

FAWCETT, M.G.
N S W S

1873 - 1897

Women's suffrage and the franchise bill, 1884.

Women's Suffrage Pamphlets 1873 - 1897

Women's Suffrage + The Franchise Bill
By Mrs. Henry Fawcett London 1884

Twenty five Reasons for Supporting
Women's Suffrage London 1884 ✓

A Woman's Appeal to Women
Letter on Women's Suffrage by Rev. Frederick Denison Maurice London 1870
anon -
DEN SW S

Right Hon. J. W. Stanley on 2. Reading
of a Bill for the Emancipation
of Women at the House of Commons London 1873.

The Attorney General on Women's Suffrage London 1872.

Opinions of Women on Women's Suffrage ^{Pamphlet, 1.0} Manchester 1878

Women + The Reform Bill by Lord John Manners London 1884

The Advance of Women by Rev. J. Evelyn Davis M.A. London 1884.

The Women's Disabilities Bill London

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FAWCETT, M.G. Women's suffrage and the franchise bill, 1884.
 N.S.W.S. 25 reasons for supporting women's suffrage.
 FAWCETT, M.G. A woman's appeal to women.
 MAURICE, F.D. Letter on women's suffrage to the editor of "the Spectator".
 HENLEY, J.W. Speech in the commons on the enfranchisement of women, 1873.
 COLERIDGE, J.D. Attorney general on women's suffrage, 1872.
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 MANNERS, Lord J. Women and the reform bill, 1884.
 DAVIS, R.J.L. The advance of women, 1884.
 C.O.N.S.W.S. The women's disabilities bill.
 ANONYMOUS Why do women householders want to vote for M.P.s?
 ANONYMOUS The coming municipal election - the duty of women.
 BRIGHT, J.B. Speech of J. Bright on women's disabilities bill.
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 ELMY, E.W. The parliamentary franchise for women.
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 LINDSAY, D.D. On women's suffrage.
 MUNTZ, Mr On women's suffrage.
 ANONYMOUS Suffrage for women householders.
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 ANONYMOUS Woman suffrage.
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 MALLETT, Mrs C. Shall women be eligible to serve on county councils?
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 KILGOUR, M.S. Women as sanitary inspectors.
 W.L.G.S. Why are women wanted on vestries?
 W.L.G.S. Position of women under the local government act, 1894.
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- Why do Women Householders want to Vote
for Members of Parliament? -
- The coming Municipal Election
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WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE AND THE
FRANCHISE BILL.

BY MRS. HENRY FAWCETT.

(From the *Pall Mall Gazette*, January 14th, 1884.)

(REVISED BY THE AUTHOR.)

On January 2 the *Pall Mall Gazette* contained an article written by a personal friend of M. Gambetta giving, among other matters of interest, a short account of his view of the comparative rate of liberal progress in France and in England. It appears he thought that England was about ten years in advance of France in most liberal movements; but, he added, "there is one thing you will have in England long before us—women's suffrage"—and he went on to say that he thought women's suffrage would be a good thing in England, but not at present in France, because of the degree to which the religion and education of Frenchwomen place them under the dominion of the priesthood. It is sometimes difficult to see the wood for the trees; and the opinion of an outsider, so well fitted as M. Gambetta to gauge the weight of political forces, that women's suffrage is in the near future in England, is of special value. Many things have happened since the opinion was expressed which would have confirmed it had M. Gambetta been still alive. The events of this autumn make it abundantly evident that the majority of Liberals are now in favour of giving the Parliamentary suffrage to women on the same terms on which it is or may be granted to men. To prove the truth of this it is necessary to go no further than the recent important conference of Liberals at Leeds. The conference represented between five and six hundred Liberal organisations, sending up about 1,600 delegates. The resolution in favour of admitting women to the suffrage was fairly put, and carried by an overwhelming majority; an eye-witness states that a perfect forest of hands went up in its favour, and only an insignificant sprinkling against it. The support which the rank and file of Liberals throughout the country give to women's suffrage, though strikingly exemplified at Leeds, was not there revealed for the first time. Among more recent events which tend to show that women's suffrage is part and parcel of the general programme of Liberalism at the present time, I may cite the great reform meeting on the Newcastle Town Moor last autumn, where at every one of the platforms allusions to the desirability of

removing the political disabilities of women were received with cheers and general approval. The Liberal Associations of Manchester, Leeds, Birmingham, Edinburgh, Huddersfield, Nottingham, and many other important centres of political activity have adopted resolutions embodying the principle of women's suffrage; the movement is supported by nearly the whole Liberal press, both in London and the provinces. There is now little doubt that the Liberal members of Parliament are less advanced on this subject than the general body of Liberals in the country; but even in the House of Commons, if Liberal votes only had been counted, Mr. Hugh Mason's resolution last session would have been carried by 44 (120 to 76), or if the Home Rulers are counted as Liberals the majority would have been 54 (135 to 81); whereas if Tory votes only had been counted the motion would have been defeated by 70 votes (99 to 29). In the foregoing figures the pairs and tellers on each side have been counted. One more piece of evidence which shows the hold which this question has taken among Liberals is to be found in the fact that, with all the feeling that has grown up respecting the importance of an immediate extension of the suffrage, 110 independent Liberals below the gangway last session sent a memorial to Mr. Gladstone stating unequivocally that "no measure for the assimilation of the borough and county franchise will be satisfactory unless it contains provisions for extending the suffrage, without distinction of sex, to all persons who possess the statutory qualifications for the Parliamentary franchise."

The facts which have here been brought together prove, I think, conclusively that the mass of Liberal opinion is favourable to an extension of the suffrage to women; and this is almost necessarily the case now that the Reform question is uppermost in the minds of politicians. No politician can read with approval the speeches of Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Bright, Mr. Chamberlain, and others in favour of an extension of the suffrage to the male householders in counties without being aware that every one of the arguments these speeches contain tells with equal force in favour of granting a similar privilege to women who possess the legal qualifications. The reasons which make it desirable that men should be represented make it equally desirable that women should be represented. Is it said that the rural labourers are loyal, law-abiding, peaceable, intelligent, and industrious? So are the women it is proposed to enfranchise. Is it said that the interests of the rural labourers are overlooked in the press and hurry of Parliamentary work in consequence of their want of representation? So are those of the women it is proposed to enfranchise. Is it said that it is desirable to place confidence in the people, and widen the basis of the Constitution? We can agree again, and only say, Extend your confidence

a little further: 95 per cent of Liberal members of Parliament, according to the answers to the *Pall Mall Gazette* circular, are prepared, and quite rightly prepared, to trust the peasantry of Ireland with political enfranchisement—why not entrust it to women?

Considerations similar to the foregoing cannot be without their effect, except with those Liberals whose minds may be said to be built in water-tight compartments, and who can therefore admit a flood of conviction, enthusiasm, and eloquence into one compartment in favour of enfranchising householder A without its producing the slightest effect upon the dry crust of prejudice which is safely stowed in another compartment against enfranchising householder B.

I believe it will one day be considered almost incredible that there ever was a time when the idea of giving votes to women who fulfil the conditions which enable men to vote was regarded as dangerous and revolutionary. There is nothing apparently more subversive of reason and judgment than fear. The Duke of Wellington was afraid of the Reform Bill of 1832, and honestly believed that it would bring down in general ruin property, the Crown, and the Church. Some of the most astute men of the world of the pre-Reform era were misled in a similar way. The author of the "Greville Memoirs," writing in 1831 of the scene in the House of Lords when William IV. dissolved Parliament, speaks of the King with the "tall, grim figure of Lord Grey close beside him with the Sword of State in his hand; it was as if the King had got his executioner by his side, and the whole picture looked strikingly typical of his and our future destinies." The day for these extravagant hallucinations has passed. As Mr. Bright said some time ago in speaking of household suffrage in Irish boroughs: "Men are afraid of the first experiment of something which has a dangerous appearance; but if they find that their fears were altogether imaginary they make a second experiment without fear." Some people seemed at one time to think that the whole order of society, the very laws of nature, would be reversed if household suffrage were made to include women; but a first experiment has been made in giving women the municipal and School Board suffrages. The fears at first expressed have proved altogether imaginary; society has not been turned upside down; the possession of a vote has not made women essentially different from what they were before; we still like needlework; we prefer pretty gowns to ugly ones; we are interested in domestic management and economy, and are not altogether indifferent to our friends and relations; and we ask, therefore, that a second experiment should be made without fear.

It is said sometimes that women themselves do not wish for the

Parliamentary suffrage; a similar argument has been used against every extension of the suffrage and against almost every great reform. It was said that the slaves did not wish to be free, that Nonconformists did not wish for the repeal of the Tests and Corporation Acts. It is an old story. Those who say women do not wish for the suffrage are probably guided by the opinions of ladies whom they meet in society; but surely the last general election was a sufficient proof that "society" and "the English people" are not identical expressions. It cannot be denied that hundreds of thousands of women do wish for the Parliamentary suffrage, that they petition Parliament again and again to grant it to them; a smaller number devote a great part of their lives in working to promote it, and make real and deeply-felt sacrifices for it. Nearly all the distinguished women of the present time have wished for it and expressed their desire for it. Mrs. Somerville, Miss Martineau, and Miss Florence Nightingale are the first three names that occur to me among the women who have made their names known in science, literature, and philanthropy who have been from the outset of the movement cordial supporters of women's suffrage. Coming down to the humble women of every-day life, it is found that a very large proportion now wish women-householders to have votes. A few months ago 700 women householders in Hyde, near Manchester, were canvassed to sign a petition in favour of women's suffrage, and of these 700 the petition was signed by 608. A straw shows the way the wind is blowing, and another little fact may be mentioned in this connection. A young women's debating society in Cambridge lately discussed women's suffrage, and rejected a resolution condemning it by 56 votes to 13. There are, of course, some women who do not wish for votes; the majority of these do not perhaps possess the qualification that would enable them to vote; but even if they do, no one wishes for a law to compel women to vote. I have sometimes heard men speaking with much satisfaction of having half a dozen votes in different parts of the country and never having used one of them. The type will probably be found among both sexes. But the women who do not want votes are not so zealous in their renunciation of what others want as were the Dissenters who petitioned Parliament against the repeal of the Five Mile Act and the Conventicle Act. Their petition was paraphrased by Burke in words that will not easily be forgotten:—"We, say the Dissenters who petition against Dissenters, enjoy every species of indulgence we can wish for; and, as we are content, we pray that others who are not content may meet with no relief." Some of us are not content; we are asking for freedom and for representation on exactly the same grounds on which our fathers and forefathers asked for it and won it.

TWENTY-FIVE REASONS FOR SUPPORTING WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

1. Because it is the foundation of all political liberty that those who obey the law should be able to have a voice in choosing those who make the law.
2. Because it is the foundation of the British Constitution that taxation and representation should go together.
3. Because Parliament should be the reflection of the wishes of the people.
4. Because Parliament cannot fully reflect the wishes of the people, when the wishes of women are without any direct representation.
5. Because most laws affect women as much as men, and some laws affect women especially.
6. Because the laws which affect women especially are now passed without consulting those persons whom they are intended to benefit.
7. Because some of those laws press grievously on women as mothers.
8. Because some press heavily on the condition of women's labour.
9. Because some set up a different standard of morality for men and women.
10. Because such laws are thereby rendered inefficient for protecting women from wrong.
11. Because while a vote is already within reach of men of ordinary honesty and industry, it is inaccessible to every woman, however upright and industrious.
12. Because the removal of those inequalities which hindered some men householders from the exercise of the vote, while continuing to exclude all women householders, works great injustice on a large number of law abiding persons.
13. Because every extension of the franchise is followed by an increase of domestic legislation.

14. Because women have experience which should be helpfully brought to bear on domestic legislation.

15. Because the enfranchisement of women is a question of public well-being, and not a help to any political party or sect.

16. Because while it appeals to Tories as representing the interests of property, it appeals equally to Radicals as representing the interest of individuals.

17. Because there are about 3,000,000 women earning their own living, and about 700,000 women householders, in England and Wales.

18. Because the Representatives of the people in Parliament consider the wishes of the householders who are electors, and whom they represent directly, before they consider the wishes of the householders who are non-electors, and whom they only represent indirectly.

19. Because owing to their having no political vote, women are often rejected as tenants.

20. Because to deprive women of the vote is to lower their position in the common estimation of men.

21. Because the possession of the vote would increase the sense of responsibility amongst women towards questions of public importance.

22. Because public-spirited mothers make public-spirited sons.

23. Because large numbers of intelligent, thoughtful, hard-working women desire the Franchise.

24. Because the objections raised against their having the Franchise, are based on settlement, not on reason.

25. Because—to sum all reasons up in one—it is *just*.

(The above appeared in the "English Labourer's Chronicle,"
of September 6th, 1884.

Further information may be obtained from the *Secretary*,

NATIONAL SOCIETY for WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE,
29, Parliament Street, London, S.W.

Slaw & Sparks, Printers, Dockhead, Bermondsey, S.E.

A WOMAN'S APPEAL TO WOMEN.

An election approaches when 2,000,000 will be asked to give their opinions who the men are in whom they have confidence to advise, vote, and generally represent their wishes and needs in the legislature. It is according to our laws and traditions that these men should become voters, since they are deemed capable citizens. But what have the 800,000 women householders in the United Kingdom done, that they should be left out in the cold? Have they shown themselves less law-abiding, less honest, less provident, less diligent in their callings, less alive to the good of their neighbours than the men around them? Or, since it is the fact of paying towards the expenses of the State that is made the test of citizenship in these days, have they paid their rates less punctually? Have they defrauded the tax-collector?

No! no one thinks of these things. Yet the fact remains: let her house be maintained by the labour of her own hands, built of the fruit of her brain, or descended from a long line of noble ancestry, the woman is equally stamped an incapable citizen, is denied a right which any man can now claim who has a hearthstone of his own, be it humble cot or stately hall. Gardeners and gamekeepers will vote in November: it is well. The lady of the manor will not: is that well? All the labourers and tradesmen of the village, aye even if maintained by the earnings of their wives, may be registered and vote: not so the widow who is to her children mother and father in one. The shop, the farm, the work-room, where a woman owns and directs will have no part or lot in this call to the nation to speak its will. Who dares to say this is just to women?

This century has seen political rights so valued by men, that from a mere handful of freemen or burgesses the suffrage has been widened by successive Acts of Parliament, till it embraces nine out of every ten farmers, six out of every seven landholders, six out of every seven householders. And why not the tenth farmer, the seventh landholder, the seventh householder?

The Peace, Plenty and Prosperity which come of good government, the security of life, liberty and property which comes of good laws, concern men and women equally: and since good government and good laws depend on the true expression of the people's will, as declared by the representatives they send to Parliament, the election of members of Parliament equally concerns all citizens. Women, fellow-citizens, since you cannot yourselves vote at the approaching elections, fail not to urge on the Candidates themselves, and on your brothers who are helping them, that until they give you the franchise you can neither be true to your duties as citizens, nor can they guarantee you true protection at the hands of the law!

I would contend as earnestly as anyone for the domestic duties of a woman. I question whether you do not cripple her in the performance of these duties, and lower her conception of their grandeur, when you teach her not to regard herself as a citizen. The sanctity of the home is the safeguard of the nation; but if you decree a separation between the home and the nation, if you affirm that one half of the nation is to be shut up in the home and excluded from any participation in large interests, take care that the ornaments of the home do not become mere ornaments; pictures to be gazed at and worshipped, not living powers to purify and hallow. I should like to see our Legislature proving by their acts that this is not their conception of a woman's function in the world; all the compliments which they pay her are very hollow and contemptible, if it is.

So long as a majority of the male inhabitants of Great Britain were not reckoned in the constituency, it might have been a useless waste of time to recommend that women should be represented. When householders are admitted to the franchise, their exclusion must strike any one as anomalous.

I do not, however, ask for their admission as the removal of a constitutional anomaly, of which we tolerate so many, but as a positive strength to the moral life of England. The hints I have thrown out on this subject have been expanded with far more force in the writings wherein women have pleaded their own cause. But it may not be wholly useless for an outsider of the other sex to own how their arguments have impressed him, and to state on what grounds he considers that men of all parties and all professions may co-operate with them.

I am, Sir &c.,

FREDERICK DENISON MAURICE.

Cambridge, March 1st, 1870.

Copies of this leaflet may be had from the Secretary of the Central Committee of the National Society for Women's Suffrage, at 29, Parliament Street, London, S.W., at 1/- per 100.

The Right. Hon. J. W. HENLEY, for many years Conservative Member for Oxfordshire, made the following Speech in the House of Commons on the 2nd Reading of a Bill for the Enfranchisement of Women:—*April 30th, 1873.*

“SIR,—I have always voted against this Bill, but I have lately watched carefully the operation of the exercise of the Franchise both in Municipal and School Board elections by women, and as I think it has been beneficial, I do not see any reason why it should not be beneficial in Parliamentary elections. What my honourable friend has said has confirmed me in the view I have adopted. He says, the French Revolutionists considered that they would not have the women, well, I do not want us to be Revolutionists, and that is an additional reason why we, at all events, should give the Franchise to Women. As to any insecurity in the wording of the Bill, that may be set right in Committee. The principle is that women should have the right of voting. I confess that I have always hitherto voted against the Bill, but for the reasons I have stated I shall now give it my hearty support.”

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL

(SIR JOHN DUKE COLERIDGE,)

ON

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

"I can scarcely believe that if the House of Commons was as much aware as every lawyer is aware of the state of the law of England as regards the property of women, even still after the very recent humane improvements in it, it would hesitate to say it was more worthy of a barbarian than of a civilized state. If that be so, I do not think the wisdom of Parliament will be darkened, nor the justice of Parliament slackened, because those who appeal to that wisdom are entitled to be heard by reason of the possession of something like political power, when they ask for justice. I believe, fully, that after a certain number of years the law, which I regard in many respects as wholly indefensible, will be altered. As it is, I believe the sense of justice on the part of men, if they are once aroused to it and convinced of the injustice, will in time bring about the reform needed; but I believe this reform will not be brought about so fast as it would be if we put into the hands of those who suffer from this injustice some share of political power. Therefore, sir, while I admit I do not question the justice of Parliament, or the right intentions of honourable members, I submit that the constitutional means of remedying injustice is by influencing members of Parliament in a constitutional way.—*Speech in the House of Commons.*

May 1st, 1872.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL

(SIR JOHN DUKE COMBRIDGE)

OR

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

"I can scarcely believe that if the House of Commons was as much aware as every lawyer is aware of the state of the law of England as regards the property of women, even if it were the very recent humane improvements in it, it would hesitate to say it was more worthy of a barbarian than of a civilized state. If that be so, I do not think the wisdom of Parliament will be darkened, nor the justice of Parliament attacked, because those who appeal to that wisdom are entitled to be heard by reason of the possession of something like political power; when they ask for justice, I believe fully that after a certain number of years the law, which I regard in many respects as wholly indefensible, will be altered. As it is, I believe the sense of justice on the part of men, if they are once aroused to it and convinced of the injustice, will in time bring about the reform needed; but I believe this reform will not be brought about so fast as it would be if we put into the hands of those who suffer from this injustice some share of political power. Therefore, sir, while I admit I do not question the justice of Parliament or the right intentions of honorable members, I admit that the constitutional means of removing injustice is by inducing members of Parliament in a constitutional way—

the House of Commons
May 1st 1878

Leaflet 1.1

OPINIONS OF WOMEN ON WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

MISS FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

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

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

If this is the case: That we wish to give to the Indian native, peasant and Zemindar alike, such local representation *as we can* in spending the taxes he pays,—is the educated English taxpayer, of *whichever* sex, to be excluded from a share in electing the Imperial representatives?

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

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

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.—July, 1878.

MRS. GROTE.

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

HARRIET GROTE. (*Reprinted by permission.*)

MRS. WILLIAM GREY.

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

MARIA G. GREY.—Sept., 1878.

MISS ORME.

I regard Mr. Courtney's proposed extension of the Parliamentary suffrage as a necessary reform in our representative system, and I look forward to its success as the safest, the most effectual, and, on the whole, the most direct means of obtaining for women those educational advantages and remunerative employments still withheld from them.

ELIZA ORME.—July, 1878.

MISS MERINGTON

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

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

MARTHA CRAWFORD MERINGTON.—Sept., 1878.

MISS IRBY.

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

A. PAULINA IRBY.—Sept. 4th, 1878.

MISS DAVENPORT HILL

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

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

ROSAMOND DAVENPORT HILL.—Aug., 1878.

MISS FLORENCE DAVENPORT HILL

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

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

FLORENCE DAVENPORT HILL.

MRS. E. M. WARD.

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

HENRIETTA WARD.—Oct., 1878.

MRS. ALLINGHAM.

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

HELEN ALLINGHAM.—July, 1878.

WOMEN AND THE REFORM BILL.

Speech of LORD JOHN MANNERS in the House of Commons, March 24, 1884.

The Marquis of Hartington having formally moved the second reading of the Franchise Bill, Lord JOHN MANNERS rose to criticise it. In the course of his speech he said: But we are told that, in addition to its simplicity, this Bill will abolish all electoral anomalies. The Bill as it stands bristles with anomalies (Cheers.) There is an anomaly under the present system, and what I want the House to consider is will that anomaly not be greatly increased by this Bill—I allude to the question of the female ratepayer. The present position of the female ratepayer with regard to the vote is anomalous. She votes for municipal, school board, and poor law elections, but she does not vote at Parliamentary elections. That is the position. Now, take the case of one large and influential section of the female ratepayers—I mean female farmers. The census shows that in 1881 there were upwards of 20,000 females farmers in England. At the present moment not one of these has the vote for Parliamentary purposes. But, then, the labourer whom she pays, whom she maintains, enables to live in his cottage—(a laugh)—has no vote now; but pass this Bill, and what happens? Every carter, every ploughman, every hedger and ditcher, every agricultural labourer who receives wages—(loud Ministerial cheers)—from the female farmer will have the privilege of exercising the vote; but the female farmer who pays the wages, who is so important a factor in the economy of the parish, will remain without a vote. (Hear, hear.) Will you tell me that that anomaly will not be greatly increased, and the sense of it embittered to the female ratepayer whom you are going to treat in this cavalier manner.

Speech of SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE in the House of Commons.

On the final debate before the second reading of the Reform Bill, April 7th, SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE said:—If you make a capable elector the test you will find that you are bound to go very much further and in very different directions in some respects to what you have done in order to complete your definition. (Hear, hear.) I take the case of the female franchise. There cannot be a doubt, if you ask who are capable electors, you would find it very difficult to declare that the females who are in a certain position as taxpayers and ratepayers, and who are electors for municipal purposes, are not capable citizens, and that they should not be included in the franchise. (Hear, hear.) I believe that about one-seventh of the electors municipalities of the kingdom are females, and on the principle on which you are proceeding you will find it difficult to

THE ADVANCE OF WOMEN,

(Read at a Church Conference 3rd July, 1884),

BY THE

Rev. J. Llewelyn Davis, M.A.,

RECTOR OF CHRIST CHURCH, ST. MARYLEBONE.

We are moving in this cautious manner in extending civil responsibilities to women. Women may vote for Vestrymen, for Guardians of the Poor, for Members of School Boards. They may be Guardians and they may sit on School Boards. These rights are all freely exercised, and no one is heard to propose that women should be deprived of them. At this moment women cannot vote for Members of Parliament.

But the discussion and the division on Mr. Woodall's motion announce with sufficient plainness that this franchise also will not long be withheld. With regard to the governing of the Country, the manifest tendency of affairs is towards a state of things in which women will share alike with men. It has been a strange anomaly indeed, that a constitution which places a woman on the throne, should forbid a woman to vote for a Member of Parliament.

The sphere of practical religion and "good works" has always been thought a suitable one for women So far as we can draw any inference at all from the action of our Lord, as recorded in the Gospels, we should reasonably conclude that he encouraged a certain freedom and independence in the conduct of women, such as would excite criticism in the present day. And this conclusion becomes far more significant when we recall the conditions of Oriental life with regard to the relations of the sexes, and the disorganised state of Jewish Society in that age. Whilst women were coming into prominence, and acting for themselves, and leaving their homes, as followers of Jesus, no hint is given that they would have been more in their places under the domestic roof, or that they ought to have left the active support of One who was a centre of surging political agitation to their husbands and brothers.

NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.
Central Committee, 29 Parliament Street, London S.W.

Shaw & Sparks, Printers, Dockhead.

THE WOMEN'S DISABILITIES' BILL.

THE Bill to remove the "Electoral Disabilities of Women" will, if it becomes law, give votes to all single women and widows possessing the Franchise qualification, whether as Owners of Property in Counties, or as Ratepayers and Occupiers in Boroughs.

Women enjoy the same right to vote in Municipal, Parochial, and School-Board Elections as men. Why should they not vote for Members of Parliament?

Women are called upon to pay taxes. They should, then, in fairness, be allowed so much voice in the imposition of taxes and in legislation affecting their interests and property as the suffrage would bestow upon them. All who agree in this opinion should give their help by signing a petition in favour of the Bill.

Petition Forms, and further information, can be obtained on application at the Central Office of the National Society for Women's Suffrage, 9, Berners Street, London, W.

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WHY

Do Women Householders want to Vote for Mem- bers of Parliament?

1. Because Women have no power to alter hard or unjust laws which they are forced to obey: Men have power to do so, by their vote.

2. Because it is impossible that Men (however good) can make wise laws for Women, without asking their opinion.

3. Men householders have votes because they pay taxes. Women householders pay taxes, and therefore ought to have votes.

Let those who agree with the above sign a Petition in favour of Women having the Parliamentary Vote, and beg their neighbours to do the same. This is the very best way of helping to obtain the Vote.

THE COMING MUNICIPAL ELECTION.

THE DUTY OF WOMEN.

Next week, Women Householders will, in your town for the first time, have the power of voting in the election of Members of the Town Council. Now the Town Council is simply the local Parliament, and by it the local laws are made by which the town is to be governed, and which are to deal with the Police, the Paving, Draining, Lighting and Water Supply of the place, as well as with many other matters. Their laws touch the safety, the health, and comfort of the inhabitants at all points; and some of them affect women even more than men. Drainage and water supply are things with which women—who have to wash, clean, cook, and nurse the sick—are even more concerned than men can be; and the proper paving, lighting, and watching of the town are even more important to women when their avocations call them to pass through the streets at night.

The Town Council also deals incidentally with many matters directly affecting the moral, social and physical condition of large numbers of women.

The great Temperance Question, which is of such vast importance to the well-being of the community—women as well as men—comes also under the care of the Town Council, and especially of the Magistrates, who are elected from the Town Council, and in whom is vested the power of licensing the Public Houses, and exercising control over the selling of strong drink.

It is therefore earnestly to be hoped that every woman voter will carefully prepare herself to exercise intelligently and conscientiously this great right of self-government, not only as a *Right*, but as a sacred *Trust* placed in her hands for which she will be responsible to God; that she will use it in the interests of morality and temperance; and that she will go to the Polling Booth with as strong a sense of duty as if the whole election depended on her individual vote.

The Election for Town Councillors takes place
when all Women, who are Householders in their own name, who have paid their Poor rates and taxes on a rent of £4 and upwards, will be entitled to vote.

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LETTER ON WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

ADDRESSED TO THE EDITOR OF THE *Spectator*

BY THE LATE

REV. FREDERICK DENISON MAURICE.

