FOURTH ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

OF THE

MANCHESTER NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

PRESENTED AT THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING,
NOVEMBER 8th, 1871.

MANCHESTER:
ALEXANDER IRELAND & CO., PRINTERS,
1871.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, 1870—71.

WITH the year that has just expired, the movement for the removal of the electoral disabilities imposed upon women may be said to have entered on a new phase—that of steady progress on sure ground, uninterrupted by the vicissitudes and uncertainties which attended its course during the previous years, and which have served to clear the ground and mark out its present definite position.

Before entering on any agitation for the reform of the Representation of the People Act of 1867 in the direction of the enfranchisement of all persons possessed of the statutory qualification for a vote, it was necessary first to ascertain positively whether the Act itself did not confer votes upon them, and whether fresh legislation was needed. The work for the year 1868, was therefore devoted exclusively to the determination of this question, which was finally settled by the decision against the claims of women in the Court of Common Pleas.

The year 1869 was signalised by the grant of the municipal franchise to women, which was generally regarded by both friends and enemies as a concession of the principle of women's suffrage in public elections, that must sooner or later be followed by the Parliamentary vote. In the year 1870 the question was for the first time submitted to the House of Com-

mons under the changed conditions induced by the grant of the municipal vote. It might reasonably have been expected that the House would consistently carry out to its completion the principle which it had deliberately admitted, and in the first instance, when left unbiassed by the action of the Government, it showed itself prepared to do so. But the Bill which, in the absence of Government pressure, passed the second reading in the House of Commons by a considerable majority, was, on the application of the Government whip, rejected on the motion for going into committee.

In the same session a franchise of almost equal importance to the municipal vote was given to women under the Elementary Education Act of 1870—by which women were admitted to the right of voting and of being elected for seats at School Boards. It is gratifying to observe that some of the largest constituencies in the kingdom immediately elected women among their representatives on the School Boards, and that the ladies who have been selected for this important office have, as a rule, discharged their duties in such a manner as fully to justify the action of the Government and the choice of their constituents.

On the 13th February, 1871, the Women's Disabilities Bill, which was identical in terms with that of the previous session, was introduced in the House of Commons. On the back of the Bill were the names of Mr. Jacob Bright, Mr. E. B. Eastwick and Dr. Lyon Playfair.

On the 3rd of May Mr. Jacob Bright, in a speech of great ability, moved the second reading of the Bill. The motion was seconded by Mr. Eastwick, and supported by Lord John Manners, Dr. Lyon Playfair and Mr. Ward Hunt. The opposition was maintained by Mr. Bouverie, Mr. Scourfield, Mr. Beresford Hope, Mr. Newdegate and Mr. James. Mr. Gladstone after congratulating the mover of the Bill on the ability with which he had stated his case said he should state the reasons which disinclined him to vote for it in terms of great moderation. He did not think the present law perfect

but he was unwilling to adopt the principle of a measure for its amendment without some better prospect as to the satisfactory nature of the proposed amendment than he at present perceived. Speaking generally he was inclined to say that the personal attendance and intervention of women in election proceedings would be a practical evil of an intolerable character. The question in regard to womens' rights was a question of degree. The ancient law recognised the rights of women in the parish. The modern rule has extended the rule to the municipality. With respect to School Boards he thought the Legislature had done wisely in giving both the franchise and the right of sitting at School Boards to women. Then came a question with regard to Parliament, and we had to ask ourselves whether we should or should not go further. He admitted that there was a presumptive case for a change in the law. He never heard any conclusive reason why we should not borrow a hint from the law now existing in Italy under which a woman is allowed to exercise the franchise if she is possessed of the qualification, subject to the condition that she shall only exercise it through a deputy. As far as he was able to judge there was more presumptive ground for a change in the law than some of the opponents of the measure are disposed to own. There are various important particulars under which women obtain much less than justice under social arrangements. He might be told that there was no direct connection between this and the Parliamentary franchise, and he admitted it, but at the same time he was by no means sure that these inequalities might not have an indirect connection with a state of the law in which the balance is generally cast too much against women and too much in favour of men. In the competition for farms women suffer in a very definite manner in consequence of their want of a qualification to vote. So far as he was able to form an opinion of the general tone and colour of our law, in matters where the peculiar relations of men and women are concerned, that law does less than justice to women. In the whole chapter of legislation where the

irregular relations of men and women and the consequences of those irregular relations are concerned the English law does women much less than justice, and great mischief, misery and scandal result from that state of things in many occurrences and events of life. If it should be found possible to arrange a safe and well-adjusted alteration of the law as to political power, the man who should attain that object, and should see his purpose carried onward to its consequences in a more just arrangement of the provisions of other laws bearing upon the condition and welfare of women, would be a real benefactor to his country.

