEXANDER IRELAND & CO., PRINTERS.  
1880.

MANCHESTER NATIONAL SOCIETY  
FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

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REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

THE year's work, of which your Committee have now to offer their Report, has been of a remarkable as well as exceptional character.

At the assembling of Parliament in February, it appeared to those responsible for the charge of the Bill that there would be no advantage in again discussing the question in the expiring Parliament, although at that time there seemed no reason to suppose that the session would not be of average duration. The sudden dissolution of Parliament in March, with the consequent change of Government, altered the condition of affairs, but by the time Parliament had again got into working order, the year was so far advanced and the pressure of business so great that it did not seem expedient to attempt to bring in the Bill in the broken session. The parliamentary friends of the cause were not however wholly inactive.

The introduction of a measure by the Government dealing with the borough franchise in Ireland seemed to offer an opportunity for testing the feeling of Parliament on the question of the inclusion of women householders in the next extension of the principle of household suffrage. The object of the Bill was to assimilate the borough franchise in Ireland, which now stands at a £4 rental, to that in English boroughs, which is household suffrage pure and simple, without reference to the amount of the rating or rental.

Mr. Blennerhassett, M.P. for Kerry, gave notice on June 11th that, in Committee on the Borough Franchise (Ireland) Bill, he would move that the franchise be given to women householders in Irish boroughs.

Sir Edward Watkin put the following notice of motion on the paper for Monday, June 14th:—"On second reading of

Borough Franchise (Ireland) Bill, to move, That it is inexpedient to proceed with the consideration of the extension of the franchise in any part of the United Kingdom until the question of female suffrage has been decided, and also until the House has defined the term 'tenement' for purposes of voting for members of Parliament in such manner as will exclude 'hovel franchise.'" After several postponements the Bill was ultimately withdrawn by the Government at the usual annual massacre, therefore neither of the amendments could come on for discussion.

The great changes in the composition of the new Parliament and of the relative strength of parties, together with the large proportion of members elected for the first time, preclude us from forming any approximate estimate of our probable strength, and we must await the crucial test of a division list before venturing on any calculations. We may, however, reasonably expect to find a considerable number of friends among the new members, and we may also anticipate, with some confidence, that under the altered circumstances of the imminent approach of a new Reform Bill, some of those who formerly opposed our claim will now see their way to consent to enfranchise the women householders along with the others.

The great feature in the work of your Committee during the past year was the arrangement of the grand National Demonstration of Women in the Free Trade Hall, on February 3rd. The immediate object of the assemblage was to promote a memorial to Her Majesty's Government, praying that women may be enfranchised before another general election, so that in consulting the judgment of the nation, their wishes and opinions may be heard and allowed their due weight in questions affecting their interests and well-being as taxpayers and subjects of the Crown. One of the principal motives which guided the promoters of the Demonstration was to afford a means of testing the reality of the alleged demand for the suffrage by women. It was considered that if thousands of women came together in the great Free Trade Hall, Manchester,

attracted not by great names, but simply and solely to manifest by their presence their support and sympathy with the women who are claiming the suffrage on behalf of their sex—that would be a testimony to the strength and popularity of the movement amongst women which could neither be effaced nor explained away. The result of the challenge thus given more than fulfilled the most sanguine anticipations. The scene in the Free Trade Hall as the President (Mrs. M'Laren) took her seat might well draw from her the exclamation with which she opened her speech, "Is this a dream or a reality?" The whole of the vast area, galleries, and platform were thronged with a dense crowd composed, with the exception of the reporters and about one hundred and sixty men in the gallery, entirely of women. It was truly a marvellous meeting—grand in the earnestness of the purpose that had brought vast multitudes of women together from far and near, some from the uttermost parts of the kingdom—grand in the overwhelming numbers that thronged the vast hall and overflowed to another great meeting in an adjacent building—grand in the strong and fervent enthusiasm which stirred the hearts of all present, and gave to each a new revelation of the power of collective womanhood. The one drawback to the success of this gathering was the limited size of the Free Trade Hall, which could not contain the thousands of women who thronged its precincts and vainly strove for admission. After Mrs. M'Laren's introductory remarks, the first resolution was moved by the Viscountess Harberton, and supported by Mrs. Oliver Scatcherd, Mrs. Liliash Ashworth Hallett, Mrs. Butler, Mrs. Ellis, and Miss Eliza Sturge, and carried unanimously. The second resolution was moved by Mrs. Wellstood (Edinburgh), and supported by Mrs. Haslam (Dublin), Miss Becker, Mrs. Pearson, Miss Craigen, Miss Helena Downing, and Miss Lucy Wilson. Miss Becker having taken the chair, a vote of thanks to Mrs. M'Laren was moved by Mrs. E. P. Nichol, seconded by Mrs. O'Brien, and carried with acclamation. The proceedings closed with several rounds of cheers, and even then the women lingered, seeming loth to separate.



The overflow meeting in the Memorial Hall was presided over by Mrs. Lucas, and similar resolutions were carried to those in the great meeting.

The following memorial to Her Majesty's Government was adopted by the meeting, and signed on its behalf by the president:—

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

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

“SHEWETH,

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

“And your memorialists will ever pray.”

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

“February 4th, 1880.

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

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

The following reply was received:—

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

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

(Signed) “J. F. DALY.”

On receipt of the foregoing reply Mrs. M'Laren wrote as follows to the Earl of Beaconsfield:—

“Newington House, Edinburgh, Feb. 11th, 1880.

“My Lord,—I had the honour to forward to your Lordship a memorial from the great National Demonstration of Women held in Manchester on the 3rd inst., in the Free Trade Hall, in favour of women's suffrage, at which about 6,000 persons were present, nearly all women, over which I had the honour to preside.

“The memorial was intended to have been presented to your Lordship by a deputation of ladies appointed by the meeting for that purpose, but they deeply regret to learn from your letter of the 9th inst. that the pressure of business prevents your Lordship from receiving the deputation.

“In these circumstances it only remains for me to transmit the memorial to your Lordship, hoping it may receive your careful consideration.—I am, my Lord, yours faithfully,

“PRISCILLA M'LAREN.

“To the Right Hon. the Earl of Beaconsfield.”

The following acknowledgment was received:—

" 10, Downing-street, Whitehall,

" February 13th, 1880.

" Madam,—Lord Beaconsfield desires me to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 11th inst., forwarding the memorial of the women delegates and others assembled at Manchester in favour of female suffrage.—I am, madam, your obedient servant,

(Signed) " J. F. DALY.

" Mrs. M'Laren."

The lead thus given by your Committee has been followed with great effect in other places. A great meeting of women took place at St. James' Hall, London, in May, and similar gatherings were held last month in the Colston Hall, Bristol, and in the Albert Hall, Nottingham. Other towns are also preparing for Demonstrations of the same nature.

Preliminary meetings in support of the Demonstration were held in Stretford, and in the following districts of Manchester and Salford:—Hulme, St. Michael's, Broughton, Chorlton-on-Medlock, Pendleton, Ardwick, Cheetham, and New Cross.

Drawing-room meetings, preparatory to the Demonstration, were held by invitation of Mrs. Abel Heywood and Mrs. John Mills in Bowdon; by the Misses Petrie, through the kind permission of the Mayor, in the Mayor's Parlour, Town Hall, Rochdale; by Mrs. Thomas Brocklebank, jun., and Dr. and Mrs. Whittle in Liverpool; and by Mr. and Mrs. Ruspini in Knutsford.

A meeting has been held at Accrington, and meetings arranged independently of your Committee, but aided by them, have been held by Miss Craigen at Tarporley, Masbro' (2), Frodsham (2), Longtown, Newtown (2), Malton, Llanidloes, London (6), Gloucester (4), Cardiff (4), Dublin.

On October 27th a great meeting of women burgesses was held in Hope Hall, Liverpool, in connection with the municipal election. Although the weather at the time of the meeting was terribly stormy, over 1,000 women attended, and the interest and intensity of political feeling they manifested in regard to the impending municipal contest over the whole

borough, which was waged on purely party political grounds, would have utterly confounded any one witnessing the meeting who had supposed that women were indifferent to politics. The object of the meeting was to induce the women electors to vote in large numbers, and to instruct them in the duties and responsibilities of the municipal vote; and although the restrictions of the Ballot Act preclude the obtaining of any information as to what proportion of women actually voted, there can be no doubt that the meeting had a strong and beneficial influence.

During the year ended October 31, 1880, your Secretary has attended and spoken at meetings arranged by your Committee at Manchester and the following districts of Manchester:—Hulme, Rochdale Road, Broughton, Pendleton, Chorlton-upon-Medlock, Ardwick, Cheetham, New Cross; also at Accrington, Stretford, Liverpool, Harrogate, Bowness, Douglas, Ramsey, Castletown; and at meetings arranged by other Committees or friends, in London, at St. James' Hall, and in London districts as follows:—Homerton, Tower Hamlets, Hampstead, Langham-street, Gloucester Place, Gower-street, Wandsworth, City of London, Woodberry Vale, Spring Grove, Southwark, Blackfriars, Bermondsey; also at Norwich, Knutsford, Hyde, Mumbles, Swansea, and Edinburgh, besides attending to the correspondence of the Society, and editing and writing for the *Women's Suffrage Journal*.

Your Secretary has been invited to address meetings convened by others at the Working Men's Reform Club, Hulme; the Liberal Club, Blackley; the Withington District Liberal Association; the Liberal Association, Stretford.

Mrs. Oliver Scatcherd has attended and spoken at Accrington, Edinburgh (2), Dalkeith; London Demonstration: Deptford, Walmer Castle, Portman Square, Islington, St. James' Hall; Hyde, Douglas (2), Castleton, Peel, Ramsey, Harrogate, Bowness, Keswick; Manchester Demonstration: Huddersfield, Halifax, Sheffield, Wakefield, Bradford, Bowdon, Chorlton, Broughton; Manchester, Malton, Liverpool; Bristol Demonstration: Clifton, St. Mary's (Redcliffe), Broadmead, Bristol; Leeds wards (3).

During the past year your Committee's Agent, Mrs. M'Cormick, has visited the following places:—Accrington, Harrogate, Ripon, Northallerton, Hartlepool, Darlington, Middlesbrough, Sunderland, South Shields, Durham, Southport, Burnley, Preston, Crewe, Huddersfield, Honley, Grimsby, Hull, Blackburn, Hyde, Leeds, London, Liverpool, Macclesfield, Leek, Hanley, Burslem, Stafford, Retford, Boston, Newark, Chesterfield, Derby, Lichfield, Scarborough, Stockton-on-Tees, Bishop Auckland, Douglas, Ramsey, Castletown, Peel, Wigan, Colne, Bowness, Kendal, Keswick, Wolverhampton, Walsall, Dudley, and Kidderminster. Mrs. M'Cormick arranged and attended the meetings and lectures organised by your Committee, and devoted 156 days to office and other work in Manchester. Your Agent also assisted the Central Committee (London) in arranging meetings in April.

Members of debating societies in the following towns have applied for and received papers and information for use in discussions on women's suffrage:—Chester, Birmingham, 4; Evesham, 2; Liverpool, 3; Welshpool, King's Norton, Reading, Sale, Hastings, Hull, Totnes, Glasgow, Doncaster, Preston, Halifax, Rock Ferry, Walsall, Blackheath, Padiham, Knutsford, Merthyr Tydfil, Gloucester, Ventnor, Tynemouth, South Shields, Accrington, 2; Aberystwith, Birkenhead, Rochdale, Halstead, Burgh-le-Marsh, Bolton, London, 3; Bradford, 2; Bristol, Atherton, Tunstall, Cambridge, 2; Oxford, Kirkcaldy, Maidstone, Huddersfield, Wolverhampton, Southampton, Camborne, Tiverton, Barnstaple, Barnet, Cheltenham, Ashton, and Newport, Monmouthshire; Manchester, 5; and the following districts of Manchester: Plymouth Grove, Rusholme Road Society, 8; Chorlton-on-Medlock, 2; Hulme, Ardwick, 2; Harpurhey, Greenheys, Cheetham, Pendleton.

As no parliamentary action was taken on the Women's Disabilities Bill, no special effort was made to promote petitions for it. Nevertheless, during the two sessions of 1880, 292 petitions with 7,738 signatures were presented, and 41 petitions with 1,127 signatures were presented in favour of

Mr. Blennerhassett's Amendment to the Irish Borough Franchise Bill, making a total of 433 petitions with 8,865 signatures presented for women's suffrage during 1880. Of these, 160 petitions for the Bill and the whole of the petitions for the Irish borough franchise were obtained through the efforts of friends and correspondents of your Committee.

The most immediately fruitful portion of the year's work has been that accomplished in the Isle of Man. This ancient kingdom has an independent Legislature, of which the House of Keys is equivalent to the House of Commons. A movement has been set on foot in the Island to secure electoral reform, and among other objects to establish household suffrage as the basis of representation. Your Committee deemed this a favourable opportunity for endeavouring to obtain the inclusion of women householders among those who were to receive the franchise. They, therefore, organised a series of lectures, five in number, which were arranged by Mrs. M'Cormick, and delivered in August by Miss Becker in Douglas, Ramsey, and Castleton, and Mrs. Oliver Scatcherd in Douglas and Peel. In these lectures, besides the general argument in favour of women's suffrage, especial reference was made to the impending Reform Bill, and the people were urged to demand from the Legislature the extension of the suffrage to women as well as to men householders.

Although this was the first occasion on which the question had been publicly mooted in the Island, the lectures were extremely well attended, and the claim as presented by the advocates of the enfranchisement of women appeared to command general assent. The newspaper press gave ample reports of the lectures, and able and impressive articles in support of the views put forward. The deputation left, after their week's sojourn, with the satisfactory assurance that the question had been brought under the notice of every inhabitant, and the Manx people fully instructed on the subject.

Your Committee desire to express their deep sense of the service rendered in this matter by the newspaper press of the Island, including the *Isle of Man Times*, *Manx Sun*, the

*Isle of Man Examiner, Mona's Herald, and the Ramsey Northern Weekly News.*

The result of the consideration thus given appeared when the electoral Bill was submitted to the House of Keys. As introduced it limited the franchises conferred to "male persons." But an amendment to omit the word "male," in order to include women, was moved in Committee on November 5th, when 19 out of the 24 members of the House of Keys were present and voted. The amendment to enfranchise women was carried by the overwhelming majority of 16 votes to 3, being a vote of more than five to one of those present, and a vote of two-thirds of the whole number of the members of the House of Keys.

In congratulating you on this triumphant vindication of the principle, your Committee venture to express the hope that, when the Electoral Reform Bill comes to be discussed in the Legislature of the United Kingdom, the House of Commons will be not less just in dealing with the claims of women ratepayers, and not more narrow in its view of the true basis of popular representation than its sister assembly the House of Keys.

The financial position of the Society continues satisfactory. The year's expenses have been covered by the year's receipts, and there are no outstanding liabilities. The amount of subscriptions has been greater than ever before. The Demonstration in the Free Trade Hall involved considerable extra expenditure, but this was covered by special subscriptions, and by an increased number of ordinary subscriptions, obtained through the impetus given by its means. The result shows that when the funds of the Committee are employed to push the agitation by really effective, well-planned work, judiciously and economically carried out, the outlay is repaid, not only in accomplished work, but also in a harvest of fresh funds wherewith to pursue the advantage gained.

But while your Committee justly lay stress on the economy with which they carry on their work as a reason why more funds should be entrusted to them, they desire to guard against the impression that economy means small

expenditure. They feel increased need for large subscriptions. When men have a great public object to attain, they know well that large sums are needed, and they give subscriptions of hundreds or even thousands of pounds. We ask men to consider that so great a movement as that of the enfranchisement of half the people cannot be carried on without large sums of money, and we earnestly beg them to help this cause in the same way and to the same extent as they have helped other great movements. We appeal also to women, especially to wealthy women, to aid with large subscriptions those who are endeavouring through this means to ameliorate the condition of their less fortunate sisters. To those who are not able to give large sums, we would say—give something, and, by becoming enrolled as members of the Society, give personal support to the cause.

The present is a critical period. The Government are pledged to introduce a Reform Bill before they dissolve Parliament, and unless the principle of women's suffrage is incorporated with the County Franchise Bill, the prospect of its accomplishment may be indefinitely postponed. The promoters of the measure are determined to take the earliest opportunity of submitting the Women's Disabilities Removal Bill to the judgment of the new Parliament, and Mr. Courtney has announced his intention of introducing the measure immediately on the commencement of the session. Should the second reading of the Bill be carried, the vote will be accepted as an expression of the sense of the House of Commons that the forthcoming Reform Bill shall include the enfranchisement of women householders, even if the Bill itself should not become law during the session. Our friends will therefore perceive that the present moment is one for putting forth special efforts to take advantage of the re-opening of the question of Parliamentary Reform, in order that the claim of those on whose behalf we are working may be considered along with the rest.

THE MANCHESTER NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

ACCOUNT OF INCOME AND EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31st OCTOBER, 1880.

