

NINTH ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

OF THE

MANCHESTER NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR
WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

*PRESENTED AT THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING,
NOVEMBER 29th, 1876.*

MANCHESTER
GUARDIAN LETTERPRESS AND LITHOGRAPHIC WORKS.

1876.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

1875-1876.

AT the close of another year of their labours your Committee have to report a continuance of the support, both Parliamentary and general, which has been heretofore accorded them, and to record many events having an important bearing on the progress and prospects of the measure which have occurred during their term of office.

Among these events, the re-election for Manchester of the original author of the Women's Disabilities Removal Bill, Mr. Jacob Bright, is first in order of time, and calls for especial recognition from this committee, who have the honour of numbering him among their members, and the advantage of his personal co-operation in their work.

The lamented and unexpected death of Mr. Callender in the early part of the year, caused a vacancy in the representation of Manchester. The election took place on the 17th of February, when Mr. Jacob Bright was returned by 22,770 votes, against 20,925 polled for his opponent, Mr. F. S. Powell—a majority of 1,785.

The election of Mr. Jacob Bright occurred a few days after the opening of Parliament, therefore when he took his seat the Women's Disabilities Removal Bill was already before the House of Commons. Mr. Forsyth introduced the measure on February 9th, and the second reading was fixed for Wednesday, April 26th. Sir Robert Anstruther, the Right. Hon. Russell Gurney, and the Right Hon. James Stansfeld again put their names on the Bill.

The debate on the second reading was opened by

Mr. Forsyth in a sound and effective speech. Viscount Folkstone moved and Mr. E. A. Leatham seconded the rejection of the measure. The Bill was ably supported by Mr. Jacob Bright, Dr. Ward, Professor Fawcett, Sir Robert Anstruther, and Sir Charles Legard, and opposed by Mr. Newdegate, Mr. Smollet, Mr. Henry Chaplin, Mr. Egerton Hubbard, and lastly by Mr. John Bright. Up to the rising of Mr. Bright the improved tone of the debate and of the temper in which the House appear to regard the question justified the expectation of a corresponding improvement in the division list. But, as on a former occasion, when the House of Commons had assented to the principle of the measure, further progress was arrested by the action of a professedly Liberal government, so now when the House again appeared disposed to give favourable consideration to the claim a check was interposed through the agency of a professedly Liberal statesman. The opponents of the Bill appear to have been spurred to desperation by the smallness of their majority last year, and they brought forward the most powerful living advocate of free and representative government for men to contend against the application of the same principle to women. But though they succeeded in increasing the number of votes against the Bill, and in raising their majority from 35 last year to 87, it is a noteworthy proof of the strength of the movement that the eloquence of the most powerful voice in the House of Commons could not diminish, even by a unit, the numbers of those who stood firm by the principles of political justice without distinction of sex or class. Mr. Bright's speech was a remarkable one; it was characterised throughout by a tone of doubt and hesitation very unusual with the speaker; it contained the admission that the claim might become irresistible some time; it was rather a string of tentative objections than a connected argument; and it did not appear to contain anything which

need preclude the speaker from reverting to his original vote, should further reflection cause him to perceive the untenable character of most of the objections which he found to urge against the proposal.

The votes for the Bill were the same as last year, namely, 152; the votes against, 239; majority against the Bill, 87. The numbers last year were, for the Bill, 152; against, 187; majority 35.

Counting tellers and pairs in the divisions of 1871, 1872, 1873, 1875, and 1876, there were—

	FOR THE BILL.					AGAINST.					ABSENT.				
	1871.	1872.	1873.	1875.	1876.	1871.	1872.	1873.	1875.	1876.	1871.	1872.	1873.	1875.	1876.
English.....	109	112	121	122	116	172	191	180	163	194	197	160	165	173	148
Welsh.....	6	4	3	4	4	8	9	11	7	13	17	17	13	18	16
Scotch.....	25	25	26	24	20	14	14	15	16	20	22	21	19	20	20
Irish.....	19	22	22	20	21	34	28	33	19	18	53	55	50	63	64
Totals.....	159	163	172	170	161	228	242	239	205	246	289	253	247	274	245

The following table shows the numbers for and against the Bill in six divisions beginning with 1870:—

	1870.					
	FOR THE BILL.			AGAINST.		
	Liberal.	Con.	Total.	Liberal.	Con.	Total.
Votes.....	60	34	94	137	83	220
Tellers ...	2	—	2	2	—	2
Pairs.....	17	6	23	11	11	22
	79	40	119	150	94	244
	1871.					
Votes.....	96	55	151	118	102	220
Tellers ...	1	1	2	1	1	2
Pairs.....	3	3	6	4	2	6
	100	59	159	123	105	228
	1872.					
Votes.....	105	38	143	114	108	222
Tellers ...	1	1	2	1	1	2
Pairs.....	7	11	18	8	10	18
	113	50	163	123	119	242
	1873.					
Votes.....	109	46	155	116	106	222
Tellers ...	1	1	2	1	1	2
Pairs.....	11	4	15	6	9	15
	121	51	172	123	116	239

NEW PARLIAMENT.—1875.

Votes.....	89	...	63	...	152	.....	72	...	115	...	187
Tellers ...	1	...	1	...	2	.....	—	...	2	...	2
Pairs	9	...	7	...	16	.....	4	...	12	...	16
	99		71		170		76		129		205

1876.

Votes.....	90	...	62	...	152	.....	86	...	154	...	239
Tellers ...	1	...	1	...	2	.....	1	...	1	...	2
Pairs	3	...	4	...	7	.....	1	...	6	...	7
	94		67		161		88		161		248

The Irish Home Rulers, thirteen of whom voted for and eight against the Bill, are here classed as Liberals.

Several changes have taken place in the constituencies since the division, but taking them as they then stood, the following result appears compared with the last Parliament. Those members who took part in the last division, and those who have at any time voted for the Bill, and have not given any indication of a change in their sentiments, are counted as supporters. On this basis six of the three-cornered constituencies—namely, Birmingham, Buckinghamshire, Glasgow, Leeds, Liverpool, and Manchester—give either their full vote, or each a majority of their vote, in support of the Bill. Thirty-four constituencies, as against twenty-four in the last Parliament, give their full vote of two each in favour of the Bill, namely:—

Blackburn	Exeter	Portsmouth
Bolton	Edinburgh	Preston
Brighton	Finsbury	Salford
Bristol	Galway	Salisbury
Cavan	Kingston-on-Hull	Southampton
Cork Co.	Leicester	Stockport
Devonport	Macclesfield	Waterford
Devon, E.	Mayo	Wenlock
Dover	Meath	Wexford Co.
Dundee	Merthyr	Worcester
Durham, N.	Newcastle-on-Tyne	York
Essex, E.		

Eighty-three constituencies, as against seventy in the last Parliament, give their full voice of one each in favour of the measure, namely:—

Aberdeen, City	Ennis	Marlborough
Abingdon	Evesham	Morpeth
Ashton-u-Lyne	Falkirk	Newport, I. W.
Athlone	Fife	Newry
Banbury	Flint Dist.	Northallerton
Beaumaris	Forfarshire	Orkney and Shetland
Bewdley	Glasgow and	
Burnley	Aberdeen Uni-	Paisley
Caithness	versities	Pembroke Dist.
Calne	Gravesend	Perth
Cardigan Dist.	Greenock	Portarlington
Carrickfergus	Grimsby	Richmond
Chatham	Haddington Dist.	Rochdale
Cheltenham	Haverfordwest	Stockton-on-Tees
Chichester	Hawick	Swansea
Cirencester	Helston	Tewkesbury
Cockermouth	Hythe	Tynemouth
Coleraine	Invernesshire	Wakefield
Darlington	Inverness Dist.	Wallingford
Devizes	Kidderminster	Walsall
Dewsbury	Kilkenny	Warrington
Droitwich	Kilmarnock	Westbury
Dudley	Kinsale	Wexford
Dumbarton	Lanark, S.	Wick
Dumfries	Launceston	Wigton
Dundalk	Leith	Wilton
Dungannon	Leominster	Windsor
Edinburgh and	Linlithgow	Youghal
St. Andrew's	Maldon	
Universities	Malmesbury	

Twenty-two constituencies gave one vote to the Bill, their other vote being neutral on the last division:—

Carmarthen Co.	Hants, N.	Marylebone
Devon, N.	Ipswich	Queen's Co.
Dublin City	Kildare	Southwark
Fermanagh	King's Co.	Stoke
Galway Co.	Leicester	Yorkshire West
Grantham	Limerick Co.	Riding N.D.
Greenwich	Londonderry Co.	Yorkshire North
Halifax	Louth Co.	Riding

Twenty-five constituencies gave one vote for and one against the Bill, being twenty-five on each side:—

Bath	Down	Penryn & Falmouth
Bedford	Durham S.	Reading
Boston	Gloucester E.	Scarborough
Bradford	Hackney	Sheffield
Bury St. Edmunds	Leicester N.	Somerset Mid.
Cambridge	Northampton	Sunderland
Chelsea	Northumberland S.	Surrey W.
Coventry	Oldham	Wolverhampton
Devon S.		

Thus 119 constituencies, as against 94 last Parliament, give clear and full votes for the Bill; and 26 clear, though not full, votes for it. Therefore 145 constituencies appear as clearly ranged in favour of the Bill.

The changes which have occurred in the representation of several of these constituencies since the division do not seem have a material influence on the calculations. The most noteworthy of these changes is the removal of Mr. Disraeli from the House of Commons to the House of Lords as Earl of Beaconsfield. Your Committee desire here to recognise the services

rendered by Mr. Disraeli to the cause of just and constitutional representation. He was the first member of the House of Commons who declared, during the debates on the Reform question which preceded the Act of 1867, his conviction that political rights were not the sole heritage of men. In April, 1866, Mr. Disraeli is recorded in Hansard to have said:—"If there is to be universal suffrage, women have as much right to vote as men; and more than that, a woman having property ought now to have a vote." In the revised and corrected edition of Mr. Disraeli's speeches on Parliamentary Reform the passage appears thus amplified:—"I say that in a country governed by a woman—where you allow women to form part of the other estate of the realm—peeresses in their own right, for example—where you allow a woman not only to hold land, but to be a lady of the manor and hold legal courts—where a woman by law may be a churchwarden and overseer of the poor—I do not see, where she has so much to do with the State and Church, on what reasons, if you come to right, she has not a right to vote."

Mr. Disraeli consistently acted on the principles here avowed by voting for the second reading of the Women's Disabilities Bill, when that motion was brought forward, whether by Mr. Jacob Bright or Mr. Forsyth. His vote was given in the divisions of 1871, 1873, 1875, and 1876—and in gratefully recognising his past services to their cause, your Committee desire to record their sense of the great loss which they have sustained in the withdrawal from the arena of the next campaign of so powerful and consistent a supporter as the head of Her Majesty's Government.

During the session of 1876, there were presented to the House of Commons 1,117 petitions, signed by

370,166 persons in favour of the Women's Disabilities Bill. This far exceeds the number of petitioners for any other object during the session. One petition was presented against the Bill. This was from the Town Council of Kilmarnock, and it is conspicuous as a solitary instance of opposition to the measure. The petitions sent through the efforts of members and friends of the Manchester Society were 263—with 128,174 signatures. The petitions from Manchester received 40,059, and from Salford 20,159 signatures. Huddersfield sent a petition from 2,143 electors, headed by the leading members of both political parties, and containing some of the most influential names in the town. In addition to this, there was a general petition signed by 7,639 men and women, a petition signed by the chairman of one of the largest public meetings ever held in Huddersfield, and last, but not least, a petition in favour of the Bill from the Town Council. From this it is evident that whatever success the objections of Mr. Leatham may meet with in other quarters, he has failed to convince his own constituency that it is either just or wise to mar the recognition of the principle of household suffrage for men, by the confiscation and denial of the rights of thousands of householders whose claims both in equity and conformity with the laws regulating every other representative government in this country, are as good as those which are allowed. Your Committee desire to urge the great importance of the petition and to exhort their friends to continue this mode of action.

The meetings held during the past year have not been so numerous as formerly. Your Committee have proceeded on the principle that it was more desirable to use the resources at their disposal in endeavouring to make every meeting organised by them thoroughly successful

than to attempt to hold a larger number at the expense of bestowing less pains to render each one effective.

In the month of November, 1875, a great and densely crowded meeting was held in the Armoury, Huddersfield, when resolutions in support of the Bill were carried with hardly any dissentients. The meeting was characterised by the *Huddersfield Examiner* as one of the largest and most influential ever held in Huddersfield. There was a fair representation of all classes, the speaking was of the highest order, and the interest was fully sustained to the close. Meetings were also held at Stalybridge, York, under the presidency of Lord Houghton; Kendal, Batley, and Brighouse. Your Secretary has taken part in all these meetings, and has also attended meetings organised by other branches of the National Society at Kings Lynn, Lincoln, Knaresborough, Malton, Bath, Barnstaple, London (three), Ipswich, Edinburgh (three), Glasgow, Belfast, and Dublin. Miss Becker has also delivered lectures at Rhyl, Llandudno, Llanrwst, New Brighton, and Harrogate.

Some of the foregoing meetings were arranged or attended by Miss Beedy, who also arranged and spoke at a meeting at Bangor on behalf of your Committee, and visited the following places with good results:—Shrewsbury, Denbigh, Wrexham, Mold, Welshpool, and Newtown. Miss Beedy's able and energetic services to the Society during the few years of her residence in this country are deserving of the highest praise, and will be gratefully remembered by all interested in the movement.

During the past year your Committee's agent, Mrs. M'Cormick, has visited the following places:—Ripon (twice), Northallerton (twice), Middlesbrough (twice), Thirsk (twice), Huddersfield, Preston, Stalybridge, Southport (twice), Blackburn, York, Derby, Lichfield,

Hanley, Stafford, Batley, Wolverhampton, Walsall, Dudley, Kidderminster, Kendal, Bolton, Wigan, Liverpool, Congleton, Llandudno, Rhyl, Llanrwst, Colne, Harrogate, New Brighton, Carlisle, Grimsby, Hull, Darlington, Redcar, and Seaton Carew. Mrs. M'Cormick arranged and attended the five meetings organised by your Committee, attended at the five lectures delivered by Miss Becker, and devoted 173 days to office and other work in Manchester.

In the month of March proposals for an amalgamation of the Yorkshire Society with the Manchester National Society for Women's Suffrage were agreed to by the committees of both Societies. Your Committee believe that this arrangement will conduce to the efficiency and economy of the work in the North of England.

The Society continues to receive an accession of new members, and the *Women's Suffrage Journal* obtains a wider circulation. The income of the Society has been larger than that received in any previous year, and while a large proportion of the liabilities at the end of the last financial year have been discharged, the balance in hand shows a slight increase over that of the corresponding period of last year. There is urgent need for a continuance and an increase of support of this kind, for which your Committee desire earnestly to appeal to the friends of the cause.

They have to deplore the loss by death of valued friends and supporters. Pre-eminent among the friends thus mourned stands the name of the late Mr. Thomasson, of Bolton. He was one of the earliest and most generous contributors to the funds of the Society, and as his acquaintance with the movement grew his interest in it increased. He was an active member of your Committee, he was constant in his attendance at their meetings, and

ever ready to aid them with his counsels and his support. Your Committee desire to place on record their deep sense of his worth, of the value of his services to the cause of the enfranchisement of women and to political progress generally, and of the incalculable and irreparable loss they have sustained by his sudden and premature death.

Your Committee also have to deplore the death of Miss Mary Anne Humble, of Vicar's Cross, Chester, who for some years was a munificent though anonymous donor to their funds. The death of this esteemed lady, at a ripe age, closed a long life adorned with Christian graces and generous deeds, and sanctified by grateful memories.

Within the year there has likewise passed from among us one who was not only pre-eminently the political woman of the century, but pre-eminent among the political writers and thinkers of the time. Harriet Martineau died on June 25. She was an early and firm adherent and exponent of the necessity for the political representation of women, and though from the infirm condition of her health in her later years she was unable to take an active part in the movement, she signed the petitions year after year, and remained a warm and sympathetic friend of the movement to the close of her long and useful life.

At the Conference of the National Reform Union, held in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, in December of last year, an amendment was moved by Miss Sturge, and adopted by the Conference by a large majority, which pledged the Union to agitate for an extension of the franchise to *all* householders in counties, it being understood that the word "all" was intended to include women householders. The recognition of the principle of women's suffrage by so large and representative a

gathering is to be regarded as a mark of the advance of public opinion on the question, and as a proof that the claim cannot be logically resisted by an organisation of men who are putting forth similar claims for themselves.

On the re-election of Mr. Jacob Bright to the House of Commons, Mr. Forsyth intimated his desire to resign the charge of the Bill into the hands of its original author, a decision which he has subsequently carried into effect. Your Committee hereby record their grateful sense of the services rendered to the movement by Mr. Forsyth in taking charge of the Bill in 1874, by his able guidance of the question during the sessions of 1875 and 1876, and for his promise of continued support to the measure whenever it shall be again brought forward in the House of Commons. The Bill has passed through two divisions while in Mr. Forsyth's hands, in one it met with the smallest opposition majority it has ever encountered, and if the hostile majority was increased last session, it was by the activity of opponents and not by any lack of energy or loss of support on the part of the supporters of the measure.

It is with feelings of cordial satisfaction that your Committee record the resumption by Mr. Jacob Bright of the charge of the Women's Disabilities Removal Bill. Those who have had experience of the earnestness, ability, and prudence which he displayed during the four years of the last Parliament when he had charge of the measure, have a reasonable ground for looking forward with confidence and hope to the renewal of the campaign next session under the auspices of their old and tried leader.

Your Committee feel that the record of the past eventful year marks an era which calls for renewed and increased exertion. The issues are drawing closer, the

struggle is becoming more earnest. The increased activity of the opponents is a tribute to the growing strength of the cause, and demands yet more strenuous efforts to withstand. Much will depend on the result of the next debate and division in the House of Commons. It rests with the friends of the cause and of political justice to give adequate support to the efforts now to be made, and in asking for a renewal of their trust, your Committee earnestly appeal to those friends to sustain them in that persistence in the demand for the measure to which, as well as to its intrinsic justice, is doubtless owing to the fact that the number of its Parliamentary adherents is so large, and the support they give to the measure continues so steady. It is with the earnest conviction that the anomalous political status of women is not only unjust in itself, but injurious to the best interests of the country, that the promoters of this measure of reform press it for consideration and desire to see it removed by the wisdom of Parliament.



ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

Of the Society, held in the MAYOR'S PARLOUR, TOWN HALL, MANCHESTER, November 29th, 1876.

The MAYOR of MANCHESTER in the Chair.

The Secretary read the Report of the Executive Committee.

The Treasurer read the Statement of Accounts.

Resolution I.—Moved by Jacob Bright, Esq., M.P., seconded by Rev. S. Alfred Steinthal:

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 Mrs. Heywood, seconded by Mr. Councillor Booth:

That the following persons be the Executive Committee for the ensuing year:—Jacob Bright, Esq., M.P., Mrs. Jacob Bright, Miss Maria Atkinson, Miss Becker, Mrs. Butler, Thomas Chorlton, Esq., Thomas Dale, Esq., Mrs. Gell, Rev. B. Glover, Mrs. Lucas, Mrs. R. R. Moore, Dr. Pankhurst, Mrs. Oliver Scatcherd, Rev. S. Alfred Steinthal, Mrs. Sutcliffe, J. P. Thomasson, Esq., Mrs. Thomasson, Miss Alice Wilson, with power to add to their number.

Resolution III.—Moved by Mrs. Oliver Scatcherd, seconded by Dr. John Watts:

That the earnest thanks of this meeting are hereby rendered to Mr. Forsyth, Q.C., the Right Hon. James Stansfeld, the Right Hon. the Recorder of London, Sir Robert Anstruther, Bart., Mr. Jacob Bright, Dr. Ward, Professor Fawcett, and Sir Charles Legard, Bart., for introducing and supporting the Women's Disabilities Bill, also to the Members of the House of Commons who voted or paired in its favour in the division on the second reading of the measure on April 30th, 1876.

Resolution IV.—Moved by J. P. Thomasson, Esq., seconded by R. D. Rusden, Esq.:

That Mr. Forsyth having intimated his desire to resign the charge of the Women's Disabilities Removal Bill, this meeting hereby express their cordial satisfaction that Mr. Jacob Bright has consented to re-introduce the measure in the forthcoming Session of Parliament, and they pledge themselves to support his action by every means in their power.

The Chair was taken by the Rev. S. ALFRED STEINTHAL.

Resolution V.—Moved by Miss Becker, seconded by Miss A. Wilson:

That the best thanks of the meeting be given to the Mayor of Manchester for allowing the Society the use of the Town Hall, and for presiding on the present occasion.

THE MANCHESTER NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.
STATEMENT OF INCOME AND EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31st OCTOBER, 1876.

By.	INCOME.		EXPENDITURE.		£t. s. d.
	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	
To Balance	135	9 0	By Salaries and Office Expenses	533	6 3
" Subscriptions and Donations	1,739	18 2	" Office Furniture, Rent, Gas, Coal, &c.	38	13 7
" Journal	4	4	Postage and Telegrams	190	18 6
" Postage	31	19 9	" Public Meetings	35	8 6
" Advertisements, &c.	111	12 8	Lectures		
" Pamphlets, &c.			Canvassing		
" Tickets at Public Meetings	17	15 0	Printing		
" Lectures	11	13 0	Deputation Expenses		
" Banker's Interest			Commission on Advertising		
			Reporting Debate, &c.		
			Agents' Expenses, Collecting Subscriptions		
			Other Expenses:—		
			Banker's Commission	2	8 1
			Advertising Journal	1	10 0
					3 18
					2,028 17 10
			Balance: In hands of Treasurer	153	15 9
			" Secretary	2	6 5
					156 2 2
					£2,185 0 0

Audited and found correct.

LOUIS BORCHARDT, M.D.

November 20, 1876.

Liabilities... £193 0 0
Subscriptions received since the accounts were made up... £11 10 0
Amount owing to the Society... 40 5 6

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS.
FINANCIAL YEAR, 1875-1876.

	£	s.	d.
Onlooker	200	0	0
G. T. S.	200	0	0
A Lancashire Merchant... ..	100	0	0
A Lover of Pluck	50	0	0
A. G.	50	0	0
M. P.	50	0	0
A Friend (Huddersfield)... ..	1	1	0
R. L.	1	1	0
R. W.	1	1	0
Omega... ..	1	1	0
Gamma	1	0	0
B.	0	15	6
W. A. (Huddersfield)	0	10	0
J. R.	0	10	0
E. H.	0	5	0
J. H.	0	5	0
O. A. C.	0	5	0
A Friend (Liverpool)	0	5	0
Delta	0	5	0
Sigma	0	5	0
Iota	0	5	0
N. W. J.	0	5	0
Y. Z. (Colne)	0	5	0
A. C. (Colne)	0	5	0
A Friend (Huddersfield)	0	2	6
B. B. (Southport)	0	2	6
A, B, C (Liverpool)	0	2	6
Beta (Blackburn)	0	2	6
M. D. (Stafford)... ..	0	2	6
J. T. (Hull)... ..	0	2	6
G. B. (Dudley)	0	2	6
A Friend (Huddersfield)... ..	0	2	0
A poor Friend, per J. R.... ..	0	1	6
A Friend (Batley)	0	1	0
Anonymous	0	1	0
Small Sums	0	10	0
Ashworth, Miss	1	1	0
Ashworth, Miss L. S.	1	1	0
Adamson, Miss	1	0	0
Atkinson, Mr. J.	1	0	0
Avison, Mr. Thomas	1	0	0
Abbey, Mr. F. F.	0	10	6
Adams, Mr. Charles	0	10	6
Atherton, Mr. H. (Southport)	0	10	0
Atkinson, Miss	0	10	0
Atkinson, Miss Maria	0	10	0
Akers, Mr. H. T. (2 years)	0	10	0
Awde, Mrs. (2 years)	0	10	0
Ayre, Mr. W. (Thirsk) (2 years)	0	10	0

	£	s.	d.
Ayre, Mrs. (Northallerton) (2 years)	0	10	0
Ayre, Mr. George (Thirsk) (2 years)	0	5	0
Ayre, Mrs. George (Thirsk) (2 years)	0	5	0
Ayre, Mr. T. (Northallerton) (2 years)	0	5	0
Alexander, Miss	0	5	0
Alward, Mr. J.	0	5	0
Archibald, Mr.	0	5	0
Addison, Mrs. (Chathill)... ..	0	2	6
Alston, Mr. W.	0	2	6
Alward, Mr. G.	0	2	6
Atherton, Mrs. (Wigan)	0	2	6
Aulton, Mr. A. D.	0	2	6
Allen, Mr. John	0	1	0
Brooke, Miss Edith	25	0	0
Boucherett, Miss Jessie	5	0	0
Briggs, Mr. W. E., M.P.	5	0	0
Browne, Mrs. S. W. (London)	4	0	0
Birch, Mr. W., jun.	3	3	0
Buchan, The Dowager Countess of	3	0	0
Briggs, Mr. James (Blackburn)	2	2	0
Baker, Mr. J. (Hanley)	1	1	0
Barlow, Mrs. Gordon (St. Helens)	1	1	0
Barlow, Mr. James (Bolton)	1	1	0
Bennett, Mr. W. Garnett	1	1	0
Benson, Mr. R.	1	1	0
Binney, Mr. E. W., F.R.S.	1	1	0
Braim, Mr. J. (2 years)	1	1	0
Barnes, Miss	1	0	0
Baynes, Mrs. (2 years)	1	0	0
Biggs, Mr. H.	1	0	0
Black, Rev. J. (2 years)	1	0	0
Bowling, Miss L. A.	1	0	0
Bowman, Mrs. Charles	1	0	0
Borchardt, Dr.	1	0	0
Box, Mr. A. M. (2 years)... ..	1	0	0
Bradney, Mrs.	1	0	0
Brooke, Mrs. Edward	1	0	0
Browne, Miss Annie... ..	1	0	0
Burt, Mr. J.	1	0	0
Butler, Mrs.	0	10	6
Barton, Mr. E.	0	10	6
Bevington, Mr. A. (Hanley)	0	10	6
Blakiston, Mr. M. F.	0	10	6
Brown, Mr. W. Scott (Manchester)	0	10	6
Brown, Mr. Wm. (Manchester)	0	10	6
Burrows, Dr.	0	10	6
Brankston, Mrs.	0	10	0
Baumann, Mr.	0	10	0
Bayliss, Mr. M.	0	10	0
Biggart, Dr.	0	10	0
Bingham, Mrs.	0	10	0
Bishop, Mr. W. W.	0	10	0
Bleackley, Mrs. (2 years)	0	10	0
Bowman, Mrs. (Darlington)	0	10	0
Bowron, Mr. J., jun.	0	10	0
Bright, Mr. Thomas (2 years)	0	10	0
Brooke, Miss Octavia	0	10	0
Brown, Miss M. A. (Wigan)	0	10	0
Bruce, Mr. H.	0	10	0
Burnett, Mr. James	0	10	0
Byrne, Mr. S. H.	0	10	0

	£	s.	d.
Baker, Mr. (Stalybridge)	0	5	0
Baron, Mr. W.	0	5	0
Barran, Mr. A. (Batley)	0	5	0
Barrow, Mr. John (Southport)	0	5	0
Bates, Mr. John	0	5	0
Bell, Mr. J. H. (Darlington)	0	5	0
Bellis, Mr.	0	5	0
Bevington, Mrs. A.	0	5	0
Binns, Mr. R.	0	5	0
Blacow, Mr. J.	0	5	0
Blackburn, Mr. W.	0	5	0
Blumer, Mr. J. G.	0	5	0
Boddington, Mr. T.	0	5	0
Booth, Mr. E. H.	0	5	0
Borchardt, Miss	0	5	0
Boston, Mr. Joseph	0	5	0
Boult, Miss Lucy	0	5	0
Bradlaugh, Miss A.	0	5	0
Bramley, Mr. W. F.	0	5	0
Brook, Mrs. C. J.	0	5	0
Brown, Miss Rachel	0	5	0
Barwise, Mr. J.	0	4	0
Bracewell, Miss C.	0	3	0
Bulpit, Mr.	0	3	0
Baird, Mr. A. J.	0	2	6
Barnford, Mr. T.	0	2	6
Barker, Mrs. (Colne)	0	2	6
Barker, Miss	0	2	6
Barber, Mrs.	0	2	6
Barralet, Mrs.	0	2	6
Baxter, Mr.	0	2	6
Beale, Mr. A. W.	0	2	6
Bell, Mr. C. (Middlesborough)	0	2	6
Biggs, Miss C. A.	0	2	6
Blakemore, Mr.	0	2	6
Blamires, Mr. W.	0	2	6
Blinkhorn, Mr. T. (Walsall)	0	2	6
Bowers, Mr. J.	0	2	6
Brine, Mrs.	0	2	6
Briggs, Mr. J. (Ulverston)	0	2	6
Brooks, Mr. H. (Darlington)	0	2	6
Brook, Mr. W. (Kidderminster)	0	2	6
Broughton, Miss	0	2	6
Busby, Mrs.	0	2	6
Byers, Mrs.	0	2	6
Bridge, Mr. John	0	2	0
Brittain, Mr. W. Dale	0	1	6
Brooke, Miss E. (Kidderminster)	0	1	0
Bates, Mr. (Walsall)	0	1	0
Crook, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph	10	0	0
Cropper, Mr. James	2	2	0
Cholmeley, Rev. H.	1	1	6
Callender, the late Mr. W. Romaine, M.P.	1	1	0
Challinor, Mr. A.	1	1	0
Charles, Mrs.	1	1	0
Checkley, Mr. T.	1	1	0
Chorlton, Mr. Thos	1	1	0
Clark, Mrs. Helen Bright	1	1	0
Cooke, Mr. Isaac B.	1	1	0
Cooper, Mr. Thos. (Congleton)	1	1	0
Crappier Mr. J.	1	1	0

	£	s.	d.
Carslake, Mrs.	1	0	0
Carter, Mr. J. (Batley)	1	0	0
Chambers, Mr. W.	1	0	0
Colling, Miss E.	1	0	0
Courtauld, Mr. S.	1	0	0
Crawford, Miss Mabel Sharman	1	0	0
Crowther, Mr. A., J.P.	1	0	0
Cudworth, Mr. W.	1	0	0
Carlill, Mr. B.	0	10	6
Chandler, Mrs.	0	10	6
Cooke, Mr. J. R. (Hanley)	0	10	6
Corbet, Mr. Miller	0	10	6
Cooper, Mrs. (Norwich)	0	10	0
Coppock, Mrs.	0	10	0
Cotterell, Mr. G.	0	10	0
Calvert, Mr. J. S. (2 years)	0	5	0
Cameron, Dr.	0	5	0
Carter, Miss M.	0	5	0
Chapman, Miss	0	5	0
Cheetham Miss	0	5	0
Clarke, Mrs. (Oxford)	0	5	0
Clarkson, Mr. G. F. (2 years)	0	5	0
Cogan, Misses	0	5	0
Cohen, Mr.	0	5	0
Cook, Mr. H. J. (Liverpool)	0	5	0
Cooper, Mr. Thos. (Wigan)	0	5	0
Copstick, Mr. T.	0	5	0
Cowen, Dr.	0	5	0
Crippen, Rev. Thos. G.	0	5	0
Crompton, Mr. James	0	5	0
Cross, Mr. John	0	5	0
Cooper, Mr. (Northallerton) (2 years)	0	4	0
Crosbie, Rev. W., M.A.	0	3	0
Capstick, Mr. J.	0	2	6
Carr, Mr. W. H.	0	2	6
Chatterton, Mr.	0	2	6
Christie, Mr. John	0	2	6
Cochrane, Mr.	0	2	6
Cooke, Mr. (Grimsby)	0	2	6
Constantine, Mr. J.	0	2	6
Court, Misses	0	2	6
Cox, Mr. J. T. (Stafford)	0	2	6
Cox, Mr. J. W. (Huddersfield)	0	2	6
Crookall, Rev. R.	0	2	6
Crosland, Miss	0	2	0
Chattaway, Mrs.	0	1	6
Dale, Mr. Thos.	1	1	0
Dalton, Mr. Henry R.	1	1	0
Dewes, Rev. Alfred, D.D.	1	0	0
Dalby, Mr.	1	0	0
De Hersant, Mrs.	1	0	0
Denham, Mr.	1	0	0
Dick, Miss Mary	0	10	6
Dowsing, Mr.	0	10	6
Dyer, Mr.	0	10	6
Daniell, Mrs.	0	10	0
Dixon, Mrs.	0	10	0
Donkin, Mrs.	0	5	0
Dawson, Mrs.	0	5	0
Dixon, Mr. J. (Walsall)	0	5	0
Dobson, Mr. George	0	5	0

	£	s.	d.
Dowson, Mr. George (2 years)	0	5	0
Drewry, Mrs. W. H.	0	5	0
Drewry, Miss Ellen	0	5	0
Davis, Mr. J. R. (Walsall)	0	3	0
Dunn, Mrs. S. H.	0	3	0
Davies, Mr. Hugh (Wrexham)	0	2	6
Davies, Miss M. (Wigan)	0	2	6
Dewe, Miss	0	2	6
Dowse, Mr. A.	0	2	6
Dunkin, Miss	0	2	6
Dunlop, Mr.	0	2	6
Eastwood, Mr. F.	1	1	0
Eastwood, Mrs. F.	1	1	0
Eccles, Mrs. (Darwen)	1	1	0
Edmondson, Mr. J.	1	1	0
Edwards, Mr. W.	1	1	0
Ellis, Mr. R. (Harrogate)	1	1	0
Every, Mr. J.	0	10	0
Eccles, Mrs. James	0	5	0
Earle, Miss A. M.	0	5	0
Earle, Mr. John	0	5	0
Earp, Mr. F.	0	5	0
Ebdell, Mrs. (2 years)	0	5	0
Elam, Mr.	0	5	0
Ellis, Mr. E. (Derby)	0	2	6
Elliott, Mrs.	0	2	6
Etchells, Mrs.	0	2	6
Evans, Miss M. A. (Wilmslow)	0	2	6
Evans, Rev. S.	0	2	0
Ellis, Mr. J. (Walsall)	0	17	0
Firth, Miss	0	11	0
Falconer, Mr. Thos.	0	10	0
Fox, Mr. W. J. K. (Batley)	0	5	0
Fairburn, Mrs. (2 years)	0	5	0
Fairburn, Mr. J. (2 years)	0	5	0
Fisk, Rev. Thos.	0	5	0
Fogg, Mr. J.	0	5	0
Fothergill, Mr. W.	0	5	0
Fox, Mrs.	0	5	0
Freeston, Rev. J.	0	5	0
Freeston, Mrs. J.	0	5	0
Frost, Mr. A.	0	5	0
Fuller, Mrs.	0	5	0
Furness, Mr. T.	0	3	0
Foggitt, Mr. W.	0	2	6
Fawcett & Acomb, Misses	0	2	6
Fisher, Mr. S. G. (Darlington)	0	2	6
Fothergill, Mr. S.	0	2	6
Fox, Mr. D.	0	2	6
Francis, Mr. J.	0	2	6
Franks, Rev. E.	0	2	6
Furnivale, Mrs.	5	0	0
Gell, Mrs.	5	0	0
Goldschmidt, Mr. P.	5	0	0
Goldsmid, Lady	2	0	0
Gaddum, Mrs.	2	0	0
Grey, Mrs. William	1	1	0
Gill, Mr. R.	1	1	0
Gourley, Col., M.P.			

