

TREASURER'S STATEMENT, for the Year Ending 28th February 1879.

INCOME.		EXPENDITURE.	
Balance from last year	£161 10 2	Printing	£18 3 0
Subscriptions and Donations	134 1 0	Subscription to <i>Journal</i>	18 12 6
Interest	1 0 10	Publications for circulation	1 13 6
		Canvassing and Travelling Expenses in connection with Country Petitions	19 10 9
		Expenses of Sub-Committee in getting up Class Petitions, and Canvassing Women	
		Householders in Edinburgh	29 14 3
		Expenses of Secretary	67 0 0
		Rent of Committee Room	2 7 6
		Postages, Stationery, Carriage of Parcels, Advertising, &c.	
		Deputation to Bristol	19 16 0
		Balance on hand	10 0 0
	£296 12 0		109 14 6
			£296 12 0

EDINBURGH, 5th March 1879.—I have examined the Books and Vouchers for the past year, and find them all correct, there being a Balance in the Bank of Scotland of £109, 11s. 6d., and in Treasurer's hands, 3s. ; in all, £109, 14s. 6d.

DUNCAN M'LAREN, JUN.

OPINIONS OF WOMEN ON WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

CONTENTS.

PART I.

WOMEN IN OFFICIAL POSITIONS.

I. MEMBERS OF SCHOOL BOARDS.

Mrs. Buckton	Jan. 1879.
Mrs. Dickinson	Feb. 1879.
Mrs. Fenwick Miller	Nov. 1878.
Miss H. Richardson	Jan. 1879.
Mrs. Surr	Oct. 1878.
Miss Helen Taylor	Oct. ,,
Mrs. Westlake	Nov. ,,

II. GUARDIANS OF THE POOR.

Mrs. S. A. Barnett.....	Feb. 1879.
Miss Collett... ..	Feb. ,,
Miss Merington	Sep. 1878.

PART II.

WOMEN ENGAGED IN LITERATURE AND ART.

Mrs. Allingham	July 1878.
Mrs. Arthur Arnold	Dec. ,,
Mrs. G. Linnæus Banks .	Nov. ,,
Miss Alice Bewicke.....	Oct. ,,
Mrs. Bodichon	Sep. ,,
Miss Ellen L. Brown	Nov. ,,
Mrs. Charles.....	Jan. 1879.
Mrs. Cowden Clarke	Jan. ,,
Miss Cobbe.....	July 1878.
Miss Sharman Crawford... ..	Nov. ,,
Mrs. Eiloart	July ,,
Mrs. Ewing	Feb. 1879.
Mrs. Fawcett	July 1878.
Miss M. Gillies.....	Jan. 1879.
Miss Dora Greenwell	Oct. 1878.
Mrs. Haweis	Oct. ,,
Mrs. Howitt	Jan. 1879.

Mrs. Alfred Hunt	July 1878.
The Misses Keary	Sep. 1878.
Miss Keddie	Dec. ,,
Hon. Mrs. Octavius Knox	Dec. ,,
Princess Mele Barese	Sept. ,,
Miss Meteyard.	Nov. ,,
Mrs. Molesworth.....	Jan. 1879.
Mrs. Notley	Nov. 1878.
Miss Charlotte O'Brien ..	Nov. ,,
Miss Otté	Feb. 1879.
Mrs Mark Pattison.....	July 1878.
Mrs. Pfeiffer	July ,,
Mrs. Richmond Ritchie... ..	Nov. ,,
Miss Arabella Shore	Oct. ,,
Miss Simcox	Sep. ,,
Mrs. J. K. Spender.....	Oct. ,,
Miss A. Swanwick	July ,,
Miss Tabor	Nov. ,,
Mrs. E. M. Ward	Oct. ,,
Mrs. Howitt-Watts	Oct. ,,
Mrs. Webster	July ,,
Miss Julia Wedgwood ...	Oct. ,,
Mrs. Villari	Jan. 1879.

PART III.

WOMEN FOLLOWING SCIENTIFIC & PROFESSIONAL CAREERS.

Mrs. Anderson, M.D.	
Miss Annie Barker, M.D.	Oct. 1878.
Miss Eliz. Blackwell, M.D.	Dec. ,,
Miss Jex-Blake, M.D. ...	Sep. ,,
Miss Buckland	Nov. ,,
Miss Isabella Clarke	Feb. 1879.
Miss Dunbar, M.D.	July 1878.
Mrs. Hoggan, M.D.	Aug. ,,
Miss Orme.....	July ,,
Miss Pechey, M.D.....	July ,,

PART IV.

WOMEN ENGAGED IN PROMOTING THE HIGHER EDUCATION OR THE TECHNICAL EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN.

- Madame Belloc Jan. 1879.
- Lady Bowring Oct. 1878.
- Miss Corlett Oct. "
- Mrs. Crawshay Oct. "
- Miss Emily Davies Sept. "
- Mrs. R. L. Ford Oct. "
- Lady Goldsmid..... Nov. "
- Mrs. William Grey... Sept. "
- Miss Mary Gurney Sept. "
- Miss Emily Hall Nov. "
- Mrs. Nichol Oct. "
- Mrs. Paterson Sept. "
- Miss Prideaux Oct. "
- Miss Shirreff..... Aug. "
- Miss Louisa Stevenson ... Oct. "
- Mrs. Thorne Feb. 1879.

PRINCIPALS OF COLLEGES AND HEADS OF HIGH SCHOOLS.

- Miss Buss July 1878.
- Mrs. Bryant Feb. 1879.
- Mrs. Byers... Sept. 1878.
- Miss Grove..... July "
- Miss Wood Sept. "
- Miss Porter Jan. 1879.
- Miss Creak... Sept. 1878.
- Miss Neligan..... Oct. "
- Miss Alger..... Nov. "
- Miss Rowdon..... Feb. 1879.
- Miss Pearse Nov. 1878.
- Miss Robinson Jan. 1879.
- Miss Youngman Oct. 1878.

- Miss Wills Nov. 1878.
- Miss Hastings Nov. "
- Miss Jones..... Oct. "
- Miss Woodhouse Oct. "
- Miss Lumsden Feb. 1879.
- Miss Day Oct. "

PART V.

WOMEN ENGAGED IN PHILANTHROPIC WORK.

- Miss Davenport Hill Aug. 1878.
- Miss Florence D. Hill..... Aug. "
- Mrs. Hilton Feb. 1879.
- Miss Ellice Hopkins Jan. "
- Miss Irby Sept. 1878.
- Miss Manning Nov. "
- Miss Merryweather Sept. "
- Miss Florence Nightingale July "
- Mrs. Southey Sept. "

SPECIALLY ENGAGED IN PROMOTING TEMPERANCE.

- Mrs. Dawson Burns
- Mrs. M. A. Clarke Nov. 1878.
- Mrs. Lucas Nov. "
- Mrs. Parker Nov. "

PART VI.

PASSAGES FROM WRITINGS OR SPEECHES OF EMINENT WOMEN NO LONGER LIVING

- Miss Mary Carpenter
- Mrs. Grote
- Mrs. Jameson
- Lady Anna Gore-Langton
- Miss Martineau
- Mrs. Nassau Senior
- Mrs. Somerville

I.

WOMEN IN OFFICIAL POSITIONS.

MEMBERS OF SCHOOL BOARDS.

MRS. C. M. BUCKTON

(Member of the Leeds School Board. Author of "Health in the House," "Food and Home Cookery," "Town and Window Gardening").

It will always be a subject of great regret to me that I remained so many years indifferent to the Women's Suffrage question. Directly my sanitary work among the working people brought me face to face with the difficulties which assail women obliged to fight the battle of life, I felt that their only hope of gaining a fair field and justice would be by obtaining, as men had done, a direct voice in the legislature and in demanding that representation and taxation should go together.

CATHERINE M. BUCKTON.

MRS. DICKINSON

(Member of the Painswick School Board).

I feel strongly that no words of mine could add anything to the amount of valuable opinion you have in favour of your cause; but you have my sympathy in your efforts, and hearty good wishes for your success.

F. S. DICKINSON.

MRS. FENWICK MILLER

(Member of the London School Board. Author of "The House of Life").

The demand for Women's Suffrage is not made in any spirit of antagonism between men and women, nor is there under-

lying the movement any assumption that such an antagonism exists.

Many women happily married, together with many thoughtful men, join in seeking this extension of the franchise, believing that it would be productive of good both to women and to the community. Because—

First: Laws regulating the existence of women where their daily life differs from that of man (as in the maternal relation for instance) cannot be properly made, and questions specially affecting the female half of mankind cannot be wisely decided, without the opinion of the class to be affected being given, and without their knowledge of their own needs being admitted to counsel the legislators.

Second: There is among women collectively much intellect, much conscientiousness, and much energy, which might be employed in public affairs to the benefit of the whole community. And further, men and women in our complex social state, of necessity act and react upon each other to so great an extent that men cannot progress far alone; civilisation and good government must needs be hampered and delayed so long as women are excluded from sympathy and participation in the thought, the devotion to public causes, and the active patriotism by which improvements in legislation and society are effected.

FLORENCE FENWICK MILLER.

MISS HELLENA RICHARDSON
(Member of the Bristol School Board).

Women are more free from party politics and party bias than men are, and, consequently, more likely to take measures on their own merits. And, therefore, although woman's judgment may often be inferior to that of men, yet it is probable that she would vote more fairly for what is likely to benefit the nation in its domestic relations. And as woman is not considered so inferior to man as to require that she be excluded from paying taxes, it seems but just that she should have some voice in deciding how the taxes should be spent.

HELLENA RICHARDSON.

MRS. SURR
(Member of the London School Board).

So long as there is no slackening of strenuous effort among the noble and patient band who labour for the extension of the franchise to women—their ultimate success is certain.

Surely the hour is not far distant, when thoughtful and honourable men will blush that their sisters should have been debarred so long from exercising a right to which, as ratepayers, they have an equal claim with themselves. ELIZ. SURR.

MISS HELEN TAYLOR
(Member of the London School Board).

Domestic life can never have all the elements of the happiness it is capable of giving, while women are careless of one large branch of men's interests in the world: and men's interests can never receive all the development of which they are susceptible, until women share with men in all the tasks of life.

HELEN TAYLOR.

MRS. WESTLAKE
(Member of the London School Board).

I desire women's suffrage because, where representative government exists, not to share in it is almost to be excluded from the nation. It is said that all government rests ultimately on force. This is true, if not only physical force be meant, but the mental and moral qualities which combine and direct physical force be included. The voting power can never be made proportional to all the elements of force, and I believe that such proportion as now exists between them would not be diminished by women's suffrage. ALICE WESTLAKE.

GUARDIANS OF THE POOR.

MRS. S. A. BARNETT
(Member of the Whitechapel Board of Guardians).

Although pity is usually reserved for the oppressed, it is the oppressor who is the most to be pitied, for the moral nature is

more harmed by the act of oppression than by the endurance of it.

It was the slave-owner, and not the slave, who suffered most from the institution of slavery.

The women who agitate for the suffrage are now claiming the pity of the world because they are deprived of their rights.

Might it not be that the men who refuse to others the right which they themselves possess are the more to be pitied?

Without asserting that the woman's keener sense for morality, combined with her interest in details, would be more beneficial, when directly brought to bear on the legislators—without reasserting the old argument that property has a right to be represented—without asserting the desirable influence that responsibility would have on the character of the man or women themselves—without asserting that even if a few women should lose their womanliness by taking part in public life, it would be well sacrificed for the good which would accrue to the whole nation—without asserting that women would gain by receiving this right, it is at least injurious to the nation that a portion of the community should be, legally, in the position to refuse to a body of its intelligent members a share in the privilege of government.

Women are at present, politically, an outcast class, and it is to the prejudice of the men that they can treat them as inferiors and refuse to recognise them as equally concerned in the well-being of the commonwealth.

HENRIETTA O. BARNETT.

MISS COLLETT

(Member of the St. Pancras Board of Guardians).

I heartily desire the political enfranchisement of women, though for many reasons, too lengthy to name here, I have never taken any part in the efforts to procure it.

MARGARET COLLETT.

MISS MERINGTON

(Member of the Kensington Board of Poor Law Guardians).

I consider it would be most desirable that women having the same qualifications as men, and holding equal responsibilities in other respects, should have power to exercise this privilege and duty in like manner as men. Those who have hitherto exercised the right of voting at municipal elections are capable probably of voting with judgment and fairness at any other election. I think the time has come when the electoral vote should be extended to them; and that in thus raising the social status of women, Parliament would do an act of justice, and would make a great social reform.

MARTHA CRAWFORD MERINGTON.

II.

WOMEN ENGAGED IN LITERATURE
AND ART.

MRS. ALLINGHAM.

It certainly seems to me that women paying taxes ought to be able to vote as men do. HELEN ALLINGHAM.

MRS. ARTHUR ARNOLD
(Translator of Sênor Castelar's Works, &c.).

The suffrage is admittedly a protection to men, and women, being weaker than men, are still more in need of its protection. Anyone who takes the trouble to read the police reports in the daily papers will see that women, being unrepresented, are unsafe in purse and person.

If "taxation without representation is tyranny" it is also robbery. Under the form of taxes women are defrauded of vast sums of money, frequently for objects of which they wholly disapprove. This Afghan war for instance, how many women are opposed to it! yet they must help to pay for it and try to fancy they are living in a free country.

All those who fulfil the conditions on which the franchise has been granted to some persons, are equally entitled to its protection. Women receive less value for their money than men do at present, since they are taxed like men, but they are not represented like men. When both sexes are represented, then England may be called a *free* country, but not before. Every educated woman with whom I am acquainted desires the Parliamentary Suffrage, and though many of them do not ask for it, it must be remembered that numbers of women are supported by men, and often afraid to express their opinions.

AMELIA ARNOLD.

MRS. G. LINNÆUS BANKS
(Author of "Ripples and Breakers," &c., &c.).

With respect to the Female Franchise, I can only say, that I should be most reluctant to give my adhesion to any movement calculated to make women less womanly or to remove them from the sphere undeniably assigned to them by the Creator. But so long as there are women on whom all the duties and responsibilities of men devolve, or are thrust, so long as such women have to pay for the maintenance of governments, local or national, I consider that they have as clear a right to vote for proper representation as have their masculine brothers. I know it is urged that there are women who do not want the franchise, who could not fitly exercise it if they had the right. Just so, to puppets or blocks, whether male or female, the franchise is a nullity. But to responsible thinkers, whether feminine or masculine, the franchise is a privilege and a *right*.

I owe a shipwrecked brother's life to the exercise of the female right of vote amongst a tribe of cannibals in the Oriental Archipelago, and I have therefore reason to uphold the principle.

ISABELLA BANKS.

MISS ALICE BEWICKE
(Author of "The Last of the Jerminghams," "Lonely Carlotta," &c., &c.).

Unless women contrary to common belief care less about their opinions than men do, the State exposes itself to danger by depriving them of that direct mode of expression, through the election of a representative, which it is found expedient to throw open to men. In the blackened ruins of Paris may be read the handwriting on the wall, telling how women, degraded even as those of Paris are degraded, yet cannot sink past feeling their degradation and resentment against the society that inflicts it. And though we may trust that English women could never be driven to a like desperation, yet it seems inevitable but that their thoughts should become slightly more passionate or morbid, for want of a safe legitimate outlet. How

insidiously the thoughts of women may sap a nation's strength may be read in the history of Sparta, which suppressed women till, eaten up by corruption and effeminacy, it itself perished as a nation.

A. E. N. BEWICKE.

MRS. BODICHON.

The longer I live the more I see the necessity of women taking an intelligent part in all that concerns the welfare of their country, and I am sure that if they had the power of voting they would feel more decidedly than they do, that they are an important part of the Commonwealth.

BARBARA L. S. BODICHON.

MISS ELLEN L. BROWN

(Author of "The Favell Children," &c.).

When women are told to keep to their sphere, they can well answer that existing legislation discourages their doing so. When they have conscientiously performed all the important duties of life which fall to their share, it would seem that, according to the ruling of the State, they must also take upon themselves the entire work of the other sex before they can be deemed worthy to enjoy equal civic status with the man who is scarcely short of being a criminal or a lunatic. This enforced and unnecessarily debased position is not only the direct cause of many more cruel hardships than would naturally fall to the lot of women, but it is a distinct, though often unrecognised, drawback to every woman in all that she undertakes, both in her home and beyond it. Her voice, her influence, her work, count for so much less, and in philanthropic labours her time and talents, and even money, must be more profusely sacrificed to outweigh the disadvantages of her political disabilities, and the consequently lowered estimate of her mental and moral powers. This opinion is the result of very careful observation of the lives of women.

ELLEN L. BROWN.

MRS. CHARLES

(Author of "The Schönberg Cotta Family," &c., &c.).

I believe that "public spirit," a genuine interest in all questions of national or social importance, is as essential a part of true womanhood as of true manhood.

The question of Women's Suffrage is not one which has hitherto interested me much, because I think the possession of the franchise would add a mere fraction to the true influence of women. But it seems to me just, both to themselves and to the State, that women, on whom the responsibilities of property have devolved, should not be exempt from the responsibility of the vote attached to property in all other cases.

And I think there is a hope that the possession of the suffrage might help to educate women, as only practical responsibility can educate; and might also, through the thoughts and hearts of good women, tend to raise political questions out of the region of party strife into that true, ideal Divine and human world where men and women work together for the redemption and the perfection of each other, according to the will of God.

ELIZABETH CHARLES.

MISS COBBE

(Author of "Broken Lights," "Re-echoes," "Hopes of the Human Race," &c.).

So far from the truth is the reiterated statement of certain honourable M.P.s that "Women do not desire the franchise," that in my large experience I have scarcely ever known a woman possessed of ordinary common sense, and who had lived some years alone in the world, who did not earnestly wish for it. The women who gratify these gentlemen by smilingly deprecating any such responsibilities, are those who have dwelt since they were born in well-feathered nests, and have never needed to do anything but open their soft beaks for the choicest little grubs to be dropped into them. It is utterly absurd (and I am afraid the M.P.s in question are quite aware they are talking nonsense) to argue from the contented squawks of a brood of

these callow creatures, that full-grown swallows and larks have no need of wings, and are always happiest when their pinions are broken.

FRANCES POWER COBBE.

MRS. COWDEN CLARKE
(Author of the "Concordance to Shakespeare").

It gives me cordial pleasure to find that the great question is in such excellent, competent, and energetic hands as those of the ladies whose distinguished names are appended to the Opinions of which you enclose me a copy. . . . a cause which to me appears clearly obvious in its appeals to reason, justice, and common sense.

MARY COWDEN CLARKE.

(Extract from a letter).

MISS SHARMAN CRAWFORD.

"If a husband provides his wife with a due supply of food and clothing, she should never go outside the door," said an Egyptian dragoman. "Would you like a perpetual indoor life?" I asked. "Certainly not, but I am a man," was the conclusive answer. In England, where women have an admitted right to the enjoyment of personal liberty, the absurdity of the reply is evident; but as regards their political liberty, the majority of Englishmen at this present day reason in dragoman fashion. They have yet to learn that, if the physical health of woman is admittedly impaired by confinement within a limited space, her mental health also suffers through legislative disabilities; and that it is as unfair to deprive her, on the ground of sex, of political liberty, as, in the Oriental mode, to shut her up within four walls. At this present day the Turkish empire is crumbling into ruins through the consistently enforced rule of the exclusively domestic sphere of woman, whilst society in England is vivified by a general infringement of this principle. The feminine philanthropist—designer and director of some beneficent public work—is essentially a politician; and, happily for the poor and friendless, this feminine poacher on masculine preserves is an ordinary feature of English life, in town and country. To say that a woman is unfit to vote in a land where a woman rules, is like saying that to pull an oar requires more intelligence than to steer.

MABEL SHARMAN CRAWFORD.

MRS. EILOART
(Author of "Some of our Girls," &c., &c.).

I do not believe that the wrongs the sufferings and the claims of women will ever meet with due consideration until they have that share in legislation which the franchise alone can give them.

ELIZABETH EILOART.

MRS. EWING
(Editor of "Aunt Judy's Magazine").

I am unable to see any rational objection to the "Extension of the Franchise to Women Ratepayers and Householders." This, as I understand, is all that Mr. Courtney asks, and it is all on which I express the opinion you have requested.

My name can carry no weight whatever on your leaflet, but I would gladly help you to disprove the notion that women whose interests and circumstances lie apart from public affairs, and whose gate happens to be shielded from legal or social hardships, are therefore indifferent on these subjects.

JULIANA HORATIA EWING.

MRS. FAWCETT
(Author of "Political Economy for Beginners," &c.).

I am every year more convinced of the value that the granting of the Parliamentary suffrage would be both to men and women. Everything that is now being done to enlarge the sphere of women's lives needs the help that the possession of the suffrage by women would be. In itself, too, the removal of electoral disabilities would be a great good; it would foster public spirit and a sense of public duty in women. When women are shut out from all direct political influence they are apt to forget the claims of patriotism and to grudge all that they or their relatives have to give up for the public good. Anything which brings home to Englishwomen that they are "citizens of no mean city" will help to make our future as a nation worthy of our past.

MILLICENT GARRETT FAWCETT.

MISS MARGARET GILLIES.

As holders of property and payers of rates and taxes, women who do so ought, it seems to me, to have a vote in the choice of those who are their representatives in Parliament.

MARGARET GILLIES.

MISS DORA GREENWELL

(Author of "The Patience of Hope," &c.).

It appears to me that the possession of property is like speech, or like prayer, one of the grand distinctions between rational and merely animal life. Animals, it is true, hoard, but can scarcely be said to *own*, property. To refuse such a right to a woman in a country whose chief magistrate and ruler is a woman seems (to me at least) a manifest absurdity.

DORA GREENWELL.

MRS. H. R. HAWEIS

(Author of "Chaucer for Children," "The Art of Beauty," &c.).

I am interested in the franchise, not only as a means of bringing the direct influence of women to bear on questions which directly concern them, but also as one of the steps towards their general elevation. I think that in proportion as women realise that they hold a responsible place in the State, they will become fit for it. No woman is a worse wife or mother for understanding her duties; and she would be the better citizen for appreciating her legal and political, as well as her social position.

M. E. HAWEIS.

MRS. HOWITT.

I entirely sympathize with the movement to obtain Female Suffrage.

MARY HOWITT.

MRS. ALFRED W. HUNT

(Author of "The Hazard of the Die," &c.).

If women are too weak and too foolish to be trusted with votes, they ought in common fairness to be spared the burden

of taxpaying. The latest arguments I have heard of (all the others having really been worn to death) against the manifest injustice of departing in the case of unmarried women from the constitutional maxim about Taxation and Representation being joined together, is that which is based on the ground that all government rests ultimately on physical force, and therefore it would not be well for the State to have a large class of voters who could vote, but could not (or, it is to be hoped, would not) be able to take part in the rough work of politics. I thought it had been settled long ago that one of the chief advantages of civilised government was, that under its opinion and intellectual judgment as such had full and due means of expression afforded them. The opponents of the Women's (unmarried ratepayers) Suffrage Bill must fall back on the old simple argument of women's intellectual inferiority if they are to put forward any show of argument at all.

MARGARET HUNT.

MISS ANNIE KEARY

(Author of "Castle Daly," "A Doubting Heart," &c.).

MISS ELIZA KEARY

(Author of "Heroes of Asgard," "The Little Sealskin," &c.).