INCOME.		EXPENDITURE.		BALANCE.	
£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.
Balance	68 18 11	By Salaries and Office Expenses	505 16 7		
To Subscriptions and Donations	1,668 8 6	Office Furniture, Rent, Gas, Coal, &c.	43 9 9		
Journal	342 11 10½	Postage and Telegrams	549 6 4		
Postage	28 15 3½	Public Meetings	112 17 8		
Advertisements	67 9 4	Printing	399 13 6		
Pamphlets, &c.	438 16 6	Publications bought:—	78 17 3		
To Tickets sold—	20 17 0	Journals bought	200 0 0		
Lectures	15 9 0	Pamphlets, &c.	7 15 3		
Bankers' Interest	1 0 8	Deputation Expenses	207 15 3		
		Agents' Expenses Collecting	49 10 0		
		Lectures	31 19 4		
		Bankers' Commission	72 7 10		
		Journal Account:—	3 0 9		
		Printing	325 16 10		
		Postage	128 0 0		
		Distribution and Office Work	115 6 4		
		Reporting, &c.	18 2 4		
		Commission	4 13 4		
		Balances:—	591 18 10		
		In hands of Treasurer	2,097 6 9		
		In hands of Petty Cash Keeper	115 17 6		
			5 13 3		
			121 10 9		
			£2,218 17 6		

Audited and found correct,

LOUIS BORCHARDT, M.D.

S. ALFRED STEINTHAL,

TREASURER, December 3rd, 1880.

Manchester, December 8th, 1880.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

Of the Society, held in the TOWN HALL, MANCHESTER, December 8th, 1880.

The MAYOR OF MANCHESTER (Mr. Alderman Baker) in the Chair.

The Secretary read the Report of the Executive Committee.

The Treasurer read the Statement of Accounts.

Resolution I.—Moved by Mr. Courtney, M.P., seconded by Mr. Henry Lee, M.P., supported by Mr. Hugh Mason, M.P., and Mrs. Fenwick Miller.

That the Report and Statement of Accounts just read be adopted, and printed for circulation under the direction of the Executive Committee.

Resolution II.—Moved by Mr. Thomasson, M.P., seconded by Mr. Councillor Southern, supported by Mr. Alderman Bennett.

That this meeting, having learned that it is the intention of Mr. Courtney to introduce the Women's Disabilities Bill at an early period in the forthcoming session, pledges itself to support the measure by all practical means in its power.

Resolution III.—Moved by Mrs. Oliver Scatcherd, seconded by Mr. Symonds, supported by Miss Becker.

That this meeting has learnt with great satisfaction that the popular legislative body in the Isle of Man has passed, by a majority of two-thirds of its number, a measure whereby the right of women householders to vote for parliamentary representatives is fully recognised; and that the cordial thanks of this meeting are hereby rendered to Mr. Sherwood and Mr. Dalrymple, proposer and seconder, and Messrs. Christian, Clucas, Corlett, E. C. Farrant, Gell, Jeffcott, Joughin, Kayll, Kelly, Kerruish, Leece, Penketh, Quayle, and Teare, the sixteen members of the House of Keys who voted in favour of the amendment to enfranchise women on the fifth of November last.

Resolution IV.—Moved by Mr. Windsor, seconded by Rev. Professor Craig.

That the following persons be the Executive Committee for the ensuing year:—Miss Maria Atkinson, Miss Becker, Miss Carbutt, Thomas Chorlton, Esq., Mrs. Joseph Cross, Thos. Dale, Esq., Mrs. Gell, Mrs. Lucas, Mrs. J. Mills, Dr. Pankhurst, Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Pearson, C. Rowley, Junr., Esq., Mrs. Oliver Scatcherd, Rev. S. Alfred Steinthal, A. G. Symonds, Esq., J. P. Thomasson, Esq., Mrs. J. P. Thomasson, with power to add to their number.

The Chair was taken by Mr. Alderman Bennett.

Resolution V.—Moved by Mrs. Thomasson, seconded by Mr. Rowley.

That the best thanks of the meeting be given to the Mayor for presiding on the present occasion.

## ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS.

FINANCIAL YEAR, 1879-1880.

	£	s.	d.
"Sympathiser" ...	150	0	0
"Viator" (February) ...	100	0	0
"Viator" (October) ...	100	0	0
"Popgun" ...	100	0	0
"Mitrailleuse" ...	100	0	0
R. W. (2 years) ...	2	0	0
A Friend (Huddersfield)...	1	1	0
R. L. ...	1	1	0
Thank-offering for Liberal Success	1	1	0
"Omega" ...	1	0	0
A Rightful Claimant	1	0	0
A Friend in Fife ...	1	0	0
A Lady ...	0	10	0
R. G. (Durham) ...	0	5	0
O. A. C. (Southport) ...	0	5	0
"Delta" (York) ...	0	5	0
H. E. ...	0	5	0
N. W. J. ...	0	5	0
J. G. ...	0	5	0
B. B. ...	0	2	6
X. Y. Z. ...	0	2	6
V. H. ...	0	2	6
"Beta" ...	0	2	6
J. S. ...	0	2	6
A Timid Friend ...	0	2	6
W. R. A. ...	0	2	6
M. D. ...	0	2	6
"Humphrey Clinker" ...	0	2	6
"Neutral" ...	0	2	6
A. J. T. ...	0	2	6
J. A. T. ...	0	2	6
A Friend (Batley) ...	0	2	0
J. R. ...	0	2	0
"Pioneer" ...	0	1	6
"A Wellwisher" ...	0	1	0
S. E. M. ...	0	1	0
A Friend ...	0	1	0
Anderson, Mrs. ...	2	2	0
Ashworth, Mrs. John (2 years)	2	0	0
Aldis, Professor ...	1	1	0
Atkinson, Mr. Joseph ...	1	1	0
Astley, Mr. A. F. ...	0	12	6
Atkinson, Miss ...	0	10	0
Atkinson, Miss Maria ...	0	10	0
Alderson, Mr. ...	0	10	0
Ayre, Mr. (Thirsk) ...	0	5	0
Ayre, Mrs. (Northallerton) ...	0	5	0
Archibald, Mr. ...	0	5	0
Ainsworth, Mr. (Crewe)...	0	5	0
Alward, Mr. James ...	0	5	0

	£	s.	d.
Alward, Mr. George ...	0	5	0
Allwood, Mr. ...	0	5	0
Ainsworth, Mr. T. H. (Stockton)	0	5	0
Alexander, Mr. ...	0	5	0
Ayre, Mr. G. (Thirsk) ...	0	2	6
Awde, Mrs. ...	0	2	6
Ayre, Mr. T. (Northallerton) ...	0	2	6
Alston, Mr. ...	0	2	6
Anderson, Mr. (Grimsby) ...	0	2	6
Atkinson, Mr. H. (Grimsby) ...	0	2	6
Abernethy, Mrs. ...	0	2	6
Addison, Mrs. ...	0	2	6
Antcliffe, Mr. ...	0	2	6
Ayrton, Mrs. ...	0	2	6
Atherton, Mrs. ...	0	2	6
Allen, Mr. A. ...	0	2	0
Brooke, Miss Edith ...	10	0	0
Buchanan, Dr. ...	6	1	0
Buchan, The Dowager Countess of	5	0	0
Browne, Mrs. S. W. ...	4	0	0
Bowring, Lady ...	2	0	0
Brooke, Mr. Thomas ...	2	0	0
Baines, Mr. Edward ...	1	1	0
Barran, Mr. John, junr. ...	1	1	0
Brooke, Mrs. Edward ...	1	1	0
Binney, Mr. E. W., F.R.S. ...	1	1	0
Buss, Miss F. M. ...	1	1	0
Biggs, Miss Ashurst ...	1	1	0
Borchardt, Dr. ...	1	1	0
Broad, Messrs. Jesse, & Co. ...	1	1	0
Boucherett, Miss Jessie ...	1	1	0
Barlow, Mr. James ...	1	1	0
Bradney, Mrs. ...	1	1	0
Burt, Mr. Jonathan ...	1	0	0
Brooke, Miss Octavia ...	1	0	0
Benson, Mr. ...	1	0	0
Biggs, Mr. Henry ...	1	0	0
Browne, Miss Annie ...	1	0	0
Bingham, Mrs. ...	1	0	0
Bowman, Mrs. Chas. ...	1	0	0
Bowling, Miss L. A. ...	1	0	0
Box, Mr. A. M. ...	1	0	0
Booth, Mr. George ...	0	10	6
Brankston, Mrs. ...	0	10	6
Brocklebank, Mrs. Thos., junr.	0	10	6
Bevington, Mr. Ambrose ...	0	10	6
Blair, Mr. G. Y. ...	0	10	0
Baynes, Mrs. ...	0	10	0
Bramwell, Mr. ...	0	10	0
Bostock, Mrs. Rosa ...	0	10	0
Bruce, Mr. Alderman ...	0	10	0
Brown, Mr. John (Stockton) ...	0	10	0
Bedford, Mr. ...	0	10	0
Burrows, Dr. ...	0	10	0
Blott, Mrs. ...	0	10	0
Brown, Miss M. A. (Wigan) ...	0	10	0
Bewicke, Miss ...	0	10	0
Barnes, Miss ...	0	10	0
Bayliss, Mr. Moses ...	0	5	0
Butler, Mrs. Josephine ...	0	5	0
Blacker, Mr. G. O. ...	0	5	0
Bell, Mr. J. H. (Darlington) ...	0	5	0
Baron, Mr. (Southport) ...	0	5	0
Berry, Mr. J. ...	0	5	0
Baron, Mr. (Burnley) ...	0	5	0
Baldwin, Mr. W. ...	0	5	0
Beswicke, Mrs. ...	0	5	0

	£	s.	d.
Barber, Mrs. ... ..	0	5	0
Boult, Miss Lucy ... ..	0	5	0
Briggs, Mr. Alderman (Crewe) ... ..	0	5	0
Boston, Mr. Jos. ... ..	0	5	0
Blumer, Mr. J. G. ... ..	0	5	0
Brooke, Mrs. C. J. ... ..	0	5	0
Bramley, Mr. W. F. ... ..	0	5	0
Brough, Mr. Joshua ... ..	0	5	0
Brown, Miss Rachel (Wigan) ... ..	0	5	0
Brown, Mr. John A. (Douglas, Isle of Man) ... ..	0	5	0
Brandreth, Mr. H. S. ... ..	0	5	0
Bleakley, Mrs. ... ..	0	5	0
Boddington, Mr. T. ... ..	0	5	0
Barwise, Mr. ... ..	0	5	0
Brine, Mrs. ... ..	0	4	0
Bulpit, Mr. ... ..	0	3	0
Beacock, Mr. W. ... ..	0	3	0
Bridges, Mr. Alderman ... ..	0	3	0
Bell, Mr. C. (Middlesbrough) ... ..	0	2	6
Braithwaite, Mrs. G. ... ..	0	2	6
Brooks, Mrs. Ellen ... ..	0	2	6
Butler, Mr. ... ..	0	2	6
Burrows, Mrs. ... ..	0	2	6
Birley, Miss ... ..	0	2	6
Bostock, Miss ... ..	0	2	6
Brown, The Misses (Hull) ... ..	0	2	6
Bates & Quash, Messrs. ... ..	0	2	6
Brocklesby, Mr. C. ... ..	0	2	6
Brocklesby, Mr. J. ... ..	0	2	6
Barton, Mr. C. S. ... ..	0	2	6
Broughton, Mr. T. ... ..	0	2	6
Bygrave, Mr. ... ..	0	2	6
Blamires, Mr. ... ..	0	2	6
Brearley, Mrs. ... ..	0	2	6
Burton, Mr. ... ..	0	2	6
Brooks, Mrs. (Hyde) ... ..	0	2	6
Busby, Mrs. H. ... ..	0	2	6
Briggs, Mr. J. (Ulverston) ... ..	0	2	6
Biggs, Miss C. A. ... ..	0	2	6
Booth, Miss ... ..	0	2	6
Baker, Mr. J. B. ... ..	0	2	6
Balgamie, Miss ... ..	0	2	6
Beckwith, Mr. J. ... ..	0	2	6
Barker, Mrs. ... ..	0	2	6
Boothman, Mrs. ... ..	0	2	6
Bell, Mr. James (Liverpool) ... ..	0	2	6
Barralet, Mrs. ... ..	0	2	6
Beale, Mr. A. W. ... ..	0	2	6
Brooks, Mr. Will ... ..	0	2	6
Bell, Rev. J. ... ..	0	1	6
Bate, Mr. ... ..	0	1	6
Barker, Mrs. (Batley) ... ..	0	1	6
Beardmore, Mr. ... ..	0	1	6
Brown, Mrs. F. (Lichfield) ... ..	0	1	6
Butterworth, Mrs. S. ... ..	0	1	6
Burras, Mrs. ... ..	0	1	0
Breadley, Mrs. ... ..	0	1	0
Blakely, Miss ... ..	0	1	0
Bates, Mr. ... ..	0	1	0
Crook, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph ... ..	5	0	0
Chorlton, Mr. Thos. (2 years) ... ..	3	3	0
Carbutt, Miss ... ..	2	0	0
Cholmeley, Rev. C. H. ... ..	1	5	0
Cary, Mrs. Stanley ... ..	1	1	6
Clark, Mrs. Wm. ... ..	1	1	0
Cross, Mrs. Joseph ... ..	1	1	0
Cooke, Mr. I. B. (Liverpool) ... ..	1	1	0

	£	s.	d.
Cudworth, Mr. Wm. ... ..	1	0	0
Crossley, Mr. R. (Accrington) ... ..	1	0	0
Courtauld, Mr. S. ... ..	1	0	0
Craggs, Mr. G. F. ... ..	1	0	0
Crawfurd, Miss M. Sharman ... ..	1	0	0
Cullwick, Mr. B. ... ..	1	0	0
Collvins, Rev. C., M.A. ... ..	0	10	6
Corbet, Mr. Miller ... ..	0	10	6
Common, Mr. A. ... ..	0	10	6
Cowgill, Mr. G. ... ..	0	10	0
Crowther, Mr. A. ... ..	0	10	0
Carlill, Mr. B. ... ..	0	10	0
Clark, Mr. C. F. (Wolverhampton) ... ..	0	10	0
Chandler, Mrs. ... ..	0	10	0
Copstick, Mr. Thos. ... ..	0	7	6
Carpenter, Mr. Thos. ... ..	0	6	6
Carson, Miss ... ..	0	5	6
Cronkshaw, Miss ... ..	0	5	0
Carter, Mr. T. B. ... ..	0	5	0
Crabtree, Mr. E. ... ..	0	5	0
Clayton, Dr. ... ..	0	5	0
Cooke, Mr. F. (Crewe) ... ..	0	5	0
Cameron, Dr. ... ..	0	5	0
Caird, Mrs. ... ..	0	5	0
Cohen, Mrs. ... ..	0	5	0
Cronkshaw, Mrs. ... ..	0	5	0
Cooke, Mr. J. H. (Liverpool) ... ..	0	5	0
Cheetham, Miss M. E. ... ..	0	5	0
Crossley, Mr. ... ..	0	5	0
Cogan, The Misses ... ..	0	5	0
Cooper, Mr. Thos. (Wigan) ... ..	0	5	0
Crawshaw, Mr. Ed. ... ..	0	5	0
Crosbie, Rev. W., M.A. ... ..	0	3	0
Clarkson, Mr. G. F. ... ..	0	2	6
Cameron, Mr. R. ... ..	0	2	6
Carter, Miss Laura ... ..	0	2	6
Chapman, Miss Fanny ... ..	0	2	6
Caryl, Mr. G., junr. ... ..	0	2	6
Chattaway, Mrs. T. ... ..	0	2	6
Class, Mr. P. ... ..	0	2	6
Cooke, Mr. Thos. (Grimsby) ... ..	0	2	6
Crosland, Mrs. A. (Batley) ... ..	0	2	6
Cooke, Miss Sarah (Hyde) ... ..	0	2	6
Cooke, Mr. H. Ribton ... ..	0	2	6
Crapper, Mr. ... ..	0	2	6
Cox, Mr. J. T. (Stafford) ... ..	0	2	6
Constantine, Mr. J. ... ..	0	2	6
Cross, Mr. H. M. ... ..	0	2	6
Cockerill, Mr. H. M. ... ..	0	2	6
Carr, Mr. W. H. ... ..	0	2	6
Crew, Mrs. ... ..	0	2	6
Cooper, Mr. ... ..	0	2	0
Chadwick, Mr. C. H. ... ..	0	2	0
Chorley, Mr. Geo. ... ..	0	2	0
Cooke, Mr. W. (Newtown, North Wales) ... ..	0	1	6
Curfew, Mrs. ... ..	0	1	6
Cooke, Mr. John (Grimsby) ... ..	0	1	6
Coldwell, Mr. Sam ... ..	0	1	6
Dalby, Mr. ... ..	1	0	0
Denham, Mr. ... ..	1	0	0
Dick, Miss ... ..	1	0	0
Dale, Mr. Thos. ... ..	1	0	0
Dodds, Mr. M. A. ... ..	0	10	6
Dale, Mr. D. (Darlington) ... ..	0	10	0
Dowsing, Mr. ... ..	0	10	0
Donkin, Mrs. ... ..	0	10	0