SIR,—The question of Female Suffrage will shortly come before Parliament. The advocates of it assert the right of women to share in the Government of a country of which they constitute so large a portion. The opponents of it maintain that the influence which women exercise in England is and should be domestic, not political.

I leave the first argument untouched ; on the second I would wish to say a few words. Can any one pretend that the influence of women over politics—over electioneering politics especially—is not very considerable now? Suppose it is only domestic influence ; that continually determines what candidates shall offer themselves, not unfrequently what candidate shall be elected. But notoriously, this purely “domestic” power is exerted, dangerously exerted, on tenants, on shopkeepers, on all classes that form our constituencies. According to the maxims that are generally accepted by thoughtful men, is it not well that this (strictly political) power should be held under a sense of responsibility, with the acknowledgment of it as a trust, not wielded carelessly to gratify some sentiment, to sustain some personal favourite? Those who demand the suffrage for women are not really asking for them a power which they do not possess ; they are asking a security that the power which they do possess may be used seriously, with a deliberate conviction, with a dread of sacrificing general interests to private partialities.

By withholding the suffrage from women on the ground that they ought not to be politicians, we make them, it seems to me, politicians of the worst kind. We justify all feminine pleas for acting upon mere trust or fancy in the selection of a candidate ; we encourage the abuses to which those pleas lead. On the other hand, if the Legislature frankly admits women to the exercise of the suffrage, it will, I believe, gradually raise the tone of the whole land, by raising the tone of those who, often to their injury, govern its governors. In any sphere wherein women feel their responsibility they are, as a rule, far more conscientious than men. When in any sphere they are *less* conscientious, and help to make men less conscientious, it is a reasonable conjecture that in this sphere something has taken from them the sense of responsibility. Mere legislation is not able to effect such a mischief as that, but legislation based upon a moral theory and working along with it may do even greater mischief.

I would contend as earnestly as anyone for the domestic duties of a woman. I question whether you do not cripple her in the performance of these duties, and lower her conception of their grandeur, when you teach her not to regard herself as a citizen. The sanctity of the home is the safeguard of the nation; but if you decree a separation between the home and the nation, if you affirm that one half of the nation is to be shut up in the home and excluded from any participation in large interests, take care that the ornaments of the home do not become mere ornaments; pictures to be gazed at and worshipped, not living powers to purify and hallow. I should like to see our Legislature proving by their acts that this is not their conception of a woman's function in the world; all the compliments which they pay her are very hollow and contemptible, if it is.

So long as a majority of the male inhabitants of Great Britain were not reckoned in the constituency, it might have been a useless waste of time to recommend that women should be represented. When householders are admitted to the franchise, their exclusion must strike any one as anomalous.

I do not, however, ask for their admission as the removal of a constitutional anomaly, of which we tolerate so many, but as a positive strength to the moral life of England. The hints I have thrown out on this subject have been expanded with far more force in the writings wherein women have pleaded their own cause. But it may not be wholly useless for an outsider of the other sex to own how their arguments have impressed him, and to state on what grounds he considers that men of all parties and all professions may co-operate with them.

I am, Sir &c.,

FREDERICK DENISON MAURICE.

Cambridge, March 1st, 1870.

Copies of this leaflet may be had from the Secretary of the Central Committee of the National Society for Women's Suffrage, at 29, Parliament Street, London, S.W., at 1/- per 100.

DEBATE ON THE WOMEN'S DISABILITIES BILL.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, WEDNESDAY, APRIL 30TH, 1873.

S P E E C H

OF

JACOB BRIGHT, ESQ., M.P.

PUBLISHED BY THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR
WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE, 9, BERNERS STREET, LONDON, W.

1873.

PRICE ONE PENNY.

S P E E C H .

Mr. JACOB BRIGHT said: Mr. Speaker,—Sir, in rising to move the second reading of this Bill I am the last person to forget that it has already been three times rejected by the House. It might therefore be said, in fact it has already been asked, “why bring it forward again? Why not wait until another election before troubling Parliament again with a discussion upon this measure?” I think that powerful reasons may be given why I should not be influenced by that advice. In the first place it is a mistake to suppose that the same House of Commons which rejects a Bill will never consent to pass it. I could give many instances of greater or less importance to show that that is not the case. The Parliament which placed Sir Robert Peel in power in the year 1841 was a conspicuous example. In that Parliament my right hon. friend, the member for Wolverhampton (Mr. C. P. Villiers) asked again and again that the Corn Laws might be repealed, and over and over again the House of Commons rejected my right hon. friend’s proposition. But in the year 1846 the same House of Commons which had refused to listen to him passed a measure repealing the Corn Laws. Then again in 1866 the House of Commons which refused to pass the £7 Franchise Bill, in the year 1867 gave us a franchise Bill of a much wider character. It may be said, however, that on the occasions to which I have referred there was an irresistible outside pressure which does not exist in regard to this Bill. It is perfectly true that no such outside pressure does or ever can exist with regard to this Bill, but, sir, there is a pressure before which the House might yield with quite as much dignity as it showed in yielding on the occasions to which I have referred; namely, the pressure of accumulating reasons which receive no answer, the pressure of opinion in favour of this Bill which is gradually growing

in volume, and which I think many hon. members will admit is making itself felt in their constituencies. I see my hon. friend the member for Bath on my left, and if he should speak during the course of this debate, perhaps he will tell the House what is the state of feeling in his constituency upon this question, because I noticed that the two candidates who came forward to contest the vacant seat for that constituency, both the Liberal and the Conservative candidate, have, as I am informed, given in their adhesion to this question—not that they were much if at all in favour of it before they came forward as candidates, but because they found that the opinion in the city of Bath is so strongly in favour of the principle of this Bill that they felt themselves bound to accept it. If, however, in giving notice of the second reading of this Bill I had been perfectly sure that the House would again reject it, I should not have deviated from the course which I have taken. We are accustomed in this House to discuss a Bill, to vote upon it, again and again endeavouring to carry it if we can, but if we fail to carry it we know that we have accomplished something else. We have taken the best means in our power to instruct the people upon a great public question. The substance of this debate will be carefully reported in the newspapers, the report will go to every town and village in the United Kingdom, and to every English-speaking country under British rule, and therefore we shall secure that, for at least one day in the year, there will be a general discussion on a question so deeply affecting the interests and privileges of a large portion of Her Majesty's subjects. But there is another reason for bringing forward this Bill, and which I think justifies me in again asking the House to discuss it. No year passes by in this country without producing changes which affect the position of a public question; changes which tend either to hasten or to retard the period of its settlement. Well, sir, such a change took place last year when the Ballot Bill was passed, and I think no one will be more willing to admit that than the hon. gentleman opposite, the member for the University of Cambridge. Men are no longer subject to criticism in giving their votes; they are not answerable to the public or to their neighbours. They have complete irresponsibility. Before the passing of the Ballot Act it was said that a vote was held in trust for those who had it not. That doctrine has been swept away. Now, two millions of men vote in secrecy and in silence. Women are driven further than ever into the political shade, and are more thoroughly severed from political influence than they ever were before. And, sir, if I needed any corroboration of this I need only point to the countless speeches which have been made in

this House to show that this view is correct. The passing of the Ballot Bill, then, has strengthened the claim of women to the Parliamentary franchise. But it has also done another thing. It has removed some objections to the proposed change. We were told that there was great turbulence on the day of election, and that there were scenes of such a disreputable character that no right-minded man would desire a woman to partake in them. The Ballot has now been tried in the largest as well as the smallest of the constituencies. It has been tried in England, in Scotland, and in Ireland, and whatever else it may have accomplished we have found that it has succeeded in securing peace and order at the poll. I believe no one will deny that a woman can now go to the polling booth and return from it with far greater ease than she experiences in making her way out of a theatre or a concert room. Anyone having introduced a Bill into this House very naturally looks with interest to the views of the leaders of the House upon that Bill, and although the right hon. gentleman the Prime Minister is unfortunately not in his place, I am entitled to make a few remarks upon his altered position in regard to this question. Two years ago the right hon. gentleman acknowledged that women ought to have a share in political representation; he made an objection to the personal attendance of women at the poll. That seemed to me to be the right hon. gentleman's chief difficulty. The Prime Minister also referred to the Ballot, and said he was as yet uncertain what effect it would have, whether it would produce order at elections or not. If the right hon. gentleman was here I think he would admit that the Ballot has had the effect of producing order at elections, and he would be no longer able to object to the personal attendance of women at an election upon that ground. The right hon. gentleman spoke of the representation of women in Italy, where it is understood they vote by proxy, and said if something of the sort could be contrived for this country he should not object to take such a proposal into consideration; but if women were to vote by proxy they would lose the protection of the Ballot; for, so far as I know, no one can vote by proxy and vote in secret. It appears to me, sir, now that the Ballot has become law, that the speech which the Prime Minister made two years ago puts him in such a position with regard to this question as to render it very difficult for him to say a single word against it again. There is another Bill before the House of Commons which deals with the Parliamentary franchise, and which is in the hands of my hon. friend the member for the Border Burghs (Mr. G. O. Trevelyan). That Bill proposes to equalise the county with the borough franchise,

and if it is carried will give an addition of 1,000,000 voters, whereas this Bill will give an addition of from 200,000 to 300,000 voters. I acknowledge the justice of this Bill of my hon. friend, but if justice demands that 1,000,000 of men should be added to the register, which already contains the names of 2,000,000, justice even more urgently demands the admission of 300,000 women, seeing that up to this time women have not a particle of representation. Now there are members in this House—political friends of mine—sitting near me at the present moment, who are pledged to support the Bill of the hon. member for the Border Burghs, but who persistently vote against this Bill, and yet, so far as I have been able to ascertain, there is not a single argument that has ever been used, or that ever will be used with regard to the County Franchise Bill which does not tell even with greater weight with regard to this Bill. The position occupied by those Liberal members who support the one measure and vote against the other seems to me to be one of great inconsistency; I am bound to say that they have not satisfactorily explained their conduct. We have been told that it is a great anomaly to give votes to persons on one side of the borough line and to refuse them to those whose houses are situated on the other side of the borough line; but, sir, I wish to bring about a state of representative equality between persons who are separated by no line whatever, but who are citizens of the same community. My attention was called the other day to a row of 20 substantial houses in a street in Manchester, and I was told that 16 of these houses had votes, 16 of those families were represented in this House. They had control over the taxes which they were called upon to pay, and had an influence in the making of the laws which they were all bound to obey. But four out of those 20 houses had no votes, four of those families were unrepresented, and the only reason why those four families are unrepresented in this House is because the heads of those four families are women. Now, sir, in municipal matters, and with regard to the School Board elections women, so far as voting is concerned, are placed in exactly the same position as men; and I must remind the House that women have been put in that position by Parliament because they have an equal interest with men in municipal and School Board questions. Those votes were given to women with the consent of the Liberal members of this House, and they were given for the reason which I have stated. But a more powerful reason exists why women should be entitled to a Parliamentary vote. We do not deal here simply with local taxation. We deal with the interests of men and women in the widest possible way; their property, their lives and

liberties are under our control, and hence the necessity of that protection which the franchise alone confers. When this County Franchise Bill comes in we shall be told that the vote will have a considerable influence upon the condition of the agricultural labourer, that it will have an effect upon legislation favourable to him. The land laws and the game laws will have to be dealt with; in fact if the County Franchise Bill becomes law the condition of the agricultural labourer will assume an importance hitherto unknown. All this is true, but will any hon. gentleman say that it is not equally true with regard to the Bill which I hold in my hand. I cannot discuss this question without referring to the County Franchise Bill. I am bound to refer to it because I want to know why that Bill is to be supported and this rejected. I do not want to be put off with reasons that will not bear reflection, but I should like to have reasons given that will have some weight with those who are agitating this question out of doors. It is a common belief on this side of the House, that should the Government meet another session of Parliament the County Franchise Bill will be one of their principal measures. Well, sir, how will the Prime Minister be able to accept that Bill and reject this. It has been said that when he once takes up a position he never goes back. I have explained the position which he has taken with regard to this Bill. He said, two years ago, "that the law does less than justice to women," and added, "if it shall be found possible to arrange a safe and well-adjusted alteration of the law as to political power, the man who shall attain that object will be a real benefactor to his country." That is the language of the Prime Minister. The Bill before the House is supported by a powerful organization. The petitions and public meetings in its favour grow from year to year. The inequalities in the law between men and women, owing to the fact that women are unrepresented in Parliament, are admitted on every hand. Over 200 members of the present Parliament have supported the Bill. These are considerations which should not be forgotten when the Government again undertakes to improve the representation of the people. There are many landowners in this House. If the County Franchise Bill ever passes through Parliament it must be with the consent of the landowners. If there be any of them present now I would like to ask them whether they think it right to give a vote to the agricultural labourer and to deny a vote to the farmer? The census of 1861 shows that there were about 250,000 farmers and graziers in England and Wales, and one-eleventh part of that number were women. The proportion of women farmers would be still greater if women did not labour under political disabilities. In England and Wales there are no fewer than 22,708 women

who are farmers and graziers. The landowners trust their land to these women, who have to provide the rent, to pay the wages, and to look to the whole economy of their farms. I ask the question whether the landowners intend to give a vote to the agricultural labourer and to deny it to those who direct his work. Perhaps some may doubt whether women are really farmers, and in order to satisfy that doubt I will read a short extract from a back number of *The Field*. *The Field* says: "But it may be said, What business have women with farming? It is nonsense to suppose a woman can farm successfully. In answer to this query, the report of the competition for the 100 guineas prize for the best-managed farm in the central districts of England may be referred to. It is published in the last number of the *Royal Agricultural Society's Journal*. Twenty-one farms competed for the honour. It was awarded to the tenant of Ash Grove Farm, Ardley, near Bicester, as showing the best example of good general management, productiveness, suitability of live stock, and general cultivation with a view to profit. The farm is one of 890 acres, 820 being arable and 70 pasture. 1,000 sheep and 70 cattle are wintered annually. Cake to the amount of £1,200 is purchased yearly. The labourers work by piece work as much as possible, and no beer is given. The judges said the farm was an exceedingly good example of a well-managed one. But, though the Royal Agricultural Society have awarded the tenant the first prize, they refuse to second the honour by the advantages of membership, for the simple reason that—she is only a woman." I would like, in consequence of that remark of *The Field*, to refer for a moment to the general injustice with which women are treated, merely because they are women. I will make another quotation from *The Field* on this subject. "The farmers of England include a very considerable proportion of women among their numbers. These not only labour under the disadvantages which are inseparable from their sex, but are most unjustly, not to say ungallantly, deprived of certain advantages which are enjoyed by their masculine competitors. The Royal Agricultural Society of England confers on its members certain valuable privileges. They can have their superphosphates and purchased fertilisers analysed at a nominal rate by the agricultural chemist to the society. They are protected from imposition in the purchase of oilcake. Their soils can be carefully examined. They can exhibit at the annual meeting under more favourable conditions than strangers. These advantages, strange to say, are denied to those women who are farmers." I entertain the belief that if we wish to get rid of this general practice, and it has been shown to be a general practice throughout the country, of

treating women unjustly merely because they are women, we could use no more effective means than to remove the stamp of inferiority which must attach to them as long as their political disability is maintained. In order to show the House how Parliament—no doubt unconsciously—sometimes treats women with intense injustice I will refer to one fact. The trial of election petitions is now a local one, and the locality is rated in order to defray the expenses of the inquiry. Consider for a moment how that affects women. That law was passed in 1868. This question of the political disabilities of women had then only once been brought before the House of Commons. Had the attention been given to the subject which it has since received it is possible that the House would not have legislated in the manner in which it did with regard to the trial of election petitions. Well, sir, there was an election inquiry at Bridgewater under the provisions of the Act of 1868. After that inquiry, when the Bill had to be paid, the women of Bridgewater, that is the widows and unmarried women of Bridgewater, met together and got up a memorial to the Prime Minister, and this is the only part of the memorial which it is necessary to read to the House:—"We, the undersigned widows and unmarried women of the town of Bridgewater, in the county of Somerset, beg to lay before you, as First Lord of the Treasury, an account of a most heavy and unjust taxation which has been levied on us in common with the other householders of this borough for the payment of the expenses of the commission. We feel that it is unjust, inasmuch as we are not exercising the franchise and have not been concerned either directly or indirectly in the illegal practices, that we should be required to pay not less than 3s. in the pound according to our rental." Now I put it to the House whether a portion of Her Majesty's subjects who have no representation in this House should be subjected to such a tax? We all know very well that members might be returned for Bridgewater or anywhere else who on some questions affecting women might vote entirely against their views. Women could not have participated in any of the practices which led to that inquiry. In replying to this memorial, the Secretary of State for the Home Department expressed his regret that the malpractices of a portion of the inhabitants of Bridgewater should have necessitated the expense of a Royal Commission. He regretted it very much, but added that it was not in the power of the Secretary of State to exempt women owning or occupying property from the imperial or local taxation to which such property was liable. It is, however, in the power of Parliament to give to the property of women exactly the same privileges

which are attached to the possession of every other kind of property, and that would remedy the injustice. In the case of Bridgewater it may perhaps be said that the innocent suffer all through with the guilty; that a great many men have to pay this tax who were innocent of bribery or corruption. That is true; but at least it should be borne in mind that the men had some control over the election, and also had the benefit of representation, whereas the women had not. Whilst speaking on this subject I wish to refer for one moment to the proposition of the hon. member for Brighton. The hon. member for Brighton asked the House to enact that the necessary expenses of Parliamentary elections should be defrayed out of the local rates. I have voted for that proposal, although I am constrained to admit that looking at the proposition from a disfranchised woman's point of view, it would be unjust for Parliament to pass such a law, because we have no right to impose such a burden upon persons whom we shut out from representation. In the last session of Parliament we took great pains on the subject of illiterate voters. It was interesting to see the two Houses of Parliament spending I do not know how many hours in devising schemes by which men who were too stupid to vote without assistance should, nevertheless, be enabled to record a vote. We devised one scheme and one scheme was devised in the other Chamber, and I am bound to say that these unfortunate men have taken advantage of the labour which we bestowed upon them. In the recent elections illiterate electors have shown no reluctance whatever to come forward and express a desire to influence the proceedings of this House. Take for example the last election at Pontefract. 1236 men polled, and out of that number there were 199 persons who declared themselves unable to vote without assistance. That is nearly one-sixth of the whole number of voters polled. Now, sir, am I putting forward an unreasonable claim, or demanding anything very extravagant when I ask the House of Commons which has bestowed so much care in devising means to enable illiterate men to vote not to continue to withhold the suffrage from women of education and property? During these discussions it has not unfrequently been mentioned that the highest political functions of the realm were performed by a woman, and in my opinion it is not of slight importance to the question under debate that this is the case, and I am especially reminded of it by the late Ministerial crisis. We outsiders on that occasion obtained a very interesting glimpse as to how the Royal duties were performed. Judging from the statements made to the House by the two right hon. gentlemen those duties were discharged

with the greatest tact and judgment, and with the utmost anxiety to smooth the way to obtain a Government to carry on the business of the country. The right hon. gentleman the leader of the Oppositions, speaking some time ago at Hughenden Manor, made a very remarkable statement with respect to the duties of the Crown. He described them as multifarious, weighty, and increasing, and remarked that no head of any department of the State performed more laborious duties than those which fell to the sovereign of this country. Well, sir, if this is true, and no one can doubt the correctness of such a statement, when it is made by a gentleman who has himself filled the office of Prime Minister, it appears to me to be a very extraordinary thing that the educated women of this country should not be allowed to do so simple a thing as to record their votes for a member of Parliament. There are some countries where the Salic law prevails, under which no woman is permitted to wear the crown. If anybody should make that proposition here, namely, that after Her present Majesty no woman should again wear the crown of England, I venture to assert that there is not a man in the whole British Empire who would hold up his hand in its favour; and when women come to exercise the franchise—and they will come to exercise it sooner or later—it would be just as impossible to go back to the old state of things as it would now be to introduce the Salic law into this country. There is one reason which operates on this side of the House against admitting women to the franchise, to which I wish to refer; the objection that women are too much under the influence of ministers of religion. There are many influences at work during an election. We have the influence of the large landowners, and of the large manufacturers, we have the influence of the trades unions, and we have the influence of that vast trade which supplies intoxicating liquors to the people; and I would say that the influence exercised by ministers of religion is at least not the worst of these various influences. I think moreover that members show a singular inconsistency in advancing such an argument, when they are in favour of planting a minister of religion in every parish in England and Wales, and approve of the Bishops occupying seats in the House of Peers. Supposing that women were a more criminal class than men, it would perhaps be argued that it would be unwise to admit them to the franchise. But what are the facts of the case? Taking the judicial statistics of England and Wales for the year 1871, and looking at the number of summary trials, I find that the total number was 540,000, but only 105,000 out of that 540,000 were women. Therefore women are clearly not a very dangerous class; and if we look at those cases proceeded

against on indictment, we should find the proportions about the same. The hon. Bart., the member for Maidstone (Sir John Lubbock), intends to bring in a Bill to apply the Factory Laws to shops. Legislation for factories, the limitations put upon the labour of women, have not interfered with their means of gaining a livelihood, because factories cannot be worked without them. Shops can be managed without them, and therefore a proposition to apply the Factory Acts to shops should be carefully considered. In matters so gravely affecting the interests of women there should be some constitutional means of ascertaining their views. In conclusion I may say that no answer has been made to the case—I do not mean the imperfect case which I have from time to time placed before the House. I mean that no answer has been made to the general case which has been placed before the country by scores of women of education and position who have undertaken to win this battle. I say no answer has been made to their claim, and therefore the demand grows and the agitation becomes more powerful. In the debate which occurred on the second reading of this Bill last year, two lawyers spoke. They stated that they had previously voted in favour of the measure, but intended on this occasion to vote against it. They assigned reasons which, had they been given by a woman, would have been referred to as conclusive proofs of the radical defects of the feminine intellect. My right hon. friend the under Secretary of State for the Colonies, in a very fair speech against the Bill, argued that to give women a Parliamentary vote would be “contrary to the experience of mankind.” Most of us who are endeavouring to improve the condition of the people are in search of a state of things contrary to the experience of mankind, because, up to this time, that experience has been very deplorable. We see many things which are contrary to the experience of mankind. The Colonial Empire, with whose affairs my right hon. friend is connected, extending round the world and bound together by ties of affection and not by force, this is contrary to the experience of mankind, but it nevertheless rightly obtains the admiration of my right hon. friend. It is contrary to the experience of mankind that a Government, the Government with which my right hon. friend is connected, should invite the women of this country to present themselves to large constituencies, to issue addresses and attend public meetings in order to be elected members of Education Boards; and it would be contrary to the *reason* of mankind if my right hon. friend, after being a consenting party to that innovation, should continue to resist the claim of women to give a silent vote at the poll. I am very well aware that long before this debate has ended to-day the Bill I am now submit-

ting to the House will be attacked on the ground that it gives a vote to married women and, also, because it does not give a vote to married women. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) Both of these charges cannot be true. There is another thing which has always been said by the opponents of this Bill, and which will inevitably be said in the course of this debate—that women do not care for a vote. It ought to be a sufficient answer to this statement to say that whenever women have been allowed to exercise a vote they have made use of the privilege. We know that they have exercised the municipal vote in many of our populous towns, and that in these cases they have used it in equal proportions with men. As the most recent evidence that women do care for the vote, the House will perhaps allow me to quote from a note I have received from a lady in Edinburgh—a lady who for some years has been of the greatest assistance to this cause. Speaking of the votes given by women at School Board elections she says, that, “In Edinburgh one-seventh of the actual voters are women, and in most of the country parishes *every* woman”—the word “every” is underlined—“who was registered voted. We have four women representing Edinburgh—two for the city and two for the county and fourteen for other towns in the country districts—eighteen in all. Of these *six* were returned at the head of the poll.” Then she says, “We expect some half-dozen more women to be returned in the next board elections.” Surely, sir, this should have some weight with those who say that women do not care for a vote. Scotland is not the least intelligent or the least informed of the various portions of Her Majesty’s dominions, and if in that country you find that women are everywhere interested in public matters and anxious to take a reasonable share in them, the fact ought to have some weight with the House. But when hon. members say that women do not care to possess a vote they ought at least to bear this in mind, that they, as a rule, are in the habit of associating with ladies who are favourably situated—who are surrounded by all the blessings of life. Those hon. members associate with ladies belonging to a rank in which they are not likely to feel the pressure of circumstances. (Hear, hear). They should remember, too, that the women of the upper classes have been better cared for than women belonging to humble life. With regard to questions of property, the Court of Chancery has done as much for them as any statute could have done. During the present session of Parliament a Bill has passed this House which will in all probability be of service to women of the higher class. I refer to the measure which relates to the custody of children. That Bill will have the effect of helping

ladies who are able to meet the difficulties and expenses of Chancery, but with regard to the poorer class of women the measure will be of little use. (Hear, hear.) When I am told that women do not care for a vote I am reminded that two or three weeks ago a friend of mine informed me that he had been talking to a lady of high position in this country. He questioned her as to what she thought of the subject of women's rights. Her reply was "All I know is that I have no wrongs." This was told me that I might reflect upon it and see the error of my position. Sir, I did reflect upon it, and I came to this conclusion, that if that lady, instead of being surrounded by all that can make life happy and even brilliant, had been in different circumstances—if she had been seeking to obtain admittance into an educational institution which she was taxed to support but which shut its doors upon her—if she had been the widow of a farmer and had lost her home and her occupation because she could not vote—if her small property had been dissipated because it was too small to bear the expenses of a settlement and the trouble of a trust; or if she had happened to have lost her husband and a stranger had stepped in and deprived her of all authority over her children, requiring that they should be educated in a faith which was not her own—if that lady had been so placed as to have been the victim of any of these circumstances I think that she would not have been able to declare that she had no wrongs. (Cheers.) And if the members of this House were enabled to look at this question through the eyes of the humble classes—those women who have to meet the difficult struggles of life—I believe it would not be necessary year after year to ask that this moderate Bill should be passed into law; but that on the contrary a single session would suffice to bring about the result we desire. (Cheers.) I beg to move that this Bill be now read a second time.

MARRIED WOMEN AND THE MUNICIPAL FRANCHISE.

THE question has been not unfrequently asked, especially since the commencement of the operation of the Married Women's Property Act, 1882, whether married women who, under the operation of that Act, or the previous Act of 1870, occupy property giving the municipal qualification, can be placed on the register and vote at municipal elections in virtue of such qualification. An examination of the statutes and legal judgments which govern the subject seems to afford an answer in the negative to this question.

At the time of the passing of the Municipal Franchise Act of 1869, which extended the municipal franchise to women in England and Wales, the old common law rule which gave the rent of freehold property and the absolute ownership of the personal property of a wife to her husband was in full and unmitigated force. The question, therefore, could not then arise, as no married woman could possess the ratepaying or property qualification. The words of the Act of 1869, relating to the municipal franchise for women, are as follows (33 and 35 Vic. c. 55, sec. ix.): "In this Act and the said recited Act of the fifth and sixth years of King William IV., c. 76, and the Acts amending the same, wherever words occur which import the masculine gender the same shall be held to include females for all purposes connected with and having reference to the right to vote in the election of councillors, auditors, and assessors."