It is because we think that not only women but the men themselves would be benefited by the association of the sexes in the acts of legislation that we wish to see the suffrage extended to women. Though it has been said that nothing is so like a man as a woman, it is not to be denied that the difference between them is a root difference and that neither is complete without the other—wherever they work together, they work better than apart. The household is ruled jointly by man and woman in practice if not in theory, and it seems to us that the very fact of their essential difference makes it, not desirable merely, but needful that the influence of both should be everywhere felt. Whom God hath joined together, let not conventionality and prejudice keep asunder.

ANNIE AND ELIZA KEARY.

MISS KEDDIE (SARAH TYTLER)

(Author of "Citoyenne Jacqueline," &c., &c., &c.).

It seems to me it is no more than justice that those women who, as householders, share the burden of paying taxes, should also share the privilege of the franchise.

HENRIETTA KEDDIE.

THE HON. MRS. OCTAVIUS KNOX

(Author of "Sonnets and other Poems").

Certainly I think woman should differ from man; but not by being ignorant where he is instructed, prejudiced where he is large-minded, foolish where he is wise. If then you have women instructed, large-minded, and wise, it is impossible that men should long withhold from them so elementary a right as that of choosing who shall make the laws they have to obey. One is a little impatient of writing down "reasons" for so obvious an act of justice, yet I believe that this delay, this timidity about granting her the franchise, is good for woman; it gives her an aim, a hope, and it winnows from amongst the number of those who declare for this aim all cowards, all who have never thought for themselves, all, in fact, who could not use the franchise if they had it. The delay, however, is not very creditable to men, neither are some of the arguments employed in its favour, such as "that physical force being behind men and not behind women no modicum of ruling power can safely be given to the latter." In the end which rules, which do we desire should rule, in civilized communities, brute force or intellect? We had always thought that (make what political arrangements you will) intellect did, because it is by its nature king over brute force, in the long run; can gather that together, can organize, can command it. Cromwell gathers his Ironsides, and through intellectual and moral force he wields them; his mind withdrawn what avails the force of his powerful army? Napoleon gathers, leads, and trains his big battalions, and through his intellectual might he triumphs; through his want of morality he falls. Surely this argument from "force" cannot long prove

a bugbear to the wise; but will they not feel the force of this one? "You cannot expect wisdom where you deny all power and responsibility; you must desire wisdom in one half the community if your highest aspiration is that wisdom should rule the other." It has been truly said that "Man and Woman form one perfect whole,"

Two glorious wings humanity was given;
How piteous should the silver feathers sweep,
Broken and marred, on either hand the dust.
Ah, not alone we suffer! man faints too;
His mate unequal, all the flight is stayed.

LUCY KNOX.

PRINCESS MELE BARESE

(née Lilian Mackworth Praed).

It is difficult to give any special reason for desiring the political enfranchisement of women, simply because there are so many reasons for desiring it. But the one which, perhaps, to my mind, has the greatest weight, is, after all, not grounded on any wish to benefit women only, or even specially, but rather on the conviction that in raising *them* we should raise men also; that in the higher development of their capacities—such as I believe would undoubtedly result from their political enfranchisement—we should promote the higher development and culture of the whole nation.

E. L. M. MELE BARESE.

MISS METEYARD

(Author of "Life of Wedgwood;" "Wedgwood and his Works;" "Wedgwood Handbook," &c., &c.).

I believe that the extension of the franchise to women householders would play an important part in leading them to a knowledge of political subjects, and to the taking a vivid interest therein. At present, generally speaking, the dormant condition of female intelligence in respect of all the great moral, social, and political questions of the time is something lamentable, and is a main cause of that narrow conservatism of ideas which stops the way to the intellectual advance of the middle classes.

ELIZA METEYARD.

MRS. MOLESWORTH

(Author of "Carrots," "Grandmother Dear," &c.).

I have often felt astonished that there could be any diversity of opinion as to the manifest injustice of women who are in the independent and responsible position of ratepayers and householders being deprived of the political rights which they should enjoy. And were I in a position to do more than express my hearty concurrence in your opinions, and my admiration for your efforts, I should gladly do so. LOUISA MOLESWORTH.

MRS. F. E. M. NOTLEY

(Author of "Olive Varcoe," &c., &c.).

I am of opinion that to withhold the franchise from those women who are undertaking and suffering all the burdens and responsibilities of men is an injustice as senseless as it is illogical. I hold this opinion upon much wider grounds than the mere payment of rates and taxes. I know that women cannot hope for much change in the cumbrous and unfair laws which weigh on them now so heavily, until they have a voice in the choosing of law-makers. Therefore, I consider it is their bounden duty honourably and bravely to continue their struggle to obtain the franchise, until victory crowns the cause. Men have fought to the very death for freedom and for just laws, always with women's support and sympathy; it is our turn now to ask them for help and to entreat them to remember that "The woman's question is the man's." F. E. M. NOTLEY.

MISS CHARLOTTE G. O'BRIEN

(Author of "Light and Shade," &c.).

Granted the desirability of women's education, the desirability of the suffrage becomes a mere consequence. Will any man or woman learn a trade they never expect to make use of? No. How then can it be expected they should learn to interest themselves in politics (without which interest a really educated mind

is impossible) if their so doing can have no fruits? But this interest does bear fruit in other forms. Undoubtedly it does, but only as the side growths of a pollarded tree, imperfect though often vigorous. CHARLOTTE G. O'BRIEN.

MISS OTTÉ

(Author of "Scandinavian History," &c.).

It is often argued that women generally do not wish to acquire the right of electoral suffrage, and that if it were extended to them the majority of those who might claim it would regard its obligations as burdensome and distasteful, and would either evade them altogether, or fulfil them with reluctance and indifference, or with inconsistency and caprice. Such an argument can, however, have no weight in a question like this, which is one of right and not of sentiment. Similar charges of disinclination and inefficiency for the discharge of electoral duties might possibly apply with equal force to numerous men; but no one would for a moment pretend that any such individual contingencies could be advanced as reasons why Englishmen should not retain their constitutional right of having a voice in the election of those who legislate upon the questions which most closely affect the interests of each individual member of the community.

If women generally labour under the ignorance and indifference imputed to them with regard to all that concerns the conduct of public affairs, it would seem the more imperative that they should be made participants with men in the exercise of those electoral duties and privileges to which Englishmen are wont to point as the basis of their own claim to be regarded as patterns for other nations of the enlightenment which springs from the free individual exercise of political rights. If it be true that political enlightenment comes with the power to exercise political rights, women will have an important grievance to complain of till they are in this respect put on an equality with men. ELISE C. OTTÉ.

MRS. MARK PATTISON

(Author of "The Renaissance of Art in France").

I earnestly desire to see the franchise extended to women. I believe that its educational value would be great, and that by its possession women would be led to exercise judgment in forming their opinions upon questions which at present they regard with ignorant indifference, or with equally ignorant prejudice. I think also that it cannot be contested, that at the present day the right to vote is the one right, without which no other right is secure.

E. F. S. PATTISON.

MRS. PFEIFFER

(Author of "Glán Alarch," "Gerard's Monument," "Quarterman's Grace," &c.).

Although not a worker in the cause of women's suffrage, the efforts of those engaged in it have my deepest sympathy, convinced as I am that its success would let in a stream of now ineffective light upon questions of highest importance to the race. Thought is liable to become unsound when divorced from action, and the orderly evolution of the mental power of women,—now first emerging from the trammels of custom,—requires the wider field which they claim, not for themselves alone, but in the interests of human society.

Further, the open recognition of gifts on the part of women, which whether equal or not to those of men, are needed to the fuller efficiency of the complicated social machine, would, in increasing responsibility and womanly self-respect, give a new impulse to moral and intellectual culture, and form a needed counterpoise to the lamentable tendencies of the social (more truly anti-social) ambitions, in which the energies of the more stirring of the sex have been wasted.

EMILY PFEIFFER.

MRS. RICHMOND RITCHIE (Miss Thackeray)

(Author of "The Village on the Cliff," "Old Kensington," "Miss Angel," &c.).

I entirely sympathise with your wish that the franchise should be extended to women.

Extract from Letter.

MISS ARABELLA SHORE

(Author of "War Lyrics" and "Fra Dolcino").

The position of women is, I think, at present anomalous and most unsatisfactory. Efforts are being made in various directions to improve and elevate their condition; but these are more or less frustrated by the assumption of their natural inferiority and incompetency stamped on the whole of our legislation concerning women, especially in the refusal of the suffrage to them. Social progress, to be real and consistent, must be accompanied by political emancipation. It seems almost ridiculous to grant them new rights, open new fields, claim offices of responsibility for them, while the simplest of rights which almost any man is thought good enough for is denied them. The law which makes the highest of women the inferior of the wife-beater, the drunkard, and the illiterate, must act injuriously on the moral sense of the whole community; and general professions of respect and homage are rendered nearly worthless by the habit of classing women as political incapables along with criminals, lunatics, and idiots. The depth of this prejudice is shown by the facts that the very words, justice and right, seem to lose their force, in most men's minds, when applied to women, and that all the arguments for representation deemed unanswerable in the case of classes of men, are quietly ignored when urged by women themselves for the same classes of women, or are met by the simple assertion that they don't apply to women. Yet by women the weight of these reasons for emancipation are strongly felt, and ever more strongly the more they interest themselves in social work and public questions. Ought not this fact to induce men to attempt, if they can, to look on the subject from the women's point of view also, instead of merely, as hitherto, from their own?

ARABELLA SHORE.

MISS SIMCOX

(Author of the "Ethics of Law," &c.).

I can only give the same reasons for desiring the political enfranchisement of women that I should give for desiring the

political enfranchisement of anyone else; *e.g.*, of the agricultural labourers now, of the manufacturing towns before the first Reform Bill, and of male householders and lodgers before the last. The chief of these reasons is that I think every member of a society has duties towards that society and owes it a debt of service in return for the innumerable benefits of social and civilised life. And this debt of gratitude and service cannot but be ignored or repudiated by any persons who find themselves permanently and deliberately excluded from civic fellowship. A disfranchised class is either politically ignorant and indifferent, or disaffected. Ignorance and indifference in reference to the welfare of the community, on the part of half its members, though these be only women, seems to me a graver social evil than even positive disaffection in a smaller class. Yet *this* is so serious a danger that hardly anyone nowadays would deny that if a body of discontented men thought the franchise would content them, that safe and inexpensive remedy should be administered at once. *A fortiori*, then, should the remedy be tried in our case, since we are, to a woman, either unwholesomely discontented with our political status, or else unwholesomely indifferent to the highest interests, social and political, of the community which has a right to our loyalty. EDITH SIMCOX.

MRS. J. K. SPENDER

(Author of "Parted Lives," "Mark Fylmer's Revenge," &c., &c.).

My opinion has been formed slowly and after much hesitation. Although for years past I have taken an active part in the educational movements of the day, and have contributed anonymously to periodical literature on the subject of women's work and influence, I have held back till lately from giving my adherence to the cause of Women's Suffrage from a dread lest political controversy should destroy the "womanliness" of women. But after long consideration of various social questions I have felt bound to support the movement, on conscientious grounds, as good and just in itself. LILY SPENDER,

Secretary of the Oxford Examinations, Bath.

MISS ANNA SWANWICK

(Translator of Æschylus).

Recognising the vast importance of legislation, as an agency either for good or for evil, women desire, with such influence as they can wield, to aid in bringing our human laws into harmony with the everlasting law of God. They recognise that the eternal law of righteousness vindicates itself not only through the acts of individuals, but also through the acts of the Legislature, and that failure, involving wide-spread misery, waits upon every measure not in harmony with the requirements of that higher law. In the light of this solemn truth law making becomes a very serious matter, and women are naturally desirous to have a voice in selecting the men to whom this sacred duty is entrusted.

ANNA SWANWICK.

MISS TABOR.

Our legislation is becoming so increasingly domestic in its character, and deals so largely now with the *home life* of the people, their health, their occupations, the disposal of their earnings, the training and education of their children, the treatment of the sick and poor, the paid nursing of infants, etc., etc., as to make it desirable that, in the interests of the community at large, some scheme of representation be devised, by which the opinions of women may be ascertained, and their influence and judgment brought to bear upon matters so clearly within their province and so closely affecting themselves.

MARY C. TABOR.

MRS. E. M. WARD.

You are already aware of my strong opinion on the subject of women's suffrage, and I am quite sure to artists it would be of the greatest use. There are several reasons, which I withhold from want of space, which would make it *most desirable* for women in my own profession. HENRIETTA WARD.

MRS. HOWITT-WATTS

(Author of "An Art Student in Munich," &c.).

I see more and more—indeed there is not a day in which the newspapers do not display them—the evils of the Disabilities of women. The most important of these, representing—and, in a sense, comprehending—all the others, is the denial to her of the exercise of the Elective Franchise, and it is on that account that I desire to see her relieved from this most unreasonable disability.

I find it difficult to comprehend how, in an age in which exceptional legislation directed against particular classes of society is so universally deprecated, it can still be deemed right by any order of thinkers that these disabilities should continue to be maintained, or why women should be debarred from that highest of all culture which is provided by the exercise of individual responsibility in relation to important questions, some, especially and materially affecting themselves.

I cannot avoid adding the expression of my earnest belief that the existing state of things, and the habit of thought which it perpetuates, is as injurious to man as it is to woman, and that the happiness and welfare of both in this matter are one and indivisible.

ANNA MARY HOWITT-WATTS.

MRS. WEBSTER

(Author of "Portraits," "Dramatic Studies," "A Housewife's Opinions," &c.).

Women will have ceased to be an unrepresented class when some women have a vote. And for so great a good to us all I would gladly be at some sacrifice individually, if, which I do not believe, it can be a sacrifice to a married woman that unmarried and widowed women should be allowed to exercise a right from which her position precludes her.

AUGUSTA WEBSTER.

MISS JULIA WEDGWOOD

(Author of "John Wesley, and the Evangelical Reaction").

I consider the opening of the suffrage to women as a very important indirect influence on all measures taken or proposed for female welfare, as well as one of considerable importance in its direct bearing on this subject,

JULIA WEDGWOOD.

MRS. VILLARI

(Author of "In Change Unchanged," "Courtship and a Campaign," &c., &c., &c. Translator of "Life of Machiavelli").

It is my firm belief that both reason and expediency are in favour of Women's Suffrage. With the mass of our sex, enlargement of thought is only to be achieved by enlarged responsibility. None can deny that, even in the present state of the law, considerable political influence is exercised by women. That influence is sometimes mischievous, for, being secret, it is often employed for petty aims, whereas, were it open and recognised, the sense of responsibility would induce a higher platform of thought, and public good be more considered than personal caprice. It seems to me that political suffrage is not only desirable for the development of female intellect, but is a natural right which coming generations will pronounce indisputable. The fact that some women may not care to exercise this right in nowise invalidates the claim.

LINDA VILLARI.

III.
WOMEN FOLLOWING SCIENTIFIC AND
PROFESSIONAL CAREERS.

MRS. ANDERSON, M.D.

It is because it seems to me that giving women the franchise would be a very great step towards the uplifting of the whole sex, that I take special interest in it.

ELIZABETH GARRETT-ANDERSON.
(*Reprinted by permission.*)

MISS ANNIE BARKER, M.D.

(Women's Hospital, Birmingham).

It gives me much pleasure to have the opportunity of expressing my opinion with regard to the movement in favour of women's suffrage. The reform it advocates, I believe, will have a tendency to raise the social position of women, and on many points of vital interest prove a real gain to them and to the community at large.

ANNIE REAY BARKER.

MISS ELIZABETH BLACKWELL, M.D.

Character, not sex, is the best qualification for the electoral franchise. Any regulations which secure the increased influence of character and intelligence in public affairs must inevitably be productive of individual and national good.

ELIZABETH BLACKWELL.

MISS JEX-BLAKE, M.D., L.K.Q.C.P.I.

If I correctly understand the British Constitution one of its fundamental principles is that Taxation and Representation should go together, and that every person taxed should have a voice in the election of those by whom taxes are imposed. If this is a wrong principle it should be exchanged as soon as possible for some other, so that we may know what is the real basis of representation in this country; if it is a right principle it must admit of general application, and I am unable to see that the sex of the taxpaying householder should enter into the question at all.

The argument respecting the "virtual representation" of women under the present system seems to me especially worthless, as it can be answered alternatively, thus:—If women as a sex have exactly the same interests as men, their votes can do no harm, and indeed will not affect the ultimate result; if they have interests more or less divergent from those of men, it is obviously essential that such interests should be directly represented in the councils of the nation. My own belief is that in the highest sense the interests of the two sexes are identical, and that the noblest and most enlightened men and women will always feel them to be so; and, in that case, a country must surely be most politically healthy where all phases of thought and experience find legitimate expression in the selection of its Parliamentary representatives.

SOPHIA JEX-BLAKE.

MISS A. W. BUCKLAND

(Member of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, and Honorary Member of the Bath Royal Literary and Scientific Institute).

Although I have always kept myself aloof from that movement commonly known as "Woman's Rights," I hold firmly the opinion that women, otherwise duly qualified, may claim the Parliamentary franchise, not as a favour, but as a *right*. The excuses made for withholding this simple act of justice from our sex show plainly that it is *might*, rather than *right*, which prevails; but I do not believe that legislators would have been able

so long to resist a movement, so entirely in consonance with the boasted progress of this 19th century, in education and liberality of thought, had it not been for the unwise advocacy of some, who have made it apparent that they regarded the franchise claimed for unmarried women and widows, as only the thin end of the wedge intended eventually to include married women also, and to enable a few of the more masculine of our sex to appear on the platform as political agitators or candidates for Parliamentary honours. This idea would, however, I feel sure, be repudiated by the vast majority of those who now desire to be allowed to record their vote according to their opinions, in return for the full amount of taxation imposed upon them; and if our rulers would reflect upon the fact that the franchise claimed would, as a rule, only include women who may be fairly supposed to have arrived at years of discretion (as younger women would almost invariably be represented by father, mother, or husband); and would further in fairness allow, that the municipal franchise granted as a tentative measure and exercised by precisely the same class as would be further enfranchised; has certainly never been productive of political or social embarrassment in any way,—they would, I think, hasten to remove those disabilities, which some among us look upon as a mark of degradation unworthy of a nation standing in the front rank of civilisation.

A. W. BUCKLAND.

MISS ISABELLA CLARKE

(Pharmaceutical Chemist).

I am glad of the opportunity to express my opinion on the extension of the suffrage to women. I think it most unjust and illogical to deny the political franchise to women while it is granted to men who are in every respect inferiors of the women who would be entitled to it, and especially as women already possess the municipal franchise. Women must be represented *directly* as men are to obtain *direct* justice. Men would not be satisfied to have women as their representatives. It is impossible for either sex to represent the other, although the higher interests of both are identical.

ISABELLA S. CLARKE.

MISS DUNBAR, M.D., L.K.Q.C.P.I.

As the social position of women in the civilized world is very different from what it was in primitive times, it is only reasonable to believe that what has altered and improved so much in the past, must be capable of alteration and improvement in the present and future. There are changes which the generations of to-day are witnessing in the education of women and their employment in professions and trades hitherto closed to them. It appears to me, that the extension of the franchise to women is only a natural concession to a just demand made in conformity to the advancement of civilization and the changes effected by the acquirement of new privileges and responsibilities.

ELIZA WALKER-DUNBAR.

MRS. HOGGAN, M.D., L.K.Q.C.P.I.

It is difficult to over estimate the importance of women's suffrage from an educational point of view. The possession of political rights and the responsibility of political duties will fortify in women the virtues of citizenship, the lack of which has become a reproach to them, and will tend to form that habit of mind, so conducive to the general well-being, which enables its possessor to look at everything from the two-fold standpoint of private and of public interest. The suffrage will also prove a precious safeguard in women's hands of the natural right of children, during the period of their minority, to the enjoyment of maternal care, as well as of those personal rights of their own which have been heretofore ignored by our legislators, owing to their inability to discover and recognise them.

FRANCES ELIZABETH HOGGAN.

MISS ORME.

I regard Mr. Courtney's proposed extension of the Parliamentary suffrage as a necessary reform in our representative system, and I look forward to its success as the safest, the most

effectual, and, on the whole, the most direct means of obtaining for women those educational advantages and remunerative employments still withheld from them.

ELIZA ORME.

MISS PECHEY, M.D. (Berne), L.K.Q.C.P.I.

I maintain that the present subjection of women to a position of political inferiority to men is calculated seriously to retard the advancement of the nation, both intellectually and morally. Only by giving full scope for individual development can a state become truly great; and the full extent of individual development can alone be secured by granting equality of rights to all alike without distinction of sex.

EDITH PECHEY.

IV.

WOMEN ENGAGED IN PROMOTING THE
HIGHER EDUCATION OR THE TECH-
NICAL EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT
OF WOMEN.

MADAME BELLOC

(Author of Essays on Woman's Work).

I think that in a time and country wherein the power of the vote is supreme, that power should be increasingly diffused.

The will of the majority has a tendency to become all-powerful; and, therefore, that majority should be composed of every diverse element, or injustice in a thousand subtle forms will result.

It is on this ground that I think women should ask for and obtain the suffrage.

BESSIE PARKES BELLOC.

LADY BOWRING.

My opinion with respect to the extension of the franchise remains unchanged. I cannot but think that those women ratepayers who like myself take an interest in social questions, must, as I do, feel strongly the injustice that is done them in being called upon to share in the taxation, without participating in the advantages conferred by property on the other sex, of a voice in Parliamentary representation.

DEBORAH BOWRING.

MISS CORLETT

(Founder of Queen's Institute and Queen's College, Dublin).

I have not heard of any dispute in Ireland as to the right of women holding property qualification to exercise the franchise, but there is a majority decidedly adverse to the expediency of its exercise. In Parliament the Irish members support the measure of the female franchise. The sole franchise privilege open to Irish women is that of voting for Poor-Law Guardians. The most remarkable test in respect of confidence in women's capacity arose in connection with framing the government of the Irish Church and regulating the status of its members. For three days the subject of equality in voting powers was warmly debated; about 300 voted for women, but by a narrow majority women were totally excluded from the privileges of Christian membership. I shall not refer to the debates, but they were unequalled for prejudice and unfairness in the expressions of the "opposition," and full of apprehension against the evil of priestly influence. I cannot but think the determination to exclude women from the advantages of Christian union had a serious effect on the popularity of the Church; it certainly weakened the attachments of those holding broad views; that it had a disastrous financial effect there can be no doubt, as very few women contribute to the Irish Church funds. All churchmen connected with the Queen's Institute faithfully upheld women's rights in the Church, and did their utmost to strengthen their just claims.

Among Irish Presbyterians women's votes are equal to men's votes, and the privilege of voting is held in high esteem. In respect of the real value of voting powers to women, my experience in the working of this society leads me to consider it would prove of the highest importance to working women to hold the Parliamentary franchise. In many cases the law could be made to inflict great hardships on working women, and but for compassion I believe the law would often bring home its power grievously to them. No doubt compassionate sentiments often avert the hardships of legislation from women. If enforced, the Factory Acts could not fail to open women's

eyes to their own disabilities. The Public Health Act (Ireland) is one which will cause great trouble and cost to women holding house property, and will compel their attention to the inconvenience of recent legislation. I have no doubt the liabilities under this Act will ultimately prove so exceptionally severe on ladies, that it will result in causing a very strong desire to obtain the possession of the franchise as an indispensable protection under British Law. Hitherto the consideration scarcely touched the upper classes, but they will immediately find it concerns them closely, in its application to property, and this Act can hardly fail to take a share in the political education of women.

A. BARBARA CORLETT.

MRS. CRAWSHAY.

The degradation of women will never cease, until means of earning an honest livelihood are afforded to that large majority which cannot achieve marriage; to this end women must have a voice in modifying laws which impede their doing a fair day's work, for a fair day's wage; and this will never be until the franchise is granted to women on the same conditions as those on which it is granted to men.