	£	s.	d.
Dixon, Mrs. (Wandsworth) ... ..	0	10	0
Dunn, Mrs. ... ..	0	6	6
Douglas, Mr. G. (Sunderland) ... ..	0	5	0
Dyer, Mr. T. ... ..	0	5	0
Drewrey, Miss E. B. ... ..	0	5	0
Drewery, Mr. H. R. ... ..	0	5	0
Dulley, Mrs. David ... ..	0	5	0
Dawson, Mrs. ... ..	0	5	0
Dixon, Mr. Joseph (Walsall) ... ..	0	5	0
Duncan, Miss Margaret ... ..	0	3	0
Dodd, Mr. Thos. ... ..	0	2	6
Dawson, Mr. (Northallerton) ... ..	0	2	6
Dean & Son, Messrs. M. ... ..	0	2	6
Dixon, Mrs. J. M. (Hull) ... ..	0	2	6
Dobson, Mr. G. S. ... ..	0	2	6
Dixon, Miss (Birmingham) ... ..	0	2	6
Douglas, Mr. B. (Chesterfield) ... ..	0	2	6
Dunkin, Miss ... ..	0	2	6
Dobbs, Mr. F. ... ..	0	1	6
Denby, Mrs. ... ..	0	1	6
Dunn, Mrs. (Hyde) ... ..	0	1	6
Ellis, Mr. (2 years) ... ..	2	2	0
Eastwood, Mrs. Fred ... ..	1	1	0
Eccles, Miss ... ..	1	1	0
Every, Mr. John ... ..	1	1	0
Eccles, Mrs. A. E. (Chorley) ... ..	1	1	0
Eccles, Mrs. James ... ..	0	10	6
Empson, Mrs. ... ..	0	5	0
Eaton, Mr. ... ..	0	5	0
Elam, Mr. ... ..	0	5	0
Ellis, Mr. E. (Derby) ... ..	0	5	0
Earp, Mr. F. ... ..	0	5	0
Ellis, Miss (Leicester) ... ..	0	4	0
Ebdell, Mrs. ... ..	0	2	6
Elliott, Rev. W. ... ..	0	2	6
Eddison, Mrs. R. W. ... ..	0	2	6
Evans, Mrs. (Bredon) ... ..	0	2	6
Ellis, Mrs. C. (Batley) ... ..	0	2	6
Ellis, Mr. J. (Walsall) ... ..	0	2	6
Ellis, Mrs. W. ... ..	0	1	6
Ford, Mrs. ... ..	1	1	0
Ford, Mr. J. R. ... ..	1	1	0
Firth, Miss ... ..	1	1	0
Fowler, Miss Grace ... ..	0	16	0
Fowler, Mr. Ald. ... ..	0	10	0
Fowler, Mr. M. ... ..	0	10	0
Fordyce, Mrs. ... ..	0	10	0
Fairgreaves, Mr. ... ..	0	8	0
Fox, Mrs. B. J. ... ..	0	6	6
Furness, Mr. T. ... ..	0	5	0
Fothergill, Mr. W. ... ..	0	5	0
Foster, Mr. G. ... ..	0	5	0
Furness, Mr. R. ... ..	0	5	0
Freeston, Mrs. ... ..	0	5	0
Frost, Mr. Alfred ... ..	0	5	0
Frankland, Mrs. ... ..	0	5	0
Finch, Miss M. A. ... ..	0	5	0
Flint, Mr. F. L. ... ..	0	5	0
Fisk, Rev. Thos. ... ..	0	5	0
Foggitt, Mr. W. ... ..	0	3	0
Fisher, Mr. S. G. ... ..	0	3	0
Fairburn, Mrs. ... ..	0	2	6
Fairburn, Mr. J. ... ..	0	2	6
Fothergill, Mr. S. ... ..	0	2	6
Fawcett and Acomb, Misses ... ..	0	2	6

	£	s.	d.
Folds, Mrs. ... ..	0	2	6
Fothergill, Miss Jessie ... ..	0	2	6
Fenton, Mr. J. M. ... ..	0	2	6
Field, Miss M. E. ... ..	0	2	6
Fogg, Mr. J. ... ..	0	2	6
Fraser, Dr. ... ..	0	2	6
Fowler, Mrs. Jas. ... ..	0	1	6
Garnett, Mrs. ... ..	100	0	0
Garnett, Mrs. (Lecture Fund) ... ..	5	0	0
Goldsmid, Lady ... ..	5	0	0
Gell, Mrs. ... ..	5	0	0
Goldschmidt, Mr. P. ... ..	5	0	0
Gwynne, Mrs. ... ..	1	1	0
Gowland, Mr. G. H. ... ..	0	10	6
Grist, Mr. J. J. ... ..	0	10	6
Greg, Mrs. ... ..	0	10	6
Goodwin, Mr. Stephen ... ..	0	10	6
Gilman, Messrs. T. & R. ... ..	0	10	6
Grey, Mr. W. ... ..	0	10	0
Graham, Mr. Joseph ... ..	0	10	0
Greensmith, Mr. ... ..	0	10	0
Goffey, Mr. Thos. ... ..	0	10	0
Gibbs, Mr. G. S. ... ..	0	5	0
Gammage, Dr. ... ..	0	5	0
Glover, Mr. ... ..	0	5	0
Gradon, Mr. ... ..	0	5	0
Gillett, Mr. J. (Southport) ... ..	0	5	0
Glaisyer, Mrs. ... ..	0	5	0
Glover, Mr. (Crewe) ... ..	0	5	0
Gregson, Mrs. S. E. ... ..	0	5	0
Grange, Mrs. ... ..	0	5	0
Goouch, Miss J. ... ..	0	5	0
Glasspool, Mr. ... ..	0	5	0
Gibson, Mrs. ... ..	0	5	0
Guthrie, Mr. James ... ..	0	5	0
Grundy, Mr. James ... ..	0	5	0
Gee, Mr. W. T. ... ..	0	5	0
Glover, Mr. John (Hull) ... ..	0	3	0
Gidley, Mr., senr. ... ..	0	3	0
Gurney, Miss Mary ... ..	0	2	6
Gibbon, Mr. ... ..	0	2	6
Green, Mrs. (Batley) ... ..	0	2	6
Garland, Mr. J. S. ... ..	0	2	6
Gillard, Mr. ... ..	0	2	6
Godsman, Mrs. ... ..	0	2	6
Griffith, Mr. W. ... ..	0	2	6
Garnett, Mrs. (Ripon) ... ..	0	2	6
Guthrie, Mrs. A. ... ..	0	2	6
Gendall, Mr. Peter ... ..	0	2	6
Glossop, Mrs. ... ..	0	2	0
Green, Mrs. (Romiley) ... ..	0	1	6
Greenwood, Mrs. Eliza ... ..	0	1	6
Giles, Miss ... ..	0	1	6
Goodall, Miss D. ... ..	0	1	6
Greenwood, Mrs. (Bradford) ... ..	0	1	6
Hunter, Mrs. Stephenson ... ..	5	7	0
Hargreaves, Mrs. Wm. ... ..	5	0	0
Heywood, Mrs. Abel ... ..	2	2	0
Holland, Mrs. Chas. (Liscard) ... ..	2	2	0
Holland, Mrs. C. M. (Chester), 2 years ... ..	2	2	0
Hetherington, Mrs. ... ..	1	2	6
Heyworth, Mr. Eli ... ..	1	1	0
Haworth, Mrs. Jesse ... ..	1	1	0
Hill, Mrs. William (Manchester) ... ..	1	1	0
Hewson, Mrs. ... ..	1	1	0



	£	s.	d.
Hutchinson, Miss R. P. ...	1	1	0
Hunt, Mrs. ...	1	1	0
Haworth, Mr. A. ...	1	1	0
Holden, Mr. E. T. ...	1	1	0
Hollingworth, Mr. Joseph ...	1	0	0
Heywood, Mr. Ald. (Accrington) ...	1	0	0
Hargreaves, The late Mr. B. ...	1	0	0
Haworth, Mr. Ald. (Accrington) ...	1	0	0
Haslam, Mrs. W. (Bolton) ...	1	0	0
Hall, Miss E. F. (St. Leonards) ...	1	0	0
Hadwen, Miss ...	1	0	0
Higginbottom, Mr. W. ...	1	0	0
Hulley, Mrs. ...	1	0	0
Hart, Mr. G. H. ...	1	0	0
Hall, Mr. A. (B. Auckland) ...	0	10	6
Helm, Mr. S. L. ...	0	10	0
Hurtley, Mr. R. J. ...	0	10	0
Herald, Mr. W. H. ...	0	10	0
Higham, Mr. Ed. ...	0	10	0
Heath, Mr. Ald. (Crewe) ...	0	10	0
Hindle, Mr. Ald. (Accrington) ...	0	10	0
Hewit, Mr. R. P. ...	0	10	0
Hunter, Rev. John ...	0	10	0
Hill, Mr. Ed. (York) ...	0	10	0
Haigh, Mr. B. ...	0	10	0
Husband, Mr. (2 years) ...	0	10	0
Horrocks, Mr. Laurence ...	0	10	0
Hinton, Mr. Amos ...	0	5	0
Hardy, Mr. W. ...	0	5	0
Hills, Mr. John (Sunderland) ...	0	5	0
Horan, Mr. ...	0	5	0
Hurtley, Miss ...	0	5	0
Hodgson, Dr. ...	0	5	0
Hill, Mr. James (Castleton) ...	0	5	0
Hey, Ven. Archdeacon ...	0	5	0
Hill, Mr. J. (York) ...	0	5	0
Higginbottom, Mrs. ...	0	5	0
Hardy, Mr. William ...	0	5	0
Hindley, Mr. William ...	0	5	0
Hall, Mr. W. (Derby) ...	0	5	0
Hickes, Miss Frances ...	0	5	0
Howarth, Mr. Councillor ...	0	5	0
Henderson, Mrs. ...	0	5	0
Holloway, Mr. Alderman ...	0	5	0
Heal, Mrs. ...	0	4	6
Howell, Mrs. ...	0	4	0
Heap, Mr. Thomas ...	0	3	6
Hall, Mr. J. W. (Thirsk) ...	0	2	6
Huntrod, Mr. ...	0	2	6
Hutchinson, Mr. (Darlington) ...	0	2	6
Hudson, Mr. Thomas ...	0	2	6
Howarth, Miss ...	0	2	6
Heap, Mr. James ...	0	2	6
Holden, Mr. R. ...	0	2	6
Houlgate, Rev. W. J. ...	0	2	6
Haigh, Mr. J. (Huddersfield) ...	0	2	6
Haller, Mr. Thomas ...	0	2	6
Hawke, Mr. J. O. ...	0	2	6
Hilton, Mr. E. ...	0	2	6
Hughes, Miss ...	0	2	6
Hibbert, Miss ...	0	2	6
Hopkinson, Mrs. ...	0	2	6
Heath, Mrs. Richard ...	0	2	6
Hodgkiss, Miss ...	0	2	6
Hibbert, Mrs. Charles ...	0	2	6
Hampson Mrs. ...	0	2	6
Harris, Mr. Henry ...	0	2	6

	£	s.	d.
Hadley, Mr. J. ...	0	2	6
Henry, Mr. R. ...	0	2	6
Higginbottom, Mr. J. ...	0	2	6
Hall, Mr. S. (Derby) ...	0	2	6
Hildyard, Mr. J. ...	0	2	6
Heaton, Mr. W. ...	0	2	6
Hollins, Mrs. ...	0	2	6
Harvey, Mr. J. P. ...	0	2	6
Hill, Mr. C. (Crewe) ...	0	2	0
Hill, Miss S. ...	0	2	0
Hollowell, Mr. W. C. ...	0	2	0
Harbottle, Mr. ...	0	1	6
Hurst, Miss ...	0	1	6
Hall, Mrs. (Leeds) ...	0	1	6
Hough, Miss ...	0	1	6
Hey, Mrs. ...	0	1	6
Harper, Mrs. Emma ...	0	1	6
Holms, Mr. William ...	0	1	6
Holt, Mrs. ...	0	1	6
Henthwaite, Mrs. ...	0	1	0
Heath, Mrs. ...	0	1	0
Illingworth, Mr. Alfred ...	2	2	0
Ireland, Mr. Alexander ...	1	1	0
Ingham, Mrs. (Southport) ...	0	5	0
Irwell, Mr. ...	0	5	0
Ives, Mrs. ...	0	3	0
Imrie, Mr. ...	0	2	6
Jaffrey, Miss ...	2	0	0
Jacques, Mr. Amos ...	0	10	0
Johnson, Miss (Wigan) ...	0	7	6
Jordison, Mr. ...	0	5	0
Jeffs, Mr. George, jun. ...	0	5	0
Jackson, Mr. W. (Grimsby) ...	0	5	0
Jackson, Mr. S. B. (Liverpool) ...	0	5	0
Jeffreys, Mr. R. P. ...	0	5	0
Jones, Mrs. (Formby) ...	0	5	0
James, Mr. ...	0	2	6
Johnson, Mrs. E. P. (Derby) ...	0	2	6
Johnson, Miss (Sodbury) ...	0	2	6
Jackson, Mrs. (Hyde) ...	0	2	6
Jackson, Miss Sara (Leeds) ...	0	2	6
Julian, Mr. J. W. ...	0	2	6
Jeffreys, Miss ...	0	2	6
Jones, Mr. Jos. (Derby) ...	0	2	6
Jones, Miss Eliza (Woolton) ...	0	2	6
Jones, Mr. John (Wolverhampton) ...	0	2	6
Jenkinson, Mrs. ...	0	2	0
Jackson, Mr. J. R. (Bradford) ...	0	2	0
King, Mrs. E. M. ...	1	2	6
Kerr, Mr. James ...	1	0	0
Kitching, Mrs. ...	1	0	0
Kilner & Crosland, Messrs. ...	0	10	0
Kenderdine, Mrs. ...	0	10	0
Kilmister, Mrs. ...	0	10	0
Kitchener, Mr. and Mrs. ...	0	10	0
Kipling, Miss ...	0	5	0
Kitchen, Mrs. W. H. ...	0	5	0
Knott, Mr. J. ...	0	5	0
Kelsall, Mr. ...	0	5	0
Kermode, Mr. ...	0	5	0
Knowles, Mr. ...	0	2	6
Kirby, Mr. Thos. ...	0	2	6
Kent, Mrs. ...	0	2	0

	£	s.	d.
Lightbown, Mr. Henry	3	3	0
Lawson, Mr. Wm. (2 years)	2	2	0
Long, Mrs.	2	0	0
Lupton, Mr. J.	1	1	0
Lupton, Mr. Darnton	1	1	0
Longdon, Mr.	1	1	0
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid, Bart., M.P.	1	1	0
Lightfoot, Mr. Alderman (Accrington)	1	0	0
Latham, Mr. G. W.	1	0	0
Layton, Mrs. (the late)	0	13	0
Lupton, Mr. E. A.	0	10	0
Lucecock, Mrs.	0	10	0
Lucas, Miss (Harrogate)	0	10	0
Lytton, The Dowager Lady	0	10	0
Lee, Mrs. J. B.	0	5	0
Lucas, Mrs. (Darlington)	0	5	0
Lyll, Mr. G.	0	5	0
Leather, Mrs.	0	5	0
Laplough, Miss	0	5	0
Lanes, Mrs. Ann	0	5	0
Lomas, Miss	0	5	0
Lawson, Mrs. (Leeds)	0	5	0
Lloyd, Mrs. (Dumfries)	0	5	0
Lyon, Mr. J. A.	0	5	0
Letherbrow, Mrs.	0	5	0
Lingford, Mr. Joseph	0	5	0
Lingford, Mr. S. S.	0	5	0
Lupton, Miss Matilda	0	5	0
Lea, Mrs. W. (Wigan)	0	5	0
Leech, Mrs. (Chorley)	0	5	0
Little, Mr. James	0	5	0
Lambert, Rev. Brooke	0	5	0
Lamb, Mr. John	0	5	0
Lohner, Madame	0	2	11
Lucas, Miss Alice	0	2	6
Lucas, Miss Clara	0	2	6
Linsley, Mr. G. W.	0	2	6
Leetham, Mrs. Henry	0	2	6
Lundy, Mrs.	0	2	6
Lawler, Mr. M.	0	2	6
Lawson, Mrs.	0	2	6
Lowndes, Miss Mary	0	2	6
Limb, Mrs.	0	2	0
Lloyd, Mrs. R. H.	0	1	6
Leach, Mrs. M. A.	0	1	6
Leadbeater, Mr.	0	1	6
Mason, Mr. Hugh, M.P.	10	10	0
Mather, Mr.	2	2	0
Muir, Mrs.	2	0	0
Mills, Mrs. John	1	10	0
M'Culloch, Mrs.	1	1	0
M'Kinnel, Mrs.	1	1	0
Manfield, Mr., M.P.	1	1	0
March, Mr. J. O.	1	1	0
Mander, Mr. S. S.	1	1	0
Mele-Barese, Princess	1	1	0
Marsden, Mr. James	1	1	0
Marshall, Miss (London)	1	1	0
Mason, Mrs.	1	0	0
Milne, Mr. J. D.	1	0	0
Muirhead, Dr.	1	0	0
Melling, Mr. William, J.P.	1	0	0
Mathers, Mr. J. S.	0	10	6
Maccullagh, Mrs.	0	10	0
M'Connel, Mrs.	0	10	0
Medley, Mrs.	0	10	0

