

C. A. Briggs
Mrs. C. A. Briggs

MAJORITY REPORT

OF

UNITED STATES SENATE COMMITTEE

ON

PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS,

AGAINST

A SIXTEENTH AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION PROHIBITING THE
SEVERAL STATES FROM DISFRANCHISING UNITED
STATES CITIZENS ON ACCOUNT OF SEX,

BY

SENATORS WADLEIGH, McMILLAN, INGALLS, SAULSBURY,
MERRIMON, AND HILL,

JUNE 14, 1878;

ALSO,

MINORITY REPORT,

FROM SAME COMMITTEE,

IN FAVOR OF

SAID CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT,

BY

SENATORS HOAR, MITCHELL, AND CAMERON
OF WISCONSIN,

FEBRUARY 1, 1879.



WASHINGTON:
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE.
1879.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

JUNE 14, 1878.—Ordered to be printed.
FEBRUARY 1, 1879.—Ordered to be printed with views of the minority.

Mr. WADLEIGH, from the Committee on Privileges and Elections, submitted the following

REPORT:

[To accompany S. Res. 12.]

The Committee on Privileges and Elections, to whom was referred the resolution (S. Res. 12) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and certain petitions for and remonstrances against the same, make the following report:

This proposed amendment forbids the United States or any State to deny or abridge the right to vote on account of sex.

If adopted, it will make several millions of female voters, totally inexperienced in political affairs, quite generally dependent upon the other sex, all incapable of performing military duty and without the power to enforce the laws which their numerical strength may enable them to make, and comparatively very few of whom wish to assume the irksome and responsible political duties which this measure thrusts upon them.

An experiment so novel, a change so great, should only be made slowly and in response to a general public demand, of the existence of which there is no evidence before your committee.

Petitions from various parts of the country, containing by estimate about 30,000 names, have been presented to Congress asking for this legislation.

They were procured through the efforts of woman-suffrage societies thoroughly organized, with active and zealous managers. The ease with which signatures may be procured to any petition is well known. The small number of petitioners, when compared with that of the intelligent women in the country, is striking evidence that there exists among them no general desire to take up the heavy burden of governing, which so many men seek to evade.

It would be unjust, unwise, and impolitic to impose that burden on the great mass of women throughout the country who do not wish for it, to gratify the comparatively few who do.

It has been strongly urged that without the right of suffrage women are and will be subjected to great oppression and injustice.

But every one who has examined the subject at all knows that without female suffrage legislation for years has improved and is still improving the condition of woman. The disabilities imposed upon her by the common law have, one by one, been swept away, until in most of the States she has the full right to her property, and all, or nearly all, the rights which can be granted without impairing or destroying the mar-

riage relation. These changes have been wrought by the spirit of the age, and are not, generally at least, the result of any agitation by women in their own behalf.

Nor can women justly complain of any partiality in the administration of justice. They have the sympathy of judges and particularly of juries to an extent which would warrant loud complaint on the part of their adversaries of the sterner sex. Their appeals to legislatures against injustice are never unheeded, and there is no doubt that when any considerable part of the women of any State really wish for the right to vote it will be granted without the intervention of Congress.

Any State may grant the right of suffrage to women. Some of them have done so to a limited extent, and perhaps with good results. It is evident that in some States public opinion is much more strongly in favor of it than it is in others. Your committee regard it as unwise and inexpedient to enable three-fourths in number of the States, through an amendment to the national Constitution, to force woman suffrage upon the other fourth in which the public opinion of both sexes may be strongly adverse to such a change.

For these reasons, your committee report back said resolution with a recommendation that it be indefinitely postponed.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

FEBRUARY 1, 1879.—Ordered to be printed.

Mr. HOAR, from the Committee on Privileges and Elections, submitted the following as the

VIEWS OF THE MINORITY.

[To accompany the foregoing report.]

The undersigned, a minority of the Committee on Privileges and Elections, to whom were referred the resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution prohibiting discrimination in the right of suffrage on account of sex, and certain petitions in aid of the same, submit the following minority report:

The undersigned dissent from the report of a majority of the committee. The demand for the extension of the right of suffrage to women is not new. It has been supported by many persons in this country, in England, and on the Continent, famous in public life, in literature, and in philosophy. But no single argument of its advocates seems to us to carry so great a persuasive force as the difficulty which its ablest opponents encounter in making a plausible statement of their objections. We trust we do not fail in deference to our esteemed associates on the committee when we avow our opinion that their report is no exception to this rule.

The people of the United States and of the several States have founded their political institutions upon the principle that all men have an equal right to a share in the government. The doctrine is expressed in various forms. The Declaration of Independence asserts that "all men are created equal," and that "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." The Virginia Bill of Rights, the work of Jefferson and George Mason, affirms that "no man or set of men are entitled to exclusive or separate emoluments or privileges from the rest of the community, but in consideration of public services." The Massachusetts Bill of Rights, the work of John Adams, besides reaffirming these axioms, declares that "all the inhabitants of this commonwealth, having such qualifications as they shall establish by their frame of government, have an equal right to elect officers, and to be elected for public employment." These principles, after full and profound discussion by a generation of statesmen, whose authority upon these subjects is greater than that of any other that ever lived, have been accepted by substantially the whole American people as the dictates alike of practical wisdom and of natural justice. A hundred years of experience has strengthened their hold upon the popular conviction. Our fathers failed in three particulars to carry these principles to their logical result. They required a property qualification for the right to vote and to hold office. They kept the negro in slavery. They excluded women from a share in the

government. The first two of these inconsistencies have been remedied. The property test no longer exists. The fifteenth amendment provides that race, color, or previous servitude shall no longer be a disqualification. There are certain qualifications of age, of residence, and, in some instances, of education, demanded; but these are such as all sane men may easily attain.

This report is not the place to discuss or vindicate the correctness of this theory. In so far as the opponents of woman suffrage are driven to deny it, so far, for the purposes of an argument addressed to the American people, they are driven to confess that they are in the wrong. This people are committed to the doctrine of universal suffrage by their constitutions, their history, and their opinions. They must stand by it or fall by it. The poorest, humblest, feeblest of sane men has the ballot in his hand, and no other man can show a better title to it. Those things wherein men are unequal—intelligence, ability, integrity, experience, title to public confidence by reason of previous public service—have their natural and legitimate influence under a government wherein each man's vote is counted, to quite as great a degree as under any other form of government which ever existed.

We believe that the principle of universal suffrage stands to-day stronger than ever in the judgment of mankind. Some eminent and accomplished scholars, alarmed by the corruption and recklessness manifested in some of our great cities, deceived by exaggerated representations of the misgovernment of the Southern States by a race just emerging from slavery, disgusted by the extent to which great numbers of our fellow-citizens have gone astray in the metaphysical subtleties of financial discussion, have uttered their eloquent warnings of the danger of the failure of universal suffrage. Such utterances from such sources have been frequent. They were never more abundant than in the early part of the present century. They are, when made in a serious and patriotic spirit, to be received with the gratitude due to that greatest of public benefactors—he who points out to the people their dangers and their faults. But popular suffrage is to be tried not by comparison with ideal standards of excellence, but by comparison with other forms of government. We are willing to submit our century of it to this test. The crimes that have stained our history have come chiefly from its denial, not from its establishment. The misgovernment and corruption of our great cities have been largely due to men whose birth and training have been under other systems. The abuses attributed by political hostility to negro governments at the South—governments from which the intelligence and education of the State held themselves sulkily aloof—do not equal those which existed under the English or French aristocracy within the memory of living men. There have been crimes, blunders, corruptions, follies in the history of our republic. Aristides has been banished from public employment, while Cleon has been followed by admiring throngs. But few of these things have been due to the extension of the suffrage. Strike out of our history the crimes of slavery, strike out the crimes, unparalleled for ferocity and brutality, committed by an oligarchy in its attempt to overthrow universal suffrage, and we may safely challenge for our national and State governments comparison with monarchy or aristocracy in their best and purest periods.

Either the doctrine of the Declaration of Independence and the Bills of Rights is true, or government must rest on no principle of right whatever, but its powers may be lawfully taken by force and held by force by any person or class who have strength to do it, and who persuade themselves that their rule is for the public interest. Either these doc-

trines are true, or you can give no reason for your own possession of the suffrage except that you have got it.

If this doctrine be sound, it follows that no class of persons can rightfully be excluded from their equal share in the government, unless they can be proved to lack some quality essential to the proper exercise of political power.

A person who votes helps, first, to determine the measures of government; second, to elect persons to be intrusted with public administration. He should, therefore, possess, first, an honest desire for the public welfare; second, sufficient intelligence to determine what measure or policy is best; third, the capacity to judge of the character of persons proposed for office; and, fourth, freedom from undue influence, so that the vote he casts is his own, and not another's. That person or class casting his or their own vote, with an honest desire for the public welfare, and with sufficient intelligence to judge what measure is advisable and what person may be trusted, fulfills every condition that the State can rightfully impose.

We are not now dealing with the considerations which should affect the admission of citizens of other countries to acquire the right to take part in our government. All nations claim the right to impose restrictions on the admission of foreigners trained in attachment to other countries or forms of rule, and to indifference to their own, wherever they deem the safety of the state requires.

We take it for granted that no person will deny that the women of America are inspired with a love of country equal to that which animates their brothers and sons. A capacity to judge of character, so sure and rapid as to be termed intuitive, is an especial attribute of woman. One of the greatest orators of modern times has declared, "I concede away nothing which I ought to assert for our sex when I say that the collective womanhood of a people like our own seizes with matchless facility and certainty on the moral and personal peculiarities and character of marked and conspicuous men, and that we may very wisely address ourselves to her to learn if a competitor for the highest honors has revealed that truly noble nature that entitles him to a place in the hearts of a nation."

We believe that in that determining of public policies by the collective judgment of the state which constitutes self-government, the contribution of woman will be of great importance and value. To all questions into the determination of which considerations of justice or injustice enter, she will bring a more refined moral sense than that of man. The most important public function of the State is the provision for the education of youths. In those States in which the public-school system has reached its highest excellence, more than 90 per cent. of the teachers are women. Certainly the vote of the women of the State should be counted in determining the policy which shall regulate the school system which they are called to administer.

It is seldom that particular measures of government are decided by direct popular vote. They are more often discussed before the people after they have taken effect, when the party responsible for them is called to account. The great measures which go to make up the history of nations are determined not by the voters but by their rulers, whether those rulers be hereditary or elected. The plans of great campaigns are conceived by men of great military genius and executed by great generals. Great systems of finance come from the brain of statesmen who have made finance a special study. The mass of the voters decide to which party they will intrust power. They do not determine particu-

lars. But they give to parties their general tone and direction, and hold them to their accountability. We believe that woman will give to the political parties of the country a moral temperament which will have a most beneficent and ennobling effect on politics.

Woman also is specially fitted for the performance of that function of legislative and executive government which, with the growth of civilization, becomes yearly more and more important—the wise and practical economic adjustment of the details of public expenditures. It may be considered that it would not be for the public interest to clothe with the suffrage any class of persons who are so dependent that they will, as a general rule, be governed by others in its exercise. But we do not admit that this is true of women. We see no reason to believe that women will not be as likely to retain their independence of political judgment, as they now retain their independence of opinion in regard to the questions which divide religious sects from one another. These questions deeply excite the feelings of mankind, yet experience shows that the influence of the wife is at least as great as that of the husband in determining the religious opinion of the household. The natural influence exerted by members of the same family upon each other would doubtless operate to bring about similarity of opinion on political questions as on others. So far as this tends to increase the influence of the family in the state, as compared with that of unmarried men, we deem it an advantage. Upon all questions which touch public morals, public education, all which concern the interest of the household, such a united exertion of political influence cannot be otherwise than beneficial.

Our conclusion, then, is that the American people must extend the right of suffrage to woman or abandon the idea that suffrage is a birth-right. The claim that universal suffrage will work mischief in practice is simply a claim that justice will work mischief in practice.

Many honest and excellent persons, while admitting the force of the arguments above stated fear that taking part in politics will destroy those feminine traits which are the charm of woman, and are the chief comfort and delight of the household. If we thought so we should agree with the majority of the committee in withholding assent to the prayer of the petitioners. This fear is the result of treating the abuses of the political function as essential to its exercise. The study of political questions, the forming an estimate of the character of public men or public measures, the casting a vote which is the result of that study and estimate, certainly have in themselves nothing to degrade the most delicate and refined nature. The violence, the fraud, the crime, the chicanery, which, so far as they have attended masculine struggles for political power, tend to prove, if they prove anything, the unfitness of men for the suffrage, are not the result of the act of voting, but are the expressions of coarse, criminal, and evil natures, excited by the desire for victory. The admission to the polls of delicate and tender women would, without injury to them, tend to refine and elevate the politics in which they took a part. When, in former times, women were excluded from social banquets, such assemblies were scenes of ribaldry and excess. The presence of women has substituted for them the festival of the Christian home.

The majority of the committee state the following as their reasons for the conclusion to which they come:

First. If the petitioners' prayer be granted it will make several millions of female voters.

Second. These voters will be inexperienced in public affairs.

Third. They are quite generally dependent on the other sex.

Fourth. They are incapable of military duty.

Fifth. They are without the power to enforce the laws which their numerical strength may enable them to make.

Sixth. Very few of them wish to assume the irksome and responsible duties which this measure thrusts upon them.

Seventh. Such a change should only be made slowly and in obedience to a general public demand.

Eighth. There are but thirty thousand petitioners.

Ninth. It would be unjust to impose "the heavy burden of governing, which so many men seek to evade, on the great mass of women who do not wish for it, to gratify the few who do."

Tenth. Women now have the sympathy of judges and juries "to an extent which would warrant loud complaint on the part of their adversaries of the sterner sex."

Eleventh. Such a change should be made, if at all, by the States. Three-fourths of the States should not force it on the others. In any State in which "any considerable part of the women wish for the right to vote, it will be granted without the intervention of Congress."

The first objection of the committee is to the large increase of the number of the voting population. We believe, on the other hand, that to double the numbers of the constituent body, and to compose one-half that body of women, would tend to elevate the standard of the representative, both for ability and manly character. Macaulay, in one of his speeches on the reform bill, refers to the quality of the men who had for half a century been members for the five most numerous constituencies in England—Westminster, Southwark, Liverpool, Bristol, and Norwich. Among them were Burke, Fox, Sheridan, Romilly, Windham, Tierney, Canning, Huskisson. Eight of the nine greatest men who had sat in Parliament for forty years sat for the five largest represented towns.

To increase the numbers of constituencies diminishes the opportunity for corruption. Size is itself a conservative force in a republic. As a permanent general rule the people will desire their own best interest. Disturbing forces, evil and selfish passions, personal ambitions, are necessarily restricted in their operation. The larger the field of operation, the more likely are such influences to neutralize each other.

The objection of inexperience in public affairs applies, of course, alike to every voter when he first votes. If it be valid, it would have prevented any extension of the suffrage, and would exclude from the franchise a very large number of masculine voters of all ages.

That women are quite generally dependent on the other sex is true. So it is true that men are quite generally dependent on the other sex. It is impossible so to measure this dependence as to declare that man is most dependent on woman or woman upon man. It is by no means true that the dependence of either on the other affects the right to the suffrage.

Capacity for military duty has no connection with capacity for suffrage. The former is wholly physical. It will scarcely be proposed to disfranchise men who are unfit to be soldiers by reason of age or bodily infirmity. The suggestion that the country may be plunged into wars by a majority of women who are secure from military dangers is not founded in experience. Men of the military profession and men of the military age are commonly quite as eager for war as non-combatants, and will hereafter be quite as indifferent to its risks and hardships as their mothers and wives.

The argument that women are without the power to enforce the laws which their numerical strength may enable them to make proceeds upon the supposition that it is probable that all the women will range them-

selves upon one side in politics, and all the men on the other. Such supposition flatly contradicts the other arguments drawn from the dependence of women and from their alleged unwillingness to assume political burdens. So men over fifty years of age are without the power to enforce obedience to laws against which the remainder of the voters forcibly rebel. It is not physical power alone, but power aided by the respect for law of the people on which laws depend for their enforcement.

The sixth, eighth, and ninth reasons of the committee are the same propositions differently stated. It is that a share in the government of the country is a burden, and one which, in the judgment of a majority of the women of the country, they ought not to be required to assume. If any citizen deems the exercise of this franchise a burden and not a privilege, such person is under no constraint to exercise it. But if it be a birthright, then it is obvious that no other person than that of the individual concerned can rightfully restrain its exercise. The committee concede that women ought to be clothed with the ballot in any State where any considerable part of the women desire it. This is a pretty serious confession. On the vital, fundamental question whether the institutions of this country shall be so far changed that the number of persons in it who take a part in the government shall be doubled, the judgment of women is to be, and ought to be, decisive. If woman may fitly determine this question, for what question of public policy is she unfit? What question of equal importance will ever be submitted to her decision? What has become of the argument that women are unfit to vote because they are dependent on men, or because they are unfit for military duty, or because they are inexperienced, or because they are without power to enforce obedience to their laws?

The next argument is that by the present arrangement the administration of justice is so far perverted that one-half the citizens of the country have an advantage from the sympathies of juries and judges which "would warrant loud complaint" on the part of the other half. If this be true, it is doubtless due to an instinctive feeling on the part of juries and judges that existing laws and institutions are unjust to women, or to the fact that juries composed wholly of men are led to do injustice by their susceptibility to the attractions of woman. But certainly it is a grave defect in any system of government that it does not administer justice impartially, and the existence of such a defect is a strong reason for preferring an arrangement which would remove the feeling that women do not have fair play, or for so composing juries that, drawn from both sexes, they would be impartial between the two.

The final objection of the committee is that "such a change should be made, if at all, by the States. Three-fourths of the States should not force it upon the others. Whenever any considerable part of the women in any State wish for the right to vote, it will be granted without the intervention of Congress." Who can doubt that when two-thirds of Congress and three-fourths of the States have voted for the change, a considerable number of women in the other States will be found to desire it, so that, according to the committee's own belief, it can never be forced by a majority on unwilling communities? The prevention of unjust discrimination by States against large classes of people in respect to suffrage is even admitted to be matter of national concern, and an important function of the national Constitution and laws. It is the duty of Congress to propose amendments to the Constitution whenever two-thirds of both houses deem them necessary. Certainly an amendment will be deemed necessary if it can be shown to be required by the prin-

ciples upon which the Constitution is based, and to remove an unjust disfranchisement from one-half the citizens of the country. The constitutional evidence of general public demand is to be found not in petitions, but in the assent of three-fourths of the States through their legislatures or conventions.

The lessons of experience favor the conclusion that woman is fit for a share in government. It may be true that in certain departments of intellectual effort the greatest achievements of women have as yet never equaled the greatest achievements of men. But it is equally true that in those same departments women have exhibited an intellectual ability very far beyond that of the average of men, and very far beyond that of most men who have shown very great political capacity. But let the comparison be made in regard to the very thing with which we have to deal. Of men who have swayed chief executive power, a very considerable proportion have attained it by usurpation or by election, processes which imply extraordinary capacity on their part as compared with other men. The women who have held such power have come to it as sovereigns by inheritance, or as regents by the accident of bearing a particular relation to the lawful sovereign when he was under some incapacity. Yet it is an undisputed fact that the number of able and successful female sovereigns bears a vastly greater proportion to the whole number of such sovereigns, than does the number of able and successful male sovereigns to the whole number of men who have reigned. An able, energetic, virtuous king or emperor is the exception and not the rule in the history of modern Europe. With hardly an exception the male sovereigns or regents have been wise and popular. Mr. Mill, who makes this point, says:

We know how small a number of reigning queens history presents in comparison with that of kings. Of this smaller number a far larger proportion have shown talents for rule, though many of them have occupied the throne in difficult periods. When to queens and empresses we add regents and viceroys of provinces, the list of women who have been eminent rulers of mankind swells to a great length. * * * Specially is this true if we take into consideration Asia as well as Europe. If a Hindu principality is strongly, vigilantly, and economically governed; if order is preserved without oppression; if cultivation is extending and the people prosperous, in three cases out of four that principality is under a woman's rule. This fact, to me an entirely unexpected one, I have collected from a long official knowledge of Hindoo governments.

Certainly history gives no warning that should deter the American people from carrying out the principles upon which their governments rest to this most just and legitimate conclusion. Those persons who think that free government has anywhere failed, can only claim that this tends to prove, not the failure of universal suffrage, but the failure of masculine suffrage. Like failure has attended the operation of every other great human institution, the family, the school, the church, whenever woman has not been permitted to contribute to them her full share. As to the best example of the perfect family, the perfect school, the perfect church, the love, the purity, the truth of woman is essential, so they are equally essential to the perfect example of the self-governing state.

GEO. F. HOAR.

JOHN H. MITCHELL.

ANGUS CAMERON.

[S. R. 12.—Forty-Fifth Congress, second session.]

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES. January 10, 1878. Mr. Sargent asked and by unanimous consent, obtained leave to bring in the following joint resolution; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections.

JOINT RESOLUTION proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, two-thirds of each House concurring therein, That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of the said Constitution, namely:

ARTICLE —.

SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

SEC. 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

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ARGUMENTS

IN BEHALF OF THE FOLLOWING,

A SIXTEENTH AMENDMENT

TO THE

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES:

ARTICLE XVI.

SEC. 1. The right of suffrage in the United States shall be based on citizenship, and the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex, or for any reason not equally applicable to all citizens of the United States.

SEC. 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

OF THE

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

January 24, 1880.

EMMA MONT. McRAE, JESSIE T. WAITE,
CATHARINE A. T. STEBBINS, ELIZABETH L. SAXON,
LILLIE DEVEREAUX BLAKE, MATILDA JOSLYN GAGE,
PHEBE W. COUZINS, And SUSAN B. ANTHONY,

Delegates of the National Woman Suffrage Association.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE.—ARGUMENTS BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY.

FEBRUARY 3, 1880.—Recommitted to the Committee on the Judiciary, and ordered to be printed.

WASHINGTON, D. C., January 24, 1880.

The CHAIRMAN pro tem. (Mr. HARRIS, of Virginia): The order of business for the present session of the committee is the delivery of arguments by delegates to the Woman Suffrage Convention now holding its sessions in Washington. I am informed that the delegates are in attendance upon the committee. We will be pleased to hear them.

A list of the names of the ladies proposing to speak, with a memorandum of the limit of time allotted to each, has been handed to me for my guidance; and, in the absence of the chairman, (Mr. KNOTT), it will be my duty to confine the speakers to the number of minutes apportioned to them respectively upon the paper before me. As an additional consideration for adhering to the regulation as to time, I will mention that members of the committee have informed me that, having made engagements to be at the departments and elsewhere on business appointments during the day, they will be compelled to leave the committee-room upon the expiration of the time assigned for the present order of business.

The first name upon the list is that of Mrs. Emma Mont. McRae, of Indiana, to whom five minutes are allowed.

REMARKS OF MRS. EMMA MONT. MCRAE, OF INDIANA.

Mrs. McRAE (who was introduced by Miss Susan B. Anthony, as the principal of the high school at Muncie, Ind.) occupied five minutes. She said:

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the Judiciary Committee: The women in the State of Indiana who want to vote doubtless number many more than you imagine upon hearing the name of the Hoosier State. In Indiana the cause of woman has made marked advancement, and there women have advantages over their sex in other States. At the same time we realize—and as mothers especially we realize it—that we need the right to vote, in order that we may have protection. We need that right as one indispensably necessary to our security in the enjoyment of other rights. We need the ballot because through the medium of its power alone we can hope to wield that influence, in the making of laws affecting our own and our children's interests, to which we claim to be entitled. Therefore, I have come from the State of Indiana to give utterance to the voice of the mothers among the women of that State, in behalf of their petition for the right to vote.

Some recent occurrences in Indiana, one in particular in the section of the State from which I come, have impressed us more sensibly than we were ever before impressed with the necessity to us of the exercise of this right. We want to vote that we may be permitted to earn our bread. The particular incident to which I refer was this: In the town

of Muncie, Indiana, from which I come, a young girl, of some twenty-one years, who for the past five years had been employed as a clerk in the post-office, and upon whom a widowed mother was dependent for support, was told, on the first of January, that she was no longer needed in the office. She had filled her place well; no complaint had been made against her, and it was not intimated that her place was a supernumerary one. She very modestly asked the postmaster as to the cause of her discharge, and he replied: "We have a man who has done work for the party, and we must give that man a place; I haven't room for both of you. I must take your place away from you and give it to that man." Now, there you have at once the reason why we want the ballot; we want to be able to do something for the party in a substantial way, so that men may not have this to tell us, that they have no room for us because we do nothing "for the party." I want this young girl, and all the young girls, and all the mothers in Indiana, to be able to do something for "the party" in Indiana, by means of which they can show they have the power to protect themselves in earning livelihoods. When they have the ballot, women will work for "the party," as a means of enabling them to hold places in which they may get bread for their mothers and for their children, if necessity requires this of them.

[Here the five minutes expired.]

REMARKS OF MISS JESSIE T. WAITE, OF ILLINOIS.

Miss WAITE was awarded the next five minutes. She said:

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives: I feel called upon to say that, previous to this time, the women of Illinois have not been ready for the ballot, but that now they are. In that State we have attained to almost every right except that of the ballot. We have been admitted to all the schools and colleges; we have become accustomed to parliamentary usages; we have become accustomed to voting in literary societies and in all matters connected with the interests of the colleges and schools; we are considered members in good standing of the associations, and, in some cases, the young ladies in the institutes have been told that they hold the balance of power.

The same reason for woman suffrage that has been given by the delegate from Indiana (Mrs. McRae) holds good with reference to the State of Illinois, that women must have the ballot in order that they may have the means of self-support and protection in getting bread for themselves and their families by giving to the party that looks for their support some substantial evidence of their strength. There are evidences of an uprising among the women of our State, and of the development among them of this feeling that they must have the ballot. Experience has demonstrated, especially in the temperance movement, how fruitless are all their efforts while the ballot is withheld from their hands. They have prayed; they have petitioned; they have talked; they have lectured; they have done all that they could do, except to vote; and yet all availeth them nothing. Miss Frances Willard and other ladies presented to the legislature of Illinois a petition of such length that it would have reached around this room. It contained over 50,000 signatures.

Miss SUSAN B. ANTHONY (aside). One hundred and eighty thousand.

Miss WAITE (continuing.) I am obliged for the correction. One hundred and eighty thousand. I was not aware that it contained so many names, though I did learn that the number of signatures was largely increased over 50,000. The purpose of the petition was to have the

legislature give the women of the State the right to vote upon the question of license or no license, in their respective districts.

I have found, since coming to the East, that the women of the West have reason to congratulate themselves upon their comparatively advanced position. They may, indeed, flatter themselves upon the truth of the remark of Bishop Berkeley, of California, as applied to the condition of women in the State of Illinois, when he said that "Westward the star of empire takes its way." This is manifest in all our schools, and in all the avenues of employment which have been opened to women in that State, within the past five or ten years. There remains, therefore, only this one great deprivation, the denial of the suffrage; as, except upon school-district matters (in which particular the right has also been extended to women in some of the Eastern States), we have not been allowed to vote. In some of the counties of our State we have ladies as superintendents of schools, and one or two who are professors in colleges. One of the professors in the Industrial University at Champaign is a lady. Throughout the State you may find ladies who excel in every branch of study and in every trade. It was a lady who took the prize at "the Exposition" for the most beautiful piece of cabinet-work. This is said to have been a marvel of beauty, and extraordinary as a specimen of fine art. She was a foreigner; a Scandinavian, I believe. Another lady is a teacher of wood-carving, a branch of industry which is becoming quite an art. There are lady physicians. There are two lady attorneys, Perry and Martin, now practicing in the city of Chicago. Representatives of our sex are also to be found among real estate agents and journalists; while, in one or two instances, as preachers, they have been recognized and authorized to say what they felt called upon to say in the churches.

[Here the five minutes expired.]

REMARKS OF MRS. CATHERINE A. STEBBINS, OF MICHIGAN.

Mrs. STEBBINS was given the next five minutes. She said:

"Better fifty years of Europe than a cycle of Cathay!" So said the poet; and I say, Better a week with these inspired women in conference than years of an indifferent conventional society! Their presence has been a blessing to the people of this District, and will prove in the future a blessing to our government. These women, from all sections of our country, with a moral and spiritual enthusiasm (enthusiasm, God in us) which seeks to lift off the moral burdens of our government and social life, come to you, telling of the obstacles and barriers that have beset their path and baffled them in their strivings. They have tried to heal the hurts of the stricken in vice, ignorance, and despair; to save our land from self-destruction and disintegration. One has sought to reform the drunkard, to save the moderate drinker, to convert the liquor-seller; another, to shelter the homeless; another, to lift and save the abandoned woman. "Abandoned?" once asked a prophet-like man of our time, who added, "There never was an abandoned woman without an abandoned man!" Abandoned of whom? let us ask. Surely not by the merciful Father. No; neither man nor woman is ever abandoned by Him, and He sends His instruments, in the persons of some of these great-hearted women, to appeal to you to restore their God-given freedom of action, that "the least of these" may be remembered.

But in our councils no one has dwelt upon one of the great evils of our civilization, the scourge of war; though it has been said that women

will fight. It is true, there are instances in which they have considered it a duty; there were such in the rebellion. But the majority of women would not declare war, would not enlist soldiers, and would not vote supplies and equipments, because many of the most thoughtful believe there is a better way, and that women can bring a moral power to bear that shall make war needless.

Jeannette, in the old song, appeals to her lover, Jennot :

"If kings will show their might,
Why, let those who make the quarrels
Be the only men to fight."

Like my father and mother, I was reared in the society of "Friends," and we loved the principles of peace, of non resistance of injuries. The rebellion came; a brother in New York City enlisted in the Army in April, '61. We had come to think, because we hoped, that men in our country had outgrown the spirit of war on the battle-field, although we perceived that if men would not repent and make clean our government, it might prove inevitable. Brother wrote us that he had enlisted and must go. We were overwhelmed with grief at the thought, but the act was done; we could only submit. I well remember what I wrote him; painful as it was, I must *once* write it. The thought, I told him, that he was to deliberately stand in the ranks to be aimed at and shot down was a terrible one and a great fear to us; but the other thought, that he was as deliberately to stand up and aim his weapon at another man, and perhaps take his life, was a far more terrible thought; and let me say here, that if men could see and know the lives they take, they would shrink, in many cases utterly shrink, from war. They do not see the individual men. Modern warfare is very different from the old. Men seldom fight hand to hand, and the smoke of battle hides their deeds from sight. The soldiers tell us—whole regiments, I think—that they never saw a man fall who was hit by their individual bullets. O, what a solace to their sensitive hearts!—not to their consciences, for they start out to serve their country. The human heart of man, under the best conditions and under the tender guidance of a conscientious mother, revolts at such deeds.

In passing, let me speak of a reply this brother made to our blessed mother after she had warned him against the temptations of the great city. He wrote, "Never fear for me, dear mother, in regard to these temptations; I have not the least inclination to the vices of the low, for I have had too good a start at home." O, comforting, enduring words! They live in memory of a mother's faithfulness and a son's truth. And here we see the close connection with deeper questions of the mother's influence, which we have no time to discuss to-day.

But let us take one picture, representative of the general features of war—we say nothing of our convictions in regard to the conflict. Ulysses S. Grant or Anna Ella Carroll make plans and maps for the campaign; McClellan and Meade are commanded to collect the columns, muskets and ammunition, and move their men to the attack. At the same time the saintly Clara Barton collects her cordials, medicines, and delicacies, her lint and bandages and, putting them in the ambulance assigned, joins the same moving train. McClellan's men meet the enemy and men—brothers—on both sides, fall by the death-dealing missiles. Miss Barton and her aids bear off the sufferers, staunch their bleeding wounds, soothe the reeling brain, bandage the crippled limbs, pour in the oil and wine, and make as easy as may be the soldier's bed. What a solemn and heart-rending farce is here enacted! And yet in our present development, men and women seek to

reconcile it with the requirements of religion and the necessities of our conflicting lives. So few recognize the absolute truth!

But mothers know the cost of a life. One of the sweetest and most self-sacrificing women who ever did works of mercy in this District and one of the most serious who ever appeared before your committee, in conversation with me about the faith, love, and suffering of women, said, "In maternity every mother goes down into the garden of Gethsemane and leans her heart on the heart of God." Another has said, "Every mother is a Madonna by the cradle of her first-born." Will you help us to save our first born?

[Here the time expired.]

REMARKS OF MRS. ELIZABETH L. SAXON, OF LOUISIANA.

Mrs. SAXON (to whom was allotted five minutes) said :

Gentlemen of the Committee: I feel that I would much prefer leaving my time to Miss Anthony but having been called upon as one of three members here present from the south—coming, as I do, from the State of Louisiana—it may be incumbent upon me to state why I am here. It is said that the emancipation proclamation was a military necessity; that the political privilege to the negro was a political necessity. I entered upon the enfranchisement of women as a moral necessity. We who are mothers have gathered here from all quarters of the land, because we want to be able to help our children—helping, through our children, all mankind.

In the course of conversation with one or two of the gentlemen here, I made to them the statement that our people are not as unfavorable to this movement as they think, and I will, as briefly as possible, give the authority for my statement. In July last, during the session of the constitutional convention of Louisiana, I presented to that body a petition on this subject signed by the very best men in the city of New Orleans and elsewhere. We had the names of five clergymen and seven of the most prominent physicians of the State. Dr. Richardson, a leading physician, said to his wife afterwards, "I reproach you for not standing by these ladies in their effort for the emancipation of women." Governor Wiltz, who occupied the chair of the convention (being at that time lieutenant-governor), heartily approved our petition. We also presented a supplementary petition, which, with the first, was referred to the judiciary committee. We were formally invited by Mr. Poché, a prominent Creole from one of the upper parishes and a member of the committee on the elective franchise, to appear before the judiciary committee, which was then meeting in the St. Charles Hotel. They set apart an evening for our accommodation and permitted the attendance of any other ladies who desired to attend. The ladies, not being accustomed to appear before public bodies, being timid and reserved, as all Southern ladies are, declined to take part with me in the presentation of the subject. However, I went before the judiciary committee attended by Col. John D. Sandige, and made my argument before them. That committee, having upon it some Republican members but composed largely of Democrats, heard me so favorably that they reported affirmatively an ordinance on the subject to the convention. Subsequently, I appeared before the convention in company with other ladies, among whom were Mrs. Merrick, the wife of the chief justice of the State; and Mrs. Dr. Keating (niece of Mrs. Dr. Clemence Lozier, of New York,) a lady who had some of the first families of the State under her care as a physician, and who, though her pecuniary in-

terests were in a way to be sacrificed, was governed solely by her sense of right, and did not hesitate to go with me before the convention and make her plea for woman—which I do not think many men would have done. Mrs. Dorsey, who left to Jefferson Davis her fortune, and who was then on her death-bed—than whom no woman ever ranked higher socially, intellectually, or in any way—was among the signers to the petition which we presented. She wrote a letter on this subject, which was read to the convention by Colonel Sandige, and the occasion of that formal letter was the last upon which she ever handled a pen. In our appeal to that convention we plead as mothers, and our plea was, "We do not want men's places; we only want you, gentlemen, to help us in school reforms, in prison reforms, and social reforms."

I would mention, in this connection, the very pertinent retort made by the delegate now here from Delaware, from whom I learned of it last evening. Upon being told by a gentleman prominent in public life that he favored woman suffrage, but that men were opposed to women going to the polls, she replied, that when there was a foul place about a house, a cess-pool, or anything of the kind, it was the women who went to work to carbolize and scour it up and, as they did this in private life, they would prove equally efficient in scouring up the foul places in public life.

Yesterday, before the Senate Judiciary Committee, I heard Miss Anthony make an argument that, to my mind, was indisputable. I have no doubt that every one who heard it will agree with me in that. Those who now come before you, gentlemen, are pleading with you to help us women to do that which is emphatically our own work. They want nothing more. The character of the ladies who worked with me in this cause in Louisiana was a sufficient guarantee to those who appended their names to our petition that it was not the riff-raff of society who were asking for recognition but the mothers of a community; and let me tell you, gentlemen, that whenever the moral forces of a nation are to be aroused, as those of our nation are fast becoming aroused, the most effective agents that can be employed in the work are the mothers. We want to go into the institutions of learning, and make reforms there. We want to go into prisons, and make prison reforms. Wherever woman sins and suffers, there let woman go. The ranks of iniquity, gentlemen, are not recruited from a foreign race, but from the babes born of our bodies and nursed in our arms, and every woman who has gone down to ruin has gone down with a broken-hearted mother behind her. I plead for those, gentlemen—

[Here the five minutes expired.]

REMARKS OF MRS. LILLIE DEVEREUX BLAKE, OF NEW YORK.

Mrs. BLAKE (to whom ten minutes had been assigned) came forward, bearing a volume of the Revised Statutes, and said:

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee: I come here with your own laws in my hands, and the volume is quite a heavy one too, to ask you something about our position to day. I ask you whether we, women, are citizens of this nation?

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. Harris, of Virginia, in the chair). I have only to say to you, madam, in reply, that the committee are here to listen, not to advise.

Mrs. BLAKE. Then I will proceed to instruct you, if I may be permitted to instruct so august a body as this.

I have here the book of laws which you, men, have made. I find in this book, under the heading of the chapter on "Citizenship," the following:

"SEC. 1992. All persons born in the United States and not subject to any foreign power, excluding Indians not taxed, are declared to be citizens of the United States."

I suppose that you, gentlemen, will admit that we, women, are, in the language of the section, "persons," and that we cannot reasonably be included in the class spoken of as "Indians not taxed." Therefore I claim that we are "citizens."

The same chapter also contains the following:

"SEC. 1994. Any woman who is now or may hereafter be married to a citizen of the United States and who might herself be lawfully naturalized shall be deemed a citizen."

Under this section also we are *citizens*. I am myself, as indeed are most of the ladies present, married to a citizen of the United States; so that we are citizens under this count if we were not citizens before.

Then, further, in the legislation known as "The Civil Rights Bill," I find this language:

"All persons within the jurisdiction of the United States shall have the same right, in every State and Territory, to make and enforce contracts, to sue, be parties, give evidence, and to the full and equal benefit of all laws and proceedings for the security of persons and property as is enjoyed by white citizens, and shall be subject to like punishments, pains, penalties," and so forth.

One would think that the logical conclusion from that which I have last read would be that *all citizens* are entitled to equal protection everywhere. It appears to mean that.

Then I turn to another piece of legislation—that which is known as "The Enforcement Act"—one which some of you, gentlemen, did not like very much when it was enacted—and there I find another declaration on the same question. The act is entitled "An act to enforce the right of citizens of the United States to vote in the several States of this Union and for other purposes." The right of "*citizens*" to vote appears to be conceded by this act. In the 2d section, the act says:

"It shall be the duty of every such person and officer to give to all citizens of the United States the same and equal opportunity to perform such prerequisite, and to become qualified to vote, without distinction of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

I ask you, gentlemen of the committee, as lawyers, whether you do not think that, after we have been declared to be citizens, we have the right to claim the protection of this enforcement act? Is it not clear to you that the gentlemen have made the most singular muddle—I don't wish to seem disrespectful—but is it not the fact, that they have made the most singular muddle in the present condition of woman in this country? We are practically remanded to a sort of intermediate condition, although we have been declared to be citizens by the laws of the United States. When you, gentlemen from the North, rise in your places here in the halls of Congress and make these walls ring with your eloquence, you are prone to talk a great deal about the right of every United States citizen to the ballot, and the necessity of protecting every such citizen in its exercise. What do you mean by it?

It occurs to me here to call your attention to a matter of recent occurrence. As you know, there has been a little unpleasantness in Maine—a State which is not without a representative among the members of the Judiciary Committee—and certain gentlemen there, especially Mr. Blaine, have been greatly exercised in their minds because, as they allege, the people of Maine have not been permitted to express their will at the polls. Why, gentlemen, I assert that a majority of the

people of Maine have never been permitted to express their will at the polls. A majority of the people of Maine are women, and, from the foundation of this government to this day, have never been permitted to exercise any of the inalienable rights of citizens. Mr. Blaine made a speech a day or two ago in Augusta. He began by reciting the condition of affairs, owing to the effort, as he states, "to substitute a false count for an honest ballot," and congratulated his audience upon the instrumentalities by which they had triumphed—"without firing a gun, without shedding a drop of blood, without striking a single blow, without one disorderly assemblage. *The people* have regained their own right through the might and majesty of their own laws." He goes on in this vein to speak of those whom he calls "the people of Maine." Well, gentlemen, I do not think you will deny that *women are people*. It appears to me that what Mr. Blaine said in that connection was nonsense, unless indeed he forgot that there were any others than men among the people of the State of Maine. I don't suppose that you, gentlemen, are often so forgetful. Mr. Blaine said further, "The Republicans of Maine and throughout the land felt that they were not merely fighting the battle of a single year, but for all the future of the State; not merely fighting the battle of our own State alone, but for all the States that are attempting the great problem of State government throughout the world. The corruption or destruction of the ballot is a crime against free government, and when successful is a subversion of free government." Does that mean the ballot *for men only* or the ballot *for the people*, men and women too? If it is to be received as meaning anything, it ought to mean not for one sex alone, but for both.

Mr. Lincoln declared, in one of his noblest utterances, that no man was good enough to govern another man without that man's consent. Of course he meant it in its broadest terms; he meant that no man or woman was good enough to govern another man or woman without that other man's or woman's consent.

I need not recall to you, gentlemen, the old fundamental principles of this republic, that "taxation without representation is tyranny," "that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." You learned those lessons when boys at school; and remember, gentlemen, we learned them when little girls at school also. We love our liberties just as dearly as you love yours, and we do not like to be disfranchised any more than you would like it. What gentleman here would consent to give up his right to vote—I will not say his right to hold office—and yet you expect us, women, some of us as old as yourselves, and some of us your seniors, to be content with our disfranchised condition.

Mr. Blaine, on another occasion, in connection with the same subject-matter, had much to say of the enormity of the oppression practiced by his political opponents in depriving the town of Portland of the right of representation in view of its paying such heavy taxes as it does pay. He expressed the greatest indignation at the attempt, forgetting utterly that great, that enormous, body of women who pay taxes and who are perpetually deprived of the right of representation.

In this connection it may be pertinent for me to express the hope, by way of a suggestion to you, gentlemen, that hereafter, when making your speeches, you will not use the term "citizens" in a broad, general sense unless you mean to include women as well as men, and that when you do not mean to include women you will speak of male citizens as a distinct and separate class, because the term, in its general application, is illogical and its meaning obscure if not self-contradictory.

Mr. Hayes, our amiable president, was so pleased with one of the sentences in the message put out by him a year ago that, in his message of this year, he has reiterated the same sentence, repeating it in precisely identical language. The sentence reads thus: "That no temporary or administrative interests of government will ever displace the zeal of our people in defense of the primary rights of citizenship, and that the power of public opinion will override all political prejudices and all sectional and State attachments in demanding that all over our wide territory the name and character of citizen of the United States shall mean one and the same thing, and carry with them unchallenged security and respect." Let me suggest what he ought to have said unless he intended to include women, although I am afraid that Mr. Hayes, when he wrote this, forgot that there were women in the United States, notwithstanding that his excellent wife, perhaps, stood by his side. He ought to have said: "An act having been passed to enforce the rights of *male* citizens to vote, the true vigor of *half* the population is thus expressed, and no interests of government will ever displace the zeal of *half* of our people in defense of the primary rights of *our male* citizens. *The prosperity of the States depends upon the protection afforded to our male citizens*; and the name and character of male citizens of the United States shall mean one and the same thing and carry with them unchallenged security and respect." If Mr. Hayes had thus expressed himself, he would have made a perfectly logical and clear statement. Gentlemen, I hope that hereafter, when speaking or voting in behalf of the citizens of the United States, you will bear this in mind and will remember that women are citizens as well as men, and that they claim the same rights.

Gentlemen, this question of woman suffrage cannot much longer be ignored by you. In the State from which I come, although we had not last fall a right to vote, we are confident that the influence which we, as women, brought to bear in determining the result of the election at that time had something to do with sending into retirement a Democratic governor who was opposed to our reform, and electing a Republican governor who was in favor of it. Recollect, gentlemen, that the expenditure of time and money which has been made in this cause will not be without its effect. The time is coming when the demand of an immense number of the women of this country cannot be ignored. When you see these representatives coming up here from all the States of the Union to ask for this right, can you doubt that, some day, they will succeed in their mission? We do not stand before you to plead as beggars; we ask for that for which we do ask as our right. We ask it as due to the memory of our ancestors, who fought for the freedom of this country just as bravely as did yours. We ask it on many considerations. Why, gentlemen, the very furniture here, the carpet on this floor, was paid for with our money. We are taxed equally with the men to contribute to defray the expenses of this Congress, and we have a right equally with them to participate in the government.

In closing, I have only to ask, Is there no man here present who appreciates the emergencies of this hour? Is there no one among you who will rise up, on the floor of Congress, as the champion of this unrepresented half of the people of the United States? If so, the time is not far distant when there will be. The time is not far distant when we shall have our liberties, and the politician who can now understand the political importance of our cause, the statesman who can now see, and will now appreciate, the justice of it, that man, if true to himself, will write his name high on the scroll of fame beside those of the men who have been

the saviors of this country. Gentlemen, I entreat you not to let this hearing go by without giving due weight to all that we have said. I ask you to carry it in your hearts. We shall be successful in a few years. You can no more stay the onward current of this reform than you can fight against the stars in their courses.

Mr. WILLITS, of Michigan. Mr. Chairman, I would like to make a suggestion here. The regulation amendment, as it has heretofore been submitted, provided that the right of citizens of the United States to vote should not be abridged on account of sex. I notice that the amendment which the ladies here now propose has prefixed to it this phrase: "The right of suffrage in the United States shall be based on citizenship." I call attention to this, because I would like to have them explain as fully as they may why they incorporate the phrase, "shall be based on citizenship." Is the meaning this, that all citizens shall have the right to vote, or simply that citizenship shall be the basis of suffrage? The words "or for any reason not applicable to all citizens of the United States," also seem to require explanation. The proposition, in the form in which it is now submitted, I understand, covers a little more than has been covered by the amendment submitted in previous years.

Mrs. SARA A. SPENCER, of Washington, D. C. If the committee will permit me, I will say that the amendment, in its present form, is the concentrated wish of the women of the United States. The women of the country sent to Congress petitions, asking for three different forms of constitutional amendment and, when preparing the form of amendment now before the committee, I concentrated these three forms in the one before you (identical with that of the resolution offered in the House by Hon. George B. Loring and by Hon. T. W. Ferry in the Senate), omitting at the request of each of the three classes of petitioners, all phrases which were regarded by any of them as objectionable. The amendment, as now presented, is therefore the combined wish of the women of the country, viz, that citizenship in the United States shall mean suffrage, and that no one shall be deprived of the right to vote for reasons not equally applicable to all citizens.

REMARKS OF MRS. MATILDA JOSLYN GAGE, OF NEW YORK.

Mrs. Gage, the next speaker, was given thirty minutes.

She said:

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Judiciary Committee:

It is upon this point of the centralization of the suffrage power in the hands of the United States that I propose to speak. I will endeavor to show you that, in the progress of our government, from its very inception, liberty has been defended and has increased as certain power has been centralized in the hands of the general government, and taken away from the States. It will be borne in mind that at the beginning of their rebellion against Great Britain, each of the colonies had its individual grievance, and that at an early day, long anterior to the proclamation of our Declaration of Independence, it was deemed best for the colonies to unite.

Our first American Congress, which met in 1765, was fearful that the divers injuries under which the colonies suffered, and the many different charters under which they were governed might ensnare them—such was the language made use of by that Congress—"might ensnare them" into working in opposite directions. In this the Congress represented the popular sentiment, which found expression in various ways.

In the same year in which that body first convened, The Constitutional Courant, a paper published in the city of New York, came out with a significant representation of a serpent surrounded by thirteen stars and, encircling the whole, an inscription reading "Join, or die!" This inscription was at once adopted by the colonists as their motto; the announcement of it flew like wildfire over the whole thirteen colonies; the people began to be united in sentiment, and to realize that only by banding together in one compact whole could they hope to make their separate forces effective against the tyranny of Great Britain. It followed that, prior to our Declaration of Independence, eleven of the colonies, and a portion of one of the two remaining, united in certain articles of association. Indeed, that is the day to which we ought to look back as that of the birth of our nation, instead of that of 1776; for at that day, although formally adhering to their allegiance to Great Britain and to His Majesty George III, they united together and thenceforth acted as one body in regard to non-importation, non-exportation, and non-consumption, and practically became one people. Some nine years after The Constitutional Courant had put forth the motto of *join or die*, the first American Congress gave expression to the popular sentiment in declaring its apprehension that "the diverse interests" of the American colonies would "ensnare them" to keep themselves separate from each other. In 1776, with the proclamation of our Declaration of Independence, our country came before the world as an independent nation and one possessed of all the rights of a nation.

The importance of the necessity of a greater centralization of political power in the hands of the general government became manifest within a brief period after that proclamation had been made, as certain States asserted the right of an individual State to make peace, declare war, and contract alliances. Articles of confederation, having for their object the consolidation of certain powers in the general government with a view to promoting the security and ensuring the liberty of all the people, were entered into by the States. In 1782, after much discussion, originated upon a proposition in Congress to levy certain tariff duties and imposts—the State of Rhode Island, advocating what is now known as "the State rights' view, and protesting against the proposition through her Representative, the Speaker of the lower house, Hon. William Bradford—it was recommended by Congress that the States should confer greater power upon the general government. This recommendation was acquiesced in by only four of the thirteen colonies. The discussion, however, continued. It was then declared that the rights for which this nation contended were the rights of humanity. In the same year in which Rhode Island made her protest, the State of New York, from which I come, formally submitted a proposition for a general convention of the people to pass upon the question. This failed to ensure definite action. Finally, in 1786, the house of delegates of Virginia, passed a resolution inviting the assembling of commissioners from the various States, to discuss the question and agree upon some means for conceding greater power to the general government. In September of the same year, as the result of a conference of commissioners from the States of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland (three of which were then slave States), a call was issued for a Constitutional convention. This convention assembled in Philadelphia and finally adopted a framework of government, which received the approval of the people. Subsequent to the adoption of the Constitution, some ten conciliatory amendments were appended to it.

I have thus hastily reviewed the more prominent features of our early

governmental history with reference to the steps taken from time to time to secure the liberty of the citizens by centralizing power in the hands of the general government.

In making this demand for the ballot as secured by the United States, we women have frequently been met with this objection, "It is centralization, and centralization tends to destroy liberty." I acknowledge, gentlemen, that an indiscriminate centralization of power does tend to destroy liberty; but, on the other hand, a wise and judicious centralization of certain powers of government is not only promotive of, but absolutely essential to, the maintenance and perpetuation of liberty. The accumulation of the powers of a State in the hands of the legislature of a State, by which that body is given the exclusive control of all State affairs even down to the building of a bridge or the location of a village cemetery, is one phase of that centralization which is dangerous to liberty. To such an extent has this policy been carried that in many of the States, steps have been taken to curtail or restrict the State government and to give the county and town authorities the control of their own local affairs. With respect to all such matters, we women believe in a diffusion of the powers of government. We appreciate the fact that, as power becomes more diffused in that way, in connection with these minor matters, liberty is more fully established.