In the succeeding year, 1870, the first Married Women's Property Act was passed, which gave wives full property rights as to their own earnings, and entitled them to carry on a business separately from their husbands. This enabled them under certain circumstances to occupy property which would give the municipal vote. Cases then arose which demanded judicial decision.

At Abingdon in 1871 the vote of Mrs. Mary Passy was objected to by Mr. Challoner. He maintained that a married woman was disqualified, and that the occupation must be deemed to be that of the husband. Mr. S. Williams contended that marriage was no disqualification. The only disqualifications mentioned in the new Act were the receipt of parochial relief and being an alien. For the Parliamentary franchise a person must occupy as tenant or owner, and no doubt the tenancy of a married woman is in law her husband's. But in the Municipal Acts the words "tenant or owner" do not occur. Though the tenancy of the house, that is

the right to occupy, is the husband's, the actual occupancy is the wife's. She was rated and her rates were paid. The revising barrister allowed the vote, and it was retained.

This decision was, however, overruled by a decision of the Court of Queen's Bench in the same way as the decision of many revising barristers in 1868, allowing the right of women to vote in Parliamentary elections, under Representation of the People Act, 1867, was overruled by the Court of Common Pleas.

On January 22nd, 1872, in the Court of Queen's Bench, the question was raised as to the right of married women to vote at municipal elections. The applicant had lost his election as a councillor for Sunderland by a majority of one, and he impeached the accuracy of several of his opponent's votes, especially the votes of two married women—Nancy Ball, who married just before the election, and Nancy Thompson, who was separated from her husband and carried on a separate business. They were both on the burgess list, and the former was on the list before her marriage, and remained on the list in her maiden name at the time of the election.

The Lord Chief Justice said that the Court were clearly of opinion that one of the married women had no right to vote, the one who was married when registered; and they were strongly of opinion that the other also was disqualified. At common law married women had no right to vote, and the Legislature by their enactments as to the property of married women never intended by a side-wind to alter the whole law on the subject. In the case of the woman registered while she was single, his opinion was that her *status* was altered by marriage, and that she then became disqualified from voting. The rule, therefore, would be absolute for a *quo warranto*.

In 1882 the various Acts relating to municipal corporations were repealed and their provisions consolidated and re-enacted in the Municipal Corporations Act, 1882, which now embodies all existing law on the subject. The rights of women are preserved in section 63 of this Act, which runs as follows:—

“For all purposes connected with and having reference to the right to vote at municipal elections words in this Act importing the masculine gender include women.”

The law books commenting on this Act contain the following note on this section:—

“The effect of section 9 of 32 & 33 Vict.* c. 55 is preserved in this clause. The 32 and 33 Vict. c. 55, s. 9, which enacts that, in the Municipal Corporations Act, words importing the masculine gender shall include females for all purposes connected with the right to vote at the election of councillors, auditors, and assessors, *has reference only to the disability of women by reason*

* The Municipal Franchise Act, 1869.

of sex, and has no reference to the disability by reason of the status of coverture. And the Married Women's Property Act (33 and 34 Vict. c. 93) *has no reference to the political disabilities of married women:—Held* therefore (on a rule for a *quo warranto* against a town councillor who had been elected by a majority of one), that a married woman, though qualified by occupation and payment of rates, and put on the burgess list, cannot vote at the election of town councillors.

“*Seem*, that a woman, who is rightly on the burgess list, but married before the election, is also disqualified from voting.—*Reg. v. Harrold* (L. R., C. P., v. 7, p. 361).”

The new Married Women's Property Act of 1882, like its predecessor, has no reference to the political disability of married women. The law as to the voting disability of women by reason of coverture has not in any way been named in it, and the above note therefore seems to remain a correct exposition of the present law on the subject.

Another clause in the Municipal Corporations Act, 1882, contains a reference to women still more definite, and seems to show the mind of the Legislature in its latest enactment on the subject. Section 213 relates to a scheme to be settled by the Committee of Council on petition for a charter, and contains regulations for petitions in relation to such schemes by the owners and ratepayers of the borough. Sub-section 4 contains these words “and the owners and ratepayers in all cases to include women not under coverture.”

This is, we believe, the first occasion on which the qualifying words “not under coverture” have been introduced in an English Act, having reference to the votes of women. In view of the interpretation of the law given in the rule they would seem to be unnecessary, but it is possible they may have been purposely introduced in order to set at rest any doubts that might arise after the coming into force of the Married Women's Property Act, 1882.

The Scotch Municipal Franchise Act of 1881, which was passed about the same time as the Scotch Married Women's Property Act, is still more explicit. The preamble of the Act, after setting forth the clause giving the women the right to vote for town councillors in England, goes on to say “whereas it is expedient that in this respect the Municipal Franchise in Scotland shall be assimilated to that of England.”

The enacting clause (sec. 2) of the Act is as follows:—“2. In the Municipal Elections Amendment (Scotland) Act, 1868, and the various Acts therein recited prescribing the qualifications of voters at municipal elections in Scotland, whenever words occur which import the masculine gender the same shall be held for all purposes connected with and having reference to the right to vote in the election of town councillors, and also to nominate candidates for

election to the said office, to include females who are not married and married females not living in family with their husbands; but such females shall not be eligible for election as town councillors.

The present law relating to the election of parochial boards in Scotland was passed in 1845. In the interpretation clause it is enacted that "every word importing the masculine gender shall extend to a female as well as a male." This interpretation clause extends not only to the right of voting, but to eligibility for election on the parochial board, which word seems analogous to the Board of Guardians in England.

Clause 26. And be it enacted that, in all meetings and matters under this Act, the husbands of owners of lands and heritages shall be entitled to vote and act in right of their wives.

The Electoral Act of the Isle of Man, passed in 1880, which received the assent of the Queen in Council in 1881, confers the franchise on every male—or spinster—or widow—who owns the qualifying property. There is no Married Women's Property Act in the Island Kingdom; the old common law rule as to the property of wives being still in force.

From the foregoing statement it seems clear that in no part of the United Kingdom has the removal of the disability of coverture in regard to the right to vote been accomplished even in those franchises in which the disability of sex has been swept away. To accomplish the removal of the coverture disability requires special legislation as to the marriage status. Legislation having special reference to married women forms no part of the programme of the women's suffrage societies, and has never entered into their plan of operations. Persons who have taken fright lest the Women's Disabilities Removal Bill, or the resolution introduced by Mr. Mason, should have given votes to wives, may take courage from the consideration that this could not be accomplished by a side-wind, nor without special legislative provision for that purpose. It will be time enough to take that question into consideration when such legislation is definitely proposed.

On the other hand, persons who complain of the women's suffrage societies for not asking for votes for married women, ought to bear in mind that their object is the removal of the political disability of sex, and that however many women may remain without votes because of some other legal disqualification than that of sex, the principle on which the societies are based will be established as soon as it shall become law that no person, otherwise legally qualified for the Parliamentary suffrage, shall be disabled from voting by reason only of being a woman.

A MUNICIPAL ELECTOR.

ASSOCIATION TO PROMOTE WOMEN'S KNOWLEDGE OF LAW.

REPORT OF THE SUB-COMMITTEE APPOINTED TO CONSIDER THE ABILITIES AND DISABILITIES OF WOMEN AS TO THE PRACTICE OF LAW IN ANY OF IT'S BRANCHES.

YOUR committee have considered this subject under the three heads of the practice of law by barristers, by solicitors and by unqualified persons.

1. As to the practice of barristers—

This consist of (1) Practice in court.

(2) Practice in chambers.

(1) Practice in court requires a legal qualification, and in the superior courts the judges only hear parties in person, or by counsel called to the bar. The qualification of counsel is granted by the benchers of one of the four inns of court, to persons who are approved by them and have complied with certain published regulations. The benchers of the respective inns have absolute authority to decide whether or not any person shall be permitted to enter their inn as a student, and whether any student after taking the necessary preliminary steps shall be called to the bar. It is believed that no woman has at present applied to be entered as a student at any of the inns of court.

(2.) Practice in chambers consists of—

(a) Conveyancing, preparing pleadings, and the like.

(b) Giving opinions on stated cases.

(a) By the Stamp Act 1870 (33 and 34 Vict. c. 97 s. 60) persons, who are not barristers, solicitors, or practising under the bar, are subject to a penalty of £50, if either directly or indirectly, for or in expectation of any fee, gain, or reward, they draw or prepare any instrument relating to real or personal estate, or any proceedings in law or equity, except in the case of being employed merely to engross instruments, and in the case of drawing wills and agreements

under hand only, powers of attorney, and ordinary transfers of stock.

It has been suggested that as in many cases conveyancing clerks receive remuneration for preparing instruments without being qualified as conveyancers or otherwise, so any other unqualified person may prepare them, without liability to penalties, in case the responsibility of the work is not theirs.

There is no legal impediment to any person undertaking that branch of chamber practice which consists in giving opinions on stated cases; but the opinion of persons confined to this branch of practice, without the possibility of obtaining the experience which is derived from sharing in other kinds of legal work would probably not be considered as carrying much weight.

Certificates to practice under the bar, whether as conveyancers or as pleaders, can only be granted to students qualified to be called to the bar, and it is believed that for some years past no such certificates have been granted.

2. As to the practice of solicitors—

By the Stamp Act 1870 (s. 59) any person practising as a solicitor without having a duly stamped certificate is made liable to a penalty of £50, and is incapable of maintaining an action to recover fees or disbursements. The qualifications for obtaining such certificates are regulated by the Solicitors' Acts 1843, 1860, 1870, 1874 and 1877.

Although in the interpretation clause of the first of these Acts (6 and 7 Vict. c. 73, s. 48) it is provided that every word importing the masculine gender only shall extend and be applied to a female as well as a male, it is believed that the persons appointed to carry out the provisions of the Solicitors' Acts would refuse either to admit women as candidates at the necessary examinations, or to enrol their articles.

3. As to the practice of unqualified persons—

There is no legal impediment to women acting as clerks to solicitors or barristers.

It may be mentioned that the law degrees of the University of London which have lately been thrown open to women, confer no qualification for legal practice in either branch of the profession.

PROFESSOR FAWCETT, M.P.,

ON

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

At a Meeting of his constituents at Hackney, on November 8th, 1883,
Mr. FAWCETT said:

What had happened in recent years had convinced him of the great importance of at once extending the suffrage to the rural householders, and that it was not safe to exclude any class from enfranchisement when the interests of that class had to be considered side by side with those who were represented in Parliament. Considerations such as these had led him to rejoice that at the recent Conference of Liberal delegates at Leeds a resolution was passed affirming that it was not only desirable to remove the political disabilities of the rural householders, but that it was not less desirable to remove the equally indefensible political disabilities of women. Legislation had taken place in the past and legislation might be brought forward in the future which was calculated vitally to affect the wellbeing of women. Many present could tell only too well by bitter experience how hard it was for a woman to earn her living by honest toil. Legislation was proposed some years ago to place various restrictions upon the labour of adult women, and similar legislation might again be proposed. If this should be the case, could there be anything more illiberal, could there be anything more unjust, than that women should be deprived of the opportunity of expressing their opinions upon legislation which so vitally affects them through the constitutional means of representation? He would take another example drawn from a subject in which the electors of Hackney took a particular interest. The indications were so plain that those who ran might read that the time was not far distant when the question of disestablishment would occupy a prominent position in English politics. An impression prevailed that although a majority of the present electors were in favour of disestablishment, yet that so many women were deeply attached to the Church that if they were enfranchised it would be impossible to obtain a majority in favour of disestablishment. He was not saying on the present occasion whether he considered this opinion to be correct or not, but this he did say, that women had as good a right as men to express their opinions on questions affecting their religious welfare, and although it was unnecessary to assure them of his warm attachment to the principles of disestablishment, yet he said it would not be fair to secure disestablishment if a majority in its favour were obtained by excluding all women from expressing their opinion upon it.

James Stansfeld, M.P.,

ON

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

What is the situation at the present moment? We are coming very near to the question of the extension of the franchise—of household franchise from the boroughs to the counties. This is an occasion which you are absolutely bound, if you have only a little common sense, not to neglect—it is absolutely essential as a matter of prudence and ordinary political tactics that you should make your mark upon that Bill, so as to make it one step in your progress. I will tell you two reasons why you should do that. First, that if you do not do it, you postpone, I do not know for how many years, the occasion when you may have the chance and the opportunity of gaining something towards the object which you have in view. But you would not only postpone your chance to another time, but you would very seriously endanger—as seriously as it is possible for you to endanger—the future prospects of your cause if you were to allow household suffrage to be extended to the counties of England, and not make every possible effort to secure the admission of women to a share of that extension of household suffrage. If you do not succeed in an attempt of that kind, and if simply male householders are allowed to vote in the future by the passing of the County Suffrage Bill in both counties and towns, then it may be that the next question—and it may be ten or twelve years before that arises—of the extension of the suffrage will be the extension of manhood suffrage. And let me point out to you that that has been already indicated by an extremely influential member of the present Government and of the present Cabinet, namely, Mr. Chamberlain, the President of the Board of Trade, and one of the members for Birmingham, who has raised the flag of manhood suffrage. Now I say you must get women within the pale of the franchise before the question of manhood suffrage can be brought to the front. (Cheers.) And if there is no other reason, that is a reason why you should strike and not delay, in the vain hope that by delaying you may strike a more vigorous blow at a future time. I believe very probably you will attain your object.—*Speech at the Annual Meeting, Westminster Palace Hotel, July 19th, 1883.*

Mr. Hoop

OPINIONS OF MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT

ON

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

MR. JACOB BRIGHT, M.P.

"If it be just and right that a woman should be able to control the municipal expenditure to which her property contributes, should she not have a right to control the parliamentary expenditure to which her property contributes? The local expenditure of the country amounts to about £20,000,000, and the imperial expenditure to about £70,000,000; and, if justice requires that she should have opportunity of controlling the expenditure of the smaller sum, is it not unjust to deprive her of the means of controlling the expenditure of the larger? But we want votes for something else than merely to control the expenditure of our money. Parliament can confiscate the property of women, and it does so to a large extent. It can deal with liberty and life, and pass laws affecting the happiness of people in the remotest cottages of the land—matters of far greater importance than anything connected with expenditure."—*Speech in the House of Commons, May 4, 1870.*

RIGHT HON. GEORGE WARD HUNT, M.P.

"I believe that the feeling against granting the Franchise to women is the result of old prejudice and not of reason, and therefore I shall, with great pleasure, support the second reading of this Bill."—*Speech delivered in the House of Commons, May 3, 1871.*

DR. LYON PLAYFAIR, M.P.

"Many say we object to women interfering in politics because it is their natural function to be wives and mothers, and to attend to domestic rather than civil concerns. That I understand to be the argument of hon. gentlemen opposite. Wives and mothers may be thus fully occupied, but there are many women who are neither; and when it is remembered that there are 487,000 widows in this country and 1,110,000 spinsters, it is absurd to try to limit all women to the domestic hearth, and to prevent them extending their sympathy beyond it. The world owes much to the sympathies of women, and I need only mention three names as a sufficient answer to the objection that women should only concern themselves with domestic, and not exhibit any interest in public matters. Those names are Miss Florence Nightingale, Miss Harriet Martineau, and Miss Burdett Coutts."—*Speech in the House of Commons, May 4, 1870.*

MR. PETER RYLANDS, M.P.

"Laws have been passed which pressed unjustly upon women, and some of these laws are in existence now. Women have a right to have their voice heard in the settlement of questions which affect their social position and their individual rights."—*Speech at Manchester.*

MARRIED WOMEN AND THE MUNICIPAL FRANCHISE.

THE question has been not unfrequently asked, especially since the commencement of the operation of the Married Women's Property Act, 1882, whether married women who, under the operation of that Act, or the previous Act of 1870, occupy property giving the municipal qualification, can be placed on the register and vote at municipal elections in virtue of such qualification. An examination of the statutes and legal judgments which govern the subject seems to afford an answer in the negative to this question.

At the time of the passing of the Municipal Franchise Act of 1869, which extended the municipal franchise to women in England and Wales, the old common law rule which gave the rent of freehold property and the absolute ownership of the personal property of a wife to her husband was in full and unmitigated force. The question, therefore, could not then arise, as no married woman could possess the ratepaying or property qualification. The words of the Act of 1869, relating to the municipal franchise for women, are as follows (33 and 35 Vic. c. 55, sec. ix.): "In this Act and the said recited Act of the fifth and sixth years of King William IV., c. 76, and the Acts amending the same, wherever words occur which import the masculine gender the same shall be held to include females for all purposes connected with and having reference to the right to vote in the election of councillors, auditors, and assessors."

In the succeeding year, 1870, the first Married Women's Property Act was passed, which gave wives full property rights as to their own earnings, and entitled them to carry on a business separately from their husbands. This enabled them under certain circumstances to occupy property which would give the municipal vote. Cases then arose which demanded judicial decision.

At Abingdon in 1871 the vote of Mrs. Mary Passy was objected to by Mr. Challoner. He maintained that a married woman was disqualified, and that the occupation must be deemed to be that of the husband. Mr. S. Williams contended that marriage was no disqualification. The only disqualifications mentioned in the new Act were the receipt of parochial relief and being an alien. For the Parliamentary franchise a person must occupy as tenant or owner, and no doubt the tenancy of a married woman is in law her husband's. But in the Municipal Acts the words "tenant or owner" do not occur. Though the tenancy of the house, that is

the right to occupy, is the husband's, the actual occupancy is the wife's. She was rated and her rates were paid. The revising barrister allowed the vote, and it was retained.

This decision was, however, overruled by a decision of the Court of Queen's Bench in the same way as the decision of many revising barristers in 1868, allowing the right of women to vote in Parliamentary elections, under Representation of the People Act, 1867, was overruled by the Court of Common Pleas.

On January 22nd, 1872, in the Court of Queen's Bench, the question was raised as to the right of married women to vote at municipal elections. The applicant had lost his election as a councillor for Sunderland by a majority of one, and he impeached the accuracy of several of his opponent's votes, especially the votes of two married women—Nancy Ball, who married just before the election, and Nancy Thompson, who was separated from her husband and carried on a separate business. They were both on the burgess list, and the former was on the list before her marriage, and remained on the list in her maiden name at the time of the election.

The Lord Chief Justice said that the Court were clearly of opinion that one of the married women had no right to vote, the one who was married when registered; and they were strongly of opinion that the other also was disqualified. At common law married women had no right to vote, and the Legislature by their enactments as to the property of married women never intended by a side-wind to alter the whole law on the subject. In the case of the woman registered while she was single, his opinion was that her *status* was altered by marriage, and that she then became disqualified from voting. The rule, therefore, would be absolute for a *quo warranto*.

In 1882 the various Acts relating to municipal corporations were repealed and their provisions consolidated and re-enacted in the Municipal Corporations Act, 1882, which now embodies all existing law on the subject. The rights of women are preserved in section 63 of this Act, which runs as follows:—

“For all purposes connected with and having reference to the right to vote at municipal elections words in this Act importing the masculine gender include women.”

The law books commenting on this Act contain the following note on this section:—

“The effect of section 9 of 32 & 33 Vict.* c. 55 is preserved in this clause. The 32 and 33 Vict. c. 55, s. 9, which enacts that, in the Municipal Corporations Act, words importing the masculine gender shall include females for all purposes connected with the right to vote at the election of councillors, auditors, and assessors, *has reference only to the disability of women by reason*

* The Municipal Franchise Act, 1869.

of sex, and has no reference to the disability by reason of the status of coverture. And the Married Women's Property Act (33 and 34 Vict. c. 93) *has no reference to the political disabilities of married women:—Held* therefore (on a rule for a *quo warranto* against a town councillor who had been elected by a majority of one), that a married woman, though qualified by occupation and payment of rates, and put on the burgess list, cannot vote at the election of town councillors.

“*Seem*, that a woman, who is rightly on the burgess list, but married before the election, is also disqualified from voting.—*Reg. v. Harrauld* (L. R., C. P., v. 7, p. 361).”

The new Married Women's Property Act of 1882, like its predecessor, has no reference to the political disability of married women. The law as to the voting disability of women by reason of coverture has not in any way been named in it, and the above note therefore seems to remain a correct exposition of the present law on the subject.

Another clause in the Municipal Corporations Act, 1882, contains a reference to women still more definite, and seems to show the mind of the Legislature in its latest enactment on the subject. Section 213 relates to a scheme to be settled by the Committee of Council on petition for a charter, and contains regulations for petitions in relation to such schemes by the owners and ratepayers of the borough. Sub-section 4 contains these words “and the owners and ratepayers in all cases to include women not under coverture.”

This is, we believe, the first occasion on which the qualifying words “not under coverture” have been introduced in an English Act, having reference to the votes of women. In view of the interpretation of the law given in the rule they would seem to be unnecessary, but it is possible they may have been purposely introduced in order to set at rest any doubts that might arise after the coming into force of the Married Women's Property Act, 1882.

The Scotch Municipal Franchise Act of 1881, which was passed about the same time as the Scotch Married Women's Property Act, is still more explicit. The preamble of the Act, after setting forth the clause giving the women the right to vote for town councillors in England, goes on to say “whereas it is expedient that in this respect the Municipal Franchise in Scotland shall be assimilated to that of England.”

The enacting clause (sec. 2) of the Act is as follows:—“2. In the Municipal Elections Amendment (Scotland) Act, 1868, and the various Acts therein recited prescribing the qualifications of voters at municipal elections in Scotland, whenever words occur which import the masculine gender the same shall be held for all purposes connected with and having reference to the right to vote in the election of town councillors, and also to nominate candidates for

election to the said office, to include females who are not married and married females not living in family with their husbands; but such females shall not be eligible for election as town councillors.

The present law relating to the election of parochial boards in Scotland was passed in 1845. In the interpretation clause it is enacted that "every word importing the masculine gender shall extend to a female as well as a male." This interpretation clause extends not only to the right of voting, but to eligibility for election on the parochial board, which word seems analogous to the Board of Guardians in England.

Clause 26. And be it enacted that, in all meetings and matters under this Act, the husbands of owners of lands and heritages shall be entitled to vote and act in right of their wives.

The Electoral Act of the Isle of Man, passed in 1880, which received the assent of the Queen in Council in 1881, confers the franchise on every male—or spinster—or widow—who owns the qualifying property. There is no Married Women's Property Act in the Island Kingdom; the old common law rule as to the property of wives being still in force.

From the foregoing statement it seems clear that in no part of the United Kingdom has the removal of the disability of coverture in regard to the right to vote been accomplished even in those franchises in which the disability of sex has been swept away. To accomplish the removal of the coverture disability requires special legislation as to the marriage status. Legislation having special reference to married women forms no part of the programme of the women's suffrage societies, and has never entered into their plan of operations. Persons who have taken fright lest the Women's Disabilities Removal Bill, or the resolution introduced by Mr. Mason, should have given votes to wives, may take courage from the consideration that this could not be accomplished by a side-wind, nor without special legislative provision for that purpose. It will be time enough to take that question into consideration when such legislation is definitely proposed.

On the other hand, persons who complain of the women's suffrage societies for not asking for votes for married women, ought to bear in mind that their object is the removal of the political disability of sex, and that however many women may remain without votes because of some other legal disqualification than that of sex, the principle on which the societies are based will be established as soon as it shall become law that no person, otherwise legally qualified for the Parliamentary suffrage, shall be disabled from voting by reason only of being a woman.

A MUNICIPAL ELECTOR.

MR.

Coleridge Kennard, M.P.,

ON

Women's Suffrage.

I am gratified to see present so many gentlemen who differ from me upon almost every political subject, and to find that we have a bond of sympathy. I have heard, however, from time to time many of the minor objections which are being urged against this movement, but it would be unbecoming for me to urge them upon you, as you so little need them. The real reasons in favour of your object, that representation should be co-existent with taxation, is a proposal which needs no enforcement from me. I have often heard it repeated that by the introduction of the female upon public questions, a species of impulsiveness would be introduced into that which should be calm and dispassionate. Well, now, I have always from my youth thought that if there is anything a woman possesses it is a more unerring instinct than man. I think, sir, we may set off the so-called impulsiveness, haste of conviction, and conclusion on the part of the woman—we may set off against that her better gift of truer and purer instinct in dealing with the questions that come before us. Sir, I am one of those who believe that the time is stretching out before us all as a nation when the great passions which awaken people of religious tendencies will meet and collide with those minds which are entirely ungifted with those feelings. I do, sir, believe that with the assistance of the women of England, when the clash of religion meets with that of irreligion and freethought—commonly called Secularism—I believe that we shall have the invaluable aid of women's judgment; I believe that they will be on the side—as a previous speaker has referred to it—of purity and temperance; and, under God's blessing, I do believe that it will be in the interest of true and Godlike religion that women should have the franchise.—*Speech at the Annual Meeting, Westminster Palace Hotel, July 19th, 1883.*

THE LATE
MR. FAWCETT
ON
WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE
AND THE FRANCHISE BILL.

The last time that the late Right Hon. Henry Fawcett appeared at a public meeting, before his fatal illness, was on the occasion when he and his colleague, Mr. John Holms, M.P., addressed their constituents in the Town Hall, Shoreditch, on October 13th, 1884. In the course of his speech Mr. FAWCETT said:—

“On occasions like these, when a constituency is asked to form a judgment on the conduct of their representatives, I think, at any rate, it may be more practically useful to refer to questions on which there may be, perhaps, some difference of opinion between us than to confine our consideration solely to those points on which I know there is complete agreement between us, and this being the case, I think it is only fair some of you may reasonably expect that I should without reserve tell you the reasons which induced me during the last session on one important question which was raised on the Franchise Bill not to follow the course which was supported by almost all my colleagues in the Government and by a great majority of the Liberal party. You will probably remember that Mr. Gladstone, without opposing the principle of women's

suffrage, made a strong appeal to his supporters to vote against the proposal which was brought forward by Mr. Woodall to enfranchise women householders. But Mr. Gladstone did not say a word to show that he was opposed to the enfranchisement of women. Although I recognise fully the obligation which such an appeal imposed on the Liberal party, and especially on the members of the Government, yet, after mature consideration, my opinion, both as to the expediency and justice of Mr. Woodall's proposal, was so strong that I felt it was absolutely impossible for me to oppose it by my vote. (Cheers.) In saying this nothing is farther from my intention than to question the perfect sincerity of the motives of many supporters of women's suffrage who adopted a different course. But, with every desire not to separate myself from my party, I could not bring myself to believe that the carrying of this amendment would have endangered the carrying of the Franchise Bill, or that if admission of qualified women to vote had been left an open question the Bill would have been imperilled. If a majority of the House of Commons had decided against it, matters would have remained as they were. If a majority had accepted it, what reason is there to suppose that the Franchise Bill with this amendment in it would have been less acceptable to the House of Lords, and especially in view of the well known fact that some of the most influential Conservative peers have strongly advocated the enfranchisement of women? But if the Bill had been less acceptable to the Lords with this amendment in it, the Lords might have rejected the amendment, and if they had done so I know no one who would have been so unreasonable as to have imperilled the Bill by insisting on the rejected amendment being restored. Search through the speeches that have been delivered in favour of the enfranchisement of the rural householder, and I say there is not an argument

or an appeal that has been made which does not bring into striking relief the injustice of saying that no woman shall be admitted to any share in the government of her country. (Hear, hear.) How often have we heard it said, "Be just and fear not?" Does this maxim apply only to men? On a thousand platforms we have declared that taxation and representation should go together, we have denounced the injustice that if war is being waged the agricultural labourer should have a portion of his hard-won earnings taken from him without any power of expressing his opinion on the policy for which he is taxed. Is it more just that women should be taxed without their consent? Have they a less severe struggle for existence? Are their earnings so much more easily won that increased taxation means for them a less keenly felt sacrifice? There is not a subject which is discussed in Parliament in which women are not as deeply interested as men. (Hear, hear.) War not only brings to them its burdens, but it often brings the sorrow and the anguish of a desolated home; the widowed mother may be made childless, the sister may mourn a brother who will be seen no more. Social questions are probably likely to engage an increasing share of the attention of Parliament, and is there any social question in which women are not deeply concerned? Education is not a less priceless blessing to them than it is to men. If the Church is to be disestablished—(loud cheers)—the very intensity of the interest which you manifest shows that the wishes of women on such a question are entitled to the fullest consideration. If restrictions are imposed on their employment, are they to be deprived of all power of resistance if they believe that fresh difficulties will be thus thrown in the way of a woman earning her living by honest toil? I have said I think it is not less expedient than it is just that the claim of women to vote should be considered

on its merits. I well remember Mr. Henley, who was the very embodiment of shrewd common sense, at the time when the Liberal party was involved in a labyrinth of proposals about a £6 rating and a £7 rental franchise, said, "Why don't you go to household suffrage at once? (Cheers.) You will have to go there sooner or later, and sooner is better than later." (Cheers and laughter.) These were the words of a Conservative, but they were the words of wisdom and sagacity. Depend upon it that the claim of women householders to vote will be so irresistible when the suffrage has been conferred upon every man who is a householder, however poor and uneducated he may be, that I believe the demand of women householders to be enfranchised will not rest until it is conceded. You will have to do it sooner or later, and sooner is better than later. (Hear, hear.) No one who watches the signs of the times can doubt that this demand will not alone be urged by women. As illustrating the amount of popular feeling in its favour, I may refer to the fact that at so representative a gathering of working men as the Trades' Union Congress, a resolution in support of women's suffrage was, much to their credit, a few weeks since passed with only three dissentients."

