

THE  
ENFRANCHISEMENT OF WOMEN  
THE LAW OF THE LAND.

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There are in these British Islands at this present writing thirty-four millions of human beings. In the old-fashioned phraseology of statisticians, they used to be called millions of *souls*—a term to which it may be useful hereafter to advert. Of these, about sixteen and a half millions are males, and seventeen and a half millions women. Seafaring and adventurous islanders, our men push their way over the world, and settle in our colonies, leaving the balance of sex at home always against them. A large majority of our population, our fellow subjects, responsible to our laws, amenable to the behests of our Legislature, taxed for all the uses of the State, the town, and the parish, engaging in the toils of our industry, adjutants in the production of our material wealth, are yet denied the right of Parliamentary representation. Mothers, wives, sisters, daughters of us—

Where we have garnered up our souls,  
Where either we must live or have no life—  
The very fountain whence our current runs  
Or else dries up—

we, fathers, husbands, brothers, turn our backs on the radical principle of our own constitution, for a pretext to leave them civilly defenceless. It is a maxim in virtue of which we have conceded the suffrage to the vagabond, the drunkard, and the thief, that they are entitled to have a voice in the laws they are to obey. Our rulers have been compelled, by the logic of the constitution, to open its doors to millions, in homage to the



doctrine that the State can only tax and govern us by consent of our representatives—to millions who can neither read nor write, of whom indeed we cannot so much as ask the question—to many who, like the men of Nineveh, know not their right hand from the left. Outlaws, convicted felons—even these may elect, nay, may be elected—but there is no room at the polling-booth or in “The House” for Mary Somerville, Harriet Martineau, Florence Nightingale, Elizabeth Browning, or Rosa Bonheur. We set their sex to reap our fields, to fill our factories; they are clerks in our Government offices, merchants, shopkeepers, manufacturers, tradeswomen, saleswomen, skilled mechanics, inn, lodging, stable keepers; they take degrees at our universities, and practise as physicians, but they have not, it seems, capacity to judge of the qualifications of a member of Parliament. It is quite a sufficing reason for giving Hodge a vote, that Tom, the cobbler over the way, has one; but there the logic of analogy halts. The successful farmer of five hundred acres, the dairywoman who keeps as many cows, and who, each by her skill, energy, and forethought, not only realises an ample income, but finds the money for the employment and maintenance of hundreds of families—these, it seems, have not the requisite ability to make a cross at a polling-booth, although the man who carries swill to their pigs, or delivers the milk on their milk-walk, is, we are assured, an independent and competent elector. If the latter are not very fit, “the schoolmaster is abroad;” give them the right now, and they may learn how to use it by and by. But no such experimental enfranchisement is conceded to their female employers.

We make women large landholders, ladies of manors, fundholders, householders, burgesses of our cities. Baroness Coutts is free of the city of London, and a member of a livery company—“anything but to the purpose.” They may keep the post and money-order office; by express law they may be, and have been, sextons to bury us, constables to protect us, overseers of the poor, high-chamberlain, high-constable, marshal; they may be, and have personally *served* the office of, high-sheriff; nay, they have repeatedly exercised the function of returning officer of members to serve in Parliament; but yet we are told that they are unfit to choose their own representatives. To cap the climax of this dialectic farce, our law and

constitution set a woman to rule over us—to negative by her single veto the unanimous voice of both Houses of Parliament—to declare war, make peace, or conclude treaties binding us all—while we pronounce her congenitally incapable, by reason of her sex, to appreciate the qualifications of a single commoner. Perhaps the most perfect *reductio ad absurdum* in this regard is, that the State itself, by express Act of Parliament, has created and subsidised the office of schoolmistress. She must pass a stringent preliminary examination of her capacity to teach all that schoolmasters impart to the male sex. Oh, yes; she can *instruct* electors, but she is without the capacity herself to elect. She may be a member, president of the school board, vote for common council or aldermen, be a councillor or alderman to administer the municipal affairs of a city of 500,000 inhabitants; but no, she cannot be an elector of Little Pedlington.

Sex—what is it but a zoologic expression, referring solely to animal functions? Distinctive among the brutes “without discourse of reason,” and ruled by blind instincts and prone appetites, is it to be applied to the immortal part of us? The human soul is of no sex. Can we tell the gender of the mind or intellect? Is not woman, as man, fashioned in the image of her maker? Is there one mental faculty which has been omitted in her cerebral economy? Even if it could be contended that some intellectual power has, by the habits of society or the circumstances of her position, been unequally or imperfectly developed, does not the same answer apply in her case as that which is given to the objection to the enfranchisement of male stupidity—the exercise of the function will educate for its due discharge? The Turks, more consistent than we, degrade their women to a *status* below their own, as we do; but, unlike us, they deny that they have souls.

The plain truth is, the objection to female enfranchisement is founded on utter ignorance of the natural history of the *genus homo*. There are countries in which the body-guard of the sovereign consists of his wives. The amazon is no myth, but a present reality. There are populous tribes in which the social position of the sexes is reversed, and the men, entirely subordinated to the women, fully recognise their own as a purely subservient status, deferring in everything to their



wives as the dominant power. Among savages in general, it is the women who really discharge every duty but that of fighting and hunting. Even among civilised nations, how many classes devolve, not only the industrial drudgery, but the business, of their calling, upon the women. The most contemptuous gibe the fisherwomen can fling at their neighbour is that "she cannot keep her husband." The great Napoleonic wars that drew the male population away to the army, made the women of France fill up the gap, by carrying on the work and managing the business of civil life; and to such purpose was it done, that to this day there is scarcely a department of trade or industry, hardly an office of trust or skill, in which they are not to be found creditably proficient. In our country, who is there who cannot tell off, in his own circle, or within his personal knowledge, cases of women who have, by their commanding intelligence, redeemed the fortunes of a futile husband, or, as widows, brought up and put out into life the family he failed to support? Of those who engage in business, how few become insolvent; how punctual are they, as a rule, in fulfilling trade engagements; how reliable in meeting liabilities; how rigid in the discharge of duties!

It is indeed strange that the English people should raise such distinctions as those on which this disqualification is founded. The law of inheritance excluding females which had been imported into the constitution of France, from the allodial tenure of the Salic settlers, never prevailed in Britain. This nation always recognised the right of succession in the female line. I well remember the plenipotentiary of an Indian prince declaring to me he had discovered the reason of the subjugation of the Hindoos to the Saxons. "In the zenana," said he, "we have secluded our women, and made them wholly unfit to make intelligent and capable men and women of our children." "Daughters," observes Professor Monier Williams, "are little regarded. When a boy was five years old he was betrothed. After the nuptial ceremony a boy returned without his bride to his father's house, but at the age of fifteen or sixteen he was allowed to live with his child wife. He (Professor Williams) had at Indian high schools and colleges often examined boys, half of whom were fathers. Early marriages were the curse of India. The condition of Hindoo girls was one of hopeless

ignorance; they were unable to read, they were never taught rules of health, or the most elementary truths of science. A feeling prevailed that a girl who had learned to read had committed a sin which would bring down a judgment on her or her husband. A young widow had practically no existence; an old widow was cared for by her children, but a young childless widow was regarded as worse than dead. She might not marry again (a man would marry again eleven or twelve days after the death of his wife); she was supposed to be in perpetual mourning for her dead husband, although she might never have seen him except at her child-wedding; and she was a household drudge." What has ruined Turkey and every eastern country, what ultimately sealed the doom of Athens, but leaving the culture of each rising generation of the governing classes to the sultanas and female slaves of the seraglio and the harem? The education of the citizen begins in the cradle. Habits of cleanliness, order, obedience, industry, and truth must commence in the nursery and the schoolroom. Eve was a helpmate, not a slave. The description Solomon gives of a virtuous woman is really of a wife who manages and gives law to the whole family. "Her husband is known in the gates; her children arise up, and call her blessed." "She considereth a field, and buyeth it; she perceiveth that her merchandise is good; and delivereth girdles to the merchant; she openeth her mouth with wisdom."

This is not a mere debating society question. It is something very much more significant than the exercitation of a speculative essay. The spirit which suggests women's disability for electoral functions, keeps them out of many callings whereby they might rise out of a deplorably dependent position, and earn a comfortable livelihood. The daughters of a professional man, who can save little of his income in the necessity of maintaining his position and keeping up appearances, are placed in a state of cruel suspense and dependence by the existing habits of society. In our old and highly civilised country, where the mechanism of life, artificial and precarious, rests on such hazardous contingencies, there are few new openings for those who have fallen by unmerited misfortune out of their natural circle. It was the tradition of the Bourbon kings that every prince and princess should be taught



a trade; and the wheel of fortune so turned, that the knowledge stood one of them in good stead in his extremity. Fathers scarcely do their duty to their children and to society who do not so change the habits of public opinion and the current of custom as to smooth the way for females to enter upon the pursuit of trades and professions, without suffering impediment from the prejudices of fixed but illfounded ideas of their proper sphere or mental capability. To this end no means could be more conducive than their introduction to and exercise of those political functions of citizenship which form the outward sign of civil competency, and impart a *status* that may help them in their conflict with our settled but too sophisticated habits. It is my abiding conviction, that by having "cabined, cribbed, confined" more than one-half of our subjects in the moral zenana, the conventional nunnery of our national prejudices, and cramping their minds, as the Chinese do their feet, so that intellectually we try to make them totter when nature bids them walk as freely as their gaolers, we are depriving the nation of a power, which, if wisely and trustingly developed, would add immeasurably to its inventive enterprise and progressive energy. I have already touched, in this connection, on the part nature and necessity assigned to women in the formation of the physical constitution, the personal habits, the moral and mental character of the rising generation. It is to the gifts and faculties of the mother that we trace the genius and proclivities of the child. Can we gather grapes from thorns? The education of the nursery does not mean merely pap and caudle, or the offices of the wet and dry nurse. In spite of all our prejudices we are compelled, by the very necessities of our domestic arrangements, to delegate the most important functions of the instructor—those which mould the wax of humanity while yet it is molten, and bend the twig while yet it is lithe—to the nurse and the wife, whom yet we fail to prepare by our social culture for their momentous task. They are to educate our children—but who educates the educators? "Women," observes Lord Kaimes, "destined by nature to take the lead in educating children, would no longer be the greatest obstruction to good education by their ignorance, frivolity, and disorderly manners. Even upon the breast infants are susceptible of impressions; and the mother hath opportu-

nities without end of instilling into them good principles before they are fit for a male tutor." In a dialogue (ascribed to Tacitus) describing the glories of Rome in the age of the Commonwealth, it is observed, "Children were suckled not in the hut of a mercenary nurse, but by the chaste mother who bore them. Their education during non-age was in her hands; and it was her chief care to instil into them every virtuous principle. In her presence a loose word or an improper action were strictly prohibited. She superintended not only their serious studies, but even their amusements, which were conducted with decency and moderation. In that manner the Gracchi, educated by Cornelia their mother, and Augustus by Atia his mother, appeared in public with untainted minds—fond of glory, and prepared to make a figure in the world." If we expect our women fitly to discharge their infinitely important office in the economy of education, we must emancipate them from the bondage of conventional subordination, and call them to the exercise of those political functions in which we now inhibit their participation. I say nothing farther here on the folly of denying to the sex the salutary influences of important duties, and the openings to an honourable ambition, which to active and energetic minds alone realise the higher objects of life. Society knows not what it loses when it confines the larger half of human kind in the enchanted castle of a theory which has no real foundation in the natural history of the race. There is no elementary difference in the inherent mental and moral qualities of the sexes. Their apparent idiosyncrasies are the creatures of hereditary transmission of acquired habits, and of the influences of the manners and customs by which they are surrounded and affected. There are man milliners as well as women soldiers. The interchangeability of the supposed spiritual characteristics of the sexes is one of the best settled facts in the history of the race.

Are then these claims to be put off with banter about strong-minded women by weak-minded men? Is the earnestness with which they are pursued by those who encounter ridicule, unmannerly rudeness, and abuse, in a cause which is really identified with the best interests of the community, to be rewarded only with contumely, and baffled by mere masterly inactivity?



Are women's rights *not* rights? Is it fair that the son should be armed with all the privileges and facilities of making his way in the world, and have the family estate handed over by the law entirely to himself, while his sister is at once to be left without the means of living, and disinherited by the very laws she is forced to obey, and by the State that taxes her without her consent, to uphold a system that robs her of her natural patrimony? How many a loving father has seen a noble estate, with its ancestral halls and monumental oaks, decreed by the law itself to pass away from his only child, the last of a long and noble line, merely because she was helpless and a woman, and some "accident of an accident," the "tenth transmitter of a foolish face," far remote of kin, and having too much already, was of the dominant, perhaps only the domineering, gender. This cause is not the crotchet of a mere social oddity. The earnestness it inspires is not the eccentricity of ill-directed enthusiasm, or the mere errand of the female Quixote. We all owe a heartfelt tribute of respect to those who for its sake have patiently borne the misconstruction to which it has subjected them—the quips, and sentences, and those "paper bullets of the brain," which, because they are so light, hit all the harder in the small talk of conventional frivolity.

Let them persevere, and take heart of grace. "In due season they will reap if they faint not." The law of England is with them, although the lawyers are not. It was the deliberate and calculated statement of the Prime Minister, in his place in Parliament, that the English of Acts of Parliament and their meaning were plain enough. The obscurity lay in the ingenuity of their interpreters. It is not St. Stephen's that has shut its doors against women, but Westminster Hall. They are electors by the law of the land, and disfranchised only by the casuistry of the courts. A single decision of the Court of Common Pleas, from which there is no appeal, even to itself, degrades seventeen and a half millions of British subjects from the most clearly established of public rights. The larger half of the rational creation summarily snuffed out of political existence, by Mr. Justice Bovill! *Nulla vestigia retrorsum* from his irreversible decree! "Think of that, Master Brook!" Is it permissible to presume so far as to whisper in the ear of Queen, Lords, and Commons, that the exercise of this power

of political excommunication by a judicial pope, constituted infallible by Act of Parliament, is wholly unconstitutional, and dangerously impolitic. The House of Commons, by long, uniform, immemorial tradition, is the sole legal judge of all particulars relative to its own constitution, and the qualifications of those who elect it. Coke declares, "Judges ought not to give any opinion of a matter of Parliament, because it is not to be decided by the common law, but *secundum legem et consuetudinem Parliamenti*" (4 Inst., p. 15). An "important power," observes Sir T. E. May ("Usage of Parliament," pp. 40, *et seq.*), "peculiar to the Commons is that of determining all matters touching the election of its own members, and *involving therein the rights of the electors.*" . . . A burgess of Aylesbury brought an action against the returning officer in the Queen's Bench for rejecting his vote; and on the Court deciding it had no jurisdiction, the House of Lords reversed the decision. But the Commons resolved (1704) "that they cannot judge of the right of election without determining the right of electors; and if electors were at liberty to prosecute suits touching the right of giving voices *in other courts*, there might be different voices in other courts, which would make confusion, and be dishonourable to the House of Commons; and that, therefore, such an action was a breach of privilege." Other actions having attempted to introduce the jurisdiction of the courts of law in this regard, the suitors and their agents were sent to Newgate, and, continues May, "the question has never arisen since. The Commons have continued to exercise the sole right of determining whether electors have had the right to vote. . . and its determination declared by statute final and conclusive in all subsequent elections, and to all intents and purposes whatsoever." The privileges, the jurisdiction of the House of Commons, which is strictly a judicial tribunal, a "High Court," in all that relates to its constitution and authority, is the property of the nation; and no session of Parliament, resolution of either House, or Act of Parliament, can have or give power to part with it. In giving to courts of law a directive administrative power to regulate the details of registration, it was not in the power or contemplation of the House of Commons to give to the Court of Common Pleas the sole authority, even excluding its own jurisdiction, to determine absolutely,



and *in gremio*, the very essence and substance of the whole suffrage rights of the British people. Yet it is clear, *meo iudicio*, that the Court of Common Pleas has been illegally clothed with an exclusive jurisdiction, which the House of Commons has just as unconstitutionally abdicated. The citizens of America have seen good reason to repent having set the Supreme (Law) Court of the United States paramount over the constitution.

I repeat my thesis. By the laws of England, women are entitled to be registered as parliamentary electors; and the decision—the single judgment of the Court of Common Pleas, which it has no opportunity to review, and from which no appeal is competent—is *bad law*. Is there any presumption in saying this of the judgments of a court which pronounces the same opinion of its own decisions, and which are just as commonly condemned by Courts of Appeal? After all, the fetish worship of horse-hair wigs by the exoteric public is not very accountable. You or I, are we not as able to understand and interpret our own mother-tongue as e'er a judge on the bench? *Ignorantia juris, neminem excusat*. The statutes of the realm are addressed to the subjects of the realm, and assume that they can read and understand them. Those especially which refer to the universal public rights of the poorest and most ignorant, as well as the highest and most cultured, ought to be so plain that "he who runs may read." There is no witchcraft in jurisprudence—even in that of England. No citizen need approach it as if it were a Delphic oracle to be interpreted only by its priests. The construction of English sentences uttered by one's own representatives—ought that to be "past all understanding?" It is the concrete will of the men who meet us at the polling booth, and ask us for "our most sweet voices." Why should it be "*caviare* to the million?" Do not believe it. Judge for yourselves. I shall endeavour to make the matter clear to the simple; and I shall ask my brother lawyers to allow me to take them along with us in the following examination of the point at issue.

The basis of the existing electoral system is the Reform Act of 1832. That is, so to speak, the wicket through which citizens must pass until they reach the parliamentary register. The franchises, which *for the first time* it creates, are dispensed

on the preliminary condition that they shall be restricted to "every male person of full age, and not subject to any legal incapacity." This condition precedent is repeated in reference to every qualification then *for the first time* known to the constitution. Never before, and never after, is such a term as "male person" employed in any statute of the realm. It is an entire novelty, and in reference to such an unspeakably important consideration as the right of the people to choose their representatives, I am entitled to say it is a flagrant innovation. Nay, I am warranted in going the farther length of maintaining that such was the conviction of the framers of the act themselves. While creating and dispensing new qualifications to "male persons," it reserves and perpetuates all franchises in operation at its own date, whether relating to counties or to boroughs; and in continuing to preserve alive and effectual all what are called ancient or reserved rights, which it does, not parenthetically, but by express and separate sections, it drops the word "male" every time it refers to these, and resumes it on every occasion on which it returns to enact a new qualification. What candid mind, interpreting the will of Parliament by its expressed acts, would do other than concede that if it had repeated the word "male" in the continuation of these traditional franchises, it would be restricting what the law and the constitution had left open? The distinction it preserves is too marked, too systematic, and too often repeated to have been adopted *per incuriam*. There is a settled design apparent throughout; and that is manifestly not to trench on any right of suffrage which had been handed down to us from our ancestors. I refer jurisconsults to sections 24, 25, 31, 32, and 33 of 2nd William IV., cap. 45. "The Reform Act of 1832," observes Sir J. D. Coleridge (*Chorlton v. Lings*), "in the clauses which create new franchises . . . speaks of 'male person,' but section 18, limiting the old, has simply 'person;' so sects. 22, 23, 24, et cet."

As far as concerns these ancient rights, we are therefore referred back to the common, customary, and statute law, as it prevailed before the year 1832. The judgment of the Court of Common Pleas rejecting the claim of women to the franchise assumes that at no period of our history had the sex any right of representation—and this is the dictum which I challenge



as wholly without warrant, and opposed to patent facts.