In regard to general governmental matters, such as the exercise of the suffrage by citizens of the United States, we know that in the steps it has taken in that direction the general government, as I have shown you, has promoted the liberty of the citizen and better secured it by the exercise of its protecting power over the ballot.

Following the adoption of the Constitution and the ten amendments of which I have spoken, other steps were taken to centralize power in the general government because of the necessity which seemed to be felt at the time for the enforcement of this policy. In the latter part of the eighteenth century, the XIth amendment to the Constitution (pertaining to the judiciary) was adopted, and in the early part of the nineteenth century, the XIIth amendment (regulating the election of President and Vice-President by electors), in regard to which I believe a bill for a change in the method is now pending before the House, was adopted. An interval of some years elapsed before this necessity for a more complete centralization of power in the general management again manifested itself. It did present itself to the attention of the people of the country upon the breaking out of the war of the Rebellion, when the XIIIth amendment was adopted, and afterwards the XIVth and XVth amendments, all of them seeming to be in the interest of liberty.

Here permit me to digress for a moment in order to notice an objection that we have sometimes encountered, and one that was urged when Mrs. Minor's case came before the Supreme Court of the United States. It found expression in the declaration of Chief Justice Waite when he declared that the United States had no voters. I assert that those who exercise the suffrage are in a certain sense voters of the United States as distinguished from the voters of the States. I claim, and shall endeavor to show you in the course of my remarks, that the power over the ballot which has been relinquished by the several States has been voluntarily relinquished to the general government, in the course of time, as the States have become consolidated into one harmonious whole. The XIVth amendment declared that all persons born and naturalized in the United States or in the several States are citizens of the State in which they reside. Then the XVth amendment was passed securing to all men

the right to vote without regard to color. The purpose and effect of those amendments was to centralize this power, so far as regards the colored men, in the hands of the United States. In other words, the general government made those colored men United States voters, as those amendments completely overrode all State provisions. The States which had denied to colored men the right to vote could not longer withhold the suffrage from them after those amendments went into effect. In the State of New York, from which I come, for instance, prior to the ratification of those amendments, no colored man was allowed to vote unless he had a property qualification of \$250, but immediately after the ratification of those amendments the State statute on that subject became a dead letter; and, although it remained for a time on the statute books of the State, these colored men were admitted to vote irrespective of the property qualification. I ask therefore, gentlemen, were they not United States voters?

We now ask, at the hands of Congress, the passage of the XVth amendment. We ask this in the interest of liberty, not only because we seek for our own, but because we would have you preserve your liberty. We base our demand upon the broadest considerations. According to the argument of our opponents, we have this great anomaly in governmental history, that the underlying principle of a government which was founded, as was our own, upon the basis of individual rights, upon the right of every person to self government (which rights in this country are only exercised by and through the ballot), that this fundamental principle has been left for 100 years in the hands of the States individually, and should continue there. I answer that you have taken from the States the power to fix State boundaries, to coin money, to establish post-routes, to declare peace or war, to collect revenues, to regulate commerce, and such like powers; and, in the greater interest of the liberties of the people, you have centralized these powers in the United States Government. Under the amendments to the Constitution, it is only the black man who is secure in his right to vote in the States. White men are not more secure in that right than are we women; and I submit that this theory of government which admits that the States severally have entire jurisdiction over the ballot is a most dangerous one. This power is shown most dangerously in those States which have prohibited women from holding the ballot and declared that males only should exercise it. It is against this that we women protest when we declare that the ballot should be based only on citizenship. We desire that citizenship and suffrage in the United States should be practically synonymous terms. Under such an interpretation of the meaning of the terms, we would be willing to leave the regulation of the suffrage in the hands of the States. I, for one, would not take from the States any power which belongs to them; I only ask that what shall be done shall be done exactly in the line of all that has been done since the beginning of our government for the purpose of more fully securing the liberty of all citizens of the United States, of enabling the people of the States more fully to preserve their political dignity, while permitting them to regulate the suffrage on conditions equally applicable to all persons. This is what is meant by the language of the form of amendment here submitted; and in asking this, I repeat, we are asking for the security of your liberty as well as our own.

Furthermore, under the amendments to the Constitution, the condition of male citizens is this: Any white man may be disfranchised by a State law but no colored man can be thus disfranchised; the colored man is secure while the white man is not secure in the exercise of the suffrage;

and the security of the colored man depends not upon any statutes of the States but solely upon the assurance afforded by the United States in the amendments to which I have referred.

Those of you, gentlemen, who are advocates of the State rights doctrine need entertain no apprehension that we contemplate any violation of that doctrine in the position we have assumed here, because an amendment to the Constitution such as we propose cannot be ratified, and therefore cannot be made affective, without the consent of two-thirds of the States. When Miss Anthony, in her argument before the Senate Judiciary Committee yesterday, asked the chairman (Senator Thurman) whether that was not in strict accordance with the States rights principle, that gentleman answered that it was.

As I was saying, the States, at all times in the past, when they have given up a portion of their liberties in the interest of the general government, have given them up in the interest of all the States, and, in so doing, have secured their own liberty more fully. We know, too, that in proportion as the right of the ballot is nationalized, as it is made broader, as it is made more secure to citizens of the United States, the more it is permanently secured. We know, too, that our country has reached a period in its history when the attention of the people of the country is directed most earnestly and anxiously to what shall be the condition of the republic. We are convinced that this suffrage question has assumed a larger and wider scope and is of more profound interest at this time than at any time heretofore; that it is rapidly becoming a feature of the national policy; and that, since the war, the demand for woman suffrage has extended over the whole country. We desire to remind you, gentlemen, that by passing the XVIth amendment you will not only be securing to yourselves the rights of individual self government and making yourselves more secure in the exercise of those rights, but that you will be following directly in the line which our country has followed from the meeting of the first American Congress up to this day. With these remarks, I leave this portion of the question with you.

[Here the time expired.]

REMARKS OF MISS PHOEBE W. COUZINS, OF MISSOURI.

Miss COUZINS (to whom had been assigned the next thirty minutes) came forward and said:

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Judiciary Committee: I am invited to speak of the dangers which beset us at this hour in the recent decision by the United States Supreme Court in the case of Mrs. Minor. Coming, as I do, from the State of Missouri, it has been deemed best that I should review this case more fully before you than has been done by the speakers who have preceded me.

The decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in Mrs. Minor's case not only stultifies its previous interpretation of the recent Constitutional amendments and makes them a dead letter, but will rank, in the coming ages, in the history of the judiciary, with the Dred Scott decision. The law, as explained in the Dred Scott case, was an infamous one, which trampled upon the most solemn rights of the loyal citizens of the government, and declared the Constitution to mean anything or nothing, as the case might be. Yet, the decision in that case had a saving clause, for it was not the unanimous voice of a Democratic judiciary. Dissenting opinions were nobly uttered from the bench. In the more recent case, under the rule of a Republican judiciary (created by a

party professing to be one of justice and equal rights,) the rights of one-half of the people were deliberately abrogated without a dissenting voice. This violation of the fundamental principles of our government called forth no protest from the bench of a Republican judiciary. In all of the decisions against woman in the Republican court, there has not been found one Lord Mansfield who, rising to the supreme height of an unbiased judgment, would give the immortal decree that shall crown with regal dignity the mother of the race: "I care not for the supposed dictates of judges, however eminent, if they be contrary to principle. If the parties will have judgment, let justice be done, though the Heavens fall."

The Dred Scott decision declared as the law of citizenship, "to be a citizen is to have actual possession and enjoyment or the perfect right to the acquisition and an enjoyment of an entire equality of privileges, civil and political." But the slave power was then dominant and the court decided that a black man was not a citizen because he had not the right to vote. But when the Constitution was so amended as to make "all persons born or naturalized in the United States citizens thereof," a negro, by virtue of his United States citizenship, was declared, under the amendments, a voter in every State in the Union. And the Supreme Court reaffirmed this right in the celebrated Slaughter-house cases (16 Wallace, 71), reaffirming the negro's right. It said, "The negro, having by the XIVth amendment, been declared to be a citizen of the United States, is thus made a voter in every State in the Union."

But when the loyal women of Missouri, apprehending that "everybody beneath the flag were made citizens and voters by the XIVth amendment," through Mrs. Minor, applied to the Supreme Court for protection in the exercise of that same right, this high tribunal, reversing all its former decisions, proclaims State sovereignty superior to national authority. This it does in this strange language: "Being born in the United States, a woman is a person and therefore a citizen"—we are much obliged to them for that definition of our identity as persons—"but the Constitution of the United States does not confer the right of suffrage upon any one." And then, in the face of its previous decisions, the court declared: "The United States has no voters in the States of its own creation;" that the elective officers of the United States are all elected, directly or indirectly, by State voters. It remands woman to the States for her protection, thus giving to the State the supreme authority and overthrowing the entire results of the war, which was fought to maintain the national supremacy over any and all subjects in which the rights and privileges of the citizens of the United States are involved.

No supreme allegiance, gentlemen of the committee, can be claimed for or by a government if it has no citizens of its own creation, and constitutional amendments cannot confer authority over matters which have no existence in the Constitution. Thus, our supreme law givers hold themselves up for obloquy and ridicule in their interpretation of the most solemn rights of loyal citizens, and make our constitutional law to mean anything or nothing as the case may be. You will see, gentlemen, that the very point which the South contended for as the true one is here acknowledged to be the true one by the Supreme Court—that of State rights superior to national authority. The whole of the recent contest hinged upon this. The appeal to arms and the constitutional amendments by the government were to establish the subordination of the State to national supremacy, to maintain the national authority over any and all subjects in which the rights and privileges of the citizens of the United States were involved; but this decision in Mrs. Minor's case completely nulli-

fies the supreme authority of the government, and gives the South more than has hitherto been claimed for it by the advocates of State rights. The subject of the franchise is thus wholly withdrawn from federal supervision and control. If "the United States has no citizens of its own creation," of course no supreme allegiance can be claimed by it over the various citizens of the States.

The constitutional amendments also cannot confer authority over a matter which has no existence in the Constitution. If it has no voters, it can have nothing whatever to do with the elections and voting in the States; yet the United States invaded the State of New York, sent its officers there to try, convict, and sentence Miss Anthony for exercising a right in her own State which they declared that the United States had no jurisdiction over. They send United States troops into the South to protect the negro in his right to vote, and then declare they have no jurisdiction over his voting. Then, mark the grave results which may and can follow this decision and legislation. I do not imagine that the Supreme Court, in its cowardly dodging of woman's right to all the rights and privileges which citizenship involves, designed to completely abrogate the principles established by the recent contest, or to nullify the ensuing legislation on the subject. But it certainly has done all this; for it must logically follow that if the United States has no citizens, it cannot legislate upon the rights of citizens, and the recent amendments are devoid of authority. It has well been suggested by Mr. Minor, in his criticism of the decision, that if members of the House of Representatives are elected by *State* voters, as the Supreme Court has thus declared, there is no reason why States may not refuse to elect them as in 1860, and thus deprive Congress of its power. And if a sufficient number could be united to recall at their pleasure these Representatives, what authority has the Federal Government, under this decision, for coercing them into subjection or refusing them a separation, if all these voters in the States desired an independent existence? None whatever.

Mr. Garfield, in the House, in his speech last March, calls attention to this grave subject, but does not allude to the fact that the Supreme Court has already opened the door. He says: "There are several ways in which our government may be annihilated without the firing of a gun. For example, suppose the people of the United States should say, we will elect no Representatives to Congress. Of course this is a violent supposition; but suppose that they do not. Is there any remedy? Does our Constitution provide any remedy whatever? In two years there would be no House of Representatives; of course, no support of the government and no government. Suppose, again, the States should say, through their legislatures, we will elect no Senators. Such abstention alone would absolutely destroy this government; and our system provides no process of compulsion to prevent it. Again, suppose the two houses were assembled in their usual order, and a majority of one in this body or in the Senate should firmly band themselves together and say, we will vote to adjourn the moment the hour of meeting arrives, and continue so to vote at every session during our two years of existence—the government would perish, and there is no provision of the Constitution to prevent it." The States may inform their Representatives that they can do this; and, under this position, they have the power and the right so to do.

Gentlemen, we are now on the verge of one of the most important Presidential campaigns. The party in power holds its reins by a very uncertain tenure. If the decision shall favor the one which has been

on the anxious bench for lo! these twenty years, and in probation until hope has well-nigh departed, what may be its action if invested again with the control of the destinies of this nation? Under the decision of which I have spoken, the Republican judiciary and legislation have placed in the hands of that party a club which can break in pieces their political bonds and scatter the illogical brains of their adversaries to the four winds. Hurling back at the party which has so long dominated over it the principle which the Republican party has everywhere bombastically enunciated, it may cause that party to realize that there is a vast difference as to whose ox it is that is gored in the coming political pasture. The next party in power may inquire, and answer, by what right and how far the Southern States are bound by the legislation in which they had no part or consent. And if the Supreme Court of a Republican judiciary now declares, *after* the war, *after* the constitutional amendments, that federal suffrage does not exist and never had an existence in the Constitution, it follows that the South has the right to regulate and control all of the questions arising upon suffrage in the several States without any interference on the part of an authority which declares it has no jurisdiction.

Gentlemen, an able writer has said, "All injustice at last works out a loss. The great ledger of nations does not report a good balance for injustice. It has always met fearful losses. The irrepealable law of justice will, sooner or later, grind a nation to powder, if it fails to establish that equilibrium of allegiance and protection which is the essential end of all government. Woe to that nation which thinks lightly of the duties it owes to its citizens and imagines that governments are not bound by moral laws."

It was the tax on tea—woman's drink prerogative—which precipitated the rebellion of 1776. To allay the irritation of the colonies, all taxes were rescinded save that on tea, which was left to indicate King George's dominion. But our revolutionary fathers and mothers said, "No; the tax is paltry, but the principle is great;" and Eve, as usual, pointed the moral for Adam's benefit. A most suggestive picture, one which aroused the intensest patriotism of the colonies (and it is one which may, perhaps, accompany the typical snake-form of which Mrs. Gage has spoken to you), was that of a woman pinioned by her arms to the ground by a British peer, with a British red-coat holding her throat with one hand, and with the other forcibly thrusting down her throat the contents of a tea pot, which she heroically spewed back in his face; while the figure of Justice, in the distance, with veiled face, wept over this prostrate Liberty. Now, gentlemen, we might well adopt a similar representation as indicative of our own prostrate liberty. Here is Mrs. Smith [referring to Mrs. Julia Smith, of Glastonbury, Conn.], whose cow has been sold every year by the government, contending for the same principle that our forefathers fought for, that of resistance to taxation without representation. We might have a picture of a cow, with an American tax-collector at the horns, a foreign-born assessor at the heels, forcibly selling the birthright of an American citizen, while Julia and Abby Smith, in the background, with veiled faces, weep over the degeneracy of Republican leadership.

The same tyrannical spirit of King George is manifest to day. The rights of every citizen, save of women, are now jealously guarded and freely recognized. Royalty, on Capitol Hill, in complaisant security, with its scepter in the White House and its throne in Justice's Hall, shouts, "The king is dead," and yet we must say, "Long live the king." But, forever and aye, uneasy is the head that wears a crown; and disguised Indians—(one lady has said that we were not Indians; but we may

be Indians, gentlemen, and may yet take some scalps on Capitol Hill)—disguised Indians may yet proclaim wrecked ships for that royalty which dares to sail upon the main with autocratic powers.

But there are those in authority in the government who do not believe in this decision that has been made by the Supreme Court of the United States. The Attorney-General, in his instructions to the United States marshals and their deputies or assistants in the Southern States, when speaking of the countenance and support of all good citizens of the United States in the respective districts of the marshals, remarks: "It is not necessary to say that it is upon such countenance and support that the United States mainly rely in their endeavor to enforce the right to vote which they have given or have secured." You notice the phraseology. Again, he says: "The laws of the United States are supreme, and so, consequently, is the action of officials of the United States in enforcing them." Secretary Sherman said, in his speech at Steubenville on the 6th of July: "The negroes are free, and are citizens and voters. That, at least, is a part of the Constitution and cannot be changed." Mr. Hayes has been quoted here. In his last message he has quoted the same expression which he made use of in a former message. He says: "I find no reason to qualify the opinion I expressed in my last annual message, that no temporary or administrative interests of government will ever displace the zeal of our people in defense of the primary rights of citizenship, and that the power of public opinion will override all political prejudices and all sectional and State attachments in demanding that all over our wide territory the name and character of citizen of the United States shall mean one and the same thing, and carry with them unchallenged security and respect."

And this is what we ask of you this morning, "that citizenship shall mean one and the same thing" for us, women.

In conclusion, gentlemen, I say to you that a sense of justice is the sovereign power of the human mind, the most unyielding of any; it rewards with a higher sanction, it punishes with a deeper agony than any earthly tribunal. It never slumbers, never dies. It constantly utters and demands justice by the eternal rule of right, truth, and equity. And on these eternal foundation stones we stand.

Crowning the dome of this great building (which was erected, as Mrs. Gage has so beautifully and so truthfully said, by the taxes of the women of the United States), there stands the majestic figure of a woman representing Liberty. It was no idealistic thought or accident of vision which gave us Liberty prefigured by a woman. It is the great soul of the universe pointing the final revelation yet to come to humanity, the prophecy of the ages—the last to be first. Not more certain than that upon the dome of the Capitol stands the majestic figure of a woman, representing all that is grand and noble and free in self-government, is it that in the great hereafter there shall come the exaltation of a glorious womanhood, coming up out of the wilderness of the past, clear as the sun, fair as the moon, powerful in her righteousness as an army with banners, and that humanity, from the East and the West, and the North and the South, sitting at her feet, shall learn that Freedom from its loftiest heights is Liberty in Woman.

[Here the time expired.]

REMARKS OF MISS SUSAN B. ANTHONY OF NEW YORK.

At this point the time allotted for the hearing having expired, the chairman *pro tem* announced an extension of thirty minutes to allow Miss Anthony to address the committee.

She said:

make any argument, but simply to call the attention of the committee to the fact that disfranchisement is not only political degradation, but that it is also social, moral, and industrial degradation. It does not matter whether the class affected by disfranchisement is that of ignorant, intemperate, or vicious men—the serfs in Russia, the negroes on our plantations before the war, the Chinamen on our Pacific coast to-day—or the intelligent, educated women of this Republic, disfranchisement works precisely the same results. If we could make the men and women of this Republic realize for a moment that the results of disfranchisement to woman are the same as the results of disfranchisement to all the different classes of men I have named, we should not have to wait for another Congress before the proposition for a XVITH amendment would be submitted. But the difficulty is that each man to whom we appeal fails to appreciate the consequences of this law of disfranchisement or to realize the degradation which it entails. I have endeavored, in my arguments, to show that disfranchisement is the cause of woman's degradation in the world of labor; that it is because of it that she is doomed, everywhere doomed, to remain in the subordinate departments of labor, in the school-house, everywhere; that she is doomed to do her work for half pay, always as a subordinate, as I have said, and without any promotion. If men could only believe that the fact of that position of woman in the world of work was due to her disfranchisement, we should not have one session of Congress pass without a proposition for an amendment. But the people do not believe it; and yet, as some of the ladies have shown here, it is the cause of woman's degradation in labor everywhere. We are here to ask that woman may have the power of the ballot; that when she speaks she shall be respected; that when women workers in the factories and shops, the teachers in the school-houses, shall combine together to demand better wages of the capitalists; the political editors of the newspapers in a community will feel that if they speak on the side of the capitalist and against the workingwomen their party will lose the votes of those workingwomen at the next election. With the ballot in the hands of all the millions of factory women and workingwomen in this nation, you can perceive at once that they have a power by which they, like the workmen of the nation, can decide what work they will do, what prices they will be paid, and what positions they will occupy. Then, as to the government departments of which some one here has spoken, the facts are that all over the country there are hundreds of thousands of civil service offices; that many of the women of this Republic are well qualified to do the work in those departments, but stand very little chance to get a fair quota of those appointments at the hands of members of Congress, members of the state legislatures, and "the powers that be" everywhere—this, not because men are unjust, not because many of the members of Congress here at Washington would not be glad to have women appointed to the various positions of work, but because it is an utter impossibility, politically speaking, for them to secure places. Governments cannot afford to give good places, good work, or good offices to persons who cannot help to make government. So long as woman holds in her hands no power to help make this government, no member of Congress can afford to advocate equal pay and equal place for women in the departments. The best of our friends, as members of this committee, know that, on the floor of Congress, when we have asked them to ordain that women workers shall be paid equal wages with men, they have told us that to pass such a law, and enforce it, would be to drive all the women out of the departments, because the only excuse that

the government now has for employing them is that it is a matter of economy to the government. Now, what we ask is that women shall have this power of appeal to the self-interest of the government office-holders and the government itself. We ask that woman shall have the ballot that she may come within the body-politic, and there become joint heir with her brothers for all the good things that are to be disposed of at the hands of the government.

This disfranchisement is not only an industrial and a social, but a moral degradation. Why, gentlemen of the committee, did you every stop to think of what disfranchisement says to each and every one of these women here to-day and to each and every one of the women under this proud flag? It says, *non compos*, your judgment is not sound, your opinions are not worthy to be counted up in what men call "public sentiment," "the crystallizing of the popular will into law." While that is true of all women, let me put before you the other side. Enfranchisement says to every man, poor or rich, ignorant or learned, drunk or sober—to every man outside the State's prison or the lunatic asylum—"your judgment is sound, your opinion is worthy to be counted." And you gentlemen, all of you, recognize the fact that the equal counting and equal recognition of men's opinions establishes in this country that good thing which we call "political equality"—each and every man equal to each and every other man. The opinion of the most ignorant ditch-digger in the country, on election day, counts for just as much as that of the richest and proudest millionaire. It is a good thing, gentlemen; and we, women suffragists, believe in the principle of democracy and republicanism, in the equal recognition of all men; but while that principle establishes the equal and just recognition of all men among men, we at the same time recognize that it establishes between the sexes that hateful thing of inequality; that it makes all men sovereigns and all women subjects; that it makes all men, politically, superiors and all women inferiors. And there is no amount of training, education, or discipline that can ever educate an ignorant man or a small boy to the belief that that is not the discrimination. This ignoring of women's opinions politically is not grounded upon intellectual inferiority. The more ignorant the man the better he feels convinced that he knows more than the most intelligent woman in the country. Intelligent men know that the great work of this republic from the beginning has been the sloughing off, little by little, of the old feudalistic ideas of caste, until at last we have this grand idea of self-government. We women know that those who are engaged in this movement are struggling with might and main to lift the women, through the XVth amendment, upon the same platform with intelligent, cultivated men, who does respect an intelligent, cultivated woman, whom the ignorant man does not comprehend and has no appreciation of.

I will give you an illustration of my meaning. There are three ladies in this room to-day from the State of Iowa. One of those ladies pays more taxes in the city of Maquoketa, in which she resides, than do the whole twelve men who are the members of the common council of her city. Those three women, in the city of Maquoketa, and county of Jackson, have been at the very head and front of the Women's Christian Temperance organization in that city. They have prayed, petitioned, and done everything to shut up the grog-shops in their community which a disfranchised class can do—which is exactly nothing. On election morning, the question of license or no license is to be voted on in that city. My friend, Mrs. Allen, and other ladies who work with her have paid into the treasury of the county of Jackson no small amount of taxes for the support of the victims of the idiosyncrasy and crime which are the outgrowth of

the liquor traffic. My friend, Mrs. Allen, is standing on the street on election morning, and in another quarter there stands an ignorant man, a man who by his drunkenness has caused to be sold under the hammer the farm he inherited from his father, whose every dollar of property is gone, whose wife and children are houseless and homeless and he a pauper in the county house, supported at the public expense. He knows that three-fourths of the money taken from Mrs. Allen's and those other ladies' taxes goes to support him and others like him in his and their necessities. He looks at that woman; he sneers at her education, her standing, her fine clothes, her self-respect, at everything she possesses; he envies her; but at last he bethinks himself. He folds his arms and with utter complacency exclaims, "Yez can sing, yez can shout, yez can pray, yez can petition agin rum; but, *be jabers*, yez can't go to the ballot-box and vote agin it. I can vote for free whisky and you can't help yourselves." Now, gentlemen of the committee, do you not see how that little fact, that that ignorant pauper's opinion is thus respected and counted that day, while that intelligent tax-paying woman's opinion is ignored, educates that ignoramus into a feeling of superiority over that woman? Nothing but an amendment of the Constitution of the United States, saying that that woman's opinion shall be respected and counted, will ever educate that man to respect her. The secret, underlying cause of the disrespect which men often show toward women—the slighting manner in which coarse, rude men are wont to speak of woman—lies in the fact of woman's opinion being ignored in the deciding of all the great questions involving the conditions or surroundings of society and the government.

Then look at the boys of this generation. Before the boy's head reaches the level of the table, he learns that he is one of the superior class and that when he is twenty-one years old he will make laws for Mrs. Saxon, Mrs. Gage, and all these ladies who are mothers. His mother teaches him all the requisites for success in after life. She says: "My son, you must not chew, nor smoke, nor gamble, nor swear, nor be a libertine; you must be a good man." The boy looks his mother in the face, unbelievably, and, perchance, at his father, who is guilty of every one of the vices which the mother says he must avoid if he would become a great man. Perhaps he sees the minister of his mother's church walking the street with a cigar in his mouth. Then he looks to Congress. It may have been a slander—nevertheless it was a newspaper report, and I use it as an illustration—that the Forty fifth Congress, at its close, had but one sober man on its floor, and he was a black man (Cain) of South Carolina. I do not say that that was true, but I give it as I heard it. If the boy goes into court, he sees the judge, with a good-sized spittoon by his side and half filled. Now, what does the boy say when he looks up to his mother? He says, "O, nonsense! mother, you don't know what you are talking about; you're only a woman."

If you would have that boy respect his mother, your laws will first have to respect her. Laws do more to educate and develop public sentiment than you, whose business it is to make laws and constitutions, are doing to day. Therefore, as a matter of educating ignorant men and small boys in a just and respectful appreciation of woman, I ask you not to bury this petition of ours, but to do something to awaken an agitation and discussion of our request on the floors of Congress.

Allow me to make one further observation. Since the days of Frémont and Jessie, women have been very politely invited to attend Republican meetings. All of you Republicans know how the women filled up your empty benches in those days and made your conventions

look very respectable indeed. By and by the Democrats came into line, and the conventions of both parties often contained as many women as men. Then the poor stump orators are put to their wit's end upon the woman question. They can, without difficulty, frame paragraphs to suit every class of human beings who have a ballot; they can appeal alike to the rumsellers and the temperance men, to the Irishmen, the Germans, the Swedes, the Bohemians and, since the XVth amendment, to the negroes. Every politician can promptly show why his own party is the one for which the particular class to which he addresses himself should vote. Finally he comes to the inevitable woman and, realizing that he must say something on that point, says: "I am glad to see the ladies here to-night, am always glad to have them in my audiences; they are a sort of inspiration, enable me to make a better speech: the fact is, gentlemen, I rather like the ladies, for my mother was a woman—God bless her." Now, gentlemen, don't you believe that if under those bonnets there were voters, those voters would soon cause that orator and his party, whether in or out of power, to suddenly discover there were some brains under there? You see that we want this power to appeal to the instinct of self-interest in this government; and if this committee does not do itself the honor to report a proposition for a XVIth amendment, some succeeding committee will do itself that honor. The tide is moving, it cannot be swept back. I beg you, in the name of justice, humanity, and mercy, that you will not keep woman coming back here for the next thirty years as she has been kept coming here for the last thirty years.

I hope too, that you will help us all you can. We, who are agitating this movement, are not a moneyed class. I trust that you will submit a resolution directing that the reports of this hearing shall be printed at the government expense. I would also urge the importance of your presenting the proposition for a XVIth Amendment before Congress because it will create an agitation and discussion which may educate not only the members of Congress but their constituencies on this question.

Mr. LAPHAM, of New York. I have understood that your association desired to have an act of incorporation.

Miss ANTHONY. It is true that we desire incorporation. When the rich Miss Dorseys and others all over the country take it into their heads to make us a bequest, we should be in a condition to hold any such bequest according to law. We have framed a bill looking to the chartering of our organization that we may become a legal personage, and I ask of you to give the measure whatever of aid you may be able to give it.

Mrs. SARA A. SPENCER of Washington, D. C. I desire to thank the committee for their courtesy to the women of the United States as represented here by delegates from twenty-two States. It was in answer to my urgent appeal in behalf of our association that the committee granted this hearing. All the delegates desired to be heard; but for the convenience of the committee, the brief time was apportioned among those who represented different sections of the country and different phases of our question. I would now ask you, gentlemen, to print the record we have made, that it may come before the 376 members of Congress. We can expect this only by your courtesy but, as you have printed 10,000 copies of a memorial service held over a dead man, we ask you to print a like number of copies of an argument in behalf of ten millions of living women citizens.

At this point, the hearing having been concluded, the committee adjourned.

SPECIAL CIRCULAR,
November, 1881.

MANCHESTER NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

Executive Committee:

Miss MARIA ATKINSON.
Miss BECKER.
THOS. CHORLTON, Esq.
Mrs. JOSEPH CROSS.
Miss CARBUTT.
THOS. DALE, Esq.
Mrs. GELL.
Miss HIBBERT.
Mrs. LUCAS.
Dr. PANKHURST.

Mrs. PANKHURST.
Mrs. PEARSON.
Mrs. ROBY.
Mrs. OLIVER SCATCHERD.
Rev. S. ALFRED STEINTHAL.
ARTHUR G. SYMONDS, Esq.
J. P. THOMASSON, Esq.
Mrs. J. P. THOMASSON.
Mrs. BARTON WRIGHT.

SECRETARY: Miss BECKER.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY: Miss S. M. BACKHOUSE.

ORGANISING AGENT: Mrs. M'CORMICK.

TREASURER: Rev. S. ALFRED STEINTHAL.

OFFICE:

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

BANKERS:

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

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

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

To gain this object a Bill has been introduced in the House of Commons successively by Mr. JACOB BRIGHT, by Mr. FORSYTH, Q.C., and by Mr. COURTNEY. Its effect would be to give the right of voting for Members of Parliament to women who, as owners or occupiers of property, already possess the right of voting in

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parochial and municipal government. In municipal boroughs which are also Parliamentary boroughs, those women would obtain votes for the borough members who, by the present law, are on the burgess roll, and vote in the election of Town Councillors.

The opportunity of the introduction of the Bill, which the Government are pledged to bring forward before they dissolve Parliament, to extend household suffrage to the counties, offers an occasion for the extension of the principle to women householders which must not be allowed to slip without the accomplishment of the object.

With this view Mr. MASON last session placed on the notice book of the House of Commons a resolution in the following terms:—"That in the opinion of this House the parliamentary franchise should be extended to women who possess the qualifications which entitle men to vote, and who, in all matters of local government, have the right of voting."

The state of parliamentary business precluded the discussion of the Resolution last year; but immediately on the opening of Parliament Mr. MASON will renew his notice, and the Society is pledged to support his action by every means in their power in order to secure, if possible, an affirmative vote on the first occasion when the question is submitted to the present Parliament.

The Society seeks to promote this object—

1. By holding public meetings and lectures for discussion of the claim of Women to the suffrage, and for the expression of public opinion in regard to it.
2. By promoting Petitions to Parliament in favour of the removal of the Electoral Disabilities of Women.
3. By the publication of pamphlets, leaflets, and other literature bearing upon the question, and more especially of the *Women's Suffrage Journal*.

Annexed is a form to be filled up by those who desire to assist them in their efforts by becoming members of the Society. Subscribers are entitled to receive the *Women's Suffrage Journal* monthly, and the Annual Report of the Society.

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THE HISTORY OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

REVIEW BY REV. WILLIAM HENRY CHANNING.

From THE INQUIRER, London, November 5th, 1881.

THE HISTORY OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE. Edited by ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, SUSAN B. ANTHONY, and MATILDA JOSLYN GAGE. Illustrated with Steel Engravings. In Two Volumes. New York: FOWLER & WELLS, 753 Broadway, 1881. Vol. I. pp. 878.

For all observers of the "Signs of the Times," who desire to comprehend the origin, principles, aims, and tendencies of the "Woman's Emancipation" movement in the United States of America, and to form acquaintance with some of its prime leaders,—this massive volume of nearly nine hundred closely packed pages will serve as a treasure-house of information. And when the second volume shall bring this, in the best sense, radical reform up to the present period, historians, philosophers, statesmen, and Christian philanthropists can begin to foresee the beneficent future involved in this real re-organisation of human societies.

In order to give our readers as complete a view, as brief limits permit, of the rich contents of this instructive and suggestive book, let its outline be sketched under the following heads:

I. ORIGIN.—The notion prevails that the first "Declaration of Woman's rights" in the Republic of the West sprang from the heated enthusiasm of youthful

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visionaries, dreaming of unattainable Eldorados of hope and chasing cloud-castles of theory. But when contrasted with the substantial facts, no conception could be more false. The primary assertion of Woman's "equivalence" with man, to use France Power Cobbe's fine phrase, was a moral one. And the claim was uttered by heroic Christian Anti-Slavery advocates, whose hearts were all aflame to plead the cause of their degraded sisters, in the prison dens and auction marts of the Southern Slave States.

The first of these prophetesses—and what a heart-thrilling and commanding orator she was, they only who listened to her inspired outpourings when she first stood before crowded assemblies, angry mobs, and earnestly attentive legislative committees, can estimate—was Angelina Grimké, of South Carolina. She was born and bred amid the refinements of a wealthy home, but began her career by rising in the stillness of night when yet a little girl, and creeping to the slave quarters, with sweet oil and soothing herbs, to comfort the sufferers from the overseers' cruel scourge, and, as a Sunday-school teacher, by instructing negro children of her own age. Early in womanhood, disheartened and disgusted, and despairing of converting her own family and fellow-Christians, and impelled by the Spirit speaking in her soul, she, with her elder sister, Sarah, sacrificed home, sundered the most tender ties of social life, and went forth throughout the Northern Free States, to demand universal emancipation.

Hers was the eloquence of a broken heart. As she gave way to the deep yearnings of affection for all most closely bound to her by kindred and neighbourhood she felt the desolation of a soul disappointed in its dearest earthly hopes and loves. But she heard within a mightier voice than any earthly affec-

tion. While, therefore, she pleaded with a pathos which melted and subdued all who heard her, she rose also into a loftier strain and spoke with the mingled love and sternness of a messenger of God.

And this was Angelina Grimké's *law* of "Woman's Duty"—her *ideal* of "Woman's Sphere."

Whatever it is morally right for a man to do, it is morally right for a woman to do. I recognize no rights but *human* rights. I know nothing of men's rights and women's rights; for in Christ Jesus there is neither male nor female. Sure I am that woman is not to be, as she has been, a mere *second-hand agent* in the regeneration of a fallen world, but the acknowledged co-equal and co-worker with man in this glorious work.

A second of these heralds of equity, impartial kindness and mutual mercy, was the blessed Lucretia Mott (of Philadelphia), who upheld William Lloyd Garrison from the moment he first proclaimed his message of "immediate emancipation," and spoke her wise, impressive, animating words in the first Convention of the "American Anti-Slavery Society," held in Philadelphia, in December, 1833. Once, in reply to a lecture wherein the demand of American Women for civil and political rights, and for a larger sphere of action, had been ridiculed and condemned, Mrs. Mott delivered an address on the "Bible view of woman's position as man's equal," and took this high ground as a child of God in the Father's family:

Why should not woman seek to be a Reformer? If she is to bear to exercise her reason and her noblest powers, lest she should be thought to "attempt to act the man," and not to acknowledge his supremacy"; if she is to be satisfied with the narrow sphere assigned her by man, nor aspire to a higher, lest she should transcend the bounds of "female delicacy," when truly the prospect is mournful for woman. We would admit all the difference that our beneficent Creator has made

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in the relation of man and woman, nor would we seek to disturb this relation. But we deny that the present position of woman is her *true sphere of usefulness*; nor will she attain to this sphere, until the disabilities and disadvantages, religious, civil, and social, which impede her progress are removed. These restrictions have enervated her mind and paralysed her powers. . . . So far from her "ambition leading her to attempt to act the man," she needs all the encouragement she can receive, by the removal of obstacles from her path, in order that she may become the "True Woman." As it is desirable that man should act a manly and generous part, not a "manish" one, so let woman be urged to exercise a dignified and womanly, not a "womanish" bearing. Let her cultivate all the graces and accomplishments proper to her sex, but let her not degenerate through these into an effeminacy in which she is satisfied to be the mere plaything and toy of society. . . . When it is asked, What does woman want more than she enjoys? Of what rights is she deprived? What privileges are withheld from her? I answer, She asks nothing as a *favourer*, but as a *RIGHT*! She wants to be acknowledged as a *moral and responsible being*! She is seeking not to be governed by law in the making of which she had no voice! She is deprived of almost every right in *civil* society, and is a cipher, except in the right of presenting a petition. And in *religious* society . . . her exclusion from the ministry, her duties marked off for her by her equal brother-man, and her subjection to creeds, rules, and disciplines made for her by him are unworthy of her true dignity.

A third of these moral pioneers, who, though younger, followed closely in the footsteps of Angelina Grimké and Lucretia Mott, was "the equally brave and eloquent Quaker girl from Massachusetts, who preached the same glad tidings of justice, equality, and liberty for all." Abby Kelly, of Lynn. She was then in the bloom of her early womanhood, most graceful and dignified in presence, endowed with a voice of wonderful varied musical range, and gifted with an indomitable

energy of will and vigour of intellect, which had already gained for her respect and influence, as a preacher in her own communion of the Friends. And now, as an object of religious consecration, she had devoted herself, her life, and her all, to the cause of the Slave. Her first public speech was on the occasion when the "National Anti-Slavery Society" had convened in Philadelphia for the dedication of the newly erected "Pennsylvania Hall," a temple of liberty; and amidst the uproar, yells of defiance, cries of "fire," window breaking, and tumultuous threats of a mob which had gathered with the purpose of destroying the beautiful structure. Angelina Grimké had just closed a pathetic and arousing address, so far as she could make her voice heard through the din outside, by the vast crowd in the hall, when Abby Kelly calmly rose and said in her silvery yet thrilling tones:

I have never before addressed a promiscuous assembly; nor do I feel now the maddening rush of these voices, indicating a moral whirlwind; nor is it the crashing of those windows, the indication of a moral earthquake, that calls me before you. No! these pass unheeded by. But it is the "still small voice within," which may not be withstood, that bids me open my mouth for the dumb; that bids me plead the cause of God's perishing poor; aye! God's poor. The parable of Lazarus and the rich man we may well bring home to ourselves. The North is that rich man. How he is clothed in purple and linen, and fares sumptuously! Yonder, yonder, at a little distance, is the gate where lies the Lazarus of the South, full of sores, and desiring to be fed with the crumbs that fall from our luxurious table. . . . We have long, very long, passed by with averted eyes. Ought we not to raise him up? And is there one in this hall who sees nothing for himself to do?

The examples of these three great-hearted Christian gentlewomen illustrate the style of conduct, adopted

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This Declaration was discussed under twelve resolutions, of which the tone and character may be inferred from the closing ones :

Resolved, That the equality of human rights results necessarily from the fact of the identity of the race in capabilities and responsibilities.

Resolved, therefore, That being invested by the Creator with the same capabilities and the same consciousness of responsibility for their exercise, it is demonstrably the right and duty of Woman, equally with Man, to promote every righteous cause by every righteous means, and especially in regard to the great subjects of morals and religion, it is self-evidently her right to participate with her brother in teaching them both in private and in public, by writing, speaking, and by any instrumentalities proper to be used, and in any assemblies proper to be held, and this being a self-evident truth, growing out of the divinely implanted principles of human nature, any custom or authority adverse to it, whether modern or wearing the hoary sanction of antiquity, is to be regarded as a self-evident falsehood and at war with mankind.

These resolutions were unanimously adopted, with the exception of the ninth, which declared, "That it is the duty of the Women of this country to secure to themselves their sacred right to the Elective Franchise." Many of those who took part in the debate feared that a demand to vote in political affairs would defeat others, which they deemed more rational. Mrs. Stanton, however—herself the daughter of a distinguished judge, and the wife of an able lawyer, and by them already trained in study of the Law—clearly recognizing that the power to choose legislators and to enact laws was the right by which alone all other rights could be secured, persistently advocated the resolution, until at last it was carried by a small majority. To her, therefore, the honour is justly due of having initiated the movement in favour

of "Woman's Suffrage," to the vital importance of which all advocates of the social elevation of Woman were now thoroughly awakened.

The Convention at Seneca Falls was but the first of countless series of Conventions which have been incessantly held during the last thirty-three years in the country towns, chief cities, and capitals of the various Northern States, as well as in the Capital of the Nation. At each one of these some more or less full statement of the principles inspiring this grand reform have been proclaimed, while lecturers traversing the whole country, several newspapers, and petitions presenting important claims to State Legislatures and to Congress, have indoctrinated all classes of the people with the urgent need of Man's recognition of Woman as his fellow-citizen and co-sovereign throughout the Republic.

Of these Conventions perhaps the most influential, in giving form and direction to the movement, was the first National Convention, held in Worcester, Mass., under the presidency of the gentle and gracious, yet commanding and queenly, Paulina Wright Davis, of Providence, R. I. This was the meeting that called out the admirably-written article in the *Westminster Review* by Mrs. John Stuart Mill, which attracted such respectful consideration throughout Great Britain, under the title of "Enfranchisement of Woman."

On taking the chair Mrs. Davis, among other impressive statements, declared that—

The reformation we propose is the emancipation of a class, the redemption of half the world, and a conforming re-organization of all social, political, and industrial interests and institutions. . . . Our claim must rest on its justice, and conquer by its power of truth. We take the ground that whatever

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has been achieved for the race belongs to it, and must not be usurped by any class or caste. The right and liberties of one human being can not be made the property of another; . . . for rights are unpurchasable and inalienable. We claim for Woman a full and generous investiture of all the blessings which Man has solely or by her aid achieved for himself. We appeal from man's injustice and selfishness to his principles and his affections.

This Convention had the support and hearty encouragement of a large number of leading men throughout the Republic, such as Gerrit Smith, Joshua R. Giddings, Ralph Waldo Emerson, John G. Whittier, A. Bronson Alcott, Samuel J. May, Theodore Parker, William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Elizur Wright, William J. Elder, Stephen S. Foster, Horace Greeley, Oliver Johnson, Henry Ward Beecher, Horace Mann, etc. And it was followed up by a Second National Convention in October, 1851, which was called to order by Mrs. Davis, who was again chosen as permanent President. These two National Conventions were conducted with such dignity, discretion, prevailing good sense, and moral elevation, that the reports, resolutions, and debates, not only drew together crowded assemblies in Worcester, but attracted the respectful commendations of the Secular and Religious Press throughout the country.

III. AIMS. — The "Declaration of Principles," so consistently and comprehensively set forth, and so unanimously adopted by successive Conventions, defined the aims of the Woman's Emancipation Movement thenceforward. They announced that the New Day of "Woman's Peerage with Man"—whose dawn had appeared in the "Declaration of Independence," in the "Preamble of the Constitution of the Republic," in the Constitutions of the several States of the National Union, and in the characters and examples of distin-

guished Women during the Revolutionary Era, had brightened to sunrise. Fog-banks might still overhang the mountain peaks of traditional customs; and mists of prejudice might yet exhale from the lowlands of popular passion. But pure breezes of truth were dispersing the lingering vapours of doubt. The firmament of faith overhead was serenely blue. And already the future seemed basking in noontide for all who were brave with the "Patience of Hope."

This new day of "Woman and Man made one in Co-Sovereignty," had been heralded, as early as 1828, by that high-hearted and clear-thoughted, but sadly misrepresented young Scotchwoman, Frances Wright, of Dundee, who had delivered eloquent lectures in the chief cities of the Atlantic sea-board, and throughout the Western States before 1830. And in 1832, Lydia Maria Child, the herald of every great social reform in the United States, and whose name was the befitting index of her transparent purity, exhaustless freshness, and unflinching trust, had published her "History of Woman," concentrating the result in scholarly form of many years of conscientious study. These had been followed by the advent of the gifted young Polish Jewess, Mdlle. Potoski—the daughter of a devout and learned Rabbi, and trained according to the strictest discipline of the "People of Israel"—who, self-exiled from her native land by her love of freedom, had married in England, and emigrated with her husband to the Western Republic, with the hope of fulfilling there her lofty Ideal, and who had soon become widely known as a fervent and able advocate of "Woman's Rights," under her married name of Ernestine L. Rose. But it was only when Angelina Grimké, Lucretia Mott, and Abby Kelly proclaimed, as we have seen, their gospel

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of "Woman's Duty as the Moral Redeemer of Society," that the sunrise broke with healing beams upon the slumbering conscience of Womanhood universally, throughout the United States.

Then was published, in 1840, Margaret Fuller's inspiring volume of "Woman in the Nineteenth Century," uncompromisingly demanding for her sisters co-equality with their brothers in every realm of culture and work, of social privileges and political functions. And this was immediately followed by Eliza Woodson Farnham's "Woman and Her Era," reaffirming the doctrine of Cornelius Agrippa, Ruscelli, and Lucrezia Morinella, that woman is not man's equal only, but his superior, inasmuch as the composite symmetry of her organization enables her more adequately to embody the Divine Ideal of Humanity. Margaret Fuller had answered the challenge, "Earth waits for her Queen," by the frank retort, "With like truth may it be said, 'Earth expects her King.'" And now Eliza Farnham announced that "the Queen had come!" Both of these feminine Great-Hearts knew from experience that, in all ages, the hero in the battle-field approves himself to be the gentleman of the social circle, and that the crowning test of truly *manly* men is *loyalty* in friendship and in love for woman everywhere. Both would have responded with glad Yea and Amen to the grand words of Lao-Tsze, "The superior man in his home makes the left hand the weak side—the place of honour. . . . To keep tenderness I pronounce strength." And as Christians both humbly bore the yoke of the Master, whose peerless character was the perfect blending of masculine energy with feminine grace, and whose whole life exemplified the law, "let him who would be greatest be the servant of all."

And now once more appeared the phenomenon so often witnessed in great reforms, that when the fulness of time for their advent has come, countless tendencies conspire to prepare the way for their triumph. As when Spring's genial breath dissolves the snow-banks and loosens the fountain's icy chains, each rill and brook rolls down the hill-sides to swell the "freshet" so now, by a simultaneous impulse, men and women of all classes throughout the Free States combined their influence to claim ampler justice for woman. And first among these claimants—somewhat to their own surprise, possibly, and certainly to the surprise of the community—appeared judges from the Bench, lawyers from the Bar, and legislators from Assemblies, all well aware of the responsibilities of their official trusts. The common motive constraining them to act was the command of equity, and the desire to adapt the legal conditions of their own female relatives to the new Standard of Right, presented to the public conscience by an advancing civilisation. And most befittingly the earliest to enter upon this unexplored domain of legal reform were citizens of the Empire State, the compeers and pupils of Jay and of Hamilton, of Livingston and of Kent.

As early as 1830, Judge Hurlbut, a leading member of the New York Bar, wrote a vigorous work on "Human Rights," in which he boldly advocated political equality for woman. He had, at first, prepared a paper against extending to her such Rights. But on looking over what he had written, he saw that he himself was able to answer every argument he had advanced. This he proceeded to do, and the result was his book on "Human Rights." About the same time, Judge Hertell introduced into the New York Legislature a Bill to se-

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cure to Married Women their Rights of Property. The Bill was drawn up under the direction of the Hon. John Savage, Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court, and the Hon. John C. Spencer, one of the revisers of the Statutes of New York. And, when introducing it, Judge Hertell made a very elaborate argument in its favour, covering all objections and showing the incontestable justice of the measure, which was published in a pamphlet form. This voluminous and exhaustive argument was afterwards republished by his wife, Mrs. Barbara Amelia Hertell, with the loving wish to keep the memory of her husband green in the hearts of his countrywomen, as well as to manifest her own high appreciation of its value. This Bill and argument prepared the way for the very important "Property Bill" of 1848, introduced into the Senate of New York by Judge Fine, and which was successfully carried to its third reading and passed, through the untiring energy and unsleeping vigilance of the Hon. George Geddes, who, as late as November, 1880, bore his testimony in regard to its design, as follows:

The measure was so radical and extreme that even its friends felt doubts; for the moment any important amendment was offered, up rose the whole question of Woman's proper place in society, in the family, and everywhere. We all felt that the laws regulating married women's as well as married men's rights, demanded careful revision and adaptation to our times and our civilisation. . . . We meant to strike a hard blow, and, if possible, to shake the old system of laws to their foundations, and leave it to other times and wiser councils to perfect a new system.

And while the Judges, Lawyers, and Legislators of New York were thus intent and resolute to ensure for Women the attainment of their *first aim* of "Equality

in Marriage and the Domestic Circle," the great States of Ohio, Indiana, and the North-west were nowise laggard in rendering like loyal service to their mothers, sisters, wives, and daughters.

In his well-known and justly-admired "Introduction to American Law," Professor Timothy Walker, of Cincinnati, afterwards raised to the Bench, in recognition of his high legal attainments, uses this emphatic language:

I do not hesitate to say, by way of arousing your attention to the subject, that the "Law of Husband and Wife," as you gather it from the books, is a disgrace to any civilized nation. I do not mean to assert that females are degraded in point of fact, but only that the *Theory* of the Law degrades them almost to the level of Slaves. We have a few statutory provisions on the subject, but for the most part our "Law of Husband and Wife" is Common Law, and savours of its origin. The whole theory is a slavish one compared even with the Civil Law. . . . With regard to Political Rights females form a positive exception to the general doctrine of Equality. They have no part nor lot in the formation or administration of Government. They can neither vote nor hold office. We require them to contribute their share, in the way of taxes, for the support of Government, but allow them no voice in its direction. We hold them amenable to the laws, when made, but allow them no share in making them. Such language applied to males would be the exact definition of Political Slavery.

Professor Walker then proceeds in a powerful and exhaustive statement to sketch in outline the wrongs habitually perpetrated against "Married Women" in so free a State even as Ohio. A single extract will indicate the tone of his argument:

The legal theory is that "marriage makes the husband and wife one person, and that person the husband." He is the substantive; she is the adjective. In a word, there is scarcely a legal act of any description that she is competent to perform.

—these are instances in proof of what I have said.

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At this point, the hearing having been concluded, the committee adjourned.

And after a succinct recital of the wife's helplessness—as to ownership of herself even—or as to her personal property, real estate, earnings, contracts, etc., he sums up the shameful record with these words, which must brand themselves, like hot iron, on the heart of every manly man who reads them, "*She is almost at the mercy of her husband!*"

This was the period when Harriet Beecher Stowe was publishing in Dr. Bailey's *National Era*, of Washington, her world-famous tale of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," whose tragic chapters thrilled through the heart of the whole Anglo-American race, and indeed of all Christendom; and when the apostles of Anti-Slavery, under the lead of William Lloyd Garrison, Oliver Johnson, Abby Kelly, etc., were denouncing the atrocious "Black Laws" of Ohio, and bearing their gospel of freedom to every hamlet of the Western Reserve and of the State.

These Anti-Slavery Conventions, in which the most logical reasoners and impassioned orators kept their audiences wrought up to the highest pitch of enthusiasm, were the school in which the doctrine of Woman's Rights found its ready-made disciples. With such women as Frances D. Gage, Hannah Tracy Cutler, Josephine S. Griffing, Caroline M. Severance, and their companions, to listen to exhaustive arguments on Human Rights, the "seed fell on good ground," verily; and the same justice that in glowing periods was claimed for the black man, they now claimed for themselves, until they compelled the law-makers of their State to give some consideration, at least, to the wrongs of Woman.