ROSE MARY CRAWSHAY.

MISS EMILY DAVIES.

I have long wished to see the suffrage granted to women. Now that it has been so very widely extended, the possession of an individual vote may indeed appear to be of little value, and I should not myself expect any very marked immediate effect on legislation from the concession. But the moral effect would, I believe, be deep and far-reaching. As matters stand, the law asserts in a solemn and emphatic form that women are not called upon to take an active interest in affairs of State; and it appears to make the assertion on the ground that they are by nature unfit for such action. This I hold to be a mischievous untruth, and believing, as I do, that political interests are among the noblest that can occupy our thoughts and energies,

I should welcome the removal of a restriction which so strongly discourages women from taking their fair share in public affairs.

EMILY DAVIES.

MRS. R. L. FORD (Leeds).

It is an obvious injustice to deny to women the privilege of citizenship, seeing that no women are exempted, on the ground of sex, from their share in the burdens of the State, and from obligation to obey laws framed by men only, without any reference to the opinions and wishes of women.

HANNAH FORD.

LADY GOLDSMID.

I consider it most unjust and invidious that women, who are ratepayers, should be denied the franchise, and I cannot, further, better express my feeling in favour of the measure than by quoting Miss Buss's words: "I think that women should possess the franchise, as the best means for their protection and representation of their interests."

LOUISA GOLDSMID.

MRS. WILLIAM GREY.

I give my entire and earnest support to the Bill to enable Women Ratepayers and Householders to vote for Members of Parliament, for two reasons: First, because I believe that artificial disabilities imposed on any section of society, which no energy or merit can overcome, and which partake, therefore, of the nature of caste, have a demoralising effect equally upon those who impose and those who are subject to them and, consequently, on society at large. Secondly, because having come originally to the consideration of the subject with the prejudice against it which belonged to my generation, I have become more and more convinced, the more I look into it, that the fears of social disaster, of revolution in the relations of the sexes, of danger to home and family, always put forward by its opponents, are wholly groundless, and that we may rely in

peace upon the action of natural laws, unaided by artificial regulations, to maintain the natural and healthy relations between men and women on which society rests.

MARIA G. GREY.

MISS MARY GURNEY.

If women householders were not, as at present, excluded from the Parliamentary franchise, their influence would be of much value in securing attention in the House of Commons to measures affecting the educational interest of girls.

MARY GURNEY.

MISS EMILY HALL.

Apart from the injustice of excluding women ratepayers from the privileges accorded to men in a like position; and regarding the subject solely with reference to its effect upon *character*, it would seem desirable that the franchise should be extended to women upon the same terms as it is granted to men.

If, in the interests of society at large, it is wished that women should be earnest, liberal-minded, cultivated, and reasoning beings, rather than frivolous and mean, acting more from impulse than principle, then let them be recognised as social and political entities. When, as at present, placed upon an equality with irresponsible children and idiots, is it wonderful if women should sometimes gravitate to this lower level, and by so much act as a dead weight to pull down those who would climb higher? No true progress can be made in either educational or social matters while the two halves of humanity thus "limp on unequal legs." The agile and unfettered member must of necessity restrain his steps and, on pain of complete dismemberment, suit them to the pace of his companion. Thus the whole race suffers, and, with much unnecessary friction, makes but feeble strides towards the goal—that higher development of every faculty which united effort can alone attain.

EMILY HALL.

MRS. ELIZABETH PEASE NICHOL.

It is my belief that the extension of the suffrage to women would not only be a measure of simple justice to them, but that a beneficial influence would thereby be brought to bear in the selection of representatives to Parliament, and on the minds of our legislators.

ELIZABETH PEASE NICHOL.

MRS. PATERSON

(Hon. Secretary of Women's Protective and Provident League).

For working women especially, I should hope for important advantages from the removal of the political disabilities of women, not so much on account of immediate and direct gains, as from the strengthening of the power of self help. Long tradition and habit have left them only the hope, often but a very faint one, that men know, and will do, all that is for their best interests; they cling to this hope in their industrial life, and allow their wages to be ground down, halfpenny by halfpenny, until at last they can think of nothing but how not to starve. Though only a small proportion of working women might have qualifications entitling them to the franchise, their present hopelessness and helplessness would be lightened by the removal of the injustice which places every one of their sisters, however intelligent, however good and useful a member of society, in the position, as some writer has said, of a "political outcast."

EMMA A. PATERSON.

MISS PRIDEAUX

(Hon. Secretary Cambridge Higher Local Examinations (London Centre) for Women).

I give my entire and hearty support to the Bill to enable women ratepayers and householders to vote for members of Parliament. I fail to see why members of society having equal liabilities should not also have equal privileges.

ADA H. PRIDEAUX.

MISS SHIRREFF.

My interest in the movement for giving the suffrage to women householders is founded, *first*, on a keen sense of the injustice of excluding one class of ratepayers from the privilege granted to others, merely because they are women; while their duties and liabilities remain the same. *Secondly*, on the fact that the history of this country shows us, that only as certain sections of the community obtained the suffrage, were their special wrongs redressed; and that it is evident, how much the mere agitation of this question has done, to bring about reforms which would probably have been neglected for generations to come, as through generations past, had not the unwelcome prospect of a wider door to be opened for influence hitherto little felt, made it desirable to cut away some of the grounds of complaints. *Lastly*, my conviction of the cogency of the arguments urged by the friends of the movement is strengthened by the circumstance, that its adversaries are driven year after year to depend on the same contradiction of known facts, on the same flying from argument to prophecy, on the same appeals to custom, to associations, and predilections, to the same pathetic iteration of the "*sentiment* of our forefathers;" whereas had they been able to find one simple intelligible reason to serve their purpose, we must, in fairness to them, suppose that they would in the course of debate, here and there at least, have brought it forward.

EMILY A. E. SHIRREFF.

MISS LOUISA STEVENSON, Edinburgh

(Hon. Sec. to the National Association for Promoting the Medical Education of Women).

Seeing that many members of Parliament feel bound to be representatives *only*, it is not to be wondered at that important interests concerning unrepresented women are often neglected in the pressure and among the chances of Parliamentary life.

LOUISA STEVENSON.

MRS. THORNE

(Hon. Sec. to the School of Medicine for Women).

As our representative system is based on taxation, and not on physical force, there seems to me no sound reason for the

exclusion of women householders from the elective franchise, while the fact that women take an active and useful part in many public matters indicates that their responsible co-operation in our system of representative government is likely to be beneficial to the community. ISABEL THORNE.

PRINCIPALS OF COLLEGES AND HEADS OF
HIGH SCHOOLS.

MISS BUSS

(Fellow of the College of Preceptors, and Principal of the North London Collegiate School for Girls).

I think that women should possess the franchise, as the best existing means for their protection and the representation of their interests. The interests of all classes of men are represented *directly*, those of women only *indirectly*.

FRANCES M. BUSS.

MRS. BRYANT

(Fellow of the College of Preceptors).

Supposing that men do in a measure represent women, it seems to me that the *indirect* influence involved in the supposition is just one of the worst things in the world by itself. Surely there should be no power that is not acknowledged and direct. Good human beings may easily cause others to do things which they would never do themselves if placed face to face with these things and their consequences. For he who has a power *direct* and can act, questions conscience and investigates facts by the light of reason before he acts. But she who is conscious only of her power of speech may easily use it without reference to conscience and reason at all. Action is always more prudent, and naturally more conscientious, than speech. I think, therefore, that if women have *irresponsible* influence at present, and are thereby indirectly represented, the sooner they are made to feel the weight of *responsible* influence by direct representation the better. SOPHIA BRYANT.

MRS. BYERS

(Principal of the Ladies' Collegiate School, Belfast).

It is perfectly obvious that from sheer necessity many women are obliged unaided and alone, to make a struggle for existence not only for themselves but for helpless relatives. In this struggle women have many *natural* hindrances of which men similarly placed practically know nothing. I often wonder why good men do not unitedly step forward and free women householders from any legal or artificial disabilities that they can remove, and thus take away any reason for their agitating about a question of personal rights, a thing that must always be disagreeable to women of good taste and refinement.

MARGARET BYERS.

MISS GROVE

(Lady Resident of Queen's College).

With regard to the extension of the franchise to women, I have the sure conviction that sooner or later it must be ours because it is so thoroughly just a demand on our side. In giving it to us, men only give, what in a free country every class has a right to expect: the power of getting its own case represented from its own point of view; and this is a power which any body of educated men, if it were persistently denied to them, would take to themselves at last by physical force.

ELEANOR GROVE.

BATH HIGH SCHOOL FOR GIRLS.

MISS WOOD, Head Mistress.

It seems to me that a disinclination to allow to woman a possibility of individual life lies at the root of many social prejudices and mistakes. "He for God only, &c., &c.," is the text of the speeches in Parliament and elsewhere against the proposed measure. But those who take up the profession of teaching, especially those who are at the head of large schools, are perhaps specially conscious of their individuality, and are constantly reminded that they are social units. Why, then, not political units also? S. WOOD.

BRADFORD GIRLS' GRAMMAR SCHOOL.

MISS PORTER, Head Mistress.

I take a warm interest in the efforts that are being made to obtain the suffrage for women. In connection with the work of educating girls, I constantly feel how important it is that they should learn to take an intelligent interest in the great social and political questions of the day. The action of the Government and legislature in settling these questions, and the resulting consequences which flow from that action, have as vital an interest for women as for men, and as direct a bearing on their welfare. Nothing would so tend to create a vivid interest on the part of women in such matters, as the feeling that it was a duty to one's country to embrace all possible means of forming a right judgment on such questions. It has been well said that we all, men and women, hold a place in the great parliament of public opinion, and some of us, feeling the truth of this, hold it to be our duty to form such opinions under *present* circumstances; but the duty will never be generally recognised by women till they have a voice in the election of representatives to Parliament. Surely the large-hearted patriotism which, rising above mere party spirit, cares greatly for the honour and welfare of the country, will one day be found to be as ennobling an influence in the lives of women as it has been in the lives of men.

MARY E. PORTER.

BRIGHTON HIGH SCHOOL FOR GIRLS.

MISS CREAK, Head Mistress.

I am in favour of women's suffrage because it is a doctrine of the British Constitution that Taxation and Representation go together.

EDITH CREAK.

CROYDON HIGH SCHOOL FOR GIRLS.

MISS D. NELIGAN, Head Mistress.

For years I was an indifferent, if not antagonistic, spectator of the efforts made to procure the extension of the franchise to women. When I became a householder, I felt for the first time

that the existing disqualification is an unjust one; and I now support the movement not merely from the desire to see justice done to a class, but in the firm belief that it will do much to raise the aims and widen the thoughts of women, a result which must benefit the whole human race.

D. NELIGAN.

DULWICH HIGH SCHOOL.

MISS MARY ALGER, Head Mistress.

I cannot understand the principle upon which women are admitted to municipal offices, and yet are not considered qualified to give their vote as citizens. On that day when by unanimous consent women were allowed to become sovereigns, the principle of political equality irrespective of sex took its place; and whilst the right of Women's Suffrage is still withheld from us, it is an anomaly to see a woman occupying the highest position in our country.

MARY ALGER.

GATESHEAD HIGH SCHOOL FOR GIRLS.

MISS ROWDON, Head Mistress.

Surely all those whose welfare depends upon the laws of a country should have a voice in electing those who make the laws. If so, women would be equally qualified to vote with men.

The chief objection to extending the franchise to women has hitherto been based upon the deficiency in their education. This argument is daily becoming more feeble and without true foundation, since women have eagerly and successfully availed themselves of the greater educational advantages offered them during the last few years.

JANE PASKE ROWDON.

HACKNEY HIGH SCHOOL FOR GIRLS.

MISS PEARSE, Head Mistress.

I cannot see why, if women desire the Franchise, they should not have it, particularly as they are now eligible to vote for School Board candidates, and I understand also in parochial

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matters. Eventually, I suppose, we may be looking forward to universal suffrage, and when that takes place it seems to me it would be only logical if women should vote as well as men.

M. PEARSE.

HALIFAX HIGH SCHOOL FOR GIRLS.

MISS ROBINSON, Head Mistress.

Women are as justified in their demands for Female Suffrage, as were the Americans in their War of Independence, and it seems to me that by *quietly* keeping the justice of the matter before the public, they must eventually gain their end.

LAURA A. ROBINSON.

IPSWICH HIGH SCHOOL FOR GIRLS.

MISS YOUNGMAN, Head Mistress.

I have much pleasure in entering my protest against the injustice practised upon unmarried female ratepayers in the withholding of the suffrage from them. Until the taxes are removed from a class popularly considered incapable of forming rational opinions, I hold it to be the duty of every member to exercise the sum of her feeble intellectual powers towards the overthrow of such systematic oppression.

SOPHIE YOUNGMAN.

NORWICH HIGH SCHOOL.

MISS WILLS.

My opinion on the Women's Suffrage question is that Taxation and Representation should go together.

L. B. WILLS.

NOTTINGHAM HIGH SCHOOL FOR GIRLS.

MISS HASTINGS, Head Mistress.

I am glad to add my testimony to the fact that women earnestly desire the franchise; and to assert my belief that the possession of it would tend to give them wider interests and sympathies.

EDITH HASTINGS.

NOTTING HILL HIGH SCHOOL FOR GIRLS.

MISS H. M. JONES, Head Mistress.

The extension of the Parliamentary franchise to women who are householders and ratepayers appears to me most desirable from every point of view.

In the first place, it would be simply an act of justice that women who bear the burden of taxation should have some share in that representation which gives to England its political freedom. As it is, instead of being endowed with the rights and privileges of citizenship, women are set aside as a separate class of inferior beings, whose opinions are valueless, and whose wishes and wants are of no importance whatever.

Again, the extension of the franchise to women would act powerfully as an educational stimulus. The national recognition of women as intelligent beings, capable of forming an opinion on the great questions which affect the interests of a nation, would tend not a little to develop that intelligence, and also to rescue them from that state of helplessness, ignorance, and indifference to which so many are condemned by the present political and social state of things.

Again, I earnestly desire the suffrage, because so long as women are unrepresented, their interests are often overlooked, and even set aside by those who ought to legislate for the nation at large. Such has been the case in the distribution of educational endowments, in the laws relating to married women, and also in the regulations limiting the powers of women in the guardianship of their own children.

These all are, in my opinion, reasons why those who desire the well-being of every class of society should do what they can to help forward the cause of women's suffrage, which, when obtained, will free them from the reproach of intellectual inferiority, under which they at present lie. H. M. JONES.

SHEFFIELD HIGH SCHOOL FOR GIRLS.

MISS WOODHOUSE, Head Mistress.

I hope for the extension of the franchise to qualified women, not only as an act of justice to one-half the community now

practically unrepresented, but mainly as a great motive power in increasing the moral elevation of women, by fostering the feeling of responsibility and strengthening the judgment by exercise on questions, which would then become matters of personal interest. By enfranchisement would be removed, I am convinced, one of the chief causes of that levity in the formation of opinions, and evident irresponsibility of character so common among women and so painful to the trained intellect whether of men or women.

The world, in its career of advancement and eager utilisation of all material forces, can ill afford to leave unrecognised and undirected those moral forces, less apparent, but more important to the well-being of the race of which the greatest is, perhaps, the moral influence for good or ill of women. And we may rest assured that in this case, as ever before, the raising of any class to a higher moral elevation will be a great and lasting gain to all, and cannot fail to subserve the highest interests of society at large.

ELIZA WOODHOUSE.

WESTMINSTER GREY COAT SCHOOL.

MISS ELSIE DAY, Head Mistress.

That, constitutionally, all women who pay taxes, have the right to direct representation, appears to me incontrovertible. It is the genius of the English people, when once convinced of a duty, to act upon it; but the growth of that conviction is slow. We would do well to be thankful that it is so. That the conviction will come eventually, as in the case of the Roman Catholic disabilities, I have no doubt. In the meantime, let us quietly wait and educate the nation to look impassionately at the question, not as a matter of opposing interests, but of simple duty—remembering Auguste Cochin's wise caution that "noise does no good, and good makes no noise."

ELSIE DAY.

MISS LUMSDEN

(Head Mistress of St. Andrew's School for Girls).

I earnestly desire that the suffrage should be opened to women. Since women, when taxpayers, bear equally with men the burdens of citizenship, I cannot see any just ground for excluding such women from the privileges of citizenship. Besides, why should any part of the intellectual power of the community be useless to the State on questions of public and national interest? Utilising it would surely prove to be for the advantage, not of women only, but of the whole community. On women themselves I believe the possession of responsible political power would have an enormous influence for good.

LOUISA INNES LUMSDEN.

V.
WOMEN ENGAGED IN PHILANTHROPIC
WORK.

MISS DAVENPORT HILL

(Author of "What we Saw in Australia," &c.).

One objection often raised against the demand by women for the suffrage is that they can at present exercise quite as much political power as is good for them. This may be quite true, but at the same time it must not be forgotten that the power they now exercise is unaccompanied by responsibility; and power without responsibility is a dangerous possession.

ROSAMOND DAVENPORT HILL.

MISS FLORENCE DAVENPORT HILL

(Author of "Children of the State," &c.).

It is as reasonable to suppose that a family is as wisely governed and adequately cared for which has only a master and no mistress, as to believe that the country has all its wants understood and provided for in the absence of the feminine element from its legislation. The fact that women are different from men affords the strongest argument in favour of their joint exercise of the franchise. Were they identical, either sex could adequately represent the other; but being complementary, each is needed, whether in the management of the family or the nation.

FLORENCE DAVENPORT HILL.

MRS. HILTON

(Founder of the Crèche at Stepney).

Women have special functions to fulfil in the social work of the world, in the management of children, assisting the poor, nursing the sick, or educating the ignorant. It appears to me that as the attention of Parliament is necessarily so frequently directed to the concerns of the poor, ignorant, infirm, or helpless, its legislation can only be imperfect as long as women have no share in the election of its members.

MARIE HILTON.

MISS ELLICE HOPKINS

(Author of "Life of James Hinton," "Work in Brighton," &c.).

It is difficult for anyone impartially to study this question of legislation without being led to feel that the absence of the direct moral influence of women is an irremediable loss. Surely the family is the Divine archetype of all social organisation, the constitutive element of which the larger family of the municipality, the yet larger family of the State should be assimilated, and inevitably will be assimilated hereafter, in spirit if not in form. Are not our public organisations survivals of older and extinct forms of the family when the woman was allowed only an indirect influence, was placed under the perpetual guardianship of man, and had her own separate quarters in the house, the *μυχος* of home, and was not permitted to take her place with man at the common table? And if in the slow evolution of the family idea it has been found that the work of the family can be best done by the woman taking an equal place by the side of the man, and realising the ideal of Christianity, which consecrates her as the Divine mother, the fountain of life and love and purity, so in the future may we not find in the larger family of the State, that the work of the world is best done by the man and the woman together, each supplying what is lacking to the other, the man the head of the woman, the woman the heart of the man?

ELLICE HOPKINS.

MISS IRBY.

In reply to your inquiry, I say that I am in favour of the admission of women to a share in the representation. Justice is ever the best policy. We have nothing to fear from freedom. With regard to the application of those principles to the particular question before us, I believe that the extension of the franchise to women is calculated to enable men and women alike to grow more worthy of its possession, and better able to fulfil their joint duties of citizenship. A. PAULINA IRBY.

MISS E. A. MANNING

(Hon. Secretary to the National Indian Association).

The claim of women to the suffrage, when considered impartially, seems so natural and just, that probably fifty years hence the present opposition to it will be looked back upon with curious surprise, and will be quoted as an instance of the force of imaginary fears. ELIZABETH ADELAIDE MANNING.

MISS MERRYWEATHER

(Lady Superintendent of the Nurses' Home, Broad Sanctuary, Westminster).

I feel that justice and morality can never rule the country where half the population, even when qualified otherwise, is, by the accident of sex, excluded from the representation.

MARY MERRYWEATHER.

MISS FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

You ask me to give my reasons for wishing for the suffrage for women householders and women ratepayers. I have no reasons.

The Indian ryot should be represented so that the people may virtually rate themselves according to the surveys of what is wanted and spend the money locally under certain orders of an elected board.

If this is the case : That we wish to give to the Indian native, peasant and Zemindar alike, such local representation *as we*

can in spending the taxes he pays,—is the educated English taxpayer, of *whichever* sex, to be excluded from a share in electing the Imperial representatives?

It seems a first principle, an axiom : that *every* householder or taxpayer should have a voice in electing those who spend the money we pay, including, as this does, interests the most vital to a human being—for instance, education. At the same time, I do not expect much from it, for I do not see that, for instance, in America, where suffrage is, I suppose, the most extended, there is more, but rather less, of what may truly be called freedom or progress than anywhere else.

But there can be no freedom or progress without representation. And we must give women the true education to deserve being represented. *Men* as well as women are not so well endowed with that preparation at present. And if the persons represented are not worth much, of course the representatives will not be worth much. FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

MRS. SOUTHEY

(Hon. Sec. of the Women's Peace and Arbitration Association).

I am in favour of women's suffrage because the basis is justice, and what is morally right must eventually prove to be politically right. ELIZABETH MARY SOUTHEY.

WOMEN ENGAGED IN PROMOTING TEMPERANCE.

MRS. DAWSON BURNS.

It has been argued that had women the power of voting they would in some instances show how unsuitably that power would be used, or even utterly abused. Even were it so, let it be remembered that non-suitability, or the abuse of the privilege, does not disfranchise a man. Here are two glaring anomalies : A man may drink as much as he pleases, far beyond the bounds of moderation and respectability ; may be as ignorant and brutal as he pleases ; may be quietly breaking every law that should honestly bind him to his home, his wife, and his children ; may

be utterly incompetent to estimate either the character or intelligence of the man for whom he is asked to vote; yet, let him only live in a borough as householder or lodger, paying a yearly rental, and he possesses the right of voting at Parliamentary elections.

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

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MRS. M. A. CLARKE (Headington).

There are so many *reasonable* reasons for giving the franchise to tax-paying women that it is difficult to make a selection. Perhaps the injustice of withholding the suffrage wherever taxes are demanded may to some minds be brought home by a startling contrast. We see a well-educated woman with wealth and property at her command classed by the law with minors, idiots, and felons, while the man who opens her carriage door or drives her horses may have a voice in the legislation of the country, be he ignorant, drunken, or depraved!

The hackneyed argument that women are imperfectly informed about politics will not hold good while so many men voters are profoundly ignorant concerning the highest politics of the day. In both cases the possession of the vote will necessarily create an interest in the subject, and no woman can be far wrong who votes for the men that do their best to promote peace, sobriety, and equal justice in the land.

MARY ANNE CLARKE.

MRS. LUCAS

(President of the British Women's Temperance Association).

It would appear that women are being drawn into the political arena, whether or no they desire it, owing to the growing tendency to bring all questions before Parliament which affect them equally with men. This being the case, it is only a question of justice to grant the moral right of representation to women who have the same qualifications as men. There is no doubt their votes would be widely utilised in stemming the tide of intemperance, and this power united with the moral influence they already possess would add immense weight to the cause of social purity.

MARGARET LUCAS.

MRS. PARKER (Dundee)

(President of the International Christian Women's Temperance Union).

Looking at it as a matter of simple justice, I never could understand why men should shut women *out* of privileges, who pay rates, and shut themselves *into* privileges on the same ground, and do both in the name of justice. It seems little else than plunder of the most ungenerous kind. Woman certainly has a right to have her property represented in the representation of property, and her person in the representation of persons. To say that woman is not educated for the ballot is idle. The best education for the ballot is the ballot itself.

MARGARET E. PARKER.