	£	s.	d.
Marshall, Mr. S. A.	0	10	0
Moore, Dr.	0	10	0
Mactaggart, Mrs.	0	10	0
M'Kerrow, Mrs.	0	7	6
Middleton, Mr. R. M.	0	5	0
Mackenzie, Rev. James	0	5	0
Massey, Mrs.	0	5	0
Mylne, Mrs.	0	5	0
Marsh, Mrs. Colley	0	5	0
Moore, Mrs. R. R.	0	5	0
M'Neil, Mr.	0	5	0
Munroe, Dr.	0	5	0
Mudd, Mr. Harrison	0	5	0
Molyneux, Mr.	0	5	0
Meadows, Mr.	0	5	0
Moss & Son, Messrs.	0	5	0
Moody, Mr. Walker	0	5	0
Mundahl, Mr.	0	5	0
Minshall, Mr. Philip	0	5	0
Martin, Mr. T. H. (London)	0	5	0
Morrison, Miss	0	5	0
Maltby, Mr.	0	5	0
Mackenzie, Mr.	0	5	0
M'Lean, Mr.	0	5	0
Manning, Mrs.	0	5	0
Maclellan, Rev. R. E. B.	0	5	0
Melling, Mrs.	0	5	0
Melling, Mr. Sam.	0	5	0
Mackenzie, Miss G.	0	5	0
Mitchell, Miss Kate	0	5	0
M'Kitrick, Miss	0	3	0
Marsh, Mrs.	0	2	6
Meakin, Mr.	0	2	6
Monkhouse, Mrs.	0	2	6
Mudd, Mr. Simon	0	2	6
Moss, Mrs.	0	2	6
Maude, Mr. John	0	2	6
Monkhouse, Mrs. (York)	0	2	6
Moore, Mr. (Hanley)	0	2	6
Mandell, Mr.	0	2	6
Martin, Miss Lilly	0	2	6
Moseley, Mr. Joshua	0	2	6
Murgatroyd, Mr.	0	2	6
Monkhouse, Mr. J.	0	2	6
Markland, Mr. R.	0	2	0
Moses, Mrs.	0	1	6
Mawson, Miss	0	1	6
Martin, Mrs.	0	1	6
Mawby, Mrs.	0	1	0
Macrae, Miss	0	1	0
Merritt, Mrs.	0	1	0
Nicol, Mr. H.	1	1	0
Nicholson, Mr. J. O. (Macclesfield)	1	1	0
Nicholson, Mr. Arthur (Leek)	0	10	0
Neale, Mr. Ed. Vansittart	0	10	0
Nichol, Miss (Hartlepool)	0	5	0
Newbegin, Mr.	0	5	0
Nichol, Miss (Headington)	0	5	0
Nevins, Dr.	0	5	0
Nicholson, Miss (Southport)	0	2	6
Norton, Mr.	0	2	6
Newton, Mr. W. (Derby)	0	2	6
Newton, Mrs. M. (London)	0	2	0
Neville, Mrs.	0	1	6
Netherwood, Mrs.	0	1	6
Nutton, Mrs. E. A.	0	1	6

	£	s.	d.
Newling, Miss	...	...	...
Newton, Mrs. James (Leeds)	...	...	...
Oates, Mrs.	...	...	...
Ogden, Mrs.	...	...	...
Ormerod, Mrs. Thos.	...	...	...
Oxley, The Misses	...	...	...
Oldham, Mrs. (Ditton)	...	...	...
Owen, Mrs. (Wrexham)	...	...	...
Oliver, Mr.	...	...	...
Owen, Mr. J. (Derby)	...	...	...
Oldham, Mrs. (Hyde)	...	...	...
Owen, Mrs. (Cardiff)	...	...	...
Owen, Mr. David	...	...	...
Pease, Mr. Arthur, M.P.	...	...	...
Pease, Mrs. Gurney	...	...	...
Palmer, Mr. J. Hinde, M.P.	...	...	...
Phythian, Mr. Joseph	...	...	...
Peiser, Mr. J.	...	...	...
Pankhurst, Dr.	...	...	...
Pankhurst, Mrs.	...	...	...
Painters, The Manchester Society of Women	...	...	...
Powell, Mr. Thomas	...	...	...
Peek, Mrs.	...	...	...
Pickup, Mrs.	...	...	...
Potter, Mr. T. B., M.P.	...	...	...
Pearson, Mrs.	...	...	...
Pain, Mr. Wm.	...	...	...
Pease, Miss	...	...	...
Pollard, Mr. A. W. (2 years)	...	...	...
Prideaux, Miss E. B.	...	...	...
Petrie, Mrs.	...	...	...
Pearson, Mr. R. (Thirsk)	...	...	...
Prideaux, Miss G. M.	...	...	...
Procter, Miss	...	...	...
Praeger, Mr. and Mrs.	...	...	...
Pilcher, Miss	...	...	...
Philips, Miss (Shifnal)	...	...	...
Parsons, Miss (Shifnal)	...	...	...
Porter, Miss M. E.	...	...	...
Parker, Mr. (York)	...	...	...
Procter, Mr. John (York)	...	...	...
Pedley, Mr. R.	...	...	...
Plaistow, Mr. J.	...	...	...
Pullar, Mrs. Edmund	...	...	...
Pearson, Mr. T. (Chesterfield)	...	...	...
Pearson, Miss (Chesterfield)	...	...	...
Pierson, Miss (Harrowgate)	...	...	...
Parker, Mrs. (Chesterfield)	...	...	...
Payn, Miss	...	...	...
Preston, Mr. John	...	...	...
Pick, Mr. D.	...	...	...
Pyke, Captain	...	...	...
Patterson, Mr. E. F. (Belfast)	...	...	...
Peter, Mrs.	...	...	...
Potts, Mrs. A. W.	...	...	...
Priest, Mr.	...	...	...
Prosser, Rev. D. S.	...	...	...
Pearce, Mr.	...	...	...
Paterson, Mr. John (Paisley)	...	...	...
Puckridge, Mr. J.	...	...	...
Partridge, Mr. E.	...	...	...
Pope, Mr.	...	...	...
Parkinson, Mrs.	...	...	...
Pullien, Mrs.	...	...	...
Porritt, Mrs.	...	...	...

	£	s.	d.
Parker, Mrs. (Heckmondwike)...	...	...	...
Parker, Mr. (Heckmondwike)	...	...	...
Preston, Mr. W.	...	...	...
Pointon, Mrs.	...	...	...
Potter, Mrs. S.	...	...	...
Puckering, Mr. W.	...	...	...
Pollock, Mrs.	...	...	...
Popple, Miss	...	...	...
Roe, Mr. T.	...	...	...
Ramsbottom, Miss (2 years)	...	...	...
Ramsbottom, Miss (Lecture Fund)	...	...	...
Rigbye, Miss H.	...	...	...
Richardson, Mrs. Henry...	...	...	...
Reckitts, Mr. Isaac	...	...	...
Rhys, Mrs.	...	...	...
Renals, Mr.	...	...	...
Rowley, Mr. C., junr.	...	...	...
Richardson, Mr. (Stockton)	...	...	...
Roby, Mrs.	...	...	...
Radford, Mr. C.	...	...	...
Robertson, Mr. W. L.	...	...	...
Rotherford, Mrs. J.	...	...	...
Reed, Miss Nellie...	...	...	...
Robinson, Mr. G. H.	...	...	...
Russell, Mr. J.	...	...	...
Ready, Mr. T. W.	...	...	...
Rowcroft, Mrs.	...	...	...
Rhoades, Mr. J.	...	...	...
Rowlinson, Mr.	...	...	...
Rowntree, Mrs.	...	...	...
Rowntree, Mr. Joshua	...	...	...
Ridgway, Mr. M.	...	...	...
Rawson, Mr. James	...	...	...
Rhodes, Mr. J. (Thirsk)...	...	...	...
Rymer, Mrs.	...	...	...
Rollin, Mr. J. G.	...	...	...
Roberts, Rev. W. L.	...	...	...
Robinson, Mr. H. (Hull)	...	...	...
Raven, Mr.	...	...	...
Raddings, Mr.	...	...	...
Rawson, Mr. P. L.	...	...	...
Richmond, Miss...	...	...	...
Russell, Mrs.	...	...	...
Robinson, Mr. John (Kendal)	...	...	...
Ridgway, Mr. Joseph	...	...	...
Robinson, Mr. W. B. (Chesterfield)	...	...	...
Roberts, Mr. G. H. (Grimsby)...	...	...	...
Robinson, Mrs. C. H.	...	...	...
Richards, Mr. R.	...	...	...
Scatcherd, Mrs. Oliver	...	...	...
Smithson, Mrs. Ed.	...	...	...
Smithson, Mrs. Ed. (Lecture Fund)	...	...	...
Steinthal, Mr. H. M. (2 years)	...	...	...
Shepherd, Miss E. C. (2 years)	...	...	...
Scholefield, Mrs.	...	...	...
Slagg, Mr. John, M.P.	...	...	...
Scott, Mrs.	...	...	...
Sheffield, Mrs. Ed.	...	...	...
Spence, Mrs.	...	...	...
Stephens, Mr.	...	...	...
Smith, Mr. J. Stores	...	...	...
Steinthal, Rev. S. A.	...	...	...
Steinthal, Mr. A. E.	...	...	...
Scott, Mr. Alderman (Burnley)	...	...	...
Simpson, Mr. C.	...	...	...

	£	s.	d.
Swanwick, Mrs. ... ..	1	0	0
Sharman, Mrs. N. Pearce ... ..	1	0	0
Samuelson, Mr. Jas. ... ..	0	10	6
Samelson, Dr. ... ..	0	10	0
Smith, Mr. W. (Accrington) ... ..	0	10	0
Stead, Mrs. ... ..	0	10	0
Shearer, Miss A. ... ..	0	10	0
Smarey, Miss ... ..	0	10	0
Smithson, Mr. E. ... ..	0	10	0
Spence, Mrs. Alfred ... ..	0	10	0
Saxton, Miss Harriet ... ..	0	10	0
Simpson, Mr. Wm. ... ..	0	10	0
Smith, Mr. Jas. (Liverpool) ... ..	0	10	0
Stothart, Mr. J. ... ..	0	10	0
Shaw, Mrs. ... ..	0	10	0
Shackleton, Miss ... ..	0	6	6
Smith, Mr. B. (Thirsk) ... ..	0	5	0
Smith, Mrs. Alfred (Ripon) ... ..	0	5	0
Smallpage, Mrs. ... ..	0	5	0
Stainsby, Mr. J. ... ..	0	5	0
Swanwick, Dr. ... ..	0	5	0
Scott, Mr. A., M.A. ... ..	0	5	0
Sager, Mr. Thomas ... ..	0	5	0
Shepley, Mr. Thomas ... ..	0	5	0
Sunter, Miss ... ..	0	5	0
Smith, Rev. J. H. (Accrington) ... ..	0	5	0
Smethurst, Mr. S. ... ..	0	5	0
Stephenson, Mr. T. ... ..	0	5	0
Smethurst, Mr. H., sen. ... ..	0	5	0
Smethurst, Mr. H., jun. ... ..	0	5	0
Smethurst, Mr. J. ... ..	0	5	0
Sheard, Mr. F. ... ..	0	5	0
Swaine, Miss ... ..	0	5	0
Sherwood, Mrs. ... ..	0	5	0
Slater, Rev. C. S. ... ..	0	5	0
Smith, Miss (Hyde) ... ..	0	5	0
Shatwell, Miss ... ..	0	5	0
Shaw, Mr. Thomas ... ..	0	5	0
Silvester, Mr. ... ..	0	5	0
Sharp, Mr. John ... ..	0	5	0
Senior, Mr. George ... ..	0	5	0
Stroyan, Mrs. ... ..	0	4	0
Sinclair, Mr. Francis ... ..	0	4	0
Snow, Mrs. ... ..	0	2	6
Shadforth, Mr. W. ... ..	0	2	6
Snowdon, Miss ... ..	0	2	6
Sergeant, Mrs. ... ..	0	2	6
Smith, Mr., J.P. (Burnley) ... ..	0	2	6
Smith, Mr. William (Accrington) ... ..	0	2	6
Sinclair, Mr. R. ... ..	0	2	6
Smith, Mr. R. (Grimsby) ... ..	0	2	6
Sheard, Mrs. P. ... ..	0	2	6
Senior, Mr. Wm. ... ..	0	2	6
Smith, Mrs. (York) ... ..	0	2	6
Smith, Mrs. Sabina (Hyde) ... ..	0	2	6
Swaine, Mrs. (Hyde) ... ..	0	2	6
Sidway, Mrs. ... ..	0	2	6
Simpson, Mrs. (London) ... ..	0	2	6
Smith, Mrs. (Kettering) ... ..	0	2	6
Shaw, Miss Susan ... ..	0	2	6
Sanderson, Mr. ... ..	0	2	6
Smith, Miss (Bishop Auckland) ... ..	0	2	6
Small, Dr. ... ..	0	2	6
Saunders, Mr. ... ..	0	2	6
Southern, Mr. J. ... ..	0	2	6
Smethurst, Mr. J. (Scarborough) ... ..	0	2	6
Shenton, Mr. J. ... ..	0	2	6
Swindells, Mrs. ... ..	0	2	6

	£	s.	d.
Simpson, Mr. ... ..	0	2	6
Sinclair, Mr. J. ... ..	0	2	0
Sherlock, Mr. John ... ..	0	2	0
Solomons, Miss ... ..	0	2	0
Sheard, Mrs. B. ... ..	0	1	6
Schofield, Miss A. ... ..	0	1	6
Stone, Mrs. ... ..	0	1	6
Sunley, Mrs. ... ..	0	1	0
Thomasson, Mr. Thos., Executors of the late ... ..	200	0	0
Thomasson, Mr. and Mrs. ... ..	150	0	0
Todd, Miss ... ..	5	0	0
Tennent, Lady Emmerson ... ..	1	1	0
Taylor, Mrs. Henry (Manchester) ... ..	1	1	0
Taylor, Mrs. Thos. (London) ... ..	1	1	0
Talbot, Mr. W. ... ..	1	1	0
Tozer, Captain ... ..	1	1	0
Talham, Mr. Geo. ... ..	1	0	0
Thompson, Mr. R. (York) ... ..	0	10	0
Thompson, Miss (Preston) ... ..	0	10	0
Taylor, Mr. John ... ..	0	10	0
Thorns, Mr. ... ..	0	10	0
Turnbull, Mr. ... ..	0	5	0
Tanfield, Mr. ... ..	0	5	0
Taylor, Mr. James (Sunderland) ... ..	0	5	0
Taylor, Mr. J. (Burnley) ... ..	0	5	0
Thompson, Mr. (Burnley) ... ..	0	5	0
Townson, Mr. James ... ..	0	5	0
Thorp, Mrs. Fielden ... ..	0	5	0
Tweedale, Mrs. ... ..	0	5	0
Turner, Mrs. H. (Bognor) ... ..	0	5	0
Teale, Mr. J. W., M.A. ... ..	0	5	0
Thompson, Mr. John (Kendal) ... ..	0	5	0
Threlfall, Mrs. J. H. ... ..	0	5	0
Thorpe, Mr. Jas. (Grimsby) ... ..	0	5	0
Tongue, Mr. B. ... ..	0	2	6
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[THIRD EDITION.]

# ELECTORAL REFORM.

BY

WILLIAM COUNT,

General Secretary of "The National Union of Working Women,"

and late Member of the "Bristol Trades' Council."

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# ELECTORAL REFORM.

## A PLEA FOR JUSTICE.

HOW many prejudices of the past are proved to have been founded upon ignorance or error! and even in this age of vaunted civilization may there not exist deviations from justice and right which an almost immediate future may contemplate with wonder and astonishment? We may boast of our progress, our sense of justice, our refinement, our superiority over ages past; but to what strange anomalies can we become habituated: usage, training, not only seem to blunt our understanding, but create, if not a lazy indifference, at least a want of inclination to scrutinize too deeply questions which do not affect our immediate selves; nay, in many cases, custom actually seems to create an autocratic feeling of pre-eminence, that questions vitally affecting the interests of others are too often cast aside, not only as untenable, but as calculated to subvert our supposed "right" to superiority and dominion. But should mere prejudice—though handed down by the usages of former times—or should reason, be the standard by which to judge great questions of National importance? for questions deeply affecting even a portion of the community should not be lightly glossed. No! calmly weighed by the agreement or disagreement with the principles of Civil Liberty, Justice, Equity, Reason, the rights of humanity, these should be our guide!