	£	s.	d.
Gwynne, Mrs.	1	1	0
Goldsmid, Miss	1	0	0
Gilman, Messrs. S. & R.	0	10	6
Glaisyer, Mr. J.	0	10	6
Gregson, Mr. Thomas	0	10	6
Gammage, Dr.	0	10	0
Gatenby, Mrs. (2 years)	0	10	0
Gay, Mrs.	0	10	0
Gillett, Mr. J.	0	10	0
Goffey, Mr. Thomas	0	10	0
Greatrex, Mr. F.	0	10	0
Grece, Mrs.	0	10	0
Grece, Dr.	0	10	0
Grist, Mr. J.	0	10	0
Guthrie, Mr. James (2 years)	0	10	0
Garnett, Mrs. (Ripon) (2 years)	0	5	0
Garrett, Mr. George	0	5	0
Gasquoine, Rev. T.	0	5	0
Gee, Mr. W. T.	0	5	0
Gerard, Mrs. H. C.	0	5	0
Gibbs, Mr. G. S.	0	5	0
Gibson, Mrs. (Stafford)	0	5	0
Gibson, Mr. T. (Kendal)	0	5	0
Gilbert, Mr. J. W.	0	5	0
Glover, Mr. J.	0	5	0
Goouch, Miss J.	0	5	0
Grange, Mrs.	0	5	0
Gregson, Mrs. S. E.	0	5	0
Grundy, Mr. James	0	5	0
Guthrie, Mrs. A. (2 years)	0	5	0
Griffiths, Mrs.	0	2	6
Gendall, Mr. P.	0	2	6
Gibson, Mr. (Hartlepool)	0	2	6
Gidley, Mr. J., sen.	0	2	6
Gidley, Mr. J., jun.	0	2	6
Gillard, Mr.	0	2	6
Golding, Mrs.	0	2	6
Gray, Mr. T.	0	2	6
Guest, Mr. E.	0	2	6
Gurney, Miss	0	2	6
Gurney, Miss Amy	0	2	6
Humble, The late Miss Mary Anne	102	0	0
Hunter, Mrs. Stephenson	5	5	0
Hargreaves, Mrs. William	5	0	0
Hall, Miss Rose	2	2	0
Heywood, Mrs. Abel	2	2	0
Holland, Mrs. Chas. (Liscard)	2	2	0
Hervey, Miss Rosamond	2	0	0
Hamshaw, Mr. J.	1	1	0
Haworth, Mr. A. (Bowdon)	1	1	0
Haworth, Mrs. Jesse	1	1	0
Hetherington, Mrs.	1	1	0
Heyworth, Mr. Eli	1	1	0
Holden, Mr. E. T. (Walsall)	1	1	0
Hunt, Mrs.	1	1	0
Hutchinson, Miss R. P.	1	1	0
Harris, Dr.	1	0	0
Hart, Mr. H. G.	1	0	0
Haslam, Mrs. (Bolton)	1	0	0
Holland, Mrs. C. M. (Chester)	1	0	0
Horrocks, Mr. L. (Broughton)	1	0	0

	£	s.	d.
Higson, Mr. Thos., J.P.	0	10	6
Holbrooke, Misses	0	10	6
Holloway, Mr. G.	0	10	6
Howat, Mr. D.	0	10	6
Hughes, Mr. Thos. (Burslem)... ..	0	10	6
Hall, Miss Emily (Bowdon)	0	10	0
Heal, Mrs. (2 years)	0	10	0
Hindle, Mrs. (Blackburn)	0	10	0
Hunter, Rev. J.	0	10	0
Hutchence, Mr. W. A. (2 years)	0	10	0
Hadfield, Mr. Moses... ..	0	5	0
Hall, Mrs. J. W. (Thirsk) (2 years)	0	5	0
Hall, Mr. W.	0	5	0
Hardcastle, Mr. F.	0	5	0
Harding, Mr. W.	0	5	0
Hare, Mr. S.	0	5	0
Henderson, Mrs. J.	0	5	0
Hey, The Venerable Archdeacon	0	5	0
Hibbert, Miss	0	5	0
Hill, Mr. James... ..	0	5	0
Hicks, Miss Frances	0	5	0
Hinton, Mr. A.	0	5	0
Hodgson, Mr. C. (2 years)	0	5	0
Hargreaves, Mr. J. (Middlesborough)... ..	0	4	0
Heap, Mr. Thomas	0	3	6
Hadley, Mr. Josiah	0	2	6
Haigh, Mr. Joseph	0	2	6
Hall, Mr. S.	0	2	6
Haller, Mr. T.	0	2	6
Harris, Mr. H. (Northampton)	0	2	6
Harvey, Mr. J. P.	0	2	6
Hawke, Mr. J. O.	0	2	6
Heaton, Mrs. (Wigan)	0	2	6
Hickson, Mrs.	0	2	6
Hindle, Mrs. (Stockport)	0	2	6
Hirst, Rev. J.	0	2	6
Hobson, Mr. W.	0	2	6
Hargreaves, Mrs. (Burnley)	0	2	6
Hopps, Rev. J. Page	0	2	6
Horner, Mrs. R.	0	2	6
Horsfield, Mr. J.	0	2	6
Hughes, Miss Wood	0	2	6
Hunt, Captain R. A.	0	2	6
Husband, Mr. R.	0	2	6
Hutchinson, Mr. (Darlington)	0	2	6
Hall, Mr. J. W. (Thirsk)	0	2	0
Heaton, Mr. W.	0	2	0
Hill, Miss S.	0	2	0
Houghton, Miss M.	0	1	10
Howell, Mrs.	0	1	0
Hebden, Mrs.	1	1	0
Ireland, Mr. A.	1	0	0
Ingham, Mr. Samuel	0	5	0
Ingram, Mr. John (Dewsbury)	1	1	0
Jennings, Mr. J. (Middlesborough) (2 years)	1	0	0
Jaffrey, Miss	0	10	0
Jacques, Mr. (Wigan)	0	10	0
Johnson, Miss (Wigan)	0	10	0
Jordison, Mr.	0	10	0
Jubb, Mr. Samuel	0	10	0

	£	s.	d.
Jackson, Mr. S. B. (Liverpool)	0	5	0
Jackson, Mr. (Grimsby)	0	5	0
Jacques, Mr. (Thirsk) (2 years)	0	5	0
Jeffs, Mr. George, jun.	0	5	0
Jones, Mrs. E. E. (Kendal)	0	5	0
Jones, Mr. T. (Broseley)	0	5	0
Jeffreys, Mrs.	0	2	6
Jones, Mr. R. (Kidderminster)	0	2	6
Jones, Mr. Joseph (Derby)	0	2	6
Jones, Mr. John	0	2	6
Julian, Mr. J. W.	0	2	6
Jones, Miss E. (Weare Giffard)	0	2	0
Jeffs, Mr. H.	0	1	0
Kennett, Mr. R. B.	10	0	0
King, Mrs. E. M.	1	1	0
Knott, Miss	1	1	0
Kitching, Mrs.	1	0	0
Kenderdine, Mrs.	0	10	0
Kilner, Mr. Thos.	0	10	0
Kingsford, Mrs. A.	0	10	0
Kilmister, Mrs.	0	5	0
Kipling, Miss E. J.	0	5	0
Kitchener, Mr. F. E.	0	5	0
Kitchener, Mrs. F. E.	0	5	0
Kelsall, Mrs.	0	2	6
Kirby, Mr. Thos.	0	2	6
Langton, The Lady Anna Gore	20	0	0
Lightbown, Mr. H.	3	3	0
Long, Mrs.	2	0	0
Lytton, The Dowager Lady	1	10	0
Lawson, Mr. Wm.	1	1	0
Lester, Mr. C. L.	1	1	0
Lister, Mrs. James	1	1	0
Lodge, Mr. O.	1	1	0
Longdon, Mr. F., J.P.	1	1	0
Longstaff, Mr. G. B. (2 years)	1	1	0
Lucas, Mrs.	1	1	0
Lawson, Sir W., Bart., M.P.	1	0	0
Layton, Mrs.	1	0	0
Liddell, The Hon. Mrs. Thos... ..	1	0	0
Lee, Mr. George	0	10	6
Lester, Mr. T.	0	10	6
Laing, Mr. A.	0	10	0
Leaf, Mrs.	0	10	0
Lee, Mrs. J. B. (2 years)	0	10	0
Leighton, Mr. A.	0	10	0
Leslie, Mrs.	0	10	0
Lloyd, Mr. (Kidderminster)	0	10	0
Lyon, Mr. J. A. (2 years)	0	10	0
Livens, Mrs.	0	6	0
Lamb, Mr. John... ..	0	5	0
Lambert, Rev. Brooke	0	5	0
Latham, Dr.	0	5	0
Laycock, Mr. W.	0	5	0
Lea, Mrs. W.	0	5	0
Leach, Mrs.	0	5	0
Letherbrow, Mrs.	0	5	0
Lind, Mr. R.	0	5	0
Littlecott, Rev. T. G.	0	5	0
Longmaid, Mr. W. H.	0	5	0

	£	s.	d.
Lupton, Miss H.	0	5	0
Lawson, Mrs. (Blackburn)	0	2	6
Lohner, Mad. E.	0	2	6
Lomas, Miss A.	0	2	6
Lundy, Mrs.	0	2	6
Lawton, Mr. J.	0	1	0
Mason, Mr. Hugh	10	10	0
Markham, Mrs.	3	0	0
Mather, Mr. W.	2	2	0
Mills, Mrs. (Tooting)	2	2	0
M'Culloch, Mrs.	2	2	0
M'Kinnel, Mrs.	2	2	0
M'Kerrow, Mr. J. B.	1	1	0
Mander, Mr. S. S.	1	1	0
Marsden, Mr. J.	1	1	0
Measham, Mr. H.	1	1	0
Marriott, Mr. (Batley)	1	0	0
Marriott, Mr. W. (Huddersfield)	1	0	0
Mason, Mrs. (York)	1	0	0
Melling, Mr. W.	1	0	0
Milne, Mr. J. D.	1	0	0
Muir, Mrs.	1	0	0
Muirhead, Dr.	1	0	0
Mills, Mrs. (Bowdon)	0	14	0
Mills, Miss (Manchester)	0	10	6
Marshall, Mr. S.	0	10	0
Marshall, Miss Theodora	0	10	0
Martin, Mr. E.	0	10	0
Medley, Mrs. E.	0	10	0
Middleton, Mr. R. M. (2 years)	0	10	0
Moore, Dr. (Liverpool)	0	10	0
Moore, Mrs. R. R.	0	10	0
Muller, Mr. C. E.	0	10	0
Myers, Mr. J. J.	0	10	0
Munroe, Dr.	0	10	0
M'Kerrow, Mrs. (Southport)	0	9	0
Maclachlan, Dr.	0	5	0
McLean, Mr.	0	5	0
Martin, Mr. J. B. (Longsight)	0	5	0
Massey, Mrs.	0	5	0
Meadows, Mr. J.	0	5	0
Meeke, Mrs.	0	5	0
Melling, Mrs.	0	5	0
Melling, Mr. S.	0	5	0
Middlebrook, Mr. John	0	5	0
Middlebrook, Mr. J. P.	0	5	0
Moody, Mr. Walker	0	5	0
Mudd, Mr. H.	0	5	0
Mudd, Mr. William	0	5	0
Murray Mrs. (Dumfries)	0	5	0
Musgrove, Mr. W.	0	5	0
Myne, Mrs.	0	5	0
Mackenzie, Miss S. P.	0	4	6
Mount, Mr. J.	0	3	0
Mackie, Mrs. S.	0	2	6
McKittrick, Miss	0	2	6
McRobie, The Misses	0	2	6
Markland, Mr.	0	2	6
Maude, Mr. J.	0	2	6
Melhuish, Mr.	0	2	6
Mellor, Mr. B. (Huddersfield)	0	2	6

	£	s.	d.
Micks, Mr. R.	0	2	6
Mogerley, Mr. G.	0	2	6
Molyneux, Mr. Geo.	0	2	6
Monkhouse, Mr. John (Kendal)	0	2	6
Monkhouse, Mrs. (Huddersfield)	0	2	6
Monkhouse, Mr. Thos.	0	2	6
Morgan, Mr. J. H.	0	2	6
Morrison, Miss	0	2	6
Moses, Mrs.	0	2	6
Martin, Miss	0	2	6
Mudd, Mr. S.	0	2	0
Nicholson, Mr. R. (Mayor of Southport)	2	0	0
Nicol, Mr. Henry	1	1	0
Newman, Prof. F. W.	1	1	0
Nicol, Miss Louise	0	10	0
Nicol, Miss (Hartlepool) (2 years)	0	10	0
Nichol, Miss M.	0	5	0
Nicholson, Miss (Moreton-in-the-Marsh)	0	5	0
Newbold, Mr. J. J.	0	2	6
Newton, Mr. W.	0	2	6
Noton, Mrs.	0	2	6
Oates, Mrs.	5	0	0
Ogden, Mrs.	2	2	0
Ormerod, Mr. Thos.	1	1	0
Ormerod, Mrs. Thomas	1	1	0
Oldroyd, Mr. John	0	10	0
Olney, Miss R. Allen	0	6	0
Oldham, Mrs.	0	5	0
Oliver, Mr. J. S.	0	5	0
Owen, Mr. J.	0	5	0
Oxley, the Misses	0	5	0
Pease, Mr. Arthur	10	0	0
Pochin, Mr.	10	0	0
Pease, Mrs. Gurney	5	0	0
Praed, Miss E. L. M.	4	2	0
Pease, Mrs. Fell	2	0	0
Palmer, Mr. J. Hinde	1	1	0
Pankhurst, Dr.	1	1	0
Peiser, Mr. J.	1	1	0
Phythian, Mr. Joseph	1	1	0
Pochin, Mrs.	1	1	0
Potter Mr. T. B., M.P.	1	1	0
Price, Mr. Mark	1	1	0
Pease, Mr. Henry	1	0	0
Pease, Mrs. S. B.	1	0	0
Powell, Mr. Thomas (Southport)	1	0	0
Peel, Mr. Thos.	0	10	6
Parker & Sons, Messrs. J.	0	10	0
Porter, Miss (2 years)	0	10	0
Parsons, Miss	0	5	0
Parker, Mr. W. Coor	0	5	0
Peachey, Mr.	0	5	0
Pearson, Mr. R.	0	5	0
Peck, Mr. Geo.	0	5	0
Peick, Miss	0	5	0
Phillips, Mrs.	0	5	0
Pollard, Mr. A. W.	0	5	0
Porter, Mr. A.	0	5	0
Preston, Mr. J.	0	5	0

	£	s.	d.
Prideaux, Miss G. M. (Darlington)	0	5	0
Proctor, Miss (Darlington)	0	5	0
Proctor, Mr. John W. (York)... ..	0	5	0
Park, Miss Agnes	0	2	6
Parkinson, Mr. Giles	0	2	6
Paterson, Mr. John	0	2	6
Pick, Mr. David	0	2	6
Pugh, Miss	0	2	6
Purcell, Miss	0	2	6
Prideaux, Miss E. B. (Brighton)	0	2	0
Pearce, Mr.... ..	0	1	6
Roe, Mr. T., jun.	2	2	0
Ramsbottom, Miss	1	1	0
Richardson, Mrs. H. (York)	1	1	0
Recketts, Mr. J.	1	1	0
Rhys, Mrs.	1	1	0
Rigbye, Miss	1	0	0
Roper, Mr. W. B.	1	0	0
Roberts, Mrs. (Pwllheli) (3 years)	0	15	0
Renals, Mr. J.	0	10	6
Rentoul, Rev. J. L.	0	10	6
Richardson, Mr. H. (York)	0	10	0
Roe, Mrs.	0	10	0
Rowley, Mr. C., jun.	0	10	0
Ready, Mr. Thomas	0	5	0
Rhoades, Mr. James (Bournemouth)	0	5	0
Rhoades, Mr. John (Thirsk)	0	5	0
Ridgway, Mr. M. (Broughton)	0	5	0
Ridgway, Mr. Randall, J.P.	0	5	0
Ridgway, Mr. J. (Dudley)	0	5	0
Rimmer, Mrs.	0	5	0
Roberts, Mr. D. (Chester)	0	5	0
Robinson, Mr. John (Kendal)... ..	0	5	0
Robinson, Mr. J. A. (Brighouse)	0	5	0
Roby, Mrs.	0	5	0
Rous, Miss	0	5	0
Russell, Mr. J.	0	5	0
Rawson, Mr. James (Wigan)... ..	0	4	0
Raddings, Mr.	0	2	6
Raven, Mr. George	0	2	6
Rawson, Mr. P. L.	0	2	6
Robinson, Mr. G. H.	0	2	6
Robinson, Mr. H.	0	2	6
Randall, Mr. J.	0	2	0
Robertson, Mrs. (Elmpark)	0	2	0
Siddon, Miss	5	0	0
Scholefield, Mrs.	2	2	0
Shore, Miss Arabella	2	2	0
Smith, Mrs. Wm. (Huddersfield)	1	1	0
Smithson, Mrs. E.	1	1	0
Steinthal, Mr. H. M.	1	1	0
Steinthal, Rev. S. Alfred	1	1	0
Stephens, Mr. H. C.	1	1	0
Sargent Miss	1	0	0
Sharman, Mrs. N. Pearce... ..	1	0	0
Shaw, Mrs. (Colne)	1	0	0
Shepherd, Miss E. C.	1	0	0
Simpson, Mr. Chas. (Lichfield)	1	0	0
Skerry, Mrs.	1	0	0
Smith, Mrs. G. H.	1	0	0

	£	s.	d.
Spence, Mrs. J. (York)	1	0	0
Spence, Mr. Peter	1	0	0
Steains, Mr. Arthur	1	0	0
Stephenson, the late Mrs.	1	0	0
Samuelson, Mr. James	0	10	6
Stuart, Mr. James (Hull)	0	10	6
Sawyer, Mrs.	0	10	6
Scott, Miss E. R.	0	10	0
Senior, Mr. W.	0	10	0
Smarey, Miss	0	10	0
Severs, Mrs. G. (2 years)... ..	0	10	0
Simpson, Mr. W. (Liverpool)... ..	0	10	0
Smallpage, Mrs.	0	10	0
Smith, Mrs. Alfred (Ripon) (2 years)	0	10	0
Smith, Mr. B. (Thirsk) (2 years)	0	10	0
Smith, Mr. James (Liverpool)	0	10	0
Spence, Mrs. Alfred	0	10	0
Stainsby, Mr. J. (2 years)	0	10	0
Stewart, Mr. Charles	0	10	0
Stuart, Miss (Balgonie)	0	10	0
Scanlan, Mr.	0	5	0
Senior, Mr. George	0	5	0
Severs, Mrs. (2 years)	0	5	0
Severs, Mr. John	0	5	0
Sibthorpe, Mrs.	0	5	0
Sinclair, Mrs.	0	5	0
Silvester, Mr. W.	0	5	0
Smethurst, Mr. sen.	0	5	0
Smethurst, Mr., jun.	0	5	0
Smethurst, Mr. J.	0	5	0
Smith, Mr. R. (Grimsby) (2 years)	0	5	0
Somervell, Mr. J.	0	5	0
Spencer, Mr. J.	0	5	0
Sproster, Mr.	0	5	0
Stephenson, Mr. (Grimsby)	0	5	0
Sutcliffe, Mr. R.	0	5	0
Sutcliffe, Mrs. R.	0	5	0
Swaine, Miss	0	5	0
Sinclair, Mr. Francis	0	4	0
Snow, Mrs. (2 years)	0	4	0
Salsbury, Mr.	0	2	6
Saunders, Mrs. J.	0	2	6
Sheard, Mrs.	0	2	6
Shelton, Miss	0	2	6
Sherratt, Mr. Jas.	0	2	6
Simpson, Mr. Thos.	0	2	6
Simpson, Mrs.	0	2	6
Smith, Mrs. (York)	0	2	6
Smith, Mr. F. H.	0	2	6
Southern, Mr. J.	0	2	6
Stroyan, Mrs.	0	2	6
Sarjeant, Mrs.	0	2	0
Thomasson, The late Mr. Thos.	330	0	0
Thomasson Mr. and Mrs. J. P.	100	0	0
Todd, Mrs. (Chester)	5	0	0
T. evelyan, Mr. A.	2	0	0
Taylor, Mrs. Henry	1	1	0
Taylor, Mrs. Thos.	1	1	0
Taylor, Mr. W. (Middlesborough) (2 years)	1	1	0
Tennent, Lady Emerson	1	1	0
Tozer, Mr. Alfred	1	1	0