LEAFLET NO. 5.

National Woman Suffrage Association
OF MASSACHUSETTS.

The nineteenth century is to be the woman's century.—VICTOR HUGO.

Representation and legislation as well as taxation, are inseparable, according to the spirit of our Constitution and of all others that are free.—SAMUEL ADAMS.

They who have no voice nor vote in the electing of representatives do not enjoy liberty, but are absolutely enslaved to those who have votes and to their representatives.—BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

We reproach the sex every day for folly and impertinence, while I am confident had they the advantages of education equal to us, they would be guilty of less than ourselves.—DE FOE. (1676.)

If you would know the political and moral condition of a people ask as to the condition of its women.—AIME MARTIN, FRENCH JOURNALIST.

The politician's field of vision is entirely filled by those who are represented; the unrepresented are forgotten.—MILLICENT GARRETT FAWCETT.

If men are so bad that they cannot be trusted to vote with women, is it beyond question that they ought to be trusted to vote for women?—GAIL HAMILTON.

God hasten the day when the civil and political rights of women shall be admitted to be equal to those of men.—GERRITT SMITH.

Two elements are needed to exalt politics from the low level at which it now exists; the influence of woman, and of a faithful pulpit.—

HENRY WARD BEECHER.

The progress of civilization will ultimately emancipate half the human race from the low position in which we have hitherto been kept.—MARY SOMERVILLE.

To see one half of the human race excluded by the other half from all participation in government is an anomaly which, according to abstract principles of right, it is impossible to explain.—TALLYRAND.

There is not the slightest visible reason why the principle of equal legal rights, which is at present so generally recognized, should not also be extended to the female half of the human race.—PROF. LOUIS BUCHNER.

Whatever may be said of abstract right or whatever be said of limitations or injuries, I have for more than thirty years believed that the great interests of morality imperatively require that the ballot should be placed in the hands of woman.—BISHOP SIMPSON.

I have only to maintain that woman is a rational human being, and disposed to obey the law, in order to establish her capacity to vindicate her rights.—

JUDGE E. P. HURLBUT.

If there is any weapon once taken from the armory, will make victory certain, it will be, as it has been in art, civilization, literature, and science, summoning woman into the political arena.—LORD BROUGHAM.

It seems a first principle, an axiom, that every householder, or taxpayer should have a voice in electing those who spend the money we pay, including as this does, interests the most vital to a human being.—FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

Men are not wise enough, nor generous enough, nor pure enough, to legislate fairly for women. The laws of the most civilized nations depress and degrade women. The legislation is in favor of the legislating class.—GEO. WM. CURTIS.

It seems to me to be inconsistent with the principles of your Government, and of ours, to deny to women the power to control those who legislate for them. Until they obtain this control through the suffrage, they will suffer many disadvantages and be the victims of unequal laws.—JACOB BRIGHT.

The right of women to personal representation through the ballot, seems to me unassailable, whenever the right of man is conceded and exercised. I can conceive of no possible abstract justification for the exclusion of the one and the inclusion of the other.—HON. THOMAS W. PALMER, U. S. Senator from Michigan.

Womanhood and motherhood will yet be arguments for voting, as manhood and fatherhood are to-day; and the scorn will be for those whose "refinement" shirks the duty, and for the mannishness which would bar out a woman as a "woman" from the right.—WM. C. GANNETT.

I have seen a woman drive in her coach to the Bank of England and throw a vote which affected the commerce of the world,—almost as great a thing as to vote for a church warden. I have seen a woman go to the India House and by her vote affect the destinies of one hundred and fifty million of people,—almost as important an act as to vote for a constable.—DANIEL O'CONNELL.

By innumerable deeds of noble conflict on every field of moral, intellectual and social effort, woman has won equal honors with the other sex, and established by works, her right to a just recognition and equality which selfish rule has heretofore prevented. Intelligence of the citizen is the only true basis of suffrage, and if equality is assured, let us not ignore its logical consequences, but give to woman all the rights of citizenship.—

Inaugural Address of GOVERNOR ROBIE of Maine. (1885.)

I cannot resist the duty, for I feel it to be such, to state that this is the 6th term of this court over which I have presided and during which women have served as jurors and petit jurors, and I must state that I have never presided over or pleaded before a court where there has been such uniform good order, where there has been as high general character among the jurors, where there has been such a salutary effect, or where there has been a procedure as much calculated to inspire a genuine respect for an honest fear of the law.—

Chief Justice GREEN of Wyoming Territory.

The rights of men result solely from the fact that they are rational beings susceptible of acquiring moral ideas and reasoning on those ideas. Women, having the same qualities, have the same equal rights. Either no one individual of the human kind has true rights or all have the same, and one who votes against the rights of another, whatever be that other's religion, color or sex, from that moment forfeits his own.—CONDORCET.

Suppose woman, though equal, to differ essentially in her intellect from man; is that any ground for disfranchising her? Shall the Fultons say to the Raphaels, "Because you cannot make steam engines, therefore you shall not vote?" Shall the Napoleons or the Washingtons say to the Wordsworths or the Herschells, "Because you cannot lead armies and govern States, therefore you shall have no civil rights?"—WENDELL PHILLIPS.

Alone to such as fitly bear
Thy civic honors bid them fall,
And call thy daughters forth to share
The rights and duties pledged to all.

JOHN G. WHITTIER, in "OUR COUNTRY."

A WOMAN SUFFRAGE MANUAL.

MASSACHUSETTS IN THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT.

SECOND EDITION.

Extract from a private letter to the author written by Wendell Phillips.

DEAR FRIEND:—

Your book would do good and only good anywhere and everywhere. It is a terse, suggestive *resume* of about all one needs to know to understand the movement, marvelously condensed and strongly painted. I wish I could do anything to send it over the whole state. If any way opens, I will do what I can. I sympathize with you fully. Yours truly,

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

The story of "Massachusetts in the Woman Suffrage Movement" was told by Mrs. Harriet H. Robinson so fairly and impartially, and in so purely an historical spirit, that it attracted a good deal of attention and favorable notice from the press. A new edition has been issued, which has been carefully revised by the author. It is safe to say that no person, man or woman, in the suffrage ranks, has so thorough a knowledge of the history of the woman suffrage movement from its very beginning to the present time, and of the various causes that have aided or retarded it, as Mrs. Robinson, and her little work may be accepted as a reliable record of facts. The new matter in the volume includes a sketch of the National Woman Suffrage Association of Massachusetts; a record of Massachusetts legislation for women in 1881-82; a table of the legislative yea and nay votes on woman suffrage from 1868 to 1882-83; a list of employments for women in Massachusetts, and "Woman's Position in School Matters."—*Boston Evening Transcript*.

The volume is now a concise and careful statement of the whole subject, and it must be regarded, what the author intended it should be, a valuable book of reference on this subject.—*Boston Sunday Herald*.

Mrs. Robinson's admirable history of woman suffrage in Massachusetts is out with a good deal of new and valuable material. *Springfield Republican*.

The author gives proof of her sincere endeavor, by extensive revisions in accordance with accomplished facts.—The addenda altogether fill 14 pages and are valuable.—*New York Nation*.

This second edition of Mrs. Robinson's book is a concise yet thorough and exhaustive *resume* of the rise and progress of the woman's movement. — *The Index*.

Mrs. Robinson's book should be owned by every woman interested in the woman suffrage question.—*Indianapolis Daily Sentinel*.

The title of this book is a true delineation of its contents. It is a history from the first inception of the Woman's Suffrage Movement to its present status and a remarkable history it is, we commend it to the attention of our readers, especially the ladies, as being a really able history of the movement.—*Mona's Herald*, Isle of Man.

Mrs. Robinson's book will be found a useful manual of reference. It really contains a good deal of information on the progress of female emancipation, in other states as well as in Western Europe.—*New York Sun*.

The book is written in a spirited and attractive manner, and when once taken up, will hardly be left until finished.—*Lansing Republican*, (Michigan).

This is the first comprehensive account of the woman suffrage movement in Massachusetts that has yet been given to the world. The author's wit and downright earnestness, have given an interest to the subject which, it must be confessed it would not otherwise have had, to the unregenerate public.—*New London Telegram*.

The book is a useful record and not the least interesting part of it, is the account in the appendix of the *Lowell Offering*, and its Contributors, of whom the author was one, another being Lucy Larcom and a third Margaret Foley, the sculptor. It marked a period in factory life long since passed away, which deserves a chronicler.—*The Literary World*.

We can heartily congratulate Mrs. Robinson on having produced not only a useful and instructive book of reference, but at the same time a very readable little volume, which conveys much interesting information, even for those who are not especially bound up with the question.—*Englishwoman's Review*.

It is a small octavo of 279 pages, of which the last seventyseven are devoted to an appendix full of valuable historical matter, and an index, so well arranged as greatly to facilitate reference, to any of the persons or events named in the body of the volume.—*Indianapolis Times*.

Full of well written history of the whole thing. The book will be valuable for reference.—*The Churchman*.

The need of such a work, of authentic data on which to base statements, has long been felt, and Mrs. Robinson's little volume will be accorded a warm welcome.—*The Milwaukee Sentinel*.

It will be remembered that this work presents a general, political, legal and legislative history of the woman suffrage movement in this country from 1774 to 1883.—*Lowell Morning Mail*.

In order to induce suffragists and suffrage associations to buy the book for missionary work and general circulation the following reduced scale of prices has been determined on:

One Copy; \$1. Three Copies; \$2.25. Six Copies; \$4. Twelve Copies; \$7.50.

Sent, *on receipt of price*, by check or postal order, to any address in the United States, in New Mexico, or in Europe.

Address, HARRIET H. ROBINSON, P. O. Box 374.

MALDEN, MASSACHUSETTS, U. S. A.

LEAFLET NO. 6.

National Woman Suffrage Association OF MASSACHUSETTS.

The "National" Method.

There are two methods of obtaining full suffrage for women, the "State" and the "National." The State method is to secure the ballot through an amendment to the state constitution; which is done (in Massachusetts,) when two successive legislatures vote to submit such an amendment to the legal voters of the State and a majority of these voters confirm this action at the polls. The National method, is to secure *national protection in the right to vote* through an amendment to the constitution of the United States. This is done when two-thirds of both houses of congress shall have voted to submit such an amendment to the states, and when three-fourths of the state legislatures shall have confirmed this action. By the state method, the question is decided by the mass of voters at the polls. By the national method it is decided by the legislators.

While acknowledging that all methods are good, especially as means of agitation, the National Woman Suffrage Association, with its various state auxiliaries, has for nearly twenty years laid stress upon the national method as the most just and expedient, for reasons which may be briefly summarized as follows:

FIRST.—Citizens, whether women or men, are first and foremost *citizens of the United States*. They owe allegiance to the United States and not to the particular state in which they reside, and are known and acknowledged as United States citizens (not as Massachusetts, or Illinois, or Nevada citizens), when they are in foreign lands. Being citizens of the United States, it is to the United States that they should apply for redress in case of any restriction upon their rights as citizens.

Reciprocally, since the United States has declared, in its constitution, who are its citizens, instead of leaving this for the separate states to decide, it is the manifest business and duty of the United States government, through its representatives, to prescribe the rights of these citizens and to protect them in these rights. Therefore, when the rights of citizenship are in question, as they are in the claim of women for the ballot, the congress of the United States is the proper tribunal to decide that question.

SECOND.—Enfranchisement should not be limited by state lines. By the success of the national method, all women would be enfranchised at once, and never be subjected to disfranchisement by removal from one state into another. For instance, if woman suffrage were secured in Massachusetts, by state legislation, a woman who enjoyed full citizenship here would have to sacrifice it if she wished to remove into Vermont or emigrate to Nebraska. No man would wish, or submit, to pay the penalty of disfranchisement, for the privilege of changing his residence, and the possibility of such an injustice to men was guarded against in the first place. The same should be done for women. They should be enfranchised by act of the general government, universally, not by piecemeal.

THIRD.—By national action alone will the right be made secure. State legislatures and the vote of the so-called "people," may give suffrage and take it away again; but the enfranchisement which is secured, *protected*, by an amendment to

the United States constitution, is secured from all reversal or retraction of legislatures or people.

FOURTH.—It is easier to convert the few representatives of a great state than to try to move the whole mass of people whom these men represent. The masses are being augmented perpetually by foreign and native ignorance which it will take years to educate out of their prejudices. A given amount of argument expended upon, say the twenty-two congressmen that represent Ohio, would have more effect than a hundred times that amount dissipated among the people of Ohio. Again, a congressman is one man in a conspicuous position. His opinion may be ascertained and he can be plied with reasons and persuasion; while a mass of opponents can simply entrench themselves in the safety of numbers and obscurity, retain their prejudices because not personally labored with, and vote against us without ever having considered the reasons why.

FIFTH.—To convert a congressman is to cause his constituency to regard the question with more respect and to begin to ask if he may not be right; whereas it would take years to bring that same constituency up to the point where they would advocate it if he were opposed. To convince the national law-makers is to sound the keynote.

SIXTH.—By state legislation, the same work must be done over and over again, while by national protection the root of the matter is attacked once and for all.

FINALLY.—Precedent, so powerful in law, may also be urged here. When the negro was enfranchised it was not by state, but by national legislation, by an amendment to the federal constitution confirmed by three-fourths of the states. Woman, the only intelligent disfranchised class now remaining, ought to receive her franchise by the same broad and generous action.

The objection may be urged that since the states must confirm the congressional action, it is they who will decide the question after all. This is true. But a decision resting upon the state legislatures *in confirmation* of a congressional recommendation, is a far different matter from a decision resting upon the *voters* of any state *acting without previous congressional recommendation*. History has exemplified the fact that the states will sustain a national act when individually unwilling to take the responsibility of the same act.

In reply to the plea that a state should be left the right to decide the qualifications of its own citizens to vote, it may be said that the *qualifications of citizens* may well be left to the states; but that it must first be decided *who are the citizens* to be thus qualified. "The right of citizens of the United States to vote" is acknowledged by the federal constitution; and women, being "persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof" are therefore "citizens of the United States." Yet women citizens are at present deprived of the "right of citizens to vote." It is the business of the United States government to annul this anomaly in our federal constitution, to protect all its "citizens" in their "right to vote," by additional amendment. When this is done the states may justly claim to prescribe such *qualifications* for voting, as its citizens, both men and women, may decide.

The foregoing summary gives, in brief, the reasons why the National Woman Suffrage Association of Massachusetts, while advocating all forms of suffrage work, urges as the most important, the endeavor to secure an amendment to the federal constitution through the action of congress; which action, when confirmed by three-fourths of the states shall secure to *all women* the rights of citizenship.

H. R. SHATTUCK.

Women as County Councillors.

The EARL of MEATH

Has a paper in one of the leading American magazines for October, 1893, which traverses the whole case for British women in Local Government. He gives the following reasons for the admission of women to County Councils:—

- (1) They are intelligent human beings, the equals of men morally and intellectually.
- (2) They form more than half of the population, and will suffer equally with men should County Councils neglect or mismanage their duties.
- (3) They bear their share of the burdens of the county, and Englishmen have always insisted that those who are taxed should also be represented by persons of their own choice.
- (4) Their admission to seats on school and poor-law boards, especially in the case of the latter, has led to marked improvements of administration.
- (5) The work of British County Councils includes the care of infants, the education of children, industrial and technical education of girls, the charge of the mentally afflicted, and the management of lodging-houses, all of them being subjects which women are generally acknowledged to understand better than men.
- (6) "The condition-of-the-people" question occupies a large share of the attention of County Councils, and women possess more practical experience than men of the needs of the poor.
- (7) Their assistance would be most valuable in the consideration of such matters as the housing of the working classes, the supply of pure water and air, the formation of urban public gardens and playgrounds, the sanitation of dwellings, the cleansing of the streets, and the improvement and beautifying of our cities, &c.
- (8) Men and women regard subjects from different points of view.

[*"Women's Herald,"* October 19, 1893.]

MOTHERS AND CHILDREN.

By VERAX.

THE question of the right of women to possess and educate their own offspring crops up on every side. The law declares that as against their husbands women have no rights in the matter at all, or next to none. So long as husband and wife agree the one-sided character of this arrangement is concealed, but the moment they fall out the wife is likely to discover that she has simply had the privilege of giving birth to her children, and that there all privilege ends. She has no right to say how they shall be educated, or in what religion they shall be brought up. When her husband dies he may, if he pleases, hand over the guardianship of her children to a stranger, in which case a court of law will, if need be, solemnly decree that she shall not attempt to intermeddle with his arrangements. It is even possible for a blameless wife to be deprived of the custody of her infant offspring, to be called upon, at any rate by the law of Scotland, to give up her child on a husband's order, with permission to see it once or twice a week in somebody else's arms. That such things should be possible and yet excite so little remark is on the whole a tribute to the general goodness of domestic life amongst us. If by some dismal freak of passion, or some sudden and unusual development of connubial incongruities, all husbands were led to

insist upon their rights and all wives be made sensible of their helplessness, the world would exhibit a strange spectacle. We should see the men march off with all the children, down to the babies, and the women left without a child to bless them. In such a state of things one would be driven to wish that the schism between the sexes might last long enough to render a repetition of the scandal impossible. But what would be so very dreadful on a large scale is to the full just as dreadful on any scale, however small, to the victim or victims on whom the wrong is practised. The classical Agar-Ellis instance is well known, but it may be referred to for a moment as a set-off to one which is to follow. Mr. Agar-Ellis is a Protestant. He chose to marry a Catholic lady, the daughter of Lord Camoys. Before the lady would consent he had to give a promise that if there were any children by the marriage they should be brought up in the Roman Catholic faith. This promise was the consideration on which the marriage was agreed to. If he had not given it, the lady would not have become his wife. But when the children grew up to be capable of receiving religious instruction, and joining in acts of devotion at church, Mr. Agar-Ellis thought fit to repudiate his promise, and to insist upon bringing the

her husband's ante-nuptial promise in a court of law, but without success. The court did not care to decide whether or not the promise had been given. It held that, supposing it to have been given, it could not be enforced. It belongs to the father to say what his children's religion shall be, and on so high a matter he is to be free to avail himself of his latest and best lights. Anybody who is under a contract may have been a fool when he made it, but if the contract is not immoral that circumstance is not allowed to secure his release. The law allows religious belief to be the subject of contracts. It is upon this basis that all non-established churches rest. If in the orderly fulfilment of a moral engagement a man binds himself to exercise his rights as regards religion in a certain way, there does not seem to be any good reason why he should not be held to his contract. But by the pharisaical purism of English law Mrs. Agar-Ellis found herself defrauded of her bargain. She had been decoyed into marriage on false pretences, or pretences which were afterwards falsified, and found too late that she had no remedy. By an order of the court, on an allegation that she had disobeyed its decree, she was deprived of the company of her children, and a daughter on her way to womanhood who loves her mother and clings to her mother's faith is hardly allowed to see her once a year during the holidays. A companion picture has just been exhibited in the Irish Court of Chancery. The judgment is not yet given, but as their Lordships are not likely to have their understandings warped by anything I may say, I hope there is no risk of committal for contempt of court. The late Dr. Walsh, of Castlebar, a Roman Catholic by profession, became attached to Miss Dudgeon, a Protestant lady of the same town, and

proposed to marry her. The authorities of the Roman Catholic Church are opposed to mixed marriages, and not without fair reasons. They are not more exacting in this respect than other religious bodies where religion is more than skin-deep. Being anxious to comply with the regulations of his Church, he asked the parish priest to be good enough to use his best offices with the Archbishop to procure a dispensation, pledging himself, as he said, "in the event of a family, to have them baptised and brought up in my own faith." It is to be presumed that the dispensation was given. But demands were made on the other side. The young lady's mother refused consent to the marriage unless Dr. Walsh would promise that any children of the marriage should be brought up Protestants. Poor Dr. Walsh, in a dilemma between love and faith, tried to embrace both horns at once. He gave to the lady and her mother substantially the same promise which he had given to his priest, but in the opposite sense. He was willing that the children should be baptised by a Protestant clergyman. He thought it possible that circumstances might arise which would oblige him to have them baptised by a Roman Catholic priest, but that, he said, would not at all make it binding upon him to have them brought up Catholics. Catholic baptism might be necessary, but they might all the same be brought up Protestants. Finally, he promised the lady herself that if "anything happened" to him he would not appoint anyone as the guardian of the children's consciences, but would leave her sole and undivided authority, nor suffer anyone to step in between her and them. On this understanding the marriage took place. When a baby was born Dr. Walsh's relatives importuned him on the subject, and he took it away from its mother's side soon after its birth to

be baptised by the priest. There is no doubt, looking after his rights in fulfilment of the promise made to him, and Dr. Walsh had said beforehand that he might be compelled to go so far, though that need not prevent the bringing up of the child as a Protestant. He was afterwards pressed to fulfil his promise to appoint his wife by will sole guardian of the child, and he engaged to do so, but he was suddenly taken ill and died without having redeemed his pledge. The child is now five years old, and the father's relatives insist that it shall be brought up in the father's faith. To escape an obligation which would be distressing to a person of her views, Mrs. Walsh has applied to the Court of Chancery petitioning to be made sole guardian of her boy, and to have authority to educate him in her own creed. The relatives oppose, and hereupon issue is joined. No needless acrimony is displayed, but the relatives of the late Dr. Walsh ask that a joint guardian may be appointed with authority to bring up the child as a Roman Catholic. The judges owned the dilemma in which they found themselves. It is a clear rule of law that a child is to be brought up in the father's religion whatever the mother may say or do. This brings the posthumous rights of fathers on the scene. Not only have they absolute power while living, they have also absolute power when they are dead. There is a saying in Scripture that a living dog is better than a dead lion. But a living mother is nothing compared with a dead father. He is in his grave; but his presumed will is resuscitated and filled with life and armed with legal omnipotence, in order that the living mother may be deprived of the natural duties and functions of maternity. What the law should be is obvious on natural grounds. The "dead hand" is held to be unendurable and execrable when laid upon

and have no feelings to be injured. How much worse ought it to be counted when the "dead hand" is laid upon living souls. The difference between the maxims applicable to these matters illustrates a besetting infirmity of English law, which takes more care of property than of persons, and makes money and material interests supreme. While both parents are alive they are entitled to joint control. When one of them dies the full rights of guardianship should pass to the survivor. It should be impossible for any stranger to step in between a mother and her children and filch from her the authority to which she is entitled by every just and reasonable consideration. So far the question at issue has been one of education or guardianship, or of possession as subsidiary to guardianship. A case has recently been decided which affects possession in the barest sense of the word, when it is not sought for as the means of enforcing any obligation. A gentleman, whose name it is not necessary to parade, residing, if I mistake not, in Edinburgh, married a year or two ago. He is said to have treated his wife so ill that three months after their marriage she was compelled to separate from him and take refuge with her relatives. She alleges in court that she was compelled to adopt this course by his persistent unkindness and cruelty, which ended in actual assault the night before her departure. In a few months a child was born. For twelve months she was allowed to keep it unmolested, but at the end of that period the father applied to the Court of Session to have it delivered up to him. Against him there were these charges of cruelty which had forced the wife to leave him; against her there was no charge whatever. She was an innocent woman who had simply had the misfortune

marriage vow. Yet the judges decided against her. They held that by the law of Scotland the father had an undoubted right to the custody of his children, except where allegations are made, and presumably capable of being proved, affecting his moral character. In this case they held that there was nothing of the sort. There was "nothing but an allegation of an act of cruelty following upon a variety of threats and bad language." This was held to imply nothing morally wrong in him, nothing which could render association with him injurious to the child. Accordingly the mother was ordered to give up the child, with permission to see it at a friend's house twice a week. It is quite needless to spend strong words over such a decision. It is legal, and that is conclusive. But surely every instinct of justice and humanity rises in insurrection against such a law. It is a law fit for savages, though savages are libelled by the comparison. They would be more just. We sometimes have to listen to strains of lofty moralising on the duty of women to abstain from politics, and of the unseemliness of the part they play when they leave the sweet shelter of their homes to invoke justice for themselves and their sisterhood at the bar of public opinion. The monstrous barbarity of this Scotch decision should silence all captious

Reprinted by permission from the "Manchester Weekly Times" of Saturday, November 24th, 1883.

longues. It is enough to make thoughtful women mad with indignation. While such judicial iniquities can be practised, we must be content to see the gentle and the timid forego the privileges of their sex and enter the arena where outrages of this sort find defenders. The shame perhaps is ours that we do not join them in their denunciations or relieve them of their task by taking it upon ourselves. The laws by virtue of which such shameful demands can be preferred and such odious decisions given are the survivals of times when women were literally the slaves of men. Much worse than this may be said. The actual state of subjection and legal inferiority in which women are found has been theorised upon and made to fit in with a theory of the relations of husband and wife with regard to their children which degrades one sex to the position of being mere accessories to the lordly rights of the other—mere instruments for replenishing the earth with heroes and clodhoppers. The practice of some Eastern peoples is more consistent when they kill off those of their female children whom they do not want. So long as these unjust laws prevail our civilisation stands arraigned. The judges blush to execute them. Their respect for law and precedent can hardly nerve them to bear the shock. When that point is reached the case must be bad indeed.