Obedience to human laws is binding and sacred upon all, nevertheless should those laws unduly press upon one portion of the community, or be found incompatible with justice or consistency, then does it become the bounden duty of the honest and the thoughtful, notwithstanding the ridicule of the world, the jibes and jeers of the thoughtless; notwithstanding the contumely which may be inflicted for supporting a cause which may not be founded upon immemorial usage, or adapted to fashionable conceptions, still in point of justice does it not become a duty to shake off all lethargy of thought, and boldly battle for that which conscience, justice, and reason, declare to be the right? To create, by protests and reasonings, a public opinion not only capable of demanding but amending those laws which, though sanctioned by custom, are proved to be antagonistic to the principles of true liberty

and common sense? *For as the structure of Civil Liberty is founded upon the base of natural right, so liberty can only with justice be restrained when considered expedient for the safety and welfare of society as a whole.* The essence of all Freedom is founded upon Justice, and neither the precedents of the past, nor jurisdiction founded upon error, can give justification for partial legislation, for as direct representation is the groundwork of Political Liberty, so the restriction of a certain Class or Sex, the denial to them of certain privileges we ourselves possess, proclaim, if not a tyranny, at least an usurpation not founded upon the divine principles of justice.

All projects of Reform have ever been looked upon as the visionary dreams of wild utopians. To attack old settled abuses requires that bold courageous spirit which conscience and justice can alone inspire, for all reforms, ere successful, have had to battle with deep-rooted prejudice; the most indisputable rights belonging to humanity have ever been the rights most vehemently disputed. Freedom of Conscience—Abolition of Slavery—Freedom of the Press—Free Trade—Catholic Emancipation—Household Suffrage—and a score of other wise and judicious measures—to whom and to what do we owe the realization of their varied blessings? Were not one and all met in their early history with ridicule and sneers? How and by what means were those various reforms obtained? Through the persistent self-sacrificing advocacy of a self-denying few! was not their introduction denounced as outrageous to common sense, nay, calculated to ruin not only certain vested rights but the rights and liberties of the very nation? The force of custom so habituates us to present conditions that too few are prepared for advantages which change may produce; and as the mind progresses in knowledge, as civilization casts aside those habits of thought which custom or tradition have engendered, experience discovers that many of our prejudices are legacies bequeathed us by the past, and consequently are not only most unadapted to our present condition, but anomalous to, nay, a violation of, the groundwork or primary principles of Civil Liberty—Justice and Reason.

When F.H.F. Berkeley, M.P., annually introduced his Ballot Bill into the House of Commons was he not invariably received with laughter and derision? were not the principle and spirit of the Bill declared to be not only experimentally dangerous but altogether at variance and repugnant to all preconceived notions of British courage and independence? But from persistency of effort what has been the result? Behold! All those old degrading usages of past Elections how reformed! The drunkenness, the bribery, then all paramount, how vanished! Now peace and quietness reign in the place of turbulence and riot; thus as antipathies and prejudices are cleared aside by progressive reforms, what errors, what groundless fears, we discover in our former judgement! Change however desirable from intrinsic merit is ever deemed hazardous and dangerous by the weak and timid; but had it not been for innovations, the same old feudal system would be existing now

as a thousand years ago. As mind progresses in knowledge, so knowledge resorting to action produces change; and since we are living in a purer and more enlightened age than those barbaric eras of the past, surely the usage then adapted to the world's requirements would be repugnant to the present.

Now, by the light of Civil Liberty, are there not anomalies to be discovered even in our vaunted pure system of Government? Is not one great portion of the community deprived of all direct legislative power? Can that be a pure system of liberty which calls for passive obedience from those who have no direct voice in the creation of laws which they are called upon to obey. We cry "*that taxation without representation is robbery,*" and yet what are the conditions of the so-called freedom granted to women; are they not politically in a state of vassalage or dependence upon men; does the mere distinction of sex justly create an inequality of rights? If subjected to laws, without the slightest appearance of direct representation, can women possibly be in any other position than that of *political outcasts*? Are slavish conditions as the price of existence in accordance with the principles of Civil Liberty? We boast of justice, but what a mockery, when merely on account of sex all direct representation is denied.

Since a full and free Representative Government is considered, and properly so, as the best system of polity in a State—as calculated to be most conducive to the happiness and prosperity of the Nation—as most in accordance with the wish and will of a whole people—upon what principle of consistency can certain of our fellow-subjects be denied direct representation, especially when possessing equal responsibilities and equal qualifications as those in possession of that charter of freedom—the Franchise. What! merely through the condition of sex, grant privileges to one and deny to another, under equal conditions? Can the voice of a Nation be truly expressed when more than one-half of the inhabitants are deprived of all direct representation. No! for as legislators simply legislate for the best interests of those whom they represent, how can it be expected that those deprived of all political voice can have their important questions dispassionately considered? One-sided representation means one-sided legislation, for surely the consideration of questions deeply affecting large portions of mankind must be of a defective character, unless the opinions of the whole country by some direct means, can be taken into consideration.

Now in all well constituted states one of the grand points in the science of politics is to make the welfare of individuals coincide with the general interest; to confer no special privilege upon any one special class, but that as the interest of the whole is to be considered, direct legislative influence should be within the power of all, from the evidence of past historical facts, nay, from the evidence of our common sense, we must allow, that of all interests, the interests of the unrepresented are most likely to suffer, since in point of fact legislation is inspired by the influence of the represented, thus



in a truly Representative Nation all opinions should be, if not to the full, at least to a legitimate extent, permitted to have a voice, otherwise one-sided views, antagonistic to true freedom, must be the inevitable consequence; and should there be the total exclusion of any one class or sex; does not that very exclusion (in a professedly free country), proclaim an anomaly bordering upon injustice, needing rectification? and should there be no probability of danger in granting a just reform, based upon justice to all, surely it becomes a great and generous nation to hold out the hand of brotherhood to those who have hitherto, through custom or usage, inadvertently, as it were, been cast out the pale of citizenship. But unfortunately, how many of the reforms which the people justly demanded have at length been conceded, not from the spirit of justice, but through loud and boisterous agitation, in fact, from headstrong turbulence, bordering upon Revolution!

In a professedly Representative Nation is it not an act of injustice to grant a certain privilege to one housekeeper and deny it to another? I ask, are not all housekeepers (regardless of sex), when fulfilling certain equal conditions, entitled to equal benefits? What are the potent reasons that the enfranchisement of women housekeepers should be longer disallowed? What beneficial reason can be pointed out for unjust restriction? What possibility is there of social disaster? If deemed not sufficiently enlightened to vote, why are women deemed sufficiently enlightened to pay their share of the National expenditure? Upon what principle of justice is the right denied? What reasonable cause can be shown for their exclusion? Are not women housekeepers as a whole as well fitted, morally and intellectually, as many of the men who are now in possession of the Franchise? Does not the position of householder afford a sufficient test of useful citizenship? If so in the case of men, why not also in the case of women? Since the extension of the Franchise would cause no constitutional wrong, why deprive women of their constitutional right? Think you that because a few thousand women were added to the poll throughout the country, that anything of a revolutionary nature would be the result? What possible danger can there be to the Nation in ten or twelve women out of every hundred voters being added to the Poll; though their influence were comparatively trifling in extent, nevertheless, would there not be a direct representation of the sex as a whole? Is it of so serious an import that women housekeepers, paying Scott and Lot equally with men, should have an equality of privilege? Supposing for the sake of argument, it were proposed that men, not on account of incapacity, but in consequence of sex, should be deprived of all legislative power, what would be the result? What virtuous indignation would arise; would they not, with all the vituperation at their command, denounce so absurd, so one-sided, so unjust a proposal? Then upon what principle of logic, or justice, or common sense, can men deprive their neighbours (merely on account of sex), of that which in justice, under equal conditions, should be common to them both.

But unfortunately too many of the customs of the past seem so to have entered into the present, we become so habituated to the grossest absurdities that however we may be desirous of conferring justice upon others, nevertheless our understanding becomes, as it were, so warped through common usage or custom, that without taking the trouble to reflect we lazily deem the state of things existing must be right: trained up to certain ideas, the mind becomes tutored to travel in certain grooves, and as a consequence we blindly grovel in the ruts of antiquated usage; reason lies dormant, and a prejudice is so created, that anomalies actually antagonistic to Civil Liberty are not only tacitly permitted, but looked upon as a matter of course, as a mere natural condition.

Upon all great National questions, why should not the judgment of the Nation, by some direct means, be consulted? Even upon those great matters, Peace or War, actually the mind of more than half the Nation is not considered at all; what reason can be assigned for such injustice? One-sided partiality shows a want of that great virtue, a nonconforming to that great principle—to do to others as we would be done by. Where is the integrity, the equitable distribution of justice, when the voice of the larger portion of the community is politically gagged? I ask—where is the consistency, that because one ratepayer happens to be a man, he should as a consequence be entitled to a vote, and yet deny the privilege to another housekeeper, with the same amount of duties and liabilities, because she happens to be a woman? Does not a woman's welfare depend upon the laws and course of action adopted by the State? Then why, in the name of all that is honest, should she not be empowered to assist in the election of those from whom emanate all national measures for good or evil, equally with the man? Is it conformable to the conditions that equity demands, that one-half the persons composing the State should be placed at the dictation or discretion of the other half? Where is Civil Liberty; when one-half the community is governed by the independent will of the other half—a will over which there is no control. Why this persistency in wrong; why this hostility to justice? Is freedom of so little an account that so long as we possess the blessing ourselves we are careless, like the slave owners of old, even though others are enthralled? do not women equal men in point of number; are not their interests equally at stake? Then why deprive them of those natural inalienable rights which belong to citizenship. A class monopoly naturally implies a class dominion, and the dominancy of any special class has at least the tendency to reduce others to an abject slavish condition, thus in possessing direct representation ourselves, and depriving another great class or sex of all legislative power, what does it imply? an outrage upon common sense; in fact, a total disregard to the first principles of Civil Liberty—the rights of humanity!

Experience (that great teacher of mankind) has already demonstrated the fact that women are capable of performing higher duties than those which hitherto have been assigned them by the other sex. Will it not

be conceded that those women-householders, in the exercise of the Franchise in local matters, have generally used the privilege with prudence and discretion; hence, as a result, does it not illustrate the fact, that in point of fitness women-householders are equally entitled to share with men the Parliamentary vote? Why has the Franchise been conferred upon women for Municipal and School Board Elections? Why are they permitted to take part in the Election of Poor Law Guardians, of members of Local Boards, Churchwardens, Auditors, and other officials? because the interests of each are equally concerned in Local matters. But are they not equally interested in matters of a National character? Is Peace or War a matter of indifference to women? Is Taxation only burdensome to men? Having equal concern in the consequences of legislative enactment with men, why distinction as to privilege? Women are considered sufficiently qualified to vote with regard to local burdens, such as rates and levies, are they not equally capable of forming a judgment regarding the National expenditure, which amounts to but a very few millions more than that derived from local taxation? the qualification that gives the former equally should give the latter, otherwise the principle of consistency is set at naught: and then again, when a woman occupies the head of a household, performing similar duties and bearing equal burdens with men in like condition, by what right do we deny a power to one and give to the other. Men seem to value the Franchise, and justly so, but what just reason can be given for depriving others legally qualified but for sex; does there not seem a selfishness, a puerility of feeling, in permitting an anomaly of so flagrant a character; but after all, through the spirit of progress, the dominance of class has in a great measure been broken down, and now in point of justice and freedom, at no far distant future the dominance of sex must share an equal fate.

Most suggested reforms are denounced as being repugnant to the spirit of the Constitution, but in this instance is it so contrary to the usages of our country that a woman should exercise political power? If so, how long has the Salic law been abolished in this country? Are men alone, from their physical power and moral excellence, wholly and solely entitled to the Throne? Is it not rather a lady who holds pre-eminence over our National Government; can she not in her mercy grant actually the lives of those condemned by our very laws? Does she not possess the power of dismissing the highest Minister of State from office? Has she not the supreme command over our Military and Naval forces? Does she not possess the sole power of levying war or declaring peace; nay, does she not possess the right of closing the mouth of our very Parliament, by dissolution? Yet, placed in a different sphere, that Sovereign Lady would actually be deemed ineligible to record even a vote for a mere member of the House of Commons. To what extremes of folly, inconsistent with reason, men will run; precedent, usage, custom, seem to justify the grossest absurdity. We place the most unbounded confidence in a female ruler, and yet we hesitate to grant a mere vote to a small portion of the same

sex. Why do we view with reliance; why do we place the most unbounded confidence in the dominion of Female Sovereigns? Because under the different eras of our National existence the results of their supreme command will bear favorable comparison with that of men, for wisdom, constitutional conduct, nay, for the general well-being of the Nation, have they not severally proved the glories of the epochs over which they have reigned? and yet, if placed in a different station they would be deemed incapable of performing a simple act of public duty; actually the giving a vote would be deemed too lofty a height for their feminine conception, and yet politically at times we place them at the highest pinnacle of our Constitution. How do we act with women? we profess the greatest veneration for their goodness and virtues, and yet by denying them the vote we proclaim at least a want of confidence. We flatter, avow homage and respect for their many endearing qualities, and yet, politically, in what position do we place them—in one akin to that of thoughtless children; as beings so heedless, careless, and so ignorant, in fact, as incapable of forming a sound or correct judgment on public matters. We profess to owe the best teachings of our lives to women, and yet politically we place them in the same position as that of incarcerated felons. We declare that the best, the most prudent guides whom we have ever found in life, the most unselfish advisers, have been women; that perchance had we but followed the judicious precepts of those near and dearly loved ones, we should have been wiser, happier, better; and yet politically we deny the whole of the sex the possession of rationality; for does not the denial of the vote place them in the same category as that of the maniac or the imbecile? as beings incapable of forming a rational political judgment. How different is the course of procedure adopted towards men; they may be drunken, immoral, vicious, yet being men, holding each a house, and that perhaps supported by the industry of the wife, nevertheless we give them the power to vote (at least in our Boroughs). Yet with regard to women, notwithstanding the property they may hold, notwithstanding their intelligence, their industry, what do we do; stamp down upon them! Why? because they are only women. What reason can be assigned but that of prejudice? Does not their exclusion proclaim a want of calm dispassionate enquiry? But as the age progresses in knowledge, notwithstanding that selfish spirit of exclusiveness permeating so many, we shall discover that the doctrine of true representation cannot be founded upon restriction, that the exclusion of any class or sex is not only an anomaly in our representative Constitution, but discordant to the judgment of the honest and the thoughtful.

Although in the past it may generally be acknowledged that women, in consequence of sex, have been deprived of political power, still because they have hitherto been exiled from their natural rights, is that a sufficient justification for the perpetuation of that, which being founded upon injustice, must as a result be a natural wrong. I grant that all proposed innovations upon our ancient customs or institutions

demands dispassionate enquiry, but if those customs be found incompatible with consistency, if they will not bear the scrutinizing test of reason, ought they not to be swept aside as unadapted to the more enlightened present? It might be asserted that for ages past women have not been entitled to the Franchise; was not the same assertion (until lately), equally applicable to the whole mass of the working people of this country? has not our present Constitution been the handywork of a continuity of reforms? First, the Kings held autocratic supremacy; then, Kings and Nobles together; then, by slow degrees, the burgesses became of some account; then, at length the body of the people, provided they were men; and now, I ask, why should not women-housekeepers, bearing burdens and paying taxes equally in proportion with men, be entrusted with the same moral right to vote; sex can be no moral barrier; so great a deviation from the principles of Civil Liberty represents a violation of all equity and justice. Where are the high-souled instincts of our nature, that we would selfishly restrict others from rightly sharing privileges we ourselves enjoy, ay, privileges in fact for which they can show as good a title. Why this indifference to the fundamental spirit of justice? How dare we, in an age of civilisation and reason, meanly and selfishly ignore the just, the natural, the inalienable right which belongs to our common humanity.