And so were speedily summoned the "Salem Convention," by an earnest "appeal" from Mariana W. Johnson, and called to order by Emily Robinson, with Sarah Coates as Secretary, in 1850; and the "Akron Convention" in 1851, under the presidency of the venerated Frances D. Gage, who, trained early in life by

thorough intellectual discipline, while a pioneer farmer's wife, amidst the arduous duties of a housekeeper in a new land—and though overburdened with the anxious cares of a large family—had found freedom of thought to keep abreast with the advancing age.

This important Convention was followed by others at Massillon, Cincinnati, and Cleveland, until at length, in 1857, the Legislature of Ohio passed a Bill suggesting various amendments, which were warmly recommended in his annual message by Governor S. P. Chase—who finished his illustrious career, it will be remembered, as the Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court of the Republic. And a Select Committee of the Senate brought in a thorough, complete, and comprehensive report, prepared by Senators J. D. Catell and H. Canfield, which closed with the following uncompromising resolution:

Resolved, That the Judiciary Committee be instructed to report to the Senate a Bill, to submit to the qualified electors, at the next general election for Senators and Representatives, an amendment to the Constitution, whereby the Elective Franchise shall be extended to the citizens of Ohio *without distinction of sex*.

In reading these magnanimous words we recognize why the Western Reserve of Ohio was found worthy to be the mother of James A. Garfield.

And now, having ensured for their sisters and themselves—as from over-confidence in man's generosity they fondly hoped—the first fundamental reform at which they aimed—Co-Sovereignty in the home circle—the women of New England, of the Middle States, and of the Free West, felt at liberty to advance to the second essential stage of progress which they aspired to reach, co-equal privileges for culture in the academy, college, and university. But here we are entering upon

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such familiar ground, that we need do no more than interchange congratulations over the high success already attained, and press onward with hearty good cheer. Women have resolved throughout all Christian and civilized nations—yes! even in India, China, and Japan—as well as in Europe—to prepare themselves to become worthy compeers of the manliest men in any position of trust and usefulness, which their fathers, husbands, brothers, sons, and friends will permit them to occupy. Already, in every department of literature and art, of science and history, of philosophy and ethics, of philanthropy and religion—narrow, hedged in, closely guarded as heretofore have been the avenues whereby they could gain spiritual and intellectual advancement—the Women of Europe, America, and Asia have *proved their right* to be man's help-mate in spreading around the earth the kingdom of heaven and glorifying God. And now that the oldest universities of the eastern and western hemispheres are unbarring their gates and welcoming all applicants, they must be as dull in imagination, as cowardly in will, who do not foresee the possibility, at least, of a race universally educated and refined.

Here to his profound regret the reviewer is compelled to break off his notice of this wonderfully rich book, which reads like a "romance of history." He had hoped to trace out the other wise and practicable aims to the fulfilment of which the Women of Europe and America are now devoting their combined energies with such prophetic foresight and patient persistence, such indomitable courage and calm discretion, such poetic enthusiasm and good-tempered tact, such gentle forbearance towards their brothers, and such cheerful trust in the Universal Father's infinite good-will. He

had earnestly wished, also, to illustrate the *beneficial* Tendencies of this regenerating reformation of society, from the characters and lives of the Chief Leaders in this world-wide movement. Especially did he desire to quote extracts he had marked from the masterly speeches of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Wendell Phillips, and Colonel T. Wentworth Higginson on WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE. But to do justice to these great themes would need a third "notice," for which the *Inquirer* cannot rightfully find room. And he can but advise his readers, therefore, to order these volumes from the American publisher, and to lay to heart their encouraging narratives, lessons of life, and laws of duty. For himself, he rejoices thus to testify his fraternal reverence for the high-souled Women who have honoured him with their confidence in carrying out these sublime reforms, and his ever fresh gratitude to the Heavenly Father, who has enabled him to be one harbinger, however humble, of the New Day that is brightening for all who have eyes to see. Surely as the Living God reigneth, Christendom is to be Christianized, and Humanity is to be humanized by the *Co-Sovereignty* of Man and Woman co-working as Peers to make Earth a Paradise Regained.

REVIEW BY THE
WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE JOURNAL, MANCHESTER, ENGLAND,
LYDIA E. BECKER, *Editor*.

It has been objected that it is premature to write the history of woman suffrage until the object has been attained, and the political rights of woman are recognized; but we think such objection unfounded, and we desire to offer our earnest thanks to the editors for the com-

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pilation and preservation of contemporary records of the earlier stages of the movement while those who have taken part in the struggle remain on the scene. Many of these have passed away, and the work begins with a dedication to the memory of a noble army of pioneers, whose names are affectionately inscribed on the opening page. The editors in their preface state that their object has been to put into permanent shape the few scattered reports of the woman's suffrage movement still to be found, and to make it an arsenal of facts for those who are beginning to inquire into the demands and arguments of the leaders of this reform.

After an introductory chapter and a sketch of preceding causes, we come to the turning point when definiteness was given to the claim and the controversy respecting the right of women to take a recognized official part in public affairs by the events of the World's Anti-Slavery Convention, held in London in June, 1840. The anti-slavery movement and that for the emancipation and enfranchisement of women are fruits of the same spirit, are based on the same principle, have been opposed by the same objections, and have been from the beginning indissolubly intertwined. The one has triumphed, the day broke when the night was the darkest, and the men and women who forty years ago were reviled and abused, were banished and persecuted, hunted even to death, who carried their lives in their hands as they went about to preach the gospel of liberty and human rights, have lived to see the doom of slavery, and to receive in their own persons the reverent recognition and honour which in cases of other great reformers have been rendered only to the tomb.

The anti-slavery question was, of all conceivable ques-

tions affecting public policy, the one to arouse the conscience of women to the duty of taking part in national affairs; and in the fact that out of this action on behalf of the holy struggle for freedom for the slave arose the claim they made for freedom for themselves and for their sex, we find an assurance not only of the righteousness of the cause and the unselfish objects of its pioneers, but of the sure and certain hope of the accomplishment of the aim before this generation shall have passed away.

The first volume of the work before us, which alone is at present published, contains records up to 1861. . . . We heartily commend the work as containing a store of valuable and interesting information, and we trust that it may find numerous readers on this side the Atlantic.

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At this point, the hearing having been concluded, the committee adjourned.

—these are instances in proof of what I have said.

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CONSTITUTION
OF THE
NATIONAL
WOMAN SUFFRAGE
ASSOCIATION.

Article 1.—This Organization shall be called the NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

Article 2.—The object of this Association shall be to secure NATIONAL Protection for women citizens in the exercise of their right to vote.

Article 3.—All citizens of the United States subscribing to this Constitution, and contributing not less than one dollar annually, shall be considered members of the Association, with the right to participate in its deliberations.

Article 4.—The Officers of this Association shall be a President, a Vice-President from each of the States and Territories, Corresponding and Recording Secretaries, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of not less than five.

Article 5.—A quorum of the Executive Committee shall consist of nine, and all the Officers of this Association shall be *ex officio* members of such Committee, with power to vote.

Article 6.—All Woman Suffrage Societies throughout the country shall be welcomed as auxiliaries, and their accredited officers or duly appointed representatives shall be recognized as members of the National Association.

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MANCHESTER NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR
WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

FORM TO BE FILLED UP BY PERSONS DESIROUS OF ASSISTING TO PROMOTE THE OBJECT OF THE SOCIETY.

Madam, I authorise you to add my name to the List of Members of the Manchester National Society for Women's Suffrage, and I agree to pay an Annual Subscription of £ : : Donation of £ : :

(Signed)

Cheques payable to S. ALFRED SWEINHAL.
Post Office Orders payable at the Head Office, Brown Street, Manchester.

Please insert here proper Address for Post.

To Miss BECKER, Secretary,
28, Jackson's Row, Albert Square, Manchester.

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C. A. Biggs.

ADDRESS

OF

Gov. John W. Hoyt, of Wyoming Territory,

UPON

Woman Suffrage in Wyoming,

Delivered at Association Hall, Philadelphia, April 3, 1882.

After a few introductory remarks, explaining the manner in which he had been unexpectedly called before the public at this time, and his consequent appearance without much preparation, Governor Hoyt said:

Every retrospect of the past, as it relates to the progress of man, suggests two leading thoughts. The first is that the greater part of organized effort has not been in the interest of man but, on the contrary, opposed to his interest, preventive of his development and suppressive of his rights.

The history of the race has been a history of usurpations of power—of oppression at home and aggression abroad. The wars of all times represent this central fact. The wars of the ancient times, as of Alexander; the wars of Rome in her aggressions upon other powers; the wars of the Goths and Vandals; the aggressions of the Teutons; the aggressions of the Danes and the Normans successively upon British soil, and the aggressions of England upon the American Colonies—these are instances in proof of what I have said.

This is true, that from the beginning until now, whatsoever has been

gained of freedom for man has been wrung from those withholding it. Go through the records of all history, and what iota of liberty has been gained except it has been struggled for with might and main, often by generations in succession, until, at last, the lovers of freedom have either become more numerous or, through zeal and inspiration from Heaven, more powerful for the overthrow of oppressive tyrannies?

I stood one day on the heights of Windsor Castle. As I looked down along the Thames, until my eye rested on Runnymede, I saw there a mighty gathering of the barons of old England. I saw them in mailed armor and with uplifted spear, grimly resolved to enforce their orders; and in their presence, humbly bending on his knee, was King John writing his name to Magna Charta, which has been the boast of English people, and of English-speaking peoples throughout the globe, ever since that memorable 19th of June, 1215. I saw not this alone; my thought running back through history, I saw in succession battle after battle, where mighty hosts were gathered in dire conflict, the one struggling for rights assailed, the other to gain possession of what did not, of right, belong to them.

I glance back over our own short record as a nation, and in this historic city am freshly reminded of the struggle of our forefathers—that grand struggle through which they confirmed and established, as a political principle, “the inalienable rights of man.”

The other thought is this: That in all these struggles, which have indeed been memorable, many of them glorious, for that they were struggles in the interest of truth and justice, woman has been generally excluded from all but the incidental benefits accruing therefrom. Woman, to whose greater love and more tender brooding care every man on the earth owes his very being—woman, whose graces of form and spirit make her the joy and beauty of the world—woman, whose clearer moral perceptions, coupled with finer intellect and superior range of the spiritual powers, so admirably fit her to lead man into higher realms and bless him with heavenly ministrations—she it is who in all times and in all lands has been held in a menial relation, the fettered slave of man.

Go back to the beginning. Search the literature of the ancients—of Confucius, of Moses, of Aristotle and on down to Chrysostom and St. Augustine and John Knox, and later still, to Comte and Fichte and the great writers of even our own time; look into the laws of all lands and you will verify the truth of the statement I have made.

If you search the Scriptures of the Hindoos what do you find? That the maiden has no voice in the choice of the one to whom her own fortunes are to be linked for life; that the arrangement is made for her years in advance, even before she is eight years of age and that, while it is possible for the male partner to the contract to break it on the mere whim of some augury, the chirping of birds or of the lizard, the female partner can scarcely ever find release. She is firmly held to it, and when wedded, is wedded once and forever. She is to be subject to her husband, obedient to his will, for thus the sacred Scriptures declare. His will is her will; and if he die first, her religion demands that she shall ascend the funeral pyre and herself burn over the remains of her husband. She is taught that in doing this she gains some short lease of heaven, not like her husband who enters into an everlasting kingdom, but a temporary rest and peace with him or near him in the heavenly abode. But when the wife dies first, what then? Does the husband robe himself in white and with uplifted face, trusting in heaven, quietly and serenely ascend the funeral pyre and burn with his departed wife? There is no record of a case of *that* kind. He lets her die and be consumed or buried. Straightway—the Scriptures require that it shall be very straightway—he kindles sacred fires, chants a song and looks up another wife, perhaps several! So has it been for untold centuries.

If you come to Hebrew times, the case is not much better. You recall the woman praying in the outer porch of the Temple, while the husband sits within, worshiping nearer the holy of holies, with numerous other proofs of her legal inferiority.

Inquire into the laws and customs of Athens, even in the days of Plato and Aristotle, Socrates and Pericles, and those other brilliant men, the memory of whom will never die. In those times what was the condition of woman there? The wife retired to the inner apartment; she had her quarters in the back part of the house, in an upper chamber, while her husband sat in the pleasant places and, in the enjoyment of social life, bestowed his thoughtful care and tender caresses upon cultivated courtesans. The maidens were forbidden to show themselves to the young men. If they ventured in public, they must do it in the most coy manner; they must be veiled; they must secrete themselves. When married they were subjected to the drudgery of the house, while the lord and master enjoyed life to the best of his ability.

In Sparta it was only different in that the young women mingled unduly with the young men in the open companies, in dress immodest, even joining them in athletic sports; thus paving the way to that gross licentiousness and community of wives which brought the women of that nation into a degradation yet lower, in that it was more shameful.

Turn to Rome, and what do you there find? Women as slaves; wives loaned for the gratification of friends! When Hortensius comes to Cato and asks for his daughter, who is married and the mother of children, her husband a worthy man still living, the father objects on the ground that this would not be seemly. Hortensius then asks that he give to him his own wife. The great Roman considers it for a moment, looks a little astonished, but makes up his mind that he will do it, for he loves Hortensius and desires to gratify him in all possible ways. And so the noble, the dignified Marcia is given away and becomes for a time the wife of Hortensius!

Come, now, to old England, search through her laws, and what *there* has been the condition of woman? Very little better. Woman is there still the slave of man. She has acquired great social influence; she enjoys an important position in the house; women of property have gained some political privileges even; but when you look into questions of property and the right to children, when you come to those sacred rights and immunities which are most dear to the woman's heart, the man is master. The woman must yield to his will, which is supreme.

Turning, last of all, to the laws of our own country, ameliorated much and in process of amelioration, you find in constitutions, national and state, and in statutes of every state, provisions that make the blood tingle in one's cheek when he remembers that his mother is or was subject to such disabilities.

Having seen what was woman's status before the law in former times and what it is to-day, let us turn to literature. Is it much better there? Institutions and laws may be escaped somewhat, but in literature which, with its fascinations of story and verse, should be the refuge of woman, it is especially that she finds herself clothed with humiliation; not alone because of the declaration of her intellectual inferiority, her want of reason, judgment or capacity for important affairs, not on these grounds, but because of a certain indescribable tone and spirit pervading all literature, in all languages which satisfies her of the low estimation in which she is held by men

From the literature of books she descends to that of the periodical press. There is scarcely anything so well calculated to disturb the feelings of a just man, nothing more demoralizing, as I think, to the reader of either sex, than the trifling and contemptuous manner in which woman is dealt with by the press, even in the most enlightened lands. It is in the newspaper she is the butt of the best joke, she is the gist of whatever is intended to be humorous, she represents an unknown quantity of all innuendo and suspicion.

In matters of education her condition has been only a little better. In the education of the home is she not still the subject of that false training of which girls get so much that women come to have but very little of that which is really valuable? That woman was made for sacrifice, is a belief which has wronged her in a thousand ways in the past, and must continue to wrong her so long as it prevails. The brother is taught to feel that the sister must sacrifice, that it is her mission to serve him, to make his life pleasant, to help him in his task, in his nobler and loftier mission; and so the girl herself is not trained by the inculcation of those sentiments nor by those studies and pursuits which are calculated to fit her for the stern and serious duties of life. Until recent years, even in this country, admission to the higher schools has been denied her, and still such as claim to be foremost close their doors against her.

In the home itself, to which the destiny of woman finally leads her, there is a most deplorable lack of that appreciation which she needs. Man is in the world of business; his powers are called out and energized; what he does is ranked as a thing of importance; he is quickened; he is buoyed and lifted up; his triumphs are the triumphs of his country or race. While woman, in the quiet sphere of the home, with her endless round of necessary and important duties, shut out from the world, shut out from the benefits resulting from distinguished victories, has not, even from her best beloved, that appreciation of her work which would do so much to lighten her hands and make glad her heart. *Man, with his energy, his skill and his pride, brings to the home nearly everything but a just appreciation.*

When it comes to the field of practical effort, wherein one must struggle for the means of subsistence, even there woman is at a cruel disadvantage; for but few of the occupations are fairly open to her, and in such as are open she is met with less compensation for equal service.

Now let me turn to the brighter side of this subject. I have drawn rather a gloomy picture, I am sure, for you look somewhat solemn, and I must confess that as my mind has run over the record of the past, I too have felt a sadness I could not express.

In this favored land woman is standing in the dawn of a better day. Even now I see the finger of Aurora on the tops of the mountains. Gladness is coming to woman. Coming properly, first of all, in this land, which was designed to be, though hitherto in part falsely called "the land of the free." We called it the "land of the free" when there were four millions of slaves in bondage; we call it "the land of the free" still, when there are more than twenty-five millions of our mothers and sisters and daughters in bondage. We call it the "home of the brave," when of so many millions of men there are but few who have the courage to say to woman, "Whatsoever we can give or do to encourage, to elevate, to inspire, to dignify, to glorify you, shall be given with all our hearts." One would think so grand a revolution as this, just begun in these recent years, would have easy accomplishment, for it requires but a penstroke across a few proscribing words to bring us a realization of what we claim for our country—freedom—the right of every human being under the American flag to be and to do that which is possible, right and desirable.

In view of this possibility, the work has been slow. And yet these last thirty-four years are but a second in the history of the race; they are less than a generation in the history of our country. We have reason, therefore, to thank God that even so much has been done. I am only sorry, as a man, that we of the other sex are able to claim very little of the credit. The work was begun by women; the war upon oppression and injustice was begun by her. Man has selfishly waited all these long generations of cruel injustice; waited and waited, postponed and postponed, until at last woman herself has arisen in her spirit of a heaven-inspired resolution and said "we will do for ourselves what our brothers and husbands will not do for us."

I see a castle on yonder plain, a castle beleaguered, and there are found within its walls a band of noble, heroic women. They are in peril of their precious lives and of all that is dear to them and their hearthstones. Were this vision a reality, and of you accepted as a fact, how quickly every man would leap from his seat, secure arms and rush to the rescue. But when woman's spirit is enthralled, immured, not her person, when her rights have been usurped, when

her spiritual powers have been repressed and subordinated to the selfish will of man, and the call comes for help, how slow are we to fling wide the gates and bid her be free!

Why is this? In the first place, selfishness and love of power control many. I have no doubt that among those who are less intellectual, less cultivated, less spiritual and hence less appreciative of woman, there is much in this love of power, of authority, this being able to hold another in subjection and subordination, which such men hesitate to relinquish. I have no doubt, there is also on the part of many others a prejudice, deep-seated, which, with the light they are able to gather, or are willing to gather, is not easily removed. A third class is composed, I believe, of those who are large-hearted, who are just in spirit, but who honestly believe that there may be danger in loosing the bands and "letting the oppressed go free." They have not been able to accept Christ's command, which was broad enough to cover the whole race; and so they find themselves in doubt and anxiety of mind.

I assume that all the gentlemen here present, who are not now in sympathy with woman's enfranchisement, are of the last-mentioned class. I will not believe that any of the great body of intelligent men before me wilfully cherish prejudice against any movement calculated to enlarge the liberties, increase the powers, and ennoble the character of any human being. There are some men in the country so thoroughly satisfied of the wisdom and justice of this movement for the emancipation of woman that they have been all these years, since 1848, earnestly engaged in seeking to bring about that very result. They have believed in the ballot as the first great means of accomplishing that work—that woman, if once armed, with the ballot, would see to it that her rights as to property, as to children, and as to matters involved in all social questions, were fairly settled in course of time. There are others who would rather give all these other things and yet withhold the ballot.

In the territory of Wyoming, in the year 1869, the experiment was begun of giving to woman first of all the ballot; giving her the weapon with which to fight her own battle, in other words. You know, at the end of the war, when there were millions of slaves emancipated, there was a proposition to give them civil rights, and these were accorded. It was then found that they were not sufficiently able to protect themselves; that their rights were infringed

upon; and so there quickly followed upon the heels of that constitutional amendment another, giving to them the ballot. Statesmen on the floor of Congress said, "Give to these men the ballot, and they will then be better able to protect themselves in those civil rights, which have been confirmed by the former amendment." And that proposition, you will remember, was carried by an overwhelming majority.

Has this principle lost its force that we may not apply it to woman? Not so, thought one large-hearted man out in the territory of Wyoming, two thousand miles from the centre of the world, which I suppose is right here; said he, one day, "Betty, it's a shame that I should be a member of the Legislature and make laws for such a woman as you. You are a great deal better than I am; you know a great deal more, and you would make a better member of the Assembly than I, and you know it. I have been thinking about it and have made up my mind that I will go to work and do everything in my power to give you the ballot. Then you may work out the rest in your own way." So, he went over and talked with other members of the Legislature. They smiled. But he got one of the lawyers to help him draw up a short bill, which he introduced. It was considered and discussed. People smiled generally. There was not much expectation that anything of that sort would be done; but this was a shrewd fellow, who managed the party card in such a way as to get, as he believed, enough votes to carry the measure before it was brought to the test.

I will show you a little behind the curtain, so far as I can draw it. Thus he said to the Democrats: "We have a Republican Governor and a Democratic Assembly. Now, then, if we can carry this bill through the Assembly and the Governor vetoes it, we shall have made a point, you know; we shall have shown our liberality and lost nothing. But keep still; don't say anything about it." They promised. He then went to the Republicans and told them that the Democrats were going to support his measure, and that if *they* did not want to lose capital they had better vote for it too. He didn't think there would be enough of them to carry it, but the vote would be on record and thus defeat the game of the other party. And they likewise agreed to vote for it. So, when the bill came to a vote it went right through! The members looked at each other in astonishment, for they hadn't intended to do it, *quite*. Then they laughed, and said it

was a good joke, but they had "got the Governor in a fix." So the bill went, in the course of time, to John A. Campbell, who was then Governor—the first Governor of the Territory of Wyoming—and he promptly signed it! His heart was right. He saw that it was long-deferred justice, and so signed it as gladly as Abraham Lincoln wrote *his* name to the Proclamation of Emancipation of the slaves. Of course the women were astounded! If a whole troop of angels had come down with flaming swords, for their vindication, they would not have been much more astonished than they were when that bill became a law, and the women of Wyoming were thus clothed with the habiliments of citizenship.

Well, they exercised the privilege of voting when occasion offered, and in two years there came another Legislature of about the same complexion as the preceding one, which thought to repeal the law and put things back where they were before, but which did not accomplish it; and from that day to this the women of Wyoming have exercised, not only the right of suffrage, but all the powers of male citizens; for the first Legislature was broad enough in its views to frame laws to match the suffrage act. They enacted liberal laws to secure women in all their civil rights.

So much for Wyoming as a starting point. If now we look elsewhere we shall find that the work has also advanced in some of the other States and Territories. Thus, in Massachusetts and New Hampshire they have given to women the school suffrage; that is, have allowed them to vote for school officers. The same is also true of New York, in the rural districts. In the State of Pennsylvania you have not conferred that privilege upon women, but you have given them the right to hold the office of School Director, and School Superintendent; and I am glad to be able to announce to-night, a fact which, perhaps, all of you know already, that there are to-day, in one of the wards in your city, as a result of the recent election, two intelligent ladies occupying the important position of School Director.

In the State of Indiana they have conferred upon women the school suffrage, and a proposition to submit to the people the question of a change in the Constitution, so as to give them the right of suffrage in all things, has already passed one Legislature. Moreover, women teachers there receive the same compensation as men for equal service. In Illinois there is limited suffrage on restrictive license questions. In Wisconsin they have come within two votes, I think, within a very

few votes at any rate, of carrying the proposition to submit the question of universal suffrage to the voters. In Minnesota women have suffrage on school questions. In Iowa they have given to women the right to hold the office of notary public. In Missouri women may be elected to school offices, although they do not have the suffrage. In Arkansas they have a restricted vote on certain license questions. In Nebraska there is a proposition to admit women to full suffrage; they have already conferred upon them the school suffrage. In Colorado six thousand men have nobly voted that women ought to have unrestricted suffrage, and it is hoped that the next Legislature will carry the proposition, leaving it again to the voters to say whether they shall have it or not. In the State of Oregon a proposition for woman suffrage has passed one Legislature and is pending, I think, in the second. In Washington Territory, the suffrage has not been accorded, but emancipation has been given to woman from the slavery under which she was held by the common law, by the enactment of one grand, sweeping measure which provides that in all things, except the political privilege of the ballot, woman shall be equal to man before the law. In Massachusetts more than 100,000 women, in Ohio 200,000, in Indiana 180,000, and in other States numbers not known to me, have petitioned for the suffrage. Besides this activity of women, the press of the country is wheeling into line. Thus, of the 115 newspapers published in Nebraska, some 83 support the suffrage movement.

This, fellow-citizens, is certainly a great result to have been achieved within so short a time. It has been accomplished through the almost superhuman efforts of a few heroic women, who are still laboring in this cause with an earnest purpose to make it fully triumphant.

What, now, are the reasons that the work does not advance yet more rapidly? Why is there hesitation, a holding back on the part of the great majority? Let me see if I can point out the reasons.

In the first place, I am satisfied that it is feared by many that if women throughout the country had the ballot, certain evils would follow as the result. It is felt that there would be a disturbance of the social element, that the home would be deranged and desecrated by politics, that it would no longer have its charm as home. I am able to answer this from the experience of Wyoming, running through a period of thirteen years. I have been there four years myself, have

made the most careful inquiry as to this matter, and find that nothing of the sort is to be heard of in any quarter. They have settled upon it there, as a principle, that the man may think one way and the woman another. They were not cast in the same mould, and why should they be bound together in matters of opinion like a bundle of faggots? Each should be free, as free in politics as in social questions. You never knew a husband and wife who agreed precisely on every social question. I have never found a family of the kind, and I should be very sorry if my wife agreed with me upon everything; there would be no music in the house. We rather enjoy a quiet discussion of principles, or questions social, private, public, literary, scientific. Is it not a blessing, rather, to have a woman to compare notes with? No trouble of this sort comes of practical woman suffrage. I know of many families in which the husband is on one side of politics and the wife on the other, each fighting his own battles good naturedly, and joking each other when beaten just as two gentlemen do, who are friends.

Then, again, it is thought that women, if they had the ballot, would all the time be seeking office, that this would make things uncomfortable in the home; that the man would have to rock the babies, sew on the shirt buttons, and do a variety of disagreeable things, which *he* calls petty, you know, from his supreme height, and which he finds himself, when he comes to the trial, very ill fitted for. That is another great bugbear. There is nothing whatever in it. Two or three women in the Territory of Wyoming have held office; one was a school superintendent, and some have sat on juries a few times; but since I have been there I have never once heard the slightest intimation that any woman of Wyoming wanted office. The truth is, women do not care for public life. I speak of women as a class. There are brilliant women, with remarkable powers, who could exercise the judicial function, or sit in the halls of Congress. I know women who, in the Senate, would be peers of any man there. If there are women of such remarkable powers and attainments, or of less ability, and they should be called to serve their State or country in official position, let them serve her, if willing so to do. But woman, *as a class*, do not desire public life. As before the magi of the old, woman stands to-day before the lawmakers of this new time, questioned as to what most pleases her, answering, as then, and as she ever will answer, "This is what woman most desires—to be loved,

to be studied by her husband, and to be mistress of the house." The difference between the woman of the former time and of the present is in the manner of the response. The Persian representative of her sex stood in the twilight of a far-off time, asking for a veil behind which to conceal even from the gods, who held in their keeping those most precious gifts, her great joy in anticipation of their bestowal; the woman of to-day stands on platform and in press sternly demanding the things which have been denied her for all these centuries, and expressing her purpose to have something more than the promise of them. That is the only difference. "To be loved, to be studied by her husband, and to be mistress of the house," is the desire and hope of every woman, speaking in the broadest and most general terms. Now, my friends, please lay aside that ground of anxiety. It does not exist in a sound philosophy; it does not exist, in fact, where the experiment has been made.

Then, again, it has been thought by some that woman herself would suffer from contact with politics. The noisy, boisterous politicians at the polls, the rude men in office, in association with her on boards of one sort or another—with all these, it is said, women should not be brought in contact. Let them rather be saved from those trials. Well, I half thought so once myself, I must confess. I, too, was one of the women protectors. In my ignorance of what would practically work out, I saw through a glass darkly; I saw women subjected to all these disagreeable things, and I stepped right in between them and her and said, "I will protect you." But that was a *long* time ago. I have been ashamed of it for a good many years. I made up my mind long before going to Wyoming that it was entirely safe to leave to woman herself this question of what would affect her welfare. I said, "If woman is indeed the sensitive being, the refined and pure, angelic creature, which is supposed in the argument of her opponents, I can leave this question to her; she can better judge than I." Are women, or are men better judges of what a woman should undertake, or to what she should voluntarily subject herself? Touching the results of actual trial, I do not find that the women of Wyoming have suffered in the least degree from contact with politics. For delicacy and refinement they will bear favorable comparison with women of like social position anywhere.

Almost on the first day of my arrival in Wyoming there was an election. It was a general election for all the officers of the city, town,

county and territory, and I went early in the morning, you may be sure. I had assumed the role of student, and observed with great interest. I wanted to see what there was in this contact of delicate and refined women with the ruder elements of the population at the polls. The polls were opened in the office of the hotel, a very pleasant place. The window was on the side near the private entrance. There were steps there for the convenience of persons alighting from carriages, and they could pass easily to the window. Inside this pleasant office were the judges of the election—two women and one man. The secretary was a lady. There was considerable discussion of different questions outside, not boisterous, but lively and animated, and I was listening to it and observing. By-and-by I heard, running through the entire company, "Sh-h-h-h-h!" What does that mean? I turned, and saw ladies were coming to cast their ballots. Everything was quiet. Instantly the gentlemen pressed back, making a passage, and one of them, hat in hand, opened the carriage door. The lady stepped down and deposited her ballot, the gentlemen lifting their hats as she passed; she was politely helped back into the carriage, and drove away. I said, "*Surely that woman is not hurt.*" As soon as the ladies came in sight there was a transformation among the men, in every case. There could not have been a more quiet place in the world while those women were present. It was the same whether they came in carriages or on foot. There was always a ripple when they approached, succeeded by a "Sh-h-h-h-h," then all was as still as the unruffled sea. The women seemed to be pleased with so courteous a reception; they felt that they had acquired a new dignity, a new power. To me, a stranger, it was very unexpected that there should be found so real a gentility in this new country, where men are supposed to be of ruder manners than in the older communities, but where they are in fact a noble, intelligent people from the East, with the best blood in their veins, and with much cultivation of the intellectual powers, as well as of the social amenities. How much of this was due to the influence of women I do not know, for this condition of things had existed a number of years before I arrived there. But I have no doubt that it should be in large measure ascribed to that influence.

I will say here as a tribute due to my territory that I have never met anywhere a people surpassing them in the matter of social courtesies. I have never seen even a hod-carrier or a man with a load on

his back pass a lady in the streets of Cheyenne without taking off, or at least, touching his hat. And I regret to say that when traveling in many parts of the country, I have found some lack in these regards. I have found it even in what are generally considered very cultivated and refined communities. I am therefore inclined to ascribe the difference in some part to the superiority of woman's influence when thus possessed of the dignity and honor of full citizenship.

A VOICE FROM THE AUDIENCE.—Do all the women vote?

Gov. HOYT.—That probably is not true, if you mean absolutely every one. I know one or two ladies who prefer not to vote—that is, who told me some three years ago, that they had no inclination to vote, that it was a matter of indifference to them. They came from the East with probably a little prejudice on this subject, and were not quite cured. Otherwise I can answer the question affirmatively, that the women do all vote. Those ladies who are said to be “first ladies,” that is, who are acknowledged to be of the highest intelligence, are active participants in the elections, going to the polls and manifesting intelligent interest in the matter in hand. I think it may be said fairly that as many women vote as men in proportion to the number in the territory.

The question has often been asked, and perhaps I had better anticipate it, in regard to the influence woman suffrage exerts upon certain moral questions. I have said lately, and it may have been quoted, that by reason of the ballot we have in Wyoming *better laws, better institutions, better officers*. This is *emphatically true*. We have better laws, for although the women do not seek a place in the Legislature, do not assist in making the laws, they have a voice in advance, and hence of necessity influence legislation. I have also known cases in which the voice of women upon pending measures has decided their fate. Then again, we have better officers in consequence of woman suffrage, because, although the women do not attend the primary meetings, do not go into the caucuses and help to nominate the men who are to be chosen, they have the veto power in the ballot, and that is well understood. The men know that if they put up candidates who are unworthy, if they nominate dissolute men, irresponsible or incompetent men, woman will certainly be at the polls with her veto in the form of the ballot. They are not so wedded to party lines as to be willing to cast a vote for the candidate representing the

party of their preference if he be decidedly unfit, and on the other side stands a worthy man.

A VOICE FROM THE AUDIENCE.—What is the condition of your schools?

Gov. HOYT.—Excellent. When I reached Wyoming and visited the schools I expressed my surprise at the excellent condition in which I found them. They are conducted by men from the Eastern colleges and taught for the most part by ladies, many of whom are graduates of the normal schools at the East. In towns like Cheyenne and Laramie ninety per cent. of the children are in attendance; for the schools are attractive enough to draw them, even without the help of the law, which makes attendance obligatory. We have school buildings that cost large sums of money, and the people are ever ready to vote liberal amounts for school purposes.

A VOICE FROM THE AUDIENCE.—What is the effect on temperance?

Gov. HOYT.—We have what is known as a Sunday Law. There has been no effort at prohibitory measures. Ours is a new country, where, as I said, the population is in larger part of men—men who live upon the plains or work in the mountains, a great many of whom are accustomed to the use, in some form, of spirituous and other liquors.

But it has been proposed that Sunday shall be kept sacred, and so places where these liquors are sold during the week are closed on that day. The Sundays are as quiet in the city of Cheyenne as in any village of Massachusetts. I have never known of a brawl or a disturbance, or of any loud talking even, in the streets of Cheyenne on Sunday during the four years of my residence there, and the same good order prevails elsewhere.

Questions have been asked as to various social evils, and the influence of women upon them; and while I have to say that there is room for improvement, I must also say, on the other hand, that in view of the fact that hitherto, during these early years, a large proportion have been young women, but recently arrived and without definite expectation of remaining there for life, are there to stay until their husbands can gather up a fortune, and naturally have not felt the same deep interest in social reforms which would be felt by women in a community where they were planted for life; activity in social reforms could hardly be expected. But as these women increase in years, and children are added to the family circle, the interest begins to deepen in all means of social advancement. Already women are taking hold of

such matters and giving evidence that the explanation which I have suggested is the true one.

A VOICE FROM THE AUDIENCE.—What is the influence of women, if discoverable, upon business affairs? Do men, so far as can be seen, conduct their business more honestly?

Gov. HOYT.—I shall have to say, in reply to this question, that it is exceedingly difficult to make an answer that I would feel any certainty about. That is a matter one can hardly reach. How far they are influenced will have to be judged from the general influence of women upon men. But where men are surrounded with upright, honorable women, who have a voice as well as a special interest in public affairs, where they are in all respects equal, the influence of such women will be felt to a greater extent than that of women who are held to be inferior and who are hence denied the dignities and privileges of citizenship. That is the general conclusion I must draw, without being able to answer the lady's question very directly. I will further remark, however, that I have known nowhere among any business people a higher toned class of business men than I find in Wyoming. I have remarked it repeatedly, that our men engaged in the cattle business, and our men in mercantile and other affairs, are what we sometimes call "square" men—that is, upright, straight-forward, manly, honorable men. I think it is so to a remarkable extent; but how far they are influenced from the feminine side I cannot say. I give the fact and the general philosophy bearing upon it.

A VOICE FROM THE AUDIENCE.—Is there any or much objection to woman suffrage in the territory?

Gov. HOYT.—After four years' residence there, with my ears open to every remark touching this subject, I have never heard a solitary citizen within the bounds of Wyoming object to woman suffrage.

A VOICE FROM THE AUDIENCE.—If your Excellency will permit, I would like to propose a question suggested to me by some persons seated near me. One of the most forcible objections to woman suffrage in this section of the country is that women are pre-eminently religious and fill up the churches; that they are very much under the control of the clergy, and it is feared that priests and ministers of religion will exert an undue influence upon the elections through the women voters.

Gov. HOYT.—I have never discovered any such tendency, and my attention, I ought to say, has been somewhat directed to that point, for I have endeavored to view this subject from every side. But,

after a little reflection, I thought I could understand how it should *not* be the case; because in proportion as woman is liberated as to person, property, children and all else, her mind is liberated and she thinks for herself. One of the best things in the world to save women from the domination of undue influence of any sort, whether religious or otherwise, will be to enlighten them and make them free. Let them understand these questions through investigation, and then they will not take the say-so of priest or king.

A VOICE FROM THE AUDIENCE.—Are those women who enjoy the same privileges that men do as easily bought as men?

Gov. HOYT.—I have never known one to be bought. I am sorry to say that men are sometimes purchased, even in the best of communities.

THE VOICE.—It is very important.

Gov. HOYT.—Yes, that is an important point. I have never heard any intimation that any woman had been bought; and I do not believe that women as a class are as open to temptations of this sort as men. It is the theory of the world, whether just or false, that women are morally superior, that they live on a higher plane. It may be that it is this moral nature, this superiority of the spiritual in them, which takes them to the churches, and it may be that with much of false dogma they also get a strengthening of the moral nature by the inculcation there of those divine principles taught by Christ; and so we might expect that women in political affairs would be freer from the dangers to which reference has been made.

A VOICE FROM THE AUDIENCE.—When woman is met on the ground where the ballot will place her, will not all men treat her with more respect than if she had not that command?

Gov. HOYT.—That is the declaration of an important principle which I intended to dwell on if I found sufficient time. By the restoration to woman of the dignity which belongs to the human soul, but which has always been denied her, she would unquestionably gain in respect and influence. The question asked suggests one of the greatest wrongs that has been done her. That the wife and the mother of children, who is ranked as inferior before the law, has not the same influence with husband or child that she would have if she stood upon the same platform with the father is *most manifest*. I have seen that in a hundred homes, where a mother, intelligent and noble in every way, with the highest aspirations for her

children, with a love beyond expression, desiring to stimulate and elevate them, was crippled in her powers, palsied in the presence of her children by some belittling remark of a displeased husband. I have known fathers to undermine the influence of a mother of the highest and noblest character by mere incidental denials of her equality of right and authority, by indirectly opening the eyes of their children to the fact that, before the law and before society, she was inferior to the father. Accord to woman all the rights and privileges that are inherent in her because she is a woman, a person, because she is a constituent member of the nation, dignify and honor her as she deserves, and she becomes a new power.

A VOICE FROM THE AUDIENCE.—Will it hasten the time when arbitration shall be substituted for the arbitrament of the sword?

Gov. HOYT.—Just a moment before I come to that question. In continuation of the point I was making in answer to the previous question, let me say that there is no such thing as great and permanent influence without authority. Influence comes largely of authority—in the family, in the State, in the world. If one who has no authority speaks, of what avail is it? But when there is a power behind it, the voice is heard. When the government which represents the nation speaks, the individual listens, because behind that are mailed men with power to compel the enforcement of the decree. So in the home, the mother, when she speaks, if she have the influence that she ought to have, I mean that the child needs she should have, must have *authority* to speak. It is often remarked that the mother's influence reaches on; that although it may not be felt at the hour, it is felt in after years; so that the boy, when he comes into trouble in subsequent life remembers the injunctions of the mother, and then respects her. But why does he then respect her? Because he has found by experience that the Eternal was behind the mother in the truths she uttered. When the man finds that it was God's voice speaking to him through her—that there is power, therefore, to enforce the injunction, and that he is to-day suffering the penalty which God, not the mother, has brought upon him, then it is that he bows with a new and larger respect to the memory of his mother.

A VOICE FROM THE AUDIENCE.—If a prohibitory liquor law were passed in Wyoming by a small portion of the men and the solid vote of the women, would it be possible to enforce it?

Gov. HOYT.—Unquestionably; for the people of Wyoming are, as I said, among the most law-abiding people I have ever known.

In concluding, I desire to say that it is not alone for woman's sake that this restoration of rights, the full emancipation of woman, is necessary. Observe, I do not say "conferring" of rights; it is not in the power of men to *give* rights to women. God gave her these when He gave her existence. There are certain rights which are inherent. We call them natural because they lie in the nature of man; they lie in the nature of woman, at the foundation of personality. If I am a person I am allied to the Infinite; I have my existence from Him; He has conferred upon me certain powers; He has given me certain prerogatives, and no man can *give* them. Man may usurp what God has bestowed; man may rob woman of the *exercise* of a natural right, but of the right itself he cannot rob her, for that is inherent, it dwells in her; it is a part of her moral existence. God himself cannot take away that which He has decreed shall be an inherent, constituent part of the human soul; and so I use the word purposely, *restored* exercise of rights. If a man has robbed another, if he has stolen from another, he may restore the property taken; so if man has taken from woman the privilege of exercising a right, the power to bring her right into play, he must restore it to her, or the Almighty will hold him a robber. Can I make it stronger?

Returning from this digression, I say again, not alone for *woman's* sake is reform demanded. It is demanded in the interest of man also. Man himself cannot stand before God in his uprightness, man himself cannot develop into his completeness while he is halved, while he is less than himself, because of denying the full development and exercise of powers to her whom God gave to be his complement. A woman who is only half a woman, who is cramped, suppressed, restricted and restrained; she cannot be all that a man needs; and so I plead in the interest of my own sex while pleading for her. I shall walk freer myself when I know that no denial is made to woman of what belongs to her—not to my wife only, but to every woman on the earth. I shall be more a man; I shall stand up in the presence of mankind and before the Father of all, with an uprightness, with a conscious dignity and nobility, which I cannot possess so long as aught is denied to her.

Again, the enlargement of woman's privileges is demanded in the interest of the nation. The nation is not a mechanical contrivance; it

is not a piece of machinery with wheels and cogs and shafts; the nation is an organic something; a living personality; it is a moral personality. The nation has a being, a moral, spiritual existence; and it cannot be a grand nation, it cannot be a true nation, it cannot fulfill a grand and glorious mission among men in the development of men to their perfectionment so long as the nation is diseased in spirit—so long as it carries in its heart this denial of God-given rights. Let then, the restoration be made, and this nation, without a slave, without a limitation of powers for any individual composing it, will arise in its dignity and glory, put on its crown and go forth to the fulfillment of a mission worthy of the American Republic.

Finally, the emancipation of woman is needed in the interest of all mankind, of nations abroad as well as the nation at home. We are a nation favored of heaven as no other on the earth. Foreign people assent to this. The people of all nations love their country; patriotism is a sentiment of the human soul; it belongs to it naturally, for man, as Aristotle said, is a political being. The nation is a necessity of man, to aid in the development of his powers. The nation must, therefore, be a whole nation, a grand nation, that its influence upon the world may be pure and ennobling. We have a mission to other nations as well as to our own people. Every nation has a mission just as every man, every soul has a mission. And what is the mission of our nation? Was it not indicated in the Declaration of Independence, that grand proclamation of freedom and of equal rights? The great doctrine of equality was promulgated there, and the doctrine of equality is that upon which we stand as a republic. That is the cornerstone, is it not, of the American republic—the equality before God, of all men? It was the power of this truth that made some of us burn for the day to come when the shackles should be knocked from the limbs of four millions of slaves; it is that which makes our hearts burn yet more that the shackles may be struck from the person and powers of twenty-five millions of women. Can we preach liberty to the captive in foreign lands while we have captives at home? Dare we boast of equal rights, and proclaim the glory of free institutions to other lands while we deny them to half of our own people? If we would be true to our mission as a nation, as the promulgator of great principles to other countries, we must ourselves obey the command of the Almighty, "Loose the bands and let the oppressed go free." When we have reached this high level, when the women of this and of all

enlightened countries have come, as *come they will*, to the exercise of their God-given rights, then, my dear sir (addressing one of his interrogators) the day of war will have passed forever; for in the bosom of woman rests, with folded wing, the sweet dove of peace.

A VOICE FROM THE AUDIENCE.—I would like to ask one question. It has been urged by the opponents of this measure in this State, and in this very city, that we already have too much suffrage and too little intelligence, and that, if we extend the suffrage, we will make the matter worse, instead of better.

Gov. HOYT.—They claim that the women are less intelligent than the men?

THE VOICE.—Oh, yes; of course.

Gov. HOYT.—I thank the gentleman for calling my attention to an objection, which I am satisfied is felt to be serious, by not a few liberal-minded citizens, men who cherish no prejudice against woman suffrage *per se*, but who recognize the danger that lurks in a ballot undirected by intelligence.

A number of answers suggest themselves. First of all, the experience of Wyoming has shown that the only actual trial of woman suffrage hitherto made—a trial made in a new country where the conditions would not happen to have been exceptionably favorable—has produced none but the most desirable results. And surely none will deny that in such a matter a single ounce of experience is worth a ton of conjecture.

But since it may be claimed that the sole experiment of Wyoming does not afford a sufficient guaranty of general expediency, let us see whether reason will not furnish a like answer. The great majority of women in this country already possess sufficient intelligence to enable them to vote judiciously on nearly all questions of a local nature. I think this will be conceded. Secondly, with their superior quickness of perception, it is fair to assume that when stimulated by a demand for a knowledge of political principles—such a demand as a sense of the responsibility of the voter would create—they would not be slow in rising to at least the rather low level at present occupied by the average masculine voter. So that, viewing the subject from an intellectual standpoint merely, such fears as at first spring up drop away, one by one, and disappear.

But it must not be forgotten that a very large proportion of questions to be settled by the ballot, both those of principle and such as

refer to candidates, have in them a *moral* element which is vital. And here we are safer with the ballot in the hands of woman; for her keener insight and truer moral sense will more certainly guide her aright—and not her alone, but also, by reflex action, all whose minds are open to the influence of her example. The weight of this answer can hardly be overestimated. In my judgment, this moral consideration far more than offsets all the objections that can be based on any assumed lack of an intellectual appreciation of the few questions almost wholly commercial and economical.

Last of all, a majority of questions to be voted on touch the interests of woman as they do not those of man. It is upon her finer sensibilities, her purer instincts and her maternal nature that the results of immorality and vice in every form fall with more crushing weight. Aye, it is woman who hath given hostages to fortune of all that is most precious on earth. Trust her, then, oh ye doubting men! Trust her, and so receive, in countless ways ye know not of, the unfailing benediction of Heaven.

Fellow citizens: This movement for the emancipation of woman is in a right line toward that universal freedom which is the ideal condition of the human race. To doubt of its ultimate success is to question the wisdom and justice of God. It cannot fail, for the good of mankind demands that it triumph. It is a work which, in this enlightened Christian land, should, and I believe will, have early accomplishment. It but remains for us who are men to decide, with the least of further delay, whether this grandest of all the struggles for freedom since the beginning of history shall be carried through by woman alone, or whether, turning our backs on the false prejudices and groundless fears of the past, we, too, will join heroic hands for its furtherance.

National Woman Suffrage Association, 1881--1882.

“Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed;” the ballot is consent. Why should woman be governed without her consent?

- ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, *Pres't*, Tenafly, N. J.
 SUSAN B. ANTHONY, Rochester, N. Y.,
 MATILDA JOSLYN GAGE, } *Vice Presidents at large.*
 Fayetteville, N. Y., }
 MAY WRIGHT SEWALL, *Chair. Ex. Com.*,
 405 North Pennsylvania st., Indianapolis, Ind.
 ELLEN H. SHELDON,
 Q. M. General's Office, Washington, D. C., }
 JULIA T. FOSTER, } *Recording Secretaries.*
 1909 N. Twelfth st., Philada., }
- RACHEL G. FOSTER, *Corresponding Secretary*,
 1909 N. Twelfth st., Philadelphia, Pa.
 JANE H. SPOFFORD, *Treasurer*, Riggs House, Washington, D. C.
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- Auditors:*
 RUTH C. DENISON.....Washington, D. C.
 W. F. DENISON.....Washington, D. C.

CONSTITUTION AND OFFICERS OF THE NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

- ARTICLE 1. This organization shall be called the NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.
 ART. 2. The object of this Association shall be to secure NATIONAL Protection for women citizens in the exercise of their right to vote.
 ART. 3. All citizens of the United States subscribing to this Constitution and contributing not less than one dollar annually, shall be considered members of the Association, with the right to participate in its deliberations.
 ART. 4. The Officers of this Association shall be a President, a Vice President from each of the States and Territories, Corresponding and Recording Secretaries, a Treasurer and an Executive Committee of not less than five.
 ART. 5. A quorum of the Executive Committee shall consist of nine, and all the Officers of this Association shall be *ex-officio* members of such Committee, with power to vote.
 ART. 6. All Woman Suffrage Societies throughout the country shall be welcomed as auxiliaries, and their accredited officers or duly appointed representatives shall be recognized as members of the National Association.

PRICE LIST OF GOV. HOYT'S ADDRESS.

- Sample copy, FREE, on receipt of stamp.
 Per dozen, 35 cents (postage prepaid).
 Per hundred, \$2.25.
 Per five hundred, \$9.50.
 Per thousand, \$16.00, expressage to be paid by purchaser.
 Amounts less than one dollar received in stamps, all over one dollar by P. O. order or registered letter to R. G. Foster, 1909 N. Twelfth st., Philadelphia, Pa., or Fowler & Wells, 753 Broadway, New York.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

JUNE 5, 1882.—Ordered to be printed.

Mr. LAPHAM, from the Committee on Woman Suffrage, submitted the following

REPORT:

[To accompany S. Res. 60.]

The Select Committee on Woman Suffrage, to whom was referred Senate resolution No. 60, proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States to secure the right of suffrage to all citizens without regard to sex, having considered the same, respectfully report:

The gravity and importance of the proposed amendment must be obvious to all who have given the subject the consideration it demands.

A very brief history of the origin of this movement in the United States and of the progress made in the cause of female suffrage will not be out of place at this time.

A World's Anti-Slavery Convention was held in London on the 12th of June, 1840, to which delegates from all the organized societies were invited. Several of the American societies sent women as delegates. Their credentials were presented, and an able and exhaustive discussion was had by many of the leading men of America and Great Britain upon the question of their being admitted to seats in the convention. They were allowed no part in the discussion. They were denied seats as delegates; and, by reason of that denial, it was determined to hold conventions after their return to the United States, for the purpose of asserting and advocating their rights as citizens, and especially the right of suffrage.

Prior to this, and as early as the year 1836, a proposal had been made in the legislature of the State of New York to confer upon married women their separate rights of property. The subject was under consideration and agitation during the eventful period which preceded the constitutional convention of New York in the year 1846, and the radical changes made in the fundamental law in that year. In 1848 the first act "for the more effectual protection of the property of married women" was passed by the legislature of New York and became a law. It passed by a vote of 93 to 9 in the assembly and 23 to 1 in the senate. It was subsequently amended so as to authorize women to engage in business on their own account and to receive their own earnings.

This legislation was the outgrowth of a bill prepared several years before under the direction of the Hon. John Savage, chief justice of the supreme court, and of the Hon. John C. Spencer, one of the ablest lawyers in the State, one of the revisers of the statutes of New York, and afterward a cabinet officer.

Laws granting separate rights of property, and the right to transact business similar to those adopted in New York, have been enacted in many, if not in most, of the States, and may now be regarded as the settled policy of American legislation on the subject.