Bristol Women's Liberal Association.

BRISTOL,

May, 1884.

GENTLEMEN,

We beg you to be good enough to insert the following correspondence, and the names of Liberal Women who, at the invitation of our Association, united with us in asking Mr. GLADSTONE to receive a Deputation to urge the claim of women householders to be enfranchised in the People's Representation Bill.

We are, Gentlemen,

Yours truly,

HELEN M. STURGE, } *Hon. Secs.*
EVA TRIBE, }

say that they are not entitled to vote. (Hear, hear.)

March, 1884.

DEAR MR. GLADSTONE,

We venture to lay before you our earnest wish that you will kindly consent to receive a Deputation of Liberal Women. We are of those who have for many years desired such a great measure of Parliamentary Reform as you have now brought forward. We are, so far as the law permits us to be, your supporters, and supporters from heartfelt conviction of a great and just Liberal policy for this country.

Urged by your own arguments, we desire to sustain the very principle of the Bill, and so to widen its beneficent scope as that it may in truth and without reservation be a measure of generous trust in the whole people of Great Britain and Ireland. We pray you that it may not in the future be said that women alone were reckoned unworthy of any measure of that generous confidence which you so rightly extended even to the humblest and most ignorant men.

We write on behalf of more than a hundred women of Liberal opinions, whose names we enclose, who are ready and anxious to take part in a Deputation to you, to lay before you their strong conviction of the justice and the propriety of granting some representation to women. Believing our claim to be not only most reasonable, but also in strict accord with the principle of your great Bill, we are persuaded that if you are able to give any recognition to it, there is no act of your honourable career which will in the future be deemed more consistent with a truly Liberal Statesmanship.

We are unable to speak with the authority of constituents to a single Member of Parliament, and therefore, notwithstanding the almost overwhelming pressure of your engagements, we come direct to you with an appeal which we believe you will hardly feel able to set aside, and we beg you to receive as many of our Deputation as you conveniently can.

We are, dear Mr. Gladstone,

Your faithful and earnest friends,

HELEN P. B. CLARK,
MILLICENT GARRETT FAWCETT,
PRISCILLA McLAREN,
ISABELLA M. S. TOD.

10 DOWNING STREET, WHITEHALL,
10th April, 1884.

MADAM,

I am desired to acquaint you that the communication which you have done Mr. Gladstone the honour to address to him has been duly received by him; and he wishes me to thank you for placing him in possession of the views entertained by yourself, and by those on whose behalf you write, on the subject of according women the right to vote

at Parliamentary Elections. He observes that the immediate object of your communication is to request him to receive a Deputation of Ladies on the subject. He is most unwilling to cause disappointment to yourself and your friends, whose title to be heard he thoroughly recognizes, and he can assure you that the difficulty of complying with a request so preferred does not proceed from any want of appreciating the importance of your representations, or of the question itself which is raised. His fear is that any attempt to enlarge by material changes the provisions of the Franchise Bill, now before Parliament, might endanger the whole measure; and he believes that this is a risk which the memorialists would be very unwilling to see incurred.

For this reason, as well as on account of his physical inability at the present time to add to his engagements, he is afraid he must ask to be excused from acceding to your wishes. He regrets to be unable to return a different answer, and hopes that you and those with whom you are acting will acquit him of any want of courtesy.

I beg to remain, Madam,

Your obedient Servant,

MRS. CLARK.

E. W. HAMILTON.

April, 1884.

DEAR MR. GLADSTONE,

In reply to the letter which you have addressed to us through your Secretary, we desire to assure you that our letter to you was written before your illness was known, and that we fully recognize the difficulty which your health has put in the way of your acceding to the request contained in it.

Without further intruding upon you, we wish only to express our earnest hope, that when the admission of women to the Parliamentary Franchise comes up for discussion in Committee, you will allow it to be an open question.

We are, yours faithfully,

HELEN P. B. CLARK,
MILLICENT GARRETT FAWCETT,
PRISCILLA McLAREN,
ISABELLA M. S. TOD.

10 DOWNING STREET,

3rd May, 1884.

DEAR MADAM,

Mr. Gladstone desires me to acknowledge the receipt of the further note with which you and those acting with you have favoured him; and he wishes me to say that he is grateful for the kind consideration shewn towards him in it respecting the deputation.

I beg to remain,

Your obedient Servant,

MRS. CLARK.

E. W. HAMILTON.

say that they are not entitled to vote. (Hear, hear.)

NAMES OF THE SUPPORTERS.

Miss Alger, Head Mistress, West Dulwich High School for Girls.
 Elizabeth Garrett-Anderson, M.D. (Paris), 4 Upper Berkeley Street,
 Portman Square, W.
 Miss Ward Andrews, P.L.G. for St. Pancras, 29 Upper Park
 Road, Haverstock Hill, N.W.
 Mrs. Arthur Arnold, 45 Kensington Park Gardens, W.
 Mrs. Ashford, P.L.G. for Birmingham, Crofton Hackett, Rednal,
 Bromsgrove.
 Miss Banks, Lawn House, Forest Gate, Essex.
 Miss Balgarnie, Scarborough.
 Miss E. A. Beale, Hillersdown House, Barnes.
 Madame Belloc, Manchester Street, Manchester Square, London.
 Miss C. A. Biggs, 19 Notting Hill Square, London.
 Mrs. Bishop, (née Isabella Bird), 117, Adelaide Road, N.W.
 *Miss Blake, West Shrubbery, Bristol.
 Mrs. Stanton-Blatch, B.A., The Mount, Basingstoke.
 Sophia Jex-Blake, M.D. (Berne), Bruntfield Lodge, Edinburgh.
 Lady Bowring, Exeter.
 Mrs. Bruce, Stoke Bishop, Bristol.
 Miss Bryant, North London Collegiate School.
 Miss Brown, Dingle Priory, Liverpool.
 Miss Buss, Fellow of the College of Preceptors.
 Mrs. Josephine E. Butler, The Close, Winchester.
 Mrs. Caird, Leyland, Arkwright Road, Hampstead, W.
 Miss Carbutt, P.L.G. for Leeds.
 Mrs. Ormiston Chant, 208 Adelaide Road, Hampstead, W.
 Mrs. A. Charles, P.L.G. for Paddington, 16 Aldridge Road Villas,
 Bayswater, W.
 Annie E. Clark, M.D. (Berne), 39 Hagley Road, Birmingham.
 *Mrs. H. P. B. Clark, Street, Somerset.
 Mrs. R. Clark, M.S.B., Sidcot, Somerset.
 Miss S. S. Clark, M.S.B., Street, Somerset.
 Miss Jane Cobden.
 Miss Cock, L.K.Q.C.P.J., 57 Oakley Road, N.W.
 Miss Cocks, Head Mistress, Redland High School for Girls, Bristol.
 *Mrs. Colman, 77 Whiteladies' Road, Bristol.
 *Mrs. Stuart Colman, Colonnade, Great George Street, Bristol.

*Miss Amy Cooper, Stoke Bishop, Bristol.
 Mrs. Cotton, 13 Stratton Street, Piccadilly, London.
 Miss Courtauld, 10 Prince's Buildings, Bristol.
 Mrs. Cowen, The Rope Walk, Nottingham.
 Mrs. Crawshay, Cathedine, Bwlch, Breconshire.
 Mrs. Crosskey, Birmingham.
 Miss Emily Davies, 19 Cunningham Place, N.W.
 Mrs. Llewellyn Davies, 5 Blandford Square, N.W.
 Mrs. Ashton Dilke, 1 Hyde Park Gate South, London.
 Miss Donkin, P.L.G. for Kensington.
 Eliza Walker Dunbar, M.D. (Zürich,) Clifton, Bristol.
 Miss Dymond, B.A., South Hall, Newnham, Cambridge.
 Miss Estlin, Upper Belgrave Road, Bristol.
 Mrs. Fawcett, The Lawn, Lambeth Road, London.
 Miss Agnes Garrett, 2 Gower Street, W.C.
 Mrs. Gibb, Chesnut Grove, Heworth, York.
 *Mrs. Grenfell, M.S.B., Clifton, Bristol.
 Mrs. William Grey.
 Miss Groves, College Hall, Byng Place, London, W.C.
 Mrs. Brocklehurst Hack, M.S.B., 58 Bridge Street, New Swindon.
 Miss Hawker, The Orchards, Longparish, Hants.
 Lady Harberton, 119 Cromwell Road, S.W.
 *Mrs. Hargrave, 8 Oakland Road, Bristol.
 Miss Mary Hart, 86 Hamilton Terrace, London, N.W.
 Mrs. Haslam, 91 Rathmine Road, Dublin.
 Mrs. Higginson, 35 St. George's Terrace, Swansea.
 Miss Florence Davenport Hill, 25 Belsize Avenue, London.
 Frances Hoggan, M.D. (Zürich), 7 Trevor Terrace, Rutland Gate,
 S.W.
 Mrs. John Hollond, 57 Lancaster Gate, Kensington Gardens.
 Mrs. Hunt, Tor Villa, Campden Hill, W.
 Miss Irby, Bosnia.
 *Miss James, Cotham Vale, Hampton Road, Bristol.
 Miss Jones, Head Mistress, Notting Hill and Bayswater High
 School for Girls.
 Mrs. Smith Jones, P.L.G. for King's Norton.
 Alice Ker, M.D. (Berne), 33 Park Square, Leeds.
 Mrs. Leach, M.S.B., Market Place, Yarmouth.
 Miss Lee, Bedford College, Portman Square, London.
 Miss Lewis, Notting Hill and Bayswater High School for Girls.
 Miss Lidgett, P.L.G. for St. Pancras, 40 Gordon Square, London.
 Miss Lord, P.L.G. for Lambeth.
 Mrs. Lucas, 7 Charlotte Street, Bedford Square, London.
 Miss Lucas, Hon. Sec. Darlington Women's Liberal Association

say that they are not entitled to vote. (Hear, hear.)

Miss Willoughby Luxton, Head Mistress, Brighton High School for Girls.
 Miss E. A. Manning (Sec. Nat. Ind. Assoc.), 35 Bloomfield Road, Maida Hill, London.
 Mrs. Stephen Marshall, Weetwood Hall, Leeds.
 Mary Marshall, M.D. (Paris), 2 St. John's Gardens, Notting Hill.
 Miss Martin, Orme's Girls' School, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
 Mrs. McIlquham, P.L.G. for Boddington, Staverton House, near Cheltenham.
 Mrs. Charles McLaren, Barn Elms, Putney, London.
 Mrs. Walter McLaren, Sunny Bank, Bradford.
 Lady *McLure* ~~McLure~~, Belfast.
 Miss Mill, 4 Longton Grove, Sydenham, S.E.
 Mrs. Fenwick Miller, M.L.S.B., 184 St. Paul's Road, Canonbury, N.
 Miss Morison, College Hall, Byng Place, London, S.W.
 Miss Neligan, Head Mistress, High School for Girls, Croydon.
 Miss Notcutt, Bedford College, Portman Square, London.
 Miss Orme, 27 Southampton Buildings, Chancery Lane, London.
 Miss Emily Osborn, 10 Cunningham Place, St. John's Road, London.
 Mrs. Osler, Edgbaston, Birmingham.
 Mrs. Mark Pattison, Lincoln College, Oxford.
 Mrs. F. Penington, 17 Hyde Park Terrace, W.
 *Mrs. J. H. Perry, Redland, Bristol.
 Mrs. Emily Pfeiffer, Mayfield, West Hill, Putney, S.W.
 Lady Power, Armagh-ma-kerrig, Co. Monaghan.
 Mrs. Manning Prentice, P.L.G. for Bedminster, Westbury, Bristol.
 *Miss Mary Price, Beaconsfield Road, Bristol.
 Mrs. F. Prideaux, Gatcombe House, Totnes.
 *Miss Priestman, Member of the Bristol Five Hundred.
 *Miss Mary Priestman, Durdham Park, Bristol.
 Mrs. John Priestman, Manningham, Bradford.
 Miss Schaw Protheroe, Byrentég, Goodwick, Fishguard.
 Miss Richards, M.L.S.B., The Canaries, Bedford Park, London.
 Mrs. Richmond Ritchie, Wimbledon, Surrey.
 Mrs. Croom Robertson, 31 Kensington Park Gardens West, London.
 Miss A. Mary F. Robinson, 20 Earl's Terrace, Kensington.
 Mrs. W. Rossetti, 3 Endsleigh Gardens, N.W.
 Mrs. Rushbrook, L.K.A., 25 Upper Phillimore Place, Kensington.
 Mrs. Cobden Sanderson, 3 Paper Buildings, Temple.
 Mrs. Oliver Scatcherd, 27 Virginia Road, Leeds.
 Miss Olive Schreiner, St. Leonard's-on-Sea.
 Miss Sharman, Swanspool, Wellingborough.

Mrs. Shaw, P.L.G., Elstree, Hants.
 Miss Shirreff.
 Miss Arabella Shore, Orchard Poyle, Taplow, Maidenhead.
 Edith Shove, M.B. (London), General Post Office, London.
 Mrs. W. J. Sollas, 4 Clyde Road, Dublin.
 Mrs. Southey, Rosenthal, Dacres Road, Forest Hill, S.E.
 Miss Agatha Stacey, P.L.G. for King's Norton, 43 Beaufort Road, Edgbaston.
 *Mrs. Stone, Montpelier, Bristol.
 Miss E. H. Sturge, B.A., Ladies' College, Cheltenham.
 Miss Eliza Sturge, Bewdley, Worcestershire.
 *Miss Emily Sturge, M.S.B., Tyndall's Park, Clifton, Bristol.
 *Miss Helen M. Sturge, Tyndall's Park, Clifton, Bristol.
 Mrs. Sunley, Member of Leeds Six Hundred.
 Miss Anna Swanwick, Cumberland Terrace, Regent's Park.
 *Mrs. Tanner, Sidcot, Somerset.
 *Miss Tanner, Member of the Bristol Five Hundred.
 Miss Tapson, Head Mistress, High School for Girls, Norwich.
 Mrs. P. A. Taylor, 22 Ashley Place, S.W.
 *Mrs. Terrett, Bedminster, Bristol.
 *Mrs. Herbert Thomas, Durdham Park, Bristol.
 *Mrs. Thomas Thomas, Hyde Lodge, Westbury Park, Bristol.
 Mrs. J. P. Thomasson, Woodside, Bolton-le-Moors.
 Miss Tod, Belfast.
 *Miss Tribe, 7 Westfield Park, Bristol.
 Miss Ada E. Tucker, Clifton, Bristol.
 Miss Varley, P.L.G. for Islington, 82 Newington Green Road, London.
 *Miss Venning, Redland Hall, Bristol.
 Miss Ward, Training College, Bishopsgate Street, E.C.
 Mrs. Robert Spence Watson, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
 Mrs. Webster, Temple Lodge, Hammersmith.
 Miss Julia Wedgwood, 56 George Street, Portman Square, London.
 Miss Weld, Head Mistress, High School for Girls, Bath.
 Miss Westmacott, Church of England High School for Girls, 80 Coleshill Street, S.W.
 Miss Whitehead, P.L.G. for Leeds.
 Miss Whyte, Head Mistress, High School for Girls, Sutton, Surrey.
 Mrs. Henry Wigham, Dublin.
 Miss E. T. Wilkinson, Hon. Sec. York Womens' Liberal Association.
 *Mrs. S. D. Wills, Upper Belgrave Road, Bristol.
 Mrs. H. J. Wilson, Osgathorpe Hills, Pitsmoor, Sheffield.
 Mrs. Wilson, The Hut, Bolingbroke Grove, S.W.
 Mrs. Woods, B.A., Eyre Cottage, The Grove, Sydenham, S.E.

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SCOTLAND.

Miss Hill Burton, Liberton Bank, Edinburgh.
 Mrs. Hodgson, Bonaly Towers, Edinburgh.
 Mrs. George Hope (late of Fenton Barns), Edinburgh.
 Mrs. Duncan McLaren, Newington House, Edinburgh.
 Agnes McLaren, M.D. (France), 26 York Place, Edinburgh.
 Miss Siddons Mair, 5 Chester Street, Edinburgh.
 Mrs. Morrison Millar, 51 Lauriston Place, Edinburgh.
 Mrs. Somerville, Newbattle Road, Dalkeith.
 Miss Flora Stevenson, M.S.B., 13 Randolph Crescent, Edinburgh.
 Miss Louisa Stevenson, P.L.G., 13 Randolph Crescent, Edinburgh.
 Mrs. Stoddart, Kelso.
 Miss Eliza Wigham, 5 Grey Street, Edinburgh.

* *Member of the Committee of the Bristol Women's Liberal Association.*

WOMEN AND THE REFORM BILL.

Speech of LORD JOHN MANNERS in the House of Commons, March 24, 1884.

The Marquis of Hartington having formally moved the second reading of the Franchise Bill, Lord JOHN MANNERS rose to criticise it. In the course of his speech he said: But we are told that, in addition to its simplicity, this Bill will abolish all electoral anomalies. The Bill as it stands bristles with anomalies (Cheers.) There is an anomaly under the present system, and what I want the House to consider is will that anomaly not be greatly increased by this Bill—I allude to the question of the female ratepayer. The present position of the female ratepayer with regard to the vote is anomalous. She votes for municipal, school board, and poor law elections, but she does not vote at Parliamentary elections. That is the position. Now, take the case of one large and influential section of the female ratepayers—I mean female farmers. The census shows that in 1881 there were upwards of 20,000 females farmers in England. At the present moment not one of these has the vote for Parliamentary purposes. But, then, the labourer whom she pays, whom she maintains, enables to live in his cottage—a laugh—has no vote now; but pass this Bill, and what happens? Every carter, every ploughman, every hedger and ditcher, every agricultural labourer who receives wages—(loud Ministerial cheers)—from the female farmer will have the privilege of exercising the vote; but the female farmer who pays the wages, who is so important a factor in the economy of the parish, will remain without a vote. (Hear, hear.) Will you tell me that that anomaly will not be greatly increased, and the sense of it embittered to the female ratepayer whom you are going to treat in this cavalier manner.

Speech of SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE in the House of Commons.

On the final debate before the second reading of the Reform Bill, April 7th, SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE said:—If you make a capable elector the test you will find that you are bound to go very much further and in very different directions in some respects to what you have done in order to complete your definition. (Hear, hear.) I take the case of the female franchise. There cannot be a doubt, if you ask who are capable electors, you would find it very difficult to declare that the females who are in a certain position as taxpayers and ratepayers, and who are electors for municipal purposes, are not capable citizens, and that they should not be included in the franchise. (Hear, hear.) I believe that about one-seventh of the electors municipalities of the kingdom are females, and on the principle on which you are proceeding you will find it difficult to say that they are not entitled to vote. (Hear, hear.)

MARRIED WOMEN AND THE MUNICIPAL FRANCHISE.

THE question has been not unfrequently asked, especially since the commencement of the operation of the Married Women's Property Act, 1882, whether married women who, under the operation of that Act, or the previous Act of 1870, occupy property giving the municipal qualification, can be placed on the register and vote at municipal elections in virtue of such qualification. An examination of the statutes and legal judgments which govern the subject seems to afford an answer in the negative to this question.

At the time of the passing of the Municipal Franchise Act of 1869, which extended the municipal franchise to women in England and Wales, the old common law rule which gave the rent of freehold property and the absolute ownership of the personal property of a wife to her husband was in full and unmitigated force. The question, therefore, could not then arise, as no married woman could possess the ratepaying or property qualification. The words of the Act of 1869, relating to the municipal franchise for women, are as follows (33 and 35 Vic. c. 55, sec. ix.): "In this Act and the said recited Act of the fifth and sixth years of King William IV., c. 76, and the Acts amending the same, wherever words occur which import the masculine gender the same shall be held to include females for all purposes connected with and having reference to the right to vote in the election of councillors, auditors, and assessors."

In the succeeding year, 1870, the first Married Women's Property Act was passed, which gave wives full property rights as to their own earnings, and entitled them to carry on a business separately from their husbands. This enabled them under certain circumstances to occupy property which would give the municipal vote. Cases then arose which demanded judicial decision.

At Abingdon in 1871 the vote of Mrs. Mary Passy was objected to by Mr. Challoner. He maintained that a married woman was disqualified, and that the occupation must be deemed to be that of the husband. Mr. S. Williams contended that marriage was no disqualification. The only disqualifications mentioned in the new Act were the receipt of parochial relief and being an alien. For the Parliamentary franchise a person must occupy as tenant or owner, and no doubt the tenancy of a married woman is in law her husband's. But in the Municipal Acts the words "tenant or owner" do not occur. Though the tenancy of the house, that is

the right to occupy, is the husband's, the actual occupancy is the wife's. She was rated and her rates were paid. The revising barrister allowed the vote, and it was retained.

This decision was, however, overruled by a decision of the Court of Queen's Bench in the same way as the decision of many revising barristers in 1868, allowing the right of women to vote in Parliamentary elections, under Representation of the People Act, 1867, was overruled by the Court of Common Pleas.

On January 22nd, 1872, in the Court of Queen's Bench, the question was raised as to the right of married women to vote at municipal elections. The applicant had lost his election as a councillor for Sunderland by a majority of one, and he impeached the accuracy of several of his opponent's votes, especially the votes of two married women—Nancy Ball, who married just before the election, and Nancy Thompson, who was separated from her husband and carried on a separate business. They were both on the burgess list, and the former was on the list before her marriage, and remained on the list in her maiden name at the time of the election.

The Lord Chief Justice said that the Court were clearly of opinion that one of the married women had no right to vote, the one who was married when registered; and they were strongly of opinion that the other also was disqualified. At common law married women had no right to vote, and the Legislature by their enactments as to the property of married women never intended by a side-wind to alter the whole law on the subject. In the case of the woman registered while she was single, his opinion was that her *status* was altered by marriage, and that she then became disqualified from voting. The rule, therefore, would be absolute for a *quo warranto*.

In 1882 the various Acts relating to municipal corporations were repealed and their provisions consolidated and re-enacted in the Municipal Corporations Act, 1882, which now embodies all existing law on the subject. The rights of women are preserved in section 63 of this Act, which runs as follows:—

“For all purposes connected with and having reference to the right to vote at municipal elections words in this Act importing the masculine gender include women.”

The law books commenting on this Act contain the following note on this section:—

“The effect of section 9 of 32 & 33 Vict.* c. 55 is preserved in this clause. The 32 and 33 Vict. c. 55, s. 9, which enacts that, in the Municipal Corporations Act, words importing the masculine gender shall include females for all purposes connected with the right to vote at the election of councillors, auditors, and assessors, *has reference only to the disability of women by reason*

* The Municipal Franchise Act, 1869.

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* The Municipal Franchise Act, 1869.

of sex, and has no reference to the disability by reason of the status of coverture. And the Married Women's Property Act (33 and 34 Vict. c. 93) *has no reference to the political disabilities of married women:—Held* therefore (on a rule for a *quo warranto* against a town councillor who had been elected by a majority of one), that a married woman, though qualified by occupation and payment of rates, and put on the burgess list, cannot vote at the election of town councillors.

“*Seem*, that a woman, who is rightly on the burgess list, but married before the election, is also disqualified from voting.—*Reg. v. Harrald* (L. R., C. P., v. 7, p. 361).”

The new Married Women's Property Act of 1882, like its predecessor, has no reference to the political disability of married women. The law as to the voting disability of women by reason of coverture has not in any way been named in it, and the above note therefore seems to remain a correct exposition of the present law on the subject.

Another clause in the Municipal Corporations Act, 1882, contains a reference to women still more definite, and seems to show the mind of the Legislature in its latest enactment on the subject. Section 213 relates to a scheme to be settled by the Committee of Council on petition for a charter, and contains regulations for petitions in relation to such schemes by the owners and ratepayers of the borough. Sub-section 4 contains these words “and the owners and ratepayers in all cases to include women not under coverture.”

This is, we believe, the first occasion on which the qualifying words “not under coverture” have been introduced in an English Act, having reference to the votes of women. In view of the interpretation of the law given in the rule they would seem to be unnecessary, but it is possible they may have been purposely introduced in order to set at rest any doubts that might arise after the coming into force of the Married Women's Property Act, 1882.

The Scotch Municipal Franchise Act of 1881, which was passed about the same time as the Scotch Married Women's Property Act, is still more explicit. The preamble of the Act, after setting forth the clause giving the women the right to vote for town councillors in England, goes on to say “whereas it is expedient that in this respect the Municipal Franchise in Scotland shall be assimilated to that of England.”

The enacting clause (sec. 2) of the Act is as follows:—“2. In the Municipal Elections Amendment (Scotland) Act, 1868, and the various Acts therein recited prescribing the qualifications of voters at municipal elections in Scotland, whenever words occur which import the masculine gender the same shall be held for all purposes connected with and having reference to the right to vote in the election of town councillors, and also to nominate candidates for

election to the said office, to include females who are not married and married females not living in family with their husbands; but such females shall not be eligible for election as town councillors.

The present law relating to the election of parochial boards in Scotland was passed in 1845. In the interpretation clause it is enacted that "every word importing the masculine gender shall extend to a female as well as a male." This interpretation clause extends not only to the right of voting, but to eligibility for election on the parochial board, which word seems analogous to the Board of Guardians in England.

Clause 26. And be it enacted that, in all meetings and matters under this Act, the husbands of owners of lands and heritages shall be entitled to vote and act in right of their wives.

The Electoral Act of the Isle of Man, passed in 1880, which received the assent of the Queen in Council in 1881, confers the franchise on every male—or spinster—or widow—who owns the qualifying property. There is no Married Women's Property Act in the Island Kingdom; the old common law rule as to the property of wives being still in force.

From the foregoing statement it seems clear that in no part of the United Kingdom has the removal of the disability of coverture in regard to the right to vote been accomplished even in those franchises in which the disability of sex has been swept away. To accomplish the removal of the coverture disability requires special legislation as to the marriage status. Legislation having special reference to married women forms no part of the programme of the women's suffrage societies, and has never entered into their plan of operations. Persons who have taken fright lest the Women's Disabilities Removal Bill, or the resolution introduced by Mr. Mason, should have given votes to wives, may take courage from the consideration that this could not be accomplished by a side-wind, nor without special legislative provision for that purpose. It will be time enough to take that question into consideration when such legislation is definitely proposed.

On the other hand, persons who complain of the women's suffrage societies for not asking for votes for married women, ought to bear in mind that their object is the removal of the political disability of sex, and that however many women may remain without votes because of some other legal disqualification than that of sex, the principle on which the societies are based will be established as soon as it shall become law that no person, otherwise legally qualified for the Parliamentary suffrage, shall be disabled from voting by reason only of being a woman.

A MUNICIPAL ELECTOR.

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A MUNICIPAL ELECTOR.

The Parliamentary Franchise for Women.

THE subjoined letter was sent to the *Times* on the 24th of May in consequence of an article opposing the extension of the Parliamentary Franchise to Women, which appeared in that journal on May 23rd. As the letter did not appear in the *Times*, and as it deals with some aspects of the question not, perhaps, sufficiently regarded, it is now submitted to those whom it may concern, and in particular to those gentlemen who will, in a few days, be called upon to decide whether this act of justice shall be done at once, while the concession will still contain an element of grace; or be delayed till it become simply a thankless matter of forced and surly deference to the invincible demands of an advancing humanity.