Here let me premise that our earlier statutes and Magna Charta were embodied in Latin. I need hardly add that the word *vir* indicates sex, but that *homo* is employed to signify the human species in contradistinction to the brutes. The *genus homo* applies to either and to both sexes. When Terence says *Homo sum humani nihil, &c.*, it is not in the sense of being a male, but of being human. *Hominum Salvator—pater hominum deorumque* are titles which extend to the whole race, and are not restricted to either gender. In so far as English law is involved, Lord Coke (2 Inst., f. 45) expressly rules that the term *homo* employed throughout Magna Charta has been always held to "extend to both sexes." When the sign of manhood is to be indicated, it is called *toga virilis*, not *toga humana*. From this premiss let the examination of the law start. The first glimpse presented to us in this connection is 20th Henry III., cap. 10, wherein *liberi homines* and *liberi tenentes*, the owners of freeholds, were the suitors at the county courts. On the occasion of the election of knights of the shire all suitors were summoned to the county court, and the majority "on the view" returned the member. It is not denied that women were freeholders, and as such suitors, or that the suitors were the electors. The 53rd Henry III., c. 10, in prescribing who are to attend the sheriff at his courts, exempts only "*religious men and women*," and then only when they are *not required for some other cause*. Prynne, in his "*Parliamenta Rediviva*," refers to "The attornies of the Archbishop of York and of sundry earles, lords, nobles, and *some ladies, who were annual suitors to the county court of Yorkshire*, being the sole electors of the knights, and sealing their indentures, witness the first indenture for this county." Among these suitors is named Lucy Countess of Kent. In the Parliament of 2nd Henry V. Margaret Vavasour (not, observe, a *feme sole*) is a party to a similar indenture, and Mrs. Copley in the reign of Edward VI. attests a third. From this premiss, that the suitors or freeholders—*liberi tenentes*—in the county courts, were the electors of the knights of the shire, legislation proceeds from the reign of Henry III., to the 7th Henry IV., c. 15, which provides that "all they that be there present, as well suitors duly summoned for the same cause, as other . . . shall

proceed to the election." Women were "suitors as well as other." The 8th Henry VI., c. 7, declares the knights "shall be chosen in every county by people (therein), whereof every one of them shall have free land or tenement to the value of 40/." Women were "people, and had free land." The 10th of Henry VI., c. 2, uses the term "chooser" for elector. The 7th and 8th William III., c. 25, describes the electors as "the freeholders," directs that "the name of each freeholder shall be set down;" that "no person" shall vote as trustee unless in possession; nor "any person" under age. The 18th G. II., c. 18, continues the term "person" for elector. The 19th G. II., c. 28, referring more particularly to borough elections, still confines the description of voters to the same indefinite and purely generic title. The 3rd G. III., c. 15, prohibits "any person" from voting unless he has taken up his freedom for twelve months. The 11th G. III., c. 55; 22nd G. III., c. 31; 44th G. III., c. 60; and the 11th G. IV., and 1st Will. IV., c. 74, relating to New Shoreham, Cricklade, Aylesbury, and East Retford, confer the suffrage on "every freeholder being above the age of twenty-one years." Women are persons, people, and certainly are comprehended in the category of "every freeholder." Need I add, what is familiar to every lawyer, that the masculine pronoun "him," "his," "he," used in our statutes, extends indifferently to the other sex.

I have carefully passed before the review of the reader every statute that deals with the question at issue, and it is perfectly obvious that there is not one word in any of our Acts of Parliament that even remotely hints at the creation of any distinction or privilege of sex, as attaching to the exercise of the elective franchise. I do not believe it will be denied by any lawyer, that if any of the statutes I have enumerated had been the first to confer the right to vote, it would have been as competent to any woman who was a freeholder, a suitor, a "resiant," a burgage tenant, an "inhabitant," a "substantial householder," to poll in the year ensuing its enactment, as for any male person whatever. I do not understand, indeed, that this is seriously disputed. Certainly there is no attempt in the *rationes decidendi* of the Court of Common Pleas to support the judgment by any appeal to the phraseology of any enfranchising statute. Let me here state categorically the points at issue.



1. The Act of 1832 reserved and continued, with modifications immaterial to the question, all the pre-existent electoral qualifications.

2. In no Act before or since, is there any mention of gender as a condition precedent to the franchise.

3. Freeholders, tenants in ancient demesne, resiants, inhabitants, burgage tenants, potwallers, scot and lot occupiers, burgesses, and other holders "of ancient rights," were entitled to vote in the election of members to serve in Parliament for such counties, cities, and boroughs as retained the franchises peculiar to and the accustomed qualification of each respectively; and women were and are freeholders in counties, burgesses, inhabitants, owners and tenants, "substantial householders" in cities and towns, and are therefore embraced within the category of the enfranchised orders.

4. There is no judgment of the Common Law, nor provision in any statute of the realm, prior to that of 1832, and, as I will show, not even in that, declaring gender a legal incapacity. Common Law and statute are equally silent on the subject.

5. The only considerations the Court of Common Pleas and its followers can oppose to these unanswerable propositions are, that women have never been known in the course of our parliamentary history to exercise the suffrage, and that their votes have never been tendered, or at least received, by the returning officer.

But—

1. The proof of non-user must lie on those who urge the plea; and what judicial evidence is there to warrant the assertion? I have given chapter and verse for the right of females to vote. If it be admitted that they are freeholders, inhabitants, burgesses, and that the franchise is given to these orders, my evidence *prima facie* of their title is complete; and if it is to be cut down by the plea of non-user, the desuetude must be not merely conjectured, but judicially proved.

2. Is it capable of proof? What is it that has to be established? The application of the doctrine of prescription to such a subject is sheer nonsense. If the women of Aylesbury never voted, is that proof that those of Cricklade never can? How do you or I or anybody know that women never voted? What is to be the term of desuetude that is to shut the door upon the sex?

To poll is a public duty. The statutes make the Sovereign to call upon the lieges to return counsellors to advise with him in Parliament. The office is imprescriptible. Because women have not *chosen* to vote, is that any reason why they have no right to vote? It is *res mære facultatis*. Above all things the suffrage of the people is ever living. "*Omnis libertas regia est, et ad coronam pertinet.*" The House of Commons has repeatedly determined ("Granville," 57, 95, 114, 118) that the franchise is not lost by non-user or *laches*. The qualification in virtue of which the right is constituted is different in every borough, and not the same in city and county. Why is the want of public spirit which keeps one woman or many from the polling-booth, to forfeit the right for others who desire to exercise it? Why are the social habits of one age to fasten incapacity upon the citizens of its successor? How is the failure to poll in Yorkshire, to be counted against the suffrage in Birmingham? How far is it to go back? If it counts against sex, it ought to tell against individuals. Not above half the constituency vote at any election. There are many thousands of registered electors who have never recorded their votes for fifty, even sixty years. If there be anything in the argument of prescription, they ought to be precluded from its exercise. A retired man-of-war chaplain was sent for to read prayers to a man that had been gored by a bull; but he expressed his regret he could administer no spiritual consolation to him, because the Book of Common Prayer contained no service for a man who had been gored by a bull. That is the sort of logic presented by the Court of Common Pleas. Why does it stop at the franchise? Why does it not refuse to women a right of way, because it was not proved that any but men had ever used the road? Very likely a negro never voted. Why not stop the first black man? If we are to pick and choose fanciful exceptions at our pleasure, we may empty the polling-booth and the House. The chaplain might have been referred to the Visitation for the Sick, and informed that the gored man being sick, so came within the category. Mr. Justice Bovill might have been reminded that freeholders in counties and inhabitants in boroughs were electors, and that women were freeholders and inhabitants. It is not because they are women that they claim the vote, but because they are bur-



gesses, *liberi tenentes*, resiants. Is it because freeholders are *men* that they vote? No. It is because *men* are *freeholders*. There was probably a time when Irishmen and Scotchmen were unknown in English boroughs or counties as voters. Why were not the first to poll estopped?

3. Again I postulate, on what earthly ground is sex picked out as a disqualification of adults possessing in other respects all the legal elements of franchise? The suffrage is a public right, the highest known to the law. The people acquire their privileges for each individual, and for all. Women are the major part of the community. If the general public, by usage, acquire a right, can nobody enjoy it who does not first of all prove that he has been in the use personally to claim its exercise? The title of custom, achieved by the habitude of some who have enjoyed it, accrues to those who have never asserted the privilege. Because *some* men have polled, many men alike qualified who have never polled are entitled to vote, even although they have never been known to do so. Women are human. They belong to our common nature—sprung *ex humo*—like men. Rights acquired by the one sex enure to the other; they are both equally citizens and subjects, amenable to the same laws, liable to the same burdens, which are the co-relatives of representative rights. That men have voted, so far from being a reason for confining public rights to the sex, is actually the foundation for the plea that by their assertion of them individually they have imparted and extended them to those who have not—a part of the public have acquired them for the whole.

The judgment of the Court of Common Pleas proceeds on Justice Bovill's two propositions, that "Women are not included in these words, 'every man,' in the Act;" and secondly, "Women are subject to legal incapacity." The last *dictum* I will examine first. Does any statute declare it? Does any resolution of the House of Commons hint at it? Does any judgment of our courts of law express it? Aliens, lunatics, outlaws, peers, servants of the crown, the constabulary, minors—for every incapacity attaching to individuals there is the warrant of enactment, resolution, or decision. Chapter and verse can be given for each. But what Act, committee, or court has ever said that women are under a legal incapacity to vote? Is

half the nation to be disfranchised by a single hazy inference of a branch of Westminster Hall? Mark, Justice Bovill is the first and only judge of England that has so declared. Point to any other shred of authority for such a dictum. If the Parliament of 1832 believed that women were then legally incapable, why did it step out of its way for the first time in the whole course of the statutes at large to insert the word "male" into the Act? Every other uses the term freeholder, people, person, without ever touching upon sex. If women at common law, or by statute, were from time immemorial excluded, why did not the Legislature continue its customary phraseology? Clearly it felt that unless it had employed the term "male," its other provisions would *not* have excluded women.

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

Nineteen years subsequently to the date of that statute, and sixteen years before the date of that of 1867, Lord Romilly's measure for shortening the language of Acts of Parliament pro-



vided "that in *all acts* words importing the masculine gender shall be deemed and taken to include females, unless the contrary as to gender is expressly provided." With that provision full in view, adopting its very provisions in its own clauses, the statute of 1867 enacts that "every man shall . . . be entitled to be registered as a voter . . . and to vote for a member . . . to serve in Parliament . . . who is . . . of full age and not subject to any legal incapacity." Before the Bill was passed into a law, the Hon. G. Denman, *himself at present a Judge of the Common Pleas*, gave notice of a question on the subject to the Government, which he afterwards put thus: "He desired to know why, instead of the words 'male person' in the Act of 1832, the word 'man' had been substituted in the present Bill. In the fifth clause of the Bill he found that after saying that every '*man*' should be entitled to be registered, it proceeded to say or a '*male person*' who has passed any senior middle-class examination. If the Court of Queen's Bench had to decide to-morrow on the construction of these clauses, they would be constrained to hold that they conferred the suffrage on female persons as well as males." That question was not answered by the Government or its law officers, and Justice Denman recorded his vote to the effect of his opinion. I hardly know how to approach the casuistry by which a conclusion so inevitable has been evaded. Does "man" import the masculine gender? Then it must be "deemed and taken to *include* females." Does it *not* import the masculine gender? Then it does not *exclude* females. But the Act does not stop here. It leaves no room for the judge-made law of Westminster Hall—"No loop nor peg to hang a doubt on." It permits no casuistic exception through which forensic ingenuity may carp its sinuous way. It provides that the word "man" shall include females, "unless the contrary as to gender is *expressly* provided." It will not do that the contrary may be *implied*. The clause is not to be explained away by a quirk suggesting that something else may be *inferred*. The contrary must be expressed, and the expression must be *provided*—that is, a provision directly *pro re nata* must be embodied in a clause, to permit sophistry to shirk an order of interpretation plain and "palpable as a mountain."

This were enough, but it is by no means all. Why was the

*vir* of 1832 changed into the *homo* of 1867? Why was the term "male" specifying gender transformed into the word "man" signifying species, and comprehending humanity at large—the whole race? Had the transition no meaning? Was it entirely *per incuriam* that the most important clause of an Act of literally incommensurable significance, was thrown off at a heat, by the great inquest of the nation? It is a palpable inference, incapable of avoidance, that this marked deviation from the terminology of the leading and principal Act had an object. And what other purpose could it be designed to serve than that for which I contend? It is in harmony with the whole genius and spirit of the nation. Selden, in his "Epinomis," states, among the Britons "women had prerogative in deliberative sessions touching either peace, government, or martial affairs." We choose a queen to govern us. Scotch and English of us have always disowned the Salique law. Our Augustan age was that of a female, who took an active part in ruling her empire, and brought it to a point of greatness it never before had reached. As a rule, where it has been a custom for women to pretermitt the discharge of public duties which by reason of their property, residence, or descent the owners had a right to exercise, it has been simply on account of want of interest in the function, or by exemption, not by reason of exclusion or disqualification. In the election for Gattton the "Commons' Journal" records that "*Mrs. Copley et omnes inhabitantes* returned." Heywood, in his "County Elections," quotes the following return: "Know ye me, the said Dame Dorathe Packyngton (tenant in dower of the town of Aylesburye), to have chosen and appointed Thomas Lichfield and George Burden, Esquires, to be my burgesses of my said town of Aylesburye, and whatsoever the said Thomas and George shall doe in the present Parliament, I do ratify and approve to be *my own act*." In the election for Lyme, Luders observes, a list of *Burgenses sive liberi tenentes* was put in, and included Elizabetha *filia* Thomas Hyatt, Crispina Bowden *vidua*, Alicia Toller *vidua*, and the names also of several men. In another list of *liberi homines* five names of women occur. Mark—when the woman returns to the status of *feme sole*, her right revives. This was in the nineteenth of Elizabeth. In the twenty-first, in a similar roll of *liberi burgenses*



and *liberi homines*, sixteen women are included. When the present Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, in arguing as counsel for the appellants, stated "there can be no legal incapacity attributed to women unless it be from non-user, and that cannot take away a public right," Mr. Mellish, for the respondent, admitted, "No doubt, if it were conceded that the right once existed, that which is urged as to non-user would be quite correct." What reasoning in a circle have we here! The only reason assigned by either counsel or judge for women being excluded from the right to vote, is that they have never been known to exercise it; and when it is answered no public right can be lost by its not having been asserted, it is rejoined—Yes, but you must first prove the original right! We do prove it. We show that the customary law, and the statutes on which solely the right is based, are applicable to the sexes indiscriminately. Is any denial given to that? The flank is not even attempted to be turned. The objectors do not answer, do not, because they cannot grapple with that plea. They ride off upon another issue; they contend that women never have used the right, as the sufficing reason for denying it; and then, when they are met with the fact that the exercise of the right is unnecessary to its establishment, women are answered—Yes, but prove you ever had it!

In the case of *Olive v. Ingram*, the judges held "upon the foot of the Common Law," that "a person paying scot and lot" was a description that included women. It has been seen that they were deemed, as "substantial householders," liable to serve the office of overseer. The statute of Elizabeth, observes Justice Ashurst, has no reference to sex. "There are many instances where, in offices of a higher nature, they are held not to be disqualified, as in the case of the office of High Chamberlain, High Constable, and Marshal, and that of a common constable, which is both an office of trust and likewise *in a degree judicial*. So in the case of the office of sexton." "There is a difference between being exempted and being incapacitated." "An excuse from acting is different from an incapacity of doing so." Whitlock observes, "By the custom of England women are not returned of juries, &c., &c.; by reason of their sex they are *exempted* from such employments." Although all statutes ran in the name of the "Kynge," Parliament held "none but

the malicious and ignorant could be persuaded *her* Highness could not use such lyke auctoritie," under that statutory description. In Prynne's collection of parliamentary writs, and in the journals of the House of Commons, are records of not a few returns which, made by female electors, were received. "In the cases of *Holt v. Lyle*, *Coates v. Lyle*, and *Catharine v. Surrey*, it was the opinion of the judges," observes Lee, C. J. (King's Bench), "that a *feme sole*, if she has a freehold, may vote for members of Parliament." "In *Holt v. Lyle*, it is determined that a *feme sole* freeholder may claim a voice for Parliament men." Page, J., to the same effect, "I see no disability in a woman from voting for Parliament men." Probyn, J., "The best rule seems to be, that they who pay have a right to nominate whom they will pay to. . . . An excuse from acting, &c., is different from an incapacity of doing so. The case of *Holt v. Lyle*, mentioned by my Lord Chief Justice, is a very strong case. They who pay ought to choose whom they will pay."

A still more remarkable case, which seems to have hitherto escaped the research of Westminster Hall, remains to be noticed. It has to be premised that Sir E. Coke, whose unhappy domestic history seems to have tainted his judicial authority, and who in the case of women challenged by anticipation the maxim of Justice Probyn, led the Puritan Long Parliament to object to the examination of women before the House as witnesses, on the fanatical pretence out of Saint Bernard that "a woman ought not to speak in the congregation." Let this commentary precede and explain the case following. In 1640 occurred an election for the county of Suffolk, Sir Simonds D'Ewes being High Sheriff. The election began on Monday. "Upon Tuesday morning *some women* came to be sworne for the two Knights, and Mr. Robert Clerke did suddenly take them. . . . There were divers supravisers, but they found no fault with the clerkes in my hearing." Such are extracts from the notes of the proceedings reported by a certain Samuel Dunson, one of the "clerkes." Sir Simonds D'Ewes himself supplies the following:—"By the ignorance of some of the clerkes at the other table, the oaths of *some single women* were taken without the knowledge of the said High Sheriffe; who, as soon as he had notice thereof instantly sent to forbid the same, conceiving it a



matter verie unworthy of anie gentleman, and most dishonourable in such an election to make use of their voices, ALTHOUGH THEY MIGHT IN LAW HAVE BEEN ALLOWED; nor did the said High Sheriffe allow of the said votes, upon his numbering the said poll, but with the *allowance* and *consent* of the said two knights themselves, discount them and cast them out." The two puritan candidates did not need the female votes, having a good majority without, and standing in awe of Sir E. Coke and Saint Bernard. The carnal reason of worldlings—"the law," gave the right of voting to "some single women," and the clerkes knowing and obeying "the law," took their oaths and entered them in the poll books; but the godly Sir Simonds, "with *consent*" of the "unco' gude" puritan candidates, gave their consciences the benefit of a sacrifice that cost them nothing. The significancy of these facts, however, is not to be mistaken. The "single women" knew they had their rights; devout women, they took the oath; the clerks, accustomed to the procedure, took and recorded them; the High Sheriff, fully acquainted with the law and the procedure at elections, makes his report to Parliament that "they in law might have been allowed." If at that time there was no such custom or understanding of the law, is there any likelihood he so would have reported? Moved by these facts and authorities Bovill, C. J., in the very case now under review, is obliged to concede "it is quite true that a few instances of women being parties to indentures of returns of members of Parliament have been shown, and it is quite possible that there may have been some other instances in early times of women having voted and assisted in legislation. *Indeed, such instances are mentioned by Selden*" ("Epinomis," vol. 3, p. 10). It is perhaps worthy of note that in the earlier stages of our Constitutional and Parliamentary history, peers appear to have been parties to indentures of returns of members to the House of Commons. But while, by 25 Henry VI., the Lords spiritual and temporal were thenceforth precluded from attesting such indentures as not being of the estate or order of the Commons, and no farther trace of their interposition in that regard can be found, women continued to attest returns at least to the reign of Elizabeth. Yet all his Lordship can oppose to his own admissions is that "the fact of the right, not having been asserted for centuries,

raises a very strong presumption against its ever having had legal existence;" although afterwards he candidly says, "there is no doubt that in many statutes 'man' may properly be held to mean woman." I have *proved* that the very words of the common law and of the statutes creating the franchise apply indifferently to women as to men—that the only presumption contended for against woman's rights is non-user, and that non-user never renders public rights obsolete.