After the enactment of the first law in New York, as before stated, and in the month of July, 1848, the first convention demanding suffrage for women was held at Seneca Falls in said State. The same persons who had been excluded from the World's Convention in London were prominent and instrumental in calling the meeting and in framing the declaration of sentiments adopted by it, which, after reciting the unjust limitations and wrongs to which women are subjected, closed in these words:

Now, in view of this entire disfranchisement of one-half of the people of this country and their social and religious degradation; in view of the unjust laws above mentioned, and because women do feel themselves aggrieved, oppressed, and fraudulently deprived of their most sacred rights, we insist that they have immediate admission to all the rights and privileges which belong to them as citizens of the United States.

In entering upon the great work before us, we anticipate no small amount of misconception, misrepresentation, and ridicule; but we shall use every instrumentality within our power to effect our object. We shall employ agents, circulate tracts, petition the State and national legislatures, and endeavor to enlist the pulpit and the pen in our behalf. We hope this convention will be followed by a series of conventions embracing every part of the country.

The meeting also adopted a series of resolutions, one of which was in the following words:

Resolved, That it is the duty of the women of this country to secure to themselves their sacred right to the elective franchise.

This declaration was signed by seventy of the women of Western New York, among whom was one or more of those who addressed your committee on the subject of the pending amendment, and there were present participating in and approving of the movement a large number of prominent men, among whom were Elisha Foot, a lawyer of distinction, and since that time Commissioner of Patents, and the Hon. Jacob Chamberlain, who afterwards represented his district in the other house.

From the movement thus inaugurated conventions have been held from that time to the present in the principal villages, cities, and capitals of the various States, as well as the capital of the nation.

The First National Convention upon the subject was held at Worcester, Mass., in October, 1850, and had the support and encouragement of many leading men of the republic, among whom we name the following: Gerritt Smith, Joshua R. Giddings, Ralph Waldo Emerson, John G. Whittier, A. Bronson Alcott, Samuel J. May, Theodore Parker, William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Elizur Wright, William J. Elder, Stephen S. Foster, Horace Greeley, Oliver Johnson, Henry Ward Beecher, Horace Mann.

The Fourth National Convention was held at the city of Cleveland, in Ohio, in October, 1853. The Rev. Asa Mahan, president of Oberlin College, and Hon. Joshua R. Giddings were there. Horace Greeley and William Henry Channing addressed letters to the convention. The letter of Mr. Channing stated the proposition to be that the—

Right of suffrage be granted to the people, universally, without distinction of sex; and that the age for attaining legal and political majority be made the same for women as for men.

In 1857, Hon. Salmon P. Chase, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, then governor of Ohio, recommended to the legislature a constitutional amendment on the subject, and a select com-

mittee of the senate made an elaborate report, concluding with a resolution in the following words:

Resolved, That the judiciary committee be instructed to report to the senate a bill to submit to the qualified electors, at the next general election for senators and representatives, an amendment to the constitution, whereby the elective franchise shall be extended to the citizens of Ohio *without distinction of sex*.

During the same year a similar report was made in the legislature of Wisconsin. From the report on that subject we quote the following:

We believe that political equality will, by leading the thoughts and purposes of the sexes to a just degree into the same channel, more completely carry out the designs of nature. Woman will be possessed of a positive power, and hollow compliments will be exchanged for well-grounded respect, when we see her nobly discharging her part in the great intellectual and moral struggle of the age that wait their solution by a direct appeal to the ballot-box. Woman's power is at present poetical and unsubstantial; let it be practical and real. There is no reality in any power that cannot be coined into votes.

The effect of these discussions and efforts has been the gradual advancement of public sentiment towards conceding the right of suffrage without distinction of sex. In the Territories of Wyoming and Utah, full suffrage has already been given. In regard to the exercise of the right in the Territory of Wyoming, the present governor of that Territory (Hon. John W. Hoyt), in an address delivered in Philadelphia, on the 3d of April, of the present year, in answer to a question as to the operation of the law, said:

First of all, the experience of Wyoming has shown that the only actual trial of woman suffrage hitherto made—a trial made in a new country where the conditions would not happen to have been exceptionally favorable—has produced none but the most desirable results. And surely none will deny that in such a matter a single ounce of experience is worth a ton of conjecture.

But since it may be claimed that the sole experiment of Wyoming does not afford a sufficient guaranty of general expediency, let us see whether reason will not furnish a like answer. The great majority of women in this country already possess sufficient intelligence to enable them to vote judiciously on nearly all questions of a local nature. I think this will be conceded. Secondly, with their superior quickness of perception, it is fair to assume that when stimulated by a demand for a knowledge of political principles—such a demand as a sense of the responsibility of the voter would create—they would not be slow in rising to at least the rather low level at present occupied by the average masculine voter. So that, viewing the subject from an intellectual stand-point merely, such fears as at first spring up drop away, one by one, and disappear.

But it must not be forgotten that a very large proportion of questions to be settled by the ballot, both those of principle and such as refer to candidates, have in them a moral element which is vital. And here we are safer with the ballot in the hands of woman; for her keener insight and truer moral sense will more certainly guide her aright—and not her alone, but also, by reflex action, all whose minds are open to the influence of her example. The weight of this answer can hardly be overestimated. In my judgment, this moral consideration far more than offsets all the objections that can be based on any assumed lack of an intellectual appreciation of the few questions almost wholly commercial and economical.

Last of all, a majority of questions to be voted on touch the interests of woman as they do those of man. It is upon her finer sensibilities, her purer instincts, and her maternal nature that the results of immorality and vice in every form fall with more crushing weight.

A criticism has been made upon the exercise of this right by the women of Utah that the plural wives in that Territory are under the control of their polygamous husbands. Be that as it may, it is an undoubted fact that there is probably no city of equal size on this continent where there is less disturbance of the peace or where the citizen is any more secure in his person or property, either by day or night, than in the city of Salt Lake. A qualified right of suffrage has also been given to women in Oregon, Colorado, Minnesota, Nebraska, Kansas, Vermont, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Michigan, Kentucky,

and New York. Of the operation of the law in the last-named State, the governor of the State, in a message to the legislature on the 12th May last, said:

The recent law making women eligible as school trustees has produced admirable results, not only in securing the election of many of them as trustees of schools, but especially in elevating the qualifications of men proposed as candidates for school boards, and also in stimulating greater interest in the management of schools generally. The effect of these new experiences is to widen the influence and usefulness of women.

So well satisfied are the representatives in the legislature of that State with these results that the assembly, by a large majority, recently passed to a third reading an act giving the full right of suffrage to women, the passage of which has been arrested in the senate by an opinion of the attorney-general that a constitutional amendment is necessary to accomplish the object.

In England women are allowed to vote at all municipal elections and hold the office of guardian of the poor. In four States, Nebraska, Indiana, Oregon, and Iowa, propositions have passed their legislatures and are now pending, conferring the right of suffrage upon women.

Notwithstanding all these efforts, it is the opinion of the best informed men and women, who have devoted more than a third of a century to the consideration and discussion of the subject, that an amendment to the Federal Constitution, in analogy to the fifteenth amendment of that instrument, is the most safe, direct, and expeditious mode of settling the question. It is the question of the enfranchisement of half a race now denied the right, and that, too, the most favored race in the estimation of those who deny the right. Petitions, from time to time, signed by many thousand petitioners, have been presented to Congress, and there are now upon our files seventy-five petitions representing eighteen different States. Two years ago treble the number of petitions, representing over twenty-five different States, were presented.

If Congress should adopt the pending resolution, the question would go before the intelligent bodies who are chosen to represent the people in the legislatures of the various States, and would receive a more enlightened and careful consideration than if submitted to the masses of the male population, with all their prejudices, in the form of an amendment to the constitution of the several States. Besides, such an amendment, if adopted, would secure that uniformity in the exercise of the right which could not be expected by action from the several States.

We think the time has arrived for the submission of such an amendment to the legislatures of the States. We know the prejudices which the movement for suffrage to all, without regard to sex, had to encounter from the very outset, prejudices which still exist in the minds of many. The period for employing the weapons of ridicule and enmity has not yet passed. Now, as in the beginning, we hear appeals to prejudice and the baser passions of men. The anathema "woe betide the hand which plucks the wizard beard of hoary error" is yet employed to deter men from acting upon their convictions as to what ought to be done with reference to this great question. To those who are inclined to cast ridicule upon the movement, we quote the answer made while one of the early conventions was in session in the State of New York:

A collection of women arguing for political rights and for the privileges usually conceded only to the other sex is one of the easiest things in the world to make fun of. There is no end to the smart speeches and the witty remarks that may be made on the subject. But when we seriously attempt to show that a woman who pays taxes ought not to have a voice in the manner in which the taxes are expended, that a woman whose property and liberty and person are controlled by the laws, should have no voice in framing those laws, it is not so easy. If women are fit to rule in the mon-

archies, it is difficult to say why they are not qualified to vote in a republic; nor can there be greater indelicacy in a woman going up to the ballot-box than there is in a woman opening a legislature or issuing orders to an army.

To all who are more serious in their opposition to the movement, we remind them of the words of Abraham Lincoln:

I go for all sharing the privileges of the government who assist in bearing its burdens, by no means excluding women.

Of Bishop Simpson:

I believe that the vices in our large cities will never be conquered until the ballot is put into the hands of women.

Of the Rev. James Freeman Clark:

I do not think our politics will be what they ought to be till women are legislators and voters.

Of George William Curtis:

Women have quite as much interest in good government as men, and I have never heard or read of any satisfactory reason for excluding them from the ballot-box; I have no more doubt of their ameliorating influence upon politics than I have of the influence they exert everywhere else.

Of Bishop Gilbert Haven:

In view of the terrible corruption of our politics, people ask, can we maintain universal suffrage? I say no, not without women. The only bear garden in our community is the town meeting and the caucus. Why is this? Because these are the only places at which women are not present.

Of Governor Long, of Massachusetts:

I repeat my conviction of the right of woman suffrage. Because suffrage is a right and not a grace it should be extended to women who bear their share of the public cost, and who have the same interest that I have in the selection of its officials, and the making of its laws which affect their lives, their property, and their happiness.

Of Herbert Spencer:

However much the giving of political power to women may disagree with our notions of propriety, we conclude that, being required by that first prerequisite to greater happiness, the law of equal freedom, such a concession is unquestionably right and good.

And of Plato:

In the administration of a state, neither a woman as a woman, nor a man as a man has any special functions, but the gifts are equally diffused in both sexes. The same opportunity for self-development which makes man a good guardian will make woman a good guardian, for their original nature is the same.

It has become a custom, almost universal, to invite and to welcome the presence of women at political assemblages, to listen to discussions upon the topics involved in the canvass. Their presence has done much toward the elevation, refinement, and freedom from insincerity and hypocrisy in such discussions. Why would not the same results be wrought out by their presence at the ballot-box? Wherever the right has been exercised by law, both in England and in this country, such has been its effect in the conduct of elections.

The framers of our system of government embodied in the Declaration of Independence the statement that to secure the rights which are therein declared to be inalienable and in respect to which all men are created equal, "governments are instituted among men deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." The system of representative government they inaugurated can only be maintained and perpetuated by allowing all citizens to give that consent through the medium of the ballot-box; the only mode in which the "consent of the governed" can

be obtained. To deny to one-half of the citizens of the republic all participation in framing the laws by which they are to be governed, simply on account of their sex, is political despotism to those who are excluded, and "taxation without representation" to such of them as have property liable to taxation. Their investiture with separate estates leads, logically and necessarily, to their right to the ballot as the only means afforded them for the protection of their property, as it is the only means of their full protection in the enjoyment of the immeasurably greater right to life and liberty. To be governed without such consent is a clear denial of a right declared to be inalienable.

It is said that the majority of women do not desire and would not exercise the right, if acknowledged. The assertion rests in conjecture. In ordinary elections multitudes of men do not exercise the right. It is only in extraordinary cases, and when their interests and patriotism are appealed to, that male voters are with unanimity found at the polls. It would doubtless be the same with women. In the exceptional instances in which the exercise of the right has been permitted they have engaged with zeal in every important canvass. Even if the statement were founded in fact, it furnishes no argument in favor of excluding women from the exercise of the franchise. *It is the denial of the right of which they complain.* There are multitudes of men whose vote can be purchased at an election for the smallest and most trifling consideration. Yet all such would spurn with scorn and unutterable contempt a proposition to purchase their *right to vote*, and no consideration would be deemed an equivalent for such a surrender. Women are more sensitive upon this question than men, and so long as this right, deemed by them to be sacred, is denied, so long the agitation which has marked the progress of this contest thus far will be continued.

Entertaining these views, your committee report back the proposed resolution without amendment for the consideration of the Senate, and recommend its passage.

E. G. LAPHAM.
T. M. FERRY.
H. W. BLAIR.

The Constitution is wisely conservative in the provision for its own amendment. It is eminently proper that whenever a large number of the people have indicated a desire for an amendment, the judgment of the amending power should be consulted. In view of the extensive agitation of the question of woman suffrage, and the numerous and respectable petitions that have been presented to Congress in its support, I unite with the committee in recommending that the proposed amendment be submitted to the States.

H. B. ANTHONY.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

JUNE 5, 1882.—Ordered to be printed.

Mr. GEORGE, from the Committee on Woman Suffrage, submitted the following

VIEWS OF THE MINORITY.

[To accompany joint resolution S. R. 60.]

The undersigned are unable to concur in the report of the majority recommending the adoption of the joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, for reasons which they will now proceed to state.

We do not base our dissent upon any ground having relation to the expediency or in expediency of vesting in women the right to vote. Hence we shall not discuss the very grave and important social and political questions which have arisen from the agitation to admit to equal political rights the women of our country, and to impose on them the burden of discharging, equally with men, political and public duties.

Whether so radical a change in our political and social system would advance the happiness and welfare of the American people, considered as a whole, without distinction of sex, is a question on which there is a marked disagreement among the most enlightened and thoughtful of both sexes. Its solution involves considerations so intimately pertaining to all the relations of social and private life—the family circle—the status of women as wives, mothers, daughters, and companions to the functions in private and public life which they ought to perform, and their ability and willingness to perform them—the harmony and stability of marriage, and the division of the labors and cares of that union—that we are convinced that the proper and safe discussion and weighing of them would be best secured by deliberations in the separate communities which have so deep an interest in the rightful solution of this grave question.

Great organic changes in government, especially when they involve, as this proposed change does, a revolution in the modes of life, long-standing habits, and the most sacred domestic relations of the people, should result only upon the demand of the people, who are to be affected by them. Such changes should originate with, and be molded and guided in their operation and extent by, the people themselves. They should neither precede their demand for them, nor be delayed in opposition to their clearly expressed wishes. Their happiness, their welfare, their advancement, are the sole objects of the institution of government; of these they are not only the best but they are the exclusive judges. They have commissioned us to exercise for their good the great powers which they have intrusted to us by their letter of attorney, the Constitution; not to assume to ourselves a superior wisdom, or usurp a guardianship over them, dictating reforms not demanded by them, and attempting to grasp power not granted.

The organization of our political institutions is such that the great mass of the powers of government, the proper exercise of which so deeply concerns the welfare of the people, is left to the States respectively, or to the people. In that depository, the will of the people is most easily and certainly ascertained, and the exercise of power more directly under their control and guidance. Our free institutions have had their great development and excellence, and owe their stability and beneficent operation, more to causes growing out of, and connected with, the direct exercise of the power of the people in local self-government than to all other causes combined. Recent events, though tending strongly to centralization, have not destroyed nor impaired in the public mind the inestimable value of local self-government. Among the powers which have hitherto been esteemed as most essential to the public welfare, is the power of the States to regulate, each for itself, their domestic institutions in their own way; and among those institutions none have been preserved by the States with greater jealousy than their absolute control over marriage and the relation between the sexes.

Another power of the States, deemed by the people when they assented to the Constitution of the United States most essential to its perpetuation and the public welfare, was the right of each State for itself to determine the qualifications of electors. Wherever the Federal Constitution speaks of elections for a Federal office, it adopts the qualifications for electors prescribed by the State in which the election is to be held.

Nor has this fundamental rule been departed from in the Fifteenth Amendment. That impairs it only to the extent that race, color, or previous condition of servitude shall not be made a ground of exclusion from the right of suffrage. In all else that pertains to the qualifications of electors the absolute will of the State prevails. This amendment was inserted from considerations which pertain to no other part of the question of suffrage. The negro race had been recently emancipated; it was supposed that the antagonism between them and their old masters and the prejudice of race would be such as to obstruct the equal enjoyment of the rights of freedom conferred by the national forces, and would prevent the white race of the South from admitting the negro race, however deserving it might be, to equal political privileges. And, moreover, it was deemed by the North a point of honor that, having conferred freedom on the negro, he should be provided with the right of suffrage.

None of these considerations apply in the present case. It is not pretended that any such antagonism or prejudice exists between the sexes. It is not pretended that women have been redeemed from an intolerable slavery by the power of the government. It is not pretended that the sex in whose hands is the political power of the States are unwilling, from any cause, to do full justice to the other; for it is conceded that if the proposed amendment should be adopted, its incorporation into the Constitution must result from the voluntary action of that sex in whom is vested this political power. No good reason has been given why the Congress of the United States should force or even hasten the States into such action, and no such reason can be given without a reversal of the theories on which our free institutions are based.

The history given by the majority, of the legislation of the several States in relation to the rights of persons and property of married women showing as it does a steady advance in the abolition of their common-law disabilities, conclusively demonstrates that this question may be safely left for solution where it now is and has always hitherto belonged. The public mind is now being agitated in many of the States as to the

various employments from which they have hitherto been excluded. This exclusion from certain employments has not been the result of municipal but of social laws—the strongest of all human regulations. As these social laws have been modified, so the sphere of woman's activities and usefulness has been enlarged. These social laws are in the main the groundwork of the exclusion of women from the right of suffrage. In the establishment of these laws, as in their modification, women themselves have even a greater influence than men. Their disability to vote is, therefore, self-imposed; when they shall will otherwise, it is not too much to say that the disability will no longer exist. If in the future it shall be found that these laws deny a right to women the enjoyment of which they desire, and for the exercise of which they are qualified, it cannot be doubted that they will give way. If, on the contrary, neither of these shall be discovered, it will happen that the exclusion of suffrage will not be considered as a denial of a right, but as an exemption granted to women from cares and burdens which a tender and affectionate regard for womanhood refuses to cast on them.

We are convinced, therefore, that the best mode of disposing of the question is to leave its solution to that power most amenable to the influences and usages of society in which women have so large and so potential a share, confident that at no distant day a right result will be reached in each State which will be satisfactory to both sexes and perfectly consistent with the welfare and happiness of the people. Certainly this must be so if the people themselves, the source and foundation of all political power, are capable of self-government.

At two of its meetings the committee listened with great pleasure to several eminent ladies who appeared before it as advocates of the proposed amendment. At none of the meetings of the committee, including that at which the members voted on the proposed amendment, was there any discussion of this important subject; none was asked for or desired by any member of the committee, and the vote was taken.

The reports of the majority and of the minority of the committee are therefore to be construed only as the individual opinions of the members who respectively concur in them. They are in no sense to be treated as the judgment of a deliberative body charged with the examination of this important subject.

The foregoing leads us to but one recommendation: that the committee should be discharged from the further consideration of the subject, that the resolution raising it be rescinded, and that the proposed amendment be rejected.

J. Z. GEORGE.
HOWELL E. JACKSON.
JAMES G. FAIR.

To the Members of the National Woman Suffrage Association and
the Friends of Equal Suffrage.

The election, at which Nebraska will test the justice of her men, occurs November 8th. On that date the voters will adopt or reject the pending Amendment to the State Constitution, which seeks to give the ballot to women.

We believe that all that is necessary to secure the passage of this Amendment is that the men of Nebraska thoroughly understand its import. Careful and effective work has already been done by the local Suffrage organizations. This, however, must be supplemented by an active campaign during the two months preceding the election.

With a view to this the National W. S. A. has appointed its Annual Convention, at Omaha, in September. This occasion will bring together, from all parts of the country, many prominent suffragists, a number of whom will remain in Nebraska until the election, speaking constantly for the Suffrage Amendment. Local workers, in whose judgment we have confidence, say that great attention must be given to the rural districts; that speakers must go into the school houses and there address small audiences of farmers and laborers.

The National W. S. A. desires to send out one speaker as early as July, and others later. To work effectively we must spend in Nebraska at least five thousand dollars for railroad fares, halls, advertising and printing. Only one-fifth of this sum is now pledged. It is to the home guard we look for financial support; you who can not speak or work publicly for this cause can give the money to carry it forward to success. If every woman who has joined this Association would send her membership fee annually to the Treasurer, we should have the funds necessary, without further exertion. Some of the money is needed immediately; we must make preparations for meetings; we must print and send all over the State, Equal Suffrage literature.

In thus aiding Nebraska in State work, the National W. S. A. does not withdraw its claim to National protection for women citizens, but now, as hitherto, believes that nothing less than a Sixteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States can serve this purpose. But to have one State sending to Congress Representatives elected by the votes of women, would be such a power, that we gladly embrace this opportunity of aiding State work. To carry Nebraska this fall is to carry Indiana and Oregon next year. Every woman thus has a personal interest in this work, and upon each woman lies part of its responsibility. All contributions are appreciated; give as your heart prompts and your position permits.

Send donations to MRS. JANE H. SPOFFORD, Treasurer of the N. W. S. A., Riggs House, Washington, D. C., or to the undersigned.

Yours very respectfully,

MAY WRIGHT SEWALL, *Chair. Ex. Com.,*

405 N. Penn. St., Indianapolis, Ind.

RACHEL G. FOSTER, *Cor. Sec'y and Financial Agent,*

1909 N. 12th St., Philadelphia, Pa.

[N. B.—Please read other side.]

While we are working for Nebraska, and all eyes are turned toward her, there is work at the Nation's Capital which can not be neglected. The women of Nebraska, and of all other States in which there is a probability of gaining their enfranchisement through State legislation, must not forget that though they be enfranchised in Nebraska, the moment they cross the line into a neighboring State they fall from the position of citizen to that of a disfranchised subject. Only by an amendment to the Federal Constitution can the exercise of the right of suffrage be guaranteed to any class of persons for a long period of time.

A proposition for such an amendment is, by the majority report of the select Committee on Woman Suffrage, now before the United States Senate. It becomes the duty of every woman who believes herself a citizen of the United States, to send a letter to the Senators of her State asking them to vote for this amendment. If every man in the Senate should receive daily the personal request of even one woman of his district, for his vote in favor of this proposition, the Amendment would be carried. Let every earnest woman send, also, to her Representative in Congress, her personal petition, that when such an Amendment is reported in the House, he will vote for it. These men must be convinced that women want enfranchisement before they will give our question favorable consideration. A personal appeal from some woman in his own district has more influence upon a Representative than a hundred names of women of another State, attached to a petition.

Please attend immediately to this matter that it may be urged upon the consideration of Congress and brought to a discussion at this present session. Look upon it as an important duty of this very hour.

Respectfully Yours,

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, *Pres.*, Tenafly, N. J.
SUSAN B. ANTHONY,
Rochester, N. Y. } *Vice Pres. at Large.*
MATILDA JOSLYN GAGE,
Fayetteville, N. Y. }
MAY WRIGHT SEWALL, *Chair. Ex. Com.*,
405 N. Pennsylvania St., Indianapolis, Ind.
ELLEN H. SHELDON, *Recording Secretary*,
Q. M. General's Office, Washington, D. C.
RACHEL G. FOSTER, *Corresponding Sec'y*,
1909 N. 12th Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
JANE H. SPOFFORD, *Treasurer*,
Riggs House, Washington, D. C.

REPORT

OF THE

Bristol and West of England Society

FOR

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE,

1881,

Presented at the Annual General Meeting, Jan. 24th, 1882.

OBJECT.—*To obtain for Women Householders and Ratepayers the right of Voting for Members of Parliament.*

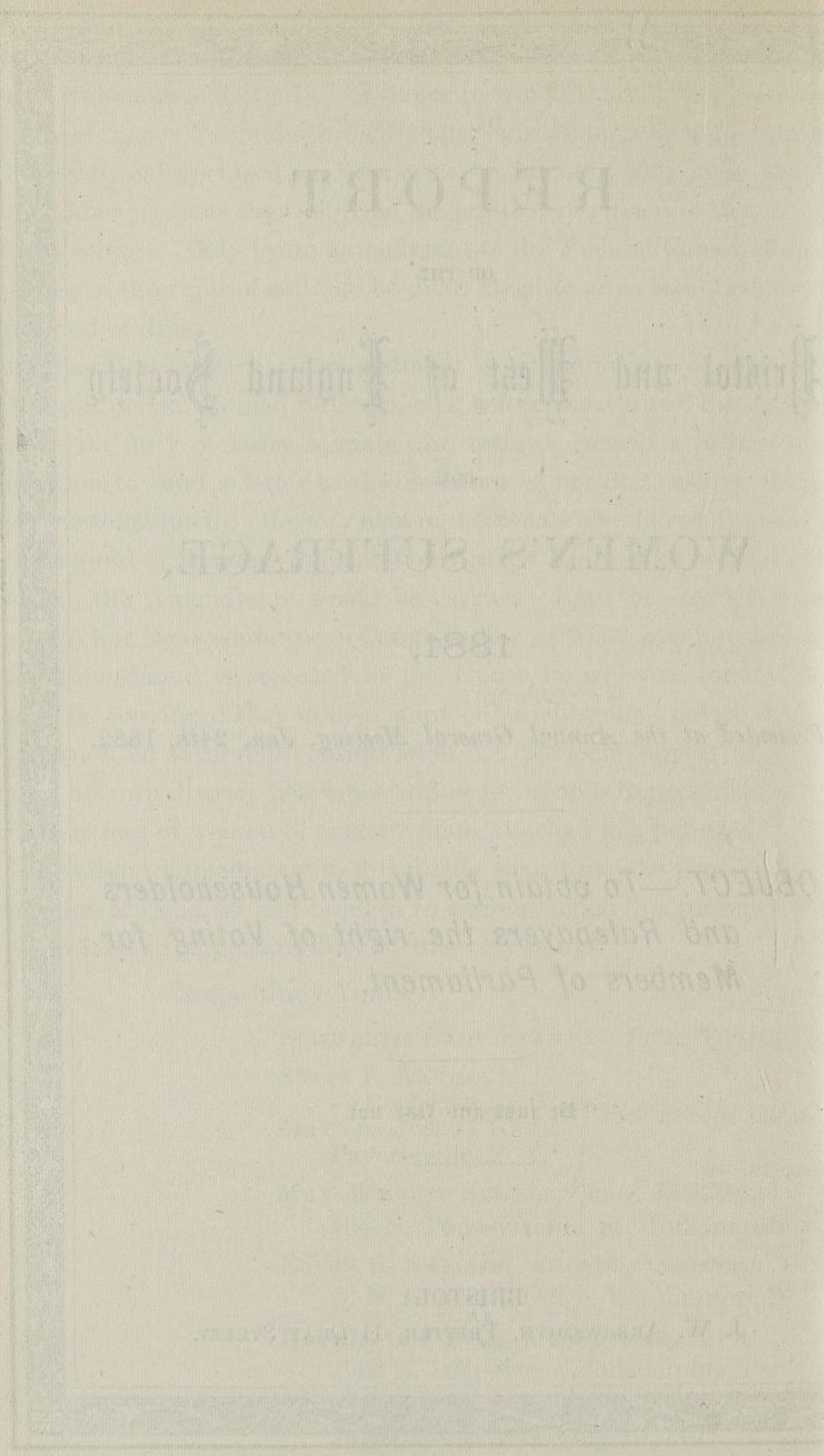
“Be just and fear not.”

BRISTOL:

J. W. ARROWSMITH, PRINTER, 11 QUAY STREET.

THE principle which this Society works to establish is the right to

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Vice-Presidents.

- Mrs. BEDDOE, Clifton
 LADY BOWRING, Exeter
 Rev. J. W. CALDICOTT, D.D., Grammar School, Bristol
 Mr. E. H. CARBUTT, M.P., Newport, Mon.
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 Mr. LEWIS FRY, M.P., Bristol
 LADY GOLDSMID, St. John's Lodge, Regent's Park
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 Mr. HERBERT THOMAS, J.P., Ivor House, Bristol
 Mr. KILLIGREW WAIT, J.P., Clifton Park
 Mr. S. C. EVANS WILLIAMS, M.P., Rhayader
 Mr. MARK WHITWILL, J.P., Durdham Park, Redland
 Mr. J. REGINALD YORKE, M.P., Tewkesbury

Corresponding Members.

- | | | | |
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| Bridgewater | - Miss Thompson | Mumbles | - Rev. J. C. Davies |
| Bridport | - Mrs. R. L. Carpenter | Neath | - Mrs. Elias Jones |
| Bridgford | - Miss Jenner | Newport | - Mrs. Turner |
| Bridgwater | - Mr. H. R. Daniel | Pembroke | - Miss Bowling |
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| Bristol | - Miss Baker | Plymouth | - Mrs. Bishop |
| Bristol | - Rev. Henry Austin | Portishead | - Mrs. de l'Hoste |
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| Bristol | - Miss Schaw Protheroe | Swansea | - Mrs. E. Higginson |
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| Bristol | - Miss Southall | Tewkesbury | - Mrs. Mellquham |
| Bristol | - Mr. S. Clark | Tiverton | - Rev. T. Cooper |
| Bristol | - Mrs. Boucher | Torquay | - Miss Parkyn |
| | | Yeovil | - Mrs. Marsh |

Committee.

- Chairman:—Rev. Urijah R. Thomas.
- | | | |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------|
| Mr. Joseph Bartlett | Mrs. Linton | Mrs. Walter Sturge |
| Mr. E. S. Bayliffe, B.A. | Rev. A. C. Macpherson, M.A. | Miss Caroline Sturge |
| Mr. Bruce | Miss Pass | Miss Tanner |
| Mr. E. W. Cox | Miss M. Price | Mr. J. G. Thornton |
| Mr. J. Temperley Grey | Miss Priestman | Miss Eva Tribe |
| Mr. T. G. P. Hallett, M.A. | Miss M. Priestman | Mr. Frank N. Tribe |
| Mr. Kennedy | Mrs. Sollas | Mr. P. Watson |

Hon. Secretaries:—Mrs. Liliash Ashworth Hallett, Miss Sturge

Treasurer:—Mrs. Grenfell, 1 Cecil Road, Clifton.

Secretary—Miss H. BLACKBURN.

Office—20 PARK STREET, BRISTOL.

The principle which this Society works to establish is the right to

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REPORT FOR 1881,

PRESENTED AT THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, JAN. 24th, 1882.

"BE JUST AND FEAR NOT."

In presenting their Annual Report your Committee have no parliamentary progress to record, owing to the absence of any discussion on the question during last session. Mr. Hugh Mason gave notice of his resolution in the House of Commons, which was announced in last year's report. He obtained a day, May 27th, on which the resolution was to have been moved: but government business however having occupied the early part of the day, and the resolution standing second on the orders of the day, it was deemed inexpedient to bring it forward at the late hour at which alone it could under these circumstances be discussed. Accordingly Mr. Mason withdrew the resolution and used his best endeavours to obtain a more favourable opportunity, but the extraordinary block in public business rendered this impossible.

In presence of the uncertainty thus attending the discussion of the resolution, in presence too of the expressed unwillingness of Her Majesty's ministers to receive any deputations when their time was so much pressed, the deputation which was to have waited on Mr. Gladstone was postponed.

This uncertainty of action also lessened the energy of our friends in regard to petitions; of these, 73 were presented from

The principle which this Society works to establish is the right to

friends and members of this Society, containing a total of 6,600 signatures.

Your Committee have to record numerous and influential public meetings throughout the district of this Society. In the early spring meetings were held in Cardiff, Rees Jones, Esq., Mayor, in the chair; in Merthyr Tydvil, David Williams, Esq., High Constable, in the chair; and in Newport, J. R. Jacob, Esq., Mayor, in the chair; also in Exeter, Hugh Boyd Mackay, Esq., LL.B., in the chair.

In the early autumn your Secretary and Assistant Secretary visited South Wales, where successful meetings were held in Cardigan, Lewis Evans, Esq., Mayor, in the chair; at Pembroke Dock, Robert George, Esq., Mayor, in the chair; at Haverfordwest, Isaac Roberts, Esq., Mayor, in the chair; at Tenby, W. H. Richards, Esq., Mayor, in the chair. Later your Secretary visited Cornwall, where well-attended meetings were held in Penzance, the Rev. Prebendary Hedgeland in the chair; and at Truro, Mr. Councillor Norton in the chair. Miss Orme kindly addressed both these meetings, as well as one in the Borough Arms Coffee House, Plymouth, Mr. Bishop in the chair. More recently meetings have been held in Cirencester, the Rev. Henry Austin in the chair, and at Tewkesbury, J. Reginald Yorke Esq., M.P., in the chair.

Drawing room meetings have also taken place by invitation of the Misses Bragg, at Plymouth, of Mrs. General Colby, at Cheltenham, and of Mrs. Beddoe, at Mortimer House, Clifton. Your Committee would take this opportunity of cordially thanking these ladies for the very valuable services thus rendered to the Society.

They also gratefully recognise the kind assistance they have received from the gentlemen who took part in their various meetings, and from Miss Orme, Miss Downing (now Mrs.

(hearer), and Miss Annie Young in the addresses given by them. Your Committee also desire to acknowledge the assistance which has been uniformly afforded by the local press in regard to all their meetings.

During the past year large meetings of women have been held in Birmingham and in Bradford. Your Society was represented at the former by Mrs. Beddoe and your Secretary, at the latter by Miss Priestman. Your Secretary also represented the Society at a meeting held in Dublin at the time of the Social Science Congress.

Your Committee have to record the removal by death of two supporters of their cause in the House of Commons, Sir Charles Reed, M.P. for St. Ives, and Mr. Walter Powell, M.P. for Malnesbury, whose untimely fate has deprived the movement of a vote which had never failed in any one of the divisions in the House of Commons on the Bill to remove the electoral disabilities of women.

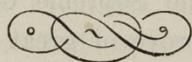
In regard to the Parliamentary aspects of the Women Suffrage movement for the forthcoming session, Mr. Hugh Mason has announced his intention to introduce the following resolution at the earliest possible opportunity:—"That the Parliamentary franchise should be extended to women who possess the qualifications which enable men to vote, and who in all matters of local government have the right of voting."

During last session the Supreme Court of Judicature Act was passed, which may prove of great value in regard to the claim of women to the franchise. By allowing an appeal on registration and election cases to be made to Her Majesty's Court of Appeal, this Act may afford the means of re-opening the question whether or not women are entitled to vote at Parliamentary Elections under the ancient and still existing law of the realm, as is maintained by many competent lawyers.

The principle which this Society works to establish is the right to

With so much serious work before them your Committee are glad to be able to point to a steady increase in the number of their regular corresponding members, also to the addition of the names of several influential supporters to the list of their Vice Presidents. The subscription list shows also an increase in the number of subscribers, they urge the friends of the cause to exert themselves in keeping up this increase. It is by its numerous small fibres that the principles of the Society become firmly established and widely extended.

Your Committee tender their hearty thanks to the donors of the special guarantee fund of £1,000 payable over two years of which the greater portion has already been received. They trust those donors may feel that the means they have so generously contributed have been judiciously employed; and whilst soliciting further aid, your Committee especially hope that their friends will use every opportunity to keep the Society's object before the minds of their Parliamentary representatives, and thereby dispose those representatives to favour the movement and thus strengthen the voting power in the House of Commons.



SPECIAL CIRCULAR.
FEBRUARY, 1882.

Bristol and West of England Society for Women's Suffrage.

Vice-Presidents :

Mrs. BEDDOE, Clifton
LADY BOWRING, Exeter
Rev. J. W. CALDICOTT, D.D., Grammar School, Bristol
Mr. E. H. CARBUTT, M.P., Newport, Mon.
Mr. W. S. CLARK, Street
Mrs. COLMAN, Clifton
Mr. LEONARD COURTNEY, M.P.
Mrs. CRAWSHAY, Cathedine, Bwlch, Brecon
ELIZA W. DUNBAR, M.D., Clifton
BARON de FERRIERES, M.P., Cheltenham
LORD EDMOND FITZ-MAURICE, M.P., Calne
Mr. R. N. FOWLER, M.P.
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Mr. MARK WHITWILL, J.P., Durdham Park, Redland
Mr. S. C. EVANS WILLIAMS, M.P., Rhayader
Mr. REGINALD YORKE, M.P., Tewkesbury

Executive Committee :

Chairman of Committee, Rev. URIJAH R. THOMAS.

Mr. Joseph Bartlett	Miss Priestman
Rev. E. S. Bayliffe, B.A.	Miss Mary Priestman
Mrs. Bruce	Mrs. Sollas
Mr. E. W. Cox	Mrs. Walter Sturge
Mr. T. G. P. Hallett, M.A.	Miss Caroline Sturge
Rev. J. Temperley Grey	Miss Tanner
Miss Kennedy	Mr. J. G. Thornton
Mrs. Linton	Miss Eva Tribe
Rev. A. C. Macpherson, M.A.	Mr. Frank N. Tribe
Miss Pass	Mr. P. Watson
Miss Mary Price	

Hon. Secs : Mrs. ASHWORTH HALLETT, Miss STURGE.

Treasurer : Mrs. GRENFELL, 1 Cecil Road, Clifton.

Secretary : Miss HELEN BLACKBURN. Office : 20 Park Street, Bristol.

THE principle which this Society works to establish is the right to

vote in the Election of Members of Parliament for such women as possess qualifications which enable men to vote: in other words women, who as owners or occupiers of property are ratepayers and now exercise the Municipal School Board and other local Franchises.

The Bill to remove the Electoral disabilities of women—introduced into the House of Commons successively by Mr. JACOB BRIGHT, Mr. FORSYTH, Q.C., and Mr. LEONARD COURTNEY—would have had this effect had it become law.

The same principle is affirmed by the resolution which Mr. HUGH MASON has announced his intention of introducing this session, "That the Parliamentary Franchise should be extended to women who possess the qualifications which entitle men to vote, and who in all matters of local government have the right of voting."

The Society is pledged to support this resolution by every means in its power, and the Executive Committee appeal for funds to enable them to carry on their work at this critical time. Annexed is a form to be filled in by all who will assist their efforts by subscribing to their funds. Subscribers are entitled to the *Women's Suffrage Journal* monthly, and the Annual Report of the Society.

Corresponding Members :

<i>Aberystwith</i> - Mrs. William Williams	<i>Monmouth</i> - Mr. Thomas James, J.P.
<i>Bridgwater</i> - Miss Thompson	<i>Mumbles</i> - Rev. J. C. Davies
<i>Bridport</i> - Mrs. R. L. Carpenter	<i>Neath</i> - Mrs. Elias Jones
<i>Cardiff</i> - Miss Jenner	<i>Newport</i> - Mrs. Turner
<i>Cardigan</i> - Mr. H. R. Daniel	<i>Pembroke</i> - Miss Bowling
<i>Cheltenham</i> - Miss M. Colby	<i>Penzance</i> - Miss Courtney
" - Miss Baker	<i>Plymouth</i> - Mrs. Bishop
<i>Cirencester</i> - Rev. Henry Austin	<i>Portishead</i> - Mrs. de l'Hoste
<i>Dawlish</i> - Rev. G. W. Sharp	<i>Sidcot</i> - Mrs. Arthur Tanner
<i>Exeter</i> - Mr. Fred. Townsend	<i>St. Austell</i> - Mrs. Ball
<i>Falmouth</i> - Mrs. Howard Fox	<i>Street</i> - Mrs. W. S. Clark
<i>Fishguard</i> - Miss Schaw-Protheroe	<i>Swansea</i> - Mrs. E. Higginson
<i>Gloucester</i> - Mrs. Herbert Simpson	<i>Tavistock</i> - Miss Rachael Evans
<i>Ilfracombe</i> - Mrs. J. P. MacRobert	<i>Teignmouth</i> - Mrs. Prime
<i>Llanelly</i> - Mr. W. Howell	<i>Tenby</i> - Mr. Howell Davies
<i>Leominster</i> - Miss Southall	<i>TeWKesbury</i> - Mrs. McIlquham
<i>Malmesbury</i> - Mr. S. Clark	<i>Tiverton</i> - Rev. T. Cooper
<i>Minchhead</i> - Mrs. Boucher	<i>Torquay</i> - Miss Parkyn
	<i>Yeovil</i> - Mrs. Marsh

Form to be filled by persons desirous of promoting the object of the Society.

I approve of the object of the National Society for Women's Suffrage, and promise to contribute to the Bristol and West of England Committee.

Approval of the object of the Society and a subscription of any amount constitutes Membership.

Cheques and P. O. Orders to be made payable to the Treasurer, or Secretary.

Treas. Mrs. (ALICE) GREENFELL.
Sec. Miss H. BLACKBURN.

Annual Subscription £ : :
Donation - - - £ : :
Signed

Name and Address for post

To Miss HELEN BLACKBURN, Secretary,
20 Park Street, Bristol.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

HELD IN THE

OFFICE OF THE SOCIETY, 20 PARK STREET,

JANUARY 24TH, 1882.

Rev. URIJAH R. THOMAS in the Chair.

Miss BLACKBURN, Secretary, read the Report of the Executive Committee and the Statement of Accounts.

RESOLUTION I.--*Moved by the CHAIRMAN, seconded by Mrs. BRUCE, supported by Mrs. CHARLES THOMAS,*

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

RESOLUTION II.--*Moved by Mr. E. A. LEONARD, seconded by Miss ESTLIN,*

"That the following persons be the Executive Committee for the ensuing year, with power to add to their number:—Mr. J. Bartlett, Rev. E. S. Bayliffe, Mr. E. W. Cox, Rev. J. Temperley Grey, Mr. T. G. P. Hallett, M.A., Mrs. Linton, Miss Kennedy, Rev. A. C. Macpherson, M.A., Miss M. Price, Miss Priestman, Miss M. Priestman, Miss Pass, Mrs. Sollas, Miss Caroline Sturge, Mrs. Walter Sturge, Miss Tanner, Mr. J. G. Thornton, Miss Tribe, Mr. Frank N. Tribe, Mr. P. Watson; *Chairman of Committee, Rev. U. R.*

Thomas; *Hon. Secretaries*, Mrs. L. Ashworth Hallett, Miss Sturge; *Treasurer*, Mrs. Grenfell."

RESOLUTION III.—*Moved by* Rev. A. C. MACPHERSON, *seconded by* Mr. E. W. COX, *supported by* Rev. E. S. BAYLIFFE,

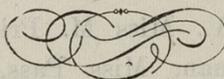
"That this meeting desires to present its hearty thanks to Mr. Hugh Mason for his determination to introduce his Resolution in the House of Commons at the earliest opportunity, and pledges itself to support him by every means in its power."

RESOLUTION IV.—*Moved by* Rev. J. TEMPERLEY GREY, *seconded by* Mr. JOSEPH BARTLETT,

"That this meeting desires to express its thanks to Members of Parliament in the district of this Society for the support they have given in former Sessions to the Women's Disabilities Removal Bill, and trusts to have their continued support."

RESOLUTION V.—*Moved by* Miss BEDDOE, *seconded by* Mr. W. H. COLBY,

"That the best thanks of the meeting be given to the Rev. U. R. THOMAS for presiding on the present occasion."



SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS

FOR THE YEAR 1881.

		£	s.	d.			£	s.	d.
Mrs. Alden	...	0	2	6	Mrs. S. Budgett	...	0	2	6
A Male Person	...	0	5	0	Mrs. Bulleid	...	0	2	6
Mr. J. Andrews	...	0	2	6	Miss Bullock	...	0	2	6
Anti-Vivisectionist	...	0	5	0					
Mrs. Atkinson	...	0	5	0	Mrs. Cadwallader	...	0	10	6
Miss Austin	...	0	5	0	Rev. J. Caldicott, D.D.	...	0	5	0
					Mrs. R. L. Carpenter	...	5	0	0
Mr. Badock	...	0	10	0	Mrs. Carslake	...	1	0	0
Mr. and Mrs. Mills Baker	...	5	0	0	Mr. Chapman (Frome)	...	0	5	0
" " (don.)	...	10	0	0	Mr. Chapman (Yeovil)	...	0	2	6
Miss Baker	...	0	5	0	Mrs. Christison	...	0	1	6
Miss Ball	...	0	2	6	Mrs. W. S. Clark (1881-2)	...	10	0	0
Mrs. Barlow	...	0	2	6	Mr. J. Clark	...	0	10	0
Mr. Gilmore Barnett	...	0	5	0	Miss Clarke	...	0	5	0
Mr. J. Bartlett	...	0	10	6	Mrs. Clinker	...	0	2	6
Rev. E. S. Bayliffe, B.A.	...	0	2	0	Mrs. Clothier	...	0	5	0
Mrs. Beddoe	...	1	1	0	Mrs. General Colby	...	1	0	0
Miss Beddoe	...	0	3	6	Miss A. E. E. Colby	...	1	0	0
Mrs. Belben	...	0	5	0	Mr. Thos. Colby	...	0	10	0
Mrs. Bond	...	0	2	6	Mrs. W. H. Colby	...	0	7	0
Mrs. Booth	...	0	1	6	Per Miss M. Colby	...	0	6	0
Mrs. Boucher	...	0	2	6	Miss C. Colby	...	0	2	6
Mr. E. Bound	...	0	2	6	Mrs. Colfox	...	0	10	0
Lady Bowring	...	1	0	0	Mrs. Colman	...	0	5	0
The Misses Bragg	...	1	12	6	Mr. W. L. Cooke	...	0	2	6
Mr. W. Brewin (1881-3)	...	0	15	0	Mr. Cooper	...	0	5	0
Mr. R. Brewin	...	1	0	0	Miss Corkran	...	0	1	6
Mrs. Brine	...	0	5	0	Mr. J. Cory	...	1	1	0
Mrs. S. W. Brown	...	1	0	0	Mr. R. Cory	...	1	0	0
Miss Brown	...	0	2	6	Mrs. Cory	...	0	1	6
Rev. T. E. Browne	...	1	0	0	Mr. Handel Cossham	...	0	10	0
Mrs. Bruce	...	3	3	0	Mrs. Cottrell	...	0	2	6
Miss Bryant	...	0	2	6	Miss Counsell	...	0	1	6
Mrs. Bucknell	...	0	2	6	Miss Courtauld	...	1	1	0
Miss Bucknell	...	0	2	6	Mr. E. W. Cox	...	0	10	0
Mrs. W. H. Budgett	...	1	1	0	Mrs. Crawshay (don.)	...	50	0	0

£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Mrs. Croggan ...	0	1	Mrs. Hargrave (2 years)	0	10
Mr. J. L. Daniell ...	0	10	Mrs. Harris ...	0	2
Dr. Davy... ..	0	10	Mrs. Hartnell ...	0	5
Mrs. Davis	0	2	Mrs. Higginson ...	0	10
Mrs. De l'Hoste ...	1	0	Miss Higginson ...	0	5
Mrs. D'Oursey ...	0	2	Mrs. Holroyd ...	1	0
Mr. Walter Dowson ...	0	10	Mrs. Hopkins ...	0	2
Dr. Eliza W. Dunbar ...	1	0	Miss Houston ...	0	5
Miss Dymond	0	5	Mr. Hughes ...	0	2
			Mrs. Hume-Rothery ...	0	10
			Mrs. Hunt	0	2
Mrs. Joseph Elliott... ..	0	5			
Miss Estlin	5	0	Mrs. Impey	0	5
Mrs. Sparke Evans ...	1	1	Mrs. Inskip	0	2
Mrs. P. C. Evans	0	10			
Mrs. Evans (Cardiff) ...	0	1	Mrs. James	0	10
Miss Evans (Newport) ...	0	1	Miss James	0	2
Mrs. Eynon	0	1	Miss Jenner	0	5
			Mr. Jennings	0	5
Mrs. Field	0	2	Mr. Peter Jones	0	5
Mr. Field	0	2	Mrs. Griffiths Jones ...	0	2
Miss Fitzherbert (2 years)	0	5	Mrs. J. M. Jones	0	2
Miss Fouracre... ..	0	2	Mr. Richard Jones... ..	0	2
Miss E. Fox	0	1			
Mr. W. H. Frank	0	2	Miss E. Keightley... ..	0	2
Mr. George Franklin ...	1	1	Miss Kendall	0	10
A Friend (Clifton)	0	10	Miss Kennedy... ..	0	1
A Friend (per Mrs. Marsh)	0	10	Miss Key	0	2
A Friend (per Miss D. } Yardley)	0	5	Lady Kirk	0	2
A Friend (Clifton)	0	5			
A Friend (Exeter)	0	1	Rev. H. Levin	0	1
Mrs. Friskney... ..	0	1	Mrs. H. F. Lawes	0	10
			Miss Leedham... ..	0	5
			Rev. W. M. Lennox ...	0	5
Mrs. Garnett	20	0	Mrs. Leon	0	2
Mr. Gartrell	0	2	Mrs. G. H. Leonard ...	0	10
Miss Gibson	0	10	Miss Leonard	0	5
Miss M. Gibson	0	5	Mrs. Leonard	0	4
Mr. J. T. Grace	0	10	Miss Lewis	0	1
Mrs. Graveley	0	5	Mrs. Linton	0	10
Mr. Alan Greenwell, M.A.	0	10	Mr. John Lloyd	0	10
Mr. J. G. Grenfell, B.A.	1	0	Mr. D. Lloyd	0	5
Mrs. Grenfell	1	0	Mr. Lord	0	2
Mr. Goward	0	1	Mrs. Lowe	0	5
Mrs. Goss (Redland) ...	0	5	Mrs. Lucas	0	1
Mrs. Goss... ..	0	2	Mr. Morton Luce	0	2
			Miss Lutley (2 years)	0	10
			Miss Luxmoor... ..	0	5
Mrs. Hale	1	1			
Miss Hall	0	10	Dr. Mac Gowan	0	10
“ “ (omitted in } last year's report) }	0	10	Mrs. McIlquham	1	0

£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Mr. D. Mackenzie	0	1	Miss Rees... ..	0	1
Rev. A. C. Macpherson..	0	10	Mrs. Reid	0	2
Miss Malin	0	10	Mrs. Rendall	0	5
The Misses Marriott ...	0	10	Mrs. Reynolds	0	5
Mrs. Marsh	0	15	Rev. J. Robberds ...	5	0
Mr. John Matthews	0	2	Mrs. Roberts	0	2
Mrs. T. F. C. May... ..	0	10	Miss Roberts	0	2
Mr. J. Mayne... ..	0	10	Miss Rowe	0	1
Mr. B. Michael	0	5	Miss Rooker	0	5
Mrs. Miller	0	10	“ “ (don.)... ..	1	0
Mrs. Guy Moore	0	2	Miss M. Rooker	0	5
Mr. Mulliss	0	1	Mr. R. B. Rutter	0	2
Mrs. Munk	0	2	Mrs. Rutter	0	2
Miss Mylne	0	2			
Miss Agnes Mylne... ..	0	2	Mr. Saunders	0	2
			Miss Schaw Protheroe ...	2	0
Mr. Neale	0	2	Mr. Sewell	0	2
Prof. F. W. Newman ...	1	0	Mrs. Sharman... ..	0	2
Mrs. H. Newman	0	10	Mrs. Shipley	0	10
Dr. Nicholson... ..	0	5	Mrs. Sibley (2 years) ...	0	10
Mr. Norton (Truro)	0	5	Mrs. Herbert Simpson ...	0	2
Mr. Norton	0	1	Mr. Dyke Smith	0	2
			Mr. H. Smith	0	2
Miss Parnall	0	5	Miss E. Smith... ..	0	1
Mrs. Parson	0	1	Miss M. Smith	0	1
Mrs. Pearse	0	5	Mr. Somerville	4	0
Miss Pease	0	2	Mrs. Southall	0	5
Mrs. Peck	0	5	The Misses Southall ...	1	0
Mrs. J. H. Perry	0	5	Mrs. Spratt	0	1
Mrs. Perry (Bridgwater).	0	2	Rev. J. B. Spring	0	2
Mrs. Petherick	0	5	Mrs. Spring	0	2
“ Pirates of Penzance ”	0	3	Mr. J. D. Steel, junr. ...	0	5
Miss March Phillipps (2 } years)	0	10	Miss Steel	0	2
Mrs. Phillips	0	5	Miss G. Stephens	0	5
Mrs. E. Pittard	0	2	Miss Stratton	0	1
Mr. E. W. Pittard... ..	0	2	Mrs. Stone	0	2
Mrs. A. D. Porter	0	2	Mrs. Walter Sturge ...	0	5
Mrs. Price (don.)	5	0	Miss M. Sturge	0	5
Miss Mary Price	1	1	Mrs. Sturge	0	2
“ “ “ (don.)	25	0	Mr. W. Swatbridge ...	0	15
Miss M. N. Price	2	0			
Miss Price	1	0	Mr. C. W. A. Tait... ..	0	10
Mrs. Price (Teignmouth).	0	6	Mrs. C. M. Tate	0	2
Mrs. S. N. Price	0	6	Mrs. Arthur Tanner ...	1	1
The Misses Priestman } (don.)	50	0	Miss Howard Taylor ...	0	2
			Mrs. Taylor	0	1
			Mrs. Temple	0	2
			Mrs. Charles Thomas ...	5	0
			“ “ “ (don.) 100	0	0
Miss Read	0	2	Mr. Herbert Thomas ...	1	1
Mrs. Reader	0	2	Mrs. Herbert Thomas ...	1	1
Mrs. Reed	0	1			

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Mrs. Thomas Thomas ...	1	1	0	Mr. W. Watts ...	0	5	0
Rev. Urijah Thomas ...	1	1	0	Mrs. Watts (Weymouth) ...	0	2	0
Miss Gertrude Thomas ...	0	10	6	Mrs. Weatherley ...	0	2	0
Miss Thomas ...	0	10	0	Mr. Whibley ...	1	1	0
Miss Lillie Thomas ...	0	10	0	Mr. Whitbread ...	0	5	0
Mrs. F. T. Thompson ...	0	10	0	Mrs. George D. White ...	0	2	6
Mrs. A. Thompson ...	0	5	0	Mr. Mark Whitwill ...	1	1	0
Mrs. G. C. Thompson ...	0	5	0	Miss H. Wightman ...	0	1	6
Miss Thompson ...	0	2	6	Rev. T. Wilkinson ...	0	5	0
Mrs. P. Thompson ...	0	2	6	Mr. David Williams, } (High Constable, } Merthyr) ...	0	10	0
Mr. J. G. Thornton ...	0	5	0	Mrs. Eubulus Williams ..	0	10	0
Mrs. J. G. Thornton ...	0	2	6	Mrs. William Williams } (Aberystwith) ...	0	10	0
Mr. Tranter ...	0	1	0	Mr. Philip Williams ...	0	2	6
Miss Tribe (2 years) ...	2	2	0	Mrs. Naomi Williams ...	0	2	6
Mr. Tribe (2 years) ...	1	1	0	Mrs. Williams... ..	0	1	6
Mr. F. N. Tribe ...	0	5	0	Mr. W. E. Williams } (Cheltenham) ...	0	2	6
Mr. W. N. Tribe ...	0	5	0	Mr. G. H. Williams ...	0	1	0
Miss Jane Tweedy ...	0	2	6	Mrs. Travers Wood ...	0	10	0
Mrs. Tyte... ..	0	1	6	Mrs. Wood	0	5	0
Miss J. Venning	0	5	0	Rev. J. B. Wrenford ...	0	5	0
Mrs. Walker	0	10	0	Miss Yardley	0	10	0
Miss Wansey	0	10	0	“ “ (don.)	1	0	0
“ “ (don.)	2	0	0	Miss D. Yardley	0	10	0
Mrs. Ward	0	5	0				
Mrs. Waring	0	2	6				
Mrs. Warren	0	5	0				
Mrs. Lewis Waterman ...	0	5	0				
Mr. Patrick Watson ...	1	1	0				
Mrs. Watson (Clifton) ...	0	5	0				
					£408	16	0



The Treasurer in Account with THE BRISTOL AND WEST OF ENGLAND SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

Receipts and Payments from January 1st, 1881, to December 31st, 1881.