	£	s.	d.
Tewson, Mrs.	1	0	0
Turner, Mr. J. Fox	1	0	0
Taylor, Mr. C. T. (Preston)	0	10	6
Taylor, Mr. Wm. (Blackburn)	0	10	6
Talbot, Mr. Wm.	0	10	0
Thompson, Miss (Preston)	0	10	0
Thorne, Mrs. M. A.	0	10	0
Thorpe, Mrs. Fielden	0	10	0
Thorpe, Mr. F. (Preston)	0	10	0
Towle, Miss M. H.	0	10	0
Turnbull, Rev. Dr.	0	10	0
Taylor, Mr. John (Blackburn)	0	5	0
Tanfield, Mr. D.	0	5	0
Thomas, Miss (Ashton)	0	5	0
Thompson, Mr. Richard (York)	0	5	0
Thompson, Mr. J. (Kendal)	0	5	0
Thorpe, Mr. James	0	5	0
Threlfall, Mrs.	0	5	0
Threlfall, Mrs. J. H.	0	5	0
Todd, Mrs. (Leeds)	0	5	0
Tootal, Miss	0	5	0
Turnbull, Mr. (Hartlepool)	0	5	0
Turner, Mrs. (Bognor)	0	5	0
Thompson, Mrs. (Ripon) (2 years)	0	4	0
Temperley, Mr.	0	2	6
Thomas, Mrs. (Llandyssul)	0	2	6
Thomas, Mrs. (Salford)	0	2	6
Thompson, Mr. J. (Blackburn)	0	2	6
Thompson, Mrs. (Dudley)	0	2	6
Tod, Miss I.	0	2	6
Tongue, Mr. Barnabas	0	2	6
Turner, Mr. Thos. (Dudley)	0	2	6
Turton, Mr. G.	0	2	6
Thwaites, Mr. Thos.	0	2	6
Turnbull, Mrs.	0	1	6
Tenby, Mr.	0	1	0
Unwin, Mrs.	0	3	0
Villiers, Rt. Hon. C. P., M.P.	1	1	0
Vero, Mrs. David	0	2	6
Vero, Mr. Wm.	0	2	6
Winkworth, Mrs. Stephen	15	0	0
Walker, Mr. J. J. (Hanley)	1	1	0
Whittaker, Mr. W. (Broughton)	1	1	0
Winder, Mrs. R.	1	1	0
Woodall, Mr. W.	1	1	0
Woodhead, Mr. (Huddersfield)	1	1	0
Worthington, Mr. T. (Hanley)	1	1	0
Wright, Mr. Owen (Dudley)	1	0	0
Weiss, Mrs.	1	0	0
Whitehead, Mrs.	1	0	0
Wilkinson, Misses (York)	1	0	0
Wilson, Mr. and Mrs. H. J.	0	10	6
Ward, Mr. A.	0	10	6
Whiteside, Dr.	0	10	6
Wintringham, Mr. John	0	10	6
Woodruff, Mr. G. W.	0	10	6
Worthington, Mr. Thomas (Manchester)	0	10	0
Walton, Mrs.	0	10	0

	£	s.	d.
Walton, Miss	0	10	0
White, Mr. George	0	10	0
Whitmell, Mr. C. J. (2 years)	0	10	0
Wilson, Mr. Chas. (Garston) (2 years)	0	10	0
Wilson, Mr. J. Whitwell (Kendal)	0	10	0
Wright, Mr. B. P. (Stafford)	0	10	0
Watts, Mrs. Alfred	0	5	0
Wason, Mr. J.	0	5	0
Wayham, Mrs. (2 years)	0	5	0
Whitelegge, Miss	0	5	0
Whittle, Dr.	0	5	0
Wildman, Mr.	0	5	0
Wilkes, Mr. Job	0	5	0
Wilkinson & Airey, Messrs.	0	5	0
Wilson, Miss Alice	0	5	0
Witty, Mr. Thomas	0	5	0
Woodhead, Mrs. (Manchester)	0	5	0
Woodhead, Mr. H. (Manchester)	0	5	0
Woodhead, Miss Lucy	0	5	0
Woolley, Mr. W. J.	0	5	0
Worthington, Rev. A. W.	0	5	0
Wright, Mr. Thomas (Manchester)	0	5	0
Wright, Mr. S. (Middlesbrough)	0	5	0
Widdows, Mr. H.	0	4	0
Wright, Miss L. (Darlington)	0	3	0
Walker, Mr. Thomas (Huddersfield)	0	2	6
Walmesley, Mr. L. S.	0	2	6
Waugh, Mr. James	0	2	6
Webster, Mr. J. (Darlington)	0	2	6
Wenney, Mr.	0	2	6
Whyte, Mr. James	0	2	6
Woodhead, Mrs. (Leeds)	0	2	6
Wright, Mr. E. A. (Cork)	0	2	6
Walton, Mr.	0	2	0
Wheeler, Mrs.	0	2	0
Walsh, Mr. Thos.	0	2	0
Walker, Mrs. (Ripon)	0	1	0
Whalley, Mr. J.	0	1	0
Withall, Mrs. H. A.	0	1	0
Yates, Mrs. R. V.	3	0	0
Yeadley, Mr.	0	2	6

The following Subscriptions and Donations have been received since the Accounts were made up.

Pickup, Mrs. (Broughton)	1	0	0
Mc.Kerrow, Rev. Dr.	0	10	6
Dale, Mr. David (Darlington)	0	10	0
Lomas, Mr. W., J.P.	0	10	0
Whittaker, Mr. John	0	10	0
Berry, Mr. James	0	10	0
Fletcher, Mr. Peter	0	10	0
Graham, Mr. Joseph	0	10	0
Uttley, Mr. H., J.P.	0	10	0
Hurtley, Mr. R. J.	0	10	0
Cowgill, Mr. G.	0	10	0
Nutter, Mr. H.	0	5	0

	£	s	d.
Thompson, Mr. John	0	5	0
Dean, Dr.	0	5	0
Hall, Dr. and Mrs. S. T.	0	5	0
Howarth, Miss	0	5	0
Hurtley, Miss	0	5	0
Cronkshaw, Miss	0	5	0
Shepley, Mr. Thomas	0	5	0
Baldwin, Mr. W.	0	5	0
Sager, Mr. Thomas	0	5	0
Taylor, Mr. John	0	5	0
Hartley, Mr. Francis	0	5	0
Maw, Mr. N.	0	5	0
Haddock, Mrs.	0	5	0
Lascaridi, Mr. P. T.	0	5	0
Blacker, Mr. G. O.	0	5	0
Martin, Mr. J. P.	0	5	0
Fisher, Mr. A. G.	0	5	0
Folds, Mrs.	0	2	6
Willis, Mr. T.	0	2	6
Leather, Mrs.	0	2	6
Hargreaves, Mrs.	0	2	6
Crawshaw, Mr.	0	2	6
Smith, Mr. T. P.	0	2	6
Kippax, Mr. J.	0	2	6
Heap, Mr. James	0	2	6
Dawson, Mr. J.	0	2	6
X, Y, Z	0	2	6



THE BIBLE

AND

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

BY

JOHN HOOKER,

HARTFORD, CONN.

[REPRINTED FROM A TRACT ISSUED BY THE CONNECTICUT WOMAN
SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.]

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MANCHESTER:
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1877.

THE BIBLE AND WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

THE opponents of Women's Suffrage draw an argument against it from the Bible. Many of them regard the position of the Bible as clearly and directly antagonistic to it and as alone decisive of the question. Many of the friends of the cause are embarrassed by the claim.

I believe that it admits of demonstration, that the passages of Scripture relied upon by the opponents of Women's Suffrage, conceding all that they claim as to their meaning, and as to the permanency and universality of their application, have nothing to do with the question, and must be ruled out of the discussion for irrelevancy.

I make the attempt to show this not merely in the interest of Women's Suffrage, but of the Bible as well. The enemy of all good could not do a greater service to the cause of evil than by leading Christian men blindly to interpose the Bible as a barrier against every great social reform, so that when the reform triumphs, it shall seem to the unreflecting mass of men to be, not merely the defeat of the opposers of the reform, but the overthrow of the Bible also. This book is too precious, and a recognition of its authority too important to the world, for its friends and the friends of truth to expose it so unnecessarily to discredit. The Bible can be put to a better use, it cannot be put to a worse, than to be thrown into the street to help form a barricade against every attempt to overthrow old dynasties of wrong.

I have said that my argument would proceed upon a concession of all that is claimed on the other side, as to the interpretation, and permanency and universality of application, of the passages relied on. It will of course be understood that this is conceded merely for the purposes of the argument. This concession must cover all that is claimed by those who go farthest in their adverse interpretation and application of these passages.

The scriptural declarations relied upon, consist in the curse pronounced on woman at the time of the fall, "Thy husband shall rule over thee," and in several passages in the New Testament, in which Paul repeatedly, and Peter once, enjoins on wives obedience to their husbands, and in which the former, in addressing the Ephesians and Colossians, enjoins on women to keep silence in the churches, and if they would learn anything ask their husbands; and in addressing the Corinthians, enjoins on them not to pray or prophecy with the head uncovered; giving as the reason that it is a shame to a woman to have her head shorn, and a shame to a man to wear long hair, that the man is the head of the woman, that the man was not created for the woman but the woman for the man, and that the woman was of the man and not the man of the woman.

The ordinary mode of disposing of these passages by those who would lift woman from the burden of them, is by saying—that the subjection, if imposed as a curse, would not seem to be an ordinance of nature, and that Christ came to remove the curse under which both men and women lay; that the injunctions of Paul as to keeping silence in the churches were evidently meant only for the particular churches addressed, inasmuch as he directs the women of one church to keep silence, and those of another not to pray or prophecy (preach)

without having the head covered, two utterly inconsistent directions; that the rule that he lays down, that if a woman would learn anything she must ask her husband, is utterly repudiated by all Christian society, and women are freely admitted to institutions of learning; that the proposition that the man is the head of the woman as Christ is of the man and God of Christ, can have no political meaning whatever, if it really has any practical meaning, and especially that no superiority can be inferred by those who contend that Christ is the co-equal of God; that in stating that man was made first, and woman afterwards, he is only stating the understood historical fact, his inference that woman was made for man having no force as an argument, because she might have been made, as claimed on her side, as his equal companion; and that Paul's statement that woman was of the man, and not man of the woman, shows that he was dealing only with the historical fact of her origin, the real fact in every case since having been directly opposite; and that the declaration of God at the creation, and the recorded history of that creation, are far better authority than Paul's obscure reasoning about them—the Almighty having said, in the day of creation, "Let us make man in our image, and let THEM have dominion," to which the inspired historian adds: "So God created man in his own image, male and female created he them," and again, "Male and female created he them, and blessed them and called their name Adam;"—all which the advocates of woman's equality say, shows that the equality of the sexes was the design of nature, and that Paul, in laying down certain rules of propriety for the churches of his day, was merely enforcing his directions by referring to certain current notions of the Jews, availing themselves of their hold on the popular mind, but not intending to endorse them as really sound in themselves,

and especially not intending to give them a new sanction and a perpetual authority.

The question as thus stated is wholly one of interpretation and construction. But I propose in this argument to avoid all questions of interpretation, and take these passages as meaning precisely what the opponents of Women's Suffrage claim them to mean. It is, I think, a fair statement of that meaning in its utmost severity, that they declare, 1st, The subjection of the wife to the husband, and 2nd, The duty of all women in religious matters of a public nature, not to make themselves prominent in any noticeable way; or, to take Paul's own language, to keep silence in the churches. And I am to be understood as conceding not merely this meaning of the passages relied on, but their continued force as practical directions, and their application to human affairs in all countries and through all time.

Now the question comes up, "What has all this to do with Women's Suffrage?" Very clearly the fact that she may not preach, and may not pray unless covered, has nothing to do with it. But what has her subject condition, her servient condition as we may term it, to do with it? The same Paul, in the same Epistle in which he enjoins submission upon wives, says also to servants, "Servants be obedient to them that are your masters according to the flesh, with fear and trembling." And Peter, in the same chapter in which he enjoins obedience upon wives, says also, "Servants be subject to your masters with all fear, not only to the good and gentle but also to the froward." Can the subjection imposed upon the wife exceed that here imposed upon servants? And if the imposition of this subjection upon women was meant to be permanent and universal, that imposed upon servants in the same connection could not have been of temporary and

limited application. And yet who ever thinks of claiming that a servant cannot vote? No proposition could be presented to the American people that would seem more absurd.

There is no better way to bring out distinctly the proposition that must be established by those who use the Bible against women's suffrage than that of presenting their argument in the form of a syllogism. This, it is true, is but a restatement of what I have already stated, but it brings the proposition into special distinctness, and such special distinctness of statement is necessary to those, and their name is legion, whose habits of thinking are careless and inaccurate.

I will take first and by itself, as most important, the argument from the subject condition of the wife. This argument in syllogistic form is as follows:

Major premise—Persons in a subject condition ought not to vote.

Minor premise—Married women are in a subject condition.

Conclusion—Therefore married women ought not to vote.

Here it is to be seen, 1st, That the major premise, the truth of which is necessary to the conclusion, is utterly unsound, inasmuch as servants are allowed to vote without objection; 2nd, That the minor premise, the truth of which is necessary to the conclusion, is admitted only for the purposes of the argument, and is open to controversy when independently asserted; and 3rd, That the conclusion is of little or no value, inasmuch as it leaves the case of unmarried women entirely untouched. As therefore a conclusion must in some manner be secured which will cover the case of all women, married and unmarried, we must enlarge our major premise, and as we do so we will add, to make the proposition complete, the preaching and praying disability. It will then stand thus:

Major premise—All that class of persons, of whom a part

are in a subject condition, and all of whom are forbidden to preach, ought not to vote.

Minor premise—All women are of that class.

Conclusion—Therefore all women ought not to vote.

Here the conclusion is satisfactory, as it covers the whole ground. And this conclusion cannot possibly be arrived at except by employing the premises proposed, and the absolute truth of both these premises is essential to the conclusion.

Now the minor premise, let it be observed, is admitted only for the purpose of the argument, and would have to be established in dealing with any person not so admitting it. But the major premise is as absurd a proposition as can well be conceived. Just think for a moment of presenting it to the intelligence of this age of common schools and common sense, as a self-sustaining proposition, that "the entire class of whom a part are in a subject condition (including, of course, all servants,) and who are forbidden to preach, ought, by reason of those facts alone, never to be allowed to vote." If any one will undertake to sustain this proposition before the people of this country, he must expect to encounter merely ridicule. And yet those who contend that the Bible is opposed to women's suffrage must sustain that proposition or abandon their ground.

But the opponent of women's suffrage may here say, and consistently, "I do not care to contend on Bible grounds against the mere act of *voting*, if the participation of women in political affairs could stop there. There may be a justice and propriety in allowing her, as a member of the body politic, and often a tax-payer, to vote for the men who shall rule the state and especially who shall lay and expend the taxes. But voting implies more. It implies *eligibility to office*, and political office often involves *political ascendancy*,

and it is this aspiration after and possession of ascendancy, which the passages of Scripture relied on forbid."

Well, my candid opponent, I cheerfully take up the question precisely as you have presented it to me. But first let us see where we stand. Let us clear up the ground around us, so that we may see just how far we have advanced.

May I understand you then as conceding that, so far as any objection to mere voting is concerned, you no longer interpose the Bible against it? That is, that so far as any Biblical objection is concerned, you would take no exception to a law that should allow women to vote, but should forbid their holding office? You must either answer my argument or concede this. I understand you to concede it.

And now a word as to what we are to understand by office-holding. There are a great many offices that involve no political ascendancy, and which could be held by women to the great benefit of the public service, and with a reasonable profit to themselves. Shall I understand that you interpose no Scriptural objection to her holding these offices? If your objection to her office-holding generally is on the ground that she might thus be placed in a position of political ascendancy, which ascendancy alone is the thing forbidden, you of course would leave all other offices open to her. And it is to be observed that probably nineteen offices out of twenty involve no political ascendancy. Indeed the proportion must be much greater. May I understand then that a law would satisfy you that should give women the right to vote and to be eligible to all offices not involving political ascendancy? You must concede this if I have represented you fairly in putting your objection now wholly on the ground of the ascendancy involved in office-holding. And I have intended to represent

you with all the fairness in my power; and besides, I know it to be the only ground that you can take.

But there is one point more to be settled in advance of the further argument. The subjection prescribed by Scripture is only of the wife to the husband. There is therefore no Scriptural objection to unmarried women holding offices that involve ascendancy. Shall I consider you as conceding this? I know that you cannot escape the concession in the position in which you stand.

The Biblical objection is therefore now limited to the holding by married women of offices involving political ascendancy. The objection as thus narrowed and made precise, I proceed to answer.