There is nothing further to examine in the *rationes decidendi* of the Court against the right, but the attempt the Judges make to govern and override the Statute of 1867 by the Act of 1832. They say the Act of 1832 restricts the right to male persons. And, first, that is perfectly untrue. It confines, indeed, the franchises then *for the first time created* to male persons, but it is careful to extend the qualifications theretofore created to "persons," rigidly omitting the word "male" in every instance in which it continues these in force. They further contend that by the fifty-ninth section of the Statute of 1867, it is provided that it shall be construed as one with the Act of 1832. Even that statement is untrue. The section declares that "This Act, *so far as is consistent with the tenor thereof*, shall be construed as one with the enactments for the time being in force relating to the representation of the people." Mark—it is only so far as consistent with its own tenor it is to be so construed, which practically explodes the pretended restrictions of its interpretation. But further, the construction is not to be limited by the Act of 1832; the plural term enactments is employed, and extends the construction to all those enfranchising statutes which do not suggest one syllable of qualification as to sex, and neither use the words "man" nor "male," but "people," "freeholder," and "person." But to pour water on this drowned rat, the 56th section of the Act of 1867 provides that "the franchises conferred by this Act shall be *in addition* to, and not in substitution for any existing franchises." It is true, Byles, J., contends, that "Acts *in pari materia* are to receive the like construction;" but he fails to tell us which half of the Act of 1832 we are to take to accomplish this feat—the half which gives the new franchise to *male* persons, or the other half which continues the old franchises to *persons*, and leaves "male" out in the cold. The



same ingenious juriconsult has discovered that "the word 'expressly' does not necessarily mean 'expressly excluded by words.'" "The word 'expressly' often means no more than 'plainly,' 'clearly,' and the like." Well, a nod is as good as a wink to a blind horse. Pray, how can an idea be "plainly" or "clearly" expressed, but by *expressing* it? Does Parliament here mean that it winks or nods "male," and that such "natural language" will have all the effect of the shake of Lord Burleigh's head in the "Critic?" "Express" is used in contradistinction to "implied." The clause directs that expression not "plainly" and "*clearly*" alone, but by a distinct provision is to be given to any deviation from the governing definition. To give expression to an act is to utter it in words. The very object of Romilly's Act is to ordain that wherever the word "man" is used, it shall mean "woman;" and in the very teeth of the one sole object of that Act, it pleases the Court of Common Pleas to insist on ruling that "man" shall *not* import "woman" — and to hold that "clearly" and "plainly" it does not, although the very sum of the interpreting Act is authoritatively to statute that it shall. I have heard of a coach and six being driven through an Act of Parliament, but have never before seen that feat of charioteering so thoroughly performed as here.

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

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

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

It has especially to be noted that the sole original use of parliaments was to levy money for the Crown. Their germ is to be found in a summons by the sovereign to the wealthiest freeholders and burgesses to be examined as to their means, and to be admonished to pay. To this all contributed without any distinction of sex. The *feme sole* had to disburse her *quota*—the *famina vestita viro*, by her husband for her. Hence it is, that if a female freeholder marries, her husband is entitled to be registered for her freehold, as "in right of his wife." On her death it is lost, or if the demise be to her own separate use, the husband cannot qualify. But who ever heard in law of an absurdity so glaring as that of one person deriving a right from another who has no right? How could a wife impart to her husband the qualification she herself does not possess? So entirely is the franchise vested in the wife, that whenever she dies, the husband's title *ipso facto* ceases. Could he ever have



derived from her what she herself never had? Mark—it is not because *he* has a qualification that he votes. The property is his *wife's*. If he dies, no process of law or of conveyance is required to re-transfer the qualifying tenement to her. It always was hers. It continues hers notwithstanding her coverture. It is the bare right to vote of which the law constitutes him her proxy—her mandatory—her attorney—to borrow the term used by Dames Packington and Copley. Can a trustee have powers *ultra vires* of the trust? Can a proxy do that which his author cannot? What is an attorney but one executing a power which another has? Who can impart to others a *jus devolutum*, who themselves have no *jus*?

Groping one's devious way out of the blinking twilight of the law into the "liberal air" and broad daylight of plain English, and the common sense of the lay understanding, may we appeal from the interpreters of Acts to the makers of them? If Parliament was satisfied that women never had the franchise, why, for the *first* time in the whole range of the statutes at large, and for the *last*, did it introduce the word "male?" Can it point to a single form of legal incapacity as the result of desuetude alone? Go through the whole list, and everyone will be found the creatures of express law, of specific statute, or of express resolution. Not one syllable of any of these has the slightest reference to gender. Where does the Constitution erect a moral or intellectual test of fitness for the office of elector? It confers the franchise not on *fitness* but on *right*, as the co-relative of *duty* and *burden*. Provision is made in the new Act for those who cannot so much as read the names of the candidates. A felon who has finished his term of servitude may make his mark, and have his representative; but George Eliot, Charlotte Brontë, Mrs. Oliphant, Miss Edgeworth, Miss Austen, George Sand, or Dé Stael, have no political functions, because Westminster Hall has declared they are incapable of discharging them.

Mr. Gladstone has warned his fellow-countrymen that America is "passing us at a canter." Of all great powers ours is the weakest in material resources. More than half the food we consume we have to import, and yearly our state of dependence becomes greater. It is on the breed of our men, on our people, on the force of character, the energy of cerebral

action, the sum of mental power, we must rely solely to sustain our position. Our governing classes are palpably becoming weaker and less capable to maintain their *status*. There is among them more pressure, perhaps, and excitement, but less faculty of sustained work. Our working men shorten the hours of labour, and deteriorate in productive efficiency. The military standard has to be lowered, and a larger percentage of recruits is yearly rejected. The question of the elevation of our women to higher duties becomes a great political and economical as well as social and philosophical issue. Civilised up to a point of dangerous over-sophistication, tempted to ease and luxury by an artificial social system that offers a thousand sources of self-indulgence, it is not to be disguised that this nation has reached a most critical point in its history—and that without the unanticipated development of fresh industrial and commercial resources, our future prospect is that rather of decadence than of progress. If we would not "fall from the mettle of our pasture," it must be by making our women truly our helpmates. Call them to offices that demand the exertion of higher intellectual powers, and they will impart more efficient endeavour to the rising generation. A masculine understanding—is that to be expected from mothers whose faculties lie fallow, whose moral intrepidity is systematically repressed, and whose aspirations after independence and self-exertion are obstructed and discouraged?

"The sons of Cornelia were worthy of their mother." Elizabeth, Mary of Scots, Lady Jane Grey, were eminent Grecians and Latinists, accomplishments common to their order. Our dames were the physicians of their time and districts. An exaggerated sense of sex wastes accomplishments on the pursuit of mere feminine attractiveness, which might minister to and promote the highest interests of society. We do not want

The soul to spurn its tenement of clay,

but only that the tenement shall be subordinated to its tenant; and, if we be wise, we shall call into action resources of the value of which we have at present but a faint conception. States are great just in the ratio in which the female character is impressed upon the genius of society, and the public life of nations.



Of one other thought in this regard I must deliver myself; yet I know not how to speak or to keep silence. Society condemns our women to bear alone the skaith and scorn of its vices. Hundreds of thousands of them, abandoned and world-forsaken, once innocent, trustful, guileless, "for necessity of present life," live but to drag others down to the dust to which themselves have been cast by the human frailties which they tempt, and for which they suffer. This intensification of the idea of mere sex—this social persistence in keeping before the female mind the one idea that they are women rather than immortal creatures with reasonable souls, and something else and something more than a mere gender of the *genus homo*—this hiding out of view that they have higher destinies and loftier duties than merely to attract, or to "suckle fools and chronicle small beer"—can we wonder that so many, merely taught that their destiny is to live to please, should at last fall to the depth of pleasing to live! Call them to a mission more worthy of their origin, more deserving of their destiny. Arm them with that self-protecting culture that will enable them to pursue a useful calling. Fit them—our girls, as we do our boys—to enter, if need be, upon the great business of life. Fill the empty mind, supply the aimless soul with objects, energise the supine character, by placing before it rational hopes as the result of diligent exertion. *Cy gist l'oïsiiveté*. Idleness is the mother of the vices, and frivolous pursuits are idleness. Think of it! Think of what we might be and do by calling in to the responsible work of civil society a whole half of all the human beings whose minds we stunt and whose faculties we cramp until, finding no intelligent and worthy outlet for the cravings of their spiritual energies, they waste the talents given them to return with usury, and pervert gifts which, wisely improved, might double the wealth of society, and immeasurably raise the public virtue of the nation.

Replace the desire for the admiration of others by the nobler ambition of self-respect; make our women too proud to be vain—proud of useful duties faithfully discharged, of lofty purposes successfully achieved, of solidity of character, and the spirit of independence. No longer a domestic burden, they may lighten by gainful industry the cares of the fireside hearth, and prop by prudent foresight the house too many help to

undermine. *Si monumentum queris, circumspice*. What women can do, the conduct of their own cause can best avouch. Where has sounder judgment, more unfailing prudence, more indefatigable assiduity, and more conspicuous practical ability sustained the life and ministered to the promotion of a great public object, than the gifts which have distinguished the chief agents in the assertion of Woman's Rights? It has been the business of my life to form public opinion, to organise the issues of national conviction, and to give a practical direction to political forces. I can therefore speak with at least the authority of experience, when I express the conviction that the conduct of this controversy has revealed the possession of moral and intellectual qualities which prove that the sex to the achievement of whose social status these faculties have been devoted, is in no respect less capable of the highest endeavour than those who seek to withhold from them their rights on the ground of the inferiority of their deserts.

Remember—not the High Court of Parliament, but the Court of Common Pleas, shuts on our women the door of the Constitution—they are denied their suffrage rights, not by the Law, but only by the Lawyers.





should the Parliamentary Franchise  
be granted to Women House-  
holders ?

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A Paper read at a Conference in the Council  
Chamber, Luton, Dec. 11, 1879.

✓ BY LOUISA BIGG.

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**H**AVE often heard it said that women do not care for politics. Unhappily, many of them do not, any more than they care for the laws of health or for real religion, but there is a large and increasing class who not only care for politics, but believe that it is their duty to do so. The questions affecting her own sex are of such vast importance to the community that the woman who takes no interest in their settlement must be very ignorant or very selfish ; and beside these special questions, the laws of the land concerning Education and the Administration of Justice, the Home and Foreign Policy of the State, and all laws relating to Property, bear upon man and woman alike. This being the case, as long as no woman possesses a Parliamentary vote, a large and influential number of ratepayers are unrepresented, and it would only be fair if those considerate gentlemen who wish to relieve us of the trouble of voting, would also relieve us of the trouble of paying the rates and taxes. Surely no law can be sound which places such holders of property as Baroness Burdett Coutts or our own Lady of the Manor politically below the rank of their own footmen and day labourers, nor ought such a law to disgrace our Statute Book much longer.



There is a well-known Latin maxim which lays it down that things which do not appear must be classed with things which do not exist, and as I have not met with any arguments against extending the Franchise to Women Householders, which are based upon Justice and Right, I am inclined to treat them as non-existent and pass on to the objections founded on expediency. One great bugbear in the minds of politicians is that women will vote for somebody who does not agree with *them*. The Conservatives fear that women will be worked upon by agitators, and Liberals say it is certain that they will follow the clergyman; some are afraid to let women vote because they are so warlike; and the bloodthirsty party say it would never do for they would always want peace, and what would become of our national honour? Now I put it to any candid mind whether it is for a moment likely that women will all agree upon politics any more than men do, or than they themselves do upon every other conceivable subject. When all women are Ritualists, or all Evangelicals, or all Dissenters, or all Rationalists; when all admire the same book and picture, and wear the same dress, and go to see the same thing, then we may admit that this argument may have some weight, and the State be in danger of an overplus of votes for some party, though it hardly seems clear for which—till then we will continue to believe that women will vote as diversely as men, being subject to the same modifying influences of education, temperament, and surroundings.

Another objection brought forward is, that granting women a Parliamentary vote will, in some mysterious manner, make them unfeminine. It would appear that in the minds of certain people there is a great gulf fixed between a Municipal vote and a vote for a member of Parliament, but I have never been able to perceive it. Women are year after year quietly voting for Town Councilors and members of the School Board, and I am not aware that anything alarming has happened in consequence; but if the process of voting is indeed demoralizing to the feminine mind, what a weight of guilt rests upon the heads of our local representatives who not only accept the votes of female Burgesses, but canvass for them with considerable vigour, and set especial value upon them as being less influenced by pints of beer than those of their brethren. Now these votes which women are constantly bestowing judiciously and successfully, are given far more frequently than could be the case with the Parliamentary vote, so that any mischief arising from the exercise of the Franchise must be already at work, and one vote the more will scarcely make much difference,

it is as well to be hung for a sheep as a lamb, and, to be consistent, the English Government should fill up the measure of its iniquity by giving women the only vote not granted them, and make their demoralization perfect.

But perhaps the most alarming idea of all is, that if women are allowed a Parliamentary vote they will covet Parliamentary seats, and the nation will fall under petticoat government. I wonder that these timid objectors do not forbid a woman to drive a pair of ponies for fear she should want to join the four-in-hand Club. The Common Sense of the nation will always condemn the woman who shall aspire to a place so unfitted for her as St. Stephen's, and should such a woman exist, her own sex will be foremost in opposing her. We are not aware that any clergyman has attempted to break the law which forbids him to occupy a seat in the House of Commons, and undoubtedly women would be equally submissive.

Another fear expressed is that woman will be treated with scant courtesy by man if she ventures to take an interest in what most interests him! Men must have a very poor opinion of themselves. I was not aware that they were such ruffians, and I do not believe it. Could a man be found who would have insulted Madame Roland, because her genius inspired a great party; or Mrs. Somerville, because she shone a leading light of science; or Miss Caroline Herschel, because she owned a gold medal of the Royal Society and discovered eight comets? Was Mrs. Barrett Browning ever insulted because she wrote "Aurora Leigh;" or George Eliot, because she is unsurpassed in fiction? The really cultivated woman (and, fortunately, there are many) who is neither a blue, nor a pedant, nor an esprit fort, but who with a matured intellect retains every feminine grace and charm, cannot fail to raise her sex in the estimation of every man whose goodwill is worth having, and need fear no lack of chivalry. We hear that the best women do not desire the Suffrage, and this is a point which I cannot venture to decide, but I believe that nearly all the best men desire it for them, and that their claim to it is becoming more and more widely recognized by the general public. There still, however, exists a class which persists in considering the aspirations of women as a good joke, and treats them in the same spirit in which you would look at the attempts of a monkey to imitate a man. In one time-honoured witticism they find an ever-new delight, and always seem to feel that it settles the Woman Question for good and all—*Women, they say, should stop at home and mend the stockings.* You would really think, to hear these gentlemen



talk, that the human family was a race not of bipeds but of centipedes, and that darning was the whole duty of life for every wife and mother. But in reality there is a limit to the number of holes to be filled up, let there be never so many little feet about the house, and if a woman's life is to begin and end in household toil, Providence made a sad mistake in making her as she is. Let her darn the stockings by all means, but let her think while she darns. An Eastern Traveller, struck with the unbearable tedium and monotony of life in the Harem, asked a native gentleman whether he should like to be treated as he treated his wives who were shut up in their dreary prison from one year's end to another. "Oh, no," he answered, "I am a man." It is this spirit which dictated the Suttee, which prompted the Mahomedan to deny that woman has a soul, and which bids the Englishwoman stay at home and darn the stockings. It means in effect this—you shall drudge for me and fit your likings to my convenience, while I live the full life which befits an immortal creature. Such an Englishman as this does not deny woman a soul, only he thinks she had better not use it. Shylock in the Play asks for what reason his nation should be oppressed and despised. "Hath not a Jew eyes," he says, "hands, organs, dimensions, senses, passions? Fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed by the same means, warmed and cooled by the same winter and summer as a Christian is?" In a like spirit we would plead that woman is a reasonable being, endowed with energy and enthusiasm and varied gifts like her companion man; the common work of life is right for both, and for both alike a wider life is good and should not be denied; and in the words of John Stuart Mill—"The suffrage is the turning point of woman's cause; it alone will ensure them equal hearing and fair play. With it they cannot long be denied any just rights, or excluded from any fair advantages; without it their interests and feelings will always be a secondary consideration, and it will be thought of little consequence how much their sphere is circumscribed, or how many modes of using their faculties are denied them."

## ANNUAL REPORT

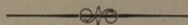
OF THE

### CENTRAL COMMITTEE

OF THE

## National Society for Women's Suffrage,

*Presented to the General Meeting May 9th, 1879.*



In presenting their report for the year 1878-1879, your Committee are happy to be able to give a satisfactory account of the work done since the last Annual Meeting, held on the 1st July, 1878. Although the time at their disposal was limited to nine months, in consequence of the early date fixed for the introduction of the measure into Parliament, your Committee are of opinion that the amount of work accomplished will compare not unfavourably with that of preceding sessions.

In view of the approaching General Election, your Committee, early in the present session, felt the importance of directing their attention more especially to the provinces, where numerous candidates had already signified their intention of contesting the various seats, and it was deemed desirable that the question of Women's Suffrage should be brought under the notice of every such candidate. Your Committee also felt the advantage of instituting a more extended



series of Meetings and Lectures. This scheme of work, however, could only be effectively carried out by the appointment of a special agent; one familiar with the details of Parliamentary work and the political organisations of the country. Your Committee have been fortunate in securing the services of Mr. George Howell, whom they considered, from his long experience in work of this kind, eminently qualified for the post.

Since the date of his appointment in December last, Mr. Howell has been actively engaged both in the country and in the metropolis. He has organised Meetings and Lectures at Blackheath, Lambeth, Horsham, Tunbridge Wells, Witney (Oxon), Gravesend, Rochester, Tunbridge, Canterbury, and Ashford, and at the following Working Men's Clubs in London: Tower Hamlets Radical Club, Kingsland Club, Commonwealth Club, and Secular Society (Phoenix Hall). In addition to these, your Committee have held Meetings at Worthing, Yarmouth, Lowestoft, Norwich, Southampton, and Hertford; and at their request Lectures have been delivered by Members of this Society at the Marlboro' Lecture Rooms, Southwark Radical Club and Association, Cobden Working Men's Club, Kingsland Progressive Club, Tower Hamlets Radical Club, Hackney Radical Club, Claremont Hall, Eleusis Club, and Holy Trinity Church, South Island Place, Clapham.