RECEIPTS.		PAYMENTS.	
£	s. d.	£	s. d.
By Balance in hand from 1880	116 3 1	By Rent	20 0 0
Subscriptions and Donations	408 16 0	Salaries	173 0 6
Sale of Publications	4 11 6	Office Expenses (attendance, gas, fire, &c.)	11 10 2
Tickets	1 15 0	Public Meetings (halls, printing, advertising organizing and travelling expenses)	178 15 6
Rent for use of Office	0 6 6	Petitions	7 3 4
		Printing	18 0 6
		Stationery	10 11 2
		Women's Suffrage Journal and other Papers	37 16 4
		Publications	16 19 9
		Advertisements	4 7 6
		Postage and Carriage	39 5 11
		Travelling Expenses	11 13 2
		Balance in hand	529 3 10
			2 8 3
			£531 12 1

Bristol, January 16th, 1882.—Audited and found correct,

WILBERFORCE TRIBE.

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

FOURTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

Edinburgh National Society for
Women's Suffrage,

HELD IN

THE BIBLE SOCIETY HOUSE,

5 ST ANDREW SQUARE,

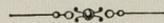
3d MARCH 1882.

EDINBURGH

PRINTING COMPANY, 41 CHAMBERS STREET.

1882.

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.



MRS M'LAREN, Newington House, *President.*

Miss ANDERSON, 8 Dryden Place.

Miss BURTON, Liberton Bank.

Miss CALDWELL, 2 Victoria Terrace, Portobello.

Miss CRAIG, 6 Carlton Street.

Mrs FERGUSON HOME of Bassendean.

Mrs HODGSON, Bonaly.

Mrs HOPE, 11 Polwarth Terrace.

Miss HOPE, 11 Polwarth Terrace.

Miss HUNTER, 5 Great Stuart Street.

Mrs M'QUEEN of Braxfield.

Dr AGNES M'LAREN, 3 Walker Street.

Miss M. MATHESON, 19 Northumberland Street.

Miss MURRAY, 2 Napier Road.

Mrs NICHOL, Huntly Lodge.

Mrs ORD of Muirhouseslaw.

Mrs PATERSON, 6 Bruntsfield Crescent.

Miss RAMSAY SMITH, 9 Bruntsfield Crescent.

Miss ELIZA STEVENSON, 13 Randolph Crescent.

Miss LOUISA STEVENSON, 13 Randolph Crescent.

Mrs WELLSTOOD, 6 Salisbury Place.

Mrs WIGHAM, 5 South Gray Street.

Miss A. CRAIG, 6 Carlton Street,
Miss SIMPSON, Selville, Portobello, } *Hon. Treasurers.*

Miss WIGHAM, 5 South Gray Street,
Mrs MASSON, 58 Great King Street, } *Hon. Secretaries.*