In the present state of the law, men arrogantly seem to declare that women have no natural or acquired qualification to discharge political duties; that they are totally regardless as to who shall create the laws by which they are governed. What! notwithstanding the experience they have obtained in the exercise of the Franchise in local matters; notwithstanding their performance of those public duties has proved of a beneficial character. Why, the very concessions granted to women show the reasonableness of granting the whole principle of Woman Suffrage. Is there not as great an amount of conscientiousness manifested in women as men? Why localise her influence? Are not the concerns of her country, the welfare of humanity, of as great an account as that of the domestic circle? Then why debar her from participating in questions of a National character? Why should men arrogate the right to govern women without their consent? Upon what principle was that right solely conferred upon men? Are men so immaculate in judgment? By excluding her from direct representation, what justice can there be in legislating regarding her rights—her property—nay, her very labour. By bestowing upon women-housekeepers the same rights as those possessed by men, what phantoms of evil can possibly be conjured up. What possible justification can there be that equal rights should not be conferred upon women? This dominance, this impatience for superiority, will not stand the test of sober reason. Whom do men represent in Parliament?—those who elect them. Do women assist in their election? No! Then who need wonder that many of the important matters deeply concerning women lie in abeyance; and why? because the interests of those not directly

represented are generally neglected, and though it may be asserted that our representatives for the greater part are actuated by the spirit of justice, and hence as a result no possible part of the community can suffer, nay, it may be asserted that they possess not only the capability but the will to reform any and every abuse; yet, alas! were not those kind of arguments adduced to prevent the present class of voters from obtaining a due share of political power? but still I ask, even though no special abuses were pointed out, were not those who were so lately excluded justified in demanding representation of a more equal character? It is not because certain rights or reforms are not granted that they are not desirable; class exclusion bears upon its face at least an appearance of injustice, and surely a great and magnanimous nation like England can afford not only to act with impartiality, but with even-handed justice, to the whole of her children.

Then again, it is said—"Before any class is given the Franchise, see that intellectually they are qualified." Were not the self same kind of arguments used why the great mass of the people should not be directly represented? But did the legislature wait for an educated people before they gave them Household Suffrage? No! the Franchise was granted, and then, and not till then, was the education of the people earnestly considered. Thus this affords no argument why one half the inhabitants of the kingdom should be treated as political outcasts. Why fix upon arbitrary lines; the granting to one housekeeper and denying another, merely on account of sex? Should the mere accident of sex be a debarrer? Why should the one possess the power, and the other be powerless, in the creating of laws which all are forced to obey? We boast that one of the great glories of England is in setting an example to all other nations of representative government. We boast professedly of Household Suffrage; why not carry it out in its entire fullness—logically our profession of Household Suffrage is fictitious; and then again, the higher the civilization the more are the rights of women considered and respected; the greater the depths of barbarism, the greater the depths of women's degradation; narrow-mindedness of sex emanates from the self same feeling as the narrow-mindedness of class. What possibility of fear or danger can there be in women housekeepers having a just and legitimate right conferred upon them? We grant to them the right to vote for our local Parliaments; why not for the National Chamber? Have they not shown, electorally speaking at least, as great an amount of adaptability and education as the men? I ask, in what respect has woman abused the privilege conferred upon her; has home or family been neglected in consequence of the vote? I answer, no! and possibly not to so great an extent as many men neglect their business callings; and here I think they show a fair example to the other sex: now extend the ramification of ideas in either sex, and what is the result?—the more close the reasoning upon any given subject, the more it redounds to the well-being of the nation. Of what are men afraid? If the mere payment of rent and taxes give men the due qualification to vote, surely the

self same liabilities and qualifications, in point of justice, entitle the other sex to equal privilege. Since sex is no bar to punishment for the committal of crime, since the same conformation to the laws is demanded from both sexes or classes alike, why should not an equally direct influence be exercised by either sex in the creation of those laws by which they are bound. Has not Justice Blackstone laid it down as an axiom—That subjects are not bound in point of justice to submit to laws in which they have had no hand in framing or influence to alter; but, alas, with regard to the rights of women, the principle of doing to others as we would be done by seems to have dissolved into an idle theory. One-sided representation means one-sided laws, and one-sided laws are the invariable outcome of the dominance of class or sex; or in a word, that educated prejudice naturally predominates over the principles of equity and justice.

It has been declared that there is more power in the face of a pretty woman, more havoc in her laugh, more strength in her tears, than in all the arguments and laws of men; but what cajollery is there in flattery! How do we display the reality of our esteem, by placing her politically in the same position as that of a born idiot; the influence of the example thus set by the law is too manifest; have not most of us noted in life that those women who take most pains in the cultivation of their minds have become the jibe and jest of many a fool. Women, as a rule, scarce dare to manifest an intellectual superiority; and why? lest men declare such accomplishments to be "unwomanly." Can it be wondered then that so great a number of women take such little pains to improve their understandings, when they are trained from their very infancy into a subservient timidity almost bordering upon thralldom? and what though caprice and whim, show, gaiety and fashion, are the chief distinguishing features of too many, to whom is all this folly to be ascribed? Men seem to create, or rather prescribe, certain rules of custom, and then actually ridicule them for their frivolity; for actually following the paths which we in our wisdom have allotted them, and though men may justly claim a pre-eminence in physical strength, few would dare to arrogate a supremacy of intellect; and though the educational advantages of the country have for the most part been hitherto denied to women, yet notwithstanding the various barriers mistaken notions have erected, notwithstanding the ridicule and contumely hurled upon them, have not many of them heroically thrust aside many of those old mistaken monopolies so tenaciously clung to by the immemorial usage of caste. All honour to them for bravely battling for the right. The capacities and capabilities of women have not yet developed to their highest point, we have kept them back in the race for knowledge, we have kept them in the leading strings of captious subtleties. We have hitherto treated them as animated playthings, or domestic drudges; and acting somewhat akin to the usage of the Ottoman Empire, we have stamped them with the brand of inferiority. The Turk may look upon them as possessing no souls, but we, in our christianity and civilization,

politically treat them as if they had no brains; we seem to say, as though they were children, "We know what is best for you, our interests are yours, and though we cannot take the whole of your special questions into consideration, still, the laws being ordained and applied by men, the result must be that which is good for the one sex must be good for the other also." What is this but the old worn out argument of the selfish slave-owner, did he not say to his slaves, "I know what is best for you, my interest is bound up with yours, and though your social well-being tends to my advantage, my advantages, from our unity of interests, must naturally be reciprocated, consequently, that which is beneficial for the owner must be beneficial for the slave;" thus, the blackest wrongs can be defended by the sly, cunning sophistry of the interested; the most satanic inequitable of blots, disfiguring the fair face of humanity can not only be painted and glossed, but tinselled with the rhetoric of plausibility, be covered with the false appearance of a golden virtue.

Not that I think any intentional wrong has been inflicted upon women, but we are apt too generally to take as a matter of course things to which we have become habituated, and hence too seldom do we consider whether they will stand the test of reasoning; I scarcely know of one tangible reason why women housekeepers are not entitled to vote, I know of one reason which is at times expressed, and that is, that women have not sufficient physical powers to enable them to become soldiers. What is this but the endeavour to perpetuate the feudal custom of barbaric ages? Is the old savage conception of the right to power, viz., that of mere brute strength, still entoned upon the mind of the enlightened present? Why, brute force constituted the sole ground for the pre-eminence of one savage over another; can we, with our advanced state of enlightenment, our civilization, our christianity, resort to arguments only applicable to barbaric rule, arguments which might have been adduced with some show of reason, two or three thousand years ago. What! with all our progress are we still benighted? Because wrongs have been tolerated, nay, handed down to the present, are we to have no reformation? To what is owing the progress which civilization has obtained; to the natural supremacy of the intellectual over the physical forces. Then let us as men view the question of Electoral Reform from conscientious motives—is a matter of justice to one-half of the inhabitants of a country of slight importance? Are men so naturally autocratic, so self-inflated with their own supreme power and importance, that selfishly and despotically they would monopolize that which is equally due to another. Does mere physical power imply either moral or intellectual superiority? Since clergymen are not called upon to fight the battles of our country, are they deprived of the vote in consequence? No! Then wherefore deprive women upon so childish a plea? Is it a question fraught with danger, that women housekeepers paying Scott and Lot equally with their neighbours shall be no longer defrauded of their equal right to vote. Why, the tenure of that very electoral body by which government is created

in this country is but of recent date, and was not the granting of the right of Household Suffrage (for men) declared to be "a leap in the dark." Were not the most fanciful horrors depicted as the probable results of an experiment declared to be so fraught with danger; but in speaking of granting the same right to women householders, does even the thought of danger cross the imagination of the most timid? No! for the demand is so reasonable, so just, it would simply be conferring a great boon upon many to the injury of none, a mere extension of an accepted principle, for what in reality is demanded—that the heads of households, women housekeepers, possessing the statutory qualifications entitling men to vote, should be equally entitled to the Franchise, that those very women who are already qualified and duly entitled to vote at Local Elections, such as Municipal, School Board and Parochial, shall no longer be disabled from voting for the Nation's representatives. Is there anything appalling or inconsistent in the proposition?

It may be asked—For what purpose do women need enfranchisement, and what proof is there that in granting political power further concessions will not be demanded. To the first point I answer—Look at our Laws; do they harmonize with the conditions justice requires? do they not show something of a class man-made character about them? are there not inequalities existing of an unjust character, and injurious to, and vitally affecting women? Can the contract of marriage take place unless women actually sacrifice all personal right over property? By the mere fact of marriage, is not the woman's property vested in her husband? Look at some of the one-sided laws in relation to married women! Even with regard to the guardianship of children, does not the law act prejudicially to the interest of women? Again, in our educational endowments, in what a miserable degree do women participate in their advantages? Nay, where is the equality of the law, when, in certain districts women are subjected to special laws and conditions, from which the other sex are exempt? only fancy, immorality fostered by law in various parts throughout the country! vice licensed by the state; licensed, regulated, and protected; and all for what? Man's criminal indulgence. In this instance, I ask, does not law make a distinction between the sexes? does it not distinctly create social inequalities, nay, not only reversing the ordinary method of all legal procedure, but proclaims an absolute inferiority of the adult woman to the adult man. What is this but an arbitrary and flagrant violation of human right, the sacred right of human beings to the absolute sovereignty over their own persons. Look at the inhumanity, the one-sidedness of this state of the law. Actually, no poor female (in those districts to which I have alluded), however spotless, can claim to be in possession of individual liberty; and why, in consequence of the unlimited license allowed to the functionaries of Government, whose mere suppositions are received as evidence of guilt. And yet women, such is the state of our constitutional freedom, have not the slightest political influence to express an opinion regarding laws established even in contravention of divine commands. Then

again, even in our laws of divorce, are not women subjected to special legislation? on one side the mere fact of adultery obtains a verdict, but on the other (that of men) adultery and cruelty, two separate moral offences, must be proved before a verdict to the same effect can be obtained—why this distinction? is not the one offence, committed by either sex, equally as great in moral guilt; law says, no! thus consequently it requires two offences to be committed on the part of one sex to be equal in point of magnitude to one offence committed by the other; it scarcely need be asked for what purpose women wish to participate in the enactment of the laws; no doubt the desire of most men is to be just and generous towards women, but with all their good intentions is there not a lack of proper conception as to just requirements? Is there not an urgent need on the part of those most interested to have some practical means of emancipation from unequal laws, but how and by what means can this be brought about? wholly and solely by allowing women to have some direct representation in the creation of the statutes of our country.

In answer to the second point, the fear, that by granting "Women's Suffrage" greater concession would be required; I would ask, was not the same fear entertained in the various debates regarding the advisability of granting Household Suffrage to men? Was not the assertion made that the one measure would lead to the demand of Manhood Suffrage, and the total overthrow of the Constitution would be the consequence; nay, was it not bitterly declared that Household Suffrage would be the means of erecting and perpetuating a despotism to ride triumphant over the ruins of our country. But what are the facts; do we hear of any special demand for further democratic innovations? and even should we adopt the mild reform of Woman Suffrage, what danger can possibly arise? Cannot the future, acting upon the system adopted in most ages, concert measures applicable to its own protection and defence. Shall cowardly timidity refuse a just and moderate concession, when not even the convenient grounds of expediency can be pleaded against it? We have emancipated the slave, we have emancipated the masses of our country, then upon what basis of consistency or justice can we refuse the self-same right to women.

It has been asserted, "that women are not desirous of possessing the vote; did not the slaveowner declare that the slave had no desire for freedom, and was it not avowed that the country had no desire for "Household Suffrage?" As for the Ballot, was it not loudly affirmed that the great majority of electors were averse to the un-English method of recording a vote? mere subterfuges of evasion! and now what kind of evidence can be brought forward to prove that women do not want the vote? Are scores of petitions, signed by thousands, an evidence of content? are scores of public meetings held throughout the country in favor of Electoral Reform for women, an evidence of non-desire? It is not because there is no boisterous demand that the claim is not needed and urgently desired; and although all women are not equally anxious for the vote, is that a plea or

justification for denial? What though there may be a tame passive submission on the part of some, that only proves how easily the mind can be trained into oblivion of its own inherent rights; therefore it shows the greater is the necessity of conferring the Franchise upon them, for would not a higher development of their faculties be the result, by their participation in the enactment of our laws. Were not the slaves of old in a somewhat similar condition; did the whole or only a portion clamour for liberty? But because there was not an universal demand on their part for freedom, was that made an excuse not to free them from their bondage? No! no mean advantage was taken of their unfortunate ignorant condition; then why deprive the sensible women of our own country of their rights, in consequence of the ignorance of their unfortunate sisters; and then, again, when the Franchise was granted to women householders on all School Board elections, had any loud and boisterous demand been made for the privilege? No! Upon what ground was it granted, simply because one-half of the inhabitants of the kingdom are composed of the female sex, and upon the same ground I plead are they not equally entitled to National direct representation? Now the vote having been accorded as a matter of right to women in all School Board elections, I ask, have they not to a very great extent availed themselves of the privilege accorded them; do not our local elections afford sufficient evidence that *women do take an interest in public matters?* and here let me observe—that though the duly elected female members of our School Boards perform their several public duties as satisfactorily as the men, yet such is the inconsistency of our present law, that we actually deny those very female members the right to record a vote for a member of the House of Commons; thus, practically, all that our legislature seems to enjoin upon women is a blank submission. It seems to say—“If you ask for the Franchise we will not grant it, because we know better than you do what you require; and if you do not ask for it, of course that is a conclusive proof that you have no need of it, and hence we will not compel you to accept that which you do not require;” thus upon either of the grounds men seem to be in that happy position, of plausibly retaining a monopoly with which too many seem to have not the slightest desire to part.

Upon what moral ground are women denied the vote? Will not the statistics of crime testify that the morality of the women will bear favorable comparison with that of men? If the annals of crime are any criterion as to excellency of character, the women as a sex decidedly claim pre-eminence. Are not the convictions of men at our various courts three or four times greater in point of number than that of women; does it not cost the country four times the amount of money to keep men in order than to keep women in order; and yet women are far greater in point of number than men; does this not speak volumes for the circumspection of women? ¶ If moral principle were the basis of electoral right, which of the sexes could justly claim the Franchise? Let conscience answer.

It might be urged, that even if the Franchise were conferred upon women Louseholders, that not above ten or twelve women out of every hundred voters would be entitled to record a vote, and consequently their influence would be of a very slight character upon the legislature, then the greater the necessity for conferring at least a modicum of power, for after all, are not the opinions of small bodies of voters treated with greater respect and consideration than if they were not in possession of the Franchise; and though their demands may not be conferred, at least they command a greater attention and consideration than if they had no vote at all.

It may be urged that married women should be equally entitled to vote with spinsters and widow housekeepers; I answer, no! not upon the present application of the Suffrage. Is not the married woman represented by her husband? If Manhood Suffrage were the law, there would be some show of argument for so crude proposal, for the justifications which could be adduced in favor of Manhood Suffrage would be equally applicable universally applied; but whilst as at present the holding of a house gives men the qualification to vote, why should mere sex be a debarrer to the woman under like conditions? and though the principle has not been adopted by any other country, is it come to this, that England, of all countries in the world, can only afford to become an imitator of some puny original? What danger can there be in the proposal; whom can it injure; what harm or wrong would be the result to society? Has not England led the onward march in civilization? Have not our varied reforms produced changes not only tending to the contentment and glory of the nation, but shedding the halo of justice far and near; have they not been the inspiring means of bettering the condition not only of our fellow-subjects, but by our example, that of our foreign brethren; and though America and France have hesitated to lead the van on behalf of the rights justly belonging to women, say! would it not add honor to old England as a nation, not only in the setting an example of a full free representative government, but by bravely and heroically daring to be what no nation, with all their enlightenment, has hitherto been, viz., just and honest to women.

I see nothing of a dangerous nature in the claim for Women's Suffrage. There cannot be anything of a revolutionary tendency about it. What is there in the demand but that which is plain, straightforward, just, and consistent between human beings? Since the simple holding of a house, or the possession of property, are the fundamental reasons for the endowment of the vote to men at present, why should not an equal advantage, under the same qualifications, be applied to women. The mere payment of rent has been deemed the all-sufficient proof of competency to perform certain national needed duties on the part of men, and that, notwithstanding the glaring amount of ignorance discoverable in so many, notwithstanding their state of demoralization; notwithstanding their brutality of conduct, still are they deemed to possess the rights of free citizenship; and yet, in point of intellect,

education, love of order, and prudence;—will not the general run of women bear favourable comparison with those who are now entitled to the vote? then upon what ground of justice, or honesty, or reason, are women denied their participation of an equal right? and though there may not be anything at the back of a physical nature to demand the vote, since there is no probability of such as Hyde Park railings falling to the ground to bring the legislators to their proper senses, still how much better to comply with the dictates of justice ungrudgingly; to grant from “right” founded upon moral law, a claim consistent with equity, than to refuse, without the plea of necessity, or the fear of coming danger, simply because an antiquated usage would still urge the despotic doctrine of a false species of justification, viz., that might constitutes a right. We shall find, with the onward march of civilization, that power founded upon mere tradition is not invulnerable, that those cobwebs of feudalism—special privileges and inequitable measures—will yet be wafted aside by the breath of an enlightened public opinion.