VI.

PASSAGES FROM WRITINGS OR SPEECHES
OF EMINENT WOMEN NO LONGER
LIVING.

MISS MARY CARPENTER

(Died June, 1877. Author of "Juvenile Delinquents," "Our Convicts," &c.
Founder of the Red Lodge Reformatory for Girls, Bristol).

At the Annual Public Meeting of the Bristol and West of England Society for the Promotion of Women's Suffrage, on March 8th, 1877, Miss Carpenter said:—"She very warmly sympathised in the principles of that Society and wished it success, though she was unable from her other engagements to take any part in the movement."

MRS. GROTE.

(Died January, 1879.)

By the Reform Act you have invested with a large measure of representative power the classes who do not represent property, or at least in very small proportions, but who live by their labour; that is to say, you have augmented the weight of the representation of numbers; then, is it not fair that at least the property side should be in possession of all its legitimate power? Why, when you have augmented one side of the representation, are you not to give the full measure of its power to the other? I think that is an additional reason for giving the franchise to women, that is to women who occupy the position of citizens, bearing the burdens to which their position is subject, contributing to the support of the State, and having the liabilities which attach to property.—*From a speech at Hanover Square Rooms, March 26th, 1870.*

LADY ANNA GORE-LANGTON.

(Died February, 1879.)

A great many social questions are annually brought before Parliament, such as all matters relating to health, education and guardianship of children, marriage laws, employment, and remuneration of labour. These questions affect both sexes, and women ought to be allowed to express their opinions through their representatives in Parliament. In these days, prejudices are slowly disappearing before the brighter light of knowledge and liberality; but principles must always remain the same. It will always be a principle that Christian women should be meek, humble, modest, and charitable; but it is a prejudice to suppose that giving them the franchise will make them less so. Intellect has been given to them which enables them to form opinions—whether equal or not to men we need not consider; such as it is, they are answerable for making the best use of it for themselves and others. I agree that women's duties begin at home—they begin there, but there they do not end. Wherever there is poverty or sorrow, need or suffering, there it is the duty of women to follow, and try to alleviate or remedy the evil. It is because I believe that if women had the political vote they would be raised morally and socially, and have more power to help and benefit their fellow-creatures, that I am here to-night to try and advocate the cause of women's suffrage.—*Speech at Bristol meeting, March 4th, 1875.*

MISS MARTINEAU.

(Died June, 1876.) "Society in America," Vol. I., p. 150.

"The interests of women who have fathers and husbands can never be identical with theirs while there is a necessity for laws to protect women against their husbands and fathers. This statement is not worth another word.

"Some who desire that there should be an equality of property between men and women oppose representation on the ground

that political duties would be incompatible with the other duties which women have to discharge. The reply to this is that women are the best judges here. God has given time and power for the discharge of all duties; and if He had not, it would be for women to decide which they would take, and which they would leave."

MRS. JAMESON.

(Died March, 1860.) "Winter Studies," &c., Vol. I., 104, 1838.

"I am not one of those who opine sagely, that women have nothing to do with politics."

"Communion of Labour." 1856. Page 24.

"I have the deepest conviction, founded not merely on my own experience and observation, but on the testimony of some of the wisest and best men among us, that to enlarge the working sphere of woman to the measure of her faculties, to give her a more practical and authorised share in all social arrangements which have for their object the amelioration of evil and suffering, is to elevate her in the social scale; and that whatever renders womanhood respected and respectable in the estimation of the people tends to humanise and refine the people."

MRS. NASSAU SENIOR.

(Died 1877.) Inspector of the Female Departments of Workhouses and Workhouse Schools; appointed 1873.

(Letter from the late Mrs. Nassau Senior to the Secretary of the Central Committee.)

Lavender Hill, Wandsworth Road, S.W.,
April 10th, 1875.

Dear Madam,—The Reports of the Debate on the Women's Disabilities Bill, and the leading articles in the *Times*, show so plainly that the question is not dealt with fairly either by the legislature or the press, that I feel it a duty (holding as I do that women have a just claim to the franchise) to do my utmost to promote the success of the measure, regardless of any effect

which this may possibly have on my chances of future employment under the Local Government Board, or of election to any Board of Guardians.

I can do little to help on the cause, as I am confined to my bed, with small prospect of any immediate improvement in my health, but I should like to have any petitions sent me to sign, and I enclose £1 for the fund.

I am, dear madam, yours truly,

J. E. SENIOR.

MRS. SOMERVILLE.

(Died November, 1872.) "Personal Recollections," p. 344, and p. 346.

"The British laws are adverse to women; and we are deeply indebted to Mr. Stuart Mill for daring to show their iniquity and injustice. The law in the United States is in some respects even worse, insulting the sex, by granting suffrage to the newly-emancipated slaves, and refusing it to the most highly-educated republic.

"I joined in a petition to the Senate of London University, praying that degrees might be granted to women, but it was rejected. I have also frequently signed petitions to Parliament for the female suffrage, and have the honour now to be a member of the general committee for Woman Suffrage in London."

I can do little to help in the cause, as I am confined to my bed with small progress of the inflammatory affection in my health, but I should like to have any petitions sent me as they and I would all be the same.

I am, dear madam, your truly
J. E. Senior

MRS. SOMERVILLE
10, Grosvenor Street, London, W.

The British laws are adverse to women; and we are the only nation in the world which has not granted to women their natural rights. The law in the United States is in some respects more liberal than in this country, but still it is not equal to the rights of the male sex. It is the most highly educated and enlightened nation in the world, and yet it has not granted to women the same rights as it has to men. It is a disgrace to the British Empire that it should be the only nation in the world which has not granted to women the same rights as it has to men. It is a disgrace to the British Empire that it should be the only nation in the world which has not granted to women the same rights as it has to men.

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ANNUAL REPORT

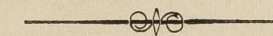
OF THE

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-

* 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. M'Carthy 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, ^{as} ~~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	203 11 4	Salaries	149 19 10½
„ Cash in Secretary's hands	12 9 5	Rent	59 18 8
„ Balance of Cheque for Norwich expenses	..	Office Expenses	26 11 3¼
1879. April 30th—	..	Newspapers	31 14 10½
Donations	..	Postage and Carriage	42 19 10
Sale of Tickets and Publications	..	Office Books and Stationery	12 8 2
Shilling League	..	Payments to Agents	27 8 1½
Legacy	..	Meetings	192 15 6½
Special Fund	..	Advertisements	1 5 0
Sale of Stock	..	Printing	55 8 0
Interest on Capital	..	Incidental Expenses	20 12 5
Balance of Funds from Local Committees	..	Parliamentary Agent: Salary and Expenses	110 8 1
Loan...	..	Investment of Legacy	526 12 6
		Balance in London and County Bank	£17 9 1
		Subscriptions, &c., since received	2 8 0
		Balance in hand	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 | Elcho, 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. Tyring. (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

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. Tyring. (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 R.	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	0			
Beevor, Miss ...	0	5	0			
Belloc, Madame ...	0	2	6			
Bell, Mr. A. G. ...	0	2	0			
Benham, Mr. James ...	0	10	6			
Benham, Mrs. ...	0	5	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.	...	...	...	...	...	...
Brooke, Mr. T. T.	0	10	6	...	2	0 0
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	...	...	...
Gold, 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	...	...	...
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	...	...	...
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	3	0	0
Hunter, Mrs. W. B.				1	0	0
Hutchinson, Miss	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	0	10	6
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 ^c Kee, Miss E. C.	0	5	0			
M ^c 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				0	5	0
Mayo, Miss	0	1	0			
Mills, Miss	0	2	6			
Molyneux, Lady	1	0	0			
Moore, Mr. Ernest	0	5	0			
Mordan, Miss	1	0	0			
Morris, Mr. Lewis	1	1	0			

	Annual Subscriptions.			Donations.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Muggleton, The Misses				5	0	0
Müller, Miss	0	1	0			
Müller, Mrs.	0	2	6			
Murray, Rev. Alex.	0	1	0			
Newman, Mrs.	1	0	0			
Newman, Professor	2	2	0			
Nichol, Mr. Henry	1	0	0			
Nicol, Miss Louisa	0	1	6			
Norman, Mrs.						
Oakes, Mrs. The late (legacy)				500	0	0
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				2	2	0
Pennack, Mrs. (2 years)	0	5	0	20	0	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.				5	0	0
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			

	Annual Subscriptions.			Donations.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Sims, Mrs. ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...
Slack, Mrs.	1	1	0	...	...	...
Slatter, Miss	0	2	6	...	...	...
Smith, Mr. E. H.	1	0	0	...	...	...
Smith, Mrs. R.	0	1	6	...	...	...
Southall, The Misses	0	10	0	...	...	...
Soutney, Mrs.	0	2	6	...	...	...
Sparling, Miss	1	1	0	...	...	...
Spears, Rev. R.	0	5	0	...	...	...
Spokes, Lady and the Misses	0	10	0	...	...	...
Stobart, Mrs.	0	5	0	...	...	...
Swaagmann, Mrs.	0	2	6	...	...	...
Swanwick, Miss Anna	2	2	0	...	...	...
Symon, Mr. J. S. ... ..	...	...	...	1	0	0
Taylor, Mrs. M. E.	1	0	0	...	...	...
Taylor, Mr. Benjamin	0	5	0	...	...	...
Taylor, Mrs. Molyneux ... ..	...	...	...	1	1	0
Taylor, Mr. and Mrs. P. A.	30	0	0	...	...	...
Taylor, Mrs. Thomas	5	0	0	...	...	...
Tebb, Mr. and Mrs. William	2	2	0	...	...	...
Tennant, Mrs.	0	10	0	...	...	...
Thomas, Miss	0	10	6	...	...	...
Thomas, Mrs. Charles	1	1	0	...	...	...
Thomasson, Mr. and Mrs. J.	50	0	0	...	...	...
Tolmé, Mrs.	0	2	6	...	...	...
Tracey, Mrs.	0	2	6	...	...	...
Trautmann, Mrs.	0	2	6	...	...	...
Turner, Mrs., (Bognor)	0	5	0	...	...	...
Turner, Mrs.	0	10	6	...	...	...
Vaughen, Miss E. M. ... ..	...	...	...	1	0	0
Van Putten, Miss	0	2	6	...	...	...
Vincent, Miss C.	0	5	0	...	...	...
Wade, Miss	0	2	6	...	...	...
Wade, Mrs.	0	2	6	...	...	...
Wanse, Miss	1	0	0	...	...	...
Warren, Miss	0	10	6	...	...	...
Waterall, Mr. Nath.	0	5	0	...	...	...
Wates, Mrs.	0	5	0	...	...	...
Wharnclyff, Dowager Lady	2	2	0	...	...	...
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	...	...	...
Wilson, Sir R. K.	0	10	0	...	...	...
Wood, Mrs. Charles	0	10	0	...	...	...
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.

Executive Committee.

Mrs. ASHFORD
W. H. ASHURST, Esq.
Miss BECKER
ALFRED W. BENNETT, Esq., M.A.
Miss CAROLINE ASHURST BIGGS
Miss HELEN BLACKBURN
Miss J. BOUCHERETT
JACOB BRIGHT, Esq., M.P.
Mrs. JACOB BRIGHT
Mrs. CAIRD
Mrs. CAIRNES
Hon. EMMELINE CANNING
F. W. CHESSON, Esq.
Miss F. POWER COBBE
Miss JANE COBDEN
Miss COURTENAY
LEONARD COURTNEY, Esq., M.P.
Mrs. JOSEPH CROSS
The Hon. Mrs. MAURICE DRUMMOND
E. B. EASTWICK, Esq., C.B.
Mrs. H. FAWCETT
W. FORSYTH, Esq., Q.C., M.P.
Miss RHODA GARRETT
Miss AGNES GARRETT
Mrs. R. GLOVER
Mrs. ASHWORTH HALLETT
Viscountess HARBERTON
THOMAS HARE, Esq.

Miss HART
Miss K. HILL
FREDERIC HILL, Esq.
C. H. HOPWOOD, Esq., Q.C., M.P.
Mrs. JOHN HULLAH
Mrs. SAMUEL LUCAS
Mrs. E. M. LYNCH
ROBERT MAIN, Esq.
DUNCAN McLAREN, Esq., M.P.
Mrs. DUNCAN McLAREN
Mrs. CHARLES McLAREN
FREDERICK PENNINGTON, Esq., M.P.
Mrs. F. PENNINGTON
Miss REEVES
Miss ROBERTSON
Mrs. SCATCHERD
GEORGE SHIPTON, Esq.
Mrs. JAMES STANSFELD
Rev. S. A. STEINTHAL
Miss SURGE
J. S. SYMON, Esq.
Miss HELEN TAYLOR
Mrs. PETER A. TAYLOR
Mrs. THOMAS TAYLOR
Miss TOD
Mrs. WEBSTER
Miss WILLIAMS
Mrs. CHARLES WOOD

General Committee.

Aldis, M. S., Esq.
Aldis, Mrs.
Aitken, Miss Mary Carlyle
Amos, Professor Sheldon
Amos, Mrs. S.
Anderson, Mrs. Garrett, M.D.
Anstruther, Sir Robert, Bart., M.P.
Anstruther, Lady
Anthony, Chas., Esq., jun.
Anthobus, Sir Edmund, Bart., M.P.
Arnold, Edwin, Esq.
Askey, Mrs.
Babb, Miss C. E.
Bastian, H. C., Esq., M.D., F.L.S., F.R.S.
Beedy, Miss
Bennett, Sir John
Bernays, Dr. A.
Biggs, Miss Ashurst
Blennerhassett, R. P., Esq., M.P.
Boecker, Miss
Bostock, Miss
Boucherett, Miss L.
Bowring, Lady
Brine, Colonel
Brine, Mrs.
Brooke, Rev. Stopford
Brooks, Maurice, Esq., M.P.
Brown, Alexander, Esq., M.P.
Browne, Mrs. Samuel W.
Buchan, Jas. S., Esq.
Buckton, Mrs. Joseph
Bunting, Percy, Esq.
Bunting, Mrs.
Burn, Rev. R., M.A.
Burns, Rev. Dawson
Burns, Mrs. D.
Burt, Thomas, Esq., M.P.
Burton, Mrs. Hill
Buss, Mrs. Septimus
Butler, Rev. G.
Butler, Mrs.
Charley, W. T., Esq., M.P.
Chesson, Mrs.

Clark, Mrs. Helen Bright
Clarke, Thos. Chatfield, Esq.
Cobden, Miss
Collier, W. F., Esq.
Colvin, Sydney, Esq., M.A.
Courtauld, Saml., Esq.
Cowen, Joseph, Esq., M.P.
Croad, G. H., Esq.
Crook, Joseph, Esq.
Crook, Mrs.
Cullinan, Max, Esq., M.A.
Dale, Rev. R. W.
Dalglish, Robert, Esq.
Dalway, R. M., Esq., M.P.
Daniell, Mrs.
Darwin, Erasmus, Esq.
Davies, Rev. Llewelyn
Dickson, T. A., Esq., M.P.
Dilke, Ashton, Esq.
Dilke, Mrs. Ashton
Dimsdale, Robt., Esq.
Dixon, George, Esq.
Duckworth, Canon
Earp, Thos., Esq., M.P.
Eiloart, Mrs.
Elliot, Lady Charlotte
Ellis, Alex., J., Esq., F.R.S.
Elmy, B. J., Esq.
Estlin, Miss
Ewing, H. E. Crum, Esq.
Ewing, A. Orr, Esq., M.P.
Exeter, the Lord Bishop of
Fawcett, W., Esq.
Fawcett, Mrs. W.
Fisher, Mrs.
Fitch, J. G., Esq.
Fitz Maurice, Lord Edmond, M.P.
Forsyth, Mrs.
Fowler, R. N., Esq.
Fraser, Rev. Donald
Goldsmid, Lady
Graves, A. P., Esq.
Green, Mrs.

GENERAL COMMITTEE—continued.

Grieve, Jas. J., Esq.
Hamilton, Mrs.
Hamilton, Mrs. J.
Hamilton, Miss
Hardwick, W., Esq., M.D.
Hargreaves, Mrs. William
Harkness, Miss
Haweis, Rev. H. R.
Hawkes, Alderman
Heron, D. C., Esq., Q.C.
Heywood, Jas., Esq., F.R.S.
Hill, Mrs. Frank H.
Hoare, Henry, Esq.
Hodgson, Professor W. B.
Hodgson, Mrs.
Hoggan, Mrs. Frances, M.D.
Holland, Mrs. Charles
Houghton, Lord
Howard, James, Esq.
Howell, George, Esq.
Howitt, Mrs. William
Hughes, Prof. McKenny
Hullah, John, Esq.
Hunt, Alfred W., Esq.
Hunt, Mrs.
Hunter, Professor W. A.
Illingworth, A., Esq.
Jackson, John H., Esq., M.D.
Jacoby, Alfred, Esq.
Jebb, R. C., Esq., M.A.
Jenkins, D. J., Esq., M.P.
Jenner, Miss
Johnstone, Wm., Esq.
Kane, Sir Robt., M.D.
Kane, Lady
Kerry, The Knight of
Kingsley, Mrs. Henry
Kinneer, J. Boyd, Esq.
Kirk, Professor
Kitchener, F. E., Esq.
Kitchener, Mrs.
Knighton, W., Esq., LL.D.
Ladell, Mrs. H. M.
Law, Hon. W. Towrie
Lawrie, Mrs. A.
Lawson, Sir Wilfred, Bart., M.P.
Laye, Mrs. Ramsay
Le Geyt, Miss Alice
L'Estrange, Rev. A. G.
Lewis, Mrs. G. H.
Liddell, Hon. Mrs. Thomas
Liveing, Professor
Lucraft, Benjamin, Esq.
Lush, Dr. J. A., M.P.
Lusk, Sir Andrew, Bart., M.P.
MacCaig, J. S., Esq.
MacCombie, Wm., Esq.
Macdonell, Mrs. James
McLagan, Peter, Esq., M.P.
McLaren, Alex., Esq., M.P.
McLaren, Miss Agnes
Macmillan, Alex., Esq.
Malleon, Mrs. F.
Malleon, W. T., Esq.
Malleon, Mrs. W. T.
Mallet, Sir Louis, C.B.
Mar, Countess of
Marsden, Mark, Esq.
Masson, Professor
Miall, Edward, Esq.
Miller, John, Esq.
Mills, Arthur, Esq.
Moore, Lady Jane
Morrison, Walter, Esq.
Mundella, A. J., Esq., M.P.
Murphy, Rev. G. M.
Murray, Sir John, B.A.
Mylne, Mrs.
Nesbitt, H. A., Esq., M.A.

Ness, G., Esq.
Newman, Professor F. W.
Nichol, Mrs.
Nightingale, Miss Florence
Otway, Arthur, Esq., M.P.
Palmer, J. Hinde, Esq.
Pankhurst, Dr.
Parry, H., Esq.
Parry, Lady Maude
Paterson, Mrs.
Pattison, Rev. Mark
Pattison, Mrs.
Paulton, Mrs. A. W.
Pears, Edwin, Esq.
Picton, Rev. J. Allanson, M.A.
Pochin, H. D., Esq.
Pochin, Mrs.
Poole, Stanley Lane, Esq., M.R.A.S.
Potter, T. B., Esq., M.P.
Powell, Hugh P., Esq.
Pratt, Hodgson, Esq.
Probyn, J. W., Esq.
Reed, E. J., Esq., C.B., M.P.
Richard, Henry, Esq., M.P.
Ricketts, Ernest B., Esq.
Roberts, Owen, Esq.
Rogers, Prof. Thorold
Rossetti, Wm. M., Esq.
Rylands, Peter, Esq., M.P.
Rylands, Mrs.
Samuelson, H. B., Esq., M.P.
Sandwith, Humphrey, Esq., C.B., D.C.L.
Scholefield, Mrs.
Sessions, Frederick, Esq.
Shaen, William, Esq.
Sharp, Mrs. Risden
Sharpe, Rev. T. W.
Shore, Miss Arabella
Shortt, J., Esq.
Sidgwick, Henry, G., M.A.
Sinclair, Sir J. G. Tollemache, Bt., M.P.
Spender, Miss
Stansfeld, Right Hon. James, M.P.
Stevenson, Miss Flora C.
Stevenson, Miss Louisa
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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.

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WHAT WOMEN HAVE A RIGHT TO,

A LECTURE

BY

ARABELLA SHORE.

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WHAT WOMEN HAVE A RIGHT TO.

(A Lecture addressed March 2nd, 1879, to a meeting of members of Working Women's Unions at the Office of the Women's Protective and Provident League, 36, Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn.)

I have been asked to address you on the above subject, and I will at once begin by explaining what I consider to be included in that somewhat large and comprehensive title, "What Women have a Right to." They have a right to a livelihood, to a fair day's wages for a fair day's work, which means what it means with men, allowing for all the influences which necessarily affect its precise nature according to varying times and places; the means to live decently and with sufficient comfort and to bring up a family decently. It means also a right to just and equal laws, to have their interests, their persons and their property, as well protected, as completely their own, as those of men are. And finally it means,—because this last right is the guarantee of all the others,—a right to the position of citizens and the privileges belonging to such, which include a share in the regulation by law of their own affairs.

The key to this right, and consequently to all the others, is in one simple measure, that is, in the Bill for the removal of the Electoral Disabilities of Women, in one word for the admission of Women householders to the Parliamentary Suffrage. The Suffrage is the right to vote for a Member of Parliament. Every county and every borough has the right to choose one or two members to represent them in the House of Commons. It is considered that every class in the community should have something to do with the making of the laws by which we are governed. This we have by having a control over the members who make those laws. Of course the chief immediate power is in the hands of the Ministers who direct all affairs, but then those Ministers depend entirely on having a majority in the House of Commons, that is on the greatest number of members being willing to vote for their measures. And that majority must attend to the wishes of the constituencies that return them. For, if they go against those views, that constituency will not return them again, but will choose some one who suits them better. This is what is called Representative Government and it is the principle acted upon in many other matters, in Municipal Councils, in School Boards and whenever any class have rights or interests which they desire to defend; that is, they choose some out of their body to manage their cause for them, and if it is not well done they choose others in their place. The people of England are in this case, and we come back to that, that they have or ought to have a voice in the management of the country's affairs.

But when we ask, who are the people? we are answered, why, almost all the men. The women? no, they have nothing to do,

but to be governed, to submit and to obey. You know what the qualification which gives a man a right to vote, is. If he lives in a town, it is the being the head of a household and paying rates, if he is in the country, it is the having a freehold or paying £12 rental. Well, this brings down the right to vote very low indeed, to all but the agricultural labourers, and it is very likely that they will soon have it given them by an Act of Parliament; and then, this will be the state of the case, that the governing class will consist of all the men, and the governed of all the women. And a great number of these our rulers will be much less educated than you, less orderly and less law-abiding, and at all events they will not be as good judges as you of your own interests and your own wishes, and yet they will settle for you your dearest, your most domestic affairs, such as your relations with your husbands and your care of your children, and you will have no voice in it at all, no more than you have now.

I am often asked,—and it is quite right in people to be careful that they understand what our meaning and our object is,—do we ask the Suffrage for married women as well as widows and single women? I answer, certainly not. This must be particularly understood, because objections are founded on a misunderstanding in this matter. It is not of course that married women are not just as fit as single women and have not equally interests to be defended; but we can only ask it for those women who have the qualifications that give it to men. We go by the law just as it is, and householders' suffrage is the law of the land. Well, we ask why half the householders are excluded, why no amount of property gives women any right? Can any one tell me why? Do not women manage their property just as well as men? Do they not pay the rates and taxes? Is not the work they do in the world just as useful as that of men? Could this great community go on living and prospering without women, any more than it could without men? have they not their places, their work, their functions in it, and most important ones? They keep the home and regulate the household, they rear the future generation, they help to earn the bread, not unfrequently they are the principal bread-winners. To do all this requires faculties which fits a woman for larger spheres just as a man's work does him.