Miss E. KIRKLAND, 13 Raeburn Place, *Secretary.*

~~~~~  
This Society consists of all friendly to its object, and  
who subscribe to its Funds.



EDINBURGH

NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

ANNUAL MEETING.



THE FOURTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING of the EDINBURGH NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE, was held on 3d March 1882, in the Bible Society House, No. 5 St Andrew Square. Among those present were Mr David Dickson, Mr Duncan M'Laren jun., Mr Hugh Rose, Rev. John Glasse, Ex-Bailie Lewis, Mr J. H. Waterston, Miss Wigham, Mrs Shearer (Miss Helena Downing), London, Miss Blyth, Miss Burton, Mrs Nichol, Miss Stevenson, and others.

On the motion of Miss Wigham, who intimated that Mrs Duncan M'Laren, the President, who was to have occupied the chair, was prevented from being present owing to indisposition, Mr DAVID DICKSON was called upon to preside.

The CHAIRMAN, after expressing his sympathy with the objects of the movement, said they all regretted in every respect that Mrs M'Laren was unable to be present. Not only did they regret her absence, but they also regretted exceedingly the cause which had made her absence necessary. He was sorry to say she was much indisposed, and not able even to send them a communication of the nature which she was so well able to do. He considered their cause was very much won; the battle was fought and won, but the conditions of peace were yet to be signed. There had been no legislation carried through on the subject, but it was in the position of a question on which there was only one decided opinion, the difficulty of which was to put it into legislative shape. In short, the good ship was at the mouth of the harbour, but had not got into harbour yet. They must, therefore, use every exertion until their

object was attained. One good result had come of it. They would have an end put with regard to the lethargy in the public mind as to the responsibility of exercising the right to vote. He had been ashamed of the people who, after voting once or twice, thought they had no responsibility in the matter, and that it was a privilege which they might exercise just as they liked. A minister in the church in New York, he had heard of, included as one of his subjects for confession the sin of the non-use of the electoral suffrage; and he thought his worthy friends the ministers might include that as a subject, for the neglect of which their people should feel deeply sorry.

Miss WIGHAM intimated letters of apology from Professor Calderwood, Professor Masson, Rev. Mr Sandeman, Mr Charles Guthrie, Rev. Mr Forrest, Mr John Trayner, Mr Francis Brown Douglas, Mrs Nairn, Mrs Bain, Miss Maitland, and others. Miss Wigham also read the Annual Report as follows:—

“We cannot but admit while glancing over the proceedings of the year just completed, that it has been one of remarkable hopefulness in reference to the Women’s Suffrage question.

“Although the Bill for ‘Removing the Electoral Disabilities of Women’ was not introduced into Parliament, and there was no debate or division, yet tokens of cheer were so manifest, that we cannot but take courage while we press on and claim the help of our friends in the completion of our work of fifteen years.

“The principle that the votes of the governed should elect the governors, that the votes of the ratepayers should elect those who are to levy the rates, has had a manifest token of progress in the concession to women householders of the Municipal Franchise in Scotland. This privilege has been in the possession of the women of England for ten years, but it was only granted to women of Scotland in the year 1881; and women ratepayers are now recognised as electors in the same way as men are, and the same persons who now vote on the School Boards may henceforth vote in municipal elections. This is a very important concession, and a decided step towards the Parliamentary Franchise, while the vantage ground thus gained affords a firm position in the work of securing the greater electoral rank. It must be the business of all interested in this question, to endeavour to press on the new electors their responsibility to make use of the privilege granted them in such a way as shall most truly benefit the community. For this great gain the women of Scotland are mainly indebted to Dr Cameron, M.P. for Glasgow, who brought in the bill, and carried it through all its stages to successful issue, notwithstanding the great difficulty in carrying any measure in the House of Commons last year, and it received the Royal assent and became law on the 3d of June 1881.

“Owing to the state of Parliament, so disturbed by the Irish question, and hindered in all other matters that should have engaged the attention of our rulers, there was no opportunity to bring forward our question in the House; and therefore the efforts of our committee were not so much directed to bear on Parliament, as to the dissemination of information with a view to enlist public sentiment in the question, and to give an educational impulse to that portion of it who should shortly become electors in the country. We sent to Parliament only fifty petitions from Scotland, which were presented, bearing 6,181 signatures. As most of these were from women householders they possessed a significance and weight which the mere numbers could not indicate, and were much more valuable than a greatly more extensive signature of promiscuous names.

“A parliamentary election for the City of Edinburgh took place last year, also various changes in the representation of Scotland. The committee felt bound to wait by deputation on the new Lord Advocate, and on Mr Buchanan the new Member for Edinburgh, laying before them the object of our Association, and claiming their support in Parliament. These gentlemen received the deputations very courteously, and promised to consider carefully the right of women to the electoral franchise. It is to be hoped that the votes of these members will be recorded on the right side when the next division takes place in the House of Commons.

“Mr Hugh Mason is anxiously watching for an opportunity to ballot for a day to bring in his resolution. The electoral privilege was exercised by women in the Isle of Man on the 31st of March, when the General Election took place, and was open to the votes of 700 women, owners of houses and lands, as conferred by law and Royal assent the previous year. The interest manifested was so great, that at three of the polling places the first votes recorded were those of women.

“The work of agitation in our cause in England goes on vigorously. The sixth of the great demonstrations, of which five were mentioned in our last Report, took place at Bradford on November 22d; it was presided over by our own President, and our committee was also represented by three others of our members. The meeting was quite as important as its predecessors; the attendance was very large, and the resolutions were carried enthusiastically by the thousands of intelligent women who composed it; and the Liberal paper, the *Bradford Observer*, strongly supported our case. These resolutions were sent by Mrs M'Laren, by direction of the meeting, to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, and to the Members for Bradford, the Hon. W. E. Forster and A. Illingworth, Esq. Courteous responses were returned.

The Premier gave a promise that when the county franchise should come up for consideration, the claims of women ratepayers should be also considered; and Mr Illingworth gave a hearty pledge that the Women's Suffrage Bill should, as heretofore, have his support in Parliament. The response of the Right Hon. W. E. Forster was not so favourable, and we cannot help a feeling of surprise that a demand so just and simple should fail to commend itself to any just and intelligent politicians of the Liberal side.

"The seventh of these remarkable demonstrations has just taken place at Sheffield, with complete success, and it seems to have proved even more interesting than its predecessors. Another large gathering is to be announced in April in London; and we look forward to having similar gatherings in Scotland in the course of the summer or autumn. We hope similar enthusiasm and success will attend them.

"The fourth School Board Election has taken place in our city, and again two women have offered themselves for candidates, in the interests of education, especially the education of girls, and we are glad that the result of the voting has been to place Miss Flora Stevenson and Mrs Bain at the top of the poll with a single exception, and if the voters are counted rather than the votes these two ladies take the first places.

"Another subject which is claiming the awakened attention of women, is the great importance of having women as members of the Board of Poor Law Guardians,—to watch over the interests of the women and children, and the economical departments of the parochial administration. In many of the cities and towns of England ladies have been asked, and in many instances elected, to serve on these boards, and the experience following such elections has uniformly proved their value. We hope that in another year such an appointment may be made in the parish elections of this city, and that ladies who have votes as ratepayers will not hold back from their exercise with this important object.

"And we wish again to remind all our lady householder friends, that they are entitled to vote for members of the Town Councils in the month of November next; and we anxiously desire that they will conscientiously exercise this privilege as a Christian duty for the good of the community, that they will carefully study the test questions which are brought forward at municipal elections, and look into the interests which are at stake, and so record their votes in such a manner as to influence for good the Town Councils of our Scottish towns, and through them benefit all classes of citizens and dwellers in our midst from the highest even to the lowest, and thus go on in educational fitness to exercise the more extended franchise

which justly pertains to them. When we consider that the number of women in the United Kingdom exceeds that of men by more than a million, and that one-third of these women are actual bread-winners, earning wages; and when we add to this number that of those who in their own homes are self-supporting by their industry, this proportion is greatly increased, and their labour increases also the capital of the country to seven-tenths of the whole,—surely there is a just claim for their direct representation, and surely the effort to obtain this is not unworthy of every man and woman who profess to be interested in the general well-being of the nation."

Mr HUGH ROSE, in moving the adoption of the Report, said he had always felt ashamed, that in a country which was governed by a lady, who was, he unhesitatingly said, the best Sovereign that ever sat on the British throne, they should have to do what they were now doing, to bring before the people and educate the people as to the rights of women to have a share in the choosing of the legislators for our country. It was a maxim that was never departed from in this country, that taxation was entitled to representation. There was an exception to this rule by our law as it stood. There were three classes who were not entitled to their share in that representation. The first were the criminals, the second the idiots, and the third the women. Such was the law against which these ladies were protesting, and on which they were anxious to obtain the opinion of the country. All the ladies asked was, that those who were householders should be entitled to go to the ballot-boxes and say they had a right to elect the men who spent the money they paid towards the rates. That was a most reasonable demand, and fifty years hence people would be ashamed to believe that such an agitation as at present being carried on was necessary. The case was one of such common justice that he was ashamed to argue it, and was one which must come home to the common sense and good feeling of all those who looked at the question. He would waste the time of the meeting were he to attempt to argue in favour of such an Act being passed. The richest lady in the land was deprived, by the present state of the law, of the right to say who were to distribute the taxes she paid, while her coachman was favoured with the privilege to vote. He hoped the ladies would be sustained in the good work they were doing, and that ere long this ridiculous and unjust state of things would pass into oblivion.

Mr DAVID LEWIS seconded the resolution. He concurred in everything that had been stated by Mr Rose, and in the very admirable report. This was a question which would not suit argument. The first time he looked at it, many years ago, it was a question

which might have been submitted to some argument, but it was now past the region for discussion. The suffrage had been extended to females in regard to their municipal administration. They had also got the suffrage extended to the administration of educational questions. The suffrage was based upon a property qualification, and he did not see why women householders should not, as well as men, have the necessary Parliamentary qualification. Next November the Town Councils would be elected under the extended suffrage. Did they think there was any person in Edinburgh out of Morningside Asylum that could be got to believe or assert, that any Town Council elected in 1882 would not be as good as, if not better than, any of its predecessors elected under the former suffrage? Reference had been made in the report to the desirability of having ladies occupying positions in the administration of the poor laws. He could tell them, as one having a considerable experience as a poor law guardian, that he could not conceive they could have a greater advantage to the community than the practical adoption of this suggestion in the report. They had to consider the large number of women, and the immense number of dependents such as mere children, and in this they could conceive of a very good argument for the representation on the Parochial Board of ladies. He ventured to say that if this question was mooted at next election, it would be one of the most important questions which had been brought before the public.

Rev. JOHN GLASSE moved, "That in the opinion of this Meeting, the Parliamentary franchise should be extended to women who possess the qualifications which entitle men to vote, and who in all matters of local government have a right to vote, and that a petition based on this resolution be signed and forwarded to the House of Commons from this Meeting." He experienced difficulty in regard to getting up any enthusiasm on behalf of this resolution, as the thing seemed so utterly self-evident. The justice of this demand was so manifestly apparent, that really one could say nothing but the merest commonplaces in support of it. Dealing with some of the arguments urged against the proposal to give women the privilege of exercising the franchise, he said they were told that it was getting in the thin end of the wedge; they were asked where they were going to stop. Now, there was a good deal of sentimentalism in this argument. Persons who enjoyed the privilege of voting alone would be compelled ultimately to abandon that monopoly. Another argument one often met with from philosophic people, was in regard to the relative merits of the two sexes. The result of this argument was that women would never be men. Men, no doubt, were better fitted than women to serve society in one way, but that was no reason why

they should not be able to serve society at all. What they wanted was, that women should have the privilege of electing members of Parliament in precisely the same way as men. It was manifestly unjust to exclude women from this privilege, because any reasons which existed for giving men the franchise existed with equal force in giving women the franchise. They had a peculiar influence in the community, the same as men had. They saw this every day. As a matter of fact women had been wronged by the community, and they still maintained they were yet being wronged, and the only constitutional way in which they could redress those wrongs was that they should be privileged through their Parliamentary representatives to elect the Government that dealt with the affairs of the country. Some people said they had no interest in these matters, but he contended that there were matters of trade and also matters of morals in which women had an interest. It might be quite true that men could deal more justly with these things than they used to do, but at the same time they required, as matters of fact, to see that in those things that, however good their intentions might be, they did not overlook the interests of the women; and it was well that those who were specially interested in those things should have the power to bring them specially before the community. Then there was another thing which must be evident to them, and that was the fact that the Government had been waking to a sense of the injustice which women had hitherto suffered, and that there was really no justification for continuing what was the greatest of all injustices, namely, that the women were not competent to interest themselves in these matters, and bring them to a proper settlement. Women at the present time were under the government of a beneficent despot. Under certain circumstances he might be a useful individual, but in this country they never could apply to women what they were so unwilling to apply to themselves, and every one must see that they were not likely to receive rights and privileges at the hands of any despot, however beneficent. There was again another argument, that women had so much to do with household affairs and other things that they had not time to attend to political matters. He thought the argument was all the other way. He thought, as a rule, that women had more leisure than men; and one of the things which made him so much pleased with this modern movement for the emancipation of women was this, that the very fact that women were called upon to interest themselves in great public questions, gave them a training that raised them intellectually and morally above what they would otherwise be if shut out from their consideration. He thought the reason why the movement had not succeeded as well as it might have done might be seen in two ways. It was under the bann of the Conserv-

ative influence, the men of that political party believing in maintaining the present order of society. Then there was the objection on the Liberal side, that if they gave the women the franchise, they would be giving a strong Conservative vote,—that women by their very nature were Conservative. There was a little truth in that, but, as a strong Liberal, he appreciated the Conservatism that clung round old associations. The ladies, he knew, would manifest that kind of Conservatism in a way which one regretted to see so frequently absent in Liberalism, viz., by being more conscientious. It was easy at the present, he concluded, to convince the community that things were wrong; but having convinced them they were wrong, it was more difficult to induce them to abandon these things than put them right. He hoped that day he was assisting at the obsequies of the Society, and that ere another year had gone the Society would have fulfilled its functions, and obtained for the ladies what they deserved.

The CHAIRMAN then called upon Mrs Shearer, of London, to address the meeting. He remarked that Mrs Shearer would be better known to the meeting as Miss Downing.

Mrs SHEARER said, that throughout England large meetings had been convened in support of the movement, and that these gatherings had been arranged and conducted by women alone, thus showing that members of their sex could perform active work. It certainly was a wonderful sight to see great halls in London, Manchester, Sheffield, Bradford, Nottingham, and Birmingham crowded with eager and enthusiastic women, all unanimous in favour of asking this extension of the franchise. These demonstrations, she considered, were a conclusive answer to the argument that the women of this country did not want the suffrage. Even Sir Henry James, the Attorney-General, had practically admitted, that if the women of the country were anxious for the suffrage, he for one would be prepared to grant it. She maintained that the women of the country did desire it, and mentioned among those most prominent in the demand, Miss Carpenter, Miss Martineau, the late George Eliot, and other intellectual women of the time. Even drawing-room ladies were now beginning to take the subject into consideration, and it was becoming fashionable, so there was every hope of the subject being brought to a satisfactory conclusion. The thanks of the Society, and of women generally, were greatly due to Dr Cameron, who, since she was last in Scotland, brought in the Municipal Franchise (Scotland) Bill, which gave to the women rate-payers of Scotland the same rights which their English sisters had possessed since 1869. Next November every woman householder living in a municipal burgh in Scotland, would be entitled to vote

in the election of the town councillors for the burgh in which she resided. She hoped that the women of Scotland would exercise that privilege in large numbers. It was no light matter, because the good local government of the towns depended chiefly on what kind of men were returned at municipal elections. She did not know what money was collected annually in rates in Scotland, but it was estimated that in England and Wales the amount was somewhere about forty millions, while the Imperial taxation amounted to about seventy millions. By the municipal franchise women were allowed to have a voice in the expenditure of the forty millions, on the ground that women contributed to the rates, and that they, as well as men, were directly concerned in the good government of the town in which they resided. But surely this was applicable to the larger franchise as well. Women contributed their quota to the Imperial taxation as well as to the rates, and surely they were directly interested as well as men in the good government of the country. Was it not absurd—she would like to say illogical, only that want of logic was supposed to be specially a womanly defect, and she did not therefore like to accuse men of it—to grant the one franchise on the grounds which she had stated, and refuse the other, though based on precisely similar grounds? Some opponents said that women were not concerned in the great Imperial questions dealt with by Parliament. Where was there an Imperial question, she asked, which did not interest women as well as men? Take peace or war. There was no war in which the taxes of the people did not go up, and she was old enough to remember that during the Crimean war the bread went up to a shilling a loaf. That, of course, was a great matter to the women of the country. She was not one of those who advocated “peace at any price,” but she maintained that no great war should be entered into by the Government without the voice of the women as well as that of the men being heard. There were, besides, thirty thousand female landowners in England and Wales,—she did not know how many there were in Scotland and Ireland,—but surely when rents were to be raised or lowered it was a matter of consequence to them. It was said there was every probability of a Scotch Land Bill being introduced before long, and she would ask, was it fair—she did not care whether they were Liberals or Conservatives—that so important a question should be settled without the opinion of the female landowners being heard on the subject? Turning from imperial questions to matters affecting women exclusively, Mrs Shearer contended that men were not competent to deal with them unaided by the help of women. Indeed, women’s questions, like those of unrepresented classes generally, got shelved. A great Liberal statesman had said, in opposing the bill for the extension

of the Parliamentary franchise to women ratepayers, that women were not a class apart from men in the same way as the agricultural labourer was from the farmer, or the farmer from the landlord, but that women's interests were as near and dear to them sitting there in the House of Commons as they were by their hearths and firesides. This was very beautiful in theory, but when she turned from that speech and read the daily accounts of the brutal outrages upon women, she was reminded of that passage—

“It was all very well to be told of your love,  
But why did you kick me down stairs?”

She would read to the meeting an extract taken from an article in the March number of *Macmillan*, by Mr Macfarlane, and let them judge for themselves whether women's interests were always safe in the hands of men:—

| <i>Crimes.</i>                                                                | <i>Sentences.</i>         |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| Kicking a wife to death . . . . .                                             | 6 weeks hard labour.      |
| Picking a woman's pocket of 9s. (second offence)                              | 10 years penal servitude. |
| Knocking down a wife and kicking her savagely<br>in the face . . . . .        | 3 months hard labour.     |
| Stealing coals value 2s. . . . .                                              | 8 months hard labour.     |
| Trying to kill a wife with razor (second offence)                             | 12 months hard labour.    |
| Stealing watch value 30s. (second offence) . . . . .                          | 5 years penal servitude.  |
| Stealing a knife and keys . . . . .                                           | 5 years penal servitude.  |
| Striking violently in the face and indecently<br>assaulting a woman . . . . . | 40s. fine.                |
| Knocking down and kicking a woman twice . . . . .                             | £4 fine.                  |

Evidently the law is very much more careful of property than of life, at least when the life happens to be that of a woman, and particularly that of a wife. Remember that probably all of these men are voters, and can at the next election go up and record their votes, and so help to frame the laws, which women are bound to obey as well as men. They have a voice in saying what punishment shall be meted out to wife beater or wife murderer, yet no woman is permitted to record a vote which might in some small degree help to alleviate the lot of these outraged and miserable women. If they had women taking a public interest in the affairs of the country some remedy would have been found long before this to such administration of justice. If men were only put in the position of women for one week, she was perfectly sure there would be a revolution in the land.

Take again the position a wife was placed in who was deserted by her husband. She had been elected a guardian of the poor last year, and a few months ago a respectable young woman called at her private house to ask her advice under the following circumstances. Her husband was earning £15 or £16 a month, and a few weeks before she called at Mrs Shearer he left her and her

little child. The woman knew where her husband was living, and the small amount she had in hand being exhausted, she wished to know could she not compel her husband to contribute to her maintenance. The only remedy the woman had, as Mrs Shearer found on inquiry, was this,—to come on the parish, enter a workhouse, be separated from her child, put on a pauper's dress, and take a pauper's fare, and then the Board of Guardians could recover from the husband. Now she, Mrs Shearer, contended that this was a monstrous state of things, and that this decent respectable married mother, should at least have the same remedy as the unmarried mother had, viz., be able at once, before the nearest magistrate, to sue her husband for a maintenance, without being made a pauper first. Surely women's interests were not protected here. Other instances could easily be adduced. Even legislation, which had for its object the benefit, or supposed benefit, of women, often did more harm than good, as she believed was the case with the last Factory Act. At any rate, questions affecting the labour of women should not be decided without the opinion of women being heard on the subject.

In conclusion, Mrs Shearer urged upon all those present to take an increased interest in the movement, to spread a knowledge of their work throughout the length and breadth of Scotland, so that when she came in the autumn, as she hoped to do, to aid their committee in a Scotch demonstration, she would find the women of Scotland as earnest and as anxious about the matter as their English sisters were in the large manufacturing towns where she had been. They must of course be prepared for some opposition, perhaps for scoffing and ridicule, but their measure, like every good measure that was ever passed, was worth labouring for, was worth suffering for. If they believed in it, and yet shrank from upholding it, they must be prepared to be classed with those of whom the poet said:—

“They are slaves who dare not choose  
Hatred, scoffing, and abuse,  
Rather than in silence shrink  
From the truth they needs must think;  
They are slaves who dare not be  
In the right with two or three.”

Miss BURTON moved a vote of thanks to Mrs Shearer, who had proved most completely that women were not only able to vote, but to legislate pretty well on these matters. Mrs Shearer had stated her opinions, and would be able to maintain them both manfully and well. She thought they might certainly feel proud of having women able to express themselves so well and so cleverly on these subjects.

Mrs NICHOL seconded the motion, and in doing so said that

although they might not anticipate the realisation of the wish that they were all attending the obsequies of the Society, she hoped that the day was not far distant when the anomaly would cease to exist of women being allowed to vote at school board and municipal elections, and yet be debarred, whatever their position might be, from giving a vote for Parliamentary representatives.

Miss WIGHAM thought before they separated they should, as a women's meeting, express how thankful they were that the chance shot fired at Her Majesty, from whatever direction it came, was not fatal to the most beloved woman in the land.

The thanks of the meeting having been awarded to the Chairman, on the motion of Miss LOUISA STEVENSON, the proceedings terminated.

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INCOME and EXPENDITURE for the Year ending March 1882.

| INCOME.                     |          | EXPENDITURE.                                     |          |  |
|-----------------------------|----------|--------------------------------------------------|----------|--|
| Balance last year           | £50 2 5  | Expenses of Deputations                          | £7 0 0   |  |
| Subscriptions and Donations | 115 15 0 | Printing and Postage                             | 20 7 6   |  |
| Interest from Bank          | 0 8 7    | Subscription for <i>Women's Suffrage Journal</i> | 16 14 6  |  |
|                             |          | Leaflets, and other Publications                 | 3 17 0   |  |
|                             |          | Expenses of Secretary                            | 67 0 0   |  |
|                             |          | Advertisements                                   | 3 0 0    |  |
|                             |          | Rent of Committee-Room                           | 0 9 6    |  |
|                             |          | Balance                                          | 47 17 6  |  |
|                             | £166 6 0 |                                                  | £166 6 0 |  |

*10th April 1882.*—I have examined the Treasurer's Statement, with the relative Accounts and Vouchers, for the past year, and find the same correct.

ALEX. MATHESON, W.S.

ADDRESS

BY THE

REV. CHARLES GREEN,

*Vicar of St. Paul's, Beckenham,*

ON

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

DELIVERED IN

CHRIST CHURCH, LECTURE HALL,

TUESDAY, MAY 16th, 1882.

PRINTED AT THE OFFICE OF THE BECKENHAM JOURNAL,  
FOR THE BROMLEY BECKENHAM AND SHORT-  
LANDS BRANCH OF THE NATIONAL  
SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE,

## WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

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LADIES AND GENTLEMEN.—A clergyman will, doubtless, be thought by many to be coming somewhat out of his way in taking the chair at such a meeting as the present. It will therefore not be amiss if I briefly state the reasons which, as it seems to me, should array every minister of religion on the side of this movement for securing the extension of the Suffrage to women-householders. In so doing I shall not only be making my own position clear, but be putting before you at the very commencement of our proceedings a succinct, yet comprehensive, view of the real objects at which we are aiming. On the succeeding speakers will devolve the duty of taking up and enforcing particular points, with such illustrations and arguments as their special experience or sympathies may suggest.

Now, it will be universally admitted that a minister of religion ought always to be found on the side of justice and equity. But the claim we make that all women paying rates should be entitled to the parliamentary vote, is essentially a just one. Lord Chatham laid it down as a great principle of our constitution, going back as far as Magna

Charta, that "taxation apart from representation is tyranny." Do you call upon a man to contribute directly to the revenue of the nation? Then he has a right to say, unless specially disqualified, how the public money should be spent, and what laws should be inscribed on the Statute Book. It is on this principle that, within the last fifty years, both the great parties in the State—Radicals and Tories—have combined to extend the Suffrage. And we are now asking the question, why female-ratepayers should not have the benefit of the same great constitutional principle. Is it fair, is it common justice, that *they* should be held specially disqualified in company with criminals, idiots, and lunatics? Ladies and gentlemen, so irresistibly strong, so transparently reasonable, is our contention, that notwithstanding all the bitterness of party warfare, the leaders on both sides of the House have repeatedly spoken and voted in its favour. Here there is "neither Jew nor Gentile, bond nor free," but Lord Beaconsfield and Mr. Jacob Bright have found themselves in the same lobby, even Mr. Forster and Mr. Parnell could exchange embraces; and only the other day the *St. James' Gazette* and the *Pall Mall Gazette* were caught smiling with equal complacency over the success of the great meeting in St. James' Hall!

Again, should not a minister of religion always aim at both preaching and practising what is consistent with sound logic? Many people will perhaps say that this is just where our sermons so often fail—they are not logical! But in contending for the right of female-ratepayers to exercise the Parliamentary franchise, I think I may say that we occupy absolutely unassailable ground. Women are already empowered to vote in Municipal, Parochial, and School Board elections; the Legislature by recent Acts has given them that power for the simple reason that they are householders, and so may expect periodic visits from the tax-collector. Now, will any one explain to me by what rules of logic you can draw the line at the present

point, and say that a woman, because paying rates and taxes, should be held competent to assist in choosing Poor-law guardians, and members for our School Boards, but shall have no voice in sending representatives to St. Stephen's? To my understanding it seems a rank anomaly; and all the more grievous when, as in some recent cases, women have been called to pay heavily for a parliamentary inquiry into electoral corruption, with which they had on personal concern, and might possibly have had some power to check, if invested with the franchise.

Again, ought not a minister of religion to be deeply interested in any movement which promises to give us a higher and purer standard of political morality? He takes a very narrow view of the Church's work who supposes that our main, if not exclusive, concern is to get people ready for another world. All that can sweeten man's present lot, all that tends to make homes more happy, neighbours more kindly, and the law of righteousness co-extensive with the varied relationships of social, civic, and national life—these are objects which no true-hearted clergyman can feel alien to the work in which he is engaged. And therefore it is that I, for one, have been drawn to take an active part in this agitation for Women's Suffrage. I augur the happiest results from its success. You will hear it sometimes said that women know nothing of politics, and that women cannot reason. Well, be it so; though I would warn any adventurous members of my sex to think twice before challenging to dialectical combat ladies like Miss Frances Power Cobb, and some who are on this platform to-night. But, allowing all that may be asserted as to their lack of logical faculty, I contend that the intuitive judgments of women are often more to be relied on than the conclusions which we may reach by an elaborate process of reasoning. No man that has an intelligent wife, or who is at all accustomed to the society of educated women, will dispute this. Again and again you must

have known them decide questions on the instant, and with unerring accuracy, which you had been poring over for hours only to get deeper and deeper into a labyrinth of doubts. I hardly like to say that they achieve such feats by a sort of sagacity resembling the sure instincts of the animal races; and yet there does seem to be some ground for the remark of a witty Frenchman that, when a man has toiled step by step up a flight of stairs, he will be certain to find a woman at the top, but *she will not be able to tell how she got there!* How she got there, however, is of little moment. If the conclusions a woman has reached be sound, that is all that concerns us; and that they are very apt to be sound on the practical matters of domestic, secular, and religious life, nothing but prejudice or self-conceit can prevent us from acknowledging. And therefore, as there are many national subjects, such as the laws affecting marriage, pauperism, primary education, custody of children, public morality, sobriety, and so forth, on which the influence of women might be brought to bear with great gain to the country, I am anxious to see them entrusted with the parliamentary vote on the same conditions as those that enfranchise the members of my own sex.

But once more, should not every minister of religion be a man of sound common-sense? I don't say that he always is so gifted. Some lamentable instances to the contrary might be quoted. But supposing him to be possessed of this invaluable quality, then certainly, in my judgment, he would have nothing further to do with the question of Women's Suffrage, if it included the claim that wives as well as husbands should be empowered to vote, or that female-householders should be eligible for election to parliament. I have reason to believe that many are prejudiced against our movement in consequence of an impression that these are really among the objects we are aiming to secure. Accept my assurance, however, that it

is an entire mistake. I have made careful inquiry of those best likely to know, and have searched through the official papers of the Society, but I find no traces whatever of any such extravagant demands. Our programme is exclusively confined to this one point, that single women and widows, being householders, and rated to the value of £10 in Boroughs, and £12 in Counties, should be entitled to record their votes for members of Parliament. Be pleased therefore to keep this question of Women's Suffrage entirely distinct from all that may be meant by that vague yet ominous expression, "Women's Rights." These "Rights," I believe, are generally understood to include the right of women to leave the fireside and the cradle, to don any article they please of male attire, to contend with man in every arena of public life, and, in short, to subvert all the old relations of the sexes, and introduce a new era when all our hens will be expected to crow, and matrimony will have gone out of fashion unless husbands are prepared to "knock under" and take charge of the babies, while their wives are making brilliant speeches on the platform! Now, it is quite possible that some who are working with us may go a considerable length in this direction. We might naturally calculate on their hearty sympathy, but, as an Association, we are not in any way committed to their extreme views, and, for my own part, I must express a strong repugnance to them. To me the question seems to admit of a very simple solution. Were men and women designed by creation for the same kinds of service, endowed with the same mental aptitudes, and fitted for the same species of success and distinction, or were they not? If the history of their formation teaches anything; if the facts brought out by daily experience prove anything; if organization reveals anything; if that law of the Divine operations, by which different contrivances imply a variety of purposes, establishes anything—they were not. Having this strong conviction, I feel able to look upon the present

seething of opinion with much equanimity, and can bid you rest assured that the action of natural law, unaided by any mere artificial checks, will quite suffice to maintain the normal and healthy relations between men and women on which the welfare of society rests. The Poet Laureate, in fact, writing more than thirty years ago, anticipated all that subsequent thought and experience would suggest in those noble lines:—

“ The woman’s cause is man’s: they rise or sink  
Together, dwarf’d or godlike, bond or free :

\* \* \* \* \*

Leave her then space to burgeon out of all  
Within her—let her make herself her own  
To give or keep, to live and learn and be  
All that not harms distinctive womanhood.  
For woman is not undevelop’d man,  
But diverse: could we make her as the man,  
Sweet love were slain: his dearest bond is this,  
Not like to like, but like in difference.  
Yet in the long years liker must they grow;  
The man be more of woman, she of man;  
He gain in sweetness and in moral height,  
Nor lose the wrestling thews that throw the world;  
She mental breadth, nor fail in childward care,  
Nor lose the childlike in the larger mind:  
Till at the last she set herself to man,  
Like perfect music unto noble words;  
And so these twain, upon the skirts of Time,  
Sit side by side, full-summ’d in all their powers,  
Dispensing harvest, sowing the To-be,  
Self-reverent each and reverencing each,  
Distinct in individualities,  
But like each other even as those who love.”

# A PAPER

READ BY MRS. E. LYNCH,

UPON THE

## CLAIM OF WOMEN-RATEPAYERS

TO THE

## PARLIAMENTARY VOTE.

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1882.

THE  
CLAIM OF WOMEN-RATEPAYERS  
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As mere reiteration is necessary, and has perhaps its own virtue, I will not make much apology for having nothing new to say to you respecting Women's Suffrage, altho' I heartily wish a little novelty were possible. Lord Palmerston said that every political question had three stages. When in the first, it was pronounced that "the thing was ridiculous"; in the second, that "it was contrary to religion"; and in the third, that "every one knew it before"! Now, our question is fast approaching that third stage, and the nearer we come to this final condition the less possible novelty becomes. And I do feel thoroughly convinced that the day will soon arrive when we shall all marvel that Women's Suffrage was not the law of the land at this very time. And now, I will beg you to let me be very elementary, and "Begin at the Beginning." Although this involves a good deal of dullness, I think it is the most satisfactory course in the end.

It is a property qualification which gives a title to vote in *Parliamentary Elections*. All persons possessed of this property qualification, save criminals, idiots, lunatics, minors, and women, may vote in elections for Members of Parliament. That criminals, and the insane, and children, should, as such, be excluded from the privilege of the Franchise, is comprehensible. They can be shown, temporarily at all events, to be unfit for the exercise of a trust. But the ban is removable. A criminal becomes possessed of a vote, if, after he has undergone his penal sentence he owns a house in a borough of the rated value of £10, or upwards; or a £12 house in a county. The insane regain their power to vote, if they be qualified householders, when they recover their sanity—they may even vote in what lawyers call their "proven lucid intervals;" and children may grow up into adult, tax-paying citizens, and so become voters; but a woman, as a woman, is altogether outside the region of political privileges—the one right of petitioning Parliament excepted—and yet she is not exempted from the burden of those taxes which, in the case of men, carry with them the privilege of the Franchise. The women of the United Kingdom who are taxed on the amount of property requisite to give a vote, number

about 600,000; that is to say, they are nearly as one to six of the whole body of the Electorate.

When, 14 years ago, John Stuart Mill introduced into the House of Commons a Bill to restore the Parliamentary Suffrage to Women—for, in times past, women could, and did, vote—he said:—

“It is not just to make distinctions in rights and privileges, without a positive reason. I do not mean that the Electoral Franchise, or any other public Function in an abstract Right, and that, to withhold it from any one, on sufficient grounds of expediency, is a personal wrong; it is a complete misunderstanding of the principle I maintain, to confound it with this; my argument is entirely one of expediency. But there are different orders of expediency: all expediencies are not on the same level; there is an important branch of expediency called justice; and justice tho’ it does not necessarily require that we should confer political privileges on everyone, does require that we should not capriciously, and without cause, withhold from one what we give to another. As has been most truly said, \* \* \* to lay a ground for refusing the Suffrage to any one, it is necessary to allege either personal unfitness or public danger. Now, can either of these be alleged in the present case? Can it be pretended that women who conduct a business or manage an estate—who pay rates and taxes, often to a large amount, and frequently from their own earnings—many of whom are responsible heads of families, and some of whom, in the capacity of school-mistresses, teach much more than a great number of the male electors have ever learnt—are not capable of a function of which every male householder is capable? Or is it feared that were they admitted to the suffrage they would revolutionise the state, could deprive us of any of our valued institutions, or that we should have worse laws, or be in any way worse governed thro’ the effect of their suffrages? No one believes anything of the kind.”

“And it is not only the general principles of justice that are set aside, by the exclusive of women, merely as women, from any share of representation: that exclusion is also repugnant to the particular principles of the British Constitution. It violates one of the oldest of our constitutional maxims—a doctrine dear to reformers, and theoretically acknowledged by most conservatives—that Taxation and Representation should be co-extensive. Do not women pay taxes? \* \* \* If a stake in the country means anything, the owner of freehold or leasehold property has the same stake, whether it is owned by a man or by a woman.”

For the precedents for women’s voting, I cannot do better than refer you to the speeches delivered by Lord Talbot de Malahide on this question, for he traces the practise from comparatively recent time back almost to the Wittenagemot. Here, in this County of Kent, there existed at one time—perhaps there still exists—a right for women to vote under a charter of Elizabeth’s time; and Mr. Chisholm Anstey, in a learned book entitled, “On some supposed Constitutional Restraints upon the Parliamentary Franchise,” refers to Dame Dorothy Packington, whose sole vote elected, also in Elizabeth’s time, the two burgesses who represented Aylesbury. He refers, too, to the female burgesses of Tamworth who voted; and to similar cases at Ipswich, and elsewhere. Indeed, Mr. Anstey suggests things of which we, who ask for the Suffrage for Women householders, do not dream. He proves from ancient records that four lady-abbesses, were summoned, in right of their abbeyes, to attend Parliament in the 5th year of Edward I., and that in one year alone, the 35th of Edward III., there were nine Peeresses so summoned.

That women householders have a strong case, when claiming the Suffrage, can be abundantly shown. But the motive to make the claim derives its force rather from a sense of the wrongs of women than from a desire to vindicate their rights. The laws are cruelly hard on women. A great law-lord, Cairns, said: “The laws affecting women are the worst that disgrace the Statute-book.” An opinion in the same sense, tho’ from a different source, is that of the late Charles

Kingsley. Years ago, he wrote in *Macmillan’s Magazine*, with all his characteristic earnestness, in favor of Women’s Suffrage. He contended for it as justly due to such of us as are householders, and as a needed protection for women’s interests: and, near the close of his “Letters and Memoirs” there is a ballad, said to be the last poem he ever wrote. The *Contemporary Review* said of it:—

“It illustrates a crying wrong of women—the subjection of the personal and maternal rights of a wife to the will and power of a husband, who may be as selfish and cruel as the hero of the ballad. \* \* \* Many a riding-master, or circus-master has lived by his wife’s performances, and perhaps Kingsley had heard just then of some case very much like that of the main incident of the ballad (there was such an occurrence in London). Now, let us figure to ourselves a jaunty ruffian of that stamp, with his smoking-cap cocked loosely, and the music of the circus band in his head. He goes about to wheedle—and at last to bully—his wife into riding a dangerous horse.”

These are Kingsley’s words:—

“Are you ready for your steeplechase, Lorraine, Lorraine, Loree,  
You’re booked to ride your capping race, to day, at Coulterlee,  
You’re booked to ride Vindictive, for all the world to see—  
To keep him straight, and keep him first, and win the run for me.”

“She clasped her new-born baby, poor Lorraine, Lorraine, Loree,  
‘I cannot ride Vindictive, as any man might see,  
And I will not ride Vindictive, with this baby on my knee,  
He’s killed a boy, he’s killed a man, and why should he kill me?’”

“‘Unless you ride Vindictive, Lorraine, Lorraine, Loree,  
Unless you ride Vindictive, to day, at Coulterlee,  
And land him safe across the brook, and win the blank for me,  
It’s you may keep your baby for you’ll get no keep from me.’”

“‘That husbands could be cruel,’ said Lorraine, Lorraine, Loree,  
‘That husbands could be cruel, I’ve known for seasons three,  
But, oh, to ride Vindictive, while a baby cries for me,  
And be killed across a fence at last for all the world to see!’”

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

To return to prose:—

Mill elsewhere, in the speech from which I have already quoted, said:—

“I should like to have a return laid before this House of the number of women who are annually beaten to death, kicked to death, or trampled to death, by their male protectors; and in an opposite column, the amount of sentences passed, in those cases in which the dastardly criminals did not get off altogether. I should also like to have, in a third column, the amount of property, the unlawful taking of which was, at the same sessions or assizes, by the same judge, thought worthy of the same amount of punishment. We should then have an arithmetical estimate of the value set by a male legislature and male tribunals on the murder of a woman, often by torture continued thro’ years, which, if there is any shame in us, would make us hang our heads. Before it is affirmed that women do not suffer in their interests, as women, by the denial of a vote, it should be considered whether women have no grievances; whether the laws, and those practises which the laws can reach, are in every way as favorable to women as to men.”

In the *Women's Suffrage Journal*, a return something of the nature of that of which Mill spoke has appeared. When, month after month, a column or more, with the title, "Wife-murder," or "Wife-torture," was devoted to terrible cases, some not very astute critics complained that they could discover no connection between these ghastly records and the object for the furtherance of which the journal was established; but, surely, it does not need the insight of a Mill to discern the connection; in fact, a most eloquent panegyric on the beauty of the Representative System—a system which we are all taught from our earliest history lesson to revere—might be drawn from a study of the woes of the unenfranchised!

The cruellest of all the wrongs of women is that done to mothers under the sanction of the Laws regulating the custody of children. Let me extract a page from an old number of the *Westminster Review* in proof of this assertion:—

"The despotic powers of a father are by no means a dead letter. But a short time ago, a scene took place which shows what can be done, and what is done, under the sanction of man-made laws. The account went the round of newspapers in a paragraph entitled, "Painful scene in a Court of Justice." In the Irish Court of Queen's Bench, Mr. Justice Fitzgerald had a *habeas corpus* application made by the Rev. Henry Newenham, to obtain custody of his two children, Adelaide and Edith, who were under the care of their mother, Lady Helena Newenham, and her father Lord Mountcashel. His Lordship ordered that the younger girl, a child of about seven years, should be delivered up to her father; but the other girl, who is nearly 16, the age at which she is legally a free agent, having already expressed her unwillingness to comply with her father's wish, was permitted to exercise her choice. A painful scene occurred as an officer came into the court bearing the younger child, a pretty little girl, with long fair hair, and intelligent beyond her years. She screamed and struggled violently, exclaiming repeatedly: "Oh, must I? must I? Oh dear, I wont go to my father." Mr. Justice Fitzgerald took her up and spoke kindly to her, telling her, her father would be fond of her, and that her mother would often see her. To this, the child only replied again and again—"Oh, please, do let me do as I like. Don't send me away. Will mamma, ever see me again? grandpa, grandpa, where are you?" Mr. Justice Fitzgerald—"I shall take care of that my dear. Your mama will see you as often as she likes." Child, "Will it be every day? Tell me—will it be every day?" The Judge, "Oh yes; every day." Lord Mountcashel (who was much moved), "Knowing what I know, that is impossible. He is a devil." The Judge, "I am sorry I cannot leave the two sisters together. If I could, I would persuade you to that, Mr. Newenham. However, I hope you will allow free communication between the girls; and I must order that the mother be allowed to see her child as often as she wishes." Mr. Purcell, "Yes, my Lord: All reasonable opportunity will be given her." The child was then handed over to her father, who carried her out."

The Reviewer goes on to exclaim:—

"What a mockery to call the above a Court of Justice! a mother is to be allowed to see her child as often as she wishes, and a lawyer promises that all "reasonable opportunity" shall be given her. But suppose that on one of these "reasonable opportunities" on which the mother is "allowed" to see her child, she sees that the child is unhappy, or harshly treated, she cannot take it away, and the permission to "see" it, may only add to her agony. We appeal to every mother in the land to say, is that mother, and is that child, justly treated by this country's laws? Is it enough for those who are happy to say, "Those laws, tho' unjust, are a dead letter in my case; therefore, I take no care for these things?" As well might those who are warmed and fed, alleged their own sense of personal comfort as a reason why they should bestow no thought on the sufferings, or care for the relief of the cold, the hungry, and the naked. We ask all women who have happy homes to join us in trying to help those

women who have unhappy homes, or no homes. For it is only the happy who have strength to help. The unhappy are helpless entirely."

So says the Reviewer; and, indeed, the unhappy are generally utterly broken and helpless under their sorrows, but there have been some notable instances where the sufferings of a woman gave not only the motive, but the strength, to protest against the law's harshness. Mr. Arthur Arnold said of Mrs. Norton, that, "in the qualities of brilliancy and eloquence," she "was the most distinguished literary woman of her time," but that "her style was not employed in its perfection to protest against any other wrongs or to depict other sorrows than those which had pierced her own heart." "Mrs. Norton's infant children were taken from her," Mr. Arnold goes on to say. "under circumstances which could be repeated to day, the blameless wife having power to reclaim them only by petition," "and under certain conditions. It was upon the occurrence of this cruel addition to her already great wrongs that the chief of the distinguished counsel who had been opposed to her claims declared that there had never been a more deeply injured woman."

Mrs. Norton herself wrote of the event thus:—

"What I suffered respecting those children God knows, and He only; what I endured, yet lived past,—of pain, exasperation, helplessness, and despair, under the evil law which suffered any man, for vengeance or for interest, to take baby children from the mother—I shall not even try to explain. I believe *men* have no more notion what that anguish is, than the blind have of colors; and I bless God that mine was at least one of the cases that drew attention to the state of the law."

In comment, Mr. Arnold wrote:—

"The natural claim of the mother to the guardianship, on the death of the father, is still denied by Parliament; and in case of separation or divorce, a blameless, virtuous woman,—the only proper and efficient guardian for the children of a vicious and profligate father—is mocked by processes of law which, being complied with, enable her to obtain possession of her children, but only to the age of 16. To get even this measure of justice, she must exhibit the fact that it is not her's by law; she must petition a judge of the Chancery Division, who "may" thereupon order that her claim, founded on natural right, upon most obvious equity, and fraught with the clearest benefit to the infant children, shall be acknowledged."

In one of the best pamphlets ever written on our question, "Women's need of Representation," Miss Robertson instanced case after case of mothers' wrongs—the Hawkesworth, the Garnett, the Marson, and the Purcell cases—These suits have been familiar to me for years, yet I cannot read them over even now without my blood freshly boiling with indignation, and, since then the Agar-Ellis case, and others less noteworthy by reason of the social position of the parties to the suits, drew renewed attention to the state of the law regulating the custody of children. Happily, men are better than the laws they have made, otherwise there would be more frequent injustice done, with legal sanction, to mothers. After speaking on so heartrending a topic as this, it would now seem almost trivial to turn to grievances respecting married women's property, to galling restrictions placed, under the recent Factories Act, upon the labor of women, or of injustice done to us all in the matter of education, yet these things call for reform, and their present condition is productive of much suffering. This, I hope, the able speakers who are to follow me, and who are thoroughly conversant with details, will prove to you.

There are many energetic and gifted workers who are giving the best efforts of their best years to the attempt to obtain the redress of the property, the educational, and other grievances of women; but it seems to many of us, who work to gain the Suffrage for Women, that it would be better ultimately even for their own special object, if all these workers in separate fields were to concentrate their efforts, joining with us to obtain the vote; for, once represented, women would immediately influence legislation,

and, naturally, principally at first in their own questions, and in defence of their own interests. Years ago, Mr. Jacob Bright said that the House of Commons was as sensitive to the influence of every class of the enfranchised as mercury is to the weather. The Suffrage has been described as "the 19th century talisman." It is very instructive to mark how class interests occupy the attention of Parliament exactly in proportion to the connection between the classes and the Franchise. Since the passing of the last Reform Bill, the working classes have obtained an amount of legislative attention until then unheard of, and even incredible. If 600,000 widows and spinsters had votes, how long would the present inequalities of the laws as between men and women be allowed to exist?

And when these grievances have all been swept away, the *rationale* of the woman-householder's vote will not also depart. If Household Suffrage be still the law of the land, women will be entitled to point to the taxes they pay, and claim the vote as the privilege accruing to those who fulfil the statutory qualifications. They will need, too, the vote, as a protection against possible, hurtful, future legislation. Questions are, even now, continually cropping up in Parliament which are of the greatest consequence to women. A Bill of Mr. Ashton Dilke's, introduced on the 19th of April, proposes to throw the expenses of Parliamentary Elections on the Ratepayers. Now, will it be fair, if this Bill becomes law, that Women Ratepayers,—who, as Mr. Yorke humorously observed, have not even had an opportunity of being bribed,—shall each be required to contribute their quota to the Election Expenses-rate? Moreover, "many of us look" (I quote from *the Examiner*), with a sense of humiliation upon the position given to women in a nation in which every man and no woman (Queens excepted, but then they are rare) is held to be capable of taking an interest in the commonwealth.

Mr. Gladstone wrote in the *Nineteenth Century*—"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."

The present Post-Master-General said in one of his great speeches that his Parliamentary life brought to his notice more and more vividly, the strong and increasing force exercised by the outside world on the proceedings of the House; but I feel sure Mr. Fawcett meant that portion of the outside world which elects members, and has votes.

The other night, Mr. Trevelyan, during the County Franchise Debate, spoke of a great part of the rural population as having "nothing to do with taxation except to pay it, and with the laws except to obey them,"—a passage most applicable to the claims of women-householders! The whole of that debate was full of arguments that "made" for Women's Suffrage. Mr. Stanhope, who opposed the resolution for assimilating County to Borough Franchise, pointed out the applicability to our question of the arguments on Mr. Trevelyan's side. I thought it of hopeful augury for us that Mr. Gladstone said he felt that, hitherto, every widening of the electorate had been beneficial in its effects on the community at large.

Just before the General Election, in a speech at Dalkeith, the present Prime Minister addressed himself principally to his lady-hearers. I need hardly quote words which we all read, and most of us, probably greatly admired. I confess that, for me, the effect of the Premier's eloquence was much weakened by the recollection that he had refused to give women the direct power to control those affairs for which he so earnestly solicited their influence. When he begged for the influence of those ladies at Dalkeith on the side of "Peace, Retrenchment, and Reform," it must surely have occurred to some of his hearers to wonder how they could put his lessons into practice. Probably many of the most thoughtful and intelligent of the ladies Mr. Gladstone addressed were forced to admit to themselves that they, individually, had little, or no, influence with politically powerful male relatives and friends. It is a doubtful question whether *any one* is fitted largely to exercise this irresponsible, indirect influence, and it is observable

that,—speaking generally—those women who possess most of it, are amongst those least qualified to use it well. To be young, and to be pretty, is to be endowed with the power to influence men; but neither youth nor beauty afford any guarantee for wisdom! *Fitness* for influencing often grows in direct ratio with the *wane* of the power to influence drawn from youthful charms; and I daresay we can all call to mind at this moment women who are experienced, wise, and cultivated, yet who exercise on almost every man they meet that special kind of influence which can only be described as repulsion!

It is consoling to know that an influential meeting was held at Dalkeith, in the very hall in which Mr. Gladstone had appealed to his countrywomen "ungrudgingly to open their own feelings and play their own part in the political crisis"—which meeting affirmed that the only lawful, practical, and quiet way by which women could take part in politics was by the exercise of the Parliamentary Suffrage.

Objections to granting the Franchise to women householders are brought forward by some, and dignified by the inappropriate name of reasons. I will not discuss them, feeling strongly that if women can establish their right to vote,—or rather, if women can show that there is no valid ground for prolonging their exclusion from the privilege of the suffrage—then, their claim should be allowed on the old-world principle that we ought to "be just, tho' the heavens should fall." Few objectors have anything to urge against Women's Suffrage in itself, and a brilliant writer, Mrs. Webster, pleaded that it was unfair "to discuss, *a propos* of a Bill for not withholding votes from husbandless females who have achieved the masculine distinction of paying rates and taxes, the theory of marriage; Adam and Eve; Physiology; Psychology; the Paradisaical (or Miltonic), Subordination of Women; ministering Angels; the right of Man to have his dinner cooked by Woman; the possible influx of lady-bishops; and things in general."

Lord Palmerston originated a common-sense maxim, which seems to me eminently appropriate in this connection: "Yield to day that which is reasonably asked, and resist to-morrow that which you will be right in resisting; but do not put yourself in the wrong to-day, merely for fear you may prove to be right to-morrow."

Permit me to end as I began—with a double apology. Firstly, I want to beg you not to say I have wandered from my subject when I have given instances of what I conceive to be some of the grievous hardships of the legal position of women of England. The other night at the St. James' Hall Meeting, Mrs. Ronald Shearer, who next Tuesday is going to address our Beckenham Public Meeting, said, you may ask uninformed people, do they care for Women's Suffrage, and they will probably say, not at all! "But," she said, "ask them: Do you think a mother ought to have *some* rights over her children? Do you think that married women should own their property, instead of its being confiscated, as it is, in Common Law, now? Do you think the factory women ought to be free to do the best they can with their labour? and they will say an unequivocal Yes, Well," she added, "*that*, practically, means Women's Suffrage." Those who uphold the superiority of the Representation System and at the same time declare women's interest don't need the protection of the vote, remind me of the Chartist of whom we have heard, "He was only a Chartist because he was not a Lord!" I have high and respected local authority for saying, *a propos* of the vote for qualified women: "What's sauce for the Gander, is sauce for the Goose!"

And next, I may have so worded part of what I have said as to give the idea that I look upon men as monsters, and all women as innocent victims. Now, nothing can be father from my thought! For the purposes of my argument it will be enough if you admit that *some* men are indeed "monsters," and that the law sanctions their tyrannising over some women—and this, to the grievous hurt not only of the victims, but of the tyrants also!

*Bromley, Beckenham, and Shortlands Branch*

OF THE

NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

RULES

1.—This Branch of the Society shall consist of a General Committee and an Executive Committee.

2.—Sympathy with the object of the Society, and the subscription of one shilling a year, or upwards, constitutes membership of the local General Committee.

3.—The Executive Committee for 1882 shall consist of Mrs. H. Harvey, Rev. C. Green, Mrs. Green, Mrs. C. Chater, Mrs. James Macdonell, Miss Isabel Willis, Mrs. E. Lynch, with power to add to their number.

4.—An annual meeting of the members of the General Committee shall appoint the Executive Committee for the ensuing year.

5.—The Executive shall meet once monthly if the Secretary see fit to call a meeting, or oftener if necessary.

6.—The Executive may call a General Meeting at any time that half its members see reason to do so.

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

8.—These Rules shall not be altered except at a General Meeting, and after eight days notice.

9.—At the end of the year, half the Committee's Balance in the Treasurer's hands shall be handed over to the funds of the Central Committee of the National Society for Women's Suffrage.

Hon. Secretary :—Mrs. Harvey, 8, Bromley Grove, Shortlands, from whom pamphlets, forms of petition, and all information, may be obtained.

Hon Treasurer :—Miss Isabel Willis, Plaistow, Bromley.

*Bromley, Beckenham, and Shortlands Branch*  
OF THE  
NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

The object of this Society is, to obtain for Women the Parliamentary Franchise, on the same conditions as it is, or may be, granted to Men.

The result of the achievement of the Society's object, under the present state of the law regulating Parliamentary Elections, would be to enable Single Women and Widows, who are householders, in Boroughs, of the rated value of £10 or upwards, or who are householders or land-owners, in Counties, of the rated value of £12 or upwards, to record their votes for Members of Parliament.

The BROMLEY, BECKENHAM, and SHORTLANDS BRANCH of the Society seeks to secure this object by spreading information on the question in various ways:—through the local press; by the gratuitous distribution of pamphlets; by holding meetings for the discussion of the subject;—and by promoting petitions to Parliament in favor of Women's Suffrage, etc.

*List of Members of the General Committee :—*

Joseph Allen, Esq., Shepherd's Green, Chislehurst.  
Mrs. Joseph Allen, Shepherd's Green, Chislehurst.  
F. Alliston, Esq., The Ferns, Beckenham.  
W. Atkinson, Esq., Erwood House, Beckenham,  
Mrs. Atkinson, "  
Rev. Y. A. Barrington, West Wickham Rectory, Beckenham.  
Mrs. Barrington, West Wickham Rectory, Beckenham.  
Miss Barron, Strode House, Beckenham.  
Miss Browning-Hall, Ravenswood, West Wickham.  
Miss E. Browning-Hall, Ravenswood West Wickham.  
Mrs. F. Chater, The Hollies, Beckenham.  
A. H. Crowther, Esq., Holly Lodge, Keston.  
T. Davis, Esq., Birkenfield, Bromley.  
J. Drew, Esq., M.D., 4, Foxgrove Road, Beckenham.  
Mrs. Drew, 4, Foxgrove Road, Beckenham.  
Rev. C. Green, The Vicarage, New Beckenham.  
Mrs. Green, The Vicarage, New Beckenham.  
Mrs. A. Weguelin Greene, Foxgrove Road, Beckenham.  
Mrs. Harvey, Bromley Grove, Shortlands.  
Miss Harvey, Bromley Grove, Shortlands.  
Arthur Jackson, Esq., Kennal Wood, Chislehurst.  
Mrs. A. Jackson, Kennal Wood, Chislehurst.  
Mrs. E. Lynch, Strode House, Beckenham.  
Mrs. James Macdonell, Shirley House, Beckenham.  
Miss Eliza Orme, Bedford Park, Chiswick, S.W., and 27, Southampton Buildings.  
W. Campbell Russell, Esq., Furze-field, Chislehurst.  
Mrs. C. Russell, Furze-field, Chislehurst.  
Rev. Wm. Welsh, M.A., Ashfield, Beckenham.  
Miss I. Willis, Plaistow, Bromley.

OBSERVATIONS  
ON  
WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

BY  
VISCOUNT HARBERTON.

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PUBLISHED BY THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF  
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64, BERNERS STREET, LONDON.  
1882.  
PRICE ONE PENNY,

OBSERVATIONS ON WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

OBSERVATIONS ON WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

IN approaching the subject of the Extension of the Franchise to Women one is at once met by the difficulty of saying anything on the subject that has the least show of novelty or bringing forward any arguments that have not been a thousand times repeated. The adversaries of the movement indeed, are themselves ready for the most part to admit the *primâ facie* validity of what has been urged in its favour; and it has become sufficiently clear that it is not so much the measure itself against which their opposition is directed, as the principle which it involves. It arises in fact from a totally different conception of the rights, duties and position of women from that which is held by its supporters. As regards, indeed, the men who take the negative side of the question, it is much more a matter of feeling than abstract reasoning and therefore bears a strong resemblance to those religious controversies where neither side has a common ground of argument, or can entertain a reasonable hope of acting upon or convincing the other. Indeed, some of the opponents have taken a religious ground in this very matter and have discovered, to their own satisfaction, that the Bible is clearly opposed to woman's suffrage. As, however, clergymen and others as religious as themselves, who have taken the opposite

view can find there nothing of the kind, I think we may allow those gentlemen to fight out the point among themselves. And I do so the more readily, because, as far as my experience goes, every party find what they disapprove of themselves condemned in the Bible, while their adversaries on the other hand, so far from being convinced of this, are persuaded that it is rather inculcated. Nor, so far as I know, do they ever come to an agreement, except, indeed, in lamenting the power of prejudice in blinding men's eyes to what is clear as daylight if they would but see it.

For my part, I would venture to say that as regards the extension of the franchise to women, we are not likely to obtain any more particular information from the Bible than with respect to the lodger franchise. If, however, we are convinced that their admission to it will be for their benefit and that of mankind in general, in doing our best to bring this about we shall be at least obeying the precept to love our neighbour as ourselves and as to that being found in the Bible, there cannot, I suppose, be much doubt or dispute.

As, however, after all, if women are ever to obtain the suffrage it must depend in a great measure on themselves, and nothing can be more fatal to this object than their indifference or hostility, I would wish to point out how they are affected by the principles at issue and how their dearest interests are concerned in this question. If, indeed, it were only the unfeeling and the vicious, bad fathers and bad husbands, who were opposed to the suffrage (although it would be difficult, I think, on the other hand, to find any such persons who are in favour of it) there would be little need of any further argument on the subject. But when we find men who profess, and with sincerity, a strong desire for the welfare of women and who even admit that

they are often unjustly dealt with in the present constitution of society; when we find, I say, men of this stamp arguing and protesting against women's suffrage their views are no doubt entitled to be respectfully considered. But in considering them let a woman carefully observe on what estimate of the moral and intellectual capacities of her sex they are based. If this estimate is such as she can in justice to herself and her fellow-women adopt, then, but not otherwise, she will be justified in accepting them. For my own part, if any woman will fairly weigh the principles at issue on either side, I have little doubt as to the conclusion she will arrive at, speaking generally. There can in any case be no comparison between the case of those women who are opposed to the suffrage after fairly examining the question, and those who are against it from mere apathy and indifference.

A very few examples will sufficiently illustrate what I mean.

One of the stock arguments, as we all know, is that a woman has no business with politics. She has her husband and her house and her children to look after; that is her true sphere of activity. Now setting aside the fact that this is not a question of duties but of rights, of whether women who are ratepayers and householders are or are not to have the suffrage to which their qualifications entitle them, let us see what this argument amounts to. A man who uses it can hardly look upon any woman as fit to be his friend or companion. What he wants is a good house-keeper and head nurse who will make his home comfortable and be at once useful and ornamental. All this is very well, and I am far from disputing the value of it, but a man ought, I think, to look for something more for his own sake and still more on behalf of his children. A man who takes an intelligent interest in public affairs, as all men ought to