For convenience sake I will drop the matter of woman's disability as to preaching and praying, as it has little application to the subject, and an answer to the objection founded on her subject condition will cover the whole ground. The point now made by our objector rests of course on this Scriptural subject condition of married women. Now for the purposes of this argument I will assume that subject condition to be as extreme as any one has ever claimed; as extreme, I will say, as the English common law of two hundred years ago made it. Under that law, and under the claims of some interpreters of the Bible, the man is the absolute legislator and ruler of his wife and household. He may not compel her to commit a crime, but he may compel her to serve his convenience or pleasure. If he wishes to sell his home and remove to another, and she is opposed to it, the house is to be sold. If she wishes her son sent to college and he to the shop, the boy must go to the shop. If she wishes for flowers in the garden and he wishes for none there must be none—always provided she cannot persuade

him to comply with her wishes. No matter how unreasonable and unkind he may be in asserting his will, his will when asserted is law. Now all this power on the one hand and subjection on the other I admit for the purposes of this argument to be the ordinance of God. And I put the case thus strongly, not for the purpose of making the impression that all whom I am combating would go so far in theory, or that any of my opponents would approve anything that should approach to tyranny in practice, but that the case that I am to meet and overthrow may be the strongest that can possibly be put. For the more complete the Scriptural subjection of wives to the power of their husbands, the more that subject condition would seem to stand in the way of their holding offices that involve political ascendancy, and which may give them ascendancy over their husbands.

Now does it not occur to you, my candid opponent, that you have narrowed down the question till what is left on your side is hardly worth contending about? Married women will generally choose to stay at home. They have cares there that both require their constant attention and that hold their affections. And besides, if eligible to office, a woman could not get it without a majority of the votes of the district, and the voters would not be likely to vote for a woman who could not leave her home. And further, if she happens to have abundant leisure and the requisite ability, her husband very likely would assent to her taking office, and as the restriction upon her is simply for his benefit he can at any time waive it. The cases therefore of married women who aspire to office against the assent of their husbands, and who get the office, will be too few to be talked about; especially too few to make any reason for excluding all women, not only

from all offices of ascendancy, but from all offices whatever, and from the right of voting too.

But I will meet this Biblical objection in every form in which it can be put. We will suppose that the subject condition, limited upon any interpretation of Scripture to married women only, extends to *all women*, and that all the offices of the State and nation are offices of *political ascendancy*. The rule to which the woman is subject must be still the rule of a husband; but we will consider all women as destined to be married, and so as potentially under subjection. For the purposes of this argument I concede all this.

Now what is this dominion of the husband to which the wife is subject? It is too clear for argument that it is dominion *only as to family matters*. It is, we will call it, an absolute power, but only *within its jurisdiction*. It is the same exactly in this respect as the power of the father over the child, or of the master over the servant. The will of the father and of the master is law, *within their jurisdiction*. I may tell my servant to drive me east when he wants to go west, and my will is law. I may tell my servant to mow to-day and hoe to-morrow, and my will is law. But I may not command him to name his boy John when he wants to name him Peter. I may not command him to go to a Protestant church when he wants to go to a Catholic. Why? Because these last matters lie wholly out of my jurisdiction. I may tell my minor son to go to the post office when he wants to go to play, and to spend his evenings at home when he wants to be in the street. But if, as is sometimes wisely done, the discipline of the school he attends is left to the scholars, and he happens to be on a jury to try some alleged offender, I may not command him to find the boy guilty, nor to find him not guilty. Why? Because that is his own matter and

wholly beyond my jurisdiction. My wife may desire to be a Superintendent of a Sabbath School. Upon the theory of subjection which I have conceded I may have the right to say that she shall not do it; that I want her at home on Sundays to read or sing to me. But if I assent to her taking the place, I have no power to control her as to the lessons she appoints, or as to her discipline of the school. Why? Because it is wholly outside of any subjection that she is under to me. I may be a professor of Greek in a college, and my wife, with my consent, a professor of chemistry. I should have no right to direct her as to her mode of instruction. Why? Because it is wholly outside of my jurisdiction. My wife may own property in her own right, over which and the income of which I have no control. Fathers often leave property to their married daughters in that way. I should have no right to command her to make over the income to me; none to command her to sell the property and give me the proceeds. Indeed, laying all benefit to myself out of the case, I should have no right, simply because I thought it best for her, to require her to sell her property and invest it in some other manner. My wife may be an executor or trustee, but I would have no right to control her actions as such. She may lawfully be elected a member of a school district committee. This thing is beginning to be done, and will be more extensively done, to the great benefit of our schools. I cannot control her action as a member of that committee. I cannot command her to employ this teacher or reject that. Why is all this? Because in all these cases the matter lies wholly outside of the limits of her subjection to me as my wife.

So a woman in her political relations is wholly outside of the limits of her subject state. When admitted to these re-

lations she will stand in them as an individual, responsible to God for her vote and for her political action in every respect, but in no manner responsible to her husband or subject to him. This is no repudiation of the doctrine of subjection. There was always a field of individual right that lay beyond the husband's jurisdiction, and the existence of such individual rights must either be perfectly consistent with the ruling power of the husband within his jurisdiction, or else that ruling power cannot be held to exist.

Do you still adhere, my candid opponent, to your Scriptural objection? Then I have one practical question to ask you: Does the Bible, in your opinion, condemn the reign of Queen Victoria? If you say it does not, you yield the whole argument; if you say it does, you run against the entire Christian sentiment of the world. Notice that the question is not one of monarchy (*that* you may condemn), but of a Queen as against a King. Would the Bible approve the one and disapprove the other? Notice also that it is the clearest possible case of political ascendancy, and that Victoria is not merely a woman, but has been till recently a wife.

It will not do to say, as Rev. Dr. Bushnell does (in another connection, however, and pertinently to the matter he has in hand), that the women who have reigned have been merely nominal rulers, while men have really administered the government. History, I feel sure, establishes the fact incontrovertibly against him. But if the fact be as he claims, it has no pertinence here, for it is the mere *holding* of an office of power, not the vigorous *administration* of the office, that constitutes the offence against the Bible.

But you may say, after all, that the political equality of women with men, though not expressly forbidden by Scripture, is yet directly against the spirit of its teachings, and that

Paul, if called upon to speak directly upon it, would have expressed his disapprobation of it. If you make this point you are in good company, for it has been made by so able a man as Rev. Dr. Bushnell in his book against women's suffrage. He says (page 81), "The assertion of their political equality with men would have shocked any Apostle." Now suppose one of Paul's churches had proclaimed the political equality of all *men*—of the humblest with the most exalted, of the subject with the king, would he not have been astonished? Suppose a convention of men had adopted our declaration of independence, and declared that all men had equal natural rights, would not Paul have been astonished? Suppose the next day another convention had declared that women too had the same rights, how much would his astonishment have been increased? Would it at all? Well, this additional astonishment of the second day above that of the first would be the precise measurement of his astonishment that has any pertinency to the matter in hand. But when we have obtained the exact measurement of Paul's astonishment, what is it worth? If he could have had a vision of the nineteenth century he would have found a thousand things to astonish him; not material things merely, which are of no consequence to this point, but current and established moral ideas, and moral ideas which are the legitimate fruit of his own teachings. He would have been astonished, shocked, if you please, to see woman putting herself forward into such a place of power in literature. He would have been astonished at her position as a power in society, at the recognition she has obtained for herself in science and art. Paul was not inspired to advise this century in practical matters. He was inspired to advise his own age as to such matters, and to lay down great principles of universal application. But he himself had no

conception of all the workings of those principles in their application in later ages to human affairs. The wisdom of the average man of to-day as to what is practically best to-day, is better than the inspired wisdom of Paul brought down bodily from his age, and applied literally as so much practical advice for to-day. Paul, if he was living to day, would, I have no doubt whatever, be among the foremost in advocating women's suffrage. The great principles of liberty and individual responsibility which Christ laid down, could lead to no other result.

Still, it is not so certain that Paul would have been shocked at this claim of equality for women. How does Dr. Bushnell know that he would? He had heard of the Queen of Sheba, and there is no reason to think he was shocked at every mention of her name. And the magnificent Cleopatra had then just finished her reign, and he had heard of other women on thrones. He was very free to speak his mind, and wrote many epistles. If the tenure of political power by these women shocked him, it is a little strange that he has not somewhere put his emotions on record.

It may be said that, conceding the propriety in itself of a woman's holding office, yet upon the theory of subjection which I admit, the husband would have the right to forbid her taking the office, or to require her to resign it, and that thus a great practical difficulty would arise, the liability to which is enough to show the inexpediency and perhaps absurdity of opening the political field to women; and I may be asked if I concede the right of the husband thus to interpose his will in the matter? I reply, that upon the theory of subjection which for the purposes of the argument I have admitted, I feel bound to admit that the husband would have a right to forbid his wife's accepting office. Where, however,

she has accepted office with his consent, he would clearly have no right to require her to resign it. Every analogy of the law is against such a right. A consent thus given and acted upon can never be recalled, especially where, as here, the rights of the public and of third parties are concerned. A husband may refuse to allow his wife to be a dressmaker, but if he assents to it, and she contracts as such to make certain dresses for a lady by a given time, he cannot stop her short in her work, and by the interposition of his mere will make her abandon it. Society would never tolerate such a law. The right which I here concede of the husband to forbid her to assume office, ought to satisfy every one who objects to her holding office on the ground of Scriptural subjection, since the husband, to whom alone her subjection relates, has a right to waive his privilege, and thus there would be in fact no office-holding by women that would in fact conflict with the claims of her subject condition.

But as the difficulty here suggested, even to those who do not hold the subjection theory, may seem a serious one, I depart for a moment from the concession of my argument to state what I believe to be the only sound rule on the subject. I regard husband and wife as perfectly equal in their relation to one another, and they ought to be made perfectly equal by the law. Under this law of perfect equality all their interests are more completely one than where the existence of the wife is substantially merged in that of the husband. In the application of this rule I should hold the agreement of both essential to the undertaking by either of any important matter seriously affecting the family welfare. Thus the wife ought not to take office unless upon a full consideration of the matter together they both think it best. And the husband ought not to accept an office which may seriously

interfere with the family support, or perhaps take him a long time from home, unless upon full consideration by them both they shall both be satisfied that it is best. I would carry this rule so far as to make it the duty of the husband to consult his wife as to any important business investment, the failure of which may seriously affect the family welfare. Her happiness in the marriage relation is just as important a thing to be secured as his, and she will consider as faithfully and as wisely as he every matter bearing upon the family welfare. He has no more right to wreck the family welfare by his folly, than she to wreck it by hers. A consultation upon all important matters will result in the wisest thing being done. The caution of the one will always be a check on the rashness of the other, and a discussion by two minds is always valuable. Where, upon the agreement of both, a course is taken which proves disastrous, there will be no room for mutual reproach, and the calamity will be borne bravely and cheerfully. There will be many cases where this rule cannot be applied literally. Each must often decide upon a course of conduct in the absence of the other, but a knowledge of each other's general ideas will help each to judge more wisely, while the duty to consider the wishes of the other will make each more cautious. There will of course, too, be exceptions to the rule, as where a drunken husband leaves his family to suffer; there she will have a clear right to resort to any honest employment that will enable her to feed herself and her children. I do not propose that all this be enacted by human law. It cannot be. But it will become a potent law when established as the Christian rule of the family.

The family relation is the last one that will suffer from the establishment of women's suffrage. It will only be heightened and its happiness enriched by it.

It is foreign to my argument to attempt to meet any objection to women's suffrage except that founded upon the Bible; but I cannot forbear, even at some expense of unity in my argument, to notice a kindred objection to the tenure of offices of authority by women, made by Rev. Dr. Bushnell. In his book on woman suffrage he draws a strong contrast between men and women in respect to the force-power which characterizes the one sex, and is strikingly wanting in the other, and from it infers that women were made to be subordinate and men to rule. Now, when two classes of people or two races are thus brought into contrast, the one as superior in every attribute of power, the other as inferior in these respects, the object (and the comparison has no real pertinence except as it bears on that object) is generally to show that the superior class or race is made to rule the other. Thus it was a favourite argument with those who defended slavery, that the white race had very positive qualities of superiority, and the black race very positive qualities of inferiority, the inference being that the white race was born to rule the black, and the black to serve the white; the power of the one finding its object in the weakness of the other. Now, Dr. Bushnell does not intend that the inference be drawn from the case as he puts it, that men are to rule over women. But it is only as aimed at such a result that his facts have any real pertinency. Taking the result which he seeks, namely, that men as a sex, and as distinguished from women as a sex, have the natural power of domination, and we find it to be a domination not over women, but over men as well. Indeed, nine-tenths of all the governmental force ever used in the world has been to keep down men and not women. The case then is, that the sex which he says contains this element of dominion, contains

also in vastly larger measure the element of *subjection*, for where there is one man who is a natural ruler of men, there are ten thousand who seem only made to be subject. The division, then, should not be by a perpendicular line dividing the sexes, but by a horizontal line separating the few whom God has made for great natural leaders from the immense mass below them whom He has made only to be led. The matter, therefore, is not one of sex, but one of individuals. And if it be a matter of individuals wholly, then we may reasonably expect that nature will provide occasional master-spirits among women as it has done among men. But we are not left to speculation alone on the subject. History furnishes examples of magnificent administrative power among women. It is no answer to say that there have been very few natural governors among women as compared with men. There are very obvious reasons why such instances should be rare. Aside from the fact that in the rude ages of the world power naturally fell into the hands of those who had the most physical strength and courage, there is this further fact, which is entitled to great consideration. In all ages the field of political ambition and power has been open to men, and has been their natural field, and those men who have exhibited the greatest power of leadership are those who rose from humble ranks under the inspiration of this ambition and opportunity. Women, on the other hand, shut out from all such opportunity, have occupied only such thrones as have come to them by inheritance, or by some pre-existing law, and it is only as power has chanced to fall in this way into the hands of those who proved themselves natural rulers, that history has furnished any examples of true sovereignty among women. They are, therefore, to be compared only with the kings who have obtained their

thrones by inheritance, and not by their own strength; while it is to be considered that the laws of many countries wholly exclude women from the succession, and thus place their sex at great disadvantage even in this already disadvantageous comparison. It is to be considered, too, that women have long been denied the education that has been given to men, while they have not been able, like men, by converse with large subjects, to find a practical substitute for it.

Whatever might be said with regard to the unfitness of women for authority in past ages, cannot reasonably be said now. The world has heretofore been governed by force. Although force cannot now be dispensed with, yet it is no essential personal quality of a king or other ruler. Government is now far more by reason, and where reason does not suffice and the use of physical force is necessary, that physical force is embodied in an army or in a police, which the ruler never heads in person, but puts into motion by his mere command; and that command can be issued by a queen as well as by a king.

It will, of course, be seen that in setting aside the Bible objection to women's suffrage, the writer leaves every other objection untouched. The questions still remain, whether women have the same moral right to enfranchisement that men in the same relative position have, and whether it is for the benefit of society that they should be enfranchised. These are great questions, which the writer will be glad to discuss at some other time. He has aimed in this article merely to show that these questions are to be discussed purely on their merits, and with no embarrassment from any supposed Scriptural intimations on the subject.

So far from Scriptural authority being against the enfran-

chisement of women, the whole tenor of Christ's teachings, which we must all accept as the highest authority, and which to the writer are the teachings of a Divine Master, present a great law of liberty and personal responsibility, which can find its full application only in the perfect equality of man and woman in the home and in the state. When it receives this application society will have taken the greatest step ever taken since Christ came toward a perfect Christian civilization, and the reign of Christ, which his followers have worked for and waited for so long, will be nearer at hand. It is the perfect conviction that this movement is one of true progress toward that promised and blessed reign, that gives the writer his deepest interest in it, and makes him certain of its success.

HARTFORD, CONN.,
November 24, 1869.

ANNUAL REPORT

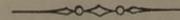
OF THE

CENTRAL COMMITTEE

OF THE

National Society for Women's Suffrage.

Presented to the General Meeting, June 21st, 1877.



IN once more laying before you the Report of the work they have effected during the past year, your Committee have to record the happily unusual conclusion to which the debate on the Bill to Remove the Electoral Disabilities of Women was brought in the House of Commons.

The Bill was introduced and read a first time on the 9th of February, and the second reading was fixed for Wednesday the 6th of June. Notice of opposition was given by Mr. Hanbury, member for Tamworth. On the 6th of June, Mr. Jacob Bright moved formally the second reading of the Bill. The opponents of Women's Suffrage summoned, as was reported, by a specially urgent whip, mustered in large numbers. Mr. Hanbury moved an amendment, which Mr. Cartwright seconded, that the Bill be read that day three months. The Bill was supported by Mr. Forsyth, Mr. Hopwood, Mr. McLaren, Sir J. McKenna, Right Hon. J. W. Henley, Mr. Jacob Bright, and Mr. Leonard Courtney; and was opposed by The O'Donoghue, Sir. W. Barttelot, Mr. Balfour, Mr. Beresford Hope, and Mr Butt.

Mr. Courtney, rising to support the Bill, in reply to Mr. Butt, who was the last speaker against the Bill, was interrupted by loud cries of "Divide!" The clamour increased as Mr. Courtney persisted in his right to speak, and it soon became evident that the opponents were determined not to give him a fair hearing. Notwithstanding, he continued his address until the hour arrived for the adjournment of the debate, when no division could be taken. Mr. Courtney, in a letter to the *Times*, written next day, stated that, "as it was believed by some members of the House of Commons that he rose for the purpose of talking out the Bill, he begged to be allowed to say that there was no foundation for the supposition. His desire was simply to reply to Mr. Butt's argument, and twenty minutes would have exhausted what he had to say, after which a division could have been taken. It was not until it became apparent that the opponents of the Bill would not listen to the arguments that the purpose was formed of preventing a vote."

Your Committee have to report that during the past Session there were presented to the House of Commons 799 Petitions, signed by 265,826 persons, in favour of the Bill. Amongst these Petitions were 17 sent from the following Corporations:—Birmingham, Dumbarton, Dewsbury, Denbigh, Edinburgh, Forfar, Falmouth, Girvan, Hartlepool, Jedburgh, Kirkcaldy, Lincoln, Southampton, Selkirk, Stafford, Tamworth, Wigton. Of these 799 Petitions, 191, with a total of 86,371 signatures, were sent by members and friends of the Central Committee. No Petitions were presented against the Bill.

The following public meetings have been held in London during the past season:—in the Vestry Hall, Kensington, Mr. Arthur Arnold, chairman; in the Beaumont Hall, Tower Hamlets, The Rev. Septimus Hansard, chairman; at the Lecture Hall, Greenwich, Dr. W. Bennett, chairman; in the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, Sir Andrew Lusk, M.P., chairman; and in St. James's Hall, Lord Houghton, chairman. Meetings have also been held in Deal, Dover, and Southampton. These Meetings represent but a part of the general work which has been carried on throughout the United Kingdom by other sections of the National Society for Women's Suffrage. Reports of their proceedings will be found in the "Women's Suffrage Journal."