It might be asked, “Would it be politic to grant so great an innovation?” Why thus paltering with expediency, if the claim be true in fact, if naturally right and politically just, is it not the duty of the honest to bring the question to a successful issue? Does it not seem strange that the mere fortuitous circumstance of sex should be the enabling cause qualifying a power to prescribe laws for others who have not the slightest voice either to protest against or to approve of their creation. What is this but a species of bondage? Nay, more. It cannot be gainsaid that by refusing women the right to vote, a large amount of the property, intelligence, and industry of the country, are unrepresented; then reason and justice cannot but declare in favor of concession. Would not the granting of political power to women strengthen their sense of the responsibilities and duties of citizenship, and as a natural consequence be conducive to the highest welfare of the state; nay, even were there no causes of the need for enfranchisement shown, the mere matter of “right” should be sufficient inducement to prompt men to be honest; hitherto opposition has been founded upon sentimental prejudice, and prejudice has ever impeded the march of progress. All religion, science, education, liberty itself, has ever found bias to be the great stumbling-block to all civil advancement; and now, since the galling yoke of slavery has been abolished, since we are in possession of a due measure of personal freedom, since we have a freedom of conscience, a freedom of worship, a free press, a freedom of trade, why should not the freedom of women be at length included in our grand and noble array of national blessings?

Since all the great emancipations of mankind have ever encountered vehement opposition, of course the claims of women must share an equal fate, and thus it may be said, “By granting the Suffrage to women householders might they not aspire to Parliamentary honours? it might be said, that as a logical sequence to the enfranchisement of women, that their further right to sit as representatives would conse-

quently follow; that by the granting the one claim the other must naturally be conceded. Not so. Is there no analogy in the mode and form constituting our Municipal councils? and though women are permitted to vote, does law sanction their right to sit as members in those chambers? then how shallow the plea for denial, how untenable with this glaring illustration of inconsistency; and here I would ask, what law is there existing even at present which could prevent a woman, if elected, taking her seat as a Member of Parliament. I ask, what probability is there that a woman could possibly be returned as a representative to the House of Commons, the paucity of the necessary number of duly qualified women, under the condition of Household Suffrage, would create an insurmountable barrier to a woman's entrance to that sacred chamber; nay, and as an almost invulnerable shield to so calamitous an infliction, would not men throughout the country be in a position to command an overwhelming majority? and think you, being upon such good terms with their own intrinsic merits, their majority of votes would fall upon a female candidate; nay, even more, have the newly-enfranchised working-men availed themselves of the power clearly within their own hands of sending those of their own order to the House of Parliament; and though in forty or fifty boroughs the working-class element clearly predominates, have the working-men commensurate with their numbers availed themselves, even to a justifiable extent, of their special opportunity? No, then under similar condition of enfranchisement, why should women as a class differ with the working men as to choice of representative? I then ask, upon what ground of possibility, under Household Suffrage, with so limited an amount of female voters, and those sprinkled here and there throughout the country, at most comprising but a few thousands in the aggregate, what possibility, I ask, is there of so great an innovation as that of a woman member of the House of Commons; nay, should such a catastrophe by any possibility ensue, I scarcely think that men are of so cowardly a nature as to think the constitution would be in the slightest danger. Too many men seem to conjure up ghosts of the imagination, on purpose not only to delude themselves, but to frighten the timid and ignorant. I confess I do not anticipate any great change in granting the Suffrage to women, but being a right, founded upon justice, I see no cause for longer restriction; and since the County Franchise no doubt will be shortly extended, why should not the just and honest principle of Household Suffrage, pure and simple, for boroughs and counties, without anomalous exceptions, and irrespective of mere sex, be taken into consideration; thus, why should not the principle of Women's Suffrage, or in reality the real legitimate question of Household Suffrage, be calmly considered at the same time as the County Franchise Bill; and then again, what possible reason is there that the Franchise of women should not be given a trial; was not a trial allotted to the “Ballot,” and though loudly condemned by many in its passing, the result tested by experience has proved so favorable, as to lead to its continuance. Adopt the self-same course of action

with "Women's Suffrage," and I doubt not the experiment would be the means of dispelling those doubts and prejudices which at present exist, and be the means of a real practical carrying out to its logical conclusion of the principle of Household Suffrage, shorn of invidious exceptions.

And now, in seeking electoral reform, for what do I ask Justice, justice for women, household suffrage for women housekeepers; I call upon the nation to generously concede a claim which is founded upon a civil right, a right, the granting of which cannot foreshadow the slightest future danger; to grant the boon freely, ungrudgingly, for, alas! almost the whole of our reforms which we so dearly prize have been too reluctantly conceded. To act nobler; to give without the semblance of compulsion; for the claim is founded upon impartial justice; almost all the arguments in favor of the representation of men are equally applicable to the enfranchisement of women. By refusing to be just, a selfishness, a self-exaltation, a self-aggrandisement, a total disregard to all equity, is at once proclaimed. Refuse women their fair share of political power, and you deny the principle of representative government; though deep rooted prejudice may loudly inveigh against so great an innovation upon our customs and habits of thought: nevertheless, when justice and reason, the foundation of all civil liberty, declare the right of women to the suffrage, shall those old barbarous convictions of the superiority of one sex continue to lead the current of thought in men boasting of their civilization? shall unreflecting bias, only applicable to the uncivilized condition, outweigh the just inalienable rights of humanity, and give a seeming justification, an immunity, to the strong, to curb and control the weak? No! No! No! and thus in the name of civil liberty, in the name of justice, in the name of reason, nay, in the name of representative government, from the logical fulfilment of Household Suffrage, from the spirit of our constitution, I call upon the nation to extend the blessings of liberty, to grant further exemption from constraint, and frankly, boldly confer upon a further portion of our deserving fellow-beings, that just, that indisputable right, that manumission from political thralldom, HOUSEHOLD SUFFRAGE FOR WOMEN HOUSEKEEPERS.

TO THE RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P.,  
First Lord of Her Majesty's Treasury.

The Memorial of Women in Public Meeting assembled in  
the Colston Hall, Bristol, on Thursday, Nov. 4, 1880,

Respectfully sheweth—

That there are over Five hundred thousand ratepayers in the United Kingdom, deprived of the power of voting in the election of Members of Parliament on the sole ground that they are women.

That this exclusion is directly opposed to the fundamental principle of representative government, and therefore unjust towards such ratepayers.

That the exclusion of women ratepayers from the exercise of the Parliamentary vote deprives women of that free expression of opinion which is the only guarantee of liberty in the state.

Wherefore your Memorialists pray, that a measure may be introduced by Her Majesty's Ministers, to extend the Parliamentary Franchise to Women ratepayers and landowners in Boroughs and Counties.



WOMAN'S CLAIM.

*(Reprinted from "The Contemporary Review," for February, 1881.)*

✓ BY EMILY PFEIFFER.

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## WOMAN'S CLAIM.

**H**ITHERTO, when the women to whom the larger interests of Society are dear, have expressed their desire for an extension of the suffrage in their own direction they have very commonly been met by the assurance that they belonged to an insignificant minority, the sex being on the whole indifferent, if not averse to, the active assumption of citizenship. The overflowing meetings which have taken place successively at Manchester, in London, and elsewhere, must at this stage of the discussion go far to silence objections founded on a premise which every passing year is rendering more erroneous. But, whatever might be the show of hands if the issue were polled throughout the country, it is not so much the amount as the quality of adherents which determines the success of a movement, and it would not be impossible to show that the greater part of all the force of intellect and character known by public proof to exist among Englishwomen, is warmly pledged to this woman's cause.

It may be conceded then as a fact, that the desire on the part of the daughters of England to be no longer excluded from participation in one of the rights which her sons hold dear, is a genuine and increasing one; and in face of the manifest mental and moral worth of its chief advocates, the assertion—a favourite retreat of nonplussed disputants—that the "best women" are still hostile to the change, must be acknowledged to be likewise untenable. I will not darken counsel by affecting to misunderstand what is meant in this connection by the "best women." They are the home-loving and tender creatures to whom fate has been good, and who find their highest joy—no very difficult strain, as it may be thought—in the performance of the duties of wifehood and motherhood, undeniably the most accordant to Nature of any that can plenisn a woman's lot, and at the same time so bodily and spiritually engrossing,

that those who well fulfil them may be forgiven if they tend to somewhat narrow the view and contract the sympathies. But whether the outlook of these fortunate sisters may happen to be narrow or wide, it is probable that the larger-hearted advocates of women's right to make their political judgments regarded, would think little of yielding the place of honour, in the estimate of the selfish or unthinking, to the happy band from whose ranks it is possible that chance or a more fastidious taste have exiled themselves. A circle which includes a large contingent of unpaid workers who are helping forward the best interests of humanity in many fields, and whose representative woman may be taken to be Florence Nightingale, will in any case be felt to be sufficiently select.

The men whose pleasure it is to affirm that "good women" are in want of nothing, are far however from disclaiming the testimony to the same effect of beings who cannot be called "good," without putting an undue strain upon language, and who have of women neither the pitiful heart nor the helpful hand, but only the weakness and arrested development. These are the careless sisters of the millions who "work and weep," for working and weeping are only separately apportioned in a ballad, or in the quasi-poetical atmosphere which stagnates in places about masculine thought; these are the "sitters at ease," whose lives are given to self-pleasing as an end, and to flattering the humours of the men of whom they are the complement, as a means; who are callous to misery which they deem not likely to affect themselves, and have no aspiration higher than the false ideal which is the negative of manly vices. It is in the nature of such factions to be loud and prominent, and so to create a false notion of their numbers and weight; but happily for our hopes and for the prospects of humanity, those of the sex who, while neglecting their nearest ties, are utterly without what in the cant of science is now known as the "tribal conscience," are a minority, unworthy to be counted in the sum of opinion on a question of this nature and extent.

It may be taken, then, as a fact to be dealt with, and one which is presenting itself with increasing urgency, that a vast number of those who represent the noblest and tenderest womanhood among us, are dissatisfied with what has come to be the injustice of their position in view of the new social developments which have brought with them new needs. They are dissatisfied, that while they have no choice but to obey the natural law of development, the arbitrary laws under which they live remain rigid in their regard. It is no great thing that is required to put the lives of women in harmony with their altered conditions. The claim that widows and spinsters, when independent holders of property, should exercise the right of voting for Members of Parliament, carries so much of reason on its face, that it is difficult to see on what ground it could be withstood, other than that of a panic fear of results against which it might be supposed that Nature had sufficiently provided. This demand for the possession of the suffrage by widows and spinsters was the whole of the plea advanced at the meetings referred to, — a plea not

simply put forward for the nonce, as we are sometimes warned, but one which there is reason to think honestly represents the extent of the claim as made by the majority of its female advocates. That widows and spinsters, as women, and possible wives, are in a better position for judging of the wants of women, whether single or married, than men, who must always view them chiefly in relation to themselves, few I think will contest. It is not asserted that the arrangement which would restrict the suffrage to single women householders would be a perfect one, but only that it appears to be the best which the nature of things permits of, and it may be presumed that a certain intuitive sense of fitness, together with a feeling of the sacredness of ideals possessed largely by women, would help them to cut the Gordian knot of a logic more tough than that presented by the limitations which marriage would be suffered to impose upon them.

Marriage is something more than a partnership—it is ideally a union; and if in the imperfection of all human relations, it fails in part, sometimes fails wholly, to fulfil its promise, it remains, fiction or truth, the lever which beyond all others has been effective in raising the moral nature of man to the height at which the sacrifice it enforces, can alone maintain it. Whatever may be the diversity of opinion in the domestic interior, however much the "No," pertinent or impertinent, may enliven the sameness of marital discourse, it will be felt I think as seemly, that while the marriage tie remains in force, no authenticated record of disagreement should go forth from the home to the world. But the sphere of a woman is so enlarged by marriage, her dignity so increased by motherhood, that it is little likely this renunciation of one of the rights of citizenship on accepting a partnership for life, would be accounted so deep a hardship as objectors would have us believe. The ear of the husband is found by most wives to be very conveniently within reach, and if the quickened interest in political questions which the change would inevitably spread among women, bond and free, should furnish another subject of possible variance, the same may be said of each one of those interests, intellectual or moral, which separate the cultivated women of our own clime and age from the odalisque and the squaw. That the too-tardily effected, and still very imperfect regulations in regard to the property of wives, imply a possible separation of interests incompatible with perfect union, is self-evident, but all our dealings are with an imperfect order of things, of which it is our difficult endeavour to make the best. This imagined union can, in Protestant countries, be openly dissevered, and the bitterest wrong has resulted in cases where the rupture of personal bonds has been confessed, while the legal tie maintaining the community of property—by which is meant its absorption by the man—has been held intact. When injustice, gross as that which can even now creep in under existing laws, has been rendered impossible, not by an invidious special act of the woman purporting to be married, or of her friends, but by the

providence of a protecting law—no more than an honest confession will have been made, that we are seeking to provide against possible flaws in work which has to be built up of doubtful material. It is no part of the duty of society, in the abstract, to enforce upon its members by external means, the undeviating cultus of its purest ideals; the piety which exalts them must be the growth of the individual conscience.

Women are still sometimes roundly told that they have no grievances, and asked what it is they can want which it lies within the competence of the suffrage to give them. Like Shylock, "I will not answer that." There is little to be gained by going over that ground of old wrongs which has often led to bitter question. I will not even more than point in passing at the burning injustice which can wrest from the woman's grasp the child who, bone of her bone and flesh of her flesh, is the fruit of her labour and sorrow. It is, or ought to be, sufficient that women are awaking to a consciousness that their interests are unrepresented, and suffer in consequence; that they feel themselves aggrieved by their position—illogically maintained in the face of altered conditions—of a separate caste; and that they demand to join their judgment to the opinions of men on questions of social policy, and to add their experience to those same opinions on matters with which it is their special function to deal. To this end they seek to give weight to their views in the authorized fashion; they claim to count as an element in the constituencies with which members of the Lower House have to reckon. There are rocks ahead, no less than evils behind and abreast of us, and the dangers which threaten society in the shaking of the old faith, the loss of the old sanctions of conduct, and the overturning of the old ideals, are dangers which must press with something more than equal force upon its weaker half. If women must labour, and run risks with men, they demand to have something of their security, or at least to have free hands for the fight. They do not wish to struggle in bonds or to fall helpless into any pit which may open. They are not likely to exhibit a dangerous impatience, such as could be supposed to imperil the vessel of State, even if the share of power demanded by them were to be more than that fractional one of which there is now question. Their natural position in the scheme of things may be taken for a guarantee that the impact of their influence upon political questions would be consolidating rather than destructive. But if they presumably will not hurry on the wheels of progress, it is something that they may be expected to help in keeping them upon the rails. It is reasonably certain that the interests of marriage, for instance, would be more jealously guarded by women, single or widowed, than they would be by men; and is it too much to say that on the *maintenance of that institution rest the higher hopes of the race?* Life has this in common with Art: that the continent of a supreme law, to which voluntary obedience is rendered, is essential to its most perfect development. Time was when the praise of marriage would have been superfluous as the praise of sun-light; now it seems not

wholly irrelevant to point out in what its essence consists, and what its observance has done for us. It has its source in the highest capacities of our nature, love and faith, of which last it is on the man's side the most signal human expression. The heirs to a man's worldly possessions and to the treasure of his affections, the beings for whom he works and strives, and for whose abundance he is contented often to go bare, he takes as his own upon the trust reposed in the woman of his choice. That this sacred trust is on the whole so rarely betrayed, that the marriage bond is so widely respected as to cause the sense of risk to pass practically out of view, is a circumstance which is adding, slowly and surely as the generations succeed each other, to the sum of that faith by which man as man must live. Let the elected partnership once lose its nobly sacrificial and sacramental character, let the caprice of man or woman claim to be its own law, the discordance of habit or opinion felt on the satiety of passion its own dispensation, let the man be free to shake off a yoke that irks, and the woman be emancipated from the guardianship of herself as the shrine of his dearest hopes, and what becomes of the strength of individual will, increased by struggle and conquest, which has been lifting us higher and higher above the unregulated instincts of the brute? If the woman of the future is to be held, and rightly held, accountable primarily to herself for the preservation of her own truth, and if the notion that dishonour can come to any separate soul through other than his own act should be exploded, it can never be forgotten that the companion of man is the priestess of a temple whose desecration is his ruin. No State is known to have risen to greatness, that has not had "the family" working to its own increase, and diffusing itself as a vital organic element within it, and the family can only exist with the definition necessary to its effective action, through the state of marriage. The woman alone will not suffice for its head; without the husband the circle of family is incomplete, and without the family there can be no order in human relations, no permanence in human affections, no strength of self-restraint or forbearance—in a word, no virtue. The nomad of social institutions would spread disorder as a plague. As for love, the great regenerator, love which is

"Half dead to think that he could die,"

it is easy to conceive the sorry figure that he would be likely to make in any such time-bargain in place of marriage as that which finds advocates among certain moralists. In such a case there would be no lover's vows to move even the laughter of Jove; at which I think the earth no less than the heaven would be sadder. When the time shall come that we have cast away the marriage pledge to progress, it is presumable that we shall have commenced our downward course, and be on our way back to the ascidian, and through that to some wholly molluscous creature preparatory to the final extinction. It can hardly be doubted that the sentiment of love is deepened and exalted by the voluntary sacrifice brought to it by lovers in marriage. What is here

contended is, that a human pair, in placing this seal upon love and faith, taken in its moment of efflorescence, are unconsciously drawn into the current of that stream which sets towards progress, and are making, unknown to themselves, an offering of individual liberty in the interests of the race. That a philosopher here and there, his vital energies having chiefly run to brain, should find rest by his own fireside with the companion of his experiment in life and their offspring, proves nothing for the probable permanence of unlegalized relations among the masses, with whom erratic fancy might be expected to be rather stimulated than controlled by culture, and who would in any case not be living under the check—stronger than law itself—of a thesis to uphold.