do, can hardly have a real respect and value for a woman who is incapable of sympathising with him in these matters, or sincerely look upon her as an equal or companion. Nor can he hope that as a mother she will stimulate the intelligence and develop the moral nature of her children, as no one but a mother can do so effectually, and which can hardly be done by any mother who has no thoughts or ideas beyond the narrow circle of her home. It seems to me, therefore, that those who would say that women do not require votes, because they have nothing to do with politics, take a somewhat low and narrow view of their place in the world, and while they prize, and justly prize, their usefulness as wives and mothers, fail to see, that in seeking their proper place as citizens, they are so far from neglecting their duties, that they are qualifying themselves to perform them more efficiently.

Again we are told that women have nothing to gain by the suffrage, which will not be as effectually obtained for them by the efforts of men on their behalf. It is admitted that, as regards women's rights to their property and earnings, and, what touches them even more nearly, their right to the care of their own children, the law, as it stands at present, leaves much to be desired. But the progress of civilization, it is urged, has done much and is doing still more to mitigate these evils. This is true as far as it goes, but this progress is somewhat slow and imperfect, and, such as it is, to what is it due? Chiefly, I think, to the growth of a public opinion among women on these points which has acted in its turn, as it could not fail to do, on men who are not devoid of sympathy or a sense of justice. Now are these women who have borne a part in stirring up their fellows to a sense of their position, and these men who have sought to obtain a larger share of justice for women, in favour of the suffrage or against it? There can, I sup-

pose, as regards women, be but one answer to this question and speaking generally, the same will apply to men. Among men who desire to treat women fairly and justly you may find those who think the suffrage would be of little benefit to women, or that it might even place them in a position of antagonism to men, but out and out opponents of it never. To convert them little more is required than that women should show they themselves desire it as a body and that not to act in opposition to men, but to protect themselves from two different kinds of injustice inflicted on them by law. The one arises from the old barbarous notion that because women are weaker than men, they are therefore unfit to have any control over their own property in the married state, or to have any voice in the bringing up or disposal of their children. The other presents itself in a more modern and specious form. It shows itself in those enactments which are nominally for the protection of women, but in reality are simply hindrances to their earning their living. And when you consider that those who, whether ignorantly or from worse motives, advocate these measures have votes while those who are to be affected by them and know the mischief of them have none, it is easy to see which side has the chances in its favour. All these evils arise from the fixed idea, common to all opponents of the suffrage, that women are to be classed with children as beings without judgment sufficient to enable them to take care of their own interests and therefore for their own good to be kept under a perpetual tutelage. But as this hypothesis is false to start with, nothing but absurdity and injustice can come of it. If women can only be protected from brute force, they are as well able to look after their own interests as men are, provided they receive the proper training to enable them to do so.

These are the principles on which the suffrage is claimed

for women, and no greater step could be made towards enforcing them than to obtain it. Once let women be admitted to the suffrage, and it will give an immense help to the general acceptance of the following propositions, as to which most thinking women and not a few of the leaders of opinion among men, are agreed.

- 1.—That girls are entitled to as good and thorough an education, mental and physical, as boys are.
- 2.—That women, married or single, should have as full a control over their property and earnings as men have.
- 3.—That the claims of married women to the management and possession of their own offspring should be settled on equitable principles, and not be subject to a mere legal presumption of the absolute right of the father.
- 4.—That grown-up women, like grown-up men, should be free to engage in such work as they think proper, on such terms and for as long a time as they may see fit.

HARBERTON.

JOHN BALE & SONS, Steam Printers, 87-89, Gt. Titchfield Street, W.

# ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

## Central Committee

OF THE

# NATIONAL SOCIETY

FOR

## WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE,

64, BERNERS STREET, LONDON, W.

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PRESENTED TO THE GENERAL MEETING, JULY 13TH, 1882.

## 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.

### Executive Committee.

1882-83.

|                                                 |                                     |
|-------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| *Mrs. ASHFORD, (Birmingham).                    | Mrs. JOHN HOLLOND.                  |
| *Miss BECKER (Manchester).                      | C. H. HOPWOOD, Esq., Q.C., M.P.     |
| ALFRED W. BENNETT, Esq., M.A.                   | Mrs. JOHN HULLAH.                   |
| Miss CAROLINE ASHURST BIGGS.                    | Mrs. LUCAS.                         |
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| Miss F. POWER COBBE.                            | *Mrs. DUNCAN McLAREN (Edinburgh).   |
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| LEONARD COURTNEY, Esq., M.P.                    | Mrs. F. PENNINGTON.                 |
| Mrs. ASHTON DILKE.                              | Miss REEVES.                        |
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| E. B. EASTWICK, Esq., C.B.                      | *Mrs. OLIVER SCATCHERD (Leeds).     |
| Mrs. H. FAWCETT.                                | *Mrs. SHEARER (Nottingham).         |
| Miss AGNES GARRETT.                             | Miss LILLIE STACPOOLE.              |
| Miss RHODA GARRETT.                             | Mrs. JAMES STANSFELD.               |
| Mrs. R. GLOVER.                                 | *Rev. S. A. STEINTHAL (Manchester). |
| *Rev. C. GREEN (Bromley).                       | J. S. SYMON, Esq.                   |
| *Mrs. ASHWORTH HALLETT (Bristol).               | Miss HELEN TAYLOR.                  |
| Viscountess HARBERTON.                          | Mrs. PETER A. TAYLOR.               |
| THOMAS HARE, Esq.                               | J. P. THOMASSON, Esq., M.P.         |
| *Mrs. HASLAM (Dublin).                          | Mrs. THOMASSON.                     |
| Miss K. HILL.                                   | *Miss TOD (Belfast).                |
| FREDERIC HILL, Esq.                             | Miss WILLIAMS.                      |
|                                                 | *Miss YOUNG (Glasgow).              |

\* Delegate from Local Association.

Secretary—MISS BECKER. Assistant Secretary—MISS TORRANCE.

Treasurer—MRS. CHARLES McLAREN.

Bankers — LONDON AND COUNTY BANK, 441, OXFORD STREET, W.

Office—64, BERNERS STREET, LONDON, W.

## REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,

1882.

IN presenting their Annual Report this year, your Committee are in the unprecedented position of doing so on the eve of an expected debate in the House of Commons on the Resolution for which Mr. Mason has been endeavouring to obtain a place all through the session, and which now stands on the paper for Friday, July 21st inst.

The terms of the Resolution are as follows:—

“That in the opinion of this House the Parliamentary Franchise should be extended to Women who possess the qualifications which entitle men to vote, and who in all matters of local government have the right of voting.”

This Resolution was set down for June 23rd, but the whole of the sitting was appropriated by the Government for discussion on the Prevention of Crime Bill. Mr. Mason balloted again for that day four weeks. Although he did not obtain the first place, he is enabled by the courtesy of Mr. Arthur Arnold, who had gained the first place for a motion on the land laws, but who generously waived his right in Mr. Mason's favour,—to secure the first place on that night for the discussion of the Resolution relating to the Franchise for Women.

Your Committee have adopted every means in their power to support Mr. Mason's action, and they desire to take the opportunity afforded by the presentation of their Report, of urging all their friends, in and out of Parliament, to redouble their efforts, and to leave no means untried which can tend to influence a favourable division on Mr. Mason's Resolution in the House of Commons.

There also stand in the Order Book of the House of Commons the following notices in the names of Mr. Mason and Mr. Anderson :—

“ In Committee on Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Bill,

“ Mr. Mason to move the following addition to Mr. Broadhurst’s proposed clause, that returning officers’ expenses be paid out of the rates :

“(3) That all persons liable to be rated under this Act for expenses incurred at or for the purpose of any election by a returning officer, shall be entitled to be registered as electors, and to vote at such election, any law or usage to the contrary notwithstanding.”

“ Mr. Mason to move the following clause (Persons rated for expenses to be registered electors) :—

“ That all persons liable to be rated for expenses under the Election Commissioners Acts, 1869 and 1871, shall be entitled to be registered as electors, and to vote at Parliamentary elections, any law or usage to the contrary notwithstanding.”

“ In Committee on the Ballot Act Continuance and Amendment Bill,

“ Mr. Anderson to move, in that part of the Bill affecting Scotland, in clause 16, page 5, line 14, after ‘ modifications,’ to insert the following sub-section :—

“ The provisions of the Municipal Franchise Amendment (Scotland) Act, 1881, relating to the Franchise for Women, shall be extended to Parliamentary elections.”

Your Committee record with great satisfaction a fresh extension of Women’s Suffrage in local elections in Scotland, which has been achieved through the efforts of Dr. Cameron. The Municipal Franchise (Scotland) Act of last session conferred the Municipal Suffrage on women ratepayers

in Royal and Parliamentary Burghs, to the same degree as it is enjoyed by women under the English law. The measure did not extend to police burghs—populous places endowed with powers of local self-government under the General Police and Improvement Act, 1862. A demand for a similar extension of the franchise to women having reached Dr. Cameron from these police burghs, he this session introduced and carried an Act (45 Vic. c. 6), entitled, “ The General Police and Improvement Act, 1882,” which gives to women ratepayers who come under it the right, not merely of voting at elections of burgh commissioners, but also of voting with the other inhabitants as to whether a populous place should be constituted a police burgh or not.

Your Committee feel that the cordial thanks of this Society are due to Dr. Cameron, for his successful effort in obtaining legislation conferring on women in Scotland the right to vote in municipal elections, and thereby giving so strong an impetus to the movement for the extension of the suffrage to Parliamentary elections.

A great meeting was held on April 24th, in St. James’s Hall, under the presidency of Mrs. Fawcett, which was highly successful. Meetings have been also held in London, in New Cross, Clapham, Islington, Bayswater, and Chelsea. Large and successful meetings have been held in Lewes, Peterborough, Southampton and Southsea.

The town of Lewes was incorporated as a Municipal borough last autumn ; your Committee organized a meeting to explain to the women householders the value and responsibilities of the municipal vote. Your Committee learned with satisfaction that about seven-eighths of the women on the register recorded their votes at the November election.

Drawing-room meetings have been arranged by the kindness of various ladies and gentlemen as follows :—by

General W. E. Napier, at Government House, Yorktown ; by Mrs. Green, at the Vicarage, near Beckenham ; by Mrs. T. Taylor, at 1, Hyde Park Gardens ; by Mrs. Harvey, at Bromley Grove, Shortlands ; by Mrs. Thomas Stevens, at 10, Campden Hill Gardens ; by Sir William and Lady Power, at Holland Park ; by Mrs. Thomasson, at 11, Great Stanhope Street ; and by Mrs. Reeve Lay, at Volage Villa, Southsea. These meetings were addressed by deputations formed of members of your Committee. Your Committee here express their thanks to those ladies and gentlemen who have aided the cause by organising these assemblies. They desire to call especial attention to the value of such meetings for discussion in private houses, and to urge all who have the means of calling together a large or a small circle of friends, to aid the Committee by organising at least one meeting during the season.

Your Committee during May, June and July, issued cards of invitation to friends and subscribers to the Society, for a series of afternoon receptions of a social character, at their Offices, 64, Berners Street. These gatherings afforded an opportunity of bringing together many who sympathised with the movement, and were much appreciated by those who attended them.

Discussions on the question of women suffrage have been held as follows:—Eclectic Debating Society; Progressive Club, Notting Hill; South Norwood Literary Society; Wimbledon Lecture Hall; Isledon Debating Society; Claremont Debating Society, Pentonville; Bedford Park Re-union; Richmond Athenæum; Somerville Club; Hampstead Liberal Club; Hampstead Lecture Hall; and at Abingdon; Berkhamsted; Bromley, Kent; and Forest Hill. Most of these discussions have been attended by members of your Committee, and the members of these societies were supplied with packets of pamphlets and literature bearing on the question for use during the debates.

There have been presented up to July 4th, 443 petitions to the House of Commons in favour of women's suffrage, with 14,069 signatures. Of these 128 petitions with 3,244 signatures have been presented through friends and correspondents of the Central Committee.

A branch was formed in the beginning of the year in Kent under the title of the Bromley, Beckenham and Shortlands Branch of the National Society for Women's Suffrage. A meeting was held by this branch in Christ Church Lecture Hall, Beckenham, in May, besides the drawing-room meetings at Beckenham and Shortlands. The Committee have also promoted petitions to the House of Commons and memorials to local Members of Parliament.

The work recorded is that which has been done by your Committee in their character as a district society. It represents a portion only of the whole of the work done in the movement throughout the country by other societies which carry on their work independently of, though in concert with your Committee. The Manchester Society has carried on the series of demonstrations of women in the great towns by organizing gatherings in Bradford and Sheffield which have fully maintained the character for numbers and enthusiasm manifested on all such occasions. Besides these special demonstrations large meetings have been held in the North of England. The Bristol Committee have organized meetings in the West of England and in South Wales. The Committees of Edinburgh and Glasgow have been active in Scotland, and the Societies of Dublin and Belfast have promoted a successful set of meetings in Ireland.

Your Committee desire to acknowledge the courtesy of the Bristol Committee in deputing their Secretary, Miss Blackburn, to assist in the London Work; also the kindness of the Manchester Committee in placing at their

disposal the services of their agent, Mrs. McCormick, for assisting at the arrangements of the St. James's Hall and Southsea meetings.

During the year your agent, Mrs. Shearer, arranged and spoke at the following meetings:—Lewes, Southampton, Peterborough, and also visited Grantham and Winchester. Your agent also took part in the meetings arranged in London during the month of April, concluding with the great meeting in St. James's Hall on April 24th. Mrs. Shearer's services were requested by other Committees, and in compliance with their request, she took part in the meetings held in Cardigan, Haverfordwest, Tenby, Pembroke Dock, Bristol, and Tewkesbury, for the West of England Committee. She also assisted at the demonstrations in Bradford and Sheffield, organised by the Manchester Committee. She visited Edinburgh, Nottingham, and Leicester, to address meetings, and spoke at a large and important public meeting held in Dublin, during the Social Science Congress. Mrs. Shearer took part in the drawing-room meetings given by Mrs. Turner, Mrs. Taylor, and General Napier, and gave addresses at the Isledon Debating Society, and at the Athenæum, Richmond.

Your Committee have received with much regret the intimation from Mrs. Shearer that she is unable to continue her permanent engagement as their agent. They desire to express their high sense of the value of the aid Mrs. Shearer has rendered to the movement, and they trust that notwithstanding her formal resignation, her services may not be altogether withdrawn from the cause.

Your Committee have to record with deep regret the loss, from the ranks of their Parliamentary friends, of Mr. Walter Powell, late M.P. for Malmesbury, and of Sir John Holker, late Member for Preston. These gentlemen were steady and consistent supporters of women's suffrage in the House of Commons, the former having never been

absent from any division that took place since the Bill was introduced in 1870.

A private subscription ball, in aid of the funds of the National Society for Women's Suffrage, was held in the Kensington Town-hall, on January 20th, 1882. The lady patronesses were:—Mrs. J. E. Boehm, Lady Campbell, Miss Jane E. Cobden, Mrs. Ashton Dilke, Mrs. Henry Fawcett, Viscountess Harberton, Mrs. John Hollond, Mrs. Charles Holland, Mrs. William Morris, Mrs. Charles McLaren, Mrs. Pennington, Lady Power, Mrs. Stansfeld, Mrs. Marcus Stone, Mrs. P. A. Taylor, Mrs. Thomas Taylor, Miss Williams, and Mrs. Westlake. The following gentlemen acted as stewards:—Gough Arbuthnot, Esq. Arthur Scudamore Burr, Esq., P. F. Herbert, Esq., Edmund Kerrison, Esq., A. Coysgarne Sim, Esq., W. Radcliffe, Esq., G. Rodie Thompson, Esq., Denham Westmacott, Esq., Meryon White, Esq., and Oswald von Glehn, Esq.

In December last your Committee received an offer of £50 from Miss Muller, towards a fund of £300, to be raised for public meetings, on condition that the remaining £250 were contributed. The following donations were sent in to the fund:—Mr. Thomasson, M.P., £50; Mrs. Pennington, £25; Mrs. Winkworth, £10; Mr. G. Palmer, M.P., £5 5s.; Mrs. Hullah, £5; Viscountess Harberton, £5; Mrs. Bolding, 10s. The amount was supplemented by the sum of £132 8s. 6d., contributed by the Ball Committee.

In May, Mr. R. B. Kennett made an offer of £100 to the funds of the Manchester Society provided £300 were subscribed by others. The Manchester Society having raised £150, Mr. Kennett was asked to allow the half of his donation to come to the Central Committee, provided the remaining £150 were raised. He kindly consented to this course, and the sum was made up by the following contributions:—Mrs. Garnett, £50; Mrs.

Pennington, £30; Mrs. F. Morrison, £25; Mr. Pochin, £25; Mrs. C. B. McLaren, £20; Mrs. Thomasson, £5; Miss Williams, £3; Mrs. Lynch, 13s. Some of these contributions have not been received in time to be included in the statement of accounts for the past year.

Your Committee have much pleasure in acknowledging the gift, by Madame Anna Hierta Retzius, of the Caroline Institute, Stockholm, of a copy, in parian, of a portrait bust, executed by herself, of the late Frederika Bremer. In forwarding the bust, Madame Retzius writes, that if Frederika Bremer were alive, one of the first visits she would like to pay would be to this Society, for she was a warm advocate of the right of women to vote. Your Committee desire to record their thanks for this valued and interesting gift, and for the manifestation which it affords of the interchange of sympathy and support among women of different nations.

In asking for a renewal of their trust, your Committee would urge upon the friends of the cause the need for increased funds, to enable them to promote the work.

A great crisis is impending in the near prospect of the introduction of a measure for amending the law relating to the representation of the people, and your Committee trust that their friends will place it in their power to use every legitimate method of political agitation in order to secure for women participation in the benefits of the promised measure of Parliamentary Reform.

NOTE.—In circulating the Report the Committee deem it desirable to record the fact that owing to unexpected delay in the passage of the Arrears of Rent Bill in the House of Commons on July 21st, Mr. Mason was unable to bring forward his Resolution.

STATEMENT of RECEIPTS and EXPENDITURE from JULY 1st, 1881, to JUNE 30th, 1882.

| RECEIPTS.                          |         | EXPENDITURE.                        |            |
|------------------------------------|---------|-------------------------------------|------------|
| £                                  | s. d.   | £                                   | s. d.      |
| To Balance in Bank at last Account | 46 17 9 | By Salaries                         | 383 6 6    |
| „ Cash in Secretary's hand         | 9 5 2   | „ Rent                              | 70 0 0     |
| „ Subscriptions and Donations      | 804 3 5 | „ Office Expenses                   | 21 0 4     |
| „ Ball Committee                   | 132 8 6 | „ Postage and Carriage              | 71 3 8     |
| „ Sale of Publications             | —       | „ Office Books and Stationery       | 14 2 7     |
| „ „ Tickets — St. James's Hall     | —       | „ Printing                          | 33 4 6     |
| „ „ Meeting                        | —       | „ Petitions                         | 4 16 8     |
| „ Interest on Capital              | —       | „ Publications bought—W. S. Journal | 41 14 9    |
|                                    |         | „ Newspapers                        | 4 8 4      |
|                                    |         | „ Other Publications                | 4 16 0     |
|                                    |         | „ Meetings                          | 50 19 1    |
|                                    |         | „ Deputations to Candidates         | 318 9 0    |
|                                    |         | „ Bank Charges                      | 5 12 0     |
|                                    |         | „ Auditing Accounts                 | 1 6 2      |
|                                    |         | „ Balance in hands of Treasurer     | 2 2 0      |
|                                    |         | „ „ Secretary                       | 67 9 7     |
|                                    |         |                                     | £1043 12 1 |

Examined and found correct.—MARY E. WARNE.  
5th July, 1882.

## ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

*Of the Central Committee, held at the Westminster Palace Hotel, on Thursday,  
July 13th, 1882.*

HUGH MASON, Esq., M.P., IN THE CHAIR.

*The Secretary read the Annual Report and Statement of Accounts.*

*Chairman's Address.*

*Resolution 1* :—Moved by Miss TOD; Seconded by Mr. ENOCH BALDWIN, M.P.; Supported by Mr. LEVY.

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

*Resolution 2* :—Moved by Mr. J. A. BLAKE, M.P.; Seconded by Miss BECKER.

That this Meeting has learned with great satisfaction that Mr. MASON has obtained a place on July 21st for the discussion on his original Resolution, also that he has placed notices of amendment in Committee on the Parliamentary elections (Corrupt Practices Bill), and that Mr. ANDERSON has taken similar action, as regards Scotland, in Committee on the Ballot Act Continuance and Amendment Bill, and this Meeting pledges itself to support the action of the Parliamentary leaders by every means in its power.

*Resolution 3* :—Moved by the Rev. J. KINNEAR, D.D., M.P.; Seconded by Miss C. A. BIGGS.

That the Executive Committee for the ensuing year consist of the following persons,\* with power to add to their number.

The Chair was taken by the Rev. E. WYATT-EDGELL.

*Resolution 4* :—Moved by Mrs. CHAPLIN AYRTON, M.D.; Seconded by Mrs. SHEARER.

That the best thanks of this Meeting be given to Mr. HUGH MASON, M.P., for presiding on this occasion.

\* For list of Executive Committee, see page 2.

## ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS &amp; DONATIONS.

*July 1st, 1881, to June 30th, 1882.*

|                                            | Annual Subscriptions. | Donations. |
|--------------------------------------------|-----------------------|------------|
| Anderson, Mrs. Hall ... ..                 | £2 2 0                |            |
| Anderson, Mrs. Garrett ... ..              | 1 11 0                |            |
| Allen, Mrs. Joseph ... ..                  | 1 1 0                 |            |
| Allen, Mrs. (Norfolk) ... ..               | 1 0 0                 |            |
| Astley, Miss ... ..                        | 1 0 0                 |            |
| Askey, Mrs. F. D. .. ..                    | 1 0 0                 |            |
| Abbott, Rev. E. A. ... ..                  | 0 10 6                |            |
| Allen, Mr. T. B. ... ..                    | ...                   | £0 10 0    |
| A Lady ... ..                              | 0 10 0                |            |
| Albright, Mr. T. M. ... ..                 | 0 10 0                |            |
| Atkinson, Mrs. Bradford (2 years) ... ..   | 0 10 0                |            |
| Albert, The Misses (2 years) ... ..        | 0 10 0                |            |
| Anthony, Miss ... ..                       | 0 5 0                 |            |
| Alger, Miss... ..                          | 0 5 0                 | 0 5 0      |
| Anderson, Miss ... ..                      | 0 5 0                 |            |
| Andrews, Miss ... ..                       | 0 5 0                 |            |
| Atworth, Miss M. S. ... ..                 | 0 4 0                 |            |
| "A. E." ... ..                             | 0 2 6                 |            |
| Andrews, Miss Marion ... ..                | 0 2 6                 |            |
| Agate, Mr. John ... ..                     | 0 2 0                 |            |
| Alford, Mrs. ... ..                        | 0 1 6                 |            |
| Ball Committee (Miss Muller's Fund) ... .. | ...                   | 132 8 6    |
| Boucherett, Miss J. ... ..                 | ...                   | 10 0 0     |
| Browne, Mrs. S.W. ... ..                   | 3 0 0                 |            |
| Bayley, Mrs. (2 years) ... ..              | 2 2 0                 |            |
| Babb, Miss... ..                           | 2 2 0                 |            |
| Branch, Mrs. ... ..                        | 2 2 0                 |            |
| Bostock, Miss ... ..                       | 2 2 0                 |            |
| Boddy, Miss ... ..                         | 2 0 0                 |            |
| Bateson, Mrs. ... ..                       | 1 1 0                 |            |
| Buss, Miss ... ..                          | 1 1 0                 |            |
| Beale, Miss... ..                          | 1 1 0                 |            |
| Bernays, Dr. ... ..                        | 1 1 0                 |            |
| Bennett, Mr. ... ..                        | 1 1 0                 |            |
| Biggs, Miss C. A. ... ..                   | 1 1 0                 |            |
| Biggs, Mr. ... ..                          | 1 1 0                 |            |

|                                         | Annual Subscriptions. | Donations. |
|-----------------------------------------|-----------------------|------------|
| Biggs, Miss Ashurst ... ..              | ...                   | £1 1 0     |
| Bruce, Mrs. ... ..                      | £1 1 0                |            |
| Bright, Mrs. S. ... ..                  | 1 1 0                 |            |
| Babb, Mr. Staines... ..                 | 1 1 0                 |            |
| Brandreth, Mr. Henry Samue              | 1 0 0                 |            |
| Bailey, Mrs. W. (2 years)               | 1 0 0                 |            |
| Beddard, Mrs. ... ..                    | 1 0 0                 |            |
| Boecker, Miss Bertha ... ..             | 1 0 0                 |            |
| Bonham-Carter, Miss ... ..              | 1 0 0                 |            |
| Bolding, Mrs. (Miss Muller's Fund)      | 1 0 0                 | 0 10 0     |
| Benham, Mr. ... ..                      | 0 10 6                |            |
| Brooke, Mr. T. F. ... ..                | 0 10 6                |            |
| Bolton, Mrs. ... ..                     | 0 10 0                |            |
| Butler, Miss ... ..                     | 0 10 0                |            |
| Beevor, Miss ... ..                     | 0 5 0                 |            |
| Buss, Mrs. ... ..                       | 0 5 0                 |            |
| Burningham, Mr. ... ..                  | 0 5 0                 |            |
| Baines, Miss B. Cowper ... ..           | 0 5 0                 |            |
| Bramley, Mr. W. F. ... ..               | 0 5 0                 |            |
| Bird, Miss L. ... ..                    | 0 5 0                 |            |
| Boyle, Miss... ..                       | ...                   | 0 5 0      |
| Baines, Miss Rose ... ..                | 0 5 0                 |            |
| Butterworth, Mr. R. A. ... ..           | 0 3 0                 |            |
| Barry, Mrs.... ..                       | 0 3 0                 |            |
| Blackie, Mrs. ... ..                    | 0 2 6                 |            |
| Butterworth, Mrs. ... ..                | 0 2 6                 |            |
| Burn, Rev. R. ... ..                    | 0 2 6                 |            |
| Brown, Miss H. Veitch ... ..            | 0 2 6                 |            |
| Bassett, Mr. William ... ..             | 0 2 6                 |            |
| Bevington, Mrs. A. ... ..               | 0 2 6                 |            |
| Bell, Mr. ... ..                        | 0 2 0                 |            |
| Brooksbank, Mrs. ... ..                 | 0 2 0                 |            |
| Barretto, Mrs. ... ..                   | 0 2 0                 |            |
| Bradey, Mrs. ... ..                     | 0 1 6                 |            |
| Brown, Miss J. W. ... ..                | 0 1 6                 |            |
| Blomfield, Mrs. ... ..                  | 0 1 0                 |            |
| Barker, Miss ... ..                     | 0 1 0                 |            |
| Cawston, Miss ... ..                    | 3 0 0                 |            |
| Conway, Mr. & Mrs. Moncure (2 years)... | 2 4 0                 | 0 8 0      |
| Canning, Hon. E. R. (2 years) ... ..    | 2 3 0                 |            |
| Cobden, Miss J. (2 years)...            | 2 2 0                 |            |
| Courtauld, Miss ... ..                  | 2 2 0                 |            |
| Caird, Mrs.... ..                       | 2 0 0                 |            |
| Cross, Mr. J. Ashton ... ..             | 1 1 0                 |            |
| Crook, Mrs. Joseph ... ..               | 1 1 0                 |            |
| Crawford, Mrs. Donald ... ..            | 1 1 0                 |            |
| Chesson, Mr. & Mrs. ... ..              | 1 1 0                 |            |
| Courtney, Mr. L., M.P. ... ..           | 1 0 0                 |            |
| Colbeck, Mr. ... ..                     | 1 0 0                 |            |
| Carpenter, Mrs. R. L. ... ..            | 1 0 0                 |            |
| Cooper, Mrs. ... ..                     | 0 11 0                |            |
| Courtney, Miss M. A. ... ..             | 0 10 6                |            |
| Courtney, Miss L. ... ..                | 0 10 6                |            |
| Curtis, Mrs. ... ..                     | 0 10 0                |            |
| Clark, Miss H. (2 years) ... ..         | 0 10 0                |            |
| Clegg, Mrs.... ..                       | 0 10 0                |            |
| Courtenay, Miss ... ..                  | 0 10 0                |            |
| Cobb, Mrs. H. P.,... ..                 | 0 10 0                |            |

|                                        | Annual Subscriptions | Donations. |
|----------------------------------------|----------------------|------------|
| Cook, Mrs.... ..                       | ...                  | £0 7 6     |
| Carter, Miss Mary... ..                | £0 6 6               |            |
| Coulton, Mrs. ... ..                   | 0 5 0                |            |
| Clarke, Mrs. Pickering ... ..          | 0 5 0                |            |
| Charlesworth, Mrs. ... ..              | 0 5 0                |            |
| Corfield, Miss E. ... ..               | 0 5 0                |            |
| Chant, Mrs. ... ..                     | 0 5 0                |            |
| Clarke, Miss I. ... ..                 | 0 5 0                |            |
| Coulton, Mr. J. James ... ..           | 0 5 0                |            |
| Cooper, Mrs. ... ..                    | 0 4 6                |            |
| Cook, Miss... ..                       | ...                  | 0 2 6      |
| Carroll, Mrs. ... ..                   | 0 2 6                |            |
| Clodd, Miss ... ..                     | 0 2 6                |            |
| Clark, Mrs. ... ..                     | 0 2 6                |            |
| Clarke, Miss M. E... ..                | 0 2 6                |            |
| Cordery, Mr. James ... ..              | 0 2 6                |            |
| Cooper, Miss ... ..                    | 0 2 0                |            |
| Crewell, Miss ... ..                   | 0 2 6                |            |
| Clarke, Mrs. ... ..                    | 0 1 6                |            |
| Crossman, Miss S.... ..                | 0 1 6                |            |
| Dilke, Mrs. Ashton ... ..              | 3 0 0                |            |
| De Ricci, Mr. J. H. ... ..             | 2 2 0                |            |
| Dilke, Sir Charles, Bart., M.P. ... .. | 1 1 0                |            |
| Dixon, Mr. George ... ..               | 1 1 0                |            |
| De Morgan, Mrs. ... ..                 | 1 0 0                |            |
| Drummond, The Hon. Mrs. Maurice ... .. | 1 0 0                |            |
| Du Sautoy, Mrs. ... ..                 | 0 10 0               |            |
| Davies, Rev. J. L. ... ..              | 0 5 0                |            |
| Debenham, Mr. F. ... ..                | 0 5 0                |            |
| Downing, Mrs. ... ..                   | 0 5 0                |            |
| Deacon, Mr. R. ... ..                  | 0 5 0                |            |
| Eastwick, Mr. E.B., C.B. ... ..        | 1 1 0                |            |
| Ellis, Mr. A. J. ... ..                | 1 1 0                |            |
| Estlin, Miss M. A. ... ..              | 1 1 0                |            |
| Edgell, The Rev. E. Wyatt- ... ..      | 1 0 0                |            |
| Eiloart, Mrs. ... ..                   | 0 10 6               |            |
| Elliott, Miss ... ..                   | 0 5 0                |            |
| Edmonds, Mrs. ... ..                   | 0 2 6                |            |
| Fletcher, Mrs. ... ..                  | 2 2 0                | 10 0 0     |
| "Friend" ... ..                        | ...                  | 2 0 0      |
| Foxley, Miss ... ..                    | ...                  | 1 1 0      |
| F. H. ... ..                           | 0 14 6               |            |
| Fisher, Mrs. R. ... ..                 | 0 15 0               |            |
| Fawcett, Mrs. W. W. ... ..             | 0 10 6               |            |
| Foa, Madame (2 years) ... ..           | 0 5 0                |            |
| Frynn, Mrs. ... ..                     | 0 5 0                |            |
| Freeman, Mrs. ... ..                   | 0 5 0                |            |
| Fitzgerald, Miss ... ..                | 0 2 6                |            |
| Fitzgerald, Miss F. ... ..             | 0 2 6                |            |
| Fells, Mr. J. M. ... ..                | 0 2 6                |            |
| Fox, Mrs. Bridell ... ..               | 0 2 6                |            |
| Frewin, Miss ... ..                    | 0 1 9                |            |
| Field, Mrs. ... ..                     | 0 1 6                |            |
| Garnett, Mrs. ... ..                   | 50 0 0               |            |
| " " (Mr. Kennett's Fund) ... ..        | ...                  | 25 0 0     |



|                                              | Annual Subscriptions. | Donations. |
|----------------------------------------------|-----------------------|------------|
| McRoberts, Mr. J. D. ... ..                  | £0 4 0                |            |
| Murray, Rev. A. ... ..                       | 0 2 6                 |            |
| Mace, Mrs. ... ..                            | 0 2 6                 |            |
| Meek, Miss ... ..                            | 0 2 6                 |            |
| Mills, Miss ... ..                           | 0 2 6                 |            |
| Mattingly, Mrs. ... ..                       | 0 2 6                 |            |
| Meyer, Miss S. Boyle ... ..                  | 0 2 6                 |            |
| Meyer, Miss H. ... ..                        | 0 2 6                 |            |
| Major, Miss ... ..                           | 0 1 8                 |            |
| Muggleton, The Misses ... ..                 | 0 1 6                 |            |
| Mayo, Miss ... ..                            | 0 1 0                 |            |
| Masters, Mrs. Algernon ... ..                | 0 1 0                 |            |
|                                              |                       |            |
| Newnham, Miss ... ..                         | 1 1 6                 |            |
| Nightingale, Miss Florence ... ..            | 1 1 0                 |            |
| Newcombe, Mrs. Prout ... ..                  | 1 1 0                 |            |
| Nicol, Miss L. ... ..                        | 1 0 0                 |            |
| Newman, Prof. F. W. ... ..                   | 1 0 0                 |            |
| Norris, Miss ... ..                          | 0 5 0                 |            |
|                                              |                       |            |
| Owen, Mrs. ... ..                            | 0 5 0                 |            |
|                                              |                       |            |
| Pennington, Mrs. (Mr. Kennett's Fund) ... .. |                       | £30 0 0    |
| "  "  (Miss Muller's Fund) ... ..            |                       | 25 0 0     |
| Pochin, Mr. (Mr. Kennett's Fund) ... ..      |                       | 25 0 0     |
| Palmer, Mr. G., M.P. ... ..                  | 5 5 0                 |            |
| "  "  (Miss Muller's Fund) ... ..            |                       | 5 5 0      |
| Paulton, Mrs. ... ..                         | 2 0 0                 |            |
| Pidgeon, Mrs. ... ..                         | 1 1 0                 |            |
| Priestman, The Misses ... ..                 | 1 1 0                 |            |
| Pagliardini, Mr. ... ..                      | 0 10 0                |            |
| Paterson, Mrs. ... ..                        | 0 5 0                 |            |
| Ponder, The Misses ... ..                    | 0 5 0                 |            |
| Perrier, Mrs. ... ..                         | 0 5 0                 |            |
| Peppercorn, Miss ... ..                      | 0 5 0                 |            |
| Payne, Mr. William ... ..                    | 0 5 0                 |            |
| Phillott, Mrs. Arthur ... ..                 | 0 5 0                 |            |
| Paterson, Mr. ... ..                         | 0 2 6                 |            |
| Pennack, Mrs. ... ..                         | 0 2 6                 |            |
| Pomeroy, Hon. Esther ... ..                  | 0 1 6                 |            |
| Pettitt, Mrs. ... ..                         | 0 1 6                 |            |
| Paggi, Madame ... ..                         | 0 1 6                 |            |
| Polley, Miss Bessie ... ..                   | 0 1 0                 |            |
|                                              |                       |            |
| Ruth, Miss ... ..                            | 1 1 6                 | 1 0 0      |
| Rae, Dr. & Mrs. J. ... ..                    | 1 1 0                 |            |
| Rossetti, Mr. W. M. ... ..                   | 1 1 0                 |            |
| Roberts, Mr. Owen ... ..                     | 1 1 0                 |            |
| Robertson, Miss ... ..                       |                       | 1 1 0      |
| Ransom, Mrs. Edwin ... ..                    | 1 1 0                 |            |
| Robertson, Mrs. G. E. ... ..                 | 1 0 0                 |            |
| Roth, Dr. ... ..                             | 1 0 0                 |            |
| Roberts, Mrs. Henry ... ..                   | 0 10 6                |            |
| Rawlinson, Miss ... ..                       | 0 10 0                |            |
| Reeves, Miss ... ..                          | 0 10 0                |            |
| Royce, Miss ... ..                           | 0 10 0                |            |
| Rowcroft, Mr. ... ..                         | 0 10 0                |            |
| Reid, Mr. J. S. ... ..                       | 0 7 6                 |            |
| Reid, Miss Emily ... ..                      | 0 5 0                 |            |

|                                                   | Annual Subscriptions | Donations |
|---------------------------------------------------|----------------------|-----------|
| Retzins, Professor ... ..                         | ...                  | £0 5 0    |
| Rees, Miss ... ..                                 | £0 5 0               |           |
| Raven, Miss ... ..                                | 0 5 0                |           |
| Rees, Miss E. E. ... ..                           | 0 5 0                |           |
| Robson, Mrs. ... ..                               | 0 5 0                |           |
| Rudd, Mrs. ... ..                                 | 0 4 0                |           |
| Robinson, Mr. ... ..                              | 0 1 6                |           |
| Rowland, Mrs. ... ..                              | 0 1 6                |           |
|                                                   |                      |           |
| Simcox, Miss ... ..                               | 5 0 0                |           |
| Savile, Mrs. ... ..                               | 2 2 0                |           |
| Shaen, Rev. R. ... ..                             | 1 1 0                |           |
| Shaen, Mr. William ... ..                         | 1 1 0                |           |
| Saul, Mr. G. T. ... ..                            | 1 1 0                |           |
| Slack, Mrs. ... ..                                | 1 1 0                |           |
| Swanwick, Miss A. ... ..                          | 1 1 0                |           |
| Symon, Mr. ... ..                                 | 1 1 0                |           |
| Schloss, Mr. D. F. ... ..                         | 1 1 0                |           |
| Streatfield, Mrs. ... ..                          | 1 1 0                |           |
| "  "  (and Friend) ... ..                         |                      | 7 10 0    |
| Sterling, Mrs. ... ..                             | 1 1 0                |           |
| Stone, Miss Ellen ... ..                          | 1 1 0                |           |
| Scott, Miss (1880 & 1881) ... ..                  | 1 0 0                |           |
| Smith, Mr. E. H. ... ..                           | 1 0 0                |           |
| Scull, Mrs. ... ..                                | 0 11 6               |           |
| Stacpoole, The Misses ... ..                      | 0 10 6               | 2 0 0     |
| Sanderson, Mr. J. S. ... ..                       | 0 10 6               |           |
| Spokes, Lady ... ..                               | 0 10 0               |           |
| South, Rev. & Mrs. E. Wilton ... ..               | 0 10 0               |           |
| Southall, The Misses ... ..                       | 0 10 0               |           |
| Surr, Mrs. ... ..                                 | 0 10 0               |           |
| Santoz, Madame ... ..                             |                      | 0 7 0     |
| Spokes, Miss ... ..                               | 0 5 0                |           |
| Spokes, Miss M. ... ..                            | 0 5 0                |           |
| Shurd, Mr. Robert ... ..                          | 0 5 0                |           |
| Spears, Rev. R. ... ..                            | 0 5 0                |           |
| Stredder, Miss ... ..                             | 0 5 0                |           |
| Sercombe, Miss ... ..                             | 0 5 0                |           |
| Stobart, Mrs. ... ..                              | 0 5 0                |           |
| Seakins, Mrs. (2 years) ... ..                    | 0 5 0                |           |
| "  Mr.  "  ... ..                                 | 0 5 0                |           |
| Shipton, Mr. G. ... ..                            | 0 2 6                |           |
| Sainsbury, Miss ... ..                            | 0 2 6                |           |
| Snow, Mrs. J. L. ... ..                           | 0 2 6                |           |
| Stafford, Miss Ellen ... ..                       | 0 2 6                |           |
| Sharpe, Miss M. E. ... ..                         | 0 2 6                |           |
| Sharpe, Miss M. ... ..                            | 0 2 6                |           |
| Saunders, Mr. Samuel ... ..                       | 0 2 6                |           |
| Slatter, Miss ... ..                              | 0 2 6                |           |
| Smee, Miss ... ..                                 | 0 1 6                |           |
| Spreckley, Miss Jane ... ..                       | 0 1 6                |           |
| Saw, Miss Amy ... ..                              | 0 1 6                |           |
| Schonberg, Mrs. ... ..                            | 0 1 6                |           |
| Samson, Miss ... ..                               | 0 1 0                |           |
|                                                   |                      |           |
| Taylor, Mrs. P. A. ... ..                         |                      | 100 0 0   |
| Thomasson, Mr. & Mrs. (Miss Muller's Fund) ... .. |                      | 50 0 0    |
| "  Mrs. (Mr. Kennett's Fund) ... ..               |                      | 5 0 0     |

|                                            | Annual Subscriptions. | Donations. |
|--------------------------------------------|-----------------------|------------|
| Taylor, Mrs. Thomas ... ..                 | £5 0 0                |            |
| Tebb, Mr. & Mrs. (London) ... ..           | 2 2 0                 |            |
| Thomas, Mrs. Charles ... ..                | 1 1 0                 |            |
| Taylor, Mrs. Henry ... ..                  | 1 1 0                 |            |
| Thomas, Miss R. ... ..                     | 0 10 6                |            |
| Tennant, Mrs. ... ..                       | 0 10 0                |            |
| Trevor, Miss ... ..                        | 0 10 0                |            |
| Tolmé, Mrs. (2 years) ... ..               | 0 7 6                 |            |
| Thew, Mrs. ... ..                          | 0 5 0                 |            |
| Taylor, Mr. Benj... ..                     | 0 5 0                 |            |
| Tebb, Mrs. (Sydenham) ... ..               | 0 5 0                 |            |
| Torr, Mr. James F. ... ..                  | 0 5 0                 |            |
| Turner, Mrs. ... ..                        | 0 5 0                 |            |
| Turle, Miss... ..                          | 0 2 6                 |            |
| Turle, Miss S. A. ... ..                   | 0 2 6                 |            |
| Turle, Rev. W. H... ..                     | 0 2 6                 |            |
| Taylor, Mr. W. H. ... ..                   | 0 1 6                 |            |
| Upton, Mrs. ... ..                         | 0 1 0                 |            |
| Vialls, Miss Lucy (2 years) ... ..         | 0 10 0                |            |
| Vincent, Miss ... ..                       | 0 5 0                 |            |
| Van Putten, Miss ... ..                    | 0 2 6                 |            |
| Vernon, Miss ... ..                        | 0 2 0                 |            |
| Winkworth, Mrs. (Miss Muller's Fund)... .. |                       | £10 0 0    |
| Williams, Miss ... ..                      | 10 0 0                |            |
| "    "    (Mr. Kennett's Fund) ... ..      |                       | 3 0 0      |
| Wharnccliffe, The Dowager Lady ... ..      | 2 2 0                 |            |
| Wedgwood, Mrs. Hensleigh ... ..            | 2 2 0                 |            |
| Williams, Mr. R. Price ... ..              | 2 2 0                 |            |
| Warrington, Miss E. ... ..                 |                       | 1 1 0      |
| Weld, Miss... ..                           | 1 1 0                 |            |
| Williams, Mr. Morgan ... ..                | 1 1 0                 |            |
| White, Mr. Meryon ... ..                   | 1 1 0                 |            |
| Williams, Mr. Hugh ... ..                  | 1 1 0                 |            |
| Woodward, Mrs. Hosken... ..                | 1 1 0                 |            |
| Wood, Mrs. Emma ... ..                     | 1 1 0                 |            |
| Wedgwood, Miss Julia (2 years)... ..       | 1 0 0                 |            |
| Wells, Mr. ... ..                          | 1 0 0                 |            |
| Wilson, Miss Lucy ... ..                   | 1 0 0                 |            |
| Wansey, Miss ... ..                        | 1 0 0                 |            |
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| Walters, Miss ... ..                       | 0 10 0                |            |
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|                             | Annual Subscriptions. | Donations. |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------|------------|
| Woodall, Mrs. ... ..        | £0 1 6                |            |
| White, Mrs. Monckton ... .. | 0 1 0                 |            |
| Young, Mr. T. ... ..        | 0 10 0                |            |
| Zier, Mrs. ... ..           | 0 10 0                |            |

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

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|------------------------------------|---------|-------|
| Kennett, Mr. (Special Fund) ... .. | £50 0 0 |       |
| Luton Committee ... ..             | 5 5 0   |       |
| Mordan, Mr. A. ... ..              | 5 5 0   |       |
| Snoad, Mrs. Frank ... ..           | 5 0 0   |       |
| Thomasson, Mrs. ... ..             | 5 0 0   |       |
| Fawcett, Mr. and Mrs. H. ... ..    | £5 0 0  |       |
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| Charles, Mrs. ... ..               | 1 1 6   |       |
| Sims, Mrs. George... ..            |         | 1 1 0 |
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| Taylor, Miss ... ..                | 1 0 0   |       |
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| Turner, Mrs. ... ..                | 0 5 0   |       |
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# FIFTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

OF THE

## MANCHESTER NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

PRESENTED AT THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING,  
NOVEMBER 7th, 1882.

MANCHESTER:  
ALEXANDER IRELAND & CO., PRINTERS.  
1882.

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FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

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SPECIAL CIRCULAR,  
November, 1882.

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

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

The opportunity of the introduction of the Bill to extend

household suffrage to the counties, which the Government are pledged to bring forward before they dissolve Parliament, offers an occasion for the extension of the principle to women which must not be allowed to slip without the accomplishment of the object.

With this view Mr. MASON has given notice in the House of Commons that he will early next session move a Resolution for the extension of the Parliamentary Franchise to women who possess the qualifications which entitle men to vote.

The Society is pledged to support this action by every means in its power, and earnestly asks for aid in order to secure, if possible, an affirmative vote on the first occasion when the question will be submitted to the present Parliament.

The Society seeks to promote this object—

1. By holding public meetings and lectures in support of the claim of Women to the suffrage, and for the expression of public opinion in regard to it.
2. By promoting Petitions to Parliament in favour of the removal of the Electoral Disabilities of Women.
3. By the publication of pamphlets, leaflets, and other literature bearing upon the question, and more especially of the *Women's Suffrage Journal*.

Annexed is a form which those who desire to assist in these efforts by becoming members of the Society are requested to fill up and send to the Secretary. Subscribers are entitled to receive the *Women's Suffrage Journal* monthly, and the Annual Report of the Society.

## MANCHESTER NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

FORM TO BE FILLED UP BY PERSONS DESIROUS OF ASSISTING TO PROMOTE THE  
OBJECT OF THE SOCIETY.

Madam,

I authorise you to add my name to the List of Members of the Manchester National  
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Donation of £ : :

(Signed)

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Post Office Orders payable at  
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household suffrage to the counties, which the Government pledged to bring forward before the dissolution of Parliament, as an occasion for the extension of the principle to women must not be allowed to slip without the accomplishment of the object.

With this view Mr. Mason has given notice in the House of Commons that he will early next session move a Resolution for the extension of the Parliamentary Franchise to women who possess the qualifications which entitle men to vote.

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1. By holding public meetings and lectures on the claim of Women to the suffrage, and the expression of public opinion in regard to it.
2. By promoting Petitions to Parliament for the removal of the Electoral Disabilities of Women.
3. By the publication of Pamphlets, leaflets, and literature bearing upon the question, especially of the *Women's Suffrage Journal*.

Annexed is a form which those who desire to assist in the efforts by circulating members of the Society are requested to fill up and send to the Secretary. Subscribers are entitled to receive the *Women's Suffrage Journal* monthly, and the Annual Report of the Society.

38, Victoria Road, Great George Street, Manchester.  
Ms BECKER, Secretary.

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the Hon. Office of the  
Lancashire and Yorkshire  
Railway.

Society for Women's  
Suffrage.

Manchester.

FORM TO BE FILLED UP BY

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETY.

## REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, 1881-2.

YOUR Committee have to report that the Parliamentary leaders have been unable to secure a night during the present Session for a discussion on the principle of women's suffrage.

On May 26th Mr. Mason gave notice that he would on that day four weeks move a Resolution in the following terms:—"That in the opinion of this House the Parliamentary Franchise should be extended to women who possess the qualifications which entitle men to vote, and who in all matters of local government have the right of voting." This Resolution was set down for June 23rd, but the whole of the sitting was appropriated by the Government for discussion on the Prevention of Crime Bill.

Mr. Mason balloted again for July 21st. Although he did not secure the first place, he was enabled by the courtesy of Mr. Arthur Arnold—who had gained the first place for a motion on the land laws, but who generously waived his right in Mr. Mason's favour—to secure the first place on the paper for that night for the discussion of the Resolution relating to the franchise for women.

Up to the very night before the expected debate, there was a strong and reasonable expectation that the Arrears of Rent Bill would be disposed of in time to allow of Mr. Mason moving his Resolution at the evening sitting. But when the morning sitting closed while the House was still in Committee on the Arrears of Rent Bill, these hopes began to

wane. At nine o'clock, the hour when the Resolution should have come on, the House was still in Committee on the Arrears Bill, and as the evening progressed, Mr. Mason, after taking counsel with his Parliamentary supporters, decided that unless the Arrears Bill were disposed of by eleven o'clock, he would not bring on his motion. The division on the third reading of the Arrears Bill took place about half-past twelve. Even without the previous understanding, it would have been manifestly unwise to ask the attention of a wearied House to a fresh debate begun after midnight, when justice could not possibly be done to the subject. As soon, therefore, as the division was over, Mr. Mason, who had remained faithfully at his post watching for his chance all through the evening, withdrew his Resolution.

Although it is impossible not to feel great disappointment at the loss of the only opportunity that had occurred during the session for taking the sense of the House of Commons on the question of women's suffrage, the feeling is tempered by the consciousness that the occasion was not a favourable one for a debate on the subject. The session was far advanced; the House is always more or less wearied after a morning sitting; the troubles in Ireland and the war in Egypt occupied the mind of the Government and the country to an extent that rendered it difficult to fix their attention on measures of domestic reform.

During the proceedings in connection with the Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt Practices) Bill an occasion arose which seemed to call for intervention in order to vindicate the claim of women to vote in elections, for the expenses of which they were to be mulcted in taxation.

Mr. Broadhurst having given notice that he would, in Committee on the Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Bill, move the following clause:—

“(Returning officer's expenses to be paid out of the local rates.)

“All expenses incurred at or for the purposes of any election by a returning officer which, if this Act had not

passed, he would have been entitled to recover from the candidate or candidates at the election, shall be paid, apportioned, and borne in the same manner as expenses of commissioners under the Election Commissioners Expenses Act, 1869 and 1871, and for the purposes of this section those Acts shall be construed as if for the Commissioners of the Treasury there were substituted the returning officer, and as if for the expenses of election commissioners there were substituted the expenses of the returning officer: Provided, &c.”

Mr. Hugh Mason gave notice to move the following proviso in addition to Mr. Broadhurst's proposed new Clause:—

“(3) That all persons liable to be rated under this Act for expenses incurred at or for the purpose of any election by a returning officer, shall be entitled to be registered as electors and to vote at such election, any law or usage to the contrary notwithstanding.”

In order to guard against the loss of the proviso through the possible rejection of Mr. Broadhurst's clause, in which case the proposed addition would fall with it, Mr. Mason took steps to raise the question in an independent manner by giving notice to move the following new clause:—

“(Persons rated for expenses to be registered electors.)

“(8) That all persons liable to be rated for expenses under the Election Commissioners Acts, 1869 and 1871, shall be entitled to be registered as electors, and to vote at Parliamentary Elections, any law or usage to the contrary notwithstanding.”

Another Parliamentary notice was given in reference to the Ballot Act Continuance and Amendment Bill. This course was taken in compliance with the prayer of a petition from the Convention of Royal and Parliamentary Burghs of Scotland, which, after treating of other matters, ran as follows:—

“That another amendment which the Convention would

suggest is, that the Parliamentary franchise should now, as has been the case with the municipal and school board franchises, be extended to women. It is most inexpedient longer to retain this disability on women in reference to Parliamentary elections. Its removal would accord with the ripe feeling of the large majority of the country upon the subject. . . . May it therefore please your honourable House to pass the said Bill with the engraftment therein under the branch or part thereof particularly affecting Scotland of the various amendments thereon above proposed, viz.:—1. That the provisions of the Bill shall apply to municipal as well as to Parliamentary elections. 2. That the Parliamentary franchise be, as well as the municipal and school board franchises, extended to women.”

The Councils of Leith, Dumfries, Aberdeen, Dunfermline, and Perth also sent petitions to the same effect.

In pursuance of the object of these petitions, Mr. Anderson gave notice, on June 20, that in Committee on the Ballot Act Continuance and Amendment Bill he would move in clause 16, page 5, line 14, after “modifications,” to insert the following sub-section: “The provisions of the Municipal Franchise Amendment (Scotland) Act, 1881, relating to the franchise for women, shall be extended to Parliamentary elections.”

Both the Corrupt Practices Bill and the Ballot Act Continuance Bill were abandoned by the Government before arriving at the stage at which any of these clauses could be discussed.

Among the achievements of the session must be reckoned a fresh extension of women’s suffrage in local elections in Scotland, which has been obtained through the efforts of Dr. Cameron. The Municipal Franchise (Scotland) Act of last session conferred the municipal suffrage on women ratepayers in Royal and Parliamentary burghs, to the same degree as it is enjoyed by women under the English law. The measure did not extend to police burghs—populous places endowed with powers of local self-government under

the General Police and Improvement Act, 1862. A demand for a similar extension of the franchise to women having reached Dr. Cameron from these police burghs, he this session introduced and carried an Act (45 Vic. c. 6), entitled, “The General Police and Improvement Act, 1882,” which gives to women ratepayers who come under it the right, not merely of voting at elections of burgh commissioners, but also of voting with the other inhabitants as to whether a populous place should be constituted a police burgh or not.

At the period of the last annual meeting, your Committee were actively engaged in promoting the sixth of the series of great demonstrations of women in large towns, which have been held through the efforts of the various branches of the National Society for Women’s Suffrage since the great Free Trade Hall meeting in Manchester in 1880. On the evening of November 22nd, 1881, upwards of three thousand women of Bradford and the district assembled in St. George’s Hall, when resolutions in support of the franchise for women were carried by unanimous and enthusiastic votes. The chair was occupied by Mrs. Duncan M’Laren, and the meeting was addressed by Mrs. Alfred Osler, Miss Carbutt, Miss Lucy Wilson, Mrs. William Clark, Miss Downing, Miss Jane E. Cobden, Miss Becker, Dr. Edith Pechey, Mrs. Ellis, Mrs. Oliver Scatcherd, Mrs. M’Ilquham, and Mrs. W. P. Byles. Memorials to Mr. Gladstone and to Messrs. Forster and Illingworth, members for Bradford, were adopted by the meeting.

In preparation for the great meeting, a preliminary conference was held on November 2nd, to arrange the work; and district meetings, attended by both men and women, were held at Allerton, Thornton, Shipley, Eccleshill, Wyke, Queensbury, and ward meetings in five different districts of Bradford itself.

The day after the great meeting a conference took place at the Mechanics’ Institute, Tyrrel-street, in order to consult on the best means of carrying out the object advocated at the meeting at St. George’s Hall. Mrs. Pesel presided at

the conference, and many of the speakers of the previous evening, with other ladies and gentlemen, took part in the proceedings. As the result of their deliberations, a provisional committee was formed for Bradford.

The seventh of the series of demonstrations of women in support of the admission to the Parliamentary franchise of women who possess the qualifications which entitle men to vote, took place in the Albert Hall, Sheffield, on Monday, February 27th, under the presidency of Viscountess Harberton. The demonstration was in no way inferior in interest and enthusiasm to any of the previous gatherings of women that have been held in Manchester, London, Bristol, Birmingham, Nottingham, and Bradford. The great hall was crowded to overflowing with women of all ranks and conditions of society. Not only was every seat filled, but the gangways were packed with women who remained standing during the whole of the proceedings, and who, even at the close, seemed reluctant to leave the meeting. The overflow meeting was equally earnest and interested, and the resolutions were passed with unanimity and enthusiasm. The chair was taken precisely at half-past seven by the Viscountess Harberton, and the meeting was addressed by Miss Carbutt, Mrs. H. J. Wilson, Miss Müller, Mrs. Shearer, Miss Becker, Mrs. Lucas, Miss Eliza Sturge, Mrs. Ellis, Mrs. O. Scatcherd, and Mrs. Cowen.

Preliminary meetings in support of this demonstration were held at Attercliffe, Rotherham, Eccleshall, Burngrave, and Heeley. Drawing-room meetings were held by invitation of Mrs. H. J. Wilson, at 223, Pitsmoor Road; of Mrs. Charles Harding Firth, at her residence; of Mrs. Templeton, Westbourne Road; of Mrs. Battey Langley, at Long Hill; and by Mrs. Wycliffe Wilson, at her residence. Mothers' meetings in connection with Pitsmoor Church, with Queen-street Independent Chapel, at Cross Smithfield School-room, Nether Chapel School, Sussex Mission Room, and Tabernacle School, were addressed by ladies in explanation of the objects of the demonstration.

The eighth demonstration of the series took the form of a Scottish National Demonstration of women, and was held on November 3rd in the largest hall of the largest city in Scotland—St. Andrew's Hall, Glasgow. Mrs. Duncan M'Laren occupied the chair, and Mrs. Oliver Scatcherd and Miss Becker attended as a deputation from this Society. Your Committee, although they did not, as in the case of Bradford and Sheffield, undertake the sole responsibility for the arrangements, gave efficient aid to the Scottish ladies in their work by granting them the services of Mrs. M'Cormick as organising agent, and making a contribution to the demonstration fund.

The magnificent meeting was fully equal to any of the preceding gatherings. A Glasgow paper, the *North British Daily Mail* of November 4th, says of it:—

“There was something both unique and brilliant about the great gathering of women in the St. Andrew's Halls last night. As a demonstration it was, in every respect, an unqualified success. Notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather the attendance was very large, and it was, as it was intended to be, composed almost exclusively of women. If there is any value to be attached to such an expression of opinion on the part of the women of Glasgow and of the West of Scotland, the promoters of this meeting are to be congratulated for the marked success which has attended their efforts in eliciting it. The agitation on behalf of the extension of the Parliamentary suffrage to women is clearly about to enter upon its last stage; for when such a meeting as that which was held last night can be got together in support of it, its success is but a question of time, and very possibly of a very short time. This demonstration was designed to serve a double purpose, and it was successful in respect to both objects. First of all, it was a meeting of congratulation in respect to the fact that next week, for the first time in the political history of this country, the women of Scotland will be entitled to vote at the election of Town Councillors. The fact that there are twelve thousand women on the new

Municipal Roll for the City of Glasgow alone proves clearly enough that the Act which was passed successfully through Parliament under the guidance of Dr. Cameron, M.P., was a most important Act of enfranchisement, and the women of Glasgow may well be excused in showing some jubilation over the matter. . . . The skilful manner also in which the campaign has been conducted which culminated in this highly successful demonstration deserves to be recognised. It is in itself a sufficient answer to the cynical sneers which are so freely indulged in towards women in respect to their capacity for understanding and taking an intelligent interest in public affairs. In the past three or four weeks the band of ladies who have had the management of this movement have worked in this city and its vicinity with an energy and an ability which have placed many more ambitious and pretentious organisations far in the shade. A constant succession of public meetings have been held, which have been largely attended by women, and at which the special aspects of the question from their standpoint of view have been exhaustively discussed."

In preparation for the demonstration fifteen public meetings were held in various districts of Glasgow, and in Govan, Helensburgh, Paisley, and Greenock. Seven drawing-room meetings, and other meetings of various character, beside the preliminary and the concluding conference.

Your Committee desire to make special mention of the able and indefatigable exertions of Mrs. Oliver Scatcherd in these great gatherings. She has been mainly instrumental in promoting the work and in collecting the special funds needed to carry them out. She has also spoken at most of the preliminary meetings, beside taking part in the demonstrations themselves.

General public meetings have been held at Cockermouth, Whitehaven, and Pontefract; two meetings in connection with municipal elections at Manchester; and Miss Becker has given a lecture at Harrogate.

Petitions are never so numerous when there is no

certainty of a Parliamentary debate. The total number presented for women's suffrage up to the thirty-first of October was 542 petitions, with 16,418 signatures. Of this number 191 petitions with 5,829 signatures were presented through the agency of friends and correspondents of your Committee. Petitions continue to be presented during the autumn session.

Members of debating societies in the following towns have applied for and received papers and information for use in discussions on women's suffrage:—Ardrossan, Rochdale, Grangemouth, London (five packets), Blaenan, Swinton, Lochgilphead, Northampton, Birmingham, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Glasgow (two packets), Holywell (two packets), Edinburgh, Liverpool, Bradford, Llanfair, Preston, Stockport, Wolverhampton, Middlesborough (two packets), Barnstaple, Maryport, Scarborough, Portadown, Dublin (two packets), Southampton, Lincoln, Manchester (five packets), West Hartlepool (two packets), Warwick, Eccles, Shelley, Aberdeen, Chester, Stalybridge, Rusholme.

Mrs. Oliver Scatcherd has spoken at the following meetings arranged by your Committee:—Thornton, Eccleshill, Allerton, Wyke, Queensbury, Shipley, Bradford (nine), Whitehaven, Rotherham, Sheffield (twelve), Pontefract, Hyde, Keighley. In connection with the Scottish National Demonstration at Glasgow she has attended and spoken at public meetings in Edinburgh, Cambuslang, Crosshill, Partick, Govan, Helensburgh, Paisley, Greenock; and at drawing-room and other meetings, making fifty in all.

During the past year your secretary, Miss Becker, has continued to act also as secretary for the Central Committee, and has attended in London during the greater part of the Parliamentary Session. She has spoken at the meetings organised by your Committee at Cockermouth and Whitehaven, and at the demonstrations at Bradford, Sheffield, and Glasgow; has given a lecture at Harrogate, and one on the Rights of Women to the Parliamentary Suffrage, on behalf of the National Reform Union, at Tottington. She has

spoken at fifteen meetings in connection with the Central Committee, and continues to conduct the *Women's Suffrage Journal*.

During the past year your Committee's agent, Mrs. M'Cormick, has visited the following places:—Whitehaven, Bury, Ripon, Thirsk, Northallerton, Middlesbrough, Darlington, West Hartlepool, Sunderland, South Shields, Durham, Accrington, Southport, Cockermouth, Burnley, Church, Preston, Pontefract, Huddersfield, Blackburn, Crewe, Hull, Grimsby, Wakefield, London, Liverpool, Southsea, Bollington, Macclesfield, Leek, Hanley, Stafford, Lichfield, Tamworth, Retford, Boston, Newark, Chesterfield, Scarborough, Stockton-on-Tees, Bishop Auckland, Derby, Wigan, Grimsby, Kendal, and Penrith. Mrs. M'Cormick arranged and attended the demonstrations, meetings, and lectures organised by your Committee, and devoted the rest of her time to office and other work in Manchester. Your agent also assisted the Central Committee in arranging meetings in London in April, and in Southsea in May. She acted as organising agent of the Scottish National Demonstration of Women held in Glasgow on 3rd November.

#### REPORT OF THE HYDE BRANCH.

The Committee have much pleasure in presenting their first annual report, and, though they cannot show a great increase in the number of members or subscribers, they congratulate themselves upon having done good work during the year. The income for the year has been £11. 6s., and the expenditure £11. 8s. 4d., leaving a balance due to the treasurer of 2s. 4d.

In December, 1881, the first annual meeting was held in the Temperance Hall, Hyde. The meeting was presided over by John Alcock, Esq., and was very well attended. Addresses were given by Miss Carbutt, Miss Becker, Mrs. Moss, and Miss Hibbert (the president of society).

Four petitions have been presented to Parliament by the county member, W. Cunliffe Brooks, Esq.

Several members of the Committee have written to both of the county members requesting them to support Mr. Hugh Mason's motion on the "Corrupt Practices Bill," in the event of its coming before Parliament.

A large and enthusiastic meeting was held on October 16th, in the Mechanics' Hall, Hyde, in connection with the municipal elections. The chair was occupied by Mrs. Dowson, of Gee Cross. Addresses were also given by Mrs. Scatcherd, Mrs. A. Osler, of Birmingham, and other ladies, on the "Duties and responsibilities of the municipal vote."

During the past year, women have for the first time been admitted as graduates of the University of London. Graduates of a certain standing become members of Convocation, and, in that capacity, are entitled to vote in the election of the Parliamentary representative of the University. Women graduates will, therefore, presumably be entitled to be placed on the roll of Parliamentary electors for the University, on a qualification which has arisen since the decision of the Court of Common Pleas in 1868, thus an occasion may be afforded for raising the question of legal right of women to vote in a new shape in the law courts.

Although the measure is not directly connected with the subject of the Parliamentary Franchise for Women, your Committee felt that the passing of the Married Women's Property Act of 1882 was an event which called for some special notice at their hands. At their meeting next following the announcement that the Royal Assent had been given to the Act, the following resolution was passed and forwarded to the Secretary of the Married Women's Property Committee:—  
"That this Committee have observed with the greatest satisfaction the passing of the Married Women's Property Act, 1882. They regard this measure as a woman's emancipation Act of unprecedented magnitude, and they believe that the success of the effort to place the property rights of women on a just and safe basis will give a strong impetus to the movement for equal justice to women in every department of personal and political rights. They desire to tender to

the Married Women's Property Committee their hearty thanks and congratulations on the zeal and ability with which they have conducted the agitation and on the success which has attended their efforts. They beg to offer for the acceptance of the Married Women's Property Committee one thousand copies of the issue of September 1st of the *Women's Suffrage Journal*, which contains a reprint of the Act and other matter relating to the subject."

Mr. Mason has given notice that he will bring forward his resolution on the very earliest available day next session of Parliament. Under ordinary circumstances, it is considered desirable to arrange the Parliamentary debate in April or May, as that allows a longer period during which work may be done and petitions presented in support of the action of the Parliamentary leaders. But there has been already so much unavoidable delay, owing to the chances and changes of the Parliamentary session, that it is now held to be the best policy to take the very earliest day; and it is quite possible that the Resolution may come on for discussion early in February or March. Our friends are therefore urged to use the recess in the diligent preparation and presentation of petitions and other modes of influencing the decision of Parliament; and your Committee ask for a renewal of their trust and for efficient pecuniary and other support to enable them to do their part in preparing for the next year's work.