Your Committee have to thank numerous friends for their kindness in lending their drawing-rooms during the past season, for the purpose of discussing the question of Women's Suffrage, and they would earnestly recommend such meetings as a valuable mode of action.

Your Committee have much pleasure in reporting that on the day previous to the second reading of the Bill, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Stafford Northcote, consented to receive a deputation of ladies interested in the measure, for the purpose of requesting his support to the Women's Suffrage Bill. The deputation was introduced by Mr. W. Forsyth, Q.C., M.P., and was accompanied by Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Bart., M.P., Mr. G. E. Browne, M.P., Mr. James Cowan, M.P., and Mr. Pateshall, M.P. Many other members of Parliament would have been present but for the unavoidably short notice that could be given of the appointed hour. The deputation was favourably received by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who expressed his approval of the principles of the Bill, but doubted the expediency from a Ministerial point of view of re-opening the great electoral question at the present moment.

Your Committee have to deplore the loss of one of the earliest and staunchest members of the Women's Suffrage Society, Mrs. Harriet Martineau, whose death occurred during the summer. She was an earnest supporter of every movement tending to improve the social and political condition of women, and the effect of her labours will continue to be felt throughout the kingdom.

Within the last few days another distinguished member of the Society has been suddenly removed by death. Miss Mary Carpenter was one of those eminent philanthropists, whose exertions for the social elevation of various sections of the people have led them to become strong supporters of the Women's Suffrage movement, and her loss will be felt in regard to it throughout a wide circle.

Amongst the steps which have been taken to advance the work, your Committee desire to call your attention to the declaration from Women Householders, which is intended to form a record of a permanent kind of the demand of women to exercise the parliamentary franchise. Your Committee report with satisfaction that the declaration has already been signed by some most distinguished ladies, and

they hope that friends will help the cause by bringing the declaration under the notice of duly qualified women and obtaining additional signatures.

Your Committee desire also to make known that they are forming a collection of books and pamphlets relating to the legal and social position of women. Such a collection will be useful to the Members of the Society for reference, and they will be grateful for contributions of English and Foreign literature connected with the subject.

Your Committee feel that the interest in and sympathy with the cause, together with the disapproval of the tactics adopted by its opponents in Parliament, which is widely expressed both in society and in the Press, is of good omen for the future, and they earnestly request their friends to follow up these advantages by renewed exertions during the coming year.

WOMEN HOUSES' DECLARATION.

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

The following is the form of Declaration, which it is hoped will become a record of permanent historical and political value.

"We, the undersigned, possessing qualifications which entitle us, if we were men, to vote in elections for members of Parliament, declare that we consider our exclusion from the franchise on the ground of sex, an infraction of the principle that taxation and representation should go together, and we hereby express our desire for an alteration in the laws, which shall enable all women possessing the qualifications now enabling men to exercise the Parliamentary franchise, if they desire so to do."

The following names have signed

LADY ANNA GORE-LANGTON
FRANCES ANNE ASHWORTH
LILIAS S. ASHWORTH
LOUISA ATKINS, M.D.
CHARLOTTE ELIZABETH BABB
LYDIA E. BECKER
ELLA BURTON
MARY CARPENTER

FRANCES LOBBE
LILIAS
RHODA
AGNES
ROSE H
MARY LLOYD
MARGA
SOPHIA DE MORGAN

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE
MABEL SHARMAN-CRAWFORD
ANNA SWANWICK
EMMA ANNE SPARLING
EMILY FRANCES SIDDON
ISABELLA M. TOD
CAROLINE WILLIAMS
etc. etc. etc.

Please attach the undersigned names to the Women Households' Declaration.

NAME.		QUALIFICATION. (Whether as Occupier or owner of houses, land, or other property.)

This slip to be returned to Miss Secretary of Central Committee.

64, Berners Street, London. W.

RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS FROM MAY 12TH, 1876, TO JUNE 15TH, 1877.

RECEIPTS.				PAYMENTS.						
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	
To Balance in Bank last Account...	104	18	1				By Salaries	143	17	9
„ Cash in Secretary's hands	2	19	7				„ Rent	70	0	0
				107	17	8	„ Office Expenses and additional Furniture	34	7	2
„ Donations				739	12	2	„ "Women's Suffrage Journal," and other papers	55	17	3½
„ Subscriptions and Shilling League				235	15	6	„ Stationery and Office Books	24	14	11
„ Sale of Tickets for Reserved Seats				69	17	6	„ Postage and Carriage	72	13	0
„ Sale of Publications				13	8	7	„ Payments to Agents	212	13	9½
							„ Meetings, &c.	258	13	7
							„ Printing	99	4	8
							„ Advertisements	22	15	0
							„ Commission and Cheques	2	16	3
								£997	13	5
							Balance in Bank	£168	8	10
							Less Outstanding Order	10	16	0
								157	12	10
							Subscription not passed through Bank	5	0	0
							Cash in Secretary's hands	6	5	2
								£1,166	11	5
				£1,166	11	5				

Examined and found correct.

GEORGE BAKER,
12, Burwood Place, W.

19th June, 1877.

SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS.

	Annual Subscriptions.			Donations.
	£	s.	d.	
Abercrombie, Mrs. A.	0	10	0	
Addison, Mrs.	0	5	0	
Agate, Mr. Dover ...	0	2	0	
Amos, Prof. and Mrs. Sheldon...	1	1	0	
Andrews, Mrs.				0 1 0
Anonymous				1 1 0
"				0 10 0
"				0 5 0
"				0 1 0
Apps, Miss Dover ...	0	5	0	
Ashurst, Mr. W. H.				10 0 0
Ashworth, Miss L.				4 4 0
Askey, Mrs.	1	0	0	
Astley, Miss	1	0	0	
Babb, Miss	1	1	0	
Babb, Mr. J. S.	1	1	0	
Baines, Miss R. (2 years)	0	10	0	
Barry, Mrs.	0	2	6	
Bayly, Mr. Edric	1	1	0	
Blair, Mr. T. W.	0	5	0	
Benham, Mr. James	0	10	6	
Bennett, Mr. A. W.	1	1	0	
Bentley, Mrs.	0	2	0	
Besant, Mrs.	0	10	6	
Best, Mrs. Rycroft	0	5	0	
Biggs, Mr. Joseph	1	1	0	
Biggs, Miss Ashurst	1	1	0	
Biggs, Miss C. A.	1	1	0	
Bird, Miss	0	5	0	
Boecker, Miss	1	0	0	
Bolton, Mrs. Torquay ...	0	5	0	0 15 0
Bostock, Miss	1	1	0	
Bowring, Lady	1	0	0	
Bradlaugh, Mr. C.	0	10	6	
Branch, Mrs.	2	2	0	
Brooke, Miss Edith				4 0 0
Brooke, Mr. T. T.	0	10	0	
Bruce, Mrs.	1	1	0	
Buchan, Mr. H. J. Southampton				1 0 0
Butler, Miss	0	10	0	
Cable, Mrs.	0	1	0	
Canning, Hon. E. R.	1	0	0	
Carey, Miss	0	1	0	
Carpenter, Mrs. R. Bridport	1	0	0	
Cassavetti, Mr. and Mrs. Athens	2	0	0	
Chambers, Miss J.	0	5	0	
Chapman, Miss M.	0	10	0	

	Annual Subscriptions.			Donations.
	£	s.	d.	
Charlesworth, Mr. and Mrs. Sheffield ...	0	5	0	
Chichester, Mrs. Exeter ...	0	10	0	
Clark, Mrs. Pickering (2 years)	0	10	0	
Cobbe, Miss Frances Power	1	0	0	
Condon, Mrs.	0	5	0	
Connor, Mr.				0 2 6
Corfield, Miss E.	0	5	0	
Courtauld, Miss	2	2	0	
Courtauld, Mr. S.	1	0	0	
Courtenay, Miss				5 0 0
Cox, Mr. Serjeant	1	0	0	
Craig, Miss Edinburgh	0	5	0	
Crook, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Bolton...	2	2	0	
Curtis, Mr. and Mrs.	0	2	0	
Dalton, Mr. H. R. S.	0	5	0	
Davies, Mrs.	1	1	0	1 1 0
Davidson, Mrs. (2 years) Braintree	2	2	0	
Deacon, Mr. R. Wallingford	0	5	0	
Dixon, Miss West Hartlepool	0	10	0	
Donkin, Mrs. (2 years)	1	0	0	
Donkin, Miss (2 years)	0	10	0	
Downing, Miss H.	0	2	6	
Drummond, Hon. Mrs. Maurice	1	0	0	
Drysdale, Lady	1	0	0	
Dunbar, Miss Dover ...	0	5	0	
E. A.				50 0 0
Eiloart, Mrs.	0	10	6	
Ellis, Mr. A. J.	1	1	0	
Elles, Miss Leicester	1	1	0	
Emancipator				0 15 8
Estlin, Miss	1	1	0	
Fawcett, Mrs. W.	0	10	6	
Female Emancipator	0	17	0	
Finch, Miss	1	0	0	
Fisher, Mrs. Midhurst	0	10	6	
Fitz-Gerald, Miss Valencia	0	2	6	
Fitz-Gerald, Miss F. Valencia	0	2	6	
Flint, Mrs. (2 years)	0	4	0	
Foa, Madame	0	1	0	
Friend, A, to the Cause				100 0 0
Friend, A				1 0 0
Friend, A	0	5	0	0 5 0
Friend, An Irish				0 2 0
Friend, Deceased (per Miss Hall) (omitted in last Report)				3 0 0
Galpin, Mr. T. D.	1	1	0	
Gay, Miss S. E.	0	2	6	
Glover, Mrs. R. R.	5	5	0	
Goldsmid, Lady	2	2	0	3 0 0
Gold, Mr. A.	0	5	0	
Graves, Mr. A. P.	0	5	0	
Greig, Mrs.	0	2	6	
Grove, Miss	0	5	0	
Gurney, Miss	0	5	0	
Gurney, Miss A.	0	2	6	
Hall, Miss	2	2	0	
Hall, Mr. S. Eastbourne	0	2	6	

	Annual Subscriptions.			Donations.
	£	s.	d.	
Hamilton, Miss	0	5	0	
Hancock, Mrs.	1	0	0	
Hargreaves, Mrs. ... ..	...	...	...	10 0 0
Harris, Mr.	0	1	0	
Harrison, Mrs.	0	10	0	
Hawkins, Mrs.	0	10	0	
Heblethwhite, Miss	0	2	6	
Herbert, Hon. A. and Lady F.	1	0	0	
Hill, Miss R.	1	1	0	0 5 0
Hill, Miss F.	0	2	0	
Holland, Miss	1	0	0	
Holland, Mrs. P. H.	0	2	6	
Holland, Mrs. Robert	0	5	0	
Hood, Mrs.	0	2	6	
Hooper, Mrs.	0	2	6	
Hopwood, Mr., Q.C., M.P.	2	2	0	
Horn, Miss	1	1	0	
Howell, Mrs.	0	10	0	
Household Suffrage ... ..	...	...	...	100 0 0
Hullah, Mrs.	1	1	0	
Impartial Representation ... ..	...	...	...	150 0 0
Jackman, Mrs. (2 years)	0	5	0	
Jenkins, Mr. E.	0	10	6	
Johnson, Mrs. S. J. (2 years)	0	6	0	
Jones, Mr. Edwin ... ..	...	...	...	1 1 0
Jones, Mrs. Elizabeth	0	2	6	
Jones, Miss	0	3	0	
Jones, Mrs. R. Crompton	1	1	0	
Kelly, Sir Fitzroy	1	0	0	
Kinnear, Mr. J. Boyd	1	0	0	
Knight, Mrs.	0	2	0	
Langton, Lady Anna Gore ... ..	...	...	...	50 0 0
Lankester, Mr. W. G. ... ..	...	...	...	1 1 0
Larner, Mrs.	0	5	0	
Lawrence, Mrs. H. W.	0	2	6	
Lascaridi, Mr. G. P.	0	5	0	
Lascaridi, Mr. P. T.	0	5	0	
Lawrie, Mrs. Andrew	1	1	0	
Leach, Mrs. (2 years)	1	0	0	
Le Geyt, Miss	0	2	0	
Leon, Mrs. G. T.	1	1	0	5 0 0
Lewin, Miss S.	0	2	0	
Lewis, Mrs.	1	1	0	
Levi, Prof. Leone	0	5	0	
L'Estrange, Rev. A. G.	1	1	0	
Lord, Mrs.	0	10	6	
Lowe, Mrs. (2 years)	1	0	0	
Lucas, Mrs. S.	1	1	0	2 2 0
Lucraft, Mr. and Mrs.	0	3	0	
Lynch, Mrs.	1	1	0	
McCance, Mrs. (2 years)	0	10	0	
Malleson, Mr. and Mrs. F.	2	2	0	
Malleson, Mr. and Mrs. W.	3	3	0	
Marshall, Mr. Mitchell	0	5	0	
Major, Miss ... ..	...	...	...	0 2 6
Molyneux, Lady	1	0	0	

	Annual Subscriptions.			Donations.
	£	s.	d.	
Muller, Mrs.	0	1	0	
Muller, Miss ... ..	...	...	...	0 10 0
Murray, The Rev. A.	0	2	6	
Murrieta, Mr. ... ..	...	...	...	1 0 0
Nesbitt, Mr. H. A., M.A.	0	5	0	
Newman, Prof. W. H.	2	0	0	
Newnham, Miss (2 years)	2	1	0	
Nicholls, Mrs. Gough ... ..	...	...	...	20 0 0
Nicol, Mr. Henry	1	1	0	
Oakes, Mrs.	3	0	0	
Obbinson, Miss	0	1	0	
Olding, Mr. R. S.	0	5	0	
Oxford and Mortimer, Countess of	1	0	0	
Parry, Mr. H., and Lady Maude	1	1	0	
Paterson, Mr. (2 years)	0	5	0	
Paterson, Mrs. (2 years)	0	10	0	
Paulton, Mrs.	2	0	0	
Payne, Mr. W.	0	5	0	
Pennack, Mrs. (2 years)	0	5	0	
Pennington, Mrs. Frederick ... ..	...	...	...	10 0 0
Perrier, Mrs.	0	5	0	2nd Don. 25 0 0
Pickford, Mrs.	0	10	0	
Pidgeon, Mrs.	1	1	0	
Pochin, Mr. ... ..	...	...	...	25 0 0
Poole, Mr. Stanley Lane	2	2	0	
Praed, Miss E. M.	2	0	0	
Priestman, The Misses	1	1	0	
Ramsay, Miss	1	1	0	
Raven, Miss	0	10	0	
Reeves, Miss	0	10	0	0 12 6
Reid, Mrs.	0	5	0	
Rennick, Mrs.	0	5	0	
Ricketts, Mr. E. B.	1	1	0	2 2 0
Richards, Mr. Herbert	1	1	0	
Rigbye, Miss H.	0	10	0	
Roberts, Mrs.	0	10	6	
Roberts, Mr. Owen	1	1	0	
Scull, Mrs.	0	10	0	
Shaen, Mr. William (2 years)	2	2	0	
Shortt, Mr. J.	1	1	0	
Simcox, Miss Edith	1	1	0	
Sims, Mrs. George ... ..	...	...	...	5 0 0
Slatter, Miss (2 years)	0	5	0	
Southall, The Misses	0	10	0	
Southey, Mrs.	0	2	6	
Sparling, Miss	1	1	0	
Spender, Mr. E.	1	0	0	
Sterling, Mrs. E. C.	1	1	0	
Storr, Mr. Francis	1	1	0	
Symon, Mr. J. S.	1	0	0	
Taylor, Mrs. Henry	1	1	0	
Taylor, Mrs. Thomas	5	0	0	5 0 0
" ... ..	...	...	...	2nd Don. 5 0 0
Taylor, Miss Mabel	1	0	0	

		Annual Subscriptions.			Donations.
		£ s. d.			£ s. d.
Taylor, Miss W. ...	Cork ...	0	5	0	
Taylor, Mr. Benjamin ...	Peterborough	0	5	0	
Tebb, Mrs. ...	...	2	2	0	
Tennent, Mrs. ...	...	0	10	0	
Thomas, Miss E. ...	...	0	10	6	
Thomas, Mrs. Charles ...	...	1	1	0	
Thomasson, Mr. J. P. ...	...	50	0	0	
Travers, Miss (2 years) ...	...	1	0	0	
Turner, Mrs. ...	...	0	10	6	
Upton, Mr. ...	Wallingford ...	0	5	0	
Wade, Mrs. ...	...	0	2	6	
Wade, Miss ...	...	0	2	6	
Walter, Miss Elise ...	...	0	10	6	
Wansey, Miss ...	Bridport ...	1	0	0	
Warren, Miss ...	...	0	10	6	
Wates, Mrs. Joseph ...	...	0	5	0	
Waterall, Mr. N. ...	...	0	2	6	
Webster, Mr. and Mrs. (2 years) ...	...	4	0	0	
Webster, Miss (2 years) ...	...	0	4	0	
Wedgwood, Mrs. Hensleigh ...	...	1	1	0	
Wharncliffe, Dowager Lady ...	...	2	0	0	
Wilkinson, Mrs. Garth ...	...	1	1	0	
Wills, Mr. Howel ...	...	1	1	0	
Williams, Miss ...	...	10	0	0	... 5 0 0
"	...	...	...	...	2nd Don. 5 0 0
Williams, Mr. Arthur J. ...	...	1	1	0	
Williams, Mrs. Carvell ...	...	0	10	0	
Wilson, Sir R. K., Bart. ...	...	0	10	0	
Wilson, Mr. T. ...	Harpندن ...	0	5	0	
Winkworth, Mrs. Stephen ...	...	...	...	...	... 50 0 0
Wootton, Mr. H. ...	High Wycombe	0	2	6	
Wyatt-Edgell, Rev. E. ...	...	1	0	0	
Yates, Mrs. ...	...	1	0	0	
Young, Mr. Thos. ...	...	0	10	0	

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

OF THE

Central Committee, held in the Society's Office, 64, Berners Street,

ON THURSDAY, JUNE 21ST, 1877.

Mr. McLAREN, M.P., in the Chair.

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

1st Resolution.—Moved by Mr. Johnston, M.P., seconded by Mr. Leonard Courtney, M.P., supported by Mr. Wm. Lloyd Garrison:—

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

2nd Resolution.—Moved by Mr. Ashurst, seconded by Miss Arabella Shore:—

“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 Mrs. Mark Pattison, seconded by Mrs. Charles McLaren:—

“That this meeting offer cordial thanks to Mr. Jacob Bright, Mr. Russell Gurney, Sir Robert Anstruther, and Mr. Stansfeld, for introducing and supporting the Women's Disabilities Removal Bill; and in requesting their Parliamentary friends to take steps for the re-introduction of the measure, pledge themselves to support their efforts by every means in their power.”