What then is the reason but *because* they are women? that is beings whom men, through prejudices handed down from ancient and barbarous times, regard as their inferiors and therefore think that they ought not to have the same rights and privileges. There *was* a time when women were treated just like animals and it is not to be wondered at therefore if they were then in many respects much inferior to men. And for a long while women were contented with this debased condition. It was just as with slaves, who were not regarded as human beings, and had no idea that they had rights and duties too, as human beings, like their masters. But men have grown more civilized, and women too have discovered that they are fit for something better than subjection and drudgery. Since they have had leave to use their

faculties, they have used them well; and many a beautiful book, many a good work, many a wise thought and courageous undertaking, do we owe to women. I do not accuse men in general of undervaluing us; I think they have gladly accorded us this better social position and this liberty to use our faculties, and do us justice in their estimation of us, now that they see what we can do. But the law does not do so, for the law in these respects is the survival of old and barbarous notions. You see there is scarcely a class of men that the law does not put above women in this matter of the vote; and, from the strength of habit and dislike to change, even good men will maintain this state of things to be right. The law has pronounced no class of men to be ineligible for the vote save paupers, idiots, lunatics and criminals. But a man can hardly be enough of any of these things to disqualify himself; for if an idiot just knows the names of the candidates or the parties, he can vote, or the lunatic in a lucid interval; the pauperism of course need not be a permanent disqualification; and an ex-convict, however often he has been convicted, may vote as soon as he is free from the penalties of the law. But you, however wealthy, sensible, virtuous or respectable, may *never* vote, because you are women. It is said that women are too silly, too ignorant, too I know not what, to vote. No doubt, many women do know nothing of politics, but then there are many men who do not either. And if women are too silly and ignorant to do what the silliest and most ignorant men are fit to do, they must surely be unfit to manage any business whatever. We should ask what *are* politics? They are the affairs of the nation, the mode in which it is governed, the laws that are made for it and the whole machinery by which that law-making is carried on. And these laws regulate our actions in many serious and important matters. The laws have to do with us in our houses, our marriages and children, our work and callings, our buyings and sellings, and are not women deeply concerned with all this? And there are between 300,000 and 400,000 women, widows and single, who pay rates and taxes, that is about the seventh part of the whole number of the ratepayers; all these are in exactly the same position as men, maintaining themselves or living on their property, and helping to maintain the State. If men desire the suffrage for themselves, may not the women who are in the same position as men desire it too?

Do you know the reason why men desire to have votes? It is a right which Englishmen have set themselves steadily to acquire and to maintain as the most precious of rights. It is in the first place because it is the best defence against a tyranny. There is the tyranny of a single man, the sovereign. In some countries he has absolute power to do what he likes with his subjects, but with us he cannot do so, for he is under the control of a Ministry who owe their power to the consent of all the people. Moreover, it is a defence against the tyranny of a class or classes over the others. You know that in former days, and even now in some other countries, the nobility, that is the men of rank and the great wealthy landowners, have kept the other

classes subject to them, making laws for their own advantage and exacting labour, military service and money from the working classes. But even now the classes that have most to do with making the laws may be apt to make laws too favourable to themselves, to neglect the interests of the classes below them and not look into their grievances. Well, through their possession of a vote, classes of men can look after their own interests in the manner I have told you, by selecting men who will undertake this duty in Parliament.

This leads us to the first reason why women ought to have the Suffrage. They have various grievances to which men are not exposed. Of course in a general way the laws made for men affect women as well; in the matter of taxation women's interests are the same as men's, and in general the laws for the protection of person and property are the same. But there is an exception, that is in the laws concerning women in their special relation to men, that is as wives and mothers; and these laws are unjust and often even cruel. This is a grievance which affects all classes of women, the rich as well as the poor; because the law has decided that a woman, on marrying, forfeits all her rights and becomes entirely her husband's property, she and all that she has. It is true that in the case of rich persons there is a device called settlements which for the sake of the children, not the wife, will secure her property in some measure, but this is a very imperfect and uncertain arrangement, and it does not give her the real possession of it. Also, a few years ago a law was passed which gives a married woman a right to her own earnings. All you working women must feel what cruel wrongs were caused by that state of the law which enabled a bad husband who did not work but only wasted, to seize for himself all the hard earned money with which the wife was trying to maintain herself and her children. But all this has been badly done and though people allow that the law wants further improving and still causes many hardships, it is very difficult to get any alteration made in it.

Then with respect to children—you know that by law they belong to the father only, the mother has no right to them at all. The father is to decide how they are to be brought up, and if the mother objects they may be taken from her. Even if the father is dead, the mother is not their natural guardian; he may leave the care of them to any one he pleases, and the mother may be punished if she persists in retaining her own children. I have known mothers who rather than submit to this law which took their children from them and gave them to a stranger's charge, have run away to foreign countries and hidden themselves under false names with them.

Now, do you think that if women had any share in making or altering the laws they would allow such laws to stand?

These laws, as I have said, apply only to married women, but there are other laws that apply to all; and what we complain of is that women have not been consulted at all about them. There are the Factory and Workshop Acts for instance, meant kindly no doubt, in order to protect workwomen from being overworked

by their employers, as it is supposed that women cannot protect themselves. But there is no real reason why they should not do so; it is treating them like children, and such legislation is the way to keep them still more dependent, more helpless, more unfit to take care of themselves. And the results of this interference are in many ways such as to make the women's case worse than it was; their work becomes less valuable and their wages are reduced, or they are dismissed, and men, who are not so restricted, are taken in their place. This happened once in Wales, all the women were dismissed from a factory on the ground that their work could not keep pace with the men's; so they had to find work in farms and publichouses where they had longer hours and less pay. And besides, these regulations are very minute, disagreeable and inquisitorial, their hours and places of work and meals are fixed for them and inspectors may come into a house where workwomen are employed at any hour of the day or night with a policeman to see that the rules are observed; refusal to admit them being punished by a fine of £5. A poor woman working in her own room with a single assistant is liable to this inspection. And a House of Commons composed of men settles all this, without regard to women's views on the subject. The women's delegates to the Trades' Congress protesting against restrictive legislation for grown-up women obtained no attention, the evidence given by women before the Royal Commission was disregarded and an audience was refused to a deputation of women by the Home Secretary. This and other facts of a like nature make one feel that, so far as special legislation for them is concerned, women are living under a despotism, not a free government.

But even worse than the hardships inflicted by law are the difficulties of women's economic position, the difficulty of gaining your bread, the difficulty of keeping sufficiently ahead in the struggle for existence. There are nearly a million more women in England than men; and there are upwards of three millions of women who have to work for their bread, and these require the power of self-protection as much as men do, in some respects even more.

We know that women's wages are very low, always much lower than men's, even when employed in the same business, in many occupations not enough to raise them much above destitution. We know that there is no fixed standard for women's wages, that they vary capriciously, being pretty much what employers choose to give them, that the women are in many respects at the mercy of those employers, subject to sudden unfair reductions, that they have often to work very hard with long hours and inadequate pay. Various reasons are given for this. One is the excess of supply over demand, and this is no doubt true in certain kinds of labour, as for instance needlework, in which we know that unfortunate creatures may come down to twopence or threepence a day and be found at last dead of hunger on their garret floor. But this is not true in many kinds of work, for in some even of the worst paid there is a constant demand for women, bills and advertisements being posted up to that effect. Another reason given is the absence of skilled work in women,

and no doubt it is part of their distressed condition that they cannot afford to get the early special training which men can procure, and so are obliged to overcrowd the callings that require less training and are paid less. But also even where they do such work as, from the peculiar delicacy of touch that it requires, is best suited to women, and in which long training has made them skilled, they yet receive but from 11s. to 17s. per week while the roughest most unskilled workmen have 18s. Want of strength is also alleged against them, but it has been testified by their employers that they make up for that by working quicker and having more energy of will to compress more work into a given time; and indeed, when women will work from twelve to eighteen hours a day, such endurance testifies to a strength which is something more than that of muscle. This is said to be the case in the cigar trade, in which they receive forty per cent less than the men. We must look then for other reasons as well as those mentioned for this general low value of women's work and I think we shall find one cause to be the kind of prejudice which causes women to be regarded as naturally inferiors, which causes far less account to be made of their work than men's, which makes all the high, honourable, well-paid callings to be kept for men. No doubt in early times it was considered that every woman would marry, and that, as her only business was to keep the home and rear the children while the man worked for them, there was no need of a calling for her. But this we know is now far from being the case; for besides the nearly a million of surplus women who cannot marry, many of whom have to maintain themselves, a great number of the wives have to work also to help to maintain their homes. Here then we have a strange state of things, a rapidly growing class of the community, sober and industrious, working with the greatest energy and application and yet with all their efforts unable to support themselves by the payment of their labour, as shown by the wages they receive. And I have shown you how little value is attached to their work, how often they are at the mercy of their employers who may be exacting, capricious or unjust, and we know that the too common alternatives for women who cannot live by the work of their hands are vice, the workhouse or destitution.

Now when men in the employment of others have been under like unfavourable circumstances they have as we know an organization ready which assists them in various ways. You all know the advantages of these Unions, and it has occurred to many of you that women might do the like, that if like men they combined to stand out for their rights they might secure better treatment and fairer pay. I shall not dwell on the benefit you derive from these Protective and Provident Unions, for you all know much more of them than I do; and all the advice and guidance you require, you can obtain from your excellent friend and Secretary, Mrs. Paterson.

But what I wish to impress upon you is that these Unions for your own protection, this organization of women's work, are a kind of beginning of political life; this is what men do who have

resolved to protect their rights from any unfair law or any oppression by Government. It was by such unions that the people of England have obtained their freedom, a fair and just Government and the abolition of bad laws. It is not necessary fortunately to regard yourselves as fighting against tyrants or trying to force others to yield you advantages over them; because the evil comes in a great degree from ignorance on all sides, and you by understanding your own interests will help others to understand them too; and besides the good of all classes, of employers and workers, of governors and governed, is bound closely up together, and we are acting for the whole when we are acting wisely and honestly for a part. And by such action you are fitting yourselves for having a share in the general protection and defence of all the peoples' rights, which are yours too in a general way, just as the right to fair wages and just treatment from your employers is yours in a special way. Thinking and acting together for a common object is an inestimable political education. And if women, thus learning to organize themselves and act together for the good of each and of all, will bring those means to bear on the one great object of obtaining the suffrage, and if thus they obtain it, men will necessarily from that time regard them as equals; they will rise in social importance and they will value themselves more. And again when they have a part in the business of government—I mean as much part as all men who, like them, work and pay to maintain the government have—the share this gives them in common action, the feeling that they help to form a public opinion, to give power to the public opinion, all this again will help them still more to a habit of union and co-operation. No class needs this habit and this training more than working women; they have interests as a class which they themselves must best defend when once they are roused to it and know how.

2.—I have given you thus one reason why women should have the vote, that is to take care of their own interests, but there are other reasons of a more general nature which are of great importance to the well-being of the community. One is that they can help to advocate measures for the good of the country. There is much that sensible women can understand and can do in public matters without being at all required to interfere in what is beyond them. In all matters affecting the welfare of the people we have a right to an opinion and we ought to try to have one as far as our knowledge goes. Now there have been instances where women have shown such knowledge and acted upon it. In that great question of more than thirty years ago, the abolition of the Corn laws, those laws that were meant to keep bread dear for the benefit of the landholders, the women did not fear to come forward in the cause they believed in. Ladies went canvassing for signatures to petitions from door to door in the depths of winter; working women attended public meetings in crowds. I remember at a meeting on the Women's Suffrage at which I was present a working man giving us one of the experiences of his childhood as an instance of the usefulness of women's counsel

on important subjects: His father was a labourer on some great estate and at the time of the election when the contest about the Corn laws was at the hottest, he knew that his employer expected him to vote in the farmers' interests, for keeping up the price of corn, and meant to do so. But his mother who had nine children pondered on the matter "while looking after them and cooking the dinner" as our friend was careful to tell us, and she came to the conclusion that if corn was allowed to enter the country freely, its price would be lowered and there would be more bread to put in their children's mouths. So she worked on him till he had the courage to vote for the candidate who advocated the abolition of this unjust tax upon food.

In another very late question women have shown their interest in public matters and tried to influence them. This was when we believed our Government was desirous of going to war in favour of the Turks and a memorial to be signed by women only was drawn up addressed to the Queen praying her to use her influence in favour of Peace. It was signed eagerly by crowds of women, working women especially, who dreaded the misery and destitution that war would produce, and felt already the ill effect in their own homes of the disturbance of trade.

It was, I think, much to the credit of women that they came forward so decidedly to express a deep conviction on so important a question. But would not this action have been much stronger and more useful if it were known that these women had a vote; would not their petitions be more regarded if the Government and Members of Parliament had to pay the same respect to women that they do to men, as persons who help to return them to their seats and whose opinion therefore was of consequence to them?

3.—A third and very important reason is that by this means women may promote morality in the nation. Women ought to bring into every business they have to do with a moral element. They ought to stand up, as much as they can, against cruelty and injustice, fraud and vice. On the first point, we had an opportunity lately of expressing our feelings in the same way as in the Memorial for Peace, indeed a year or so before that Memorial a petition was presented to the Queen signed by 40,000 women praying her to use her influence to stop the horrible cruelties that were then being inflicted by the Turkish authorities on their unhappy subjects in Bulgaria. This petition was in the cause of humanity, a cause in which I am sure women will never be indifferent. They showed this in a contest happily over many years ago, for the abolition of the wicked Slave Trade. All the country was stirred in this great question and women took a passionate part in it, working with all their might, giving money, time, labour, health to what they felt to be a sacred cause.

And there is another subject in which women are more deeply concerned than perhaps in any other, that is, that habit of drinking which produces at least two-thirds of the crime and two-thirds of the misery in England, some will say a great deal more. You all know how strong a body politically the publicans, are and how much they had to do with returning the

present Parliament which they believed would be favourable to their interests, that is unfavourable to yours, for you do not I believe wish that the facilities for drinking should be increased, but the contrary, if possible. There will always be danger of the drink interest predominating in the House of Commons as long as the persons concerned in it are so very large, so very wealthy, so very important a class. But if women had the Parliamentary vote they would join with a large number of good men who are working now, to make a very strong opposing force. A journal once said that women must not have the vote, because if they had they would get all the publichouses shut up. This we know is nonsense; but it shows which way the women's vote would go. And this is not mere guess-work; for it happens that we have an instance in America of the working of the women's suffrage. There is a small territory called Wyoming where for the last ten years women and men have had equal rights in voting. Well, the first thing the women did was to put a stop to the prevalence of drinking which manifested itself not only at the elections but in the House of Legislature itself. "At our first election" says a Judge in the Supreme Court of Wyoming who was called to give evidence on the subject "before women voted, we had a perfect Pandemonium. The saloons were all open. Whiskey was dealt out freely by the candidates to all who would vote for them. The streets were filled with men partly intoxicated, all armed with knives and pistols; it was dangerous to pass through them, bullets were flying at random. At the next election women voted, and perfect order prevailed;" and so it has been ever since. More than that, they have used the vote to defeat the saloon keepers, who on one occasion we are told, fearing the return of candidates who would help to enforce the law against the Sunday sale of liquor, got up other candidates and sent out runners to meet the rough people coming up from the mines, gave free liquor and lunches and "rolled up" a very large vote. The "law and order" party alarmed, sent to every house to tell the women how the case stood, and they turned out in the afternoon, many of them being themselves wives of saloon-keepers and carried the temperance candidates by a large majority. So good has been the moral effect of the women's taking part in elections, that the men often set aside applicants for office because their characters would not stand the criticism of women. And the men of Wyoming themselves feel the advantage of this moral influence, so much that no one now would repeal the law of women's suffrage if he could.

I must tell you one more thing about America. There is a State near Wyoming called Colorado, where from their having seen the success of this experiment among their neighbours, most earnest efforts were made to include in the universal suffrage, established there, the women's ticket as it is called. In the words of one who was present at the election "Every man in Colorado had a voice in settling women's political rights. No woman in the State had any voice in the matter." But the women were there eager to know their destiny, Grey-haired women and young

girls sat at the polling tables and offered their tickets to all who came in the hope and with the prayer that the men of Colorado would be just to the women. One proud mother said "my three men will vote for the women's suffrage. My youngest son will give his first vote for his mother." The young man's face was radiant with pride and pleasure that his first political act should be in his mother's interests. But though there was a large vote in their favour, the women were defeated, and the majority that beat them was mainly made up as we are told by very young men, by those without family ties and living in a loose manner, and by the party of the drink-interest who were without exception against them. Married men with wives who cared about the suffrage voted for them. Among their opponents were I am sorry to say coloured men, once slaves who had themselves known what it was to have rights denied them; and one said "we want the women at home cooking our dinners." A shrewd coloured woman asked "whether they had provided any dinner to cook?" adding "most of the coloured women have to provide the dinner as well as to cook it." But the women of Colorado are not disheartened and they will try again, and perhaps get their vote before we do. But let us be equally determined, equally public-spirited with the American women. Let us remember the old saying that "God helps those who help themselves." You have proved this already in these Unions; you have shown that you can work together, that you can take care of yourselves, and maintain your rights without any violence or unseemly agitation or hostility against others. Now I want you to extend this mode of action to obtaining that which will be the great defence and protection of women, the Suffrage. Do not let anyone frighten you from it by saying that it is not womanly to care about politics. It is quite womanly to care for what concerns women in general quite as much as men. Do not be ashamed of wishing for this thing, for it is wishing for the means of doing good to the country to which we belong. Our homes of course come first in our care and interests, but our homes cannot be happy if our country is not well-governed. And women who are themselves happy, safe and comfortable in their homes will feel for others and wish that they should share the same blessings. This is no question of setting women against men and men against women; we wish to be friendly fellow-workers with men. For there are many good men who are wishing and striving that we women should have the same advantage as themselves; but they say that they can only succeed by women showing that they want it. Will you not show that you do? Will you not sign the petitions which request the House of Commons to give the Suffrage to Women Householders? This is a way of proving our desire that no one can object to; it is quiet and peaceable, it does not bring you a step out of your proper or your usual sphere, it does not make your names public, and it is the mode provided by our Constitution for all members of the Community to make known their wants or their grievances to those who have the management of our affairs.

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 franchisement? 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 correlatives 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 significancy, was thrown off at a heat, by the great inquest of the nation? It is a palpable inference, incapable of avoidance, that this marked deviation from the terminology of the leading and principal Act had an object. And what other purpose could it be designed 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 Gatton 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 vey 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 *femina 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 shaft 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'oïveté*. 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 quæris, 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.



MANCHESTER NATIONAL SOCIETY
FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

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REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

DURING the past year, the work on which your Committee have been engaged has been carried on steadily, while they have been conscious of a growing sympathy and better understanding of their aims and objects among the people at large, which has afforded them great satisfaction and encouragement.

Last session Mr. Courtney varied the form of the procedure in Parliament by the introduction of the following resolution instead of a Bill :—"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."

The discussion on this resolution was of the highest significance, and the outcome of it is not by any means to be measured by the numbers in the division list. The resolution was rejected by a majority of 114 votes, 103 being recorded in its favour and 217 against it; but among this number were some who were in favour of the principle, and who have expressed themselves as willing to adopt it when the time shall have come for action. The leader of the House of Commons, speaking in his place and as it seemed on behalf of the Government, said that he felt bound to vote against a resolution which declared that the electoral disabilities of women should be at once repealed, because to support such a proposal would be to pledge the Government

to bring in a measure for altering the law in that respect. But, while he deprecated the passing of such a resolution as this, he wished to state his opinion upon the abstract question. Women had shown by the manner in which they had exercised the electoral functions permitted to them that they were not unworthy and not incapable of exercising such functions, and at a fitting time and under fitting circumstances he should be prepared to assent to a proposal that the same rank should be given to them as to others. The *Times*, in commenting on the debate, said, "This engagement is not definite, but it is no small triumph that it should have been obtained," and that "when the claims of the agricultural labourer are to be satisfied; and when the time thus arrives for a great general re-casting of the electoral scheme, the case of the women may be thrown into the crucible with the rest." Mr. Courtney may be congratulated upon this result.

It appears, indeed, now no longer probable that the question of the franchise for women will be dealt with by the Legislature apart from the general question of Parliamentary Reform, but that question must arise at no distant period, and its settlement may, for aught we know, be close at hand. Some questions relating to Parliament must be dealt with next year. There are the vacant seats to be distributed before the general election, and the Ballot Act expires in 1880. The franchise is claimed by or for the agricultural labourer, and the demand for a redistribution of seats is pressing for solution. It is quite possible that Parliament may next session be called upon to deal with the general question of Parliamentary Reform, and it is quite certain that whenever the subject of the representation of the people does come up for discussion, the settlement will be neither final nor complete unless it includes the enfranchisement of women.

The following list of constituencies whose members are favourable to the measure is corrected up to the present date, so far as your Committee has information. Those members are counted as supporters who have voted or paired for the

Bill, or who have expressed themselves favourable to its principle. On this basis, six of the three-cornered constituencies—namely, Birmingham, Buckinghamshire, Glasgow, Leeds, Liverpool, and Manchester—give either their full vote, or each a majority of their vote, in support of the Bill. Thirty constituencies, as against twenty-four in the last Parliament, have given their full vote of two each in favour of the Bill, namely:—

Blackburn	Edinburgh	Newcastle-u.-Lyme
Bolton	Finsbury	Oldham
Brighton	Halifax	Portsmouth
Bristol	Kingston-on-Hull	Preston
Devonport	Leicester	Salisbury
Dublin City	Louth	Scarborough
Dundee	Macclesfield	Stockport
Durham, N.	Meath	Waterford, City
Essex, E.	Merthyr	Wenlock
Exeter	Newcastle-on-Tyne	York

Seventy-eight constituencies, as against seventy in the last Parliament, have given their full voice of one each in favour of the measure, namely:—

Aberdeen, City	Dumfries	Kilkenny
Abingdon	Dundalk	Kilmarnock
Ashton-under-Lyne	Dungannon	Kirkcudbrightshire
Banbury	Edinburgh and St.	Kinsale
Beaumaris	Andrews Univer-	Lanark, S.
Bewdley	sities	Launceston
Burnley	Evesham	Leominster
Caithness	Falkirk	Linlithgow
Calne	Fife	Liskeard
Carmarthen Dist.	Forfarshire	Maldon
Carrickfergus	Frome	Malmesbury
Chatham	Gravesend	Middlesborough
Cheltenham	Grimsby	Morpeth
Chichester	Haddington Dist.	Newport, J.W.
Coleraine	Haverfordwest	Newry
Darlington	Hawick	Northallerton
Devizes	Helston	Orkney and Shet-
Dewsbury	Hythe	land
Droitwich	Invernesshire	Paisley
Dudley	Inverness Dist.	Pembroke, County
Dumbarton	Kidderminster	Pembroke Dist.