MANCHESTER NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

STATEMENT OF INCOME AND EXPENDITURE, YEAR ENDED 31st OCTOBER, 1882.

| Dr.                                |            | Cr.                                    |            |
|------------------------------------|------------|----------------------------------------|------------|
|                                    | £ s. d.    |                                        | £ s. d.    |
| Balance                            | 19 17 11   | Salaries and Office Expenses           | 551 0 7    |
| Subscriptions and Donations        | 1,571 17 6 | Office Furniture, Rent, Gas, Coal, &c. | 51 19 11   |
| Journals                           | £330 17 0½ | Postage and Telegrams                  | 603 0 6    |
| Postage                            | 21 10 0½   | Public Meetings                        | 44 0 7     |
| Advertisements                     | 47 10 3    | Printing                               | 462 8 11   |
| Pamphlets, &c.                     | 399 17 4   | Publications Bought—Journals           | 80 14 6    |
| Tickets sold: Public Meetings, &c. | 6 11 3     | Deputation Expenses                    | 202 2 0    |
| Bankers' Interest                  | 33 14 6    | Agent's Expenses, Collecting, &c.      | 5 10 0     |
|                                    | 2 8 0      | Lectures                               | 30 17 8    |
|                                    |            | Bankers' Commission, &c.               | 8 17 6     |
|                                    |            | Journal Account:—                      | 2 13 11    |
|                                    |            | Printing                               | £300 9 10  |
|                                    |            | Postage                                | 96 0 0     |
|                                    |            | Distribution, &c.                      | 149 10 3   |
|                                    |            | Reporting, &c.                         | 9 19 0     |
|                                    |            |                                        | 555 19 1   |
|                                    |            | Balance in Bank                        | 1,996 4 8  |
|                                    |            | in hands of Petty Cash Keeper          | £29 18 10  |
|                                    |            |                                        | 8 3 0      |
|                                    |            |                                        | 38 1 10    |
|                                    |            |                                        | £2,034 6 6 |

November 6th, 1882.

Audited and found correct.  
LOUIS BORCHARDT, M.D.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

Of the Society, held in the TOWN HALL, MANCHESTER,  
November 7th, 1882.

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

The Secretary read the Report of the Executive Committee.

The Treasurer read the Statement of Accounts.

Resolution I.—Moved by the Chairman, seconded by Mrs. Scatcherd, supported by Alderman Geo. Booth.

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

Resolution II.—Moved by Alderman Bennett, seconded by Mrs. Moss, supported by Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton.

That this meeting earnestly requests Mr. Mason to take steps for introducing the question of extending the parliamentary franchise to women who possess the qualifications which entitle men to vote at the earliest period after the opening of Parliament, and pledges itself to support his action by every means in its power next year.

Resolution III.—Moved by Miss Becker, seconded by Rev. S. A. Steinthal.

That this meeting expresses its hearty satisfaction at the passing of the Married Women's Property Act, 1882. It looks upon this measure as a woman's emancipation Act of unprecedented magnitude, and believes that the success of the effort to place the property rights of women on a just and safe basis will give a strong impetus to the movement for equal justice to women in every department of personal and political rights. It desires to tender to the members of the Married Women's Property Committee hearty thanks and congratulations on the zeal and ability with which they have conducted the agitation, and on the success which has attended their efforts.

Resolution IV.—Moved by Alderman Heywood, seconded by the Chairman.

That the following persons be the Executive Committee for the ensuing year:—Professor Adamson, Mrs. Armstrong, Miss Maria Atkinson, Miss Becker, Miss Carbutt, Thomas Chorlton, Esq., Mrs. Joseph Cross, Thos. Dale, Esq., Mrs. Gell, Miss Hibbert, Mrs. Lucas, Mrs. J. Mills, Dr. Pankhurst, Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Pearson, Mrs. Roby, Mrs. Oliver Scatcherd, Miss Elizabeth Smith, Rev. S. Alfred Steinthal, A. G. Symonds, Esq., J. P. Thomasson, Esq., M.P., Mrs. J. P. Thomasson, Mrs. Barton Wright, Miss Laura Whittle, with power to add to their number.

The Chair was taken by Rev. S. A. Steinthal.

Resolution V.—Moved by Mrs. Roby, seconded by Mr. Phythian.

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

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS.

FINANCIAL YEAR, 1881-82.

|                                                | £   | s. | d. |
|------------------------------------------------|-----|----|----|
| "A Friend" .. .. .                             | 150 | 0  | 0  |
| "Mitrailleuse" .. .. .                         | 100 | 0  | 0  |
| E. R. ... .. .                                 | 1   | 1  | 0  |
| "A Friend" (Huddersfield) ... .. .             | 1   | 1  | 0  |
| "A Very Sincere Friend" ... .. .               | 1   | 1  | 0  |
| R. L. ... .. .                                 | 1   | 1  | 0  |
| "Delta" ... .. .                               | 0   | 5  | 0  |
| O. A. C. ... .. .                              | 0   | 5  | 0  |
| H. E. ... .. .                                 | 0   | 5  | 0  |
| J. G. ... .. .                                 | 0   | 5  | 0  |
| "N. W. J." ... .. .                            | 0   | 5  | 0  |
| J. R. ... .. .                                 | 0   | 4  | 0  |
| "A Lover of Justice" ... .. .                  | 0   | 4  | 0  |
| "A. J. T." ... .. .                            | 0   | 2  | 6  |
| V. H. ... .. .                                 | 0   | 2  | 6  |
| X Y Z ... .. .                                 | 0   | 2  | 6  |
| "Beta" ... .. .                                | 0   | 2  | 6  |
| A. J. S. ... .. .                              | 0   | 2  | 6  |
| W. R. A. ... .. .                              | 0   | 2  | 6  |
| M. D. ... .. .                                 | 0   | 2  | 6  |
| B. B. ... .. .                                 | 0   | 2  | 6  |
| "Humphrey Clinker" ... .. .                    | 0   | 2  | 6  |
| "One who attended the Kendal Meeting" ... .. . | 0   | 2  | 6  |
| "A Friend" ... .. .                            | 0   | 1  | 6  |
| Anderson, Mrs. (London) ... .. .               | 1   | 1  | 0  |
| Atkinson, Mr. Joseph ... .. .                  | 1   | 0  | 0  |
| Astley, Mr. A. F. ... .. .                     | 0   | 12 | 6  |
| Atkinson, Miss Jane ... .. .                   | 0   | 10 | 6  |
| Atkinson, Miss Maria ... .. .                  | 0   | 10 | 6  |
| Alcock, Mr. Randal ... .. .                    | 0   | 10 | 0  |
| Alderson, Mr. ... .. .                         | 0   | 10 | 0  |
| Ainsworth, Mr. T. H. (Stockton) ... .. .       | 0   | 5  | 0  |
| Archibald, Mr. ... .. .                        | 0   | 5  | 0  |
| Ayre, Mrs. ... .. .                            | 0   | 5  | 0  |
| Aldis, Mr. Jas. A. ... .. .                    | 0   | 5  | 0  |
| Ainsworth, Mr. (Crewe) ... .. .                | 0   | 5  | 0  |
| Alward, Mr. Jas. ... .. .                      | 0   | 5  | 0  |
| Alward, Mr. Geo. ... .. .                      | 0   | 5  | 0  |
| Alexander, Mr. ... .. .                        | 0   | 5  | 0  |
| Allwood, Mr. John ... .. .                     | 0   | 5  | 0  |
| Axon, Mr. W. A. E. ... .. .                    | 0   | 2  | 6  |
| Awde, Mr. J. ... .. .                          | 0   | 2  | 6  |
| Addison, Mrs. (Preston) ... .. .               | 0   | 2  | 6  |
| Atkinson, Mr. H. (Grimsby) ... .. .            | 0   | 2  | 6  |
| Anderson, Mr. J. (Grimsby) ... .. .            | 0   | 2  | 6  |
| Atherton, Mrs. ... .. .                        | 0   | 2  | 6  |
| Antcliff, Mr. W. ... .. .                      | 0   | 2  | 6  |
| Addison, Mrs. (Chathill) ... .. .              | 0   | 2  | 6  |
| Ayrton, Mrs. ... .. .                          | 0   | 2  | 6  |

|                                     | £  | s. | d. |
|-------------------------------------|----|----|----|
| Atkinson, Mr. (Kendal)...           | 0  | 2  | 6  |
| Atkinson, Mrs. (Penrith) ...        | 0  | 2  | 6  |
| Ade, Mr. ...                        | 0  | 2  | 6  |
| Brooke, Miss Edith ...              | 10 | 0  | 0  |
| Browne, Mrs. S. W. ...              | 4  | 0  | 0  |
| Brennan, Miss ...                   | 2  | 2  | 0  |
| Brooke, Mr. Thos. ...               | 2  | 0  | 0  |
| Barran, Mr. John ...                | 1  | 1  | 0  |
| Baines, Sir Edward ...              | 1  | 1  | 0  |
| Bradney, Mrs. ...                   | 1  | 1  | 0  |
| Browne, Miss Annie ...              | 1  | 1  | 0  |
| Benson, Mr. R. ...                  | 1  | 1  | 0  |
| Brooke, Mrs. Edward ...             | 1  | 1  | 0  |
| Buss, Miss F. M. ...                | 1  | 1  | 0  |
| Barlow, Mr. James ...               | 1  | 1  | 0  |
| Bevington, Mr. A. ...               | 1  | 1  | 0  |
| Borchardt, Dr. ...                  | 1  | 1  | 0  |
| Broad & Co., Messrs. Jesse ...      | 1  | 1  | 0  |
| Barlow, Mrs. Gordon ...             | 1  | 1  | 0  |
| Barese, Princess Mele ...           | 1  | 0  | 0  |
| Biggs, Mr. Henry ...                | 1  | 0  | 0  |
| Burt, Mr. Jonathan ...              | 1  | 0  | 0  |
| Brooke, Miss Octavia ...            | 1  | 0  | 0  |
| Bingham, Mrs. ...                   | 1  | 0  | 0  |
| Bowling, Miss L. A. ...             | 1  | 0  | 0  |
| Bowman, Mr. Chas. ...               | 1  | 0  | 0  |
| Booth, Mr. Geo. ...                 | 0  | 10 | 6  |
| Brankston, Mrs. ...                 | 0  | 10 | 6  |
| Bewicke, Miss ...                   | 0  | 10 | 6  |
| Butler, Mrs. ...                    | 0  | 10 | 6  |
| Brocklebank, Mrs. Thos., jun. ...   | 0  | 10 | 6  |
| Butterwith, Mr. C. ...              | 0  | 10 | 6  |
| Brown, Mr. (Douglas), two years ... | 0  | 10 | 0  |
| Bramwell, Mr. J. ...                | 0  | 10 | 0  |
| Barnes, Miss ...                    | 0  | 10 | 0  |
| Bruce, Mr. ...                      | 0  | 10 | 0  |
| Burkell, Mrs. ...                   | 0  | 10 | 0  |
| Blair, Mr. G. Y. ...                | 0  | 10 | 0  |
| Brown, Mr. John (Stockton) ...      | 0  | 10 | 0  |
| Brown, Miss Helen (London) ...      | 0  | 10 | 0  |
| Brown, Miss M. A. (Wigan) ...       | 0  | 10 | 0  |
| Blacker, Mr. G. O. ...              | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| Blumer, Mr. J. G. ...               | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| Bell, Mr. J. H. ...                 | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| Biggart, Dr. ...                    | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| Barber, Mrs. ...                    | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| Boult, Miss Lucy ...                | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| Bramley, Mr. W. F. ...              | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| Belben, Mrs. ...                    | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| Barrow, Mr. John ...                | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| Brooke, Mrs. C. J. ...              | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| Baron, Mr. (Burnley) ...            | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| Baldwin, Mr. Wm. ...                | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| Briggs, Mr. (Crewe) ...             | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| Beacock, Mr. ...                    | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| Briggs, Miss (Cheltenham) ...       | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| Bleakley, Mrs. ...                  | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| Brough, Mr. Joshua ...              | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| Balgarnie, The Misses ...           | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| Blott, Mrs. ...                     | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| Beevor, Miss ...                    | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| Baker, Mr. A. (Servia) ...          | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| Barwise, Mr. ...                    | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| Boston, Mr. Joseph ...              | 0  | 3  | 0  |
| Bryan, Rev. Guy ...                 | 0  | 2  | 6  |

|                                    | £ | s. | d. |
|------------------------------------|---|----|----|
| Briggs, Mrs. (Hartlepool) ...      | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Brunt, Mrs. ...                    | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Brandreth, Mr. ...                 | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Braithwaite, Mrs. ...              | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Banks, Mr. John (Cockermouth) ...  | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Butler, Mr. Ed. ...                | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Burrows, Mrs. ...                  | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Biggs, Miss C. A. ...              | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Beale, Mr. A. W. ...               | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Brooke, Mr. Will. ...              | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Brooke, Mrs. J. (Batley) ...       | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Blamires, Mr. ...                  | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Brooks, Mrs. John (Hyde) ...       | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Busby, Mrs. H. ...                 | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Brocklesby, Mr. J. ...             | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Brocklesby, Mr. C. ...             | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Bates and Quash, Messrs. ...       | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Bruesey, Mr. ...                   | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Brown, the Misses (Hull) ...       | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Burton, Mr. ...                    | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Briggs, Mr. Joseph (Ulverston) ... | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Booth, Mrs. Wm. (Hyde) ...         | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Booth, Miss ...                    | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Baker, Mr. J. B. (Scarborough) ... | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Beckwith, Mr. J. ...               | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Bell, Mr. W. (Penrith) ...         | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Barralet, Mrs. ...                 | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Browning, Mrs. ...                 | 0 | 2  | 0  |
| Burniston, Mrs. ...                | 0 | 1  | 6  |
| Bates, Mr. ...                     | 0 | 1  | 6  |
| Blakey, Miss ...                   | 0 | 1  | 0  |
| Crook, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph ...     | 5 | 0  | 0  |
| Carbutt, Miss ...                  | 2 | 0  | 0  |
| Clark, Mrs. William ...            | 1 | 1  | 0  |
| Carlake, Mrs. ...                  | 1 | 1  | 0  |
| Cross, Mrs. Joseph ...             | 1 | 1  | 0  |
| Cooke, Mr. Isaac (Liverpool) ...   | 1 | 1  | 0  |
| Cooke, Captain ...                 | 1 | 1  | 0  |
| Chorlton, Mr. Thomas ...           | 1 | 1  | 0  |
| Cudworth, Mr. ...                  | 1 | 0  | 0  |
| Crossley, Mr. R. ...               | 1 | 0  | 0  |
| Craigie, Mrs. ...                  | 1 | 0  | 0  |
| Crawford, Miss Sharman ...         | 1 | 0  | 0  |
| Crossland, Mr. R. ...              | 0 | 10 | 6  |
| Clark, Mr. C. F. ...               | 0 | 10 | 6  |
| Cullwick, Mr. B. ...               | 0 | 10 | 6  |
| Carlill, Mr. B. ...                | 0 | 10 | 6  |
| Cooke, Mr. J. R. (Hanley) ...      | 0 | 10 | 6  |
| Common, Mr. A. ...                 | 0 | 10 | 0  |
| Crow, Rev. Thos. ...               | 0 | 10 | 0  |
| Collins, Rev. C., M.A. ...         | 0 | 10 | 0  |
| Cowgill, Mr. G. ...                | 0 | 10 | 0  |
| Chandler, Mrs. ...                 | 0 | 10 | 0  |
| Copestick, Mr. Thos. ...           | 0 | 7  | 6  |
| Carpenter, Mr. Thos. ...           | 0 | 6  | 6  |
| Carter, Mr. Thos. B. ...           | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Cameron, Dr. ...                   | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Clayton, Dr. ...                   | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Cronkshaw, Mrs. ...                | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Cronkshaw, Miss ...                | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Corbet, Mr. Miller ...             | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Cooke, Mr. F. (Crewe) ...          | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Caryl, Mr. Geo. (two years) ...    | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Cohen, Mr. ...                     | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Cooke, Mr. H. J. (Liverpool) ...   | 0 | 5  | 0  |

|                                    | £ | s. | d. |
|------------------------------------|---|----|----|
| Cogan, The Misses ... ..           | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Cheetham, Miss M. E. ... ..        | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Crapper, Mr. J. ... ..             | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Clark, Mrs. J. E. (York) ... ..    | 0 | 3  | 0  |
| Carter, Miss Laura ... ..          | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Coatsworth, Mrs. ... ..            | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Cochran, Mr. ... ..                | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Calvert, Mr. J. S. ... ..          | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Clarkson, Mr. G. F. ... ..         | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Cameron, Mr. R. ... ..             | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Collins, Mrs. ... ..               | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Crabtree, Mr. E. ... ..            | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Crew, Mrs. ... ..                  | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Curfew, Mrs. ... ..                | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Carson Miss ... ..                 | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Cox, Mr. J. R. ... ..              | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Cockerill, Mr. H. M. ... ..        | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Cross, Mr. H. M. ... ..            | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Carr, Mr. W. H. ... ..             | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Chorley, Mr. Geo. ... ..           | 0 | 2  | 0  |
| Cooper, Mr. (Northallerton) ... .. | 0 | 2  | 0  |
| Cooke, Mr. John (Grimsby) ... ..   | 0 | 1  | 6  |
| Carwood, Mr. ... ..                | 0 | 1  | 6  |
| Dewes, Dr. (two years) ... ..      | 2 | 2  | 0  |
| Dale, Mr. Thos. ... ..             | 1 | 1  | 0  |
| Dalby, Mr. G. B. ... ..            | 1 | 1  | 0  |
| Duckworth, Mr. ... ..              | 1 | 0  | 0  |
| Denham, Mr. ... ..                 | 1 | 0  | 0  |
| Doncaster, Mrs. C. ... ..          | 1 | 0  | 0  |
| Dick, Miss ... ..                  | 1 | 0  | 0  |
| Dodds, Mr. M. B., M.A. ... ..      | 0 | 10 | 6  |
| Dale, Mr. David ... ..             | 0 | 10 | 0  |
| Douglas, Mr. G. ... ..             | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Durham, Miss M. P. ... ..          | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Davies, Mr. Hugh ... ..            | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Drewry, Miss E. ... ..             | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Drewry, Mr. H. R. ... ..           | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Dixon, Mr. Joseph ... ..           | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Dulley, Miss ... ..                | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Dawson, Mrs. ... ..                | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Dunlop, Miss ... ..                | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Dickson, Mrs. James ... ..         | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Dowson, Mr. (Northallerton) ... .. | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Dean and Son, Messrs. ... ..       | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Dodd, Mr. T. ... ..                | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Danson, Mrs. F. C. ... ..          | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Danson, Mr. F. C. ... ..           | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Dowson, Mrs. (Gee Cross) ... ..    | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Dixon, Mrs. J. M. (Hull) ... ..    | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Dunkin, Miss ... ..                | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Dewe, Miss ... ..                  | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Douglas, Mr. B. ... ..             | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Dean, Mrs. ... ..                  | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| De Rome, Mr. ... ..                | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Dixon, Miss (Birmingham) ... ..    | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Eastwood, Mrs. Fred. ... ..        | 1 | 1  | 0  |
| Eccles, Miss ... ..                | 1 | 1  | 0  |
| Every, Mr. ... ..                  | 1 | 1  | 0  |
| Eccles, Mrs. A. E. ... ..          | 1 | 0  | 0  |
| Eccles, Mrs. James ... ..          | 0 | 10 | 6  |
| Evans, Mr. (Earlstown) ... ..      | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Errington, Mr. R. ... ..           | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Empson, Mr. H. ... ..              | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Eaton, Mr. J. (Crewe) ... ..       | 0 | 5  | 0  |

|                                             | £   | s. | d. |
|---------------------------------------------|-----|----|----|
| Elam, Mr. E. ... ..                         | 0   | 5  | 0  |
| Ellis, Mr. E. (Derby) ... ..                | 0   | 5  | 0  |
| Earp, Mr. F. ... ..                         | 0   | 5  | 0  |
| Earle, Miss ... ..                          | 0   | 5  | 0  |
| Ellis, Miss (Leicester) ... ..              | 0   | 4  | 0  |
| Ellis, Mr. Jonathan ... ..                  | 0   | 2  | 6  |
| Ebdall, Mrs. ... ..                         | 0   | 2  | 6  |
| Elliott, Rev. W. ... ..                     | 0   | 2  | 6  |
| Eddison, Mrs. R. W. ... ..                  | 0   | 2  | 6  |
| Evans, Mrs. (Bredon) ... ..                 | 0   | 2  | 6  |
| Ellis, Mrs. C. (Batley) ... ..              | 0   | 2  | 6  |
| Evans, Miss M. A. (Edgbaston) ... ..        | 0   | 2  | 6  |
| Fry, Mrs. Theo. ... ..                      | 2   | 0  | 0  |
| Ford, Mr. J. R. ... ..                      | 1   | 1  | 0  |
| Fowler, Mr. Alderman ... ..                 | 0   | 10 | 0  |
| Fowler, Mr. M. ... ..                       | 0   | 10 | 0  |
| Fothergill, Miss Jessie ... ..              | 0   | 10 | 0  |
| Fisk, Rev. Thos. (two years) ... ..         | 0   | 10 | 0  |
| Frankland, Mrs. (Donation) ... ..           | 0   | 6  | 6  |
| Fox, Mrs. B. J. ... ..                      | 0   | 6  | 6  |
| Fothergill, Mr. W. ... ..                   | 0   | 5  | 0  |
| Furness, Mr. T. ... ..                      | 0   | 5  | 0  |
| Foster, Mr. Geo. ... ..                     | 0   | 5  | 0  |
| Furness, Mr. R. (Accrington) ... ..         | 0   | 5  | 0  |
| Flint, Mr. John ... ..                      | 0   | 5  | 0  |
| Frost, Mr. Alfred ... ..                    | 0   | 5  | 0  |
| Flint, Mr. F. L. (London) ... ..            | 0   | 5  | 0  |
| Finch, Miss M. A. ... ..                    | 0   | 5  | 0  |
| Foggitt, Mr. ... ..                         | 0   | 3  | 0  |
| Fisher, Mr. T. G. (Darlington) ... ..       | 0   | 2  | 6  |
| Fawcett and Acomb, The Misses ... ..        | 0   | 2  | 6  |
| Fothergill, Mr. S. ... ..                   | 0   | 2  | 6  |
| Fairburn, Mrs. ... ..                       | 0   | 2  | 6  |
| Fairburn, Mr. ... ..                        | 0   | 2  | 6  |
| Folds, Mrs. ... ..                          | 0   | 2  | 6  |
| Fraser, Dr. ... ..                          | 0   | 2  | 6  |
| Field, Miss M. E. ... ..                    | 0   | 2  | 6  |
| Fox, Miss (Chesterfield) ... ..             | 0   | 2  | 6  |
| Garnett, Mrs. ... ..                        | 100 | 0  | 0  |
| Gell, Mrs. ... ..                           | 5   | 0  | 0  |
| Goldschmidt, Mr. P. ... ..                  | 5   | 0  | 0  |
| Grey, Mrs. Wm. (London) ... ..              | 2   | 2  | 0  |
| Gwynne, Mrs. ... ..                         | 1   | 1  | 0  |
| Gilman, Messrs. T. and R. ... ..            | 0   | 10 | 6  |
| Grundy, Mrs. (Derby) ... ..                 | 0   | 10 | 0  |
| Grey, Mr. Wm. (West Hartlepool) ... ..      | 0   | 10 | 0  |
| Griffith, Mrs. Thos. ... ..                 | 0   | 10 | 0  |
| Graham, Mr. Joseph ... ..                   | 0   | 10 | 0  |
| Goffey, Mr. Thos. ... ..                    | 0   | 10 | 0  |
| Greg, Mrs. (Macclesfield) ... ..            | 0   | 10 | 0  |
| Goodwin, Mr. Stephen ... ..                 | 0   | 10 | 0  |
| Graham, Mr. C. H. ... ..                    | 0   | 10 | 0  |
| Glover, Mr. John (Hull) ... ..              | 0   | 6  | 0  |
| Gibbs, Mr. G. S. ... ..                     | 0   | 5  | 0  |
| Glover, Mr. Alderman (South Shields) ... .. | 0   | 5  | 0  |
| Guthrie, Mr. Jas. ... ..                    | 0   | 5  | 0  |
| Graddon, Mr. G. ... ..                      | 0   | 5  | 0  |
| Gammage, Dr. ... ..                         | 0   | 5  | 0  |
| Glasspool, Mr. W. H. ... ..                 | 0   | 5  | 0  |
| Glaisyer, Mrs. ... ..                       | 0   | 5  | 0  |
| Gasquoine, Rev. Thos. ... ..                | 0   | 5  | 0  |
| Gillett, Mr. J. (Southport) ... ..          | 0   | 5  | 0  |
| Glover, Mr. T. (Crewe) ... ..               | 0   | 5  | 0  |
| Goouch, Miss ... ..                         | 0   | 5  | 0  |

|                                             | £ | s. | d. |
|---------------------------------------------|---|----|----|
| Grange, Mrs. ... ..                         | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Gidley, Mr., junr. ... ..                   | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Gee, Mr. W. T. ... ..                       | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Gibson, Mrs. ... ..                         | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Grundy, Mr. Jas. ... ..                     | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Gillett, Mr. Charles (Banbury) ... ..       | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Gidley, Mr., sen. ... ..                    | 0 | 3  | 0  |
| Gordon, Mrs. ... ..                         | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Gale, Mrs. ... ..                           | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Gibbons, Mr. ... ..                         | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Guthrie, The Misses ... ..                  | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Gurney, Miss Amy ... ..                     | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Greensmith, Mr. ... ..                      | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Gregson, Mrs. T. G. ... ..                  | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Godsman, Mrs. ... ..                        | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Gillard, Mr. ... ..                         | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Glandidge, Mr. G. ... ..                    | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Garnett, Mrs. (Ripon) ... ..                | 0 | 2  | 0  |
| Glossop, Mrs. ... ..                        | 0 | 2  | 0  |
| Griffiths, Mr. Will ... ..                  | 0 | 1  | 6  |
| Giles, Miss Lizzie ... ..                   | 0 | 1  | 6  |
| Greenwood, Mrs. Eliza ... ..                | 0 | 1  | 6  |
| Green, Mrs. (Romiley) ... ..                | 0 | 1  | 6  |
| Hunter, Mrs. Stephenson ... ..              | 5 | 7  | 0  |
| Holland, Mrs. C. (Liscard) ... ..           | 5 | 0  | 0  |
| Hargreaves, Mrs. Wm. ... ..                 | 5 | 0  | 0  |
| Heywood, Mrs. Abel ... ..                   | 2 | 2  | 0  |
| Hetherington, Mrs. ... ..                   | 1 | 2  | 6  |
| Hill, Mrs. William ... ..                   | 1 | 1  | 0  |
| Hunt, Mrs. ... ..                           | 1 | 1  | 0  |
| Hall, Mr. Robert (Bury) ... ..              | 1 | 1  | 0  |
| Haslam, Mrs. William ... ..                 | 1 | 1  | 0  |
| Haworth, Mrs. Jesse ... ..                  | 1 | 1  | 0  |
| Holden, Mr. Alderman E. T. (Walsall) ... .. | 1 | 1  | 0  |
| Hewson, Mrs. ... ..                         | 1 | 1  | 0  |
| Hulley, Mrs. ... ..                         | 1 | 1  | 0  |
| Haworth, Mr. A. ... ..                      | 1 | 1  | 0  |
| Handley, Mrs. Richard (two years) ... ..    | 1 | 0  | 6  |
| Hinners, Mrs. ... ..                        | 1 | 0  | 0  |
| Hall, Miss Tinker ... ..                    | 1 | 0  | 0  |
| Hart, Mr. H. G. ... ..                      | 1 | 0  | 0  |
| Hall, Mr. Anthony (B. Auckland) ... ..      | 0 | 10 | 6  |
| Helm, Mr. S. L. ... ..                      | 0 | 10 | 0  |
| Horan, Mr. ... ..                           | 0 | 10 | 0  |
| Hewit, Mr. R. P. ... ..                     | 0 | 10 | 0  |
| Hill, Mr. Ed. (York) ... ..                 | 0 | 10 | 0  |
| Hunter, Rev. John ... ..                    | 0 | 10 | 0  |
| Hindle, Alderman (Accrington) ... ..        | 0 | 10 | 0  |
| Herald, Mr. W. H. ... ..                    | 0 | 10 | 0  |
| Hurtley, Mr. R. J. ... ..                   | 0 | 10 | 0  |
| Heath, Alderman (Crewe) ... ..              | 0 | 10 | 0  |
| Hibbert, Miss ... ..                        | 0 | 10 | 0  |
| Hadwen, Miss ... ..                         | 0 | 10 | 0  |
| Harding, Mr. W. ... ..                      | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Huntrod, Mr. ... ..                         | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Hinton, Mr. Amos ... ..                     | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Hodgson, Mr. S. S. ... ..                   | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Hill, Mr. James (Castleton) ... ..          | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Hey, Ven. Archdeacon ... ..                 | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Hill, Mr. John (York) ... ..                | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Hurtley, Miss ... ..                        | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Holloway, Mr. ... ..                        | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Hodgson, Dr. ... ..                         | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Haigh, Mr. B. ... ..                        | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Hindley, Mr. W. ... ..                      | 0 | 5  | 0  |

|                                       | £ | s. | d. |
|---------------------------------------|---|----|----|
| Hall, Mr. William (Derby) ... ..      | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Husband, Mr. Alderman ... ..          | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Howarth, Mr. G. ... ..                | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Heaton, Mrs. (Wigan) ... ..           | 0 | 4  | 0  |
| Howell, Mrs. ... ..                   | 0 | 4  | 0  |
| Heap, Mr. Thos. (Kendal) ... ..       | 0 | 3  | 6  |
| Higginbottom, Mr. J. ... ..           | 0 | 3  | 0  |
| Hollins, Mrs. ... ..                  | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Holland, Mrs. (London) ... ..         | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Hutchinson, Mr. ... ..                | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Hall, Mr. J. W. (Thirsk) ... ..       | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Hudson Mr. Thomas ... ..              | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Horsley, Mr. S. ... ..                | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Heath, Mrs. R. (St. Leonards) ... ..  | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Hopkinson, Mrs. ... ..                | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Hampson, Mrs. ... ..                  | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Hibbert, Mrs. J. C. ... ..            | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Haigh, Mr. Joseph ... ..              | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Holden, Mr. R. (Burnley) ... ..       | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Hughes, Miss ... ..                   | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Harvey, Mr. J. P. ... ..              | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Hibbert, Mrs. Chas. ... ..            | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Hilton, Mr. E. (Grimsby) ... ..       | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Haller, Mr. T. ... ..                 | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Higginbottom, Mrs. Jas. (Hyde) ... .. | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Hadley, Mr. J. ... ..                 | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Hall, Mr. S. (Derby) ... ..           | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Henry, Mr. R. ... ..                  | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Hildyard, Mr. J. ... ..               | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Heaton, Mr. W. (Kendal) ... ..        | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Hibbert, Mrs. Thos. (Hyde) ... ..     | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Hargreaves, Mr. ... ..                | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Hill, Miss S. ... ..                  | 0 | 2  | 0  |
| Harris, Mr. H. ... ..                 | 0 | 2  | 0  |
| Hill, Mr. C. (Crewe) ... ..           | 0 | 2  | 0  |
| Hurst, Miss Alice ... ..              | 0 | 1  | 6  |
| Heath, Mrs. ... ..                    | 0 | 1  | 0  |
| Henthwaite, Mrs. ... ..               | 0 | 1  | 0  |
| Hudson, Miss ... ..                   | 0 | 1  | 0  |
| Illingworth, Mrs. Alfred ... ..       | 2 | 2  | 0  |
| Ireland, Messrs. A., & Co. ... ..     | 1 | 1  | 0  |
| Ingham, Mr. (Stretford) ... ..        | 1 | 0  | 0  |
| Irwell, Mr. H. ... ..                 | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Ingham, Mrs. (Southport) ... ..       | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Ives, Mrs. ... ..                     | 0 | 3  | 0  |
| Imrie, Mr. ... ..                     | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Jaffray, Miss ... ..                  | 2 | 0  | 0  |
| Jacoby, Mr. A. ... ..                 | 1 | 1  | 0  |
| Jacques, Mr. Amos ... ..              | 0 | 10 | 0  |
| Jordison, Mr. ... ..                  | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Jeffs, Mr. G. ... ..                  | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Jackson, Mr. (Grimsby) ... ..         | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Johnson, Miss (Wigan) ... ..          | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Joyce, Miss ... ..                    | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Jenkinson, Mrs. (Patterdale) ... ..   | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Johnson, Mrs. E. S. ... ..            | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Johnson, Mr. (Dumfries) ... ..        | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Jackson, Miss Sara ... ..             | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Johnson, Miss (Wapley) ... ..         | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Jacob, Mrs. ... ..                    | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Julian, Mr. ... ..                    | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Jones, Mr. J. (Derby) ... ..          | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Jeffreys, Miss ... ..                 | 0 | 2  | 6  |

|                                                | £  | s. | d. |
|------------------------------------------------|----|----|----|
| Jackson, Mrs. (Hyde) ... ..                    | 0  | 2  | 6  |
| Johnson, Mr. T. W. (Cockermouth) ... ..        | 0  | 2  | 0  |
| King, Mrs. E. M. ... ..                        | 2  | 5  | 0  |
| Kitching, Mrs. ... ..                          | 1  | 0  | 0  |
| Kerr, Mr. James ... ..                         | 1  | 0  | 0  |
| Kilner & Crosland, Messrs. ... ..              | 0  | 10 | 6  |
| Kenderdine, Mrs. ... ..                        | 0  | 10 | 0  |
| Kipling, Miss ... ..                           | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| Kitchin, Mrs. W. H. ... ..                     | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| Knott, Mr. J. (Crewe) ... ..                   | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| Keeton, Mr. C. J. ... ..                       | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| Kelsall, Mr. ... ..                            | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| Kilmister, Mrs. ... ..                         | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| Kirby, Mr. Thomas ... ..                       | 0  | 2  | 6  |
| Kelley, Mr. (Grimsby) ... ..                   | 0  | 2  | 6  |
| Kent, Mrs. (London) ... ..                     | 6  | 2  | 0  |
| Kaye, Mrs. E. ... ..                           | 0  | 2  | 0  |
| Kendal, Mr. Jas. ... ..                        | 0  | 1  | 6  |
| Kirkpatrick, Mrs. ... ..                       | 0  | 1  | 6  |
| Lightbown, Mr. ... ..                          | 3  | 3  | 0  |
| Long, Mrs. ... ..                              | 2  | 0  | 0  |
| Lucas, Mrs. ... ..                             | 1  | 1  | 0  |
| Lawson, Mr. Wm. ... ..                         | 1  | 1  | 0  |
| Longdon, Mr. Alderman, J.P. ... ..             | 1  | 1  | 0  |
| Lupton, Mr. J. ... ..                          | 1  | 1  | 0  |
| Lupton, Mr. Darnton ... ..                     | 1  | 1  | 0  |
| Luccock, Mrs. ... ..                           | 1  | 0  | 0  |
| Lalone, Mons. (pro Mrs. Wilkins, Paris) ... .. | 0  | 15 | 11 |
| Lucas, Miss (Harrogate), two years ... ..      | 0  | 15 | 0  |
| Letherbrow, Mrs. (Stockport), two years ... .. | 0  | 10 | 0  |
| Livens, Mrs. (Leicester) ... ..                | 0  | 6  | 6  |
| Lamplough, Miss ... ..                         | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| Lucas, Mrs. (Darlington) ... ..                | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| Lyll, Mr. G., F.R.S. ... ..                    | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| Lawson, Mrs. (Leeds) ... ..                    | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| Lupton, Miss M. (St. Asaph) ... ..             | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| Lyon, Mr. J. A. ... ..                         | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| Leather, Mrs. ... ..                           | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| Littlecote, Rev. T. G. ... ..                  | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| Lamb, Dr. ... ..                               | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| Leech, Mrs. (Chorley) ... ..                   | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| Lea, Mrs. W. (Wigan) ... ..                    | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| Lingford, Mr. Joseph ... ..                    | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| Lingford, Mr. S. S. ... ..                     | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| Little, Mr. ... ..                             | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| Lohner, Madame E. (Paris) ... ..               | 0  | 3  | 2  |
| Lucas, Miss C. ... ..                          | 0  | 2  | 6  |
| Lucas, Miss A. ... ..                          | 0  | 2  | 6  |
| Linsley, Mr. G. W. ... ..                      | 0  | 2  | 6  |
| Lord, Miss F. (Forest Hill) ... ..             | 0  | 2  | 6  |
| Lord, Miss (London) ... ..                     | 0  | 2  | 6  |
| Leatham, Mrs. (York) ... ..                    | 0  | 2  | 6  |
| Lundy, Mrs. ... ..                             | 0  | 2  | 6  |
| Lanes, Mrs. Ann ... ..                         | 0  | 2  | 6  |
| Linsley, Mr. G. W. ... ..                      | 0  | 2  | 6  |
| Lowe, Mr. J. ... ..                            | 0  | 2  | 6  |
| Lester, Mr. Thos. ... ..                       | 0  | 2  | 0  |
| Leadbeater, Mr. ... ..                         | 0  | 1  | 6  |
| Mason, Mr. Hugh, M.P. ... ..                   | 21 | 0  | 0  |
| Manfield, Mr. (two years) ... ..               | 2  | 2  | 0  |
| Mather, Mr. W. ... ..                          | 2  | 2  | 0  |
| Muir, Mrs. ... ..                              | 2  | 0  | 0  |

|                                         | £ | s. | d. |
|-----------------------------------------|---|----|----|
| Mills, Mrs. John ... ..                 | 2 | 0  | 0  |
| Mordan, Miss (London) ... ..            | 1 | 1  | 0  |
| March, Mr. J. O. ... ..                 | 1 | 1  | 0  |
| Marshall, Mrs. John ... ..              | 1 | 1  | 0  |
| M'Culloch, Mrs., The late ... ..        | 1 | 1  | 0  |
| M'Kinnel, Mrs. ... ..                   | 1 | 1  | 0  |
| Marsden, Mr. Jas. (Wigan) ... ..        | 1 | 1  | 0  |
| Mason, Mrs. (York) ... ..               | 1 | 1  | 0  |
| Milne, Mr. J. D. ... ..                 | 1 | 0  | 0  |
| Muirhead, Dr. ... ..                    | 1 | 0  | 0  |
| M'Dougall, Mrs. (two years) ... ..      | 1 | 0  | 0  |
| Mathers, Mr. J. S. ... ..               | 0 | 10 | 6  |
| Marshall, Mr. Stephen ... ..            | 0 | 10 | 0  |
| M'Connell, Mrs. (Southport) ... ..      | 0 | 10 | 0  |
| Moore, Dr. ... ..                       | 0 | 10 | 0  |
| Mitchell, Miss Kate ... ..              | 0 | 6  | 0  |
| Massey, Mrs. (Derby) ... ..             | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Mackenzie, Rev. Jas. ... ..             | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Middleton, Mr. R. M. ... ..             | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| March, Mrs. (Rochdale) ... ..           | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Marsh, Miss (Southport) ... ..          | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| M'Kerrow, Mrs. ... ..                   | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Moore, Mrs. R. R. ... ..                | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Mudd, Mr. Harrison ... ..               | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Meadows, Mr. J. P. ... ..               | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Molyneux, Mr. ... ..                    | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Moody, Mr. Walker ... ..                | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Moss and Sons, Messrs. (Grimsby) ... .. | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Mundahl, Mr. ... ..                     | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Minshall, Mr. Philip ... ..             | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Melling, Mrs. ... ..                    | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Melling, Mr. Sam ... ..                 | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| May, Mr. Councillor ... ..              | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Mackenzie, Mr. (Newark) ... ..          | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Maltby, Mr. ... ..                      | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Morrison, Miss ... ..                   | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Mackenzie, Miss G. ... ..               | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Mudd, Mr. W. ... ..                     | 0 | 4  | 0  |
| Mitchell, Mrs. ... ..                   | 0 | 3  | 0  |
| M'Kitrick, Miss ... ..                  | 0 | 3  | 0  |
| Marsh, Mrs. ... ..                      | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Maloney, Mrs. (Hyde) ... ..             | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Monkhouse, Mrs. (Huddersfield) ... ..   | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Markland, Mr. R. ... ..                 | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Mellor, Rev. W. ... ..                  | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Meakin, Mr. J. ... ..                   | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Moss, Mrs. (Hyde) ... ..                | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Martin, Miss Lillie ... ..              | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Mudd, Mr. Simon ... ..                  | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Melling, Miss ... ..                    | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Melling, Miss Emily ... ..              | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Murgatroyd, Mr. ... ..                  | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Maude, Mr. John ... ..                  | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Mandall, Mr. E. ... ..                  | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Moseley, Mr. Joshua ... ..              | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Monkhouse, Mr. J. (Kendal) ... ..       | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| M'Kay, Mrs. ... ..                      | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Musgrove, Mr. W. ... ..                 | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Milner, Mrs. ... ..                     | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Maud, Mr. (Pontefract) ... ..           | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Moffet, Rev. J. ... ..                  | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Moses, Mrs. ... ..                      | 0 | 2  | 0  |
| Mawer, Mrs. ... ..                      | 0 | 2  | 0  |
| Martin, Mrs. (Kirkby Stephen) ... ..    | 0 | 1  | 6  |
| Mawson, Miss ... ..                     | 0 | 1  | 6  |
| Mawby, Mrs. ... ..                      | 0 | 1  | 6  |

|                                            | £  | s. | d. |
|--------------------------------------------|----|----|----|
| Merritt, Mrs. ... ..                       | 0  | 1  | 0  |
| Nicholson, Mr. J. O. (Macclesfield) ... .. | 1  | 1  | 0  |
| Nicholson, Mr. Arthur (Leek) ... ..        | 0  | 10 | 0  |
| Nichol, Miss (West Hartlepool) ... ..      | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| Newbegin, Mr. ... ..                       | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| Nevins, Dr. ... ..                         | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| Nicholson, Dr. (Penrith) ... ..            | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| Norton, Mr. (Derby) ... ..                 | 0  | 2  | 6  |
| Neville, Mrs. ... ..                       | 0  | 2  | 6  |
| Nicholson, Miss (Southport) ... ..         | 0  | 2  | 6  |
| Nuttall, Miss ... ..                       | 0  | 2  | 6  |
| Newton, Mrs. (London) ... ..               | 0  | 2  | 0  |
| Newling, Miss... ..                        | 0  | 1  | 6  |
| Newton, Mrs. Jas. ... ..                   | 0  | 1  | 0  |
| Oates, Mrs. Ed. ... ..                     | 2  | 2  | 0  |
| Ogden, Mrs. ... ..                         | 2  | 2  | 0  |
| Oxley, The Misses ... ..                   | 0  | 10 | 0  |
| Owen, Mrs. W. R. ... ..                    | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| Oldham, Mrs. (Ditton) ... ..               | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| Owen, Mrs. Jane (Conway) ... ..            | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| Owen, Mr. J. (Derby) ... ..                | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| Oldham, Mrs. Orlando ... ..                | 0  | 2  | 6  |
| Oldham, Mrs. Eliza (Rochdale) ... ..       | 0  | 2  | 6  |
| Oliphant, Miss ... ..                      | 0  | 2  | 6  |
| Oldham, Mrs. John ... ..                   | 0  | 2  | 6  |
| Pease, Mr. Arthur, M.P. ... ..             | 10 | 0  | 0  |
| Pease, Mrs. Gurney ... ..                  | 5  | 0  | 0  |
| Palmer, Mr. Hinde, M.P. ... ..             | 1  | 1  | 0  |
| Potter, Mr. T. B., M.P. ... ..             | 1  | 1  | 0  |
| Peiser, Mr. J. ... ..                      | 1  | 1  | 0  |
| Pankhurst, Dr. ... ..                      | 1  | 1  | 0  |
| Pankhurst, Mrs. ... ..                     | 1  | 1  | 0  |
| Mr. Phythian ... ..                        | 1  | 1  | 0  |
| Pearson, Mrs. (two years) ... ..           | 1  | 0  | 6  |
| Price, Mr. Wm. (Llantrissant) ... ..       | 1  | 0  | 0  |
| Pain, Mr. Wm. ... ..                       | 0  | 10 | 6  |
| Pease, Miss ... ..                         | 0  | 10 | 0  |
| Petrie, Mrs. Joseph ... ..                 | 0  | 10 | 0  |
| Prideaux, Miss ... ..                      | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| Procter, Miss ... ..                       | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| Pierson, Miss (Harrogate) ... ..           | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| Pearson, Mr. R. (Thirsk) ... ..            | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| Parker, Mr. Coor ... ..                    | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| Philips, Mrs. (Shifnal) ... ..             | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| Parsons, Miss ... ..                       | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| Pilcher, Miss ... ..                       | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| Parker, Mr. S. (York) ... ..               | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| Procter, Mr. John (York) ... ..            | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| Pedley, Mr. Councillor R. (Crewe) ... ..   | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| Plaistow, Mr. ... ..                       | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| Prideaux, Miss (Ivybridge) ... ..          | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| Pearson, Mr. T. (Chesterfield) ... ..      | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| Pearson, Miss (Chesterfield) ... ..        | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| Parker, Mrs. (Chesterfield) ... ..         | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| Phillips, Mr. J. A. ... ..                 | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| Pullar, Mrs. Edmund ... ..                 | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| Pick, Mr. D. ... ..                        | 0  | 3  | 6  |
| Patterson, Mr. (Belfast) ... ..            | 0  | 2  | 6  |
| Pyke, Captain ... ..                       | 0  | 2  | 6  |
| Philips, Miss E. Parsons ... ..            | 0  | 2  | 6  |
| Peter, Mrs. ... ..                         | 0  | 2  | 6  |
| Parker, Mr. Wm. (Heckmondwike) ... ..      | 0  | 2  | 6  |

|                                            | £  | s. | d. |
|--------------------------------------------|----|----|----|
| Parker, Mrs. W. (Heckmondwike) ... ..      | 0  | 2  | 6  |
| Priest, Mr. Alderman (Crewe) ... ..        | 0  | 2  | 6  |
| Potts, Mrs. A. W. (Crewe) ... ..           | 0  | 2  | 6  |
| Pointon, Mrs. ... ..                       | 0  | 2  | 6  |
| Paterson, Mr. John (Paisley) ... ..        | 0  | 2  | 6  |
| Pearce, Mr. ... ..                         | 0  | 2  | 6  |
| Pike, Miss Emma (Chesterfield) ... ..      | 0  | 2  | 6  |
| Pope, Mr. ... ..                           | 0  | 2  | 6  |
| Partridge, Mr. ... ..                      | 0  | 2  | 6  |
| Parkinson, Mrs. (Preston) ... ..           | 0  | 2  | 0  |
| Puckering, Mr. Wm. ... ..                  | 0  | 1  | 6  |
| Rylands, Mrs. John... ..                   | 5  | 0  | 0  |
| Rhys, Mrs. (two years) ... ..              | 2  | 2  | 0  |
| Rigbye, Miss H. ... ..                     | 2  | 0  | 0  |
| Ramsbottom, Miss ... ..                    | 2  | 0  | 0  |
| Richardson, Mr. Thos., M.P. ... ..         | 1  | 1  | 0  |
| Richardson, Mrs. H. (York) ... ..          | 1  | 0  | 0  |
| Roby, Mrs. ... ..                          | 1  | 0  | 0  |
| Renals, Mr. Alderman ... ..                | 0  | 10 | 6  |
| Roeder, Mrs. ... ..                        | 0  | 10 | 0  |
| Rowley, Mr. C., junr. ... ..               | 0  | 10 | 0  |
| Radford, Mr. Charles ... ..                | 0  | 6  | 6  |
| Ritchie and Eason, Messrs. ... ..          | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| Ridgway, Mr. ... ..                        | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| Rowntree, Mr. Joshua ... ..                | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| Rowntree, Mrs. W. ... ..                   | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| Rowlinson, Mr. (London) ... ..             | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| Rowland, Mrs. (Tyldesley) ... ..           | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| Russell, Mr. J. (Grimsby) ... ..           | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| Rowcroft, Mrs. ... ..                      | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| Reuss, Mr. ... ..                          | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| Robinson, Mr. G. H. (Huddersfield) ... ..  | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| Rimmer, Mrs. ... ..                        | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| Rotherford, Mrs. J. ... ..                 | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| Robertson, Mr. W. L. ... ..                | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| Rodwell, Mr. J. W. ... ..                  | 0  | 3  | 0  |
| Ready, Mr. T. W. ... ..                    | 0  | 2  | 6  |
| Ridgway, Mr. Joseph ... ..                 | 0  | 2  | 6  |
| Rayner, Mrs. J. B. ... ..                  | 0  | 2  | 6  |
| Robinson, Mr. G. H. (Northallerton) ... .. | 0  | 2  | 6  |
| Rymer, Mrs. H. ... ..                      | 0  | 2  | 6  |
| Robinson, Mr. H. (Hull) ... ..             | 0  | 2  | 6  |
| Robinson, Mr. W. B. (Chesterfield) ... ..  | 0  | 2  | 6  |
| Russell, Mrs. ... ..                       | 0  | 2  | 6  |
| Robinson, Mr. John (Kendal) ... ..         | 0  | 2  | 6  |
| Ruscoe, Mrs. ... ..                        | 0  | 2  | 6  |
| Roberts, Rev. W. L. ... ..                 | 0  | 2  | 0  |
| Roberts, Mr. R. G. (Grimsby) ... ..        | 0  | 2  | 0  |
| Robinson, Mrs. C. H. (Batley) ... ..       | 0  | 2  | 0  |
| Scatcherd, Mrs. Oliver ... ..              | 10 | 0  | 0  |
| Smithson, Mrs. Ed. ... ..                  | 5  | 0  | 0  |
| Sykes, Mr. D. E. F. ... ..                 | 3  | 3  | 0  |
| Steinthal, Rev. S. A. (two years) ... ..   | 2  | 2  | 0  |
| Slagg, Mr. John, M.P. ... ..               | 1  | 1  | 0  |
| Samelson, Dr. ... ..                       | 1  | 1  | 0  |
| Sheffield, Mrs. ... ..                     | 1  | 1  | 0  |
| Sales, Madame ... ..                       | 1  | 1  | 0  |
| Saxton, Miss Harriet ... ..                | 1  | 1  | 0  |
| Spence, Mrs. ... ..                        | 1  | 1  | 0  |
| Swanwick, Mrs. ... ..                      | 1  | 1  | 0  |
| Scott, Mrs. ... ..                         | 1  | 1  | 0  |
| Stephens, Mr. H. C. ... ..                 | 1  | 1  | 0  |
| Smith, Mr. J. Stores (Chesterfield) ... .. | 1  | 1  | 0  |
| Steinthal, Mr. H. M. ... ..                | 1  | 1  | 0  |

|                                              | £ | s. | d. |
|----------------------------------------------|---|----|----|
| Scott, Mrs. (Burnley) ... ..                 | 1 | 0  | 0  |
| Simpson, Mr. Chas. (Lichfield) ... ..        | 1 | 0  | 0  |
| Swanwick, Mrs. ... ..                        | 1 | 0  | 0  |
| Sharman, Mrs. N. Pearce ... ..               | 1 | 0  | 0  |
| Shadforth, Mr. R. ... ..                     | 0 | 10 | 6  |
| Samuelson, Mr. Jas. (Liverpool) ... ..       | 0 | 10 | 6  |
| Southern, Mr. ... ..                         | 0 | 10 | 6  |
| Stead, Mrs. George ... ..                    | 0 | 10 | 0  |
| Spence, Mrs. Alfred ... ..                   | 0 | 10 | 0  |
| Smith, Mr. Councillor W. (Accrington) ... .. | 0 | 10 | 0  |
| Smith, Miss (Hyde) ... ..                    | 0 | 10 | 0  |
| Smith, Mr. Jas. (Liverpool) ... ..           | 0 | 10 | 0  |
| Simpson, Mr. Wm. ... ..                      | 0 | 10 | 0  |
| Stothart, Mr. ... ..                         | 0 | 10 | 0  |
| Shaw, Mrs. ... ..                            | 0 | 10 | 0  |
| Seatree, Mr. Wm. ... ..                      | 0 | 10 | 0  |
| Shore, Miss ... ..                           | 0 | 10 | 0  |
| Swanwick, Dr. ... ..                         | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Scott, Mr. A., B.A. ... ..                   | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Stainsby, Mr. J. ... ..                      | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Smith, Mrs. A. (Ripson) ... ..               | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Smith, Mr. B. (Thirsk) ... ..                | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Sherwood, Mrs. ... ..                        | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Swaine, Miss ... ..                          | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Shepley, Mr. Thos. ... ..                    | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Sager, Mr. Thos. ... ..                      | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Sheard, Mr. F. ... ..                        | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Smethurst, Mr. H., J.P. ... ..               | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Smethurst, Mr. H., jun. ... ..               | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Stephenson, Mr. Thos. ... ..                 | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Smethurst, Mr. S. ... ..                     | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Senior, Mr. George ... ..                    | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Sugden, Mr. ... ..                           | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Shenton, Mr. ... ..                          | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Silvester, Mr. ... ..                        | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Sharp, Mr. John (Stockton) ... ..            | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Sinclair, Mr. A. ... ..                      | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Shatwell, Miss M. ... ..                     | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Slater, Rev. S. C., M.A. ... ..              | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Snaith, Mrs. (two years) .. ..               | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Stroyan, Mrs. ... ..                         | 0 | 4  | 0  |
| Smith, Mrs. (Huddersfield) ... ..            | 0 | 3  | 0  |
| Snowdon, Miss ... ..                         | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Slatter, Mrs. (Canterbury) ... ..            | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Smith, Miss (Darlington) ... ..              | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Snow, Mrs. ... ..                            | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Smith, Mr. W. Herbert (Durham) ... ..        | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Shadforth, Mr. W. ... ..                     | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Slater, Mr. Thos. (Bury) ... ..              | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Stanton, Mrs. ... ..                         | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Sidway, Mrs. A. ... ..                       | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Smith, Mrs. (York) ... ..                    | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Smith, Mr. Wm. (Accrington) ... ..           | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Smith, Mr. T. P. (Burnley) ... ..            | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Stephens, Mr. J. (Blackburn) ... ..          | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Senior, Mr. W. (Batley) ... ..               | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Sheard, Mrs. Preston (Batley) ... ..         | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Swaine, Mrs. (Hyde) ... ..                   | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Smith, Mrs. J. Kerton (Hyde) ... ..          | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Smith, Mr. R. (Grimsby) ... ..               | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Sinclair, Mr. R. (Grimsby) ... ..            | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Scotson, Mr. Jas. ... ..                     | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Saunders, Mr. (Newark) ... ..                | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Small, Dr. ... ..                            | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Smethurst, Mr. (Scarboro') ... ..            | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Smith, Miss (B. Auckland) ... ..             | 0 | 2  | 6  |

|                                                    | £   | s. | d. |
|----------------------------------------------------|-----|----|----|
| Schofield, Miss ... ..                             | 0   | 2  | 6  |
| Smith, Mrs. (Kettering) ... ..                     | 0   | 2  | 6  |
| Shaw, Miss Susan ... ..                            | 0   | 2  | 6  |
| Simpson, Mr. T. (Kendal) ... ..                    | 0   | 2  | 6  |
| Sharp, Mr. T. ... ..                               | 0   | 2  | 6  |
| Scott, Miss (Penrith) ... ..                       | 0   | 2  | 6  |
| Sidway, Mrs. J. ... ..                             | 0   | 2  | 6  |
| Starling, Mr. H. ... ..                            | 0   | 2  | 6  |
| Sherlock, Mr. ... ..                               | 0   | 2  | 0  |
| Solomons, Miss ... ..                              | 0   | 2  | 0  |
| Smallpage, Mrs. ... ..                             | 0   | 1  | 6  |
| Sunley, Mrs. ... ..                                | 0   | 1  | 0  |
| Thomasson, Mr. Thos., Executors of the late ... .. | 200 | 0  | 0  |
| Thomasson, Mr. and Mrs. J. P. ... ..               | 180 | 0  | 0  |
| Todd, Miss (Chester) ... ..                        | 5   | 0  | 0  |
| Talbot, Mr. W. ... ..                              | 1   | 1  | 0  |
| Taylor, Mrs. Henry (Manchester) ... ..             | 1   | 1  | 0  |
| Taylor, Mrs. T. (London) ... ..                    | 1   | 1  | 0  |
| Tozer, Mr. Alfred ... ..                           | 1   | 1  | 0  |
| Tatham, Mr. (Leeds) ... ..                         | 1   | 0  | 0  |
| Taylor, Mrs. Whateley Cooke ... ..                 | 1   | 0  | 0  |
| Twentyman, Rev. G. ... ..                          | 0   | 10 | 6  |
| Thompson, Mr. R. (York) ... ..                     | 0   | 10 | 0  |
| Thompson, Miss (Preston) ... ..                    | 0   | 10 | 0  |
| Taylor, Mr. John (Blackburn) ... ..                | 0   | 10 | 0  |
| Thorns, Mr. Alderman ... ..                        | 0   | 10 | 0  |
| Taylor, Mr. Jas. (Sunderland) ... ..               | 0   | 5  | 0  |
| Turnbull, Mr. (West Hartlepool) ... ..             | 0   | 5  | 0  |
| Thorp, Mrs. Fielden ... ..                         | 0   | 5  | 0  |
| Thompson, Mr. John (Burnley) ... ..                | 0   | 5  | 0  |
| Taylor, Rev. W. J. ... ..                          | 0   | 5  | 0  |
| Tweeddale, Mrs. (Hyde) ... ..                      | 0   | 5  | 0  |
| Thorpe, Mr. Jas. (Grimsby) ... ..                  | 0   | 5  | 0  |
| Thomas, Mrs. (Manchester), two years ... ..        | 0   | 5  | 0  |
| Teale, Mr. J. W., M.A. ... ..                      | 0   | 5  | 0  |
| Thompson, Mr. John (Kendal) ... ..                 | 0   | 5  | 0  |
| Tugwell, Mrs. (two years) ... ..                   | 0   | 5  | 0  |
| Thorniley, Mrs. Thos. ... ..                       | 0   | 3  | 0  |
| Tranmar, Miss ... ..                               | 0   | 3  | 0  |
| Tanfield, Mr. ... ..                               | 0   | 2  | 6  |
| Taylor, Mr. W. (Middlesborough) ... ..             | 0   | 2  | 6  |
| Tebb, Mrs. ... ..                                  | 0   | 2  | 6  |
| Towler, Mr. A. ... ..                              | 0   | 2  | 6  |
| Thompson, Mr. Alderman (Blackburn) ... ..          | 0   | 2  | 6  |
| Thompson, Mrs. (Dudley) ... ..                     | 0   | 2  | 6  |
| Turner, Mrs. T. ... ..                             | 0   | 2  | 6  |
| Turton, Mrs. G. ... ..                             | 0   | 2  | 6  |
| Thorley, Mrs. (Hyde) ... ..                        | 0   | 2  | 6  |
| Tongue, Mr. B. ... ..                              | 0   | 2  | 6  |
| Theedam, Miss ... ..                               | 0   | 2  | 6  |
| Tanner, Mr. Jacob ... ..                           | 0   | 2  | 6  |
| Tannahill, Mrs. ... ..                             | 0   | 2  | 6  |
| Taylor, Mr. J. A. (Pontefract) ... ..              | 0   | 2  | 6  |
| Tewson, Mrs. ... ..                                | 0   | 2  | 6  |
| Thompson, Mrs. (Ripon) ... ..                      | 0   | 2  | 0  |
| Villiers, Right Hon. C. P. ... ..                  | 1   | 1  | 0  |
| Vincent, Mille. Mary ... ..                        | 0   | 6  | 6  |
| Vero, Mrs. D. ... ..                               | 0   | 2  | 6  |
| Winkworth, Mrs. Stephen ... ..                     | 5   | 0  | 0  |
| Whitmell, Mr. ... ..                               | 2   | 0  | 0  |
| Wright, Mrs. Barton ... ..                         | 1   | 2  | 6  |
| Weiss, Mrs. ... ..                                 | 1   | 1  | 6  |

|                                               | £ | s. | d. |
|-----------------------------------------------|---|----|----|
| Woodhead, Mr. Alderman ... ..                 | 1 | 1  | 0  |
| Wilson, Mr. and Mrs. Wycliffe ... ..          | 1 | 1  | 0  |
| Wintringham, Mr. John ... ..                  | 1 | 1  | 0  |
| Wintringham, Mrs. John ... ..                 | 1 | 1  | 0  |
| Wilson, Mr. Henry (Stockton) ... ..           | 1 | 1  | 0  |
| Woodall, Mr. W., M.P. ... ..                  | 1 | 1  | 0  |
| Walker, Miss Carrie ... ..                    | 1 | 0  | 0  |
| Walker, Mrs. Edward ... ..                    | 1 | 0  | 0  |
| Wilson, Mr. and Mrs. H. J. (Sheffield) ... .. | 1 | 0  | 0  |
| Wilkins, Mrs. Wilson (Paris) ... ..           | 0 | 15 | 11 |
| Wintringham, Mr. Alderman ... ..              | 0 | 10 | 6  |
| White, Mr. Alderman (Macclesfield)... ..      | 0 | 10 | 6  |
| Ward, Mr. A. ... ..                           | 0 | 10 | 6  |
| Worthington, Mr. Alderman ... ..              | 0 | 10 | 6  |
| Wilkinson, Miss A. M. (York) ... ..           | 0 | 10 | 0  |
| Wilkinson, Mr. E. T. (York) ... ..            | 0 | 10 | 0  |
| Whittaker, Mr. Alderman (Burnley)... ..       | 0 | 10 | 0  |
| Whittaker, Mrs. (Manchester) ... ..           | 0 | 10 | 0  |
| Whittle, Miss Laura ... ..                    | 0 | 10 | 0  |
| Wright, Mr. T. (Boston) ... ..                | 0 | 10 | 0  |
| Wyatt, Mr. ... ..                             | 0 | 10 | 0  |
| White, Mr. Geo. (Norwich) ... ..              | 0 | 10 | 0  |
| Walton, Mrs. ... ..                           | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Walton, Miss ... ..                           | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Wright, Mr. (Middlesborough) ... ..           | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Welsh, Mr. W. E. ... ..                       | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Whitmell, Mr. ... ..                          | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Watson, Mr. J. H. (Cockermouth) ... ..        | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Wilkins, Mr. (Liversidge) ... ..              | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Wilkinson, Miss Sophia ... ..                 | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Worthington, Mrs. (York) ... ..               | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Williams, Rev. C. (Accrington) ... ..         | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Whittaker, Mr. Councillor (Accrington) ... .. | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Wilkinson, Mr. Councillor (Accrington) ... .. | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Wilkes, Mr. Job ... ..                        | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Watts, Dr. John ... ..                        | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Whittle, Mr. Alderman (Crewe)... ..           | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Wood, Miss Alice (Liverpool) ... ..           | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Whittle, Dr. ... ..                           | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Whittle, Miss ... ..                          | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| White, Mr. John (Retford) ... ..              | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Whitelegge, Miss R. ... ..                    | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Woodhead, Mrs. ... ..                         | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Woodhead, Miss ... ..                         | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Woodhead, Mr. H. ... ..                       | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Withall, Mrs. ... ..                          | 0 | 4  | 0  |
| Wood, Mrs. F. W. (Darlington) ... ..          | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Walsh, Mrs. ... ..                            | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Wright, Miss L. (Mansfield) ... ..            | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Walker, Mr. Thos. (Huddersfield) ... ..       | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Woodhead, Miss (Rotherham) ... ..             | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Wenney, Mr. ... ..                            | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Worthington, Mrs. (Hanley) ... ..             | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Woodhouse, Mr. S. ... ..                      | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Winder, Mr. J. ... ..                         | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Whyte, Mr. James ... ..                       | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Wheeler, Mrs. ... ..                          | 0 | 2  | 0  |
| Wood, Mr. T. (Darlington) ... ..              | 0 | 2  | 0  |
| Yates, Mrs. R. V. ... ..                      | 2 | 0  | 0  |
| Yeardley, Mr. ... ..                          | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Yates, Miss (Preston) ... ..                  | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Yeoman, Mr. Plummer ... ..                    | 0 | 2  | 6  |

BRADFORD DEMONSTRATION.

|                                 | £  | s. | d. |                              | £ | s. | d. |
|---------------------------------|----|----|----|------------------------------|---|----|----|
| Scatcherd, Mrs. O. ... ..       | 20 | 0  | 0  | Robertshaw, Mrs. T. ... ..   | 1 | 0  | 0  |
| Carbutt, Miss ... ..            | 10 | 0  | 0  | Schlesinger, Mrs. ... ..     | 1 | 0  | 0  |
| Oates, Mrs. Ed. ... ..          | 10 | 0  | 0  | Arhons, Mrs. ... ..          | 0 | 10 | 6  |
| Salt, Mr. Titus ... ..          | 10 | 0  | 0  | Steinthal, Mrs. ... ..       | 0 | 10 | 6  |
| Taylor, Mrs. James ... ..       | 10 | 0  | 0  | Spence, Mr. Alfred ... ..    | 0 | 10 | 0  |
| Brooke, Miss Edith ... ..       | 6  | 0  | 0  | Wilkinson, Miss Anna ... ..  | 0 | 10 | 0  |
| Drewry, Miss ... ..             | 5  | 0  | 0  | Robertshaw, Mrs. J. ... ..   | 0 | 10 | 0  |
| Ford, Mrs. ... ..               | 5  | 0  | 0  | Passavant, Miss L. ... ..    | 0 | 10 | 0  |
| Illingworth, Mrs. Alfred ... .. | 5  | 0  | 0  | Priestman, Mrs. W. ... ..    | 0 | 10 | 0  |
| Illingworth, Mrs. Henry ... ..  | 5  | 0  | 0  | Irwell, Mr. ... ..           | 0 | 10 | 0  |
| Lubbock, Mrs. ... ..            | 5  | 0  | 0  | Ford, Mrs. J. R. ... ..      | 0 | 10 | 0  |
| Priestman, Mrs. F. ... ..       | 3  | 3  | 0  | Edmundson, Mrs. ... ..       | 0 | 10 | 0  |
| Brooke, Miss Octavia ... ..     | 3  | 0  | 0  | Clark, Mrs. ... ..           | 0 | 10 | 0  |
| Siddon, Miss ... ..             | 3  | 0  | 0  | Hopkins, Mrs. T. ... ..      | 0 | 8  | 9  |
| Kell, Mrs. ... ..               | 2  | 2  | 0  | Glyde, Miss ... ..           | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Priestman, Mrs. Ed. ... ..      | 2  | 2  | 0  | Girt, Miss ... ..            | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Lupton, Miss E. ... ..          | 2  | 2  | 0  | Binns, Mrs. ... ..           | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Smithson, Mrs. E. ... ..        | 2  | 2  | 0  | "A Friend" ... ..            | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Brooke, Mr. Thos. ... ..        | 2  | 0  | 0  | Strauss, Dr. ... ..          | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Dewar, Miss ... ..              | 2  | 0  | 0  | Womersley, Mr. P. ... ..     | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Mc.Turk, Miss ... ..            | 2  | 0  | 0  | Wilkinson, Miss Emily ... .. | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Marshall, Mrs. S. A. ... ..     | 2  | 0  | 0  | "Small Sums" ... ..          | 0 | 4  | 3  |
| Walker, Mrs. Ed. ... ..         | 2  | 0  | 0  | Willis, Mrs. ... ..          | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Woodhead, Mrs. ... ..           | 1  | 1  | 0  | Broadhead, Miss ... ..       | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Richardson, Mrs. H. ... ..      | 1  | 1  | 0  | Jowett, Mrs. ... ..          | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Eastwood, Mrs. Fred. ... ..     | 1  | 1  | 0  | Wilson, Mrs. ... ..          | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Fairbank, Mrs. ... ..           | 1  | 0  | 0  | Wadsworth, Mrs. ... ..       | 0 | 1  | 6  |
| Marshall, Mrs. J. ... ..        | 1  | 0  | 0  | Porritt, Mrs. ... ..         | 0 | 1  | 6  |
| Priestman, Mrs. J. ... ..       | 1  | 0  | 0  | Denby, Mrs. ... ..           | 0 | 1  | 6  |
| Pesel, Mrs. R. ... ..           | 1  | 0  | 0  | Baldwin, Mrs. ... ..         | 0 | 1  | 6  |

SHEFFIELD DEMONSTRATION.

|                                  | £  | s. | d. |                         | £ | s. | d. |
|----------------------------------|----|----|----|-------------------------|---|----|----|
| Oates, Mrs. ... ..               | 10 | 0  | 0  | Templeton, Mrs. ... ..  | 0 | 10 | 0  |
| Wilson, Mrs. Wycliffe ... ..     | 5  | 0  | 0  | Ingham, Mr. ... ..      | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Woodhouse, Mrs. ... ..           | 5  | 0  | 0  | Holt, Mrs. ... ..       | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Scatcherd, Mrs. O. ... ..        | 5  | 0  | 0  | Barlow, Miss ... ..     | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Langley, Mr. & Mrs. Batty ... .. | 5  | 0  | 0  | Aitchison, Miss ... ..  | 0 | 5  | 0  |
| Carbutt, Miss ... ..             | 5  | 0  | 0  | Hutchinson, Mrs. ... .. | 0 | 3  | 0  |
| Whitmell, Mr. ... ..             | 2  | 0  | 0  | Lindley, Miss ... ..    | 0 | 3  | 0  |
| Swanwick, Mrs. ... ..            | 2  | 0  | 0  | Bramwell, Mrs. ... ..   | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Collins, Rev. C., M.A. ... ..    | 1  | 1  | 0  | Hall, Miss ... ..       | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Doncaster, Mrs. C. ... ..        | 1  | 0  | 0  | Tysack, Mrs. ... ..     | 0 | 2  | 6  |
| Tinker, Miss ... ..              | 1  | 0  | 0  | Hunt, Mrs. ... ..       | 0 | 2  | 0  |
| Webster, Dr. and Mrs. ... ..     | 1  | 0  | 0  | Marshall, Miss ... ..   | 0 | 2  | 0  |
| Marshall, Miss Leta ... ..       | 0  | 10 | 0  | Roberts, Mrs. ... ..    | 0 | 1  | 6  |

KENNETT SPECIAL FUND.

Mr. Kennett offered to give £50 to the Society if £150 were contributed by others. Subscriptions were received as follows:—

|                             | £   | s. | d. |
|-----------------------------|-----|----|----|
| "Popgun" ... ..             | 100 | 0  | 0  |
| Thomasson, Mr., M.P. ... .. | 50  | 0  | 0  |
| Smithson, Mrs. ... ..       | 5   | 0  | 0  |
| Jones, Mrs. ... ..          | 0   | 10 | 0  |
| Kennett, Mr. R. B. ... ..   | 50  | 0  | 0  |

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 object 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.

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

FIFTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

Edinburgh National Society for  
Women's Suffrage,

HELD IN

THE FREEMASONS' HALL,

GEORGE STREET,

28th DECEMBER 1882.

EDINBURGH

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JANUARY 1883.