Meetings organised independently of your Committee, but aided by them, have been held at Wigston, Loughboro', Hinckley (Leicestershire), Leicester, and Luton.

Your Committee have held meetings and conferences at the Office at different times during the season, for the purpose of bringing together friends and subscribers to the Society, and discussing with them the best means of carrying on the work.

Your Committee desire to record the valuable assistance which they have received at the greater number of these Meetings and Lectures from Miss Downing, whose indefatigable efforts to awaken interest in the question have materially tended to the advancement of the cause. Cordial thanks are also due to Mrs. Hallock, Mrs. Hancock, Mrs. Hoggan, M.D., Mrs. Leon, Mrs. Rennick, and Mrs.

Wood (Crouch End), who, as well as Members of the Committee, have held Meetings in their drawing-rooms for the discussion of Women's Suffrage. The success of these Meetings induces your Committee strongly to recommend this mode of carrying on the work; and they trust that in the ensuing session it may be widely adopted.

Members of various Debating Societies in the metropolis and in the country have applied to the Central Office for the publications of the Society. Your Committee have also during the past year regularly supplied the Reading Rooms of sixty-one metropolitan, and fifty-nine provincial Clubs and Institutes with the "Women's Suffrage Journal," and with other publications.

Your Committee have to record the formation of new local Committees, affiliated to the Central, at Hampstead, Leicester, Luton, and Norwich, which they fully expect will prove very valuable centres of work.

The total number of Petitions presented this year to Parliament in favour of Mr. Courtney's Resolution was 830, containing 31,042 signatures. Of these, 222 Petitions, with 13,551 signatures, were obtained by the efforts of the Central Committee; and the character of the following merit special attention, namely: one, bearing the signatures of 65 Heads of Houses, Professors, College Tutors and Fellows of Cambridge; two, signed by 58 eminent members of the legal profession, and several signed by Women Householders.\* In estimating the importance of these signatures it should be borne in mind how short a time your Committee had at their disposal for carrying on this part of the work.

Mr. Courtney, at the beginning of the session, acting on the advice of his Parliamentary friends, and with the concurrence of your Com-

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\* One of these Petitions was from 1,477 Women Householders of Leicester. The total number of Women Householders in the town according to the last municipal lists was 2,610. Of these 1,991 only could be applied to; thus there were but 511 refusals to sign, against 1,477 who were in favour of the Petition, or 1 to 3. There is no reason to suppose that public opinion in Leicester is more exclusively in favour of this measure than in other large towns, if the same means were adopted to ascertain the real opinions of the large class of Women Householders.



mittee, made an important change in his conduct of the measure for the repeal of the electoral disabilities of women. It had hitherto been brought forward as a *Bill*; but at the opening of Parliament Mr. Courtney gave notice of his intention to move a *Resolution* in favour of the repeal of these disabilities; and the 7th March was fixed for the debate on his Resolution. On that day Mr. Courtney, in a full and able speech, called attention to the electoral disabilities of women, and moved "That in the opinion of this House it is injurious to the best interests of the country that women who are entitled to vote in municipal, parochial and school board elections, when possessed of the statutory qualifications, should be disabled from voting in Parliamentary elections, although possessed of the statutory qualifications; and that it is expedient that this disability should be forthwith repealed." Mr. Blennerhassett, Mr. Collins, Mr. Heygate, Mr. Hopwood, Sir Henry Jackson, Mr. Parnell, and Mr. Sullivan supported the Resolution, which was opposed by Mr. Bristowe, Mr. W. E. Foster, Mr. Hanbury, Mr. Beresford Hope, Sir Henry James, Mr. Newdegate, Sir Stafford Northcote, Earl Percy, Mr. Raikes, and Mr. Storer. After an animated debate of five hours, the division was taken, when the Resolution was rejected by 217 votes to 103.

Your Committee feel that there are many points for congratulation in the character of the debate, which was carried on longer, and in a more earnest manner, than on any previous occasion. Among the seven members who spoke in support of the principle involved in Mr. Courtney's Resolution were four who had hitherto contented themselves with recording a silent vote in its favour. But a very weighty and encouraging circumstance in connection with the recent debate is the explanation afforded by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Stafford Northcote, of his adverse vote. He explained that he did not "consider this the time nor the manner in which the question ought to be dealt with, but that at a fitting time, and under fitting circumstances," he would "be prepared to assent to the proposal that the same rank should be given to women as to others." An analysis of the division list shows that the number of pairs was unusually large, being 29; these, along with the tellers, make the actual number of members who recorded their support of the principle 134.

The following table shows the numbers for and against the Resolution:—

| <i>For the Resolution.</i> |      |           | <i>Against the Resolution.</i> |      |           |
|----------------------------|------|-----------|--------------------------------|------|-----------|
|                            | Lib. | Con. Tot. |                                | Lib. | Con. Tot. |
| Votes ... ..               | 74   | 29 113    | Votes ... ..                   | 70   | 147 217   |
| Tellers ... ..             | 1    | 1 2       | Tellers ... ..                 | 1    | 1 2       |
| Pairs ... ..               | 17   | 12 29     | Pairs ... ..                   | 11   | 18 29     |

It is with feelings of the most sincere regret that your Committee record the death of Lady Anna Gore Langton and of Mrs. Grote, two of the earliest supporters of the cause of Women's Suffrage. Lady Anna Gore Langton was known to all workers in this movement as a warm advocate of the advancement of women, not in this country alone, but in India; and in her the Society has lost an active and sympathetic friend, and your Committee a most valuable member. Mrs. Grote, in spite of her advanced age and delicate health, was one of the first of the small band of women who joined Mr. Mill in making known the claims of women to political enfranchisement. Your Committee have also to regret the loss the cause has sustained in the death of three of their supporters, Dr. Richard Smyth, M.P., Mr. McCarthy Downing, M.P., and Mr. Isaac Fletcher, M.P.

Your Committee, while thanking the many zealous friends of the movement for their persevering and generous assistance, would remind them of the importance of inducing friends and acquaintances to strengthen the Society by contributing to its funds; since, though the work is increasing year by year.



RECEIPTS and PAYMENTS from June 29th, 1878, to April 30th, 1879.

| RECEIPTS.                                |                   | PAYMENTS.         |                   |
|--|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| 1878. July 1st.—                         | 1879. April 30th— | 1879. April 30th— | 1879. April 30th— |
| £  | s.                | £                 | s.                |
| To Balance in Bank at last Account       | 216               | 0                 | 9                 |
| „ Cash in Secretary's hands              | 203               | 11                | 4                 |
| „ Balance of Cheque for Norwich expenses | 12                | 9                 | 5                 |
| 1879. April 30th—                        |                   |                   |                   |
| Donations                                | 49                | 11                | 6                 |
| Subscriptions                            | 329               | 14                | 6                 |
| Sale of Tickets and Publications         | 10                | 1                 | 9                 |
| Shilling League                          | 2                 | 5                 | 0                 |
| Legacy                                   | 500               | 0                 | 0                 |
| Special Fund                             | 80                | 3                 | 0                 |
| Sale of Stock                            | 46                | 7                 | 3                 |
| Interest on Capital                      | 15                | 8                 | 6                 |
| Balance of Funds from Local Committees   | 6                 | 17                | 3                 |
| Loan...                                  | 20                | 0                 | 0                 |
|  | £1,282            | 17                | 9                 |
|  | 149               | 19                | 10½               |
|  | 59                | 18                | 8                 |
|  | 26                | 11                | 3½                |
|  | 31                | 14                | 10½               |
|  | 42                | 19                | 10                |
|  | 12                | 8                 | 2                 |
|  | 27                | 8                 | 1½                |
|  | 192               | 15                | 6½                |
|  | 1                 | 5                 | 0                 |
|  | 55                | 8                 | 0                 |
|  | 20                | 12                | 5                 |
|  | 110               | 8                 | 1                 |
|  | 526               | 12                | 6                 |
|  | 19                | 17                | 1                 |
|  | 4                 | 18                | 3½                |
|  | £1,282            | 17                | 9                 |

In addition to the loan of £20, the liabilities of the Society are £186 3s. 11d.; to meet which is the small sum in the Bank (£22 7s. 7d.) and the invested legacy, of which, however, only £100 can be drawn in any one year, owing to the terms on which it was left.

5th May, 1879.

CHARLES DUNBAR,  
Accountant.

Examined and found correct,

DIVISION LIST.

Supply,—Order for Committee read;

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair:"—

Amendment proposed, to leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "in the opinion of this House, it is injurious to the best interests of the country that women who are entitled to vote in municipal, parochial, and school board elections, when possessed of the statutory qualifications, should be disabled from voting in parliamentary elections, although possessed of the statutory qualifications; and that it is expedient that this disability should be forthwith repealed,"—(Mr. Courtney,)—instead thereof:—

Question put, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—The House divided; Ayes 217, Noes 103.

AYES.

- |                                     |                                     |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Agnew, Robert Vans                  | Cavendish, Lord F. C., (Yk. W. R.)  |
| Allsopp, Charles (Staff. E.)        | Cecil, Lord Eustace H. B. G.        |
| Arbuthnot, Lieut.-Col. George       | Chaplin, Col. E. (Linc. City.)      |
| Arkwright, Aug. P. (Derby, N.)      | Chaplin, Henry (Lincolnsh. M.)      |
| Astley, Sir John Dugdale            | Childers, Rt. Hon. Hugh C. E.       |
| Bagge, Sir William                  | Clive, Col. Hon. G. Windsor (Lud.)  |
| Baring, Thomas Charles              | Close, Maxwell Charles              |
| Barrington, Viscount                | Clowes, Samuel William              |
| Barttelot, Sir Walter B.            | Cockrane, Alex. D. W. R. Baillie    |
| Bass, Arthur (Staffordshire, E.)    | Cole, Col. Hon. Hon. A. (Ferm'h)    |
| Bass, Hamer (Tamworth)              | Colebrooke, Sir Thomas Edward       |
| Bates, Edward                       | Colthurst, Colonel                  |
| Baxter, Rt. Hon. William Edward     | Cordes, Thomas                      |
| Beach, Rt. Hon. Sir M. H. (Glo. E.) | Corry, Hon. H. W. Lowry (Tyrone)    |
| Beaumont, W. B. (Northum. S.)       | Corry, James Porter (Belfast)       |
| Bentinck, Rt. Hon. G. C. (White'n)  | Cotes, Charles Cecil                |
| Bentinck, Geo. W. P. (Norfolk, W.)  | Cross, Rt. Hon. Rd. A. (Lanc. S.W.) |
| Beresford, Lord Chs. (Waterford)    | Dalkeith, Earl of                   |
| Blackburne, Col. John Ireland       | Dalrymple, Charles                  |
| Bourke, Hon. Robert                 | Davenport, W. Bromley               |
| Bowyer, Sir George                  | Davies, Richard (Anglesey)          |
| Brady, John                         | Deedes, William                     |
| Bright, Rt. Hon. John (Birmingh.)   | Denison, W. E. (Nottingham.)        |
| Bristowe, Samuel Boteler            | Digby, Col. Hon. E. (Dorset)        |
| Bruce, Lord Charles (Marl.)         | Dodson, Rt. Hon. John George        |
| Bruen, Henry                        | Duff, Mount. Elph. Grant (Elgin)    |
| Bulwer, James R.                    | Eaton, Henry William                |
| Campbell, Lord Colin (Argyllsh.)    | Edmonstone, Admiral Sir Wm.         |
| Campbell-Bannerman, Henry           | Edwards, Henry                      |
| Cartwright, Fairfax, (Northamp.)    | Egerton, Hon. Alg. Fulke (Lan. S.)  |
| Cartwright, Wm. C. (Oxfords.)       | Egerton, Adm. Hon. F. (Derby, E.)   |
| Castlereagh, Viscount               | Eicho, Lord                         |



## AYES—Continued.

Emlyn, Viscount  
 Evans, Thomas William  
 Finch, George H.  
 Floyer, John  
 Folkestone, Viscount  
 Forster, Rt. Hon. W. E. (Bradford)  
 Fremantle, Hon. Thomas F.  
 Garnier, John Carpenter  
 Gathorne-Hardy, Hon. A. (Cant.)  
 Gibson, Rt. Hon. Edward  
 Giles, Alfred  
 Gladstone, Wm. Henry (Whitby)  
 Goldney, Gabriel  
 Goldsmid, Sir Julian  
 Gordon, Sir Alex. (Aberdeen, E.)  
 Gordon, Lord D. (Aberdeen, W.)  
 Gordon, William (Chelsea)  
 Goschen, Rt. Hon. Geo. Joachim  
 Gower, Hon. E. F. Leveson  
 Grantham, William  
 Gregory, George B.  
 Grosvenor, Lord Richard  
 Hall, Alexander William  
 Hamilton, Lord Cl. J. (King's L.)  
 Hamilton, Ion Trant (Dublin Co.)  
 Hamilton, Rt. Hon. Lord G. (Midx.)  
 Hamilton, Marquis of (Donegal)  
 Hanbury, Robert William  
 Hankey, Thomson  
 Harcourt, Sir W. V. (Oxf. City)  
 Hardcastle, Edward  
 Havelock, Sir Henry  
 Hay, Rt. Hon. Sir J. C. D.  
 Hayter, Sir Arthur Divett  
 Helmsley, Viscount  
 Herbert, Hon. Sidney (Wilton)  
 Herschell, Farrer  
 Hicks, Edward  
 Holland, Sir H. T. (Midhurst)  
 Holland, Samuel (Merionethsh.)  
 Holmes, John (Hackney)  
 Home, Captain (Berwick)  
 Hood, Capt. Hon. Arthur W. A. N.  
 Hope, Alex. J. B. Beresford  
 Howard, E. Stafford (Cumb. E.)  
 Hubbard, Egerton (Buckingham)  
 James, Walter H. (Gateshead)  
 James, Sir Henry (Taunton)  
 Johnstone, Sir F. (Weymouth)  
 Jolliffe, Hon. Sydney  
 Kavanagh, Arthur MacM.  
 Kay-Shuttleworth, Sir Ughtred  
 Kennard, Colonel  
 Knowles, Thomas  
 Lacon, Sir Edmund H. K.  
 Learmonth, Alexander  
 Leatham, Edward Aldam  
 Lefevre, George John Shaw  
 Legh, Wm. John (Chesh. E.)  
 Leighton, Sir Baldwin (Salop, S.)  
 Leighton, Stanley (Salop, N.)  
 Leslie, Sir John  
 Lewis, Chas. Edwd. (Londonderry)  
 Lewis, Owen (Carlow Borough)  
 Lewisham, Viscount  
 Lindsay, Col. Robt. Loyd (Berks.)  
 Lindsay, Lord (Wigan)  
 Lloyd, Sampson (Plymouth)  
 Lloyd, Thomas E. (Cardigansh.)  
 Locke, John  
 Lopes, Sir Massey  
 Lowe, Rt. Hon. Robert  
 Macartney, J. W. Ellison  
 Macduff, Viscount  
 MacIver, David  
 M'Garel-Hogg, Sir James  
 Maitland, Wm. Fuller (Breconshire)  
 Makins, Colonel  
 Marjoribanks, Sir Dudley C.  
 Massey, Rt. Hon. Wm. Nathaniel  
 Master, Thos. William Chester  
 Meldon, Charles Henry  
 Merewether, Charles George  
 Miles, Sir Philip John William  
 Mills, Sir Chas. Henry (Kent, W.)  
 Monk, Charles James  
 Montgomerie, Roger (Ayrshire)  
 Morgan, G. Osborne (Denbighshire)  
 Mowbray, Rt. Hon. John Robert  
 Mure, Colonel  
 Naghten, Lt.-Colonel  
 Newdegate, Charles Newdigate  
 Newport, Viscount  
 Noel Rt. Hn. Gerard J. (Rutland)  
 Northcote, Rt. Hn. Sir Stafford H.  
 O'Donnell, Frank Hugh  
 Paget, Richard Horner  
 Peel, Arthur Wellesley (Warw.)  
 Pell, Albert  
 Pemberton, Edward Leigh  
 Peploe, Major  
 Percy, Earl  
 Philips, R. Needham  
 Plunket, Hn. D. R. (Dublin Univ.)  
 Praed, Chas. Tying. (St. Ives)  
 Raikes, Henry Cecil  
 Rashleigh, Sir Colman  
 Ridley, Edward (Northumberland S.)  
 Ridley, Sir M. W. (Northum. N.)  
 Rothschild, Sir Nath. M. de  
 Russell, Lord Arthur (Tavistock)  
 Russell, Sir Chas. (Wetsminster)  
 St. Aubyn, Sir John  
 Salt, Thomas  
 Sclater-Booth, Rt. Hon. George  
 Scott, Montagu D. (Sussex, E.)  
 Selwin-Ibbetson, Sir Henry J.  
 Severne, John Edmund

## AYES—Continued.

Simonds, William Barrow  
 Smith, Abel (Herts)  
 Smith, Fred. C. (Notts, N.)  
 Smith, Samuel Geo. (Aylesbury)  
 Smith, Rt. Hon. Wm. H. (West'r.)  
 Smollett, Patrick Boyle  
 Somerset, Lord Henry R. C.  
 Stanhope, Hon. Edw. (Linc. M.)  
 Starkie, J. Pierce C. (Lanc. N.E.)  
 Steere, Lee  
 Stevenson, James Cochran  
 Stewart, James (Greenock)  
 Storer, George  
 Swanston, Alexander  
 Sykes, Christopher  
 Talbot, John Gilbert (Oxf. Univ.)  
 Tavistock, Marquis of  
 Taylor, Rt. Hon. Col. (Dub. Co.)  
 Thornhill, Thomas  
 Thynne, Lord Henry Fred.  
 Torr, John  
 Tracy, Hon. F. S. A. Hanbury  
 Tremayne, Arthur (Truro)  
 Tremayne, Arthur P. (Cornwall, E.)  
 Vivian, Arthur P. (Cornwall, W.)  
 Vivian, Henry Hussey (Glam.)  
 Walker, Oliver Ormerod (Salf.)  
 Wallace, Sir Richard  
 Watney, James  
 Watson, Rt. Hon. William  
 Whitbread, Samuel  
 Wilmot, Sir Henry (Derbyshire S.)  
 Wilson, William (Donegal)  
 Woodd, Basil Thomas  
 Yarmouth, Earl of

Tellers for the Ayes, Mr. Rowland Winn and Viscount Crichton.