CONGLETON,

24th May, 1884.

To the Editor of the *TIMES*.

Sir,—In your leader of yesterday on the admission of women to the Parliamentary Franchise you say, "It is possible, as things stand, for the few women who have a call to public life to follow their inclination or impulse."

I scarcely know what in this connection you mean by the phrases "public life" or "a call thereto," but if I may understand you to mean that women even now can and sometimes do take a very active part in endeavouring to influence legislation, as they believe, beneficially—it is perfectly true; but, so far as it is conclusive on the point with reference to which you cite it, the question, that is, should women be admitted to direct representation in Parliament, and so to direct influence on legislation, it is conclusive in the affirmative, and not, as you would have it, in the negative.

with them.—Letter to "The Spectator."

March 5th, 1870.

No women know better than those who have given their lives to the work of so influencing legislation as to secure more of justice to women, how infinitely hard and difficult their task has been, because they were members of "an unrepresented class."

To take the illustration you yourself have given—the amended law relating to the property of married women, with regard to which I have, at least, some right to speak—none but those who toiled for fifteen years to bring about that change of sentiment and opinion, which at last found expression in the Married Women's Property Act, 1882, can know how slow, how all but impracticable was all legislative progress, and how, even down to the very last moment, all our hopes seemed at the mercy of the merest chapter of accidents.

Full little knowest thou that hast not tried,
 What hell it is in suing long to bide ;
 To lose good days, that might be better spent ;
 To waste long nights in pensive discontent ;
 To speed to-day, to be put back to-morrow ;
 To feed on hope, to pine with fear and sorrow ;
 To fret thy soul with crosses and with cares ;
 To eat thy heart through comfortless despairs.

The pathetic words of Spenser but too truly pourtray the experience of all women who have endeavoured to influence legislative action for the benefit of their own sex, since they can only sue, and have no power to demand, remembering the while with an added pang that at every moment some heart is broken or some life undone by reason of the legislative injustice which they are helpless to remedy.

Turning to the present Session, we find that on the 26th of March last the House of Commons by the remarkable vote of 207 for and only 73 against the second reading of Mr. Bryce's Infants Bill emphasised strongly the conviction long shared by all thoughtful women, that the law regulating the relations of every married mother to her own offspring is unjust and unsatisfactory. Yet, in spite of this consensus of opinion, nothing appears more certain than that, unless women can bring to bear upon Parliamentary action a force which as "an unrepresented class" they do not possess, this most just and needful reform will either be indefinitely postponed or whittled down to a make-believe amendment which shall insult the motherhood of the nation by ignoring their most natural and sacred rights, and still holding them in the position of "unpaid nurses of their husbands' children."

That the course of modern legislation has *not* been uniformly "favourable to women" is too certain for denial. To say nothing of the gross and shameful injustice between husband and wife, sanctioned and maintained by

the Divorce Act of 1857, it is quite certain that the disgraceful legislation of 1866 and 1867, which placed the reputation of every poor woman in certain districts at the mercy of a spy police, could never have been proposed to, much less sanctioned by, a Parliament in which women were represented; but it seems hopeless to expect that this wrong will be set right until women themselves can directly influence legislation, rather would it seem—by the events of the present Session, and particularly by some of the proposals of the Criminal Law Amendment Bill—that our exclusively male legislature is perfectly capable, under the guise and pretence of "protection," of exposing to the same insecurity and possible outrage every girl and woman in these kingdoms.

Many women, moreover, are apt to resent much recent legislation which, whilst affecting to protect them, does in reality interfere with their freedom, their convenience, and their means of earning an honest livelihood, and to look with distrust and suspicion upon further legislative proposals of a similar kind pressed on by exclusively masculine influence. In truth, in these and in all similar matters, where the interests of men and women conflict, or seem to do so, it is the great grievance of women that the masculine voice alone is listened to, the male interest alone considered by the majority of those who are not legally responsible to women. It is impossible that under such circumstances the predominant influence of sex bias should not cause great and grievous wrong.

And this predominant influence it is now proposed not only to maintain, but to strengthen and consolidate; for, should the Representation of the People Bill pass without including women within its scope, there will be an enormously increased male electorate controlling the destinies of the whole nation, whilst to not one woman, except to the lady on the throne, is permitted political voice, action, or influence. For this reason we claim *now* our political emancipation. It is not merely that we pay rates and taxes and ought to have a voice as to their distribution and expenditure, the far broader human truth remains, *legislation for the unrepresented is tyranny*. We suffer as women, as wives, and as mothers from evil laws, and we ask to have a direct voice in so reforming these laws that they shall protect, not the selfish interest of either sex or of any class, but the larger, deeper, more vital interests of humanity itself, of justice for to-day, of hope and progress for the future.

I thank you heartily for pointing to the wider issues of this question. It is beyond controversy that, if the claim of single and independent women to the franchise is recognised, the exclusion of married women possessed of the same qualifications will be absurd, illogical, unjust, and indefensible.

It is also true that some women are well fitted to give valuable aid in

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legislation and administration, and that it is not merely a dream, but a possibility of the near future, that such competence may be recognised and turned to account. But before a woman can take a seat in Parliament she must have won the confidence of a constituency; nor does it seem by any means clear that, if a constituency chose under the existing law to return a woman as its representative, she could, unless by special retrospective legislation, be prevented taking her seat in the House.

It is to the justice of men that we appeal; that sense of justice which has led many men to co-operate actively in securing what of recent ameliorative legislation has been effected. There are men, and many men, who loathe the possession of unjust prerogative; and as the co-operation of husbands and wives, brothers and sisters, fathers and daughters, mothers and sons has gained for women what vantage-ground they have already won, so will it ultimately secure this success also, no matter what the immediate issue.

It may well be that Mr. Gladstone, who for a man of his rare gifts has marvellously little political far-sightedness, may be guilty now of the capital political blunder of refusing to women the recognition of their rights as "capable citizens," but such a blunder on his part can cause, at most, but a temporary delay. For what dignity, worth, or completeness can be claimed for a Representation of the People Bill which excludes from its provisions one half the nation? It will not be accepted, even for a single day, as a settlement of this grave question. Mr. Gladstone's political opponents will not be slow to seize the great advantage of showing themselves more liberal than so-called Liberals, and more just than those who profess to base their political creed upon justice; and Mr. Gladstone himself may find too late that, by insisting on the maintenance of the political disability of sex, he has fatally dwarfed and mutilated his best bit of statesmanship, and helped on the disintegration of his own political party.

I am, Sir, faithfully yours,

ELIZABETH C. WOLSTENHOLME ELMY.

A. Ireland & Co., Printers, Manchester.

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LORD JOHN MANNERS said: "To me it is a very simple, a very plain, and almost a hum-drum question. It is simply this—Will you grant the Parliamentary franchise to a class of Her Majesty's subjects who for many years past have blamelessly, and with great advantage to the State, exercised the franchise with respect to Municipal, with respect to Poor Law, and with respect to School Board elections? I cannot make the question either greater or smaller than that. It is a simple, practical, and plain question, which really requires no speculative skill to discuss or decide upon. Well, sir, if that be so, can anyone allege that the female ratepayers of this country have shown themselves unworthy of the trust which it is proposed to repose in them from the manner in which they have discharged the functions which have already been entrusted to them? I ventured, in some observations which I made upon the second reading of the Bill, to allude to one class of these female ratepayers—the female farmers of this country. By way of illustration, I will again refer to that class, because, as a county member, I naturally have more knowledge of that class, and possibly more interest in them. But, I

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Central Committee of the National Society for Women's
Suffrage, 29 PARLIAMENT STREET, LONDON, S.W.*

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

500,000 women who will be so admitted. The number is not difficult to recollect, because that is just the number of persons you are going to add in Ireland from the lowest population in that country. It is a moderate demand we make when we ask you to counter-balance the effect of admitting so large a body of men, as to whose qualifications you know so little, and who for the franchise you have no reason to believe have half as much knowledge of the real political questions of the day as most of the women of England have. And we invite you to say, when you are going to admit these people as capable citizens, is it unreasonable to demand that the same privilege shall be given to 400,000 or 500,000 women who are at the heads of households and are managers of property in this country?"

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March 5th, 1870.

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LIST OF PARLIAMENTARY FRIENDS OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE, APRIL, 1886.

Divisions on the question of Women's Suffrage have taken place in the House of Commons in 1867, 1870 (2), 1871, 1872, 1873, 1875, 1876, 1878, 1879, 1883, 1884, 1886.

The Division of 1884 was exceptional, being taken, not on a Bill, but on a Clause in Committee on the Franchise Bill. Many known friends abstained from voting, or voted against the Clause for fear of endangering the Franchise Bill itself.

The Division of February 19, 1886, which practically carried the Second Reading of the Women's Franchise Bill was actually taken on the Question of Adjournment of the Debate. The Second Reading of the Bill was then carried without a Division. Most of those marked as voted '86, had previously promised to support the Bill.

The following Memorial to Mr. Gladstone in favour of Women's Suffrage was presented in 1883, signed by 110 Liberal Members of Parliament:—"That in the opinion of your Memorialists no measure for the Assimilation of the County and Borough Franchise will be satisfactory, unless it contains provisions for extending the Suffrage, without distinction of sex, to all persons who possess the statutory qualifications for the Parliamentary Franchise."

Those marked * entered Parliament for the first time at or since the General Election, 1885.

Politics, Name and Constituency.	Action taken in favour of Women's Suffrage.
L*Abraham, William, <i>Glamorgan, Rhondda.</i>	Promised during election.
N*Abraham, William, <i>Limerick.</i>	Voted '86.
L*Acland, R. D., <i>Rotherham.</i>	Promised during election.
C*Addison, J. E. W., <i>Ashton-under-Lyne.</i>	Has spoken publicly in favour.

with them.—Letter to "The Spectator."
March 5th, 1870.

Politics, Name and Constituency.	Action taken in favour of Women's Suffrage.
C Agg-Gardner, James T., <i>Cheltenham</i> .	Voted, '75, '76, paired '78, voted '79, was out of last Parliament, voted '86.
L Agnew, W., <i>Lancashire, Stretford</i> .	Voted '83, '86.
C*Ainslie, W. G., <i>Lancash. N., Lonsdale</i> .	Promised during election.
L Allen, H. G., <i>Pembroke</i> .	Promised to support.
L Allen, W. S., <i>Newcastle-under-Lyne</i> .	Voted '67, '72, paired '73, voted '75, '79, '84.
L Anstruther, Sir R. Bt., <i>St. Andrews</i> .	Spoke in debate and voted '70, '71, '72, '73, '76, '78, was out of last Parliament.
L* Arch, Joseph, <i>Norfolk, N.W.</i>	Has spoken publicly in favour.
L Armitage, B., <i>Salford, W.</i>	Signed memorial and paired '83, voted '84.
C Ashmead-Bartlett, E., <i>Sheffield, Eccleshall</i> .	Spoke in debate and voted '83, voted '84, '86.
C*Baggallay, Ernest, <i>Lambeth, Brixton</i> .	Voted '86.
L*Baker, Lawrence J., <i>Somerset, Frome</i> .	Promised during election.
L*Balfour, Gerald W., <i>Leeds, Central</i> .	Promised during election.
L*Barbour, W. B., <i>Paisley</i> .	Voted '86.
L Barclay, J. W., <i>Forfarshire</i> .	Voted '73, '78.
L Bass, H. A., <i>Staffordshire, W.</i>	Promised during election.
C Beach, W. W. B., <i>Hants, Andover</i> .	Voted '67, '70, '71, '73, '76, '78, '84.
C Bective, Earl of, <i>Westmoreland, Kendal</i> .	Voted '83, '84.
L*Beith, Gilbert, <i>Glasgow, Central</i> .	Promised during election.
N Biggar, J. G., <i>Cavan, W.</i>	Voted '75, '76, '78, '79, '83, '84, '86.
L*Blades, J. H., <i>West Bromwich</i> .	Promised during election.
C*Blaine, R. S., <i>Bath</i> .	Promised during election.
N Blake, J. A., <i>Carlton</i> .	Voted '67, '83, '84, was out of Parliament during interval.
L Blake, Thomas, <i>Gloucester, Forest of Dean</i> .	Voted '76, '78, '79, '86, was out of last Parliament.
C*Bonsor, H. C. O., <i>Surrey, Wimbledon</i> .	Promised during election.
C Boord, T. W., <i>Greenwich</i> .	Voted '75, '78, '79, paired '83, voted '84.
L Borlase, W. C., <i>Cornwall, St. Austell</i> .	Voted '83.
C*Borthwick, Sir A., <i>South Kensington</i> .	Voted '86.
C Bourke, Rt. Hon. Robt., <i>Lynn Regis</i> .	Voted '84.
L*Boyd-Kinnear, J., <i>Fife, East</i> .	Voted '86.
L Bradlaugh, Chas., <i>Northampton</i> .	Voted '86.
L Brand, Hon. H. R., <i>Gloucester, Stroud</i> .	Voted '70, '73.
C*Bridgeman, Col., <i>Bolton</i> .	Promised during election.

Politics, Name and Constituency.	Action taken in favour of Women's Suffrage.
L Brinton, J., <i>Kidderminster</i> .	Signed memorial '83.
L Brocklehurst, W. C., <i>Cheshire, Macclesfield</i> .	Voted '72, '73, out of two Parliaments.
C Brooks, Sir W. C., <i>Cheshire, Altrincham</i> .	Voted '83, '84.
L Brown, A. H., <i>Shropshire, Wellington</i> .	Voted '70, '73, '75.
L Burt, Thomas, <i>Morpeth</i> .	Voted '75, '76, '78, '79, signed memorial and voted '83, voted '86.
N*Byrne, G. M., <i>Wicklown, W.</i>	Voted '86.
L Cameron, Dr., <i>Glasgow, College</i> .	Voted '75, '76, '78, '79, signed memorial and voted '83, voted '84.
C Campbell, Sir Arch., Bart., <i>Renfrew, W.</i>	Voted '86.
L Carbutt, E. H., <i>Monmouth, &c.</i>	Signed memorial and paired '83, voted '84.
N*Carew, J. Lawrence, <i>Kildare, N.</i>	Voted '86.
L*Channing, F. A., <i>Northampton, E.</i>	Voted '86.
L*Clark, G. B., <i>Caithness</i> .	Voted '86.
L*Cobb, Henry P., <i>Warwick, S.E.</i>	Voted '86.
L Cohen, A., <i>Southwark, W.</i>	Signed memorial '83.
C*Cohen, Lionel L., <i>Paddington, N.</i>	Voted '86.
L*Coleridge, Hon. Bernard, <i>Sheff., Attercliffe</i> .	Voted '86.
C*Commerell, Adm. Sir J. E., <i>Southampton</i> .	Voted '86.
C Compton, Francis, <i>Hants, New Forest</i> .	Voted '84.
L*Compton, Ld. W., <i>Warwick, Strat.-on-Avn.</i>	Voted '86.
N*Conway, M., <i>Leitrim, N.</i>	Voted '86.
L*Conybeare, C. A. V., <i>Cornwall, Camborne</i> .	Spoke in debate and voted '86.
L*Cook, William, <i>Birmingham</i> .	Voted '86.
L*Coote, Thos., <i>Huntingdon, S.</i>	Voted '86.
N*Corbet, W. J., <i>Wicklown</i> .	Voted '86.
L*Corbett, A. C., <i>Glasgow, Tradeston</i> .	Voted '86.
L Corbett, J., <i>Worcester, Droitwich</i> .	Voted '75, '76.
C*Cotton, Capt. E. T. D., <i>Cheshire, Wirral</i> .	Voted '86.
L Courtney, L., Chairman of Committees, <i>Cornwall, Bodmin</i> .	Spoke in debate '77, introduced Bill and teller '78, introduced resolution and teller '79, voted '83, moved second reading of Bill and voted '86.
L Cowen, J., <i>Newcastle-on-Tyne</i> .	Voted '75, '76, '78, '79, signed memorial '83, spoke in debate and voted '84.
N*Cox, J. R., <i>Clare, E.</i>	Voted '86.

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Politics, Name and Constituency.	Action taken in favour of Women's Suffrage.
L*Craven, Joseph, <i>York, W.R., Shipley.</i>	Voted '86.
L*Crawford, William, <i>Durham, Mid.</i>	Voted '86.
C*Cross, H. Shepherd, <i>Bolton.</i>	Promised during election.
L*Crossley, Ed., <i>York, W.R., Sowerby.</i>	Voted '86.
L*Crossman, Gen. Sir R., <i>Portsmouth.</i>	Voted '86.
C Cubitt, Rt. Hon. G., <i>Surrey, Epsom.</i>	Voted '70, '71, '72, '73, '75, '76, '78, paired '79 and '83, voted '84.
L Currie, Sir D., <i>Perthshire, W.</i>	Promised during election.
C*Curzon, Viscount, <i>Bucks, Wycombe.</i>	Promised during election.
L Davies, D., <i>Cardigan.</i>	Voted '83.
C*De Cobain, Edw. S. W., <i>Belfast, E.</i>	Promised during election.
C De Worms, Baron H., <i>Liverpool, East Toxteth.</i>	Spoke in debate and voted '83, teller '84.
C Dickson, Major, <i>Dover.</i>	Voted '71, '73, paired '78, '79, voted '84.
L Dilke, Sir C. W., Bart, <i>Chelsea.</i>	Teller and spoke in debate '70, voted '71, '72, '73, '75, '76, '78, '79, '83.
L Dillwyn, L. L., <i>Swansea, Town.</i>	Voted '70, '73, '75, '76, '78, '79, signed memorial and paired '83.
C Dimsdale, Baron R., <i>Herts, Hitchin.</i>	Voted '70, '71, '72, '73, '86, was out of two Parliaments.
L Dixon, George, <i>Birmingham, Edgbaston.</i>	Voted '70, '71, '72, '73, '75, '76, '86, been out of Parliament.
C Dixon-Hartland, F.D., <i>Mid'sex., Uxbridge.</i>	Voted '84, '86.
L Dodds, J., <i>Stockton.</i>	Voted '70, '71, '73, '76, '78, paired '75, '83, signed memorial '83, voted '86.
C*Donkin, R. S., <i>Tynemouth.</i>	Promised during election.
C Douglas, A. A., <i>Kent, St. Augustine's.</i>	Voted '84.
C*Duncan, Col. Francis, <i>Finsbury, Holborn.</i>	Voted '86.
C*Duncombe, A., <i>York, E. R., Howdenshire.</i>	Promised during election.
L*Durant, J. C., <i>Tower Hamlets, Stepney.</i>	Promised during election.
C Eaton, H. W., <i>Coventry.</i>	Voted '84.
C*Egerton, Hon. A. J., <i>Lancash., S.E., Eccles.</i>	Voted '86.
L*Ellis, J. Edw., <i>Nottingham, Rushcliffe.</i>	Voted '86.
C Ellis, Sir J. W., Bt., <i>Surrey, Kingston.</i>	Promised during election.
N*Esmonde, Sir T. Grattan, Bt., <i>Dublin Co., S.</i>	Voted '86.
L*Esslemont, Peter, <i>Aberdeen, E.</i>	Voted '86.
L*Everett, Robt., L., <i>Suffolk, Woodbridge.</i>	Voted '86.
C Ewart, W., <i>Belfast, N.</i>	Voted '79.

Politics, Name and Constituency.	Action taken in favour of Women's Suffrage.
C Ewing, Sir Arch. Orr, Bt., <i>Dumbarton.</i>	Voted '70, '71, '72, '73, '75, '76, '79, paired '83, voted '84.
L Farquharson, Dr. R., <i>Aberdeenshire, W.</i>	Voted '83.
C Fellowes, W.H., <i>Huntingdonshire, Ramsey.</i>	Voted '84.
L*Fenwick, C., <i>Northumberland, Wansbeck.</i>	Voted '86.
C*Field, Capt. Edw., <i>Sussex, Eastbourne.</i>	Promised during election.
C Finch, Geo. H., <i>Rutland.</i>	Voted '84.
C Finch-Hatton, Hon. M. E. G., <i>Lincolnshire, Spalding.</i>	Voted '84.
C*Fisher, W. Hayes, <i>Fulham.</i>	Voted '86.
C*Fitzgerald, Rob. U. Penrose, <i>Cambridge.</i>	Voted '86.
C*FitzWygram, Gen. Sir Fred., Bt., <i>Hants, Fareham.</i>	Voted '86.
L*Fletcher, Banister, <i>Wilts, Chippenham.</i>	Voted '86.
C Fletcher, Sir Henry, Bt., <i>Sussex, Lewes.</i>	Voted '84, '86.
L Flower, Cyril, <i>Bedford, Luton.</i>	Signed memorial and paired '83, voted '84.
N*Flynn, J. C., <i>Cork, N.</i>	Voted '86.
N*Foley, P. James, <i>Galway, Connemara.</i>	Voted '86.
C Folkestone, Rt.Hn. Visct., <i>Mid'sex, Enfield.</i>	Spoke in debate and voted '84.
L Forster, Sir Charles, <i>Walsall.</i>	Voted '71, '72, '75, '76, '78, '79, signed memorial and paired '83.
L Fowler, H. H., Secretary to the Treasury, <i>Wolverhampton, E.</i>	Spoke in debate and voted '83.
C Fowler, Sir R. N. Bt., <i>London.</i>	Voted in '70, '71, '72, '73, paired '83, voted '84, teller '86, was not in last Parliament.
N*Fox, Francis, <i>King's Co., Tullamore.</i>	Voted '86.
L Fry, Lewis, <i>Bristol, N.</i>	Voted '79, signed memorial and voted '83, voted '86.
L Fry, Theodore, <i>Darlington.</i>	Signed memorial and voted '83.
C Gathorne-Hardy, Hon. J.S., <i>Kent, Medway.</i>	Voted '84.
C*Gent-Davis, Robt., <i>Lambeth, Kennington.</i>	Voted '86.
C*Gibson, John George, <i>Liverpool, Walton.</i>	Promised during election.
C Giles, Alfred, <i>Southampton.</i>	Voted '83, '84.
L Gladstone, Herbert (Lord of the Treasury), <i>Leeds, W.</i>	Promised by letter to vote for franchise for women householders.
L*Glyn, Hon. P. C., <i>Dorset, E.</i>	Promised to support.
C*Goldsworthy, M.-Gen. W.T., <i>Hammersmith.</i>	Voted '86.
C Gorst, Sir J. E., <i>Chatham.</i>	Voted '67, '75, '76, spoke in debate and voted '78, voted '79, paired '83, voted '84, '86.

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L Gourley, E. T., <i>Sunderland</i> .	Voted '70, '71, '72, '73, '75, '76, '78, '79, signed memorial '83, voted '84.
N Gray, Edm. D., <i>Dublin, St. Stephen's Green</i> .	Voted '84.
C Greenall, Sir Gilbert, Bt., <i>Warrington</i> .	Voted '75, '76, out of last Parliament
L Grey, Albert, <i>Northumberland, Tyneside</i> .	Voted '86.
C*Grimston, Viscount, <i>Herts, St. Albans</i> .	Voted '86.
L*Haldane, Rich. B., <i>Haddington</i> .	Voted '86.
C*Hall, Chas., <i>Cambridge, Chesterton</i> .	Voted '86.
C Halsey, Thos. F., <i>Herts, Watford</i> .	Voted '84, '86.
C*Hamilton, Col. C. E., <i>South'rk, Rotherhithe</i> .	Promised during election.
C*Hamilton, Lord Fred., <i>Manchester, S.W.</i>	Voted '86.
C*Hankey, F. A., <i>Surrey, Chertsey</i> .	Voted '86.
L*Harker, William, <i>York, W.R., Ripon</i> .	Voted '86.
N*Harrington, Edw., <i>Kerry, W.</i>	Voted '86.
N*Harris, Matthew, <i>Galway, E.</i>	Voted '86.
C*Haslett, Jas. H., <i>Belfast, W.</i>	Promised during election.
L Hastings, Geo. W., <i>Worcestershire, E.</i>	Paired '83.
N*Hayden, Luke P., <i>Leitrim, S.</i>	Voted '86.
L*Hayne, Chas. S., <i>Devon, Ashburton</i> .	Voted '86.
N*Healy, Maurice, <i>Cork</i> .	Voted '86.
N Healy, T. M., <i>Londonderry, S.</i>	Voted '86.
C Hervey, Lord Francis, <i>Bury St. Edmunds</i> .	Voted '75, '76, '78, '79, '86, out of last Parliament.
L Hibbert, J. T. (Secretary to the Admiralty), <i>Oldham</i> .	Voted '67, '70, '72, '73, spoke in debate and voted '78, voted '79, '83.
C*Hickman, Alfred, <i>Wolverhampton, W.</i>	Promised during election.
C Hill, A. Staveley, <i>Staffordshire, King-swinford</i> .	Voted '70, '71, '73, '75, paired '72, voted '84, '86.
C Hill, Rt. Hon. Lord Arthur, W., <i>Down, W.</i>	Voted '84, '86.
L*Hingley, Benjamin, <i>Worcestershire, N.</i>	Voted '86.
L*Holden, Angus, <i>Bradford, E.</i>	Voted '86.
L Holden, Isaac, <i>York, W.R., Keighley</i> .	Voted '67, was out of Parliament till '82, signed memorial '83, voted '86.
C Holland, Rt. Hon. Sir H. T. Bt., <i>Hampstead</i> .	Voted '86.
C Houldsworth, W. H., <i>Manchester, N.W.</i>	Voted '84, '86.
L Howard, E. Stafford, <i>Glo'ster, Thornbury</i> .	Promised during election.
L*Howell, George, <i>Bethnal Green, N.E.</i>	Promised during election.
C*Hughes, Edwin, <i>Woolwich</i> .	Promised during election.