Portarlington	Tewkesbury	Westbury
Richmond	Tynemouth	Wexford, City
Rochdale	Wakefield	Wick
Ross and Cromarty	Wallingford	Wigtown
Stockton-on-Tees	Walsall	Windsor
Swansea	Warrington	Youghal

Fifteen constituencies have given one vote to the Bill, their other vote being neutral or unknown :—

Boston	Galway Co.	Limerick, City
Cavan	Galway City	Londonderry Co.
Clare Co.	Greenwich	Marylebone
Devon, E.	King's Co.	Mayo
Devon, N.	Limerick Co.	Queen's County

Fifty-seven constituencies have given one vote for and one against the Bill on each side :—

Bath	Gloucester, City	Salford
Bedford	Gloucester, E.	Sheffield
Bedfordshire	Grantham	Southampton
Belfast	Hackney	Southwark
Bradford	Hants, N.	Staffordshire, W.
Bury St. Edmunds	Hants, S.	Stoke-upon-Trent
Cambridge	Ipswich	Sunderland
Carlisle	Kerry Co.	Surrey, W.
Carmarthen Co.	Lancashire, N.E.	Tipperary
Chelsea	Leicester, N.	Waterford Co.
Cork Co.	Leicester, S.	Wexford Co.
Cork, City	Leitrim Co.	Wicklow Co.
Coventry	Newark	Wilts, N.
Derby	Norfolk, S.	Wolverhampton
Derby, E.	Northampton	Worcester
Devon, S.	Northamptonshire, S.	Yorkshire, North
Dover	Northumberland, S.	Riding
Durham, S.	Penryn & Falmouth	Yorkshire, West
Fermanagh	Reading	Riding N. D.
Glamorgan	Rochester	

Thus 115 constituencies, as against 94 last Parliament, give clear and full votes for the Bill; and 21 give clear, though not full, votes for it. Therefore 136 constituencies appear as distinctly ranged in favour of the Bill.*

* In this list are included constituencies represented by two or three members of the Government who are in favour of the principle of women's suffrage, but who, for the reasons stated by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, voted against Mr. Courtney's resolution.

The unusually early date of the Parliamentary division (March 7th) shortened the period during which meetings might have been held in support of it, and the circumstances of the winter, together with the preoccupation of men's minds with the calamitous aspect of affairs, consequent on the war in the East, further impeded the arrangement of meetings in January and February. In addition to the Annual General Meeting, held on November 6th, 1878, meetings were held in December in Warrington and Crewe, which were addressed by Mrs. Oliver Scatcherd and Miss Becker as a deputation from the Society. Miss Becker has also attended meetings arranged by local friends at Hyde and Hollinwood.

Meetings arranged independently of your Committee, but aided by them, have been held during the year in Middleton, Morley, Scanthorpe, Hyde (2), Romiley, Hull (3), Hessle, Sheffield (2), and the following suburbs, namely, Heeley (2), Carbrook, Four Lanes End, Parkgate, Philadelphia, Woodseats (2), West Bar (2), Park, Attercliffe (3), Rotherham (2), Milnrow, Rochdale (6), Heywood, Dronfield (3), Masbro (2).

Several Meetings have been held by Mrs. Oliver Scatcherd in Leeds, Batley, and Dewsbury, in addition to her special work in Leeds in connection with the Municipal elections. A meeting of women has also been held at York.

Lectures at watering-places have been given during the early autumn months with very satisfactory results. Miss Becker has delivered lectures at Blackpool, Llangollen, Barmouth, Aberystwith, Criccieth, Portmadoc, Penmaenmawr, Beaumaris, Colwyn Bay, Llandudno, and Buxton. Your Committee have to thank Mrs. Colman and Viscountess Harberton for their valuable help in presiding at many of these lectures.

Your Secretary has during the year attended a public meeting and Conference at Bristol, and read a paper at the Conference on "The Rights and Duties of Women in Local Government;" she has attended in London at the annual meeting of the Central Committee; and has taken part in meetings

arranged by the Central Committee at Lambeth and Tunbridge Wells, and in drawing-room meetings at the residences of Mrs. Leon, Gloucester Place; Mrs. Charles Hancock, Blandford Square; Mrs. Thomas Taylor, Hyde Park Gardens; and Viscountess Harberton, Cromwell Road. Miss Becker also convened and addressed a drawing-room meeting at 15, Langham-street, which was presided over by Mr. George Palmer, M.P.

The special meetings of women electors held in Manchester and Salford in connection with the municipal elections have been of the highest interest and importance. The women on the burgess rolls in St. Michael's and All Saints' Wards, Manchester, and Kersal and St. John's Wards, Salford—being all the wards where a contest took place in these towns—were invited to hear an address from Miss Becker, on the duties and responsibilities of the municipal vote, and to listen to speeches from the several candidates or their representatives. Four meetings were held in all. Experience proved that it was necessary to reserve the halls exclusively for women, who came in crowds, and took the liveliest interest in the proceedings. The candidates for seats in the Councils were questioned as to whether they would support a petition from the Council in favour of giving the Parliamentary vote for women, and in all cases they agreed to do so, and expressed their adhesion to the principle of women's suffrage.

The petitions this year were obtained entirely through the voluntary efforts of our friends, no paid agents being employed; and this fact, together with the shortness of the period (only seventeen days) which elapsed before the debate on Mr. Courtney's resolution, affected the number of signatures obtained. The total number of petitions presented during last session in support of women's suffrage was 853, with 35,000 signatures. Of these, 70 were sent officially, or under seal. Among the latter were petitions under their corporate seals from the following Town Councils in England:—Crewe, Dewsbury, Falmouth, Gateshead, Hartlepool, Kidderminster, Lincoln,

Luton, Northampton, Sunderland, Walsall. Of the remaining 59 petitions sent officially, 43 were from public meetings promoted by members and friends of your Committee. Of the remaining 783, 549 were presented through the efforts of friends and correspondents of your Committee; 90 of these were from Good Templar lodges in the following places:—Alnwick, Ashington Colliery, Ashton-in-Makerfield, Bacup, Barrington, Barrow-in-Furness, Bedale, Bedlington, Beverley, Blackburn (2), Blackley, Blackpool, Blyth, Bolton (3), Bradford, Broughton-in-Cleveland, Burnley (3), Bury (3), Caton, Denton, Driffield, Elswick, Falsgrove, Guisborough, Halifax (2), Hull, Keighley, Lancaster, Laythorpe, Leigh, Liverpool (11), Loftus, Manchester (7), Marske-by-the-Sea, Middlesbrough (2), New Backworth, Newcastle-upon-Tyne (4), Newchurch, North Shields (2), Padiham, Poulton-le-Fylde, Preston (3), Richmond, St. Anne's-by-the-Sea, Saltburn-by-the-Sea, Shipley, Silsden, Skipton, Throckley, Todmorden, Walsden, Widnes, Wigan, York.

Members of debating societies in the following towns have applied for and received papers and information for use in discussions on women's suffrage:—Airdrie, Alnwick, Ashton-under-Lyne, Birkenhead, Bolton, Buckingham, Bury, Chadderton, Congleton, East Dereham, Gainsborough, Glasgow, Hereford, Hull, Leamington, Leeds, Liverpool, London, Louth, Manchester and the following suburbs—Ardwick, Greenheys, Longsight, Rusholme Road, Moss Side; Newcastle-on-Tyne, Norwich, Oldham, Perth, Portmadoc, Skipton, Sunderland, West Cowes, West Hartlepool.

Your Committee last year intimated their desire to offer copies of the *Women's Suffrage Journal*, presented monthly, to political clubs, free and subscription libraries, mechanics' institutions, debating societies, and reading and news rooms of all descriptions. They received from a large number of such institutions an intimation that their offer was accepted, and the Journal and other publications of the Society have been sent during the year to the following political clubs:—Bradford, Bacup, Batley, Boston, Carlinghow, Colchester, Darlington, Eccles, Heaton Moor, Heywood, Hurst Brook,

Hyde, Lincoln, Middleton Junction, Openshaw, and to fifteen Conservative and nineteen Liberal clubs in Manchester and Salford; also to public free libraries, mechanics' institutions, etc., in the following places;—Atherstone, Aberystwith, Airdrie, Baildon, Bacup, Bolton, Banbury, Barnstaple, Barnsley, Ben-Rhydding, Bideford, Bingley, Birmingham, Bradford, British Museum, Burnley, Carnarvon, Chelsea, Cheadle, Crewe, Crystal Palace, Darlington, Delph, Dewsbury, Dent, Doncaster, Droylsden, Dundee, Eccles, Failsworth, Falmouth, Fallowfield, Finsbury, Glossop, Halstead, Harpurhey, Hawick, Hazel Grove, Halifax, Heaton, Hebden Bridge, Horsforth, Hollinwood (2), Hull, Huddersfield, Hyde, Ipswich, Keighley, Kennington, Kidderminster, King's Lynn, Leamington, Leeds (2), Liverpool, Lindley, Lockwood, Londonderry, Manchester (10), Malton, Mossley, Miles Platting, Norwich, Nottingham, New Mills, Oldham, Omagh, Preston, Prestwich, Pendleton, Rochdale, Salford, Shelley, Shildon, Shaw, Sheffield (3), Sunderland, Stockport, South Shields, Thirsk, Teignmouth, Tyldesley, West Bromwich, Worksop. Your Committee would be glad to receive application from managers of newsrooms and libraries which do not receive the Journal, and they will be happy to present it regularly to those who are willing to place it in the reading-rooms for the use of the public or their members.

During the past year, your Committee's agent, Mrs. M'Cormick, has visited the following places:—Warrington, Crewe, Burnley, Southport, Sunderland, South Shields, Durham, New Mills, Nottingham, Preston, Ashton, Blackburn, Darwen, Huddersfield, Honley, London, Macclesfield, Leek, Hanley, Burslem, Stafford, Retford, Boston, Newark, Chesterfield, Lichfield, Derby, Sheffield, Scarborough, Stockton-on-Tees, Bishop Auckland, Wrexham, Blackpool, Southport, Liverpool, Wigan, Llangollen, Barmouth, Aberystwith, Criccieth, Carnarvon, Bangor, Beaumaris, Penmaenmawr, Colwyn Bay, Portmadoc, Buxton, Colne, Kendal, Wolverhampton, Walsall, Dudley, Kidderminster, Leamington, and Bury. Mrs. M'Cormick arranged and attended the meetings and lectures organised by your

Committee, and devoted 178 days to office and other work in Manchester.

The recent meeting of the Social Science Congress in Manchester afforded a favourable occasion for a review of progress. Thirteen years ago, when the Congress held its last meeting in Manchester, a paper on the Reasons for the Enfranchisement of Women was read by Mrs. Bodichon. This appears to have been the first occasion on which the claim of women to Parliamentary representation had been brought forward for discussion on a public platform, and the movement which led to the formation of your society began as the fruit of the seed thus sown. On October 6th, the thirteenth anniversary of the day on which Mrs. Bodichon's paper was read, Miss Becker read a paper on the Progress of the Movement for the Enfranchisement of Women. The paper gave a sketch of the general course of events since 1866, and noted that during this period there had been presented to the House of Commons 9,563 petitions in favour of the Bill, with upwards of 2,953,848 signatures, and between 1,300 and 1,400 public meetings had been held, being an average of above two meetings per week during the last thirteen years.

The paper attracted the most crowded audience of any that were read during the meeting, and the discussion was almost unanimously in favour of the views expressed in the paper, only one gentleman being found to say anything on the opposite side.

During the Congress week your Committee organised two afternoon parties in the Memorial Hall, for which cards were issued to the members of the Social Science Association. The tea tables were elegantly furnished by ladies of the Committee, and some beautiful specimens of point lace, which had belonged to King Charles I., were kindly lent for exhibition by Miss Helen Blackburn. The receptions were numerous attended, and were useful and agreeable assemblies.

The financial position of the Society has continued satisfactory. In the early part of the year a donation of £50 was kindly offered by Mrs. Crawshay, on condition that

£450 should be subscribed by others, so as to raise the total amount of the special fund to £500. By the liberality of a few friends, to whom application was made privately, your Committee were enabled to claim the promised donation. This fund, with the ordinary subscriptions and donations, has sufficed to support all the work of the year, and the balance in hand is more than sufficient to cover outstanding current liabilities. Nevertheless, your Committee desire to call the attention of their friends and supporters to the circumstance that it is but a small balance, and that at the beginning of the season for active political work they must appeal for aid to enable them to organise and carry on the movement during the ensuing winter.

As it is possible that the Parliamentary friends of the Bill may not deem it worth while to bring the question again before a moribund Parliament, it will be desirable that the energies of our friends should be mainly directed to influencing candidates at the general election. We beg to point out the extreme importance of pressing this question on the consideration of every candidate who comes forward in each constituency, unless the views of such candidate are so well known to be favourable to women's suffrage that such action is needless. When a member who has always voted for the Bill seeks re-election, it may reasonably be presumed, in the absence of any intimation that he has changed his mind, that he will continue to do so if returned again. But there are some members who have never voted at all, and others who, after once or twice voting on the measure, some for and some against, have afterwards absented themselves from the divisions. Such men as these, as well as all new candidates, should have persuasion addressed to them at the period when their minds are most plastic, and they are most open to argument and conviction. Although the dissolution may perhaps not take place till the beginning of 1881, preparations for it will be carried on during the winter, and candidates are even now addressing meetings in the constituencies to expound their own principles, and to listen to the views of those whom they desire to represent. This, then, is the

golden opportunity to obtain the ear of candidates, and we have confidence that our friends will not fail to profit by it.

With this indication of the work of the coming season, your Committee respectfully solicit a renewal of their trust, and of the support which has been so cordially afforded to them in their efforts to discharge it.



ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS.

FINANCIAL YEAR, 1878-1879.

	£	s.	d.
"Viator" (Prize Fund) ...	100	0	0
"Mitrailleuse" (Prize Fund) ...	100	0	0
"Popgun" (Prize Fund) ...	50	0	0
"Sympathiser" ...	50	0	0
A Friend (Manchester) ...	10	0	0
A Friend (Liverpool) ...	10	0	0
A Friend (Bolton) ...	1	10	0
C. A. B. (Journal) ...	1	10	0
R. L. ...	1	1	0
"Omega" ...	1	0	0
"Stayer at Home" (Journal) ...	1	0	0
G. F. ...	0	10	0
A. G. ...	0	9	0
O. A. C. ...	0	5	0
R. G. ...	0	5	0
H. E. ...	0	5	0
Delta ...	0	5	0
N. W. J. ...	0	5	0
A. C. ...	0	5	0
F. R. C. S. ...	0	5	0
"Lover of Justice" ...	0	4	0
X. Y. Z. ...	0	2	6
B. B. ...	0	2	6
J. S. ...	0	2	6
"Beta" ...	0	2	6
V. H. ...	0	2	6
"Hope to Win" ...	0	2	6
W. R. A. ...	0	2	6
M. D. ...	0	2	6
"Neutral" ...	0	2	6
"Humphrey Clinker" ...	0	2	6
F. P. ...	0	2	6
A. J. T. ...	0	2	6
S. A. ...	0	2	6
A Friend ...	0	1	0
A Friend ...	0	1	0
A Birmingham Radical ...	0	1	0
Atkinson, Miss Maria ...	1	10	0
Aldis, Professor ...	1	1	0
Atkinson, Joseph ...	1	0	0
Astley, Mr. A. F. ...	0	12	6
Atkinson, Miss ...	0	10	0
Alderson, Mr. J. ...	0	10	0
Ainsworth, Mr. (Crewe) ...	0	5	0
Allman, Mr. J. ...	0	5	0
Arnold, Miss ...	0	5	0
Allwood, Mr. John ...	0	5	0
Ainsworth, Mr. ...	0	5	0
Alexander, Mr. ...	0	5	0
Ayrton, Mrs. ...	0	5	0
Autcliffe, Mr. ...	0	2	6

	£	s.	d.
Addison, Mrs. ...	0	2	6
Atherton, Mrs. ...	0	2	6
Abernethy, Mrs. ...	0	2	0
Ashford, Mrs. ...	0	2	0
Allen, Miss E. ...	0	1	6
Brooke, Miss Edith ...	10	0	0
Buchan, The Dowager Countess ...	7	0	0
Boucherett, Miss Jessie ...	6	0	0
Browne, Mrs. (London) ...	3	0	0
Brooke, Mr. Thomas ...	2	0	0
Bewicke, Miss ...	1	1	8
Benson, Mr. ...	1	1	0
Barran, Mr. John, jun. ...	1	1	0
Baines, Mr. Edward ...	1	1	0
Buckton, Mrs. ...	1	1	0
Brooke, Miss Octavia ...	1	1	0
Brooke, Mrs. Edward ...	1	1	0
Bradney, Mrs. ...	1	1	0
Binney, Mr. E. W., F.R.S. ...	1	1	0
Brough, Mr. Edwin ...	1	1	0
Buss, Miss F. M. ...	1	1	0
Barlow, Mrs. Gordon ...	1	1	0
Borchardt, Dr. ...	1	1	0
Broad, Messrs. Jesse & Co. ...	1	1	0
Backhouse, the late Mr. Edward ...	1	0	0
Biggs, Mr. Henry ...	1	0	0
Burt, Mr. Jonathan ...	1	0	0
Browne, Miss (London) ...	1	0	0
Bingham, Mrs. ...	1	0	0
Bowman, Mrs. Charles ...	1	0	0
Bowling, Miss L. A. ...	1	0	0
Becker, Miss ...	1	0	0
Brankston, Mrs. ...	0	10	6
Bevington, Mr. Ambrose ...	0	10	6
Bowey, Mr. F. M. ...	0	10	0
Bramwell, Mr. J. ...	0	10	0
Brough, Mr. W. S. ...	0	10	0
Bruce, Mr. Alderman H. ...	0	10	0
Bedford, Mr. Alderman ...	0	10	0
Blair, Mr. G. Y., J.P. ...	0	10	0
Brown, Mr. John (Stockton) ...	0	10	0
Burrows, Dr. ...	0	10	0
Brown, Miss M. A. (Wigan) ...	0	10	0
Barwise, Mr. ...	0	10	0
Barnes, Miss ...	0	10	0
Bayliss, Mr. Moses ...	0	10	0
Blacker, Mr. G. O. ...	0	5	0
Berry, Mr. ...	0	5	0
Baron, Mr. (Burnley) ...	0	5	0
Baldwin, Mr. W. ...	0	5	0
Barrow, Mr. John ...	0	5	0
Briggs, Mr. Alderman (Crewe) ...	0	5	0
Borchardt, Miss ...	0	5	0
Baron, Mr. W. (Blackburn) ...	0	5	0
Brooke, Mrs. C. J. ...	0	5	0
Barbour, Mrs. ...	0	5	0
Boult, Miss Lucy ...	0	5	0
Biggart, Dr. ...	0	5	0
Bramley, Mr. W. F. ...	0	5	0
Burkell, Mrs. ...	0	5	0
Bleakley, Mrs. ...	0	5	0
Brown, Miss Rachel (Wigan) ...	0	5	0
Blumer, Mr. J. G. ...	0	5	0
Brown, Miss Helen (London) ...	0	5	0
Bird, Mr. J. ...	0	5	0
Boddington, Mr. Thos. ...	0	5	0

	£	s.	d.
Brine, Mrs.	0	4	0
Barralet, Mrs. W.	0	2	6
Bryan, Rev. Guy	0	2	6
Braithwaite, Mrs. G.	0	2	6
Barrows, Mrs. (Leeds)	0	2	6
Butler, Mr. (Leeds)	0	2	6
Bannister, Mrs.	0	2	6
Boyd, Mrs.	0	2	6
Blamires, Mr.	0	2	6
Busby, Mrs.	0	2	6
Burton, Mr. R.	0	2	6
Bailey, Mr. (Boston)	0	2	6
Baker, Mr. J. P.	0	2	6
Beckwith, Mr.	0	2	6
Balgonie, Miss	0	2	6
Briggs, Mr. G. E. (Bishop Auckland)	0	2	6
Biggs, Miss C. A.	0	2	6
Bell, Mr. W. (Liverpool)	0	2	6
Beale, Mr. A. W.	0	2	6
Brooke, Mr. Will.	0	2	6
Boothman, Mrs.	0	2	6
Briggs, Mr. J. (Ulverston)	0	2	6
Booth, Miss	0	2	6
Bell, Mr. W. (Heywood)	0	2	0
Burras, Mrs.	0	1	6
Broughton, Miss	0	1	6
Booth, Mrs. Edwin	0	1	6
Bolton, Mrs. Peter	0	1	6
Bittou, Mrs.	0	1	6
Boldra, Mrs.	0	1	6
Bergman, Mrs.	0	1	6
Barker, Mrs.	0	1	6
Butterworth, Mrs. I.	0	1	6
Bates, Mr.	0	1	0
Crawshay, Mrs. (Prize Fund)	50	0	0
Crook, Mr. & Mrs. Joseph	5	0	0
Carbutt, Miss	2	0	0
Carbutt, Mr. Edward	1	1	0
Clark, Mrs. Helen Bright	1	1	0
Challinor, Mr. Arthur	1	1	0
Curtis, Mr. John	1	1	0
Cross, Mrs. Joseph	1	1	0
Crowther, Mr. Alfred	1	0	0
Courtauld, Mr. S.	1	0	0
Carlake, Mrs.	1	0	0
Colling, the late Miss	1	0	0
Currie, Mr. Philip W.	1	0	0
Crawford, Miss Mabel Sharman	1	0	0
Clark, Mr. C. F.	1	0	0
Corbet, Mr. Miller	0	10	6
Crosland, Mr. Alderman	0	10	6
Cowgill, Mr. G.	0	10	0
Crawshaw, Mr. E.	0	10	0
Common, Mr. A.	0	10	0
Cheetham, Miss M. E.	0	10	0
Chapman, Miss	0	10	0
Chandler, Mrs.	0	10	0
Copstick, Mr.	0	7	6
Carpenter, Mr. Thomas	0	6	6
Cronkshaw, Miss	0	5	0
Cotterill, Mr. (Crewe)	0	5	0
Carter, Mr. T. B.	0	5	0
Cameron, Mr. R.	0	5	0
Cameron, Dr.	0	5	0
Crossley, Mr. J.	0	5	0
Christie, Mr. John	0	5	0

	£	s.	d.
Cross, Dr.	0	5	0
Cooke, Mr. H. J.	0	5	0
Cooper, Mrs. Thomas	0	5	0
Cowan, Dr.	0	5	0
Cogan, The Misses	0	5	0
Crow, Rev. Thomas	0	4	0
Chorley, Mr. George	0	4	0
Crowther, Mr. J. (Kansas)	0	4	0
Crosbie, Rev. W.	0	3	0
Caryl, Mr. G.	0	2	6
Carter, Miss Laura (Derby)	0	2	6
Cooke, Mr. H. Ribton	0	2	6
Cox, Mr. J. T.	0	2	6
Constantine, Mr. J.	0	2	6
Cross, Mr. H. M. (Scarborough)	0	2	6
Cockerill, Mr. H. M.	0	2	6
Carr, Mr. W. H.	0	2	6
Crew, Mrs.	0	2	6
Child, Miss	0	1	6
Clough, Mr. Robert	0	1	6
Curfew, Mrs.	0	1	6
Cook, Mr. Robert	0	1	6
Crosland, Mrs. Annie	0	1	0
Dale, Mr. Thomas	1	1	0
de Hersant, Mrs.	1	1	6
Dale, Mrs.	1	0	0
Dalby, Mr. G. B.	1	0	0
Denham, Mr. Ald.	1	0	0
Dick, Miss	1	0	0
Duckworth, Mr. Ald. J.	1	0	0
Dodds, Mr., M.A.	0	10	6
Daniell, Mrs.	0	10	6
Donkin, Mrs.	0	10	0
Dixon, Miss Annie	0	10	0
Douglas, Mr. G.	0	5	0
Davies, Mr. Hugh	0	5	0
Drewry, Miss Ellen	0	5	0
Drewry, Mrs. W. H.	0	5	0
Dawson, Mrs.	0	5	0
Dunn, Mrs.	0	3	0
Dunlop, Miss H. M.	0	2	6
Dodd, Mr. Thomas	0	2	6
Dixon, Miss (Birmingham)	0	2	6
Douglas, Mr. B.	0	2	6
Dewe, Miss	0	2	6
Dean, Messrs. M. & Sons	0	2	6
Dunkin, Miss	0	2	6
Davies, Mr.	0	2	0
Eccles, Miss (Darwen)	1	1	0
Eccles, Mr. A. E. (Chorley)	1	1	0
Every, Mr.	1	1	0
Eastwood, Mrs. F.	1	1	0
Eccles, Mrs. James	0	10	0
Eaton, Mr. J.	0	5	0
Empson, Mr.	0	5	0
Ellis, Mr. E. (Derby)	0	5	0
Earp, Mr. F.	0	5	0
Earle, Miss A. M.	0	5	0
Elliott, Rev. W.	0	2	6
Ellis, Mr. J. (Walsall)	0	2	6
Ellis, Mrs.	0	2	6
Evans, Miss M. A. (Alderley)	0	2	6
Evans, Mrs. (Bredon)	0	2	6
Engletoun, Mr.	0	1	6
Ellis, Mr. W. (Batley)	0	1	6