Although he would not vote for the Bill in respect to which there was no promise of modification if it could not be adopted in its present form, Mr. Gladstone did not, as in 1870, vote against it, but left the House before the division took place.

On the question being put, there appeared

For the second reading	151
Against	220
Majority against the Bill	69

The bill was therefore lost.

Your Committee desire here to record their grateful appreciation of the manner in which the promoters and supporters of the measure presented their case. They acknowledge their sense of the valuable and generous support rendered to the cause by the occupants of the front Opposition bench; and they rejoice that the principle of the enfranchisement of women has been accepted in its integrity by leading statesmen on both sides of the House of Commons.

The analysis of the division list shows that the Bill was supported by ninety-six Liberals and fifty-five Conservatives, including three members of the late cabinet, Mr. Disraeli, Mr. Corry, and Mr. Ward Hunt. Forty-two out of the one hundred and fifty-one who voted for the Bill were new supporters. Of these last, twenty were Liberals and twenty-two Conserva-

tives. Seventeen members who voted against the Bill in 1870, voted for it last session. Five others who voted against Mr. Mill in 1867 voted with Mr. Bright in 1871. Therefore out of the forty-two new adherents twenty-two were former opponents. Against this we have to set the defection of three members who voted for the Bill in 1870 and against it in 1871.

The majority which threw out the Bill contained one hundred and eighteen Liberals and one hundred and two Conservatives.

The five great towns which return each three members to Parliament give undivided support to this Bill. There is no other political or social question which secures the unanimous vote of the representatives of these great towns. Twelve out of their fifteen votes were recorded in its favour on the third of May last—the one accidentally adverse vote has been explained to have been given under a mistake, and two others were neutral.

Manchester and Glasgow gave their full complement of three votes each for the Bill. Birmingham, Leeds, and Liverpool gave two votes each in its favour. Twenty-two constituencies gave their full vote of two each for the Bill, namely

Bolton	Finsbury	Sheffield
Brighton	South Hants	Shrewsbury
Carmarthen co.	Leicester	Wenlock
Chelsea	Oldham	Wexford co.
Coventry	Penryn & Falmouth	Weymouth
Derby	Preston	Westminster
East Essex	Salford	Worcester
Edinburgh		

Sixty-one constituencies have given their full vote of one each for the measure :—

Aberdeen East	Ashton-under-Lyne	Berwickshire
Aberdeen West	Ayrshire South	Bridport
Aberdeen city	Banbury	Burnley
Andover	Bandon	Caithness

Elgin and Nairn Leith Calne Linlithgow Ennis Cardigan co. Malmesbury Fife Cardigan dist. Marlborough Frome Carlow Newport, Isle of Gateshead Chippenham Wight Gravesend Clonmel Paisley Greenock Cockermouth Perth Haddington dist. Denbigh dist. Portarlington Haverfordwest Devizes Rochdale Hawick Dewsbury South Shields Helston Downpatrick Stirling Hertford Dumbarton Stockton Horsham Dundalk Swansea Invernesshire Drogheda Tynemouth Kidderminster Edinburghshire Edinburgh and St. Kilkenny Wakefield Andrew's Univer- Knaresborough Warrington sities

Thirty-eight constituencies have given each one vote to the Bill—their other vote being neutral on the last division :—

Bradford	North Leicestershire	Stoke-on-Trent
Buckinghamshire	Limerick	Stroud
Cork county	Macclesfield	Sunderland
Cork	Maidstone	East Surrey
East Cornwall	Marylebone	West Surrey
West Cumberland	Newcastle-under-	East Sussex
Denbigh	Lyme	Tamworth
East Devon	Plymouth	Tipperary
Glamorgan	Rutland	Tiverton
Halifax	West Somerset	South Warwickshire
North Hants	Southampton	Waterford
Mid Kent	East Staffordshire	Wigan
Kerry	Stafford	Winchester

Thirty-four constituencies gave one vote for and one against the Bill, being thirty-four votes on each side.

Ipswich	Nottingham
South Leicester	Queen's co.
Londonderry co.	Reading
Mayo	Sligo
Merthyr Tydvil	Southwark
Newark	Stockport
Newcastle-upon-	Tyrone
Tyne	North Wilts
North Northampton	Wolverhampton
Northampton	East Worcester
South Northumber-	West Worcester
land	York
	South Leicester Londonderry co. Mayo Merthyr Tydvil Newark Newcastle-upon- Tyne North Northampton Northampton South Northumber-

We see that eighty-five constituencies give full and clear votes for the Bill, and forty-one clear though not full votes for it—so that one hundred and twenty-six constituencies are now clearly ranged on the side of the Bill—against one hundred in 1870. The total number of members now in the House of Commons who have voted or paired in favour of women's sufrage is two hundred and two.