## NOES.

Allen, W. Shepherd (Newc. U. L.)  
 Anderson, George  
 Barran, John  
 Bateson, Sir Thomas  
 Biggar, Joseph Gillis  
 Birley, Hugh  
 Blake, Thomas  
 Blennerhassett, Rowland P.  
 Boord, Thomas William  
 Bowen, James Bevan  
 Bright, Jacob (Manchester)  
 Brooks, Maurice (Dublin)  
 Burt, Thomas  
 Cameron, Charles (Glasgow)  
 Charley, William Thomas  
 Clifford, Charles Cavendish  
 Collins, Eugene  
 Courtauld, George  
 Cowan, James (Edinburgh)  
 Cowen, Joseph (Newcastle)  
 Delahunty, James  
 Dilke, Sir Charles Wentworth  
 Dillwyn, Lewis Llewelyn  
 Dundas, Hon. John Charles  
 Edge, Samuel Rathbone  
 Ewart, William  
 Ewing, Archibald Orr  
 Fawcett, Henry  
 Fletcher, Isaac  
 Forster, Sir Charles (Walsall)  
 Forsyth, William  
 Fry, Lewis  
 Gardner, James T. Agg- (Chelt.)  
 Gorst, John Eldon  
 Gourley, Edward Temperley  
 Hamond, Charles Frederic  
 Harrison, Charles (Bewdley)  
 Hervey, Lord F. (Bury St. Edm.)  
 Heygate, William Unwin  
 Hibbert, John Tomlinson  
 Hick, John  
 Hill, Thos. Rowley (Worcester)  
 Holms, William (Paisley)  
 Hopwood, Charles Henry  
 Hutchinson, John Dyson  
 Ingram, William James  
 Jackson, Sir Henry Mather  
 Jenkins, David James (Penryn)  
 Jenkins, Edward (Dundee)  
 Johnson, John G. (Exeter)  
 Johnstone, Sir Harcourt (Scarb.)  
 Jones, John  
 Laverton, Abraham  
 Lawson, Sir Wilfrid  
 Leith, John Farley  
 Lloyd, Morgan (Beaumaris)  
 Lusk, Sir Andrew  
 Mackintosh, Charles Fraser  
 M'Arthur, Alexander (Leic.)  
 M'Clure, Sir Thomas  
 M'Kenna, Sir Joseph Neal  
 M'Lagan, Peter  
 M'Laren, Duncan  
 Marten, Alfred George (Cam. B.)  
 Mellor, Thomas W.  
 Milbank, Frederick Aclom



## NOES—Continued.

|                               |                                 |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Nolan, Major                  | Sanderson, Thomas Kemp          |
| O'Beirne, Major (Leitrim Co.) | Shute, General                  |
| O'Byrne, William R. (Wicklow) | Simon, Mr. Serjeant             |
| O'Gorman, Purcell             | Smith, Eustace (Tynemouth)      |
| Palmer, George (Reading)      | Spinks, Mr. Serjeant            |
| Parnell, Charles Stewart      | Stansfeld, Rt. Hon. James       |
| Pender, John                  | Stewart, Mark John (Wigtown)    |
| Pennington, Frederick         | Sullivan, Alexander M.          |
| Perkins, Sir Frederick        | Taylor, Daniel (Coleraine)      |
| Phipps, Pickering             | Torrens, W. T. M'Cullagh        |
| Polhill-Turner, Captain       | Trevelyan, George Otto          |
| Potter, Thomas Bayley         | Wedderburn, Sir David           |
| Price, Wm. E. (Tewkesbury)    | Wheelhouse, William S. J.       |
| Puleston, John Henry          | Whitworth, Ben. (Kilkenny City) |
| Richard, Henry                | Williams, Benj. T. (Carmarthen) |
| Ripley, Henry William         | Wilson, Isaac (Middlesborough)  |
| Round, James                  | Yeaman, James                   |
| Rylands, Peter                | Yorke, John Reginald            |
| Samuelson, Henry (Frome)      |                                 |

Tellers for the Noes, Mr. Courtney and Sir Charles Legard.

## PAIRS.

| AYES.                            | NOES.                |
|----------------------------------|----------------------|
| Beresford, G. de la Poer.        | Wait, W. K.          |
| Herbert, H. A.                   | Archdale, M.         |
| Onslow, D. R.                    | Chamberlain, J.      |
| Praed, H. B.                     | Cholmeley, Sir H.    |
| Estcourt, G. B.                  | Powell, W.           |
| Wroughton, P.                    | Wells, E.            |
| Egerton, Hon. W.                 | Leeman, G.           |
| Williams, W.                     | Fitzmaurice, Lord E. |
| Monckton, F.                     | Norwood, C. P.       |
| Harcourt, Col. E.                | Ryder, G. R.         |
| North, Colonel.                  | Giffard, Sir H. S.   |
| Bass, M. T.                      | Wilson, Sir M.       |
| Lawrence, Sir J.                 | Cubitt, G.           |
| Ritchie, C. T.                   | Briggs, W. E.        |
| Welby-Gregory, Sir W. E.         | Muntz, P. H.         |
| Cotton, W. R. C.                 | Chadwick, D.         |
| Walter, J.                       | Morley, S.           |
| Montague, Lord E.                | Harrison, J. F.      |
| Cave, Right Hon. S.              | Matheson, A.         |
| Starkey, L. R.                   | Villiers, C. P.      |
| Colman, J. J.                    | Read, C. S.          |
| Lee, V. H.                       | Taylor, P. A.        |
| Adam, W. P.                      | Sheridan, H. B.      |
| Assheton, R.                     | Holt, J. M.          |
| Mandeville, Viscount             | Dickson, A. G.       |
| Egerton, Sir P.                  | Cross, J. K.         |
| Barclay, A. C.                   | Mundella, A. J.      |
| Knatchbull-Hugessen, Rt. Hon. E. | Bruce, Hon. T. C.    |
| Lubbock, Sir J.                  | Young, A. W.         |

Note.—Owing to the form in which the question was put this year, the Ayes are the opponents of women's suffrage, and the Noes are our friends.

## ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS.

## FINANCIAL YEAR,

JUNE 29TH, 1878—APRIL 30TH, 1879.

|                               | Annual Subscriptions. |     |     | Donations. |    |    |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------|-----|-----|------------|----|----|
|                               | £                     | s.  | d.  | £          | s. | d. |
| Abbot, Dr. E. A. ... ..       | 0                     | 10  | 6   |            |    |    |
| Adams, Mrs. W. ... ..         | 0                     | 3   | 0   |            |    |    |
| Agate, Mr. John ... ..        | 0                     | 2   | 6   |            |    |    |
| Albright, Mr. J. ... ..       | 0                     | 10  | 0   |            |    |    |
| Allie, Mrs. ... ..            | 0                     | 5   | 0   |            |    |    |
| Anderson, Miss ... ..         | 0                     | 5   | 0   |            |    |    |
| Anderson, M.D., Mrs. ... ..   | 1                     | 1   | 0   |            |    |    |
| Anderson, Mr. S. ... ..       | 0                     | 10  | 0   |            |    |    |
| Andrewes, Miss Turner ... ..  | 0                     | 10  | 0   |            |    |    |
| Andrews, Miss ... ..          | 0                     | 2   | 6   |            |    |    |
| Andrews, Miss Marion ... ..   | 0                     | 2   | 6   |            |    |    |
| Angus, Mrs. ... ..            | 0                     | 5   | 0   |            |    |    |
| Anthony, Miss ... ..          | 0                     | 5   | 0   |            |    |    |
| Armstrong, Mr. H. B. ... ..   | 1                     | 0   | 0   |            |    |    |
| Arthur, Miss ... ..           | 3                     | 0   | 0   |            |    |    |
| Astley, Miss ... ..           | 1                     | 0   | 0   |            |    |    |
| Atkinson, Mrs. ... ..         | 0                     | 5   | 0   |            |    |    |
| Babb, Miss ... ..             | 2                     | 2   | 0   |            |    |    |
| Bailey, Mrs. ... ..           | ...                   | ... | ... | 1          | 1  | 0  |
| Bailey, Mrs. Walter ... ..    | 0                     | 10  | 0   |            |    |    |
| Baines, Miss B. Cowper ... .. | 0                     | 5   | 0   |            |    |    |
| Baines, Miss Rose ... ..      | 0                     | 5   | 0   |            |    |    |
| Banks, Mrs. F. C. ... ..      | 0                     | 5   | 0   |            |    |    |
| Barrett, Mrs. ... ..          | 0                     | 1   | 0   |            |    |    |
| Bateson, Mrs. ... ..          | 1                     | 1   | 0   |            |    |    |
| Beale, Miss ... ..            | ...                   | ... | ... | 0          | 2  | 6  |
| Beddard, Mrs. ... ..          | 1                     | 0   | C   |            |    |    |
| Beevor, Miss ... ..           | 0                     | 5   | 0   |            |    |    |
| Belloc, Madame ... ..         | 0                     | 2   | 6   |            |    |    |
| Bell, Mr. A. G. ... ..        | 0                     | 2   | 0   |            |    |    |
| Bell, Mr. A. G. ... ..        | 0                     | 10  | 6   |            |    |    |
| Benham, Mr. James ... ..      | 0                     | 5   | 0   |            |    |    |
| Benham, Mrs. ... ..           | 1                     | 1   | 0   |            |    |    |
| Bennett, Mr. A. W. ... ..     | 1                     | 1   | 0   |            |    |    |
| Bernays, Dr. A. ... ..        | 1                     | 1   | 0   |            |    |    |
| Bevington, Mrs. A. ... ..     | 0                     | 2   | 6   |            |    |    |
| Biggs, Miss Ashurst ... ..    | 1                     | 1   | 0   |            |    |    |
| Biggs, Miss C. A. ... ..      | 1                     | 1   | 0   |            |    |    |
| Biggs, Mr. J. ... ..          | 1                     | 1   | 0   |            |    |    |
| Biggs, Miss M. ... ..         | ...                   | ... | ... | 1          | 0  | 0  |
| Blair, Mr. W. T. ... ..       | 0                     | 10  | 0   |            |    |    |
| Boddy, Miss C. ... ..         | 2                     | 0   | 0   |            |    |    |
| Boecker, Miss ... ..          | 1                     | 0   | 0   |            |    |    |
| Bolton, Mrs. ... ..           | 0                     | 10  | 0   |            |    |    |
| Bonham-Carter, Miss ... ..    | 1                     | 0   | 0   |            |    |    |
| Bostock, Miss ... ..          | 1                     | 1   | 0   |            |    |    |



|  | Annual Subscriptions. |       | Donations. |        |
|--|-----------------------|-------|------------|--------|
|  | £                     | s. d. | £          | s. d.  |
| Boucherett, Miss J. ... ..             | 2                     | 0 0   | 1st        | 10 0 0 |
| Do. do. ... ..                         |                       |       | 2nd        | 22 0 0 |
| Bowring, Lady ... ..                   |                       |       |            | 1 0 0  |
| Bramley, Mr. ... ..                    | 0                     | 5 0   |            |        |
| Branch, Mrs. ... ..                    | 2                     | 2 0   |            |        |
| Bromham, Mr. James ... ..              |                       |       |            |        |
| Brooke, Miss E. ... ..                 |                       |       |            | 2 0 0  |
| Brooke, Mr. T. T. ... ..               | 0                     | 10 6  |            |        |
| Brooksbank, Mrs. ... ..                | 0                     | 2 0   |            |        |
| Browne, Mrs. S. W. (2 years) ... ..    | 6                     | 0 0   |            |        |
| Bruce, Mrs. ... ..                     | 1                     | 1 0   |            |        |
| Burmingham, Miss H. M. ... ..          | 0                     | 5 0   |            |        |
| Butler, Miss ... ..                    | 0                     | 10 0  |            |        |
| Butterworth, Mr. and Mrs. ... ..       | 0                     | 5 6   |            |        |
|  |                       |       |            |        |
| Canning, Hon. E. R. ... ..             | 1                     | 0 0   |            |        |
| Carpenter, Mrs. R. L. ... ..           | 1                     | 0 0   |            |        |
| Carroll, The Rev. T. de la Cour... ..  | 0                     | 2 6   |            |        |
| Carter, Miss Mary... ..                | 0                     | 5 0   |            |        |
| Charlesworth, Mr. and Mrs. ... ..      | 0                     | 5 0   |            |        |
| Chesson, Mr. and Mrs. F. ... ..        | 1                     | 0 0   |            |        |
| Clark, Mrs. Bright ... ..              |                       |       | 3          | 3 0    |
| Clarke, Mrs. (Headington) ... ..       | 0                     | 5 0   |            |        |
| Clarke, Mrs. Pickering ... ..          | 0                     | 5 0   |            |        |
| Colbeck, Mr. Charles ... ..            | 1                     | 0 0   |            |        |
| Conway, Mr. and Mrs. Moncure ... ..    | 1                     | 2 0   |            |        |
| Cook, Miss (Aberdeen) ... ..           | 0                     | 2 6   |            |        |
| Cook, Mrs. do. ... ..                  |                       |       | 0          | 7 6    |
| Corfield, Miss ... ..                  | 0                     | 5 0   |            |        |
| Courtauld, Miss ... ..                 | 2                     | 2 0   |            |        |
| Courtauld, Mr. Samuel ... ..           | 1                     | 0 0   |            |        |
| Courtenay, Miss ... ..                 |                       |       | 5          | 0 0    |
| Courtney, Mr. Leonard, M.P. ... ..     | 1                     | 0 0   | 5          | 0 0    |
| Cowele, Mrs. ... ..                    |                       |       | 0          | 2 6    |
| Craig, Miss Lillias ... ..             | 1                     | 1 0   |            |        |
| Crook, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph ... ..      | 2                     | 2 0   |            |        |
|  |                       |       |            |        |
| Davies, The Rev. J. Ll. ... ..         | 0                     | 5 0   |            |        |
| Dawson, Miss Ellen ... ..              | 0                     | 1 0   |            |        |
| Deacon, Mr. ... ..                     | 0                     | 5 0   |            |        |
| Dilke, Sir Charles, M.P. ... ..        | 1                     | 1 0   |            |        |
| Dixon, Miss... ..                      | 0                     | 10 0  |            |        |
| Dixon, Mr. George... ..                | 1                     | 1 0   |            |        |
| Drummond, The Hon. Mrs. Maurice ... .. | 1                     | 0 0   |            |        |
| Drury, Mr. H. D. ... ..                | 0                     | 10 0  |            |        |
| Drysdale, Lady ... ..                  | 1                     | 0 0   |            |        |
| Duckworth, Canon ... ..                | 0                     | 2 6   |            |        |
| Dunlop, Miss Wallace ... ..            | 0                     | 10 6  |            |        |
|  |                       |       |            |        |
| Earle, Mrs. Charles ... ..             |                       |       | 0          | 10 0   |
| Eastwick, Mr. E. B. ... ..             | 1                     | 1 0   | 5          | 0 0    |
| Eiloart, Mrs. ... ..                   | 0                     | 10 6  |            |        |
| Elliot, Lady C. ... ..                 | 0                     | 10 6  |            |        |
| Ellison, Mrs. ... ..                   | 0                     | 2 6   |            |        |
| Estlin, Miss... ..                     | 1                     | 1 0   |            |        |

|   | Annual Subscriptions. |       | Donations. |        |
|---|-----------------------|-------|------------|--------|
|   | £                     | s. d. | £          | s. d.  |
| Fawcett, Professor and Mrs. Henry ... ..          | 2                     | 2 0   |            |        |
| Fawcett, Mrs. W. ... ..                           | 0                     | 10 6  |            |        |
| Fisher, Mrs. (Midhurst) ... ..                    | 0                     | 10 6  |            |        |
| Fisher, Mr. G. W. ... ..                          | 0                     | 5 0   |            |        |
| Fletcher, Mr. and Mrs. ... ..                     | 2                     | 2 0   |            |        |
| Foa, Madame ... ..                                | 0                     | 2 6   |            |        |
| Fontanier, Madame de ... ..                       | 0                     | 2 6   |            |        |
| Forshall, Miss ... ..                             | 1                     | 1 0   |            |        |
| Fox, Mrs. Bridell ... ..                          | 0                     | 2 6   |            |        |
| Fox, Mr. C. E. ... ..                             | 0                     | 1 6   |            |        |
| Friend ... ..                                     |                       |       |            | 0 5 0  |
| Friend ... ..                                     | 0                     | 5 0   |            |        |
|   |                       |       |            |        |
| Galpin, Mr. T. D. ... ..                          | 1                     | 1 0   |            |        |
| Gay, Miss S. ... ..                               | 0                     | 3 0   |            |        |
| Gennatus, Mrs. ... ..                             | 0                     | 5 0   |            |        |
| George, Mrs. F. B. ... ..                         | 0                     | 2 6   |            |        |
| Glover, Mrs. ... ..                               | 5                     | 5 0   |            |        |
| Golds, Mr. Alfred ... ..                          | 0                     | 5 0   |            |        |
| Goldsmid, Lady ... ..                             | 2                     | 2 0   |            |        |
| Goldsmid, Miss C. ... ..                          | 1                     | 0 0   |            |        |
| Greaves, Mr. ... ..                               | 0                     | 2 6   |            |        |
| Greg, Mrs. ... ..                                 | 0                     | 5 0   |            |        |
| Greig, Mrs. ... ..                                | 0                     | 2 6   |            |        |
| Grey, Lady R. Y. ... ..                           |                       |       |            | 5 0 0  |
| Grey, Mrs. Wm. ... ..                             | 2                     | 2 0   |            |        |
| Griffiths, Mr. and Mrs. ... ..                    | 0                     | 5 0   |            |        |
| Grimshaw, Mrs. ... ..                             | 1                     | 0 0   |            |        |
| Grove, Miss... ..                                 | 0                     | 5 0   |            |        |
| Gurney, Miss M. ... ..                            | 0                     | 2 6   |            |        |
|   |                       |       |            |        |
| Hall, Miss ... ..                                 | 2                     | 2 0   |            |        |
| Hall, Mr. S. ... ..                               | 0                     | 2 6   |            |        |
| Hallock, Mrs. ... ..                              | 0                     | 5 0   |            |        |
| Hamilton, Miss ... ..                             | 0                     | 5 0   |            |        |
| Harberton, Viscountess ... ..                     | 1                     | 0 0   |            |        |
| Hare, Mr. Thomas... ..                            | 1                     | 1 0   |            |        |
| Hargreaves, Mrs. ... ..                           |                       |       |            | 5 0 0  |
| Harris, Mr. H. ... ..                             | 0                     | 1 0   |            |        |
| Harrison, Mrs. ... ..                             | 1                     | 1 0   |            |        |
| Hart, Miss E. J. ... ..                           | 0                     | 5 0   |            |        |
| Hart, Miss K. M. ... ..                           | 0                     | 2 6   |            |        |
| Hart, Mr. P. M. ... ..                            | 0                     | 2 6   |            |        |
| Hawkins, Mrs. ... ..                              | 0                     | 10 0  |            |        |
| Helps, Mrs. ... ..                                | 0                     | 2 6   |            |        |
| Hennell, Miss S. E. ... ..                        | 0                     | 5 0   |            |        |
| Heywood, Mr. James ... ..                         | 10                    | 10 0  |            |        |
| Hickson, Miss ... ..                              | 0                     | 2 0   |            |        |
| Higgins, Miss ... ..                              | 0                     | 1 0   |            | 0 10 0 |
| Higgins, Mrs. Mary ... ..                         |                       |       |            | 0 10 0 |
| Higgins, Mr. ... ..                               | 1                     | 1 0   |            |        |
| Hill, Miss Florence Davenport ... ..              | 0                     | 2 0   |            |        |
| Hill, Mrs. Frank ... ..                           | 2                     | 2 0   |            |        |
| Hill, Miss K. ... ..                              | 0                     | 10 0  |            | 1 10 0 |
| Hodgson, Mrs. ... ..                              |                       |       |            | 1 1 0  |
| Hole, Mr. James ... ..                            |                       |       |            | 0 10 0 |
| Hoggan, Mr. George, and Mrs. Frances, M.D. ... .. | 0                     | 5 0   |            |        |