	£	s.	d.
Ford, Mr. J. R.	1	1	0
Ford, Mrs.	1	1	0
Firth, Miss	1	1	0
Falconer, Mr. Thomas	0	10	0
Fowler, Mr. Alderman (Durham)	0	10	0
Fowler, Mr. M. (Durham)	0	10	0
Fisher, Mrs. A. G. (London)	0	10	0
Fowler, Miss Grace	0	10	0
Finch, Miss M. A.	0	10	0
Fox, Mrs. B. J.	0	6	6
Foster, Mr. George	0	5	0
Flint, Mr. F. L.	0	5	0
Fuller, Mrs.	0	5	0
Fisk, Rev. Thomas	0	5	0
Folds, Mrs.	0	2	6
Fothergill, Miss	0	2	6
Field, Miss M. E.	0	2	6
Fraser, Dr.	0	2	0
Garnett, Mrs. (Prize Fund)	100	0	0
Gell, Mrs.	6	0	0
Goldschmidt, Mr. P.	5	0	0
Glover, Mrs.	2	2	0
Gwynne, Mrs.	1	1	0
Griffith, Mrs.	1	0	0
Gowland, Mr. G. H.	0	10	6
Grist, Mr.	0	10	6
Goodwin, Mr. Stephen	0	10	6
Gilman, Messrs. T. & R.	0	10	6
Graham, Mr. Joseph	0	10	0
Gillett, Mr. Joseph (Southport)	0	10	0
Gammage, Dr.	0	10	0
Goffey, Mr. Thos.	0	10	0
Glover, Mr. T. (Crewe)	0	5	0
Glover, Mr. Alderman (S. Shields)	0	5	0
Gradon, Mr. George	0	5	0
Glasspool, Mr.	0	5	0
Glaisyer, Mr.	0	5	0
Goouch, Miss	0	5	0
Gibson, Mr. S., jun. (Leek)	0	5	0
Gibson, Mr. S. (Stafford)	0	5	0
Greg, Miss Amy	0	5	0
Gee, Mr. W. T.	0	5	0
Grundy, Mr. James	0	5	0
Gillett, Mr. Charles (Banbury)	0	5	0
Garland, Mr. J. S.	0	2	6
Gurney, Miss Amy	0	2	6
Goodall, Miss D.	0	2	6
Girt, Miss	0	2	6
Green, Mrs. (Batley)	0	2	6
Gillard, Mr.	0	2	6
Golding, Mrs.	0	2	6
Gendall, Mr.	0	2	6
Guest, Mr.	0	2	6
Giles, Miss E.	0	1	6
Green, Mrs. (Romiley)	0	1	6
Hargreaves, Mrs. W.	7	0	0
Hunter, Mrs. Stephenson	5	7	0
Heywood, Mrs. Abel	2	2	0
Heyworth, Mr. Eli	2	2	0
Holland, Mrs. C. (Liscard)	2	2	0
Harvey, Miss Rosamond	2	0	0
Hall, Miss (St. Leonards)	1	3	0
Hetherington, Mrs.	1	2	6
Haworth, Mrs. Jesse (Bowdon)	1	1	0
Hewson, Mrs.	1	1	0

	£	s.	d.
Holland, Mrs. C. M. (Chester)	1	1	0
Haworth, Mr. A.	1	1	0
Hunt, Mrs.	1	1	0
Hutchinson, Miss R. P.	1	1	0
Holden, Mr. E. T.	1	1	0
Hart, Mr. H. G.	1	1	0
Horrocks, Mr. L. (2 years)	1	1	0
Hall, Mr. Robert (Bury)	1	1	0
Haslam, Mrs. W.	1	0	0
Higginbottom, Mr. W. (Derby)	1	0	0
Hall, Mr. A. (Bishop Auckland)	0	10	6
Hurtley, Mr. R. J.	0	10	0
Heath, Mr. Ald.	0	10	0
Hill, Mr. Edward (York)	0	10	0
Hunter, Rev. John (York)	0	10	0
Haigh, Mr. B. (Retford)	0	10	0
Hurtley, Miss	0	7	6
Hodgson, Dr.	0	5	0
Hodgson, Mr. Simpson	0	5	0
Hilles, Mr. John	0	5	0
Horan, Mr.	0	5	0
Haigh, Mr. Joseph (Huddersfield)	0	5	0
Hey, Venerable Archdeacon	0	5	0
Hall, Mr. J. (York)	0	5	0
Hampson, Mrs.	0	5	0
Hindley, Mr. W.	0	5	0
Hall, Mr. W. (Derby)	0	5	0
Hardy, Mr. W.	0	5	0
Hickes, Miss F.	0	5	0
Haworth, Mr. G.	0	5	0
Henderson, Mrs.	0	5	0
Holloway, Mr. G.	0	5	0
Howat, Mr. D.	0	5	0
Hill, Mr. James	0	5	0
Howell, Mrs.	0	4	0
Heaton, Mrs. (Wigan)	0	4	0
Heap, Mr. T. (Kendal)	0	3	6
Hadley, Mr. J.	0	2	6
Henry, Mr. R.	0	2	6
Higginbottom, Mr. (Chesterfield)	0	2	6
Hall, Mr. S. (Derby)	0	2	6
Hildyard, Mr. J.	0	2	6
Heaton, Mr. W.	0	2	6
Harvey, Mr. J. P.	0	2	6
Hollins, Mrs.	0	2	6
Holland, Mrs. (London)	0	2	6
Howarth, Mrs. (Burnley)	0	2	6
Heap, Mr. J.	0	2	6
Houldsworth, Mr.	0	2	6
Hudson, Mr. T.	0	2	6
Hibbert, Miss	0	2	6
Hughes, Miss	0	2	6
Heath, Mrs.	0	2	6
Hopkinson, Mrs.	0	2	6
Heblethwaite, Mrs.	0	2	6
Hall, Mr. J. (Morley)	0	2	0
Hill, Mr. C. (Crewe)	0	2	0
Hill, Miss S. (Norwood)	0	2	0
Harris, Mr.	0	2	0
Hallowell, Mr. W. C.	0	2	0
Harbottle, Mr. J. G.	0	1	6
Hurst, Miss A.	0	1	6
Hopwood, Mr. J.	0	1	6
Hodgkiss, Miss E.	0	1	6
Hough, Miss	0	1	6
Ham, Mrs.	0	1	6
Hodgkinson, Mrs.	0	1	6

	£	s.	d.
Holms, Mr. J.	0	1	6
Holt, Mrs.	0	1	6
Hall, Mrs. (Leeds)	0	1	0
Henthwaite, Mrs.	0	1	0
Howell, Mrs. (Hastings)	0	1	0
Illingworth, Mrs. Alfred	2	2	0
Ireland, Mr. A.	1	1	0
Irwell, Mr. H.	0	5	0
Ives, Mrs.	0	3	0
Imrie, Mr.	0	2	6
Ingamells, Mr.	0	2	6
Jaffray, Miss	2	0	0
Jacoby, Mr.	1	1	0
Jacques, Mr. A.	0	10	0
Johnson, Miss (Wigan)	0	7	6
Jeffreys, Mr. R. P.	0	5	0
Jackson, Mrs.	0	5	0
Jobson, Mr. D.	0	5	0
James, Mr. Alderman	0	2	6
Jacob, Mrs.	0	2	6
Johnson, Miss	0	2	6
Jeffreys, Miss	0	2	6
Jones, Mr. J. (Derby)	0	2	6
Julian, Mr.	0	2	6
Jones, Mrs. (Formby)	0	2	6
Jones, Mr. J. (Wolverhampton)	0	2	6
Jones, Miss E. (Woolton)	0	2	6
Jenkinson, Mrs. A.	0	2	0
Jessop, Mrs.	0	2	0
Johnson, Mr. J. (Airth)... ..	0	1	6
Kennett, Mr. R. B. (Prize Fund)	50	0	0
King, Mrs.	1	2	6
Knott, Miss	1	1	0
Kilner & Crosland, Messrs.	0	10	0
Kahn, Mr. R.	0	10	0
Kenderdine, Mrs.	0	10	0
Kitchener, Mr. & Mrs.	0	10	0
Kilmister, Mrs.	0	5	0
Knott, Mr. J.	0	5	0
Kelsal, Mr.	0	5	0
Kitchin, Mrs. W. H.	0	4	0
Kippax, Mrs.	0	2	6
Kent, Mrs.	0	2	6
Langton, Miss Gore-	5	0	0
Lightbown, Mr. H.	3	3	0
Long, Mrs.	2	0	0
Lupton, Mr. J.	1	1	0
Lupton, Mr. D.	1	1	0
Lucas, Mrs.	1	1	0
Longdon, Mr.	1	1	0
Lawson, Sir W., M.P.	1	1	0
Latham, Mr. G. W.	1	0	0
Liddell, Hon. Mrs. Thomas	1	0	0
Layton, Mrs.	0	13	0
Luccock, Mrs.	0	10	6
Lomas, Mr. Alderman	0	10	0
Lucas, Mr. G.	0	10	0
Lupton, Mr. E. A.	0	10	0
Lytton, The Dowager Lady	0	10	0
Lanes, Mrs. A.	0	7	6
Leather, Mrs.	0	5	0
Lucas, Mrs. G.	0	5	0
Lyll, Mr. G.	0	5	0
Laplough, Miss	0	5	0

	£	s.	d.
Lupton, Miss H.	0	5	0
Lawson, Mrs.	0	5	0
Lawson, Mrs. (Leeds)	0	5	0
Lloyd, Mrs.	0	5	0
Lyon, Mr. J. A.	0	5	0
Lamb, Mr. J.	0	5	0
Lingford, Mr. J.	0	5	0
Lingford, Mr. S. S.	0	5	0
Lea, Mrs. W. (Wigan)	0	5	0
Leach, Mrs. (Chorley)	0	5	0
Leatherbrow, Mrs.	0	5	0
Lohner, Madame	0	2	11
Lomas, Miss	0	2	6
Lucas, Miss A.	0	2	6
Lucas, Miss C.	0	2	6
Lundy, Mrs.	0	2	6
Jinsley, Mr. G. W.	0	2	6
Lowndes, Miss Mary	0	2	6
Leatham, Mrs.	0	2	6
Lowe, Mr. J. (Handley)... ..	0	2	6
Longmaid, Mr.	0	2	6
Lennard, Mr. G. H.	0	2	0
Leadbeater, Mr. J.	0	1	6
Learoyd, Mr.	0	1	6
Mason, Mr. H.	10	10	0
Mather, Mr. W.	2	2	0
Mc.Culloch, Mrs.	2	2	0
Mc.Kinnel, Mrs.	2	2	0
Mele Barese, Princess	1	2	0
Manfield, Mr. Alderman	1	1	0
Marshall, Mrs. J.	1	1	0
Mander, Mr. S. S.	1	1	0
Markham, Mrs.	1	1	0
Marsden, Mr. J.	1	1	0
Marshall, Mrs. (London)	1	1	0
Mills, Mrs. S. A. (London)	1	1	0
Mills, Mrs. (Bowdon)	1	0	0
March, Mr. J. O.	1	0	0
Marriott, Mr.	1	0	0
Mason, Mrs.	1	0	0
Milne, Mr. J. D.	1	0	0
Marsden, Mr. J.	1	0	0
Muirhead, Dr.	1	0	0
Melling, Mr. W.	1	0	0
Mathers, Mr. (Leeds)	0	10	6
Mc.Kerrow, Mr. Alderman	0	10	6
Mc.Connel, Mrs.	0	10	0
Marshall, Mr. L. A.	0	10	0
Medley, Mr.	0	10	0
Müller, Miss	0	10	0
Moor, Dr.	0	10	0
Mactaggart, Mrs.	0	10	0
Martin, Mr. T. (London)	0	5	0
Mc.Crossan, Mrs.	0	5	0
Mc.Neill, Mr. Alderman	0	5	0
Mc.Kenzie, Rev. W.	0	5	0
Massey, Mrs. (Derby)	0	5	0
Mylne, Mrs.	0	5	0
Moor, Mrs. R. R. R.	0	5	0
Mackenzie, Mr. Councillor (Newark)... ..	0	5	0
Mosley, Mr. J. R.	0	5	0
Mc.Ilquham, Mrs.	0	5	0
Melling, Mrs.	0	5	0
Melling, Miss	0	5	0
Minshall, Mr. P.	0	5	0
Melling, Mr. S.	0	5	0

	£	s.	d.
Mackenzie, Miss G.	0	5	0
Mitchell, Miss K... ..	0	5	0
Mc.Kerrow, Mrs.... ..	0	4	6
Mc.Kitrick, Miss... ..	0	3	0
Mackie, Miss S.	0	2	6
Mellor, Rev. W.	0	2	6
Meakin, Mr. J.	0	2	6
Marsh, Mrs.	0	2	6
Monkhouse, Mr. J. (Kendal)	0	2	6
Monkhouse, Mrs.... ..	0	2	6
Mellor, Mr. B.	0	2	6
Monkhouse, Mr. (York)... ..	0	2	6
Moore, Mr. J.	0	2	6
Martin, Miss (Chiselhurst)	0	2	6
Marris, Mrs.	0	2	6
Maude, Mr. J.	0	2	6
Murgatroyd, Mr.... ..	0	2	6
Morrison, Miss	0	2	6
Markland, Mr.	0	2	6
Myers, Mr. G.	0	2	0
Moseley, Mr. J.	0	2	0
Miller, Mr. L. M.	0	1	6
Martin, Mrs.	0	1	6
Mawby, Mrs.	0	1	6
Merritt, Mrs.	0	1	0
Nicol, Mr. H.	1	1	0
Nicholson, Mr. J. O.	1	1	0
Nicholson, Mr. A.	1	0	0
Neale, Mr. Vansittart	0	10	0
Nichol, Miss M.	0	5	0
Newbegin, Mr.	0	5	0
Neville, Mrs.	0	5	0
Nevins, Dr.	0	5	0
Nicholson, Miss	0	2	6
Newton, Mr. W.	0	2	6
Newling, Miss	0	1	6
Ogden, Mrs. (Windermere)	2	2	0
Oates, Mrs.	2	2	0
Ogden, Miss (Manchester)	1	0	0
Ormerod, Mrs. Thos.	0	10	6
Ormerod, Mr. Thos.	0	10	6
Oxley, The Misses	0	10	0
Oliver, Mr. J. S.	0	5	0
Oldham, Mrs.	0	5	0
Owen, Mrs. Jane (Conway)	0	5	0
Owen, Mr. J. (Derby)	0	5	0
Owen, Mrs. (Wrexham)	0	5	0
Palmer, Mr. J. Hinde, Q.C.	1	1	0
Phythian, Mr. J.	1	1	0
Potter, Mr. T. B., M.P.	1	1	0
Peiser, Mr.	1	1	0
Pankhurst, Dr.	1	1	0
Powell, Mr. Thos.	1	0	0
Pickup, Mrs.	1	0	0
Pearce-Sharman, Mrs. N.	1	0	0
Petrie, Mr. Joseph	0	10	0
Plimsaul, Mrs.	0	10	0
Pedley, Mr. R.	0	5	0
Praeger, Mr. & Mrs.	0	5	0
Pesel, Mrs.	0	5	0
Philips, Mrs.	0	5	0
Parsons, Miss	0	5	0
Porter, Miss M. E.	0	5	0
Pearson, Miss (Harrogate)	0	5	0

	£	s.	d.
Parker, Mrs. (Chesterfield)	0	5	0
Parker, Mr. (York)	0	5	0
Procter, Mr. John	0	5	0
Puckridge, Mr. Jonathan	0	5	0
Pearson, Mr. Theophilus	0	5	0
Pearson, Miss (Chesterfield)	0	5	0
Payne, Mrs.	0	5	0
Porter, Miss	0	5	0
Preston, Mr. John	0	5	0
Peck, Mr. George	0	5	0
Potts, Mrs. A. W.	0	2	6
Prosser, Rev. D. S.	0	2	6
Pyke, Captain	0	2	6
Preston, Mrs. William	0	2	6
Pullar, Mrs. Edmund	0	2	6
Patterson, Mr.	0	2	6
Pope, Mr. John	0	2	6
Puckering, Mr. W.	0	2	0
Poole, Mr. W.	0	2	0
Pinder, Mr. Thomas	0	2	0
Parkinson, Mr. Thomas	0	1	6
Popple, Miss	0	1	6
Pollock, Mrs.	0	1	6
Paterson, Mrs.	0	1	6
Parker, Mr. W. (Batley)	0	1	6
Parker, Mrs. W.	0	1	6
Pulleyn, Mrs. W.	0	1	6
Pearson, Mr. George	0	1	6
Partridge, Mr. E. T.	0	1	6
Roe, Mr. Alderman (Derby)	2	2	0
Rigby, Miss	1	5	0
Rhys, Mrs.	1	2	6
Richardson, Mrs. (York)	1	1	0
Roby, Mrs.	1	0	0
Robson, Mr. E. C.	0	10	6
Roper, Mr. W. B.	0	10	6
Renals, Mr. Alderman	0	10	6
Rowley, Mr. C., jun.	0	10	0
Radford, Mr.	0	6	6
Robertson, Mr. W. L.	0	5	0
Reid, Miss Nellie	0	5	0
Robinson, Mr. G. (Huddersfield)	0	5	0
Rotherford, Mrs. John	0	5	0
Rous, Miss	0	5	0
Rhoades, Mr. James	0	5	0
Rowntree, Mrs. W.	0	5	0
Rowntree, Mr. Joshua	0	5	0
Rawlinson, Mr. R.	0	5	0
Ridgeway, Mr. M.	0	5	0
Robinson, Mr. J. (Kendal)	0	5	0
Ridgway, Mr. Joseph (Dudley)	0	5	0
Roberts, Mr. D. (Chester)	0	5	0
Rimmer, Mrs.	0	2	6
Rollin, Mr. J. G.	0	2	6
Robinson, Mr. W. B. (Chesterfield)	0	2	6
Richmond, Miss	0	2	6
Russell, Mrs. (London)	0	2	6
Roberts, Rev. W. L. (Chorley)	0	2	0
Rikerman, Mr. C.	0	2	0
Randall, Mr. S.	0	1	6
Robinson, Mrs. C. (Batley)	0	1	6
Scatcherd, Mrs. Oliver	6	0	0
Shore, Miss A.	2	2	0
Smithson, Mrs. E.	2	0	0
Scholefield, Mrs.	2	0	0

	£	s.	d.
Slagg, Mr. John	1	1	0
Storey, Mr. S.	1	1	0
Scott, Mrs.	1	1	0
Stephens, Mr. H. C.	1	1	0
Smith, Mr. J. Stores	1	1	0
Steinthal, Rev. S. A.	1	1	0
Steinthal, Mrs. S. A.	1	0	0
Scott, Mr. Alderman	1	0	0
Shepherd, Miss E. E.	1	0	0
Spence, Mrs. (York)	1	0	0
Swanwick, Mrs.	1	0	0
Simpson, Mr. (Lichfield)	1	0	0
Spence, Mr. Peter	1	0	0
Sargent, Miss	0	11	6
Shadforth, Mr. R.	0	10	6
Smale, Mr. W.	0	10	6
Smith, Mr. Alderman G. F.	0	10	6
Samuelson, Mr. James	0	10	6
Smarey, Miss	0	10	0
Smithson, Mr. Edward	0	10	0
Spence, Mrs. Alfred	0	10	0
Stothart, Mr.	0	10	0
Smith, Mr. James (Liverpool)	0	10	0
Simpson, Mr. William	0	10	0
Sibthorpe, Mrs. Shurmer	0	10	0
Shaw, Mrs. (Colne)	0	7	0
Shackleton, Miss	0	6	6
Saxton, Miss	0	6	6
Spalding, Mrs.	0	5	0
Shepley, Mr. Thomas	0	5	0
Sager, Mr. Thomas	0	5	0
Scott, Mr. A., B.A.	0	5	0
Sunter, Miss	0	5	0
Slater, Rev. C.	0	5	0
Swaine, Miss	0	5	0
Sherwood, Mrs. (York)	0	5	0
Sheard, Mr. Fred.	0	5	0
Shenton, Mr. J.	0	5	0
Sugden, Mr.	0	5	0
Shaw, Mr. Thomas (Leek)	0	5	0
Silvester, Mr. Alderman (Stafford)	0	5	0
Sproston, Mr. John	0	5	0
Sharp, Mr. (Stockton)	0	5	0
Shatwell, Miss	0	5	0
Sykes, Mr. (Bury)	0	5	0
Slater, Mr. Thomas (Bury)	0	4	6
Stroyan, Mrs.	0	4	0
Smith, Mr. T. P. (Burnley)	0	2	6
Sargeant, Mrs. (Southport)	0	2	6
Snowdon, Miss	0	2	6
Shadforth, Mr. W.	0	2	6
Smith, Mrs. (York)	0	2	6
Sheard, Mrs. Preston	0	2	6
Simpson, Mrs. (Stockwell)	0	2	6
Small, Dr.	0	2	6
Saunders, Mr. Councillor	0	2	6
Southern, Mr. J.	0	2	6
Smethurst, Mr. J. H.	0	2	6
Smith, Miss (Bishop Auckland)	0	2	6
Smith, Mrs. (Kettering)	0	2	6
Shaw, Miss (Paisley)	0	2	6
Simpson, Mr. T. (Kendal)	0	2	6
Sanderson, Mr. W. (Driffield)	0	1	6
Swindells, Mr. E. A.	0	1	6
Stone, Mrs.	0	1	6
Sunley, Mrs.	0	1	6
Shields, Mrs. (Hull)	0	1	6