Counting tellers and pairs in the division of May 5, there were for the Bill, one hundred and fifty-nine, against two hundred and twenty-eight, absent two hundred and seventy-one. Of English members there were, for the Bill one hundred and two, against, one hundred and sixty-six, absent, one hundred and ninety-seven. Welsh: For, six, against, seven, absent, seventeen. Scotch: For, twenty-five, against, thirty-four, absent, twenty-two. Irish: For, eighteen, against, thirty-four, absent, fifty-three. Of Lancashire members there were for the Bill fifteen, against, five, absent, thirteen. Only one member for a Lancashire borough voted against the Bill. The five members for Manchester and Salford voted for it, as did two of the members for Liverpool. Three out of the thirteen absentees voted for the Bill on former occasions, therefore eighteen out of thirty-

three, an absolute majority of Lancashire members, have voted in favour of the enfranchisement of women.

During the session of 1871 there were presented to the House of Commons 622 petitions, signed by 186,976 persons, in favour of the Women's Disabilities Bill. Of these 75 were from public meetings or municipal councils under their corporate seal. The Town Councils of Edinburgh, Stirling, Manchester, Salford, Burnley, Northampton, and Newcastle-on-Tyne petitioned in favour of the Bill. The petitions from the various wards in Manchester were signed by 31,065 persons and the Salford petitions by 4,268. The petitions sent through the efforts of friends of the Manchester Committee were 120 in number, signed by 45,251 persons. A complete list of all petitions for women's suffrage presented to the House of Commons during the session of 1871, is appended to the present Report. Some have been presented to the House of Lords, but of these a full list has not been obtained.

Public meetings in support of the Women's Disabilities Bill at which your committee have been invited to take part, have been held at Rawtenstall, Eccles, and Wigan. Reports of these meetings, and of the large number of others which have originated in connection with other branches of the society will be found in the Women's Suffrage Journal.

In the month of April, invitations to a conference in London in support of the Bill were issued by the secretaries of the London, Edinburgh, Dublin, Manchester, Birmingham, and Bristol committees. The conference met on April 28, at the Langham Hotel, under the presidency of Walter Morrison, Esq., M.P. A memorial to Mr. Gladstone, asking the support of the Government to the Bill, was adopted and signed by the chairman on behalf of the Conference. A similar memorial to Mr. Disraeli was also adopted.

The memorial to Mr. Gladstone, of which the following is a copy, was signed by upwards of 2,300 women from 187 different places in the United Kingdom, and these signatures were all sent in a very few days.

TO THE RIGHT HON. WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE, M.P., FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY.

The Memorial of the undersigned Members of the Executive Committees of the various branches of the National Society for Women's Suffrage, and others interested in the removal of the Electoral Disabilities of Women—

SHEWETH-

That the exclusion of women, otherwise legally qualified, from voting in the election of Members of Parliament, is injurious to those excluded, contrary to the principle of just representation, and to that of the laws now in force regulating the election of municipal, parochial, and all other representative governments.

That in former times, as is proved by returns to writs now in existence, women took part in the election of Members of Parliament; that in none of the old laws regulating the qualification of electors is there any mention of the exclusion of women from the right of voting; that the orly statute which in terms limits the exercise of the franchise which it confers, to male persons, is the Reform Act of 1832, and that no judicial decision had abrogated or annulled the presumptive right of women to the suffrage, until the Court of Common Pleas in 1868, disallowed the appeal of five thousand women householders who had claimed upder the provisions of the Representation of the People Act, 1867, to be placed on the roll of parliamentary electors for the City of Manchester.

That from time immemorial, up to the passing of the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835, women ratepayers had rights equal and similar to those of men in matters pertaining to local government and expenditure. That women can vote in all parochial matters, can take part in vestry meetings, called for various purposes, such as the election of church-

wardens, waywardens, appointment of overseers, and formerly the levying of church rates. They can serve as churchwardens and overseers, and vote in the election of guardians. In none of these ancient voting customs, and in no Act of Parliament prior to 1835, was the sex of the ratepayers taken into account as either a qualification or a di-qualification for the right of voting in local affairs. Nor was the precedent introduced by the Municipal Corporations Act followed in subsequent legislation, for the Public Health Act of 1848, and other statutes providing for local government carefully guard the electoral privileges of the whole body of ratepayers.

That on the foregoing considerations Her Majesty's Government gave its assent in 1869 to the proposal to restore to women ratepayers in corporate districts the rights of which they had been deprived by the Act of 1835, and in consequence of the passing of the Municipal Franchise Act of 1869 large numbers of women were added to the burgess rolls in various districts In Bath, there were 1,308; in Bolton, 1,534; in Bristol, 2,477; in Chester, 1,048; in Coventry, 1,022; in Derby, 1,270; in Leicester, 1,621; in Manchester, 9,013; in Rochdale, 1,018; in Salford, 2,829; in York, 1,101; and a proportionate number in other places.