All women must deeply feel the plague-spot on our social system, for which, according to the moralists cited, the abolition of marriage is the remedy; it is a grief and shame to the best of them; but it is too vile a thing to be cured by *dispersion*. A French writer has said: "The virtue of woman is the finest invention of man." The thing is indeed so good, and men owe so much of the firmness of their moral fibre (by inheritance) to the particular power of self-restraint which goes under the name, that they would be entitled to high credit if it were of their making. Regarding it, however, not in the light of invention but discovery, we may hope that before humanity finally deflects from its upward course, it will be found that there exists a due capacity for its evolution in men; and every social movement crediting the authority of women would naturally tend to encourage the spread of such a growth.

It is possible that the men who have so long elected to be the visible providence of the other sex, have done what they could in its behalf; but it is difficult to estimate human needs wholly from the outside, and having always been legislated for as creatures apart, our common humanity has failed our "keepers" as a serviceable guide to our requirements.

Women are dissatisfied not only with what has been done, and with what has been left undone for them, they are also dissatisfied that they, toilers and sufferers, should be left to the self-dependence of labour and sorrow without a voice in the Government to which they are accountable. Their right to labour on other fields than the barren patch into which they were until lately crowded, has been tardily conceded; they now demand to have a word to say in the making and administering of the laws by which the fruits of labour are protected. It is not well that there should be this widening breach, this growing sense of hardship.

If there is no class of men possessing to the full what they stand in need of, or with whom changing circumstances are not perpetually calling into play new requirements which demand to be met by new expedients, the conditions and necessities of women are even more fluctuating, and they feel that the time is come when light should be shed upon these intricate problems from within. They inherit faculties trained by house-

hold and educational cares, and know themselves fitted for the exercise of the function they demand to share. It is not a matter which calls for the employment of the comparative scale which men in our day seem so eager to apply to the endowments of their female companions. There is no earthly need that an intending voter should give proof of high dramatic or musical genius. It may be that the creative energy is less strong in women than in men, but that is quite beside the point at issue, and carries with it no implication that the female understanding is less proper than the male for nourishing the germs of thought, for forming a nidus for the ideas everywhere present in the air, and for presenting them clothed in shapes well fitted to act upon the material forces around us. As a matter of fact worth much theorizing, the women now employed in offices of trust, whether on the School Board or elsewhere, are proving themselves good administrators, steady workers, and as sober of judgment as their male coadjutors.

The evils of a complicated social system are great, and the difficulty of dealing with them sore. It may well be that such contingent of help as women could furnish, if they were more fully free to do so, would have a very inadequate effect in mitigating human ill. But many of those who are not called upon to bear the brunt of ills in their own persons, feel the burthen of them as pressing upon others; and it is waste of motive power, as it is pain and wrong to the modern woman, whose cultivated sympathy is often alive in every nerve to the shames and sorrows of society, to deny her right to put her untried strength to the wheel. If there be anything on which all noble-hearted human beings, whether men or women, are agreed, it is in a vast regret that the alleviation of social suffering, the purgation of social sin, is a work of such slow advance. It is folly in such a case to repudiate the help of willing workers, the folly becomes cruelty when the power to act upon circumstances is denied to those upon whom the suffering presses most hardly, and of whom the payment of sin is demanded with overwhelming interest. But while the women at the front of this movement, women who have long been fighting an unequal battle, and have had their training in a school of trouble and disappointment, are not rash enough to expect miracles from that partial possession of the suffrage by their sex for which they are contending, they are justified in looking for some appreciable result, which may increase with the growing time. If they do not conceive that the wilderness is to blossom as the rose when, in place of overt influence, they have come to the open exercise of a certain modicum of power, it is permitted reasonably to hope that feminine thought, practically directed to politics, may occasionally cast some glimpse of light on subjects which, not commending themselves to masculine attention, have heretofore remained obscure. And there is a further issue which, if more recondite, is of equally sure promise and of even deeper significance. I allude to the effect on character—on that character which the mothers and early teachers of mankind transmit to

their descendants of both sexes, which may be looked for as a result of the recognized expression of woman's thought and will—in a word, from the exercise of the human right of freedom.

Speaking once with an Oriental of high mark, on the position of the women of his people, he said to me: "In India women are all-powerful, even as they are here." I believed and do believe him. The women of India are nimble-witted and acute, or they were no match for their husbands and brothers; and, smooth and subtle as snakes, they fold the limble strength of their degraded souls about every question, which appeals with sufficient force to their passions or interest. Held by men in a condition of abject subjection, deprived by jealous supervision of all moral self-support, the Nemesis of the virtues which have been killed within them appears in the characters of craft and subtlety which they *print upon the race*. It is not too much to say of the women of a nation, that they are the moulds in which the souls of its men are set. Their very moods are reflected in the infant that is born into the world; the young child is surrounded by the mother's mind as by an atmosphere; her judgments are his code, her example his authority. Scarcely out of school, when the passions are in a state of fusion and make the whole being plastic, the youth falls under the operation of this law of life in another shape. The woman who is loved of boy or man, unconsciously prescribes the form of her own worship, and the character of the worshipper is modified, more or less, by the result. Let it never be dreamed that emotional contact can take place between two human beings without leaving a lasting impress on both. The frail creature who is believed to be the object of little else than scorn, is a factor in the sum of circumstances which determines a man's walk, and that which he seems to see in it, to the latest hour of his life. It is thus that society suffers throughout its length and breadth from wrongs which to the superficial thinker may seem to press only upon a part of it.

It will hardly be supposed that I am confounding the condition of women in our Western World with that of their cruelly crippled sisters in the East. The illustration they have furnished to me has been used only to give point to the argument that it is essential to the dignity of human character generally, that all voluntary forces which affect human action shall be duly accredited and openly applied. Nor is it in morals alone that the frank embodiment of opinion is of sound and invigorating effect; it is good also for the sanity of the intellect, that thought and action should suffer no divorce. The mind that is coquetting with questions to which it acknowledges no external tie, is less likely to form just views, than one which knows itself in responsible relation to them. It would seem that at the point of progress we have now reached, there is special need of some new inlet of ideas, stimulating to larger and more healthy interests. In view of our yearly increasing wealth and the perpetual additions which are thereby made to the idle and luxurious

classes, every countercheck to corrupting frivolity is to be hailed as an element of salvation. It is this large amount of female energy run wild, disfranchised of the little active cares which formerly employed it, and having found no substitute for them but the daily round in the treadmill of pleasure, that is spreading a pernicious example at home, and lowering the character of our countrywomen abroad. The affairs of the world, under the name of politics, in which the withdrawal of the disqualifications of sex would give to women a more intelligent interest, may not be greatly more ennobling than those of the household, when they are viewed from the standpoint of party; but questions of wide, impersonal relation are involved in them, which could not always be shut out from the minds even of the narrowest partisans; and this widening of the mental horizon would be among the incalculable consequences of the removal of those arbitrary restrictions, which constitute an infringement of liberty. There can be no call to hymn the praises of freedom to English men or women; the former have always deemed it worthy of their struggle and sacrifice; and, for the latter, whatever virtues they possess are owing to the share they have enjoyed of it. But what was in a way freedom to women under the old order, is bondage now; and if even more women than men, standing in a position which should render them responsible, are wasting life and leisure on pursuits wholly selfish and trivial, it is that wealth has loosened the claims of former duties, before liberty has given authority to the new. It is thus clear that the continued refusal to women of their demands for a more active citizenship, is the denial to them of a sacred human right to perfect and harmonious development.

A great deal has been said, is still being said, about the alteration of the relations of the sexes which might be expected to result from any extension of the franchise in the manner demanded. I own I find it difficult to respond to these fears with becoming seriousness. If there be any one thing of which Nature is careful, she is careful of her types, and while that "likeness in unlikeness" subsists, which is at the base of physical attraction, there is little fear of sexual relations being either reversed or annulled. So long as the maternal function continues tenderly to fashion the hearts of women, so long as the voices of men retain their resonance, and until their bodies lose their superior power of action and endurance, and their capacity for food and sleep, so long will there be little doubt that the saying of our neighbours, "*La barbe impose*," will remain substantially correct. These quasi-material causes might be out of place in a system where abstract justice answered to a rigid logic, but in this world of incalculable movements, of checks and counterchecks, they present themselves as something more than the "windage" for which in all reasoning we are bound to allow. It would seem that the alarmists above-mentioned are reckoning without that great primal force which binds together men and women, and for which

the higher developments of reason are for ever forging stronger if more spiritual links. I would bid them take courage in remembering the comparative stability of the operations of Nature, judged by the shortness of the days of man; in any case, to plant a quiet hope in the largeness of those grants of time demanded for the changes she is supposed to effect. If men and women are finally either to grow into a dull resemblance or become inimical to each other, it will not presumably happen until the planet which they jointly inhabit has advanced far upon the process of cooling down; a contingency too remote for adjustment in regard to it, to come within the province of statecraft.

I am loth to accept as truly meant on the part of the men even most opposed to liberal views on this matter, the inconsiderate dictum that the possession of equal rights by those who can never be gifted with equal strength, should be held to exclude them from all chivalrous service and manly observance. If certain of those who have been the pioneers of this movement have used the rough and ready methods of speech and action which are perhaps proper to the nature of the work they have had to do in its beginnings, it affords no argument that those who enter upon tranquil possession of the good for which these others fought, would need to abandon any graces or gentlenesses which belong—let me say—to *contented* womanhood. But—

“A woman moved is like a fountain troubled,  
Muddy, ill-seeming, thick, bereft of beauty.”

And, be it said, by the way, the poet who has best held the mirror to the nature he has left us to interpret for ourselves, has given us, in the play wherein these lines occur, a picture of the lying subservience resulting from acquiescence in despotism, which would furnish a keener sting than could be found in any words of mine, to some of the foregoing remarks.

Women are demanding a fair field wherein to labour, and they make no claim for favour so far; but life is not all made up of labour and sorrow, and even labour and sorrow do not exclude mutual help.

Let it never be said that the daughters of Albion have had to choose between justice and mercy; the alternative would be hard, but the election could not be long doubtful. The grace which one sex arrogates to itself the right of according to the other, while its exercise has in all time been partial and self-regarding, has become, in relation to the exigencies of modern female life, little better than a sop to Cerberus. It is justice, simple, and, as is now scarcely denied, obvious justice, which the *femme sole* of our modern society, and through her womanhood at large, in such a degree as natural laws render expedient, is seeking to secure.

There was a time when physical force ruled the world, when law was feeble, and only the strong hand could make itself respected. A woman

then who had got no man to marry her was forced to seek the refuge of the cloister; married or immured, in either case she was externally cared for and protected, as was needful in her unfitness to barbarous conditions; and in either case she gave herself wholly, and was swallowed up, whether of the Church or her liege lord, in return for shelter, suit, or service. It was an agreement, and when fulfilled according to the letter, it left no ground for complaint.

The laws which were made or redressed from time to time, were shaped in accordance with the demands of the ruling sex. That one of their chattels, which from the beginning has possessed a sad faculty of feeling, and was learning by degrees to think, was taken no heed of by the State, but left, with the rest of a man's personal property, entirely at his own discretion. And, perhaps on the whole, the possession of an object, if it happen to be of value to the holder, may be taken as a fair guarantee for its receiving a reasonable amount of care. But now a day has come when, if the “seven women” of the prophet would not “take hold on one man,” some of them must be resigned to belong only to themselves, and prepared to stand up and fight the battle of life alone. That they are to a certain extent handicapped by Nature in this struggle of opposing interests is not, cannot be, denied; but no one, I think, will say that any plea for undue allowance is put forward on this account by the brave women who are already in the arena. On the contrary, their demand is only that the terms of conflict shall be something like equalized where that is possible; and this is precisely the justice that is denied them. The rate-paying, law-abiding, property-holding, professional, or working woman, is suffered to have no voice in the regulation of the taxes or the laws under which she must live or die; and if she would influence them at all, must have recourse to the nearest man—possibly her butler, coachman, gardener, or the labourer in her fields—as the stalking-horse of her own unrecognized personality. It is no wonder if the moment has at length arrived when society, having outgrown the gross appetites which placed its physically weaker half in a state of dependent tutelage, women are showing themselves impatient of the persistence of limitations which, beneficial in their time and season, have now become as oppressive as they are unmeaning, and insulting to rational intelligence.

“There is a divinity which shapes our ends.”

Had it so continued that every woman in these isles could have “dropped into the jaws” of some one man, and so “ceased” as a social unit, it is highly probable that no word would have been heard among us of any further suffrage. But necessity has presented itself to the women of our generation with talons and beak more formidable than those of the eagle who drives the young one from the nest. They have not sought the shelterless strife with opposing prejudices

and interests, but have been forced into it by the incontrovertible law which pushes the tribes of men over barren continents, and out upon stormy seas. It is *Hunger*, the 'mighty *Maker*, which is urging our women upon new paths, and driving them upon a way which they would not, to the fulfilment of a destiny which they know not. With this force behind them it is impossible that they should turn back, impossible that those before them should resist their impulsion. They have been crowded by their own numbers out of the penfold in which their activity was enclosed, and forced to seek the equivalent of their labour in an ever-widening sphere. In making the experiment of their fitness for untried work, they have had to face odium and abundant ridicule from those whose approval they hold dear. Their efforts to train themselves for higher and more remunerative labour have encountered the opposition of a jealously-guarded monopoly; and the claim for citizenship now formulated—though enforced independence has rendered it a right—may be met, seeing that it lacks the element of material force which still enters largely into human affairs, on many sides with indifference, and on some with scorn. It would not be thus if there existed a threat behind it. Meetings of men of any class, upon the scale of the women's meetings which have lately assembled, would be held sufficiently representative of their mind and will to enforce respect for their demands. But the stream of tendency which sets in the way of women's advance is irresistible, and the vital rational principles incorporated in her claim could in the end win alone in the struggle with material resistance—

"The soul of things is strong:  
A seedling's heaving heart has moved a stone."

The march of civilization is one sure, if slow, progression from the rule of the strongest to the equal right divine, and it will not stop short of its legitimate end. But with ends, as ends, we have nothing to do; our progress is step by step, our only guide the awakening conscience of humanity. It were vain to deny that seemingly moderate and wholly reasonable as is the demand now put forward, such exercise of reason would be a new and strange thing in the history of the already old world, and that some degree of faith in right is needed to enable men to commit themselves confidently to the unknown. We may win much, we must lose something, by this as by every other change; but change is a law of life, and this one has long been gathering force to make itself obeyed. Neither men nor women can finally resist the momentum of circumstances, but women at least could be made to suffer unduly by the presence of prolonged opposition.

I will not deal to my countrymen such scant measure of the justice often invoked, as to doubt that there are generous souls among them with whom the appeal of reason and feeling, gains more than it loses by

the knowledge that it emanates from a region wherein the power to enforce it brutally, has no existence. It would only be entirely worthy of the men whose fathers have fought and died for liberty on many fields, to share the precious heirloom on the basis of moral right, with companions who could never wrest it from their unwilling grasp, or, prizing it however truly, baptize it with their blood in contact with such opponents. The place of a people in the scale of human development is determined by the condition of its women: it would be a meet crown to a long career of freedom, if the country of which it is the chosen home, should be the first among the nations to yield that which no one of them in the end may be able to withhold.



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