Politics, Name and Constituency.	Action taken in favour of Women's Suffrage.
C*Hunter, Sir W. Guyer, <i>Hackney, Central</i> .	Promised during election.
L*Hunter, W. A., <i>Aberdeen, N.</i>	Has spoken publicly in favour.
C*Hutton, Jas. F., <i>Manchester, N.</i>	Voted '86.
L Illingworth, Alfred, <i>Bradford, W.</i>	Voted '70, '71, '72, out of last Parliament, signed memorial and voted '83, '86.
L Ingram, W. J., <i>Boston</i> .	Voted '75, '76, '78, '79, out of last Parliament.
C*Isaacs, Lewis H., <i>Newington, Walworth</i> .	Voted '86.
L*Jacks, William, <i>Leith</i> .	Voted '86.
L*Jacoby, Jas. A., <i>Derbyshire, Mid.</i>	Voted '86.
L James, C. H., <i>Merthyr Tydvil</i> .	Voted '83, '86.
L Jenkins, D. J., <i>Penryn & Falmouth</i> .	Voted '75, '76, '78, '79.
L Jenkins, Sir John J., <i>Carmarthen, &c.</i>	Signed memorial and voted '83.
C*Jennings, Louis J., <i>Stockport</i> .	Voted '86.
L*Johns, Jasper W., <i>Warwick, Nuneaton</i> .	Voted '86.
L*Johnson-Ferguson, J. E., <i>Leicester, Loughborough</i> .	Voted '86.
C Johnston, William, <i>Belfast, S.</i>	Voted '70, '71, '72, '73, '75, out of Parliament since.
C*Jones, Pryce, <i>Montgomery</i> .	Voted '86.
L*Kenny, Courtney S., <i>York, W.R. Barnsley</i> .	Voted '86.
C*Kenyon, Hon. Geo. T., <i>Denbigh</i> .	Promised during election.
C*Ker, R. W. Blackwood, <i>Down, E.</i>	Promised during election.
C*Kimber, Henry, <i>Wandsworth</i> .	Voted '86.
C*King, Henry S., <i>Hull, Central</i> .	Promised during election.
C King-Harman, E. W., <i>Kent, Isle of Thanet</i> .	Voted '83, voted and spoke '84.
C Knightley, Sir Rainald, Bt., <i>Northants, S.</i>	Voted '72, '73, '76, '83, '84.
L*Lacaita, Chas. C., <i>Dundee</i> .	Promised during election.
N Lalor, Richard, <i>Queen's Co., Leix</i> .	Voted '83.
N*Lane, W. J., <i>Cork Co., E.</i>	Voted '86.
C Lawrance, J. C., <i>Lincolnshire, Stamford</i> .	Voted '84.
C Lawrence, J. Trevor, Bt., <i>Surrey, Reigate</i> .	Voted '84.
C*Lawrence, W. F., <i>Liverpool, Abercromby</i> .	Promised during election.
L*Lawson, H. L. W., <i>St. Pancras, W.</i>	Voted '86.
N Leahy, Jas., <i>Kildare, S.</i>	Voted '83.
N Leake, Robt., <i>Lancash., S.E., Radcliffe</i> .	Voted '83, '86.
N Leamy, E., <i>Cork Co., N.E.</i>	Voted '83, '84.
C Lechmere, Sir E. H., <i>Worcestersh., Bewdley</i> .	Voted '83, '84.
L*Leicester, Joseph, <i>West Ham, S.</i>	Voted '86.

with them.—Letter to "The Spectator."
March 5th, 1870.

Politics, Name and Constituency.	Action taken in favour of Women's Suffrage.
C*Lethbridge, Sir Roper, <i>Kensington, N.</i>	Voted '86.
C Lewis, Chas. E., <i>Londonderry.</i>	Spoke publicly in favour.
C*Llewellyn, Evan H., <i>Somerset, N.</i>	Voted '86.
L*Lockwood, Frank, <i>York.</i>	Voted '86.
C Long, Walter H., <i>Wilts, Devizes.</i>	Voted '84.
C Lowther, Hon. W., <i>Westmoreland, Appleby.</i>	Voted '84.
L Lymington, Rt. Hon. Visct., <i>Devon, South Molton.</i>	Voted '84.
L Mackintosh, C. F., <i>Invernesshire.</i>	Voted '75, '76, '78, '79, signed mem. and paired '83, voted '84.
C Macnaghten, Edw., <i>Antrim, N.</i>	Voted '84.
L McArthur, Alex., <i>Leicester.</i>	Voted '75, '76, '78, '79, signed memorial and voted '83.
N McCarthy, Justin, <i>Longford, N.</i>	Signed memorial and paired '83, voted '84, '86.
L*McCulloch, John, <i>Glasgow, St Rollox.</i>	Voted '86.
N*McDonald, Peter, <i>Sligo, N.</i>	Voted '86.
N M'Kenna, Sir J. N., <i>Monaghan, S.</i>	Voted '75, '76, '78, '79, signed memorial '83.
L M'Lagan, P., <i>Linlithgowshire.</i>	Voted '70, '71, '72, '73, '75, '76, '78, '79, signed memorial and paired '83, voted '86.
L M'Laren, Chas., <i>Stafford.</i>	Signed memorial and voted '83, '84, '86.
C Makins, Col. W. T., <i>Essex, S.E.</i>	Has spoken publicly in favour.
C Manners, Rt. Hon. Lord J., <i>Leicestersh., E.</i>	Spoken frequently in debate, voted '71, '72, '73, '75, '76, '78, '84.
L Mappin, W. T., <i>York, W.R., Hallamshire.</i>	Signed memorial and paired '83.
C*Marion, Major, <i>Lancashire, Lancaster.</i>	Promised during election.
L*Mason, Stephen, <i>Lanark, Mid.</i>	Voted '86.
L*Mather, William, <i>Salford, S.</i>	Spoken publicly in favour.
N*Mayne, Thos., <i>Tipperary, Mid.</i>	Voted '86.
L Milbank, Sir F., Bt., <i>York, N., Richmond.</i>	Voted '76, '79.
C Mills, C. W., <i>Kent, Sevenoaks.</i>	Promised to support.
N Molloy, Bernard C., <i>King's Co., Birr.</i>	Promised to support.
L*Montagu, S., <i>Tower Hamlets, Whitechapel.</i>	Promised during election.
L*Morgan, Octavius V., <i>Battersea.</i>	Promised during election.
C Morgan, Col., <i>Monmouthshire.</i>	Voted '83, '84.
L Morley, Arnold (Secretary to the Treasury), <i>Nottingham.</i>	Voted '83.
L Morley, John, <i>Newcastle-on-Tyne.</i>	Signed memorial and voted '83.
L*Moulton, J. Fletcher, <i>Clapham.</i>	Voted '86.

Politics, Name and Constituency.	Action taken in favour of Women's Suffrage.
L Mundella, Rt. Hon. A., <i>Sheffield, Brightside</i>	Voted '70, '71, '72, '73, '75, '76, '78, paired '79.
C*Muntz, P. A., <i>Warwickshire, Tamworth.</i>	Promised to support.
C*Newark, Viscount, <i>Notts, Newark.</i>	Voted '86.
L*Newnes, Geo., <i>Cambridge, E. Newmarket.</i>	Voted '86.
L Noel, Ernest, <i>Dumfries.</i>	Voted '75.
N Nolan, Col., J. P., <i>Galway, Co., N.</i>	Voted '75, '76, '78, '79, '83, '84.
N*Nolan, Joseph, <i>Louth, N.</i>	Voted '86.
C*Norris, Edw. S., <i>Tower Hamlets, Limehouse.</i>	Promised during election.
C Northcote, Hon. H. S., <i>Exeter.</i>	Voted '84, '86.
C*Norton, Robt., <i>Kent, Tunbridge.</i>	Voted '86.
N*O'Brien, James F. X., <i>Mayo, S.</i>	Voted '86.
N O'Brien, W., <i>Tyrone, S.</i>	Voted '83.
N O'Connor, Arthur, <i>Donegal, E.</i>	Voted '83, '84, '86.
N O'Connor John, <i>Tipperary, S.</i>	Voted '86.
N O'Connor, T. P., <i>Liverpool, Scotland.</i>	Signed memorial '83, voted '84, '86.
L*Otter, Francis, <i>Lincolnshire, Louth.</i>	Promised to support.
L Palmer, Chas. M., <i>Durham, Jarrow.</i>	Voted '75.
N Parnell, Chas. S., <i>Cork.</i>	Voted '78, spoke in debate and voted '79.
L*Paulton, J. M., <i>Durham, Bishops Auckland.</i>	Promised to support.
L*Peacock, Rich., <i>Lancashire, S.E., Gorton.</i>	Promised to support.
C*Pearce, William, <i>Lanark, Govan.</i>	Voted '86.
L*Pease, Henry Fell, <i>York, N.R., Cleveland.</i>	Promised to support.
C Peel, Rt. Hon. Sir Robt. Bt., <i>Blackburn.</i>	Voted '84.
C*Pelly, M.-Gen. Sir L., K.C.B., <i>Hackney, N.</i>	Promised during election.
L*Pickersgill, Edw. H., <i>Bethnal Green, S.W.</i>	Promised to support.
L*Pilkington, Geo. A. C., <i>Lancashire, S.W., Southport.</i>	Voted '86.
L Playfair, Rt. Hon. Sir L., <i>Leeds, S.</i>	Spoke in debate and voted '70, and voted '71, '72, '73, '75, '76, '78.
C*Pomfret, W. P., <i>Kent, Ashford.</i>	Voted '86.
L Potter, T. B., <i>Rochdale</i>	Paired '67, voted '70, '71, '72, '73, '76, '78, '79, '83.
L Powell, Walter, <i>Carmarthenshire, W.</i>	Signed memorial and voted '83.
N Power, Richard, <i>Waterford.</i>	Voted '75, '78, '83.
C Price, Capt. Geo., <i>Devonport.</i>	Voted '78, '84.
C Puleston, J. H., <i>Devonport.</i>	Voted '75, '76, '78, '79, '83, '84, '86.
N*Pyne, Jasper, D., <i>Waterford.</i>	Voted '86.

with them.—Letter to "The Spectator."

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Politics, Name and Constituency.	Action taken in favour of Women's Suffrage.
L*Quilter, W.C., <i>Suffolk, Sudbury.</i>	Voted '86.
L Ramsay, John, <i>Falkirk, &c.</i>	Voted '75, '76, '78, '83.
N Redmond, John E., <i>Wexford, N.</i>	Voted '86.
N Redmond, W. H. K., <i>Fermanagh, N.</i>	Voted '86.
L Reed, Sir Edward J., K.C.B., <i>Cardiff.</i>	Voted '76, paired '79, and signed memorial '83.
L*Reid, H. G., <i>Aston Manor.</i>	Voted '86.
L Rendel, Stuart, <i>Montgomeryshire.</i>	Promised to support.
L Richard, Henry, <i>Merthyr Tydvil.</i>	Voted '71, paired '72, voted '73, '75, '76, '78, '79, '83 and signed memorial, voted '84.
L Richardson, Thos., <i>Hartlepool.</i>	Voted '75, signed memorial and voted '83.
L Roberts, John, <i>Flint, &c.</i>	Voted '83.
L Robertson, Henry, <i>Merioneth.</i>	Has spoken publicly in favour.
C*Robertson, J. P. B., <i>Bute.</i>	Voted '86.
L*Robson, W.S., <i>Tow.Ham., Bow & Bromley.</i>	Voted '86.
L Roe, Thos., <i>Derby.</i>	Voted '83, '86.
L Rogers, J. Thorold, <i>South'rk, Bermondsey.</i>	Signed memorial and paired '83.
C Ross, Major Alex., <i>Maidstone.</i>	Voted '83.
C Round, Jas., <i>Essex, Harwich.</i>	Voted '70, '71, paired '72, voted '73, '75, '76, paired '78, voted '79, '83.
L*Russell, Edw. R., <i>Glasgow, Bridgeton.</i>	Voted '86.
C*Russell, Sir Geo., Bt., <i>Berks, Wokingham.</i>	Voted '86.
L Ruston, Joseph, <i>Lincoln.</i>	Promised to support.
L Rylands, Peter, <i>Burnley.</i>	Voted '70, '71, '72, '73, '76, '78, '79, paired '83.
L*Salis-Schwabe, Col. Geo., <i>Lancash., S.E., Middleton.</i>	Promised during election.
L Samuelson, Sir B., <i>Oxfordshire, Banbury.</i>	Voted '70, '71, '75.
L*Saunders, William, <i>Hull, East.</i>	Promised during election.
C*Saunderson, Major Edw., <i>Armagh, N.</i>	Voted '86.
C Sclater-Booth, Rt. Hon. G., <i>Hants, Basingstoke.</i>	Voted '84.
C Selwin-Ibbetson, Rt. Hon. Sir H., Bt., <i>Essex, Epping.</i>	Voted '71, '72, '73, '75.
C*Seton-Karr, Henry, <i>St. Helen's.</i>	Voted '86.
L Shaw, Thos., <i>Halifax.</i>	Signed mem. '83, voted '83, '86.
N*Sheehy, David, <i>Galway, S.</i>	Voted '86.
L Sheridan, H. B., <i>Dudley.</i>	Voted '73, '76, paired '79, '83.
L*Shirley, Walter S., <i>Yorks, W.R., Doncaster.</i>	Promised during election.

Politics, Name and Constituency.	Action taken in favour of Women's Suffrage.
C*Sidebottom, Capt. W., <i>Derbysh., High Peak.</i>	Promised during election.
L Simon, Serjt., <i>Dewsbury.</i>	Voted '70, '71, paired '72, voted '73, '75, '76, '78, '79, and signed memorial '83.
C Sitwell, Sir Geo. R., Bt., <i>Scarborough.</i>	Promised during election.
L Smith, Samuel, <i>Flintshire.</i>	Signed memorial '83.
L Spencer, Hon. C. R., <i>Northants, Mid.</i>	Signed memorial and voted '83.
L*Spensley, Howard, <i>Finsbury, Central.</i>	Promised during election.
C Stanley, Ed. J., <i>Somerset, Bridgwater.</i>	Voted '84, '86.
L Stansfeld, Rt. Hon. J., <i>Halifax (President of the Local Government Board).</i>	Voted '67, '71, '72, '73, spoke and voted '75, voted '76, '78, '79, '83, signed memorial '83, voted '84.
C Stewart, Mark John, <i>Kirkcudbright.</i>	Voted '75, '76, '78, '79, out of Parliament since.
L Storey, Samuel, <i>Sunderland.</i>	Signed memorial '83, voted '84.
L*Strong, Richard, <i>Camberwell, N.</i>	Promised during election.
L Stuart, James, <i>Shorditch, Hoxton.</i>	Spoke in debate and teller '86.
N*Sullivan, Donal, <i>Westmeath, S.</i>	Voted '86.
N Sullivan, T. D., <i>Dublin, College Green.</i>	Promised to support.
L*Swinnburne, Sir J., Bt., <i>Staffordsh., Lichfield.</i>	Voted '86.
L Talbot, C. R. M., <i>Glamorganshire, Mid.</i>	Voted '67, '70, '71, '72, '73, '78, and paired '83.
C*Temple, Sir Richard, <i>Worcester, Evesham.</i>	Voted '86.
L*Thomas, Alfred, <i>Glamorgan, E.</i>	Voted '86.
C Tipping, William, <i>Stockport.</i>	Promised to support.
C Tollemache, Henry J., <i>Cheshire, Eddisbury.</i>	Promised to support.
C Tottenham, A. Loftus, <i>Winchester.</i>	Voted '84, '86.
L Trevelyan, Rt. Hon. G. O., <i>Hawick, &c.</i>	Paired '67, voted '71, '72, '73, '75, '76, '78, '79.
N*Tuite, James, <i>Westmeath, N.</i>	Voted '86.
C Tyler, Sir Henry, <i>Great Yarmouth.</i>	Voted '84.
C*Valentine, Chas. J., <i>Cumberland, Cocker-mouth.</i>	Promised to support.
L Villiers, Rt. Hon. C.P., <i>Wolverhampton, S.</i>	Voted '70, '71, '72, '73, '75, '76, '78, paired '79, signed memorial and voted '83.
C*Vincent, C. E. Howard, <i>Sheffield, Central.</i>	Promised during election.
C Walrond, Col., <i>Devon, Tiverton.</i>	Voted '83, '84, '86.
L*Wardle, Henry, <i>Derbyshire.</i>	Promised to support.
C*Waring, Col. Thomas, <i>Down, N.</i>	Voted '86.
L*Wason, Eugene, <i>Ayrshire, S.</i>	Promised to support.

with them.—Letter to "The Spectator."

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Politics, Name and Constituency.	Action taken in favour of Women's Suffrage
C Watkin, Sir Edward, Bt., <i>Hythe</i> .	Voted '67 (out of Parliament), '75, '78, signed memorial and voted '83.
C*Watson, James, <i>Shrewsbury</i> .	Voted '86.
L*Watson, Thomas, <i>Derbyshire, Ilkeston</i> .	Promised to support.
L*Wayman, Thomas, <i>York, W.R. Elland</i> .	Promised to support.
L*Westlake, John, <i>Essex, Romford</i> .	Spoken publicly in favour and voted '86.
L*Weston, Jos. D., <i>Bristol, S.</i>	Voted '86.
C*White, John Bazley, <i>Gravesend</i> .	Promised during election.
L Wiggin, Henry, <i>Staffordshire, E.</i>	Signed memorial and paired '83.
L*Williams, Arthur John, <i>Glamorgan, S.</i>	Spoken publicly in favour, voted '86.
L*Williams, J. Carvell, <i>Nottingham, S.</i>	Voted '86.
L*Wilson, H. J., <i>York, W.R., Holmfirth</i> .	Spoken in public, voted '86.
L*Wilson, J., <i>Durham, Houghton-le-Spring</i> .	Voted '86.
L*Wilson, John, <i>Edinburgh, Central</i> .	Promised during election.
L Wilson, Chas. H., <i>Hull, W.</i>	Voted '75, '76, '78, signed memorial '83.
L Wilson, Isaac, <i>Middlesborough</i> .	Voted '79.
L Wilson, Sir Matthew, <i>York, W.R., Skipton</i> .	Voted '75, '76, '78, paired '79, voted and signed memorial '83.
C*Winn, Hon. Rowland, <i>Pontefract</i> .	Promised during election.
C*Wolmer, Viscount, <i>Hants, Petersfield</i> .	Voted '86.
L Woodall, W. (Surveyor-General of the Ordnance), <i>Hanley</i> .	Signed memorial and voted '83, moved amendment '84, introduced Bill and voted '86.
L*Woodhead, J., <i>York, W.R., Spen Valley</i> .	Promised to support.
C Wortley, C. B. Stuart, <i>Sheffield, Hallam</i> .	Voted '84, '86.
L*Wright, Caleb, <i>Lancashire, S.W., Leigh</i> .	Promised during election.
C Yorke, J. R., <i>Gloucester, Tewkesbury</i> .	Voted '67, paired '72, '73, voted '75, '76, '78, '79, '83, '84.

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The Parliamentary Franchise for Women.

THE subjoined letter was sent to the *Times* on the 24th of May in consequence of an article opposing the extension of the Parliamentary Franchise to Women, which appeared in that journal on May 23rd. As the letter did not appear in the *Times*, and as it deals with some aspects of the question not, perhaps, sufficiently regarded, it is now submitted to those whom it may concern, and in particular to those gentlemen who will, in a few days, be called upon to decide whether this act of justice shall be done at once, while the concession will still contain an element of grace; or be delayed till it become simply a thankless matter of forced and surly deference to the invincible demands of an advancing humanity.

CONGLETON,

24th May, 1884.

To the Editor of the *TIMES*.

Sir,—In your leader of yesterday on the admission of women to the Parliamentary Franchise you say, "It is possible, as things stand, for the few women who have a call to public life to follow their inclination or impulse."

I scarcely know what in this connection you mean by the phrases "public life" or "a call thereto," but if I may understand you to mean that women even now can and sometimes do take a very active part in endeavouring to influence legislation, as they believe, beneficially—it is perfectly true; but, so far as it is conclusive on the point with reference to which you cite it, the question, that is, should women be admitted to direct representation in Parliament, and so to direct influence on legislation, it is conclusive in the affirmative, and not, as you would have it, in the negative.

with them.—Letter to "The Spectator."

March 5th, 1870.

No women know better than those who have given their lives to the work of so influencing legislation as to secure more of justice to women, how infinitely hard and difficult their task has been, because they were members of "an unrepresented class."

To take the illustration you yourself have given—the amended law relating to the property of married women, with regard to which I have, at least, some right to speak—none but those who toiled for fifteen years to bring about that change of sentiment and opinion, which at last found expression in the Married Women's Property Act, 1882, can know how slow, how all but impracticable was all legislative progress, and how, even down to the very last moment, all our hopes seemed at the mercy of the merest chapter of accidents.

Full little knowest thou that hast not tried,
 What hell it is in suing long to bide ;
 To lose good days, that might be better spent ;
 To waste long nights in pensive discontent ;
 To speed to-day, to be put back to-morrow ;
 To feed on hope, to pine with fear and sorrow ;
 To fret thy soul with crosses and with cares ;
 To eat thy heart through comfortless despairs.

The pathetic words of Spenser but too truly pourtray the experience of all women who have endeavoured to influence legislative action for the benefit of their own sex, since they can only sue, and have no power to demand, remembering the while with an added pang that at every moment some heart is broken or some life undone by reason of the legislative injustice which they are helpless to remedy.

Turning to the present Session, we find that on the 26th of March last the House of Commons by the remarkable vote of 207 for and only 73 against the second reading of Mr. Bryce's Infants Bill emphasised strongly the conviction long shared by all thoughtful women, that the law regulating the relations of every married mother to her own offspring is unjust and unsatisfactory. Yet, in spite of this consensus of opinion, nothing appears more certain than that, unless women can bring to bear upon Parliamentary action a force which as "an unrepresented class" they do not possess, this most just and needful reform will either be indefinitely postponed or whittled down to a make-believe amendment which shall insult the motherhood of the nation by ignoring their most natural and sacred rights, and still holding them in the position of "unpaid nurses of *their husbands'* children."

That the course of modern legislation has *not* been uniformly "favourable to women" is too certain for denial. To say nothing of the gross and shameful injustice between husband and wife, sanctioned and maintained by

the Divorce Act of 1857, it is quite certain that the disgraceful legislation of 1866 and 1867, which placed the reputation of every poor woman in certain districts at the mercy of a spy police, could never have been proposed to, much less sanctioned by, a Parliament in which women were represented; but it seems hopeless to expect that this wrong will be set right until women themselves can directly influence legislation, rather would it seem—by the events of the present Session, and particularly by some of the proposals of the Criminal Law Amendment Bill—that our exclusively male legislature is perfectly capable, under the guise and pretence of "protection," of exposing to the same insecurity and possible outrage every girl and woman in these kingdoms.

Many women, moreover, are apt to resent much recent legislation which, whilst affecting to protect them, does in reality interfere with their freedom, their convenience, and their means of earning an honest livelihood, and to look with distrust and suspicion upon further legislative proposals of a similar kind pressed on by exclusively masculine influence. In truth, in these and in all similar matters, where the interests of men and women conflict, or seem to do so, it is the great grievance of women that the masculine voice alone is listened to, the male interest alone considered by the majority of those who are not legally responsible to women. It is impossible that under such circumstances the predominant influence of sex bias should not cause great and grievous wrong.

And this predominant influence it is now proposed not only to maintain, but to strengthen and consolidate; for, should the Representation of the People Bill pass without including women within its scope, there will be an enormously increased male electorate controlling the destinies of the whole nation, whilst to not one woman, except to the lady on the throne, is permitted political voice, action, or influence. For this reason we claim *now* our political emancipation. It is not merely that we pay rates and taxes and ought to have a voice as to their distribution and expenditure, the far broader human truth remains, *legislation for the unrepresented is tyranny*. We suffer as women, as wives, and as mothers from evil laws, and we ask to have a direct voice in so reforming these laws that they shall protect, not the selfish interest of either sex or of any class, but the larger, deeper, more vital interests of humanity itself, of justice for to-day, of hope and progress for the future.

I thank you heartily for pointing to the wider issues of this question. It is beyond controversy that, if the claim of single and independent women to the franchise is recognised, the exclusion of married women possessed of the same qualifications will be absurd, illogical, unjust, and indefensible.

It is also true that some women are well fitted to give valuable aid in

with them.—Letter to "The Spectator."
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legislation and administration, and that it is not merely a dream, but a possibility of the near future, that such competence may be recognised and returned to account. But before a woman can take a seat in Parliament she must have won the confidence of a constituency; nor does it seem by any means clear that, if a constituency chose under the existing law to return a woman as its representative, she could, unless by special retrospective legislation, be prevented taking her seat in the House.

It is to the justice of men that we appeal; that sense of justice which has led many men to co-operate actively in securing what of recent ameliorative legislation has been effected. There are men, and many men, who loathe the possession of unjust prerogative; and as the co-operation of husbands and wives, brothers and sisters, fathers and daughters, mothers and sons has gained for women what vantage-ground they have already won, so will it ultimately secure this success also, no matter what the immediate issue.

It may well be that Mr. Gladstone, who for a man of his rare gifts has marvellously little political far-sightedness, may be guilty now of the capital political blunder of refusing to women the recognition of their rights as "capable citizens," but such a blunder on his part can cause, at most, but a temporary delay. For what dignity, worth, or completeness can be claimed for a Representation of the People Bill which excludes from its provisions one half the nation? It will not be accepted, even for a single day, as a settlement of this grave question. Mr. Gladstone's political opponents will not be slow to seize the great advantage of showing themselves more liberal than so-called Liberals, and more just than those who profess to base their political creed upon justice; and Mr. Gladstone himself may find too late that, by insisting on the maintenance of the political disability of sex, he has fatally dwarfed and mutilated his best bit of statesmanship, and helped on the disintegration of his own political party.

I am, Sir, faithfully yours,

ELIZABETH C. WOLSTENHOLME ELMY.

A. Ireland & Co., Printers, Manchester.

A WOMAN'S APPEAL TO WOMEN.

An election approaches when 2,000,000 will be asked to give their opinions who the men are in whom they have confidence to advise, vote, and generally represent their wishes and needs in the legislature. It is according to our laws and traditions that these men should become voters, since they are deemed capable citizens. But what have the 800,000 women householders in the United Kingdom done, that they should be left out in the cold? Have they shown themselves less law-abiding, less honest, less provident, less diligent in their callings, less alive to the good of their neighbours than the men around them? Or, since it is the fact of paying towards the expenses of the State that is made the test of citizenship in these days, have they paid their rates less punctually? Have they defrauded the tax-collector?

No! no one thinks of these things. Yet the fact remains: let her house be maintained by the labour of her own hands, built of the fruit of her brain, or descended from a long line of noble ancestry, the woman is equally stamped an incapable citizen, is denied a right which any man can now claim who has a hearthstone of his own, be it humble cot or stately hall. Gardeners and gamekeepers will vote in November: it is well. The lady of the manor will not: is that well? All the labourers and tradesmen of the village, aye even if maintained by the earnings of their wives, may be registered and vote: not so the widow who is to her children mother and father in one. The shop, the farm, the work-room, where a woman owns and directs will have no part or lot in this call to the nation to speak its will. Who dares to say this is just to women?

This century has seen political rights so valued by men, that from a mere handful of freemen or burgesses the suffrage has been widened by successive Acts of Parliament, till it embraces nine out of every ten farmers, six out of every seven landholders, six out of every seven householders. And why not the tenth farmer, the seventh landholder, the seventh householder?

The Peace, Plenty and Prosperity which come of good government, the security of life, liberty and property which comes of good laws, concern men and women equally: and since good government and good laws depend on the true expression of the people's will, as declared by the representatives they send to Parliament, the election of members of Parliament equally concerns all citizens. Women, fellow-citizens, since you cannot yourselves vote at the approaching elections, fail not to urge on the Candidates themselves, and on your brothers who are helping them, that until they give you the franchise you can neither be true to your duties as citizens, nor can they guarantee you true protection at the hands of the law!

with them.—Letter to "The Spectator."

March 5th, 1870.

A. Ireland & Co., Printers, Manchester.

No women know better than those who have given their lives to the work of so influencing legislation as to secure more of justice to women, how infinitely hard and difficult their task has been, because they were members of "an unrepresented class."

To take the illustration you yourself have given—the amended law relating to the property of married women, with regard to which I have, at least, some right to speak—none but those who toiled for fifteen years to bring about that change of sentiment and opinion, which at last found expression in the Married Women's Property Act, 1882, can know how slow, how all but impracticable was all legislative progress, and how, even down to the very last moment, all our hopes seemed at the mercy of the merest chapter of accidents.