4th Resolution.—Moved by Miss Tod, seconded by Miss Babb:—

“That the thanks of this meeting be given to Mr. McLaren for presiding on this occasion.”

* For List of Executive Committee, see page 12.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Sir ROBERT ANSTRUTHER, Bart., M.P.
 JACOB BRIGHT, Esq., M.P.
 W. FORSYTH, Esq., Q.C., M.P.
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 Miss BECKER
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 Mrs. JAMES STANSFELD
 Miss STURGE
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 Mrs. THOMAS TAYLOR
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 Bernays, Dr. A.
 Biggs, Miss Ashurst

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 Boucherett, Miss L.
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 Daniell, Mrs.
 Darwin, Erasmus, Esq.
 Davies, Rev. Llewelyn
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 Dimsdale, Robert, Esq.
 Dixon, George, Esq.
 Eiloart, Mrs.
 Elliot, Lady Charlotte
 Ellis, Alex. J., Esq., F.R.S.
 Elmy, B. J., Esq.
 Ewing, H. E. Crum, Esq.
 Exeter, the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of

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 Hamilton, Mrs.
 Hamilton, Mrs. J.
 Hamilton, Miss
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 Murray, Sir John, B.A.

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 Nichol, Mrs.
 Nightingale, Miss Florence
 Otway, Arthur, Esq.
 Palmer, J. Hinde, Esq.
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 Parry, H., Esq., and Lady Maude
 Paterson, Mrs.
 Pattison, Rev. Mark, and Mrs.
 Paulton, Mrs. A. W.
 Pears, Edwin, Esq.
 Picton, Rev. J. Allanson, M.A.
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 Sharpe, Rev. T. W.
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 Shortt, J., Esq.
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 Spender, Miss, Bath
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 Stevenson, Miss Flora C.
 Straight, Douglas, Esq.
 Strahan, Alex., Esq.
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 Taylor, Mrs. P. A., sen.
 Tylour, Miss
 Tennent, the Dowager, Lady Emerson
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 Thomas, Herbert, Esq.
 Thomas, Mrs. Charles
 Thomason, John P., Esq., and Mrs.
 Wallace, Rev. Dr.
 Wallace, A. R., Esq., F.R.G.S.
 Wallis, Rev. J.
 Ward, E. M., Esq., R.A., and Mrs.
 Webster, Thomas, Esq., M.A.
 Wedderburn, Sir D., Bart.
 Wedgwood, Hensleigh, Esq., and Mrs.
 Wigham, Miss
 Wilde, Lady
 Wilks, Rev. Mark
 Williams, A. J., Esq.
 Wilson, Sir R. Knyvet, Bart.
 Wingfield, Sir Chas., K.C.S.I.
 Winkworth, Mrs. Stephen
 Winkworth, Miss Susannah
 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 Women's Disabilities Removal Bill.

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 number of 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.

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

TREASURER.—ALFRED W. BENNETT, ESQ., M.A., 6, Park Village EAST, N.W.

BANKERS.—LONDON AND WESTMINSTER BANK, 214, High Holborn.

SECRETARY.—MISS K. THORNBURY.

**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.
- THE POLITICAL DISABILITIES OF WOMEN.—Reprinted, by permission, from the "Westminster Review," of January, 1872. Price 1d., or 6s. 6d. per 100.
- WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.—By Mrs. Arthur Arnold. A Paper read at the Birmingham Conference, December 6th, 1872. Price 1d.
- THE RIGHT OF WOMEN TO EXERCISE THE ELECTIVE FRANCHISE.—By Mrs. H. D. Pochin. Price 3d.
- MRS. FAWCETT ON WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.—Speech at the Birmingham Public Meeting, December 6th, 1872. Price 9d.
- THE WOMAN QUESTION.—Twelve Papers reprinted from the "Examiner." Price 1s. Post free for 13 stamps.
- WORDS OF WEIGHT ON THE WOMAN QUESTION.—8vo., bound in cloth, 2s. 6d.
- OUGHT WOMEN TO LEARN THE ALPHABET?—By T. W. Higginson. Price 3d.
- SIXTEEN REASONS FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.—Price One Halfpenny.
- REASONS FOR AND AGAINST THE ENFRANCHISEMENT OF WOMEN.—By Mrs. Bodichon. Price 1d., or 6s. 6d. per 100.
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- SPEECHES OF MR. JACOB BRIGHT, M.P., AND PROFESSOR FAWCETT, M.P., in Parliament, April 30th, 1873. Price 1d. each.
- WOMAN SUFFRAGE.—A Reply, by J. E. Cairns, LL.D. Price 3d.
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- LATEST INTELLIGENCE FROM THE PLANET VENUS.—Reprinted from "Fraser's Magazine." Price 1d.
- AN ANSWER TO MR. JOHN BRIGHT'S SPEECH.—By Miss A. Shore. Price 2d.

A FEW WORDS TO TEMPERANCE
WOMEN UPON THE
SUFFRAGE QUESTION.

——
By MRS. DAWSON BURNS.
——

The inquiry may very naturally arise, "In what way can 'The Woman's Suffrage Agitation' help to remove our great national vice of intemperance?"

Looking thoughtfully into the whole matter, many reasons suggest themselves why ladies interested in the Temperance Reform, should readily hasten on this good work by efforts to obtain a legal political standing.

A review of the long list of legislative debates for the curtailment or suppression of our enormous drink traffic shews only a tardy progress; and this conclusion may very fairly be drawn, that the much needed reform may never be accomplished until women are brought fully to believe they should work, shoulder to shoulder with men, in casting into oblivion our national shame.

Women rarely look upon themselves in the light of citizens. They are good wives, good mothers, good for religious and philanthropic purposes; but as to being good citizens, that is a position outside their sphere altogether. This mainly arises from the limited rights accorded to them; but the time has now fully arrived when every woman ought to be recognised an equal citizen with either her father, husband, brother, or friend.

One rising generation after another has had chiefly to depend upon women for its education and training. The right adjustment of the home, England's glory, is attributable to the skill and management of women; and it is a well proven fact that often far more tact and good sound common sense are required in an economical bread dispenser than even in a bread winner. Again, England to-day is deeply indebted to the co-operative zeal of women for some of its greatest blessings. If, then, woman has these qualifications; if her power to work is undisputed; if her labour is sought; if her toil is necessary to the furtherance of great national objects; why should she not have the *one right* of raising her voice and registering her opinion in determining the adoption or overthrow of any legislative measure she may deem just or unjust?

It has been argued that had women the power of voting they would in some instances show how unsuitably that power would be used, or even utterly abused. Even were it so, let it be remembered that non-suitability, or the abuse of the privilege, does not disfranchise a man. Here are two glaring anomalies: A man may drink as much as he pleases, far beyond the bounds of moderation and respectability; may be as ignorant and brutal as he pleases; may be quietly breaking every law that should honestly bind him to his home, his wife, and his children; may be utterly incompetent to estimate either the character or intelligence of the man for whom he is asked to vote; yet, let him only live in a borough as householder or lodger, paying a yearly rental, and he possesses the right of voting at Parliamentary elections.

Contrast this case with that of a woman who has all her life maintained an honourable position; guided

her house with consummate judgment; has been first and foremost in various benevolences and schemes for her country's purity and elevation; can always give an excellent reason for the judicious opinion she has formed; yet, whether widow or spinster, as a householder paying taxes, or a lodger renting apartments of the required value, is denied the opportunity of exercising that tact, that judgment, that influence in the election of candidates whom she deems best qualified to legislate for the urgent wants and necessities of the times.

Every woman specially devoting her energies to the Temperance Reformation should ask herself, "Will this truly glorious cause to which I am allied gain anything if, in order for its advancement, I support the Woman's Suffrage Bill?"

Probably to each such calm question will come an affirmative reply.

1st.—Because women more than men suffer directly from the terrible effects of intemperance. Give the franchise to women, and they immediately become invested with a power that must tell mightily in repressing the present legalised liquor traffic.

2nd.—Because women, in numberless and increasing cases, are the unhappy victims of this national vice, through the present laws facilitating the purchase of these drinks in places considered more respectable than public-houses, viz., confectioners', restaurants, and grocers' shops. Break down the political barrier that shuts out women from the ballot-box, and Temperance women would use their electoral rights against the continuance of a system that is a disgrace to a Christian community.

3rd.—Because women would naturally feel a deeper

interest in petitioning Parliament to remove this drink curse if they had the right to vote in the election of law-makers.

If Great Britain is ever to be a sober nation, our Legislature must step in and confirm the efforts put forth to influence the masses to cast off from themselves this foul disgrace. Our laws, as they now stand, foster and abet the evil; because our law-givers are in many cases either the drink-makers, or are returned by the influence of the drink traffic; and, besides, large revenues flow into the coffers of our Government by the sale of these drinks. The hands of our legislators are not clean in this matter, and no redress can ever be expected for the misery over which the land mourns, and no reform can be hoped for, until men are chosen imbued with a serious and religious sense of their responsibility, and who will use every effort to repeal our national drink laws and prohibit the traffic.

To Temperance women this appeal is made. Thousands are zealously working to wipe out the unclean spot that dims the lustre of England's glory. Thousands are seeking to stem the torrent of misery flowing from this one source. Let their clear heads and warm hearts realise how, by helping to obtain electoral power, they may further succeed in developing the good cause of Temperance they are prayerfully and energetically promoting. No means of forwarding our national sobriety ought to be neglected; and the vote which a Temperance woman would possess, if the Women's Suffrage Bill were enacted, would be a mighty power in her hands for hastening the overthrow of the licensing system, with all its heritage of woe.

LONDON: JOHN KEMPSTER & CO.,
9 & 10, St. Bride's Avenue, Fleet Street, E.C.

THE
PHYSICAL FORCE OBJECTION
TO
WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

(Reprinted by permission from the *Women's Suffrage Journal* July 1877.)

The following letter was addressed by Mrs. Wm. Grey to the editor of the *Spectator*, but declined, on the ground that he had already accepted a letter on the subject from another correspondent:—

To the Editor of the Spectator.

Sir,—Only your known candour and generosity towards opponents could lead me to hope that you will admit into your columns a protest against the doctrine set forth by you last week in your article on women's disabilities. That doctrine, as dangerous as any ever uttered by political demagogues to excite and flatter the passions of the multitude, and as false, I think as dangerous, is that society rests ultimately on physical force; that political privileges should be conceded only to those who have force enough to extort them, and that women, not possessing that brute force, may and should be denied them. For the moment I will leave out of sight the tremendous consequences of this doctrine, that not justice, not the good of the community, are to decide on the distribution of political power, but only the will of the strongest, and will ask, is it true? Does the history of human societies show that they rest on physical

force, that government is the expression of the sum of brute forces existing in the governed? Is it not rather the exact reverse of the truth, and is it not government everywhere and under all forms the expression of the ideas and sentiments which have prevailed over physical force? I will take as an illustration the policeman who, by a motion of his finger, guides and controls four meeting streams of traffic, say at Hyde Park Corner in the midst of the season. Does that policeman represent physical force? No, for any one of the carriages he stops could crush him as he stands as easily as the mob could crush his eight thousand brother policemen who protect life and property over the whole of London. He represents law, and law represents the long inheritance of moral and intellectual forces which from generation to generation have more and more controlled, subdued, and governed the brute forces of the country. I venture to affirm that no social order has ever rested on physical force. As Metternich pithily expressed it: "On peut tout faire avec des baionnettes excepté de s'asseoir dessus." Brute force can destroy social order, as it has done again and again, as it will do wherever governments acting on the doctrine you advance refuse to do justice, to yield to a rightful claim, until the wronged are powerful enough to extort concession, but it can never be the basis and *ultima ratio* of society. To refuse the vote to women because that power is not theirs is a direct premium on the appeal to force against constitutional law.

Another of your arguments, that women

being unable to defend the country in war should not have a voice in deciding questions involving peace or war, seems to me equally untenable. Even in countries where conscription is the law, large classes of men are exempted from its operation on the ground that their services in other ways are indispensable to society; and a considerable number of those not exempted are rejected from physical disability—yet never has it been proposed to disfranchise them in consequence.

I need not consider the impossible cases you suggest of questions in which all the female voters should be on one side and all the male on the other, and the female vote should carry the day; but I may give a real instead of a hypothetical case of the exercise of political power by women. In the territory of Wyoming, U.S., universal suffrage in the literal sense of manhood and womanhood suffrage has been the law of the land for some years. Before women were admitted to the suffrage, the Legislature was disgraced by drunkenness and general rowdiness to such an extent that the members would roll drunk into the sittings, and sometimes be presided over by a drunken speaker. The women, when they obtained the vote, set their faces against this state of things, and aided, no doubt, by the best of the male voters, opposed drunkenness and rowdiness in their candidates so successfully that they have been driven out of the State Legislature and an altogether higher and purer standard of political morality has been practically enforced; nor does it appear that family life

or the normal relations of the sexes have in any way been disturbed. One word more as to the threat which is always thrown out, that if women obtain an equal place with men as citizens they will lose the power and privileges they owe now to the chivalry of the other sex. What chivalry? that of carpet-knights and squires of dames, ceasing at the door of a drawing room; a chivalry which like that of old is not incompatible, to use the words of the historian, "with the coarsest profligacy, the narrowest caste-spirit, and a brutal indifference to human suffering," as those too well know who look below the smooth silken surface of society into the festering depths which underlie it. The true chivalry of the manly man, of the *gentle-man*—gentle (that is, noble) not perhaps by birth, but by word and deed—will live so long as there are helpless ones to be protected against the strong, oppressed ones to be defended against the oppressor, weak right to be vindicated against wrongful might. Women will lose none of the privileges they owe to that chivalry by obtaining the status of citizens. They may lose some lip honour, some formal homage; they will gain, if they deserve it, respect; and the woman who respects herself will scorn the hollow form of homage which is not based on what in her is deserving of respect.

I am, Sir, yours faithfully,
 MARIA G. GREY.

[Published for the Central Committee of the National Society for Women's Suffrage, 64, Berners Street.]

Women's Printing Society, Limited, 38, Castle Street, Holborn, London, E.C.

MAN AND WOMAN.

A Sermon

PREACHED AT S. EDITHA, TAMWORTH,
 MARCH 25, 1877,

The Sunday next before Easter, being also the Feast of the
 Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary,

BY THE

REV. BROOKE LAMBERT, M.A., B.C.L.,
 VICAR.

Price Sixpence.

[The profits of the Sale will be devoted to the reduction of the
 debt on Church Expenses.]

TAMWORTH:

J. THOMPSON, PRINTER, MARKET STREET.

1877.

I publish this Sermon at the request of some members of my Congregation. I have made some verbal alterations, but it remains in all essentials as it was delivered. Those who read it cannot fail to notice the imperfections which belong to the treatment of a wide subject in twenty minutes, and that in a large Church, where the difficulties of sound make the delivery necessarily slow. The desire to justify the use of the pulpit in throwing light on subjects of the day is my chief justification for reproducing what might otherwise seem an inadequate discussion of an important question.

B. L.

April 6, 1877.

SERMON.

“AND THE MAN SAID, THE WOMAN WHOM THOU GAVEST TO BE WITH ME SHE GAVE ME OF THE TREE AND I DID EAT.”—*Genesis iii. 12.*

So the strong man shelters himself. He accuses God, and he accuses woman, he himself is guiltless. He accuses God. ‘The woman Thou gavest to be with me’—he accuses woman—‘she gave me of the tree and I did eat.’ Well has S. James described the awful genesis of evil—‘Lust (desire), when it hath conceived, bringeth forth sin, and sin, when it is ended, begetteth death.’ For in this cowardice born of an act of self-indulgence, in this fear of the consequence without any loathing for the act, lies the germ of all sin, and in this desire to throw the blame of our failings on God and man, instead of courageously accepting the responsibility—in this attempt to let others stand in our place, when it is no longer a question of the gain to be got out of sin, but of the punishment which follows on it—is the beginning of that spiritual death which, like paralysis, will steal over our whole moral frame, if we do not at the outset apply some drastic remedies.

To-day is Lady-Day, our Lady-day, the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the day in which the second Eve began her work of retrieving the damage worked by the first Eve, even as the

second Adam her son reversed the evil symbolized by the fall of the first Adam. With this view of the Virgin there has come a gradual change in the way in which women have been regarded. In pre-Christian times, woman was supposed to be the source of all evil. The notion lingered, I am sorry to say, in Christian times, but the light of Christianity has penetrated the darkness and driven out this, like other evil views, to die in the light. The immediate result of the view they held as to the work of the Virgin, made the Christians glorify and almost deify her. The ultimate result was the elevation of all women. When the mother was raised to the peerage, all her children took rank with her. This is not the place, nor have I the power to trace this out; it is nevertheless a fact. Christianity has not yet fulfilled its design of abolishing—war—slavery—and the subjection of woman. It has done much—is doing much day by day. In speaking of the subjection of woman, I speak of that subjection which is now evidenced in the unwritten law of public opinion, and now in the written code of the law.

First. Notice as an illustration of the way in which public opinion has ratified this view of the inferiority of women, the conduct of society, in respect of a certain class of acts. 'The woman whom Thou gavest to be with me she gave me of the tree, and I did eat.' In the great sin which has throughout all ages brought sorrow on society, the woman has always been deemed the offending

party. It has never occurred to man to consider that he had at least the power of resistance,—that in all matters where self-interest comes in, he overcomes temptation if it stands in the way of success, sacrifices pleasure for money, and life for glory; but that when it is a question only of woman's happiness, the thought of his own satisfaction outweighs all idea of resistance. Unhappily the Church, as well as the world, has ratified this view. The Church has adopted this view, and no sermon now-a-days can reproduce the things which have been said in the pulpit against woman, or written against her in the theological treatises. All the blame has been laid on her, as if the spark of temptation could take fire without the tinder of acquiescence—as if man had not been as greedy as she has been sometimes complaisant. And society still endorses this view. A man may be what he likes, and he loses no caste. He may indulge himself and hold up his head in society with the best. But let a woman err, and she must bear the penalty for ever. Understand me, I am not complaining of the righteous indignation of society against a sin which is the most grievous sin against the dignity of man, made in God's image, of its just reprobation of an evil which is the most fatal solvent of its bonds—but I am complaining of the unequal indignation which fastens the penalty on one wrongdoer and lets the other go scot free. The cynic who was wont to say, when he

heard of some scandal, 'Who was she?' fairly represents the common view, that woman has had a preponderating influence in the evils of the world. We accept the fact that temptation offered by woman is irresistible; that because she tempted we must necessarily fall; and though we call her the weaker, we believe that she is the worse. The expression of this opinion has produced its own result. It has disarmed the watchfulness of men, and weakened the resistance of woman. Tell people they will do wrong, and they do it. Deprive them of that great support and stimulus of humanity, hope, and they fall. Mankind, it appears, cheerfully adopts the tradition of the fall, and not gaining in generosity as the world grows older, still accuses woman as the author of evil. But man has done more. He has in this country registered his opinion of the inferiority of woman by three restrictions in law. He has deprived her of the rights which usually attach to property, as in voting; he has deprived her of her rights over her property; and he has taken from her, during her husband's lifetime, all right in her most precious property, her children, which are by the law, even though of tender years, in the absolute power of her husband. Now I am not going to discuss these questions; suffice it to say, that when a reason is asked for these restrictions, it is said, that these powers are not likely to be well used by women; that it is for the good of society that man should exercise the power for her.