|                                  | Annual Subscriptions. |     |     | Donations. |     |     |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------|-----|-----|------------|-----|-----|
|                                  | £                     | s.  | d.  | £          | s.  | d.  |
| Howard, Mr. James                | ...                   | ... | ... | 1          | 1   | 0   |
| Hullah, Mrs.                     | ...                   | ... | ... | 1          | 1   | 0   |
| Hunter, Mrs. W. B.               | ...                   | ... | ... | ...        | 3   | 0   |
| Hutchinson, Miss                 | ...                   | ... | ... | ...        | 1   | 0   |
|                                  | ...                   | ... | ... | 0          | 5   | 0   |
| Impey, Mrs. E. C.                | ...                   | ... | ... | 0          | 5   | 0   |
| Jackman, Mrs.                    | ...                   | ... | ... | 0          | 2   | 6   |
| Jarvis, Mrs.                     | ...                   | ... | ... | 0          | 5   | 0   |
| Jenkins, Mr. E.                  | ...                   | ... | ... | 0          | 10  | 6   |
| Johnson, Mrs. (Thame)            | ...                   | ... | ... | 0          | 3   | 0   |
| Jones, Miss                      | ...                   | ... | ... | 0          | 3   | 0   |
| Jones, Mr. Edwin                 | ...                   | ... | ... | 1          | 1   | 0   |
| Jones, Mrs. R. C.                | ...                   | ... | ... | 1          | 1   | 0   |
| Julians, Mrs.                    | ...                   | ... | ... | 0          | 2   | 6   |
| Justice, Miss                    | ...                   | ... | ... | 0          | 2   | 0   |
| Kelly, Sir Fitzroy               | ...                   | ... | ... | 1          | 0   | 0   |
| Kerr, Dr. Norman                 | ...                   | ... | ... | 0          | 5   | 0   |
| Kinnear, Mr. J. Boyd             | ...                   | ... | ... | 1          | 0   | 0   |
| Langton, The late Lady Anna Gore | ...                   | ... | ... | 20         | 0   | 0   |
| Larner, Mrs.                     | ...                   | ... | ... | 0          | 10  | 0   |
| Lascaridi, Mr. G. P.             | ...                   | ... | ... | 0          | 10  | 0   |
| Lascaridi, Mr. P. T.             | ...                   | ... | ... | 1          | 5   | 0   |
| Lawrie, Mrs.                     | ...                   | ... | ... | 1          | 1   | 0   |
| Laye, Mrs. Ramsay                | ...                   | ... | ... | 1          | 1   | 0   |
| Leach, Mrs.                      | ...                   | ... | ... | 0          | 10  | 0   |
| Le Geyt, Miss                    | ...                   | ... | ... | 0          | 2   | 0   |
| Leon, Mrs.                       | ...                   | ... | ... | 2          | 2   | 0   |
| Leonard, Mr. H. Selfe            | ...                   | ... | ... | 0          | 10  | 6   |
| Leslie, Mr. T. E. Cliffe         | ...                   | ... | ... | 1          | 0   | 0   |
| Lewin, Miss                      | ...                   | ... | ... | 0          | 2   | 0   |
| Lewis, Mr. H. K.                 | ...                   | ... | ... | 0          | 2   | 6   |
| Lewis, Mrs.                      | ...                   | ... | ... | 1          | 1   | 0   |
| Lingen, Mr. J. T.                | ...                   | ... | ... | 0          | 5   | 0   |
| Lord, Mrs.                       | ...                   | ... | ... | 0          | 10  | 6   |
| Lord, The Misses                 | ...                   | ... | ... | 0          | 5   | 0   |
| Lowry, Mrs.                      | ...                   | ... | ... | 0          | 1   | 0   |
| Lucas, Mrs.                      | ...                   | ... | ... | 1          | 1   | 0   |
| Lusk, Sir Andrew, Bart., M.P.    | ...                   | ... | ... | 1          | 1   | 0   |
| Lynch, Mrs.                      | ...                   | ... | ... | 1          | 1   | 0   |
| M'Kee, Miss E. C.                | ...                   | ... | ... | 0          | 5   | 0   |
| M'Laren, Mr. and Mrs. Charles    | ...                   | ... | ... | 5          | 5   | 0   |
| Macartney, Mrs.                  | ...                   | ... | ... | 0          | 2   | 6   |
| Malleson, Mrs. F.                | ...                   | ... | ... | 2          | 2   | 0   |
| Malleson, Mr. and Mrs. W.        | ...                   | ... | ... | 3          | 3   | 0   |
| Maqnay, Mr. Charles              | ...                   | ... | ... | 1          | 1   | 0   |
| Martin, Mrs. Waller              | ...                   | ... | ... | ...        | ... | ... |
| Mayo, Miss                       | ...                   | ... | ... | 0          | 1   | 0   |
| Mills, Miss                      | ...                   | ... | ... | 0          | 2   | 6   |
| Molyneux, Lady                   | ...                   | ... | ... | 1          | 0   | 0   |
| Moore, Mr. Ernest                | ...                   | ... | ... | 0          | 5   | 0   |
| Mordan, M'iss                    | ...                   | ... | ... | 1          | 0   | 0   |
| Morris, Mr. Lewis                | ...                   | ... | ... | 1          | 1   | 0   |

|                                   | Annual Subscriptions. |     |     | Donations. |     |     |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------|-----|-----|------------|-----|-----|
|                                   | £                     | s.  | d.  | £          | s.  | d.  |
| Muggleton, The Misses             | ...                   | ... | ... | ...        | ... | ... |
| Müller, Miss                      | ...                   | ... | ... | 5          | 0   | 0   |
| Müller, Mrs.                      | ...                   | ... | ... | 0          | 1   | 0   |
| Murray, Rev. Alex.                | ...                   | ... | ... | 0          | 2   | 6   |
| Newman, Mrs.                      | ...                   | ... | ... | 0          | 1   | 0   |
| Newman, Professor                 | ...                   | ... | ... | 1          | 0   | 0   |
| Nichol, Mr. Henry                 | ...                   | ... | ... | 2          | 2   | 0   |
| Nicol, Miss Louisa                | ...                   | ... | ... | 1          | 0   | 0   |
| Norman, Mrs.                      | ...                   | ... | ... | 0          | 1   | 6   |
| Oakes, Mrs. The late (legacy)     | ...                   | ... | ... | ...        | ... | ... |
| O'Bierne Miss                     | ...                   | ... | ... | 0          | 2   | 6   |
| Olney, Miss R.                    | ...                   | ... | ... | 0          | 5   | 0   |
| Olney, Miss S.                    | ...                   | ... | ... | 0          | 5   | 0   |
| Parry, Mr. Herbert and Lady Maude | ...                   | ... | ... | 1          | 1   | 0   |
| Parry, Mr. Serjeant               | ...                   | ... | ... | ...        | ... | ... |
| Pennack, Mrs. (2 years)           | ...                   | ... | ... | 0          | 5   | 0   |
| Pennington, Mrs. F.               | ...                   | ... | ... | ...        | ... | ... |
| Perrier, Mrs.                     | ...                   | ... | ... | 0          | 5   | 0   |
| Petrici, Mrs.                     | ...                   | ... | ... | 0          | 5   | 0   |
| Pettit, Mrs.                      | ...                   | ... | ... | 0          | 1   | 6   |
| Phillott, Mrs. A.                 | ...                   | ... | ... | 0          | 5   | 0   |
| Pickford, Mrs.                    | ...                   | ... | ... | 0          | 10  | 0   |
| Pidgeon, Mrs.                     | ...                   | ... | ... | 1          | 1   | 0   |
| Plumer, Miss Emily                | ...                   | ... | ... | 0          | 5   | 0   |
| Pochin, Mrs.                      | ...                   | ... | ... | ...        | ... | ... |
| Ponder, The Misses                | ...                   | ... | ... | 0          | 5   | 0   |
| Priestman, The Misses             | ...                   | ... | ... | 1          | 1   | 0   |
| Prothero, Miss Schaw              | ...                   | ... | ... | 1          | 0   | 0   |
| Raisin, Miss                      | ...                   | ... | ... | 0          | 5   | 0   |
| Raven, Miss                       | ...                   | ... | ... | 0          | 5   | 0   |
| Rawlinson, Miss                   | ...                   | ... | ... | 0          | 10  | 0   |
| Reid, Miss E.                     | ...                   | ... | ... | 0          | 5   | 0   |
| Reid, Mr. J. S.                   | ...                   | ... | ... | 0          | 7   | 6   |
| Reid, Mrs.                        | ...                   | ... | ... | 0          | 5   | 0   |
| Rennick, Mrs.                     | ...                   | ... | ... | 0          | 5   | 0   |
| Richardson, Miss M. E.            | ...                   | ... | ... | 1          | 1   | 0   |
| Roberts, Mrs.                     | ...                   | ... | ... | 0          | 10  | 6   |
| Roberts, Mr. Owen                 | ...                   | ... | ... | 1          | 1   | 0   |
| Robertson, Prof. G. C.            | ...                   | ... | ... | 1          | 0   | 0   |
| Robins, Mrs.                      | ...                   | ... | ... | 0          | 5   | 0   |
| Ronneger, Madame                  | ...                   | ... | ... | 0          | 2   | 6   |
| Rossetti, Mr. Wm. M.              | ...                   | ... | ... | 1          | 1   | 0   |
| Rudd, Mrs.                        | ...                   | ... | ... | 0          | 2   | 6   |
| Sainsbury, Mrs.                   | ...                   | ... | ... | 0          | 2   | 6   |
| Samson, Miss                      | ...                   | ... | ... | 0          | 1   | 0   |
| Saul, Mr. G. T.                   | ...                   | ... | ... | 1          | 1   | 0   |
| Scott, Miss Eliz.                 | ...                   | ... | ... | 0          | 10  | 0   |
| Scull, Mrs.                       | ...                   | ... | ... | 0          | 10  | 0   |
| Serrell, Mr. George               | ...                   | ... | ... | 0          | 2   | 6   |
| Shaen, Rev. R.                    | ...                   | ... | ... | 1          | 1   | 0   |
| Sherriff, Miss                    | ...                   | ... | ... | 2          | 2   | 0   |
| Shipton, Mr. George               | ...                   | ... | ... | 0          | 2   | 6   |
| Shortt, Mr. J.                    | ...                   | ... | ... | 1          | 1   | 0   |



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| Slack, Mrs. ... ..                  | 1                     | 1   | 0   | ...        | ... | ... |
| Slatter, Miss ... ..                | 0                     | 2   | 6   | ...        | ... | ... |
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| Sparling, Miss ... ..               | 1                     | 1   | 0   | ...        | ... | ... |
| Spears, Rev. R. ... ..              | 0                     | 5   | 0   | ...        | ... | ... |
| Spokes, Lady and the Misses ... ..  | 0                     | 10  | 0   | ...        | ... | ... |
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| Taylor, Mr. and Mrs. P. A. ... ..   | 30                    | 0   | 0   | ...        | ... | ... |
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| Tebb, Mr. and Mrs. William ... ..   | 2                     | 2   | 0   | ...        | ... | ... |
| Tennant, Mrs. ... ..                | 0                     | 10  | 0   | ...        | ... | ... |
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| Thomas, Mrs. Charles ... ..         | 1                     | 1   | 0   | ...        | ... | ... |
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| Tolmé, Mrs. ... ..                  | 0                     | 2   | 6   | ...        | ... | ... |
| Tracey, Mrs. ... ..                 | 0                     | 2   | 6   | ...        | ... | ... |
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| Turner, Mrs. ... ..                 | 0                     | 10  | 6   | ...        | ... | ... |
| Vaughen, Miss E. M. ... ..          | ...                   | ... | ... | ...        | ... | ... |
| Van Putten, Miss ... ..             | 0                     | 2   | 6   | ...        | ... | ... |
| Vincent, Miss C. ... ..             | 0                     | 5   | 0   | ...        | ... | ... |
| Wade, Miss ... ..                   | 0                     | 2   | 6   | ...        | ... | ... |
| Wade, Mrs. ... ..                   | 0                     | 2   | 6   | ...        | ... | ... |
| Wansey, Miss ... ..                 | 1                     | 0   | 0   | ...        | ... | ... |
| Warren, Miss ... ..                 | 0                     | 10  | 6   | ...        | ... | ... |
| Waterall, Mr. Nath. ... ..          | 0                     | 5   | 0   | ...        | ... | ... |
| Wates, Mrs. ... ..                  | 0                     | 5   | 0   | ...        | ... | ... |
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| Wheeler, Mrs. ... ..                | 0                     | 1   | 0   | ...        | ... | ... |
| White, Mr. J. ... ..                | 1                     | 1   | 0   | ...        | ... | ... |
| Williams, Miss C. ... ..            | 10                    | 0   | 0   | ...        | ... | ... |
| Williams, Mr. H. M. ... ..          | 1                     | 1   | 0   | ...        | ... | ... |
| Williams, Mrs. Carvell ... ..       | 0                     | 10  | 0   | ...        | ... | ... |
| Williams, Mrs. Morgan ... ..        | 1                     | 1   | 0   | ...        | ... | ... |
| Williams, Mr. and Mrs. Price ... .. | 2                     | 2   | 0   | ...        | ... | ... |
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| Wright, Mr. R. T. ... ..            | 0                     | 7   | 6   | ...        | ... | ... |
| Young, Mr. Thomas ... ..            | 0                     | 10  | 0   | ...        | ... | ... |

## ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

OF THE

## CENTRAL COMMITTEE,

HELD AT

WILLIS' ROOMS, 26, KING STREET, ST. JAMES',

On Friday, May 9th, 1879,

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

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

*1st Resolution.*—Moved by Mrs. P. A. Taylor, seconded by Mr. L. A. Atherley Jones:—

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

*2nd Resolution.*—Moved by Miss Jane Cobden, seconded by Mr. Charles McLaren:—

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

*3rd Resolution.*—Moved by Miss Downing, seconded by Mr. A. Astley:—

“That this Meeting offers cordial thanks to Mr. Courtney for introducing in the House of Commons his Resolution for the repeal of the Electoral Disabilities of Women, and to those members who spoke and voted in favour of this Resolution; and this meeting pledges itself to support any further steps that may be taken by their Parliamentary friends to remove these disabilities.”

\* For List of Executive Committee see page 18.



## CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

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## NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

## CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

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

The Society seeks to achieve this object—

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

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

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

## R U L E S

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.

HON. SECRETARY—MRS. CAIRNES.

SECRETARY—MISS K. THORNBURY.

TREASURER—MISS JANE COBDEN.

BANKERS—LONDON AND COUNTY BANK, 441, Oxford Street, W.

OFFICE OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE—64, BERNERS STREET,  
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PUBLICATIONS TO BE OBTAINED AT THE OFFICE OF THE  
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- 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.
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- COMMENTS ON THE OPPOSITION TO WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.—By Helen Blackburn. Price 1d.
- OPINIONS OF WOMEN ON WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE. Price 6d. This Pamphlet was frequently referred to in the recent Parliamentary Debate.
- THE RIGHT AND DUTIES OF WOMEN IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT.—By Lydia E. Becker. Price 1d.
- THE PRESENT ASPECT OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE CONSIDERED.—By Arabella Shore.—Reprinted from the "Englishwomen's Review." Price 4d.



## DOUGHT WOMEN TO HAVE VOTES FOR MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT?

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*"All those who live in a country should take an interest in that country, love that country, and the vote gives that sense of interest, fosters that love."*—MR. GLADSTONE, "Nineteenth Century," Jan. 1878.

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### I. *What is meant by Women's Suffrage?*

That women, who as regards residence or property fulfil the conditions on which the Parliamentary franchise is granted to men, should like them be admitted to the franchise.

### II. *What number of Women would be enfranchised?*

In England and Wales between 300,000 and 400,000, or one woman to every seven men who now possess the franchise. According to the Return of Municipal Electors made in 1871 more than 108,000 women possess, as householders, the Municipal franchise,—being in the proportion of 16 per cent of the municipal voters of the nation. The Return of Owners of Land in 1872, popularly called the New Domesday Book, gives the number of women landowners of one acre or upwards in England and Wales as 37,806 out of 269,547—a proportion of one in seven. In Ireland the proportion of women landowners is somewhat less, being one in eight. If we assume the proportion of women householders to men-householders to be the same in non-municipal as in municipal towns, we arrive at the total of between 300,000 and 400,000, who being householders and rated for the relief of the poor, are rightfully entitled to exercise the vote.



### III. *Are Women capable of voting?*

They do already vote in many kinds of elections. From time immemorial they have possessed the same local and parochial franchises as men. They can vote in the election of Overseers of the poor, Poor-law Guardians, Churchwardens, Overseers of Roads, Board of Health and other local authorities. They may vote in Municipal elections. When the Municipal Corporation Act was amended in 1869, women were placed on the roll of voters. A letter of inquiry was addressed to the Town Clerk of every Municipal Borough after the first election under the new Act, and by the courtesy of these gentlemen it was ascertained that women had generally voted in equal, and in some cases in greater proportion to their numbers, than the male householders. In 1870 women were expressly included among the voters in the Elementary Education Act, and have, since that time, voted in every School-Board Election. These last two votes are given by personal attendance at the polls in precisely the same manner as at Parliamentary elections, and at no time have disturbances occurred,—though party feeling has sometimes run high—rendering it dangerous or difficult for women to give their votes. Moreover, in 1868, a doubt existed as to whether women-householders were not legally enfranchised under the Household Suffrage Act, and their names were allowed to remain on the register by many revising barristers. No difficulty was experienced by them in voting in that General Election, and the Ballot by rendering elections still more quiet has removed what might sometimes have been an obstacle in the way of women exercising the Suffrage. It was, however, determined in Nov. 1869 in the Court of Common Pleas that women should be disqualified from voting and that decision can only be reversed by the action of Parliament.

school board  
ee. etc.

### IV. *Do women themselves desire it?*

A large number of them do, and have taken pains during the last fourteen years to show that desire by petitions to Parliament, Memorials to Ministers and attendance at numerous public meetings. In many sessions the number of signatures attached to petitions for Women's Suffrage has doubled those sent in for any other measure. In 1875 they reached the unsurpassed number of 415,622, of which about half were women. In the preceding year memorials signed by upwards of 18,000 were presented to Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Disraeli. Many petitions and memorials are signed by women-householders only—as, for instance last year from 1,279 women-householders in Edinburgh, and 1,500 (out of a total of 2,400 women-householders) in Leicester.

During the past fourteen years upwards of 1,300 public meetings have been held in the United Kingdom in support of this movement. The largest took place last February, when more than 5000 women assembled in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, to urge the removal of this disability.

### V. *What support has this measure gained in the House of Commons?*

Since Mr. John Stuart Mill first introduced it in 1867 it has received the support in votes or pairs of 426 members. In the last Parliament, 230 Members were in its favour. These belonged to all parties, Conservative, Liberal, and Home Rulers (including members of both Conservative and Liberal Administrations;) and the Bill "to remove the Electoral Disabilities of Women," has been brought in by Conservatives and Liberals, so that this measure is in no sense a party measure.