Full little knowest thou that hast not tried,
 What hell it is in suing long to bide;
 To lose good days, that might be better spent;
 To waste long nights in pensive discontent;
 To speed to-day, to be put back to-morrow;
 To feed on hope, to pine with fear and sorrow;
 To fret thy soul with crosses and with cares;
 To eat thy heart through comfortless despairs.

The pathetic words of Spenser but too truly pourtray the experience of all women who have endeavoured to influence legislative action for the benefit of their own sex, since they can only sue, and have no power to demand, remembering the while with an added pang that at every moment some heart is broken or some life undone by reason of the legislative injustice which they are helpless to remedy.

Turning to the present Session, we find that on the 26th of March last the House of Commons by the remarkable vote of 207 for and only 73 against the second reading of Mr. Bryce's Infants Bill emphasised strongly the conviction long shared by all thoughtful women, that the law regulating the relations of every married mother to her own offspring is unjust and unsatisfactory. Yet, in spite of this consensus of opinion, nothing appears more certain than that, unless women can bring to bear upon Parliamentary action a force which as "an unrepresented class" they do not possess, this most just and needful reform will either be indefinitely postponed or whittled down to a make-believe amendment which shall insult the motherhood of the nation by ignoring their most natural and sacred rights, and still holding them in the position of "unpaid nurses of *their husbands'* children."

That the course of modern legislation has *not* been uniformly "favourable to women" is too certain for denial. To say nothing of the gross and shameful injustice between husband and wife, sanctioned and maintained by

the Divorce Act of 1857, it is quite certain that the disgraceful legislation of 1866 and 1867, which placed the reputation of every poor woman in certain districts at the mercy of a spy police, could never have been proposed to, much less sanctioned by, a Parliament in which women were represented; but it seems hopeless to expect that this wrong will be set right until women themselves can directly influence legislation, rather would it seem—by the events of the present Session, and particularly by some of the proposals of the Criminal Law Amendment Bill—that our exclusively male legislature is perfectly capable, under the guise and pretence of "protection," of exposing to the same insecurity and possible outrage every girl and woman in these kingdoms.

Many women, moreover, are apt to resent much recent legislation which, whilst affecting to protect them, does in reality interfere with their freedom, their convenience, and their means of earning an honest livelihood, and to look with distrust and suspicion upon further legislative proposals of a similar kind pressed on by exclusively masculine influence. In truth, in these and in all similar matters, where the interests of men and women conflict, or seem to do so, it is the great grievance of women that the masculine voice alone is listened to, the male interest alone considered by the majority of those who are not legally responsible to women. It is impossible that under such circumstances the predominant influence of sex bias should not cause great and grievous wrong.

And this predominant influence it is now proposed not only to maintain, but to strengthen and consolidate; for, should the Representation of the People Bill pass without including women within its scope, there will be an enormously increased male electorate controlling the destinies of the whole nation, whilst to not one woman, except to the lady on the throne, is permitted political voice, action, or influence. For this reason we claim *now* our political emancipation. It is not merely that we pay rates and taxes and ought to have a voice as to their distribution and expenditure, the far broader human truth remains, *legislation for the unrepresented is tyranny*. We suffer as women, as wives, and as mothers from evil laws, and we ask to have a direct voice in so reforming these laws that they shall protect, not the selfish interest of either sex or of any class, but the larger, deeper, more vital interests of humanity itself, of justice for to-day, of hope and progress for the future.

I thank you heartily for pointing to the wider issues of this question. It is beyond controversy that, if the claim of single and independent women to the franchise is recognised, the exclusion of married women possessed of the same qualifications will be absurd, illogical, unjust, and indefensible.

It is also true that some women are well fitted to give valuable aid in

with them.—Letter to "The Spectator."

March 5th, 1870.

legislation and administration, and that it is not merely a dream, but a possibility of the near future, that such competence may be recognised and turned to account. But before a woman can take a seat in Parliament she must have won the confidence of a constituency; nor does it seem by any means clear that, if a constituency chose under the existing law to return a woman as its representative, she could, unless by special retrospective legislation, be prevented taking her seat in the House.

It is to the justice of men that we appeal; that sense of justice which has led many men to co-operate actively in securing what of recent ameliorative legislation has been effected. There are men, and many men, who loathe the possession of unjust prerogative; and as the co-operation of husbands and wives, brothers and sisters, fathers and daughters, mothers and sons has gained for women what vantage-ground they have already won, so will it ultimately secure this success also, no matter what the immediate issue.

It may well be that Mr. Gladstone, who for a man of his rare gifts has marvellously little political far-sightedness, may be guilty now of the capital political blunder of refusing to women the recognition of their rights as "capable citizens," but such a blunder on his part can cause, at most, but a temporary delay. For what dignity, worth, or completeness can be claimed for a Representation of the People Bill which excludes from its provisions one half the nation? It will not be accepted, even for a single day, as a settlement of this grave question. Mr. Gladstone's political opponents will not be slow to seize the great advantage of showing themselves more liberal than so-called Liberals, and more just than those who profess to base their political creed upon justice; and Mr. Gladstone himself may find too late that, by insisting on the maintenance of the political disability of sex, he has fatally dwarfed and mutilated his best bit of statesmanship, and helped on the disintegration of his own political party.

I am, Sir, faithfully yours,

ELIZABETH C. WOLSTENHOLME ELMY.

PROFESSOR F. D. MAURICE

ON

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

BY withholding the Suffrage from Women, on the ground that they ought not to be politicians, we make them, it seems to me, politicians of the worst kind. We justify all feminine pleas for acting upon mere trust or fancy in the selection of a candidate; we encourage the abuses to which those pleas lead. On the other hand, if the Legislature frankly admits Women to the exercise of the Suffrage, it will, I believe, gradually raise the tone of the whole land, by raising the tone of those who, often to their injury, govern its governors. In any sphere wherein women feel their responsibility, they are, as a rule, far more conscientious than men. When in any sphere they are *less* conscientious and help to make men less conscientious, it is a reasonable conjecture that in this sphere something has taken from them the sense of responsibility. Mere legislation is not able to effect such a mischief as that, but legislation based upon a moral theory and working along with it, may do even greater mischief. * * * *

"So long as a majority of the male inhabitants of Great Britain were not reckoned in the constituency, it might have been a useless waste of time to recommend that women should be represented. When householders are admitted to the franchise, their exclusion must strike anyone as anomalous. I do not, however, ask for their admission as the removal of a constitutional anomaly, of which we tolerate so many, but as a positive strength to the moral life of England. The hints I have thrown out on this subject have been expanded with far more force in the writings wherein women have pleaded their own cause. But it may not be wholly useless for an outsider of the other sex to own now their arguments have impressed him, and to state on what grounds he considers that men of all parties and all professions may co-operate with them.—*Letter to "The Spectator."*

March 5th, 1870.

PROF. LINDSAY, D.D.,

(GLASGOW UNIVERSITY,)

ON

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

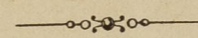
At a Meeting in St. James's Hall, London, on July 5th, Professor LINDSAY said he had made it his business to know something about the condition of the poor in the great cities. Alluding to the labour laws, he said that women's labour was being crippled by laws which pressed very heavily upon them. The Factory Acts were gradually driving women out of the factories, and when they were passed the Home Secretary of the day actually refused to receive deputations of working women because they had no votes behind them but he received deputations of working men because they had votes. It concerned the whole of them that women should have behind them that political force which was needed to make the expression of their mind go home. (Cheers.) Women were being driven to the verge of starvation by the action of the law. They must live, but the tendency of legislation was against woman's work. What did that mean? It meant making women sink down into a life of shame. In taking up this matter he felt that he was pleading for the working women. Women would never get their rights until they had votes, so that they could bring their influence to bear upon members of Parliament. (Cheers.)

A. Ireland & Co., Printers, Manchester.

Bristol & West of England Society

FOR

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.



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

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MR. MUNTZ, M.P.,
ON
WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

“I want to ask honourable gentlemen why ratepayers worth many thousands a year should be prevented from voting for members of Parliament merely because of their difference of sex. I know a lady worth £70,000 or £80,000 a year, who in the election of members of Parliament has no vote at all, while her gardener, her groom, and other male servants, have a vote each. I am not in favour of granting votes to all women, but I think that in some cases they ought to have them. We give them a power to vote for members of town councils, and we have not only given them the power and right to vote in all local and municipal matters, but we have imposed on them very onerous duties which, to say the least of it, I think have been unfairly imposed upon them. We have imposed on them the duties of overseer, and to bear a great and responsible duty. In my own neighbourhood, some years ago, an elderly widow was actually appointed an overseer at the age of 71. (Laughter.) If we are to have this sort of thing, I think we cannot do less than allow them, on the ground of the property they hold, to vote equally with ourselves, and I shall have much pleasure in supporting the Bill.”—*Speech in the House of Commons.*

SUFFRAGE FOR WOMEN HOUSEHOLDERS.

AGAIN, last session, the House of Commons has discussed the question of Woman's Suffrage, and again, as was expected by all who know how great is the strength of prejudice and Conservatism, it was rejected. It is only by very slow degrees that opinion in Parliament responds to the growth of public opinion; and on a question which does not immediately affect the interests of any class already possessing that great lever of movement, the vote, we may expect the response to be doubly slow in coming. The Women's Suffrage Societies have to act with small command of funds, and with workers who, like the Romans against Pyrrhus, can only learn how to win through repeated defeats.

The Bill to remove the Electoral Disabilities of Women, which was brought forward by Mr. Leonard Courtney, M.P. for Liskeard, was rejected on June 19th by 220 votes against 140. At the last division, that of 1876, 239 voted against the Bill and 152 for it; therefore, the number of those who voted this year was smaller on each side, the opponents of the measure losing nineteen votes, and the friends twelve. Since the commencement of the movement, eleven years ago, the support given to it by members of Parliament has been very remarkable, 396 having voted in favour of the Bill, some of them seven or eight times. It was asserted with premature triumph by Mr. Hanbury, who opposed the Bill, that many former supporters were prepared to follow his example in deserting the cause; but on examination of the division list, this assertion has not been borne out, the Bill having received some new adherents, and the conversions having been the other way. The balance of support for the Bill lies, as might be naturally conjectured on a question of rational reform, on the Liberal side of the House. Of the 142 who, including tellers, voted for the Bill, 88 were Liberals, 16 Home Rulers, and 38 Conservatives. Of the 220 who opposed it, 67 were Liberals, 7 Home Rulers, and 146 Conservatives.

The debate followed much the same course as in preceding years, with this difference, that the new speakers were mostly on the side of the Bill, and the opposition was entrusted chiefly to veteran antagonists. Their arguments were not remarkable for novelty. One member thought that to give votes to women was making votes too cheap, and that if Parliament could retrace its steps in the matter of the School Board and municipal franchises, long ago conceded to them, it would do well. By other M.P.'s it was characterised as an "arrant sham," "a mere phantasm to create a vexatious state of agitation," "a piece of socialistic democracy," and a measure which should be "opposed to the Day of Judgment." Nevertheless, there was a marked improvement in the tone of the debate, and instead of the derisive howls and hootings with which the discussion was overpowered in 1877, every speaker was listened to with punctilious courtesy.

The method of attack reminds us now and then forcibly of the quarrel which Æsop's wolf picks with the lamb, accusing him of having muddied the brook at which he drinks. The lamb humbly represents that he is drinking lower down, so he reviles him for having once used bad language of him, to which the lamb says he had not been born then. Then, said the wolf, it was thy father who did so. Some of the gentlemen in the House of Commons lament that all women would vote as a logical consequence of the Bill, and hence heartburnings in families, and fierce domestic discord, the wife voting one way and the husband another. But, say its supporters quickly, this Bill

would not alter the Common Law of England, by which a married woman would be incapable of voting. Then, they declare, it would cast a stigma upon the best of their sex—the mothers and matrons of England—by giving an advantage to the social failures, the despised and rejected of men. Similarly, they first assert that women are indifferent to the vote, and then when proof is brought forward that qualified women avail themselves of their School Board and municipal vote quite as much, proportionately to their numbers, as men avail themselves of it, they change their front of battle, and we are informed that women would rush so eagerly to the polling booth that all natural responsibilities and domestic duties would be forgotten.

The position which this question holds in public opinion is, however, more important to us than the particular objections of members of Parliament, or the still more numerous votes of those who, not having heard the reasons on either side, crowd into the lobby to vote against it when the division bell rings. Public opinion must be tested by the tone of the newspapers, the number and quality of petitions, and public meetings. The tone of the country press admits as a rule the justice of the claim which women are now making, cautiously limiting their approval to extending votes to women householders and ratepayers, a caution which is entirely uncalled for, as the most ardent worker in the movement has never asked that women should not be subjected to the same qualification test as men. The London Press, probably more under the influence of Parliament, is more oracular in its tone, but a fair and increasing proportion expresses hearty approval of the cause.

The petitions presented last session for the Bill were 723, containing 173,521 signatures. Some hesitation may frequently be felt in taking the number of signatures only as a test of public feeling, but the case is different when we consider the number of petitions under seal from town councils, those from women householders, and those from men of considerable social standing, such as 105 advocates, solicitors, and writers to the signet in Edinburgh; 185 rectors of colleges, head masters, and teachers; 43 physicians and surgeons, and 212 bankers, merchants, and civil engineers in the same city. Twenty-four town councils in England and Scotland petitioned for the Bill. The class who would be themselves enfranchised—women householders—sent petitions from more than twenty different towns; 1607 women householders of Edinburgh alone signed; 243 women householders of Boston sent a petition complaining of the increase in their rates consequent upon the inquiry into a corrupt Parliamentary election, in which, of course, they had no share; 532 women householders of Norwich did the same. Other petitions were representative in character. All the ladies who have been registered as medical practitioners in Great Britain signed. Several petitions went in from schoolmistresses, principals of women's colleges, and teachers. An association of women, called the "Co-operative Shirtmakers," in Soho, sent a petition by themselves, as well as other working women's associations. Lady artists, and women well known for their good standing in literature, also signed. The total number of petitioners is, of course, insignificant as compared with the number of women who have not signed, but they represent a large majority of women thinkers, of those who lead independent, self-supporting lives, or who are engaged in philanthropic or charitable labours. Several members declared in the recent debate that they knew no lady who cared for it. If this statement was no more than a flourish of rhetoric, we must suppose that the ladies of their families are too wealthy and isolated from the working, starving, and suffering women of the poor, to know anything of their wishes, or too well drilled in fashionable nonentity to express any opinions differing from those of their husbands and fathers.

We learn from the reports in the *Women's Suffrage Journal*, that during the year between the debate in 1877 and that of 1878, twenty-seven public meetings and lectures took place upon the subject. As an additional means

of extending knowledge on the question, many ladies invited their friends to private discussion meetings in their drawing-rooms. It has become, too, rather a fashionable topic for debating societies, where the result is generally, though not invariably, in favour of the measure.

The proportion of women who will be enfranchised when this Bill passes varies considerably according to localities. In Bath, for instance, there is one woman householder in every three households, in Manchester one in six, in Newcastle one in eight, while in Tewkesbury there is but one to twenty-three. Taking the whole of England and Wales, the number of women electors on the municipal register is 108,806, or one woman to every seven men electors. In Ireland it would also be about one to seven. There are, moreover, in England and Wales, 37,806 women landowners of one acre and upwards, or one woman to every six men landowners, and in Ireland 4127, or one woman to every seven men. There is no reason to suppose that the proportion between women and men differs greatly in the owners of land of less than an acre. At a rough estimate, between 300,000 and 400,000 would receive the vote, and a large majority of those already exercise one, if not more, votes—parochial, municipal, or educational.

The case, which was before alluded to, of Boston showed very forcibly the inconsistency of a system which extends to women the burdens, while refusing to them one of the most valued privileges, of ratepayers. After the last general election, a petition was lodged against the return of Mr. Parry, on the ground of bribery, and as it was reported to the Home Secretary that bribery extensively prevailed in that borough, a Royal Commission was appointed to investigate the subject. The Commissioners reported that no bribery existed, but the expenses of the inquiry had to be paid by the ratepayers of the borough, of whom one-fifth were women. To defray it, a rate of about eightpence in the pound was levied, and thus the Boston women are compelled to pay for alleged offences in connection with an election from which they are expressly excluded from taking part. The case in Norwich was similar, the expenses of the Commission there being still larger.

Another proof of the increasing interest that women take in public matters, and of their growing sense of the responsibilities which they share with men for the common good, is the number of women who, during the last few years, have allowed themselves to be nominated as candidates for the School Board, or as poor law guardians, or overseers of the poor. It is worthy of note that no town which has once had a woman on the School Board or on the board of guardians, has gone back from its choice. The success of the few women medical practitioners who have been registered, the increasing demand for high-class women's schools, and above all, the recent admission of women on equal terms to men to the London University, are all signs that a wider and more liberal view of the claims and position of women is prevailing, and that in proportion as education and liberty increase among men, they must be extended to women, if they are to be more than nominal. No one can shut his eyes to the fact that the "old order" of life is changing; that the number of unmarried women is on the increase, and that the cares and pleasures of domestic life, instead of being the one sphere possible to a woman, are now the lot of only about two-thirds of the whole. The women who, with or without their will, have their time unoccupied with domestic duties, and their hearts unfilled by home affections, must, as the only escape from frivolity or crime, engage themselves in a wider sphere of interests, and it is in the general acceptance by women of the fact that they, as well as men, have duties to fulfil to the world corresponding to the rights which civilisation has given to them, that we shall solve the many social questions which now perplex the mind and sadden the heart of the philanthropist.

So great a change in national education and modes of thought is not to be achieved in a few years. It need not, then, be a source of surprise to any one that despite the great advance which the women's suffrage question has

made, and is making, that it was not won last year, and will probably not be won even in the next Parliament. There are some people who believe it is making no progress because year after year the House of Commons throws it out with but slightly altered majorities, and they quote, with approval, the women's higher education, and their entrance into the medical profession, as questions which "get on." It is often with political questions, as with the dawn of a tropical morning, that full daylight breaks in upon the darkness without long gradations of brightness. It is frequently not till a reform is actually made law that the world perceives that opinion, for a long course of years, was slowly ripening in its favour. Even the opponents of Women's Suffrage admit its justice, while doubting its expediency; we believe in its expediency likewise: in the effect which it will slowly, but surely, have of removing the influences of prejudice and injustice, and doubling the effective forces of the world by the participation of women in its higher interests. Of one thing we may be sure, that the struggle which those ladies who are the principal exponents of the movement are conducting, is among those which, "though baffled oft, are ever won." They are not impatient—they do not look for victory either next year, or the year after; but as each session passes, they chronicle their slowly accumulating gains, and, while steadily keeping in front the standard of complete educational, electoral, professional, and legal equality of men and women, they despise no improvement in the condition of women, no fresh sphere of activity, no new concession of justice; but look on each step as leading to the more perfect end. It is this steadiness of purpose and continuity of effort which Englishwomen, like Englishmen, inherit as a national characteristic, that is the surest harbinger of success.

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 Miss Lucas, Hon. Sec. Darlington Women's Liberal Association

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 Miss E. A. Manning (Sec. Nat. Ind. Assoc.), 35 Bloomfield Road, Maida Hill, London.
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 Lady ~~McLaren~~ *McLure*, Belfast.
 Miss Mill, 4 Longton Grove, Sydenham, S.E.
 Mrs. Fenwick Miller, M.L.S.B., 184 St. Paul's Road, Canonbury, N.
 Miss Morison, College Hall, Byng Place, London, S.W.
 Miss Neligan, Head Mistress, High School for Girls, Croydon.
 Miss Notcutt, Bedford College, Portman Square, London.
 Miss Orme, 27 Southampton Buildings, Chancery Lane, London.
 Miss Emily Osborn, 10 Cunningham Place, St. John's Road, London.
 Mrs. Osler, Edgbaston, Birmingham.
 Mrs. Mark Pattison, Lincoln College, Oxford.
 Mrs. F. Penington, 17 Hyde Park Terrace, W.
 *Mrs. J. H. Perry, Redland, Bristol.
 Mrs. Emily Pfeiffer, Mayfield, West Hill, Putney, S.W.
 Lady Power, Armagh-ma-kerrig, Co. Monaghan.
 Mrs. Manning Prentice, P.L.G. for Bedminster, Westbury, Bristol.
 *Miss Mary Price, Beaconsfield Road, Bristol.
 Mrs. F. Prideaux, Gatcombe House, Totnes.
 *Miss Priestman, Member of the Bristol Five Hundred.
 *Miss Mary Priestman, Durdham Park, Bristol.
 Mrs. John Priestman, Manningham, Bradford.
 Miss Schaw Protheroe, Byrentêg, Goodwick, Fishguard.
 Miss Richards, M.L.S.B., The Canaries, Bedford Park, London.
 Mrs. Richmond Ritchie, Wimbledon, Surrey.
 Mrs. Croom Robertson, 31 Kensington Park Gardens West, London.
 Miss A. Mary F. Robinson, 20 Earl's Terrace, Kensington.
 Mrs. W. Rossetti, 3 Endsleigh Gardens, N.W.
 Mrs. Rushbrook, L.K.A., 25 Upper Phillimore Place, Kensington.
 Mrs. Cobden Sanderson, 3 Paper Buildings, Temple.
 Mrs. Oliver Scatcherd, 27 Virginia Road, Leeds.
 Miss Olive Schreiner, St. Leonard's-on-Sea.
 Miss Sharman, Swanspool, Wellingborough.

Mrs. Shaw, P.L.G., Elstree, Hants.
 Miss Shirreff.
 Miss Arabella Shore, Orchard Poyle, Taplow, Maidenhead.
 Edith Shove, M.B. (London), General Post Office, London.
 Mrs. W. J. Sollas, 4 Clyde Road, Dublin.
 Mrs. Southey, Rosenthal, Dacres Road, Forest Hill, S.E.
 Miss Agatha Stacey, P.L.G. for King's Norton, 43 Beaufort Road, Edgbaston.
 *Mrs. Stone, Montpelier, Bristol.
 Miss E. H. Sturge, B.A., Ladies' College, Cheltenham.
 Miss Eliza Sturge, Bewdley, Worcestershire.
 *Miss Emily Sturge, M.S.B., Tyndall's Park, Clifton, Bristol.
 *Miss Helen M. Sturge, Tyndall's Park, Clifton, Bristol.
 Mrs. Sunley, Member of Leeds Six Hundred.
 Miss Anna Swanwick, Cumberland Terrace, Regent's Park.
 *Mrs. Tanner, Sidcot, Somerset.
 *Miss Tanner, Member of the Bristol Five Hundred.
 Miss Tapson, Head Mistress, High School for Girls, Norwich.
 Mrs. P. A. Taylor, 22 Ashley Place, S.W.
 *Mrs. Terrett, Bedminster, Bristol.
 *Mrs. Herbert Thomas, Durdham Park, Bristol.
 *Mrs. Thomas Thomas, Hyde Lodge, Westbury Park, Bristol.
 Mrs. J. P. Thomasson, Woodside, Bolton-le-Moors.
 Miss Tod, Belfast.
 *Miss Tribe, 7 Westfield Park, Bristol.
 Miss Ada E. Tucker, Clifton, Bristol.
 Miss Varley, P.L.G. for Islington, 82 Newington Green Road, London.
 *Miss Venning, Redland Hall, Bristol.
 Miss Ward, Training College, Bishopsgate Street, E.C.
 Mrs. Robert Spence Watson, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
 Mrs. Webster, Temple Lodge, Hammersmith.
 Miss Julia Wedgwood, 56 George Street, Portman Square, London.
 Miss Weld, Head Mistress, High School for Girls, Bath.
 Miss Westmacott, Church of England High School for Girls, 80 Coleshill Street, S.W.
 Miss Whitehead, P.L.G. for Leeds.
 Miss Whyte, Head Mistress, High School for Girls, Sutton, Surrey.
 Mrs. Henry Wigham, Dublin.
 Miss E. T. Wilkinson, Hon. Sec. York Womens' Liberal Association.
 *Mrs. S. D. Wills, Upper Belgrave Road, Bristol.
 Mrs. H. J. Wilson, Osgathorpe Hills, Pitsmoor, Sheffield.
 Mrs. Wilson, The Hut, Bolingbroke Grove, S.W.
 Mrs. Woods, B.A., Eyre Cottage, The Grove, Sydenham, S.E.

SCOTLAND.

Miss Hill Burton, Liberton Bank, Edinburgh.
 Mrs. Hodgson, Bonaly Towers, Edinburgh.
 Mrs. George Hope (late of Fenton Barns), Edinburgh.
 Mrs. Duncan McLaren, Newington House, Edinburgh.
 Agnes McLaren, M.D. (France), 26 York Place, Edinburgh.
 Miss Siddons Mair, 5 Chester Street, Edinburgh.
 Mrs. Morrison Millar, 51 Lauriston Place, Edinburgh.
 Mrs. Somerville, Newbattle Road, Dalkeith.
 Miss Flora Stevenson, M.S.B., 13 Randolph Crescent, Edinburgh.
 Miss Louisa Stevenson, P.L.G., 13 Randolph Crescent, Edinburgh.
 Mrs. Stoddart, Kelso.
 Miss Eliza Wigham, 5 Grey Street, Edinburgh.

** Member of the Committee of the Bristol Women's Liberal Association.*

The Bishop of Carlisle on Women's Suffrage.

The following letter was written privately to a friend, who had asked his opinion, by the Bishop of Carlisle. The Bishop has been good enough to yield to a request that it might be made public:—

“Rose Castle, Carlisle, August 9, 1884.

“My dear E——, I should not like to write a leaflet for publication on the subject of women's suffrage, but I have no objection to tell you my opinion. While the number of voters was comparatively small, I consider that those voters were trustees for the general population. This was pre-eminently the case before the first Reform Bill, but it continued to be so after that Bill had become law; there could be no justification of the principle of giving a vote to £10 householders and not to poorer folks, except the assumption that a vote implied a trust to be exercised by the better educated and more substantial class for the good of all. While this was the principle of legislation, I consider that there was no wrong committed in not permitting women to vote; the question was simply one of the extent of a trust, and my own opinion used to be that, upon the whole, women were happier and the government of the country better carried on without the admission of women into the political arena. When, however, the arbitrary £10 line was done away with, and the borough franchise made to extend to every man who had anything which could be fairly called a home, this view of trusteeship was immensely weakened, and, as soon as the vote is extended beyond boroughs, as undoubtedly it will be, I consider that the notion of a man as a voter holding a trust for his neighbours will be well-nigh exploded altogether. I do not say that a vote will not be, in any case, a trust, and an important one, but this will not be its chief characteristic; it is inconceivable that it should be. Consequently, the question of female suffrage assumes, to my mind, an aspect which it never had before. If a woman be a householder, still more if she be an employer of labour and one through whose employment a number of men possess votes, what is there in the mere accident of sex to make it right to say she shall have no political influence? I do not in the least desire that married women should vote. This seems to me undesirable and impossible. The husband and wife must be one in this as in other things. But when the woman satisfies every condition but that of sex, then it seems to me impossible in reason, and I believe it will soon be impossible in fact, to deprive her of a vote. These, in brief, are the opinions which I hold on the subject of female suffrage.—Believe me, yours sincerely,
 H. CARLISLE.”