	£	s.	d.
Schofield, Miss Ann	0	1	6
Sargisson, Mrs.	0	1	6
Sharman, Mrs. Jabez	0	1	6
Thomasson, Mr. & Mrs. J. P.	206	0	0
Thomasson, Mr. Thos., Executors of the late	200	0	0
Todd, Miss E. J.	5	0	0
Tennent, Lady Emerson	1	1	0
Taylor, Mrs. Thomas	1	1	0
Taylor, Mrs. Henry	1	1	0
Tozer, Captain	1	1	0
Tewson, Mrs.	1	0	0
Tatham, Mr. (Leeds)	1	0	0
Thorpe, Mr. F.	0	10	0
Thompson, Miss (Preston)	0	10	0
Taylor, Mr. John (Blackburn)	0	10	0
Thompson, Mr. Richard (York)	0	10	0
Thorns, Mr. J.	0	10	0
Thompson, Mr. J. (Burnley)	0	5	0
Taylor, Mr. J. (Burnley)	0	5	0
Taylor, Mr. James (Sunderland)	0	5	0
Tootal, Miss	0	5	0
Thorpe, Mrs. Fielden	0	5	0
Teale, Mr. M. A.	0	5	0
Taylor, Rev. W. (Barnard Castle)	0	5	0
Thompson, Mr. John (Kendal)	0	5	0
Threlfall, Mrs. J. H.	0	5	0
Theedam, Miss	0	4	0
Townend, Rev. Joseph	0	3	0
Thwaites, Mr. C.	0	2	6
Thompson, Mr. Alderman (Blackburn)	0	2	6
Thompson, Mrs. (Dudley)	0	2	6
Turton, Mr. G.	0	2	6
Turner, Mr. Thos. (Dudley)	0	2	6
Talbot, Mr. Christopher	0	2	6
Tommey, Mr. Geo.	0	2	0
Turner, Mrs. Nancy	0	1	6
Thorley, Mrs. Elizabeth	0	1	6
Thompson, Miss Ida (Middlesboro')	0	1	6
Villiers, Right Hon. C. P., M.P.	1	1	0
Vincent, Mdle. Mary	0	3	2
Vials, Miss L.	0	2	6
Vero, Mrs. David	0	2	6
Winkworth, Mrs. Stephen	25	0	0
Whitley, Mr. N.	2	0	0
Weiss, Mrs.	1	1	6
Walker, Mrs. Edward	1	1	0
Woodhead, Mr. Alderman	1	1	0
Worthington, Mr. T. (Hanley)	1	1	0
Woodall, Mr. W.	1	1	0
Wilson, Mr. Henry (Stockton)	1	1	0
Whittaker, Mr. W. (Broughton)	1	1	0
Walker, Miss Carrie	1	0	0
Wilson, Mr. & Mrs. H. J. (Sheffield)	1	0	0
Ward, Mr. A.	0	10	6
Worthington, Mr. Alderman	0	10	6
Whittaker, Mr. Alderman (Burnley)	0	10	0
Watson, Mr. Alderman (Durham)	0	10	0
Walker, Mr. Alderman (Huddersfield)	0	10	0
Wilkinson, Miss (Hull)	0	10	0
Wilkinson, Mr. E. T. (York)	0	10	0
Wilkinson, Miss (York)	0	10	0
Worthington, Mrs. (York)	0	10	0
Wright, Mr. Alderman (Boston)	0	10	0
White, Mr. George (Norwich)	0	10	0

	£	s.	d.
Wilson, Mr. J. Whitwell	0	10	0
Walton, Mrs.	0	5	0
Walton, Miss	0	5	0
Welsh, Mr. E.	0	5	0
Worthington, Rev. A. W.	0	5	0
Whitmell, Mr.	0	5	0
Wilkinson, Mrs. (Bolton)	0	5	0
Woolley, Mrs. W. F.	0	5	0
White, Mr. John	0	5	0
Whittle, Dr.	0	5	0
Whitelegge, Miss	0	5	0
Wildman, Mr. R.	0	5	0
Wilks, Mr. Job	0	5	0
Wilkins, Mr. Joseph	0	5	0
Woodhead, Mrs.	0	5	0
Woodhead, Miss L. A.	0	5	0
Withall, Mrs. H. A.	0	3	0
Walsh, Mr. J.	0	2	6
Willan, Mr. John	0	2	6
Watts, Dr. John	0	2	6
Willis, Mr. John	0	2	6
Walker, Mr. Thos. (Huddersfield)	0	2	6
Walton, Mr. John Glossop	0	2	6
Wood, Mrs. (Batley)	0	2	6
Wood, Miss (Boston)	0	2	6
Wright, Mrs. R. (Chesterfield)	0	2	6
Wright, Mr. E. A. (Cork)	0	2	6
Woodhouse, Mr. T.	0	2	6
Whittle, Miss Laura	0	2	6
Whyte, Mr. Jas. (Dudley)	0	2	6
Wilkinson, Mrs. (Colne)	0	2	6
Wayham, Mrs., Representatives of the late	0	2	6
Wood, Mrs. (Marske)	0	2	0
Wood, Mr. Henry (Crewe)	0	2	0
Whitwell, Mr. R. G.	0	1	6
West, Mr. George	0	1	6
Whiting, Mrs.	0	1	6
Wilson, Mrs. Elizabeth Hull	0	1	6
Whalley, Mr.	0	1	0
Weatherall, Mr.	0	0	6
Yates, Mrs. R. V.	2	0	0
Yeardley, Mr.	0	2	6
Yeoman, Mr. Plummer	0	2	6



MANCHESTER NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

RULES.

I. The object of the Society is, to obtain for Women the right of voting for Members of Parliament on the same conditions as it is, or may be, granted to men.

II. Approval of the objects of the Society, and an annual subscription of any amount shall constitute membership.

III. The subscriptions are due on the first day of January for the current year.

IV. An Executive Committee shall be appointed at an Annual General Meeting, which committee shall have power to add to its number.

V. The committee, at its first meeting subsequent to the Annual Meeting, shall appoint a secretary and a treasurer.

VI. A General Meeting of the Society shall be held once a year to receive the report, the statement of accounts, to appoint the committee, and transact any other business which may arise.

VII. A Special General Meeting of the Society may be called at any time by the committee, and, at the written request of twenty-five Members, the secretary shall call a Special Meeting. At such meeting no subjects shall be discussed but those mentioned in the notice summoning the members.

VIII. No General Meeting of the Society shall be called without eight days' public notice of such meeting.

IX. These rules shall not be altered except at a General Meeting; and no rule shall be altered at any meeting unless a month's notice of such proposed alteration has been given to the committee.

MANCHESTER NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR
WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

Members of the Society and others are earnestly requested to aid the movement for procuring the passing of the Bill to remove the electoral disabilities of women.

I. By bringing the question under the notice of Members of Parliament, whenever they appear before their constituents.

II. Should notice of any motion, friendly or hostile, be given in the House of Commons—by writing letters, asking the local Members to support the principle of Women's Suffrage.

III. In case of an election, by calling on every candidate to declare whether he will, if returned, vote for the Bill to remove the electoral disabilities of women.

IV. By trying to procure insertion of facts and arguments bearing on the question, in the local press.

V. By collecting signatures to the petition, forms of which may be obtained from the Secretary.

VI. By communicating to the Secretary any information likely to be useful to the Society, and the names of such persons as may be disposed to assist the cause.

VII. Where there are three or four members in the same place, by uniting to form a local committee.

VIII. By endeavouring to increase the number of members.

IX. By extending the organisation of the Society through the medium of corresponding members or local committees. All persons willing to render such assistance are earnestly requested to communicate with the Secretary.

Further information will be willingly afforded to all who may desire it.

LYDIA E. BECKER, SECRETARY,
28, Jackson's Row, Albert Square, Manchester.

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

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

By LOUISA BIGG.

HAVE 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 Councillors 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,

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."

A Historically Christian View

OF

Woman's Franchise.

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BY MRS. HELEN C. GERARD.

A HISTORICALLY CHRISTIAN VIEW OF WOMAN'S FRANCHISE.

HERE are two reasons why it may be useful to consider for a little the historically Christian bearings of the question of woman's claim and fitness to enjoy equal privileges with man. The first of these is, that having taken action in the matter we are bound not only to be convinced in our own minds of the propriety of having done so, but also that we should be able to give a reason to others for the faith that is in us. The second reason is that, when our opponents are either unable or unwilling to argue the question upon any one of its details, they take refuge in throwing us back upon the primitive condition of man—alleging that that condition puts beyond doubt the untenableness of our position, and the inexpediency of pressing it even as a tentative measure.

Now, as the historically Christian evidence comes home to all of us alike it is well that we really grasp it firmly, so that, while we hold our own against our opponents, we may also establish and strengthen each other for whatever lies in store for us. Further, our social surroundings may change and become modified by other causes than purely Christian ones being at work, making it less necessary to go back to the origin of belief; meantime it suits our purpose admirably to do so.

The two sentences, or parts of sentences, that define the relative position of the sexes are as follows:—

“It is not good that the man should be alone,” and
“He shall rule over thee.”

The chronological order, in which we find these words, makes it quite clear that what is understood as the subjection of woman to man was subsequent to her union with him; but it also suggests, if it does not prove, that all was not well with him previous to that union. “Not good” has either a prospective or a retrospective meaning, and it depends altogether upon the use we assign to the verbs employed whether we conclude for the

one meaning or the other. It is of no importance, however, in as far as the remedy is concerned. Woman appears and finds man in a condition of negative goodness, or in one of positive evil—certainly by no reverential construction can we imagine man to have been in a state of bliss.

It requires but little philosophy to be able to construct out of these short statements a rational theory of the possibility of the utter extinction of man founded on the nature of selfishness. Singleness and selfishness are, in the first instance, inseparable, *i.e.*, selfishness is a necessity of singleness. Singleness is consequently doomed by its own complement. Hence an enforced single state would have been a creation for time only. But no sooner does woman appear than man intuitively rises to the conception of his high destiny, sees her as “bone of his bone and flesh of his flesh”; and so the human race continues with all its inherent possibilities of immortality. It seems quite clear that the change in the condition of man is due to his union with woman upon equal terms. His will is freed that he may cooperate with his Creator as an intelligent being, through the medium of social interchange, of self-sacrificing love, sympathy, and action. The earnest or pledge of eternal life comes through *this* experience of life, and so the “Saviour” shines forth gloriously “in the beginning!” And so He leads the wanderers as they wend their way 'mong the thorns and thistles—the necessary obstructions—the overcoming of which adds an ever-increasing strength to the victors.

If woman's head is bowed, it is in adoration of infinite love, wisdom, and goodness, not in cowering fear and slavery to man. A united, common, and equal interest still makes her desire to be towards him, and an intelligent yielding has no humiliation in it. She sees the gradual unfolding of her Creator's plan, and can work and wait.

The flexibility of this vital Hebrew germ is indeed surprising, and the longer we look at it the more luminous it becomes; till at last the tree of life is seen standing in the midst of the soul garden, guarded by Cherubim of Mercy and Grace.

MISS JESSIE CRAIGEN

ON

WOMEN SUFFRAGE.

At the great demonstration held in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, Feb. 14, 1880, Miss CRAIGEN said:—"This demonstration puts a question to the justice of the English people. It is this—We women are taxed; why are we not represented? It is for those who, having their own share of political power, deny to us what they value for themselves, to give the reasons for this refusal. Certainly it will not be possible any more for gentlemen to stand up in the House of Commons and say that women do not want the vote. We do want it. We are asking for it in the plainest possible way. What more can we do than we are now doing to make our wish for it clearly evident? If they look for riot, for turbulence, for that pressure of threatened violence to which many political reforms have been conceded, these are proofs of our sincerity which it is not in the nature of things that we should give; and we hope also that the time for this mode of enforcing justice is passing away. The very claim that is being made to-night tells us that the reign of mere brute force is wearing to a close. I did not know till I came into the hall to-night that it is built on the spot which was the scene of the tragedy of Peterloo. On this ground, 60 years ago, the blood of women was spilt for freedom. On this ground to-night women lift up their voices in peace and security to claim their share of the liberty that has been won. This marks the progress of the people from midnight to morning. The great fact that has impressed itself on me to-night is that of the unity of womanhood, in which our claim is made. We are separated by many barriers of caste, creed, and education. How vast is the interval which divides the rich lady from the poor mill-worker; but these divisions, though they are very real, are not deep or high. They are like the fences in the farmer's field that rail off the crops of barley from those of wheat or grass; but if you go down into the earth you pass along the gallery of the mine, the coal seam runs along unbroken and you never know when the boundaries overhead are passed, and above the sun shines on all alike. So these divisions of education, social position, and opinion divide us in our amusements, our employments, even sometimes in our churches. We are too much apart, but they do not separate the hearts of womanhood that beat in unity, nor the sunlight of God's justice that shines down upon the rich and poor

alike. In the name of this common womanhood we are gathered here to-night, rich and poor, educated and untaught, to raise our voices altogether to ask for justice. Our sufferings have much in common. Gentlemen can be bad husbands as well as poor men. The money that should sustain a household can be melted in champagne as well as in beer or whisky; and though wife-beating is mostly confined to the poorer classes, yet educated men by cruel words, by cold unkindness, can strike blows on the heart which wound as deeply, and leave scars as hard to heal as any dealt by the hand. The mother's love also is one. The richest woman here to-night that is the mother of children loves them dearly; the poorest does no less. And the laws which wrong the mother's love are an outrage on the common womanhood by the bond of which we have all been drawn together here. Where I am lodging in Manchester I hear a clock strike with a slow, deep toned bell, and between the strokes other clocks of weaker sound and quicker utterance chime in, filling up the interval, making up a chorus of swelling sounds. These clocks are very various in tone and pitch, but they all say the same thing; they all tell the same story of the hour. So we have here to-night thousands of women whose voices are loud and strong—some of them with all the power of rank, wealth, education, social position. Others there are here, poor, hard-labouring women, who can bring us only their uprightness—their earnestness in our cause—but all their voices, from the loudest to the lowest, are saying the same thing. They all tell us that for us women also the morning hours are breaking. Far away in London the great clock of Westminster, 'Big Ben,' tells the time with his iron tongue; and in my girlhood—living almost under the shadow of the clock tower—I used to lay and listen to the solemn swell of his tone, telling to the revellers, and wanderers, and watchers, and all that wakened in the great city, the hours as they flew. But even that great clock has to strike at second-hand. At Greenwich they set the time for all the clocks in the country, and even 'Big Ben,' though he is so loud and so proud, has to take his orders from Greenwich. At Westminster also the clock of the empire strikes; every time it sounds it marks an epoch in the history of nations, and far and wide, to the very ends of the earth, men hold their breath and listen for the voice of England pealing out in power from Westminster. But the hands of that great clock of the empire move at the bidding of the people, and there is a political Greenwich as well as a scientific one. Here in the North is the political Greenwich; we in the North set the political time of day, and if the North shall say that this claim made to-night by women is set by the true sun of justice, then we shall soon hear 'Big Ben' strike the hour that makes women free citizens of their native land."—*Reprinted from the "WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE JOURNAL," February 14, 1880.*

THE PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION. OUGHT WOMEN TO HAVE VOTES?

"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.

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.

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 obtained 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.

I. *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, the custody of children, their succession to property &c., women are held, and will remain so 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.

WOMEN'S PRINTING SOCIETY, LIMITED, 216, Great College Street, Westminster, S.W.

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

CENTRAL COMMITTEE

OF THE

National Society for Women's Suffrage,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"And your Memorialists will ever pray."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

RECEIPTS.		EXPENDITURE.	
£	s. d.	£	s. d.
To Balance in Bank at last Account	19 17 1	By Salaries	210 7 5
" Cash in Secretary's hands	4 18 3½	" Rent	80 15 0
" Donations	231 7 0	" Office Expenses	22 1 7½
" Subscriptions	467 4 11	" Newspapers	68 14 7
" Sale of Tickets and Publications	67 17 10½	" Postage and Carriage	78 13 3
" Shilling League	1 2 0	" Office Books and Stationery	7 4 0½
" Special Funds, Guarantee	151 4 0	" Meetings, Demonstration	7 11 6
" " " Demonstration	161 4 0	" Advertisements, General	377 18 6½
" Sale of Stock (£300)	288 0 6	" Printing	185 8 7
" Interest on Capital (£400)	5 17 6	" Grant to Local Committee	1 7 0
" Balance of Funds from Local Committees	6 7 6	" Incidentals, Bank Commission	93 18 0
" Sub-letting Office	1 10 0	" Auditing accounts, 2 years	£2 0 2
		" Parliamentary Agents	120 10 0
		" Balance in Bank	£76 5 5
		" Cash in Secretary's hands	66 12 0½
			142 17 5½
			£1,406 11 2

July 12th, 1880.

Examined and found correct,

CHARLES DUNBAR,

Auditor.

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

OF THE

CENTRAL COMMITTEE,

HELD AT THE

WESTMINSTER PALACE HOTEL, VICTORIA STREET, S.W.

On Thursday, July 15th, 1880.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* For List of Executive Committee see page 18.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

Executive Committee.

Mrs. ASHFORD
Miss BECKER
ALFRED W. BENNETT, Esq., M.A.
Miss CAROLINE ASHURST BIGGS
Miss HELEN BLACKBURN
Miss J. BOUCHERETT
JACOB BRIGHT, Esq., M.P.
Mrs. JACOB BRIGHT
Hon. EMMELINE CANNING
F. W. CHESSON, Esq.
Miss F. POWER COBBE
Miss JANE COBDEN
Miss COURTENAY
LEONARD COURTNEY, Esq., M.P.
Mrs. JOSEPH CROSS
The Hon. Mrs. MAURICE DRUMMOND
E. B. EASTWICK, Esq., C.B.
Mrs. H. FAWCETT
W. FORSYTH, Esq., Q.C.
Miss RHODA GARRETT
Miss AGNES GARRETT
Mrs. R. GLOVER
Mrs. ASHWORTH HALLETT
Viscountess HARBERTON
THOMAS HARE, Esq.
Miss K. HILL
FREDERIC HILL, Esq.
C. H. HOPWOOD, Esq., Q.C., M.P.

Mrs. JOHN HULLAH
ARTHUR JACKSON, Esq.
Mrs. SAMUEL LUCAS
Mrs. E. M. LYNCH
ROBERT MAIN, Esq.
Mrs. CHARLES McLAREN
DUNCAN McLAREN, Esq., M.P.
Mrs. DUNCAN McLAREN
Miss MULLER
FREDERICK PENNINGTON, Esq., M.P.
Mrs. F. PENNINGTON
Miss REEVES
Miss ROBERTSON
Mrs. SCATCERD
GEORGE SHIPTON, Esq.
Mrs. JAMES STANSFELD
Rev. S. A. STEINTHAL
Miss STURGE
J. S. SYMON, Esq.
Miss HELEN TAYLOR
Mrs. PETER A. TAYLOR
J. P. THOMASSON, Esq., M.P.
Mrs. J. P. THOMASSON
Miss TOD
Mrs. WEBSTER
Miss WILLIAMS
Mrs. CHARLES WOOD

General Committee.

Aldis, M. S., Esq.
Aldis, Mrs.
Amos, Professor Sheldon
Amos, Mrs. S.
Anderson, Mrs. Garrett, M.D.
Anstruther, Sir Robert, Bart.
Anstruther, Lady
Anthony, Chas., Esq., jun.
Antrobus, Sir Edmund, Bart.
Arnold, Edwin, Esq.
Askey, Mrs.
Babb, Miss C. E.
Bastian, H. C. Esq., M.D., F.L.S., F.R.S.
Bennett, Sir John
Bernays, Dr. A.
Biggs, Miss Ashurst
Blennerhassett, R. P., Esq., M.P.
Boecker, Miss
Bostock, Miss
Boucherett, Miss L.
Bowring, Lady
Brine, Colonel
Brine, Mrs.

Brooke, Rev. Stopford
Brooks, Maurice, Esq., M.P.
Brown, Alexander, Esq., M.P.
Browne, Mrs. Samuel W.
Buchan, Jas. S., Esq.
Buckton, Mrs. Joseph
Bunting, Percy, Esq.
Bunting, Mrs.
Burn, Rev. R., M.A.
Burns, Rev. Dawson
Burns, Mrs. D.
Burt, Thomas, Esq., M.P.
Burton, Mrs. Hill
Buss, Mrs. Septimus
Butler, Rev. G.
Butler, Mrs.
Caird, Mrs. J.
Carlyle, Mrs.
Charley, W. T., Esq.
Chesson, Mrs.
Clark, Mrs. Helen Bright
Clarke, Thos. Chatfield, Esq.
Cobden, Miss

Collier, W. F., Esq.
Colvin, Sydney, Esq., M.A.
Courtauld, Saml., Esq.
Cowen, Joseph, Esq., M.P.
Croad, G. H. Esq.
Crook, Joseph, Esq.
Crook, Mrs.
Cullinan, Max, Esq., M.A.
Dale, Rev. R. W.
Daiglish, Robert, Esq.
Dalway, R. M., Esq.
Daniell, Mrs.
Darwin, Erasmus, Esq.
Davies, Rev. Llewelyn
Dickson, T. A. Esq.
Dilke, Ashton, Esq., M.P.
Dilke, Mrs. Ashton
Dimsdale, Robt., Esq.
Dixon, George, Esq.
Duckworth, Canon
Earp, Thos., Esq., M.P.
Eiloart, Mrs.
Ellis, Alex. J., Esq., F.R.S.
Elmy, B. J., Esq.
Estlin, Miss
Ewing, H. E. Crum, Esq.
Ewing, A. Orr, Esq., M.P.
Exeter, the Lord Bishop of
Fawcett, W., Esq.
Fawcett, Mrs. W.
Fisher, Mrs.
Fitch, J. G. Esq.
Fitz Maurice, Lord Edmond, M.P.
Forsyth, Mrs.
Fowler, R. N., Esq., M.P.
Fraser, Rev. Donald
Goldsmid, Lady
Graves, A. P., Esq.
Grieve, Jas. J., Esq.
Hamilton, Mrs.
Hamilton, Mrs. J.
Hamilton, Miss
Hardwicke, W., Esq., M.D.
Hargreaves, Mrs. William
Harkness, Miss
Haweis, Rev. H. R.
Hawkes, Alderman
Heron, D. C., Esq., Q.C.
Heywood, Jas. Esq., F.R.S.
Hill, Mrs. Frank H.
Hoare, Henry, Esq.
Hodgson, Professor W. B.
Hodgson, Mrs.
Hoggan, Mrs. Frances, M.D.
Holland, Mrs. Charles
Houghton, Lord
Howard, James, Esq., M.P.
Howell, George, Esq.
Howitt, Mrs. William

Hughes, Prof. McKenny
Hullah, John, Esq.
Hunt, Alfred W., Esq.
Hunt, Mrs.
Hunter, Professor W. A.
Illingworth, A., Esq., M.P.
Jackson, John H., Esq., M.D.
Jacoby, Alfred, Esq.
Jebb, R. C., Esq., M.A.
Jenkins, D. J., Esq., M.P.
Jenner, Miss
Johnstone, Wm., Esq.
Kane, Sir Robert, M.D.
Kane, Lady
Kerry, The Knight of
Kingsley, Mrs. Henry
Kinneir, J. Boyd, Esq.
Kirk, Professor
Kitchener, F. E., Esq.
Kitchener, Mrs.
Knighton, W., Esq., LL.D.
Ladell, Mrs. H. M.
Law, Hon. W. Towrie
Lawrie, Mrs. A.
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid Bart., M.P.
Laye, Mrs. Ramsay
Le Geyt, Miss Alice
L'Estrange, Rev. A. G.
Lewis, Mrs. G. H.
Liddell, Hon. Mrs. Thomas
Liveing, Professor
Lucraft, Benjamin, Esq.
Lush, Dr. J. A.
Lusk, Sir Andrew, Bart., M.P.
MacCaig, J. S. Esq.
MacCombie, Wm., Esq.
Macdonell, Mrs. James
McLagan, Peter, Esq., M.P.
McLaren, Alex., Esq.
McLaren, Miss Agnes
Macmillan, Alex., Esq.
Malleison, Mrs. F.
Malleison, W. T., Esq.
Malleison, Mrs. W. T.
Mallet, Sir Louis, C. B.
Mar, Countess of
Marsden, Mark, Esq.
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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.

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 AND SUBSCRIBERS TO ITS FUNDS, HELD JULY 17TH, 1872.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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