### VI. *What benefit to the State or to women themselves would arise from women's suffrage becoming law?*

It is generally admitted that the efficiency of a



Representative Parliament is in direct ratio to the variety of the classes and the interests it represents, while the interests of a non-represented class are confessedly liable to be misunderstood and neglected. A legislature, from whose election so large a proportion of the responsible citizens and holders of property in the country is excluded, must necessarily be ignorant of, and postpone to more leisure time, the claims of those who are not its constituents. There are many national subjects, such as the laws affecting pauperism, education, diminution of crime, public morality, sobriety, &c., on which women, as voters, might bring to the public service not only general but special experience and knowledge. As taxpayers they have as great a concern as men in the methods by which the national taxes are raised and expended. As subjects, they are equally concerned in the laws which control the State. Much legislation affects men and women equally; women, therefore, have an equal right with men to be consulted in the election of their legislators, but this claim is further increased by the circumstance that under many laws, such as those affecting the property, and legal status of married women, and custody of children, their succession to property, &c., women are held, and will remain as long as they are disfranchised, under a special disadvantage. Inasmuch as every class of men has found that direct representation ultimately secured for them educational, industrial and social reform, it is fair to assume that the same constitutional privilege would secure the same results to women.

✓ NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

64, BERNERS STREET, LONDON, W.

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## BIBLE TEXTS

ON

### WOMAN'S PRISTINE POSITION

✓ Anon.

"To the law and to the testimony: if they speak not according to this word, it is because there is no light in them."—ISAIAH viii. 20.

Edinburgh:

JOHN MACLAREN & SON, PRINCES STREET.

1880.



"The love of individual liberty is certainly one of the essential characteristics of human nature, and one which is to be respected as the condition of true dignity both in man and woman."

"There is a time wherein one man ruleth over another to his own hurt."  
—*Eccles. viii. 9.*

## *Bible Texts on Woman's Pristine Position.*

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A CONSIDERATION of the legislature of this country as regards woman led to an examination of God's law on this subject, and to the linking together a few texts from the Bible as to the Divine teaching and direction.

As the completed humanity consists of male and female, so must the humanity of Christ also consist of male and female, and must be in perfect harmony with His Godhead, mankind being created in the image of God. As Eve, "the mother of all living," was taken from man, so "The Man," Christ Jesus, who is the Author of life, took His humanity from woman; thus, as Adam was the source from which the woman was taken, so, in her turn, woman was the honoured source of the human life of the second Adam.

Christ, in taking our perfect humanity, undertook to raise mankind to spiritual freedom and moral purity, including woman as well as man in His grand philanthropy, and treated with marked disapprobation everything that sought to humble the one sex, in order to exalt the other. And He was a Teacher, not for the age but for all time; and woman owes her restoration to social equality with man to the lofty respect shown to her by Jesus of Nazareth.



Thus an indignity cannot be offered to womanhood without debasing manhood, and casting reproach on the teaching and humanity of Christ, the Redeemer of our race.

#### THE FIRST THOUGHT SUGGESTED IS UNITY IN CREATION.

First, in the council of the Trinity, before the foundations of the world were laid, "God said, Let us make man in our own image, after our likeness; and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth. So God created man in His own image: in the image of God created He him, male and female created He them" (Gen. i. 26, 27).

And again in chapter v. 1, 2, in recording the generation of Adam, "In the day that God created man, in the likeness of God made He them, and blessed them, and called their name Adam (or red earth, the generic name of the species) in the day when they were created."

When God brought the woman to Adam, he (Adam) said, "This is now bone of my bone, and flesh of my flesh: she shall be called Woman, because she was taken out of man. Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and cleave unto his wife, and they shall be one flesh" (Gen. ii. 23, 24).

Our Lord quotes these words with the addition: "They twain shall be one flesh." (See Matt. xix. 5; Mark x. 8. Also Eph. v. 21.)

The existence of the woman in the man before she was formed may be inferred. As it is not said as in the case of Adam, God breathed into her nostrils the

breath of life, they may have existed as one, until Eve was builded (as in the margin), which is also implied in the second Adam. "There is neither male nor female in Christ Jesus."

Humanity being complete, dominion was given to them conjointly. Adam said, "A man shall cleave to his wife, not rule over her." In the state of innocence the woman required no protection, so the male (man) did not stand to woman in the relation of protector, but he stood in need of help and companionship, and was in the position of requiring the help of a co-worker.

These quotations establish the fact, that the dominion and possession of the earth and its creatures was given to man in his dual nature, woman being then invested in joint authority and possession. Being in the image of God, there could be no subjection of one half of humanity to the other (and that the completing half), else they would not have been in the image of God. They were co-equal, like the co-equal persons in the Godhead.

#### THE FALL AND ITS PUNISHMENT BROUGHT SHAME AND SORROW TO BOTH MAN AND WOMAN.

This state of perfect union and fellowship was enjoyed by man until Eve yielded to the serpent's promises, and in her fall brought upon herself, as a consequence, the rule of him who had been her co-equal companion in their unfallen state. So that, instead of being "as God, knowing good and evil" (Gen. iii. 5), she brought herself into the position that was foretold: "Thy desire shall be to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee."

In Gen. ix. 25, a curse is pronounced on Canaan: "A servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren." And



St. Paul, in Ephes. vi. 5-8, exhorts "servants (slaves) to be obedient to their own masters," be they the bondsmen of master or mistress; but no one now-a-days defends slavery on the ground of this prophetic curse. Eve's subjection was not a curse, but simply a prophetic announcement of the consequences of sin.

By his fall Adam having lost the image of God, could not be raised to a higher relation to woman than that of his original one: the punishment, therefore, of subjection, in the woman's case, was the outcome of sin. She being first in the transgression, this (her subjection) was not a blessing to Adam, but, on the contrary, as she partook of his punishment in the curse of the ground, so in like manner he suffered loss in her "desire becoming subject" to him; thus losing in a great measure her help, and being once more so far alone, which God at first pronounced as "not good." Man, in the blindness of his sinful nature, then assumed to himself the position of "Lord of the Creation," arrogating to himself alone supreme power in the place of conjoint rule; but though man did, God never reversed his own command to them, conjointly to "subdue and have dominion."

Woman's punishment implied that she not only should have personal suffering, but also, in her position as mother and joint head of all living, all posterity must suffer with her, and that henceforth the stronger should rule the weaker, not only in the case of man over woman, but also the stronger man over the weaker man. Hence wars, oppression, and despotism.

The first instance we have of this being exemplified is in the history of Cain's fratricide (Gen. iv. 8).

After that came the time "when men began to multiply on the face of the earth, and daughters were born

unto them" (Gen. vi. 1), and "the sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair; and took them wives of all whom they chose" (Gen. vi. 2). "There were giants in the earth in those days" (Gen. vi. 4).

"Then God saw that the wickedness of man was great in the earth, and that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually. And it repented the Lord that He had made man on the earth, and it grieved Him at His heart. And the Lord said, I will destroy man whom I have created from the face of the earth; both man and beast, and the creeping thing, and the fowl of the air: for it repenteth me that I have made them" (Gen. vi. 5-7). And so God sent His flood upon the earth, which destroyed the world lying in wickedness, with the exception of Noah and his family.

On the re-peopling of the world after the flood, wickedness and oppression again predominated in the earth. Hence, from the lawlessness which prevailed with regard to women, the Patriarchs were subject to fear of their lives—for example, "When Abram was come into Egypt, the Egyptians beheld the woman, that she was very fair" (Gen. xii. 14), and on to the end of the chapter. Again, in Gerar, Abraham was placed in the same circumstances (Gen. xx. 2-18). Also Isaac, with regard to Rebekah, his wife, in the same place (Gen. xxvi. 7-11).

In the days of Lot we have the record of the awful destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah—showing that cruelty to woman never ends with her, but every man's hand is turned against his fellow. Witness the crowd pressing towards the house of Lot. "The men of the city, even the men of Sodom, compassed the house round, both old and young, all people from every quarter" (Gen. xix. 4). And even Lot had fallen so



morally low that, from the fear of his fellow-citizens, he was willing to sacrifice his own daughters to these Sodomites.

We might also point to the cases of Jacob and Esau, of Joseph and his brethren, of the oppression of the children of Israel in Egypt, &c., but enough has been quoted to show the immense sufferings and sorrow arising from the rule of the stronger over the weaker. The whole Book of Esther, also, is an illustration of this,—

#### ONENESS IN CHRIST, AND UNITY IN REDEMPTION.

The oneness of male and female, in each participating in the other's punishment, has been shown, and now we come to their entire unity in redemption, as accomplished by the one living Head, Christ Jesus, who, while declaring Himself to be the Son of God, always takes to Himself the name of the Son of Man, though born of a woman.

In Psalm xxii. 20, the original of "my darling" is in the feminine, "which some think refers to the human nature of Christ as united to the Deity."—*Scott*. So also is Wisdom in the feminine in Prov. ch. i. v. 20, ch. viii., ch. ix. v. 1.

In Psalm xxx. 10, also liv. 4, God is addressed as "my helper," the same name as God Himself bestowed on woman at the beginning ("helpmeet").

In the typical sacrifices of Christ a female is taken for a sin-offering. "If any one of the common people sin through ignorance, . . . then he shall bring his offering, a kid of the goats, a female without blemish, for his sin which he hath sinned" (Levit. iv. 27, 28). A female only here is offered to show that Christ, as Head and expiatory Substitute of humanity, is typified by a female. *Scott* remarks, "That it is to be observed here that the

words 'a sweet savour to the Lord' (Levit. iv. 31) are added to none of the sin-offerings but this of the private Israelite."

A female is again ordered in the trespass-offering (see Levit. v. 6), without the option of a male. Again, in Numbers vi. 14, a ewe lamb is offered for a sin-offering when the days of the separation of the Nazarite are fulfilled. For the water of separation the ashes of a red heifer were used (Num. xix.). This is a purification from sin, an atoning sacrifice for sins of the deep dye of scarlet. "Though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be made white as snow." This is typified by the red colour of the heifer. The expiation of the law for murder when the crime is concealed is also a heifer. "And the elders of the city shall wash their hands over the head of the heifer slain in the valley" (Deut. xxi. 6).

When God covenanted with Abram to give him and his posterity the land of Canaan for possession, we find two of the typical sacrifices there used were females (Gen. xv. 9).\*

#### WOMAN, THOUGH FIRST IN THE TRANSGRESSION, WAS FIRST TO HEAR AND PROCLAIM THE GLAD TIDINGS OF SALVATION.

It is as the seed of the woman that salvation is first promised; and again, "Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and bear a Son, and shall call His name Immanuel" (Isa. vii. 14). Eve first spoke her faith in the promised

\* When this covenant is renewed, and Abram's name (a high father) is changed to Abraham (the father of a great multitude), Sarai's name (my princess) is also changed to Sarah (princess of the multitude.) See also Isaiah li. 1, 2.



seed by her words, "I have gotten a man from the Lord" (Gen. iv. 1). "Some think these words may be rendered, 'I have acquired a man, even Jehovah.'"—*Scott*.

Hannah, in her sublime, prophetic song, is the first to mention in Scripture the name "Anointed," or "Messiah." (1 Sam. ii. 10.)

In the New Testament, when the Messiah came to restore all things, first to the Virgin Mary was made known His advent. Next, by her to her cousin, Elizabeth, who recognised in Mary the mother of her Lord, saying, "And whence is this to me that the mother of my Lord should come to me?" (Luke i. 43). And Mary in her magnificat acknowledged the prophetic nature of Hannah's song, and realised in her "My soul doth magnify the Lord and my spirit doth rejoice in God my Saviour" (Luke i. 46) the fulfilment of the glorious prophecy of Hannah.

When our Saviour was presented in the temple, Anna the prophetess was the first to proclaim His advent to all those assembled there (Luke ii. 38).

When Mary anointed the feet of Jesus she did it to His burial, being the first to believe in His death as the Antitype of all the sin-offerings.

The woman of Samaria was the first Christian missionary to her countrymen, and was also the first to whom Christ foretold the end of the Jewish ritual. The veil of the temple, we may say, was first rent at Jacob's well; and to this humble Samaritan woman did Christ first disclose Himself as the promised Messiah.

The Syro-Phœnician woman was the first recorded believer in Christ in her country.

The women of Jerusalem were the first and only ones to weep for the suffering humanity of our Lord.

Pilate's wife was the first and only one to counsel him to "have nothing to do with that just man."

Mary Magdalene, and the other women, were the first at the sepulchre, and were commissioned by Christ Himself first to carry the glad tidings of His resurrection to the disciples; and next, the company of women from Galilee were commissioned to be the second witnesses and messengers of His resurrection.

When Paul, by a vision, was called to go over into Macedonia, he found there a company of women who were wont to congregate by the river side for prayer, and there, by the conversion of Lydia, "whose heart the Lord opened," was formed the nucleus of the first European Church (Acts xvi. 10-14).

#### WOMEN HAVE BEEN THE SUCCOURERS OF THE CHURCH AND HER MEMBERS IN ALL AGES.

In the Old Testament we read of Rebekah, when her children struggled within her, that she enquired of her Lord, saying, "Why am I thus?" and the Lord said unto her, "Two nations are in thy womb, and two manner of people shall be separated from thy bowels; and the one people shall be stronger than the other people, and the elder shall serve the younger." And she, believing the word of the Lord, loved Jacob as the child of promise; and when it came that Isaac would have given the blessing to Esau, she (by a subterfuge, though not to be justified) secured to Jacob his birthright, and afterwards saved his life from the murderous hand of his angry brother by gaining his father's consent to his sojourning in Haran.

When Israel was in bondage in Egypt, the two



Israelitish midwives, Shiphrah and Puah, feared God, and did not as the king commanded them, but saved the male children alive. Therefore God dealt well with these midwives, "because they feared the Lord," "that He made them houses" (Ex. i. 17-20).

The mother and sister of Moses saved him from being destroyed by Pharaoh's decree; and the king's own daughter, regardless of her father's cruel law, rescued the future deliverer and law-giver of Israel from a watery grave, and educated him as her own son, in all the wisdom of the Egyptians.

When gifts were brought for the tabernacle, "all the women who were wise-hearted did spin with their hands, and brought that which they had spun." "And all the women whose heart stirred them up in wisdom spun goat's hair" (Ex. xxxv. 25, 26),

When the children of Israel had been led through the wilderness, and arrived under the leadership of Joshua at the borders of Canaan, Rahab received and hid the spies (Joshua ii. 15-20).

By a woman God punished the wickedness of Abimelech and saved Israel (Judges ix. 53).

Ruth followed her mother-in-law, Naomi, out of Moab and succoured her in Bethlehem, and was honoured to be one of the ancestors of our Lord (Ruth i. 1-22).

Michal, Saul's daughter, saved David, her husband, out of the murderous hand of her father (1 Samuel xix. 11, 12).

Abigail being made aware by one of her young men of the churlishness of her husband, Nabal, towards David, "the Lord's anointed," and his followers, at once made haste and took ample provision for them, and prevented the meditated vengeance of David, and received a blessing for the advice which kept him from shedding blood,

"and avenging himself with his own hand" (1 Samuel xxv. 14-25).

A woman by her wisdom saved the city of Bethmaachah from being destroyed by Joab (2 Sam. xx. 16-22). Her appeal to Joab is very striking (verse 19): "I am one of them that are peaceable and faithful in Israel; thou seekest to destroy a city and a mother in Israel; why wilt thou swallow up the inheritance of the Lord?" Then we are told in verse 22, "The woman went to all the people in her wisdom," and by following her wise advice the city was preserved.

Joash was preserved alive by his aunt Jehosheba and his nurse for six years in the temple (2 Kings xi. 2, 3).

Elijah was maintained by a widow woman of Zarephath, in the time of sore famine, for many days, or, as in the margin, a full year (1 Kings xxii. 9).

Elisha, the Tishbite, was entertained by a woman of wealth and piety at Shunem, who built him "a little chamber on the wall," that he might turn in thither (2 Kings iv. 8, 9, 10).

When Nehemiah saw that Jerusalem lay waste, and the gates were burnt with fire, he appealed unto the people, saying, "Come, let us build up the wall of Jerusalem, that it be no more a reproach" (Neh. ii. 17); and, in answer to this appeal, the daughters of Shallum (who was ruler of half of Jerusalem) took their part in rebuilding the wall (Neh. iii. 12).

Passing on to the New Testament, we find the aged Elizabeth, the mother and succourer of the infant John the Baptist, the forerunner of our Saviour (Luke i).

To the Virgin Mary was entrusted the life of the incarnate God, "the Son of Man"—Mary in faith gladly accepting the glorious charge, saying, "Behold the hand-



maid of the Lord. Be it unto me according to Thy word" (Luke i. 38). Woman being a type of the Church, may it not be that Mary here typifies the Church in thus accepting Christ as Lord and Saviour, and the husband of the Church?

When Jesus passed through Bethany, "A certain woman named Martha received Him into her house" (Luke x. 38); and we know from other parts of Scripture, He made the house of Martha and Mary His home.

The poor widow who cast into the treasury the two mites had faith to give up "all that she had, even all her living," to the service of God (Mark xii. 42, 43).

The woman that was a sinner exercised the duties of hospitality which had been neglected by Simon the Pharisee, while Jesus sat in his house at meat, by washing His feet with her tears, and anointing them with precious ointment (Luke vii. 44).

We are also told, many other women ministered unto Christ of their substance (Luke viii. 2, 3).

Lydia constrained Paul and his companions to be her visitors, saying, "If ye have judged me faithful to the Lord, come into my house, and abide there" (Acts xvi. 14).

Phebe the servant (or, as it should be rendered, minister) of the Church at Cenchrea, is introduced by Paul to the Romans "as a succourer of many, and of myself also" (Rom. xvi. 2).

#### WOMAN'S AUTHORITY IN HUMANITY BEFORE AND AFTER THE FALL.

When marriage was instituted before the Fall, no

authority was given to man over his wife; but, as already seen, their authority was conjoint (Gen. i.)

That woman's authority, like her dominion, remained after the Fall, would appear from Gen. iv. 28: "And she (Eve) bare a son, and called his name Seth; for God (said she) has appointed me another seed instead of Abel." It is the mother here who names the child.

Again, Leah and Rachel, apparently without consulting their husband Jacob (Gen. xxix. 32), named their respective sons, giving them names expressive of their own personal trials and consolations (Gen. xxx. 1).

Miriam led the responses to the triumphal song of Moses (Exodus xv. 20, 21); and by the prophet Micah she is classed with Moses and Aaron as a leader. "I sent before thee Moses, Aaron, and Miriam" (Micah vi. 4).

The fifth commandment of the moral law is, "Honour thy father and thy mother" (Exodus xx. 12); and to prevent any difference in respect, esteem, reverence, and obedience, she (the mother) is named before the father in Lev. xix. 3: "Ye shall fear every man his mother and father."

"Mother," besides being used to signify a parent, has a still wider significance; for it also means a woman who is superior in age, station, gifts, or grace, or who deals tenderly with any one. Thus Deborah was a mother in Israel; for, with tenderness and valour, she judged, instructed, and governed that people.—*Fisher's Catechism*.

In the fourth commandment it is implied that the joint heads (father and mother) are to enforce the keeping of the Sabbath on their children and dependants.

In the Levitical law, the command is, "He that curseth or disobeyeth his father or mother shall be put to death" (Lev. xx. 9); and in Deut. xxi. 18, to show the great



regard God has to the authority of father and mother, it is said, "If a man have a stubborn and rebellious son, which will not obey the voice of his father or the voice of his mother, &c.;" (ver. 19), "That his father and his mother shall lay hold on him, and bring him out unto the elders of the city;" (ver. 21), "And all the men of the city shall stone him with stones, that he die."

In Prov. i. 8: "My son, forsake not the law of thy mother;" and again, in the sixth chapter and verse 20, the same injunction is repeated.