And this leads me, secondly, to say a few words on the effect of this despising of woman. It is, I think, a plain denial of the truth taught us in the Epistle to the Corinthians—'Neither is the woman without the man, nor the man without the woman in the Lord.' God made man male and female. We must cultivate both sides of our nature, and society loses if either is cultivated at the expense of the other. Manly virtues, manly tastes are good, the way men have of looking at things is good—we must cultivate these tastes and virtues and views—but there must be cultivation, they must not be allowed to grow without training and pruning. And we must equally cultivate the womanly in ourselves all that makes us sympathetic and tender and refined, as well as all that makes us openhanded and bold and combative. And we shall only do this when we give woman her proper place and dignity. There is no such key to open the door of knowledge as reverence. Only as we seek sympathetically do we really know. And I believe society is suffering from its neglect. What are the two great evils which we now dread?—luxury in the world—sacerdotalism in the Church. Luxury in the world. Dress and display eat into our incomes, and they do far worse, they eat into our morals. Young men often complain now-a-days that marriage is impossible on account of the expensive habits of society. But apart from any special sin, the consequences of luxury, the

the weakening effects of luxury, have been fatal to all nations. Luxury seems to be the old age of national life; and nations which have bravely fought all opponents in the vigour of youth, succumb to their enemies under the influence of luxury. No one will deny that women have a great deal to say to this—I don't mean in checking expenditure, the stronger sex give them small chance of that—they are supposed to know nothing of accounts, and they sometimes prove it in an unpleasant way. But in the education of her children a woman has much to say to the question. In the training of the young she can give them a tone which will be the most effectual protection against the seductions of luxury. When with childish envy her child desires that which others have, and in childish vain-glory hectors it over his less fortunate brother—it makes not a little in his after life, whether these feelings are carefully checked by example and caution, or whether they are tampered with or even fostered. If the tone of home, where after all the mother reigns, have the true ring, if it be simple and unostentatious, the child will carry with him to school and to life the best antidote to this terrible evil of luxury. It is glorious to see how women are taking this matter into their own hands. They are giving themselves to education, to nursing, to medicine, to art, to rent collecting,* and that in such a way as proves that they can share

* See Cover of *Tamworth Parish Magazine*, April, 1877.

the work of the man without losing the prerogative of the woman. They are educating themselves in a school which will do more than anything else to make life the real thing it ought to be; for they are learning to look at it as it appears to the workers, not as it seems to the lazy on-lookers. God speed them. Let us help them.

And then there is sacerdotalism in the Church, and by sacerdotalism I mean not a vice belonging to a particular party in the Church, for it is a vice which is found both in the very high, and the very low, nay, in all schools of thought more or less. But it is a vice the more dangerous because it comes clothed in the garb of an angel of light. By sacerdotalism I mean that which puts a system, or a man, between man and God, which provides short cuts to heaven—which holds that a man has some miraculous power due to his office, and not to his training, by virtue of which he can deal with that exquisite machinery the human heart, and thinks it is better to guide and direct, than to let man learn, as God teaches him, by mistakes. By sacerdotalism I mean all that other-worldliness which separates men into two distinct castes, and makes this world seem a bad business, to be hurried through as best we may, so as to get to heaven—which makes religion depend on the acceptance of certain views about truth rather than the evidence of truth in the life; and this sacerdotalism in its many forms, whilst it estranges men, has found its most efficient tools in

women. They have been ever the prey of the priest and the fanatic, and worshipping, as we may well do, their goodness, we have sometimes been blind to their errors. Depend upon it, the solution of these questions rests largely on our attitude towards our sisters. God has revealed Himself through the family relationship, and as we understand them better, we shall understand God more.

I often wonder that none of the great painters has made much of that scene which will more than once engage our attention this week—Christ yielding his mother to the care of the beloved disciple. Realize, if you can, the position of the sufferer, his heart sore with the apparent failure of the kingdom he came to establish; his body racked with the agony of the cross; his whole soul overpowered with the tremendous issues that hung on his faithfulness to death—out of this gloom he turns to the women standing near below, whilst the men stood afar off, and among them to his mother. When Christ gives as his last legacy to the dearly loved on earth—the cultivation of family relationships, the drawing closer of home ties—shall we fulfil His command if in any way we derogate from the glory, or diminish the influence of her, who is to us the expression and the very essence of home?

THE LAST BALLAD

OF

CHARLES KINGSLEY.

NEAR the close of the second volume of the "Letters and Memoirs of Charles Kingsley," there is a ballad said to be the last poem he ever wrote. It illustrates a crying wrong of women—the subjection of the personal and maternal rights of a wife to the will and power of a husband, who may be as selfish and cruel as the "hero" of the ballad:—

"Are you ready for your steeplechase, Lorraine, Lorraine, Lorree?
Barum, Barum, Barum, Barum, Barum, Barum, Barea.
You're booked to ride your capping race to-day at Coulterlee,
You're booked to ride Vindictive, for all the world to see,
To keep him straight, and keep him first, and win the run for me.
Barum, Barum," &c.

She clasped her new-born baby, poor Lorraine, Lorraine, Lorree,
Barum, Barum, &c.

"I cannot ride Vindictive, as any man might see,
And I will not ride Vindictive, with this baby on my knee;
He's killed a boy, he's killed a man, and why must he kill me?"

"Unless you ride Vindictive, Lorraine, Lorraine, Lorree,
Unless you ride Vindictive, to-day at Coulterlee,
And land him safe across the brook, and win the blank for me,
It's you may keep your baby, for you'll get no keep from me."

"That husbands could be cruel," said Lorraine, Lorraine, Lorree,
"That husbands could be cruel, I've known for seasons three;
But oh! to ride Vindictive while a baby cries for me,
And be killed across a fence at last, for all the world to see!"

She mastered young Vindictive—oh! the gallant lass was she!—
And kept him straight, and won the race, as near as near could be;
But he killed her at the brook against a pollard willow tree,
Oh! he killed her at the brook—the brute!—for all the world to see,
And no one but the baby cried for poor Lorraine, Lorree.

The *Contemporary Review* comments as follows on the "mysterious refrain" of the ballad:—

"First of all, it must be read with the stress upon the second syllable, so as to run—

'*Bar-um-bar-um-bar-um-bar-um-bar-um-bar-ee!*'

So much is clear, for metrical reasons. The rest is guess-work. But what strikes us is very simple. Many a riding-master or circus-master has lived by his wife's performances, and perhaps Kingsley had heard just then of some case very much like that of the main incident of the ballad (there was such an occurrence in London). Now, let us figure to ourselves a jaunty blackguard of that stamp, with his smoking-cap cocked loosely, and the music of the circus band in his head. He goes about to wheedle—and at last to bully—his wife into riding a dangerous horse, and while he does so, in the pauses of the talk, he hums the music of the brass instruments and the drums—'*Bar-um-bar-um-bar-um-bar-um-bar-um-bar-ee!*'—and this makes a natural refrain to the ballad; a kind of rhyming bass, which well reflects the jaunty way of this selfish ruffian."

WOMEN'S EDUCATION:

THEIR SOCIAL PRIVILEGES

AND

THEIR CIVIL RIGHTS IN JAPAN,

BY

MICHINORI S. NAGASAKI,

*Author of "Political and Moral Essays" and "The Civilisation
of Japan."*

London:

JEREMIAH SMITH & Co., 42, Rathbone Place, W.

1877.

WOMEN'S EDUCATION :

Their Social Privileges and their Civil Rights in Japan.

THE character of the progress of Japan since the late revolution has given excellent promise of future welfare.

It is difficult to comprehend the power and energy of the impulse which is impelling our nation forward in the path of progress. The leaders of the country are amazed to find themselves unconsciously carried along with the advance, though neither desiring nor courting it. There are none to gainsay its advantages. Owing to the change in the aspect of the country and the revolution in the minds of the people, it is a matter of careful consideration how to develop the new position in which Japan has been placed, while undergoing a reformation in its government and in its social condition.

One of the most important problems for our solution in the future development in our civilisation is the education of the whole community ; as education is of paramount importance as well to the individual as to the nation.

The world knows by experience how essential is female education to the growth of national progress. Women being the most affectionate and most effective teachers of the human race, their education should be promoted to the utmost extent and they should be admitted to the colleges and universities, and have the same

opportunities of acquiring an education as extended as that of men.

The gradual rise in the condition of women and the development of their intellectual faculties promises to have great influence in accelerating the grand advance of our nation. Wise advice from abroad on the vital question is solicited, female education having become imperative.

None surpass or equal women, speaking generally, in their efforts for the moral, intellectual, and physical elevation of nations and individuals. A right system of education tends to improve the mind and to elevate men and women, individually first and then socially. History and science, physical and mental, enlarge the mind, while general literature, poetry and the fine arts refine it. They also elevate the taste and raise the people above low and debasing pursuits; yet precedents tend to contradict this and show that often the most intelligent communities have been socially and morally the most corrupt; for example: in modern French history the court of Louis XIV. shines with the splendour of the highest intellectuality, while it shocks us by instances of fearful profligacy and licentiousness; nevertheless, on the one hand, education undeniably stimulates the minds of individuals, and renders men and women desirous of improving their condition, and aids them in devising ways and means; so, on the other, knowledge opens the mind and heart, and teaches the sacredness of life in securing the companionship of the great, the wise and the good of every age.

Women should feel it is their duty to endeavour to gain more self-dependence, and it is desirous and important to cultivate all parts of the moral and intellectual nature, and also necessary for their own happiness as self-dependent beings, to develop and strengthen their characters by due self-culture, self-reliance and self-control; and above all, for that excellent and noble end of women, viz.:—to be accomplished in the fulfilment of their destinies.

Education leads to women becoming more capable of assisting their families in every earnest effort of life. By advancing them in liberty, purity and refinement, men will learn by degrees, that the most perfect pleasures are those which appeal to the higher parts of

their natures, and that, as stated in Comte's Philosophic Religion with regard to woman "if rightly trained she becomes a goddess to be worshipped."

If we cast our eyes upon the course of civilisation, we shall see that in countries where it is in its most matured state there the training of women is best attended to. On the other hand, in a country where it exists but in embryo, it is known that female education is in a deplorably benighted condition. Their attainments and culture enable them to hold great power in society as is fitting for them, and through their onward extension in knowledge they will ultimately obtain these civil rights which are their due and will promote justice among the whole community, and perfect the social organisation of the human race.

THEIR SOCIAL PRIVILEGES.

THE march of civilisation is dissipating female ignorance, and a system for instructing them is spreading through the world like the dawn of a clear day. Their intellectual progress has raised them in social estimation, and given them power and energy which has enabled them to secure position and privileges, and to play an essential and important part in society, even in a political world. Good administration and good organisation of social life in countries are mostly affected by the influence of women's education, because that influence extends to the deeper and more vital parts of human nature. Japan has now schools for girls dotted all over her districts, and this is the most important part in the history of her advancement. The Empress has set a good example before the eyes of the people by making a generous grant for this object, and thereby showing how interested she was in the subject, this has created a great sensation throughout the Empire, and of such a promising state of affairs no doubt the women of Japan will take advantage and utilize all the opportunities given to them by the improved system of the schools, and so place themselves in a higher position in society than that they have hitherto occupied.

and endeavour to put their rights and privileges on a more satisfactory basis.

It has been said:—"when we wish to know the political and moral condition of a country we must ask what rank women hold in it, for their influences embrace the whole of life."

The life-long union of a man and woman leads to the full development and perfection of domestic attachment and sympathy, because a woman has now opportunities of showing her value as the assistant and helpmate of man, and to exercise her power in the establishment of domestic and public order, and, finally, to secure the happiness of of the whole community.

Woman is superior to man in the delicacy of her organisation, in sensibility, in the keenness of the senses, and in refinement of feeling and sentiment. These qualities enable her to uphold the noble office of her sphere in life and so to do good to all, which is the object aimed at in the development of social progress.

From this cause and the effect of general civilisation it is evident that woman's education is essential in every respect, and their relative privileges in society are in the natural order of things and necessary to the successive development of the well-being of the state in regard to its social phenomena.

THEIR CIVIL RIGHTS.

WHY—while universal manhood suffrage has been extended to all as necessary to secure the rights of humanity and to promote justice among their fellow-creatures, has woman not the same privilege—especially considering that the educated female has higher qualifications than the ignorant male?

It has been remarked "that she is not man's equal in physical strength, in powers of endurance and bravery;" but these qualities are even different among men, and are more suited for military and agricultural pursuits than mental employment.

As woman has no desire to engage in occupations unsuited to her condition and nature, and she solely claims to assert her rights and privileges in the political world by perfecting the system of the government and enabling it to rule the people equitably, there is no reason why equal rights should not be given to her.

In the United States there is a class of women who, not content with the protection and enjoyment of all their civil rights, are agitating the public mind to obtain political power, the elective franchise and eligibility to all offices. One of the glories of that country is the flourishing state of women's education; they see the matter in a new light; that education and intelligence can alone constitute a proper basis of all things; this tallies with my view, that the only true reason for any difficulty is in education. Owing to the excess of the intellectual fever in America there has been a grand chance for women to educate their minds, and thus lead themselves to activity in life.

There is no doubt but that the increasing powers of knowledge will promote the ambitious views of all classes; when women have the same advantages in the educational line as men, the same ambition and desire to hold office and to share the balance of power in the political world will be instilled into them, and they will animate even the policy of a country; as science points out that the strength of a nation is influenced by the discussions and opinions of its members.

In the marriage contract the legal existence of woman is scarcely recognised by the common law of England. The United States of America have modified this law throughout the Union.

Under the Napoleonic code the property and civil rights of married women are well protected, and such is the case in most respects under the new Statutes passed since 1840 in many of the States of America.

England is also tardily following the example of other nations; for by the Married Woman's Property Act of 1870, amended by another Act in 1873, a *feme covert** is permitted in certain cases to hold and deal with property as absolutely as a *feme sole** might do.

* *Feme covert* is the legal expression for a married woman, and *feme sole* for an unmarried one.

Before this time whatever rights she had were given to her by Courts of Equity. The Common Law gave none.

My opinion is that the legislature should place husband and wife upon terms of equality, thus recognising the rights of all mankind.

It has been universally believed the husband is the legal representative of the wife, made so by her own free choice, in accordance with the law of nature. I say, no! This is against the law of nature; it has been made so by usage and the practice of the world.

In the first place, the woman has no right to choose her husband as a representative, because it is against ideas of equity, and also tends to depress her from the position she should hold.

The husband has no authority to rule over his wife as a subject and deprive her of her natural rights. It has been remarked "that the difference in constitutions and fitness for various spheres of life are the sources of the affinities of the sexes which constitute the strongest and most permanent bond of union which exists among mankind."

No, on the contrary, the same taste and the same mind would tend to produce more identity of interest and of sympathy, to develop feelings of security and of happiness, and ameliorate the disagreeables of the union of life between husband and wife; because their daily enjoyment rather depends on conversation and the interchange of their reciprocal views than on any other courses of pursuits.

Perfect concord can soften cares by mutual esteem and mutual affection. Different tastes and inclinations for different things are more likely to lead to dissension and discord than to harmony and peace.

Again, it has been remarked that if females were allowed to vote, some of them would think and act differently from their husbands and would vote in opposition to them; which might be the cause of dissension in families, and of contention and quarrels between husband and wife, and give rise to a more fruitful source of separation and divorce than any other.

No, again! This is a mere illusion, as for the fear of disunion, it

must be admitted as a general rule that there is no antagonism between the interests and purposes of the married couple, which are in most cases identical, especially so when a bond of union is strongly formed; in that case their hearts are yielding, and they join hands to soften their cares and preserve mutual love.

According to the Platonic sentiment "there is a love which sees not with the eye, which hears not with the ear, but in which, soul is enamoured of soul." When such is the case, how can the trifling matter of a vote cause any separation? It is an absurd illusion to suppose so.

The chief ends and purposes of female education all over the world have been to make the weaker sex pass a life of dependence and not to maintain the enjoyment of independence; such feeble and aimless education tends to lessen the talents and energies of women, and to be instrumental in making them entirely incapable of protection, support and guidance.

Japan should supplement the scheme of women's education by more energetic measures, and instruct and incline them more and more to maintain their independence, to study and prepare themselves for protection and enjoyment, and to exert their talents and capacities to carry on businesses of various kinds for themselves for the sake of pleasure or necessity.

The right to vote at Municipal Elections in England has been conferred upon certain classes of women by an Act of Parliament which came into force in August, 1869, and the right to vote at all elections in the territory of Wyoming has been given to adult females equally with men by the territorial legislature.

Under the light of civilisation now dawning on the subject of women's suffrage and guiding them up to the splendour of the privilege, all absurd ideas of their disabilities are passing away. The experiment of female suffrage may be soon allowed both in England and the United States of America, and its influence upon society and domestic relations as well as upon elections and government will be tested and determined. Women should claim and insist upon their political and civil rights as well as men, and demand universal adult suffrage without regard to sex. This is demanded, as not merely

just and proper, but as absolutely necessary to enable women to protect their rights and the consequential influences, which, in practice, will aid in settling social and political questions of great importance to the cause of civilisation.

Japan should fairly consider and satisfactorily determine upon the question to which I now draw attention, hoping it will interest and engross the public mind to bear fruit on a future day.