Christ, in reproving the inconsistency of the Pharisees, says in Matthew xv. 4-6: "Honour thy father and mother, and he that curseth father or mother, let him die the death. But ye say, Whosoever shall say to his father or his mother, It is a gift, by whatsoever thou mightest be profited by me; and honour not his father or his mother, he shall be free. Thus have ye made the commandment of God of none effect by your tradition."\*

In the time of the judges, Deborah, a prophetess, the wife of Lapidoth, judged Israel; and in the end of the 5th verse it is said: "All the children of Israel came to her for judgment" (Judges iv. 4, 5).

In 2 Kings xxii. 4-14, we read, that in the reign of Josiah, when Hilkiyah, the high priest, found the book of the law in the house of the Lord, and when it was read before the king, he (the king) commanded Hilkiyah, the high priest, with others, to go and enquire of the Lord; so they went to Huldah, the prophetess, the wife of Shallum, who dwelt at Jerusalem, in the college, and they communed (or asked council) of this mother in Israel.†

\* "But in vain they do worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men" (Matt. xv. 9).

† She was a contemporary of Isaiah.

In the words of King Lemuel, the prophecy which his mother taught him, the description of a virtuous woman implies independent action and authority (Prov. xxxi. 10-31).

In the New Testament we have the highest example of obedience to the authority of parents in our blessed Saviour, who, we are told, after sitting with the doctors in the temple, "both hearing and asking them questions," went down with his parents to Nazareth, "and was subject unto them" (Luke xi. 46-51).

The apostle Paul, when giving directions to Timothy as to his behaviour towards the Church at Ephesus, writes: "Rebuke not an elder, but entreat him as a father, the elder women as mothers, and the younger as sisters." The elders of both sexes here are to be treated with deference and submission (1 Tim. v. 1, 2).

In the apostolic salutations in the 16th chapter of Romans, Paul greets Priscilla, and her husband Aquila, "as his helpers in Christ Jesus." Also the Church that is in their house. And, in the 12th verse of the same chapter, he says: "Salute Tryphena and Tryphosa who labour in the Lord. Salute the beloved Persis which laboureth much in the Lord."

In Hebrews xiii. 7, Paul's injunction there is, "Remember those that have the rule over you, who have spoken unto you the Word of God; whose faith follow, considering the end of their conversation." And again, in verse 19: "Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves; for they watch for your souls, as those that must give an account." The obedience here is on the ground of a return for labouring and watching for their souls.

In 1 Cor. xvi. 16, this injunction is once more re-



peated in these words: "That ye submit yourselves unto such, and to every one that helpeth with us and laboureth." Here, again, the helping and labouring is the reason given for submission, whether the labourer be man or woman.

THE INSPIRED SONGS AND SAYINGS OF WOMEN FORM  
PART OF THE SACRED SCRIPTURES.

See the triumphant songs of Miriam and Deborah; the prophetic outpourings of Hannah; the words of the prophecy that King Lemuel's mother taught him; the touching words of Ruth's constancy; the magnificent of Mary; the wonderful address of Elizabeth; and the sayings of many other women.

Among the prophets may be mentioned Miriam, Deborah, Hannah, Huldah, Elizabeth, Mary, Anna, and the four daughters of Philip.

WOMEN HAD POSSESSION IN LAND WITH THEIR  
BRETHREN.

"Job had seven sons, and three daughters, named Jemima, Kezia, and Keren-happuch; and their father gave them an inheritance among their brethren" (Job xlii. 13, 14).

The daughters of Zelophehad—Mahlah, Noah, Hoglah, Milcah, and Tirzah—came before Eleazar the priest, and Joshua, and before the princes, saying, "The Lord commanded Moses to give us an inheritance among our brethren. Therefore, according to the commandment of the Lord, He gave them an inheritance among the brethren of their father" (Joshua xvii. 3, 4).

CHRIST'S TREATMENT OF WOMEN.

As already seen, Christ gave filial honour and submission to His mother; and, in His last agony on the Cross, He provided a home and protector for her (John xix. 26, 27).

Christ selected the dwelling of the sisters of Bethany for His home.

Christ taught women personally; for instance, the woman of Samaria, to whom He taught the spirituality of worship in the Gospel. "Jesus saith unto her, Woman, the hour cometh when ye shall neither in this mountain, nor yet in Jerusalem, worship the Father. Ye worship ye know not what: we know what we worship, for salvation is of the Jews. But the hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth: for the Father seeketh such to worship Him. God is a Spirit: and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth" (John iv. 21-24).

Mary sat at Jesus' feet, and heard His word, and was commended by Him for choosing the better part (Luke x. 42). Again, when she anointed His feet, Christ said, "Wheresoever this gospel is preached there shall also this that this woman hath done be told for a memorial of her" (Matt. xxvi. 13).

And when, on the same occasion, she was accused of waste by the disciples, Christ defended her, saying, "Let her alone; against the day of my burying hath she kept this."

When the woman that was a sinner was accused by Simon, Christ defended her, and drew a comparison between the treatment He had received from her, and that He had received from Simon.



Christ commended the faith of the Syro-Phœnician woman (whom His disciples would have sent away as a troubler of their Master), saying, "O woman, great is thy faith; be it unto thee even as thou wilt" (Matt. xv. 28).

Christ also taught the groups of women who ministered unto Him, as may be gathered from the address of the angels at the sepulchre, saying: "He is not here, but is risen; remember how He spake unto you when He was yet in Galilee. And they remembered His words" (Luke xxiv. 6-8).

UNDER THE SPIRITUAL DISPENSATION THE GIFT OF  
THE SPIRIT WAS BESTOWED EQUALLY ON MAN  
AND WOMAN.

We read that on the day of Pentecost both men and women received the outpouring of the Holy Spirit.

"There appeared unto them cloven tongues, like as of fire, and sat upon each of them. And they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with other tongues as the Spirit gave them utterance. Then Peter standing up with the eleven, lifted up his voice, and said unto them: Ye men of Judea, and all ye that dwell in Jerusalem, be this known unto you, and hearken unto my voice. This is that which was spoken by the prophet Joel (Joel ii. 28, 29), And it shall come to pass in the last days (saith God), I will pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh: and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, and your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams: and on my servants and on my handmaidens I will pour out in those days of my Spirit; and they shall prophesy" (Acts ii. 3, 4, 16, 17, 18).

In comparing the above periods in the history of the human race with those passages in the epistles which treat of the relative position of man and woman, the federal headship of the first and second Adam must be kept in mind. "By one man's disobedience many were made sinners; so by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous" (Rom. v. 19). This makes man the representative head of the human race; therefore, on those occasions wherein Christ is symbolically represented, the man represents, as in most of the types of the Old Testament.\* The priests were men; and the first-born males, who opened the matrix, were consecrated to God, not that the first-born were better than others in the family, but as being typical of Him "who was the first-born among many brethren." So in the commemorative ordinance of the Supper, the man is representer and dispenser, but this does not invest him with any priestly authority over the communicating congregation. Again, the keys of the visible Church were given to the man, as representing "Him who opens and no man shuts," but neither does this entitle man to lord it over "God's heritage," as does the Church of Rome alike over man and woman.

Christ, as if in order to prevent those who were to represent Him from assuming more than a representative position, instructed His disciples by example. We read that "Supper being ended" (John xiii. 2) "He (Jesus) riseth from supper, and laid aside His garment, and took a towel, and girded Himself" (John xiii. 4). And having washed the disciples' feet, he sat down,

\* As the types had no inherent efficacy, so the representative has no inherent excellence.



and addressed them, saying, "If I, your Lord and Master, have washed your feet, ye also ought to wash one another's feet. For I have given you an example, that ye should do as I have done to you" (John xiii. 14, 15). Thus showing them that they are His servants only when they humbly serve the Church.

The sacrament of baptism also, in as far as it signifies the keys, and admits into the visible Church, is administered by the man.

It is to be apprehended that it is in this federal and representative sense that St. Paul says to the Corinthians, "That the head of every woman is the man, and the head of every man (that is mankind) is Christ" (1 Cor. xi. 3); and in Colossians i. 18, "And He (Christ) is the head of the body, the Church." As may also be inferred from what Paul says afterwards, "Nevertheless, neither is the man without the woman, neither the woman without the man, in the Lord. For as the woman is of the man, even so is the man also by the woman, but all things of God" (1 Cor. xi. 11, 12).

The man is the image and glory of God, only in Christ, the second Adam, in whom man and woman are included: the woman is the glory of the man (or mankind) as being the crowning work of creation, the completion of humanity.

The covering of the head of the woman—spoken of by St. Paul (1 Cor. xi. 13, 14), when addressing the Gentile Churches—when praying and prophesying in the Church, refers evidently to the veil which from the corrupt state of society they were constrained to wear; the laying aside of which might make them liable to be mistaken for courtezans, and thus bring discredit and scandal on the Christian Church. It would appear that these Corin-

thian women were imprudent in laying aside this piece of dress before society was sufficiently purified.

It is not easy now to understand what is meant by its being a glory for a woman to have long hair for a covering, and a shame for a man to have long hair, as in nature the contrary is the case, a man's beard being a covering over his face. Also in the case of the Nazarite, "No razor shall come upon his head." (See Judges xiii. 5, and 1 Sam. i. 11).\*

It would appear from the exhortations of St. Paul to the Corinthian and Ephesian Churches that the women were apt in their newly recovered liberty to overstep their position as equals, and also to disturb the assemblies by too much questioning, and they are therefore exhorted to more quietness, as opposed to clamour. It is therefore an impropriety that is rebuked, as when he says on another occasion: "Give none offence, neither to the Jews nor to the Gentiles, or to the Church of God."

With regard to women teaching in public, it is clear that "they spoke as the Spirit gave them utterance" on the day of Pentecost, and the Spirit of prophecy was continued to be given, as in the case of the four daughters of Philip.

Priscilla and Phebe seemed to have been teaching ministers in the church.

"The elect lady" also is exhorted "not to receive those who are unsound in the faith," "neither to bid them God speed" (2 John). All this shows that women were

\* In the prophetic judgments denounced against Moab, shame and humiliation are indicated by baldness and loss of beard. "On all heads there shall be baldness, and every beard shall be cut off" (Isa. xv. 2). "For every head shall be bald, and every beard clipped" (Jer. xlviii. 37). If the want of hair in man is a humiliation, the having it surely indicates the opposite.



to take a certain part and surveillance in and over word and doctrine in the Church.

The injunction, "Wives submit yourselves to your own husbands, as unto the Lord" (Eph. v. 22), appears to mean that the wife is to do this in return for the husband leaving father and mother and cleaving to his wife, loving and giving himself for her, even to the sacrifice of his life.

The context in which Peter brings forward the same subject indicates that it was a matter of Christian expediency; for, after advising the strangers scattered abroad "to submit themselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, and servants or slaves, not only to the gentle, but also to the froward, adds, "Likewise," for the same reason, "ye wives, be in subjection to your own husbands; that if any obey not the word, they also may, without the word, be won by the conversation of the wives" (1 Peter iii. 1). He then goes on to quote Sarah's obedience to Abraham as an example (ver. 6) saying: "Whose daughters ye are, so long as ye do well, and are not afraid with any amazement," evidently meaning that it was to be no servile submission.

WHEN THE FUTURE GLORY OF THE CHURCH IS FORETOLD, THE DAUGHTERS ARE EVER PARTICULARISED, AS IN THE FOLLOWING TEXTS:—

"The Lord gave the word, and great was the company (of women) of those that published it" (Ps. lxxviii. 11).

"That our sons may be as plants grown up in their youth; that our daughters may be as corner-stones polished after the similitude of a palace" (Ps. cxliv. 12).

"And they shall bring thy sons in their arms, and thy daughters shall be carried upon their shoulders. And kings shall be thy nursing-fathers, and their queens thy nursing-mothers" (Isaiah xlix. 22, 23).

"Bring my sons from far, and my daughters from the ends of the earth" (Isaiah xliii. 6).

"Thy sons shall come from far, and thy daughters shall be nursed at thy side" (Isaiah lx. 4).

And in Joel ii. 28, 29, as has already been quoted, "And it shall come to pass in the last days, saith God," etc.

And finally, Christ, in answer to the Sadducees, says, "In the resurrection they neither marry, nor are given in marriage, but are as the angels of God in heaven" (Matt. xxii. 30). This answer may have given rise to the well-known traditional saying of our Lord, preserved by the early fathers, who, when asked when the kingdom of God should come, replied, "When the male shall be as the female, and the female as the male, and neither male nor female."

But the seminal principle of all progress must ever be found in a proper sense of the inherent dignity of humanity, and in the realization of the truth, that the two halves of the human race are essentially equal in their nature and inalienable rights. Such an idea was unknown to antiquity. The Greek and the Roman despised all other races, and also treated women as their inferiors. Socrates only gave expression to the general feeling of his country and age, when he thanked the gods for being man, not beast; male, not female; Greek, not barbarian.

It was left to Christ to proclaim the brotherhood of



nations, by revealing God as their common Father in heaven, by His commission to preach the Gospel to all nations, and to restore woman to her original position, although through man's assumed rule she has not yet attained to the fulness of her original authority and possession and dominion.

As it was a consideration of the unjust laws of this country as regards woman which led to an examination of God's law on this subject, a few of them may here be specified. The right of all terrestrial things belonging equally to man and woman, it must be wrong in man to make laws to counteract God's original dispensation of joint possession, by excluding woman from her inheritance. For example, by the law of entail a man in the present day may by will exclude any female from inheriting any property belonging to him at the time of his death for all time coming. (See Isaiah v. 8.)

Then, again, by the law of the land, if a father dies intestate possessing landed property, it goes to the eldest son; the younger sons and the daughters, having no share, may be left in poverty. This is an injustice which often reacts, engendering pauperism, as in many cases the poor invest their all in house property. And, in the upper classes, how many women are thrown penniless on the world, or indebted for a bare subsistence to societies founded to save them from starvation.

Although the younger sons often do suffer also from this unjust law, still they have the advantage of college education to fit them for remunerative professions, from which their sisters are almost entirely excluded; while from time to time, Government grants are bestowed on these educational institutions, out of taxes towards which women largely contribute.

To redress this wrong women, now aided by good men, are raising colleges for themselves, but no Government grants come to them.

This male appropriation of property and mental culture is unjust, and injurious to both parties, engendering in men selfishness and oppression, and in women either an irritating sense of injustice, or a servile endurance of wrongs; than which states of mind nothing can be more hurtful to the character of both parties.

The confiscation of the whole property of the wife, under the English Common Law, is vindicated on the ground that the husband is the breadwinner (although this is by no means always the case); but even if it were so, the wife has a work equally onerous with the husband in dispensing the means which he provides, thus simply making a division of labour.\*

But worse than all this deprivation of property and hindrance to mental culture, is the setting aside of the fifth commandment, which is ignored when the law makes it legal for a man, by word or will, to remove from the care and authority of the mother her children, and place them under trust; thus depriving her of the honour inculcated in the commandment, as well as the authority which God has given the mother over her

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\* *Conjugal Rights Act, 1861*, gave married women the right of a reasonable provision for her support out of her own money before satisfying the claims of her husband or his creditors. By an Act passed in 1877, the wages and earnings of married women in Scotland are declared to be separate estate, not falling under the husband's rights. The Bill last year, 1879, was intended to go further, and to give married women a general right to their property of every description free from their husband's control. It did not pass. It is to be re-introduced next Session. In England, a wife can only own her earnings up to £200.



children. On this head we may quote: "For the unbelieving husband is sanctified by the wife, and the unbelieving wife is sanctified by the husband: else were your children unclean: but now are they holy"—(1 Cor. vii. 14)—mother and father holding the same relation to their children.

But the culminating law of oppression to women are those Acts passed in 1866 and 1869, covertly introduced by a bill without a preamble, by which, in certain subjected garrison and seaport towns in England and Ireland, the law of evidence is suspended, and any woman may be imprisoned without a warrant on the suspicion of one official spy sent down to these towns under the authority of the Admiralty and War Office.

And even if the woman can prove her innocence of the sin imputed to her, the cruel law still treats her as if she were guilty by making her bear the legal expense of her own defence; while her false accuser goes scot-free, as having only fulfilled the unrighteous power committed to him.

The great Magna Charta, which secures the liberties of the people of this country, holds that no person shall be tried on rumour or suspicion alone, but by the evidence of lawful witnesses; and that none shall be imprisoned or dispossessed of their goods but by the law of the land.—See "*Our Constitution*," by *Ewald*, p. 214.

The Charter corresponds also with the Levitical law. In Deut. xvii. 6, we read that, at the mouth of two witnesses or three witnesses, shall he that is worthy of death be put to death; also in Numbers xxxv. 30. And the homage that Christ and the Father pay to the law of evidence is shown in John viii. 10-17: "And yet if I judge my judgment is true; for I am not alone, but

I and the Father that sent me;" (ver. 19), "It is also written in your law, that the testimony of two men is true." Again, in Heb. vi. 17, 18: "Wherein, God willing more abundantly to show unto the heirs of promise the immutability of His counsel, confirmed it by an oath;" that by two immutable things, in which it was impossible for God to lie, we might have a strong consolation, who have fled for refuge to lay hold upon the hope set before us." And in 1 Tim. v. 19, Paul admonishes Timothy thus: "Against an elder receive not an accusation, but before two or three witnesses."

How different both from the Divine law, and from the guarantee of our liberties, is the administration of these immoral enactments alluded to.

Seeing, then, that these things are so, can this country expect to escape from the woe pronounced in Isaiah x. 1, 2: "Woe unto them that decree unrighteous decrees, and that write grievousness which they have prescribed; to turn aside the needy from judgment, and to take away the right from the poor of my people, that widows may be their prey, and that they may rob the fatherless!" Again, in Psalm xciv. 20: "Shall the throne of iniquity have fellowship with thee, which frameth mischief by a law?"

This establishment of a spy police puts a power in the hands of the Government which may, at no distant time, subvert the liberties of men as well as women.

This system of espionage is now making the Emperor of Russia experience the fatal effects of delegating power to secret emissaries.

The French President is also under the same bondage to this long-standing system of espionage, and he and



his Cabinet cannot work out the reforms which they now see necessary to save the country from the consequences of the low morality to which France has been brought by this system; while we, in our blindness, have adopted laws, of which it may be said that their wickedness is only equalled by their folly, as they increase the evil they profess to cure.\*

All these inequalities of law show the danger to the right of both the halves of mankind by the legislative power being vested entirely in the hands of one portion. In a representative country the suffrage should be equally in the hands of those possessing the necessary qualifications, whether they be men or women. Until this inequality is done away with, the effect will naturally be, that might will continue to constitute right, and the practical result will most decidedly follow,

“ That they will take who have the power,  
And they will keep who can.”

The clergy, who are the professed custodiers of morals and religion, cannot, consistently with their relation to the Church and the world, remain inactive when our legislators enact laws contrary to justice, morality, and the Word of God; and they may be assured that the Church will not long remain pure while surrounded by a people demoralised by immoral legislation. *Remember Lot, and the Church at Corinth!* (See also Isaiah iii. 5, and v. 20.)

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\* Since the above has been written, Mrs. Josephine E. Butlers' treatise, entitled, "Government by Police," has been published. It ought to be earnestly studied by all interested in the preservation of the liberty of their country.