That as a direct consequence of the extension of the municipal franchise to women, they obtained the right of voting in the election of Members of School Boards in corporate districts, through those provisions of the Elementary Education Act which confer the franchise in such elections in boroughs, on all persons whose names are on the burgess roll.

That the Elementary Education Act further recognises the right of women to take part in the government of the country, by admitting them to seats at School Boards. That these legislative councils have power to interfere with personal rights, to impose pecuniary penalties, and to deal with questions of the deepest social and political importance in a manner which has hitherto been beyond the scope of any local legislature, and for these important functions women have been deliberately

made eligible for Parliament, and actually chosen by great constituencies in free and popular election.

That the recognition by the Legislature of the fitness of women for the responsible office of Member of a School Board renders anomalous the maintenance of the disability which excludes them from voting in the election of Members of Parliament.

That the Legislature in preserving and restoring the ancient rights of women in local government, and in conferring on them the new franchise created by the Education Act, has pursued a course in regard to the civil and political status of women of which the removal of the only remaining electoral disability is the natural and consistent conclusion.

That the interests of women suffer greatly from the operation of this disability inasmuch as the denial of representative government to women makes it possible to maintain laws depriving them of property, educational and personal rights which could not be withheld from any section of the community which had the protection of the suffrage.

Your Memorialists, therefore, pray that you, on behalf of Her Majesty's Government, will give your support to the Bill now before the House of Commons, entitled, "A Bill to Remove the Electoral Disabilities of Women."

The success of this conference suggests the desirability of organising another on a more extended scale, next year. A national demonstration bringing together representatives of the movement from all parts of the kingdom, and converging the forces of the various sections of the society in the metropolis during the Session of Parliament, could not fail to have weight in pressing it on the attention of the Legislature—while at the same time the friends and representatives of the different Committees would be strengthened and encouraged in their work by mutual acquaintance and sympathy.

Your Committee have issued invitations to the several committees inviting their co-operation in the endeavour to establish

a central point of union for the various branches of the society, and have received from most of them assurances of approbation, and promises of support in carrying the proposal into effect.

In order that the working of the municipal franchise for women might be observed, your committee again appealed to the courtesy of the Town Clerks, for returns shewing the number of women on the burgess rolls and the number who availed themselves of their right to vote on the 1st November last. They have to thank these gentlemen for the valuable information they have kindly supplied. The returns hitherto received are tabulated and appended to the present report.

Feeling the need of increased pecuniary support, to enable them to discharge their heavy liabilities and to carry on their operations, your Committee projected the holding of a bazaar in the hope of raising the sum of £500. They received much promise of support, and many valuable contributions, but a few friends of the movement, being desirous to relieve the Committee from the labour and responsibility of the undertaking, and of setting free their energies for more direct work, generously came forward to guarantee the amount.

The Committee desire here to express their cordial thanks to Mrs. J. P. Thomasson—who undertook to collect the £500—and to the ladies and gentlemen who have kindly contributed to the special fund.

Your Committee earnestly press on the friends of the cause the need for increased pecuniary support. The bazaar fund will be exhausted by the end of the next financial year, if the expenditure should proceed at its present rate, while the exigencies of the agitation demand an increase rather than a decrease in its amount. The necessity can only be met by a large increase in the subscription list, and they ask every subscriber to endeavour to obtain, during the coming year, a fresh subscription of at least equal amount to his own.

The issue of the Women's Suffrage Journal has been continued with an increased amount of favour and support. But it is not yet self-supporting, and your Committee earnestly

request its friends and readers to endeavour to obtain new subscribers. As the charge is but one shilling and sixpence yearly, they hope that numbers will respond to this appeal.

On a review of the year that has gone by, your Committee have confidence in congratulating their friends on the steady advance of the cause. The number of votes against the Bill was, it is true, the same as last year. But the number of votes in its favour has increased from ninety-four to one hundred and fifty-one, and consequently the hostile majority has decreased from one hundred and twenty-six to sixty nine. Last year the Government was actively hostile, the Prime Minister spoke strongly and voted against the Bill, and the leaders of the Opposition were neutral. This year Mr. Gladstone seemed to approve the principle of the Bill, and did not vote against it, while Mr. Disraeli voted for it and two of his late colleagues spoke in its favour.

Under these circumstances your Committee have the greatest pleasure in requesting their parliamentary friends to take steps as early as possible in the forthcoming session for the reintroduction of the Women's Disabilities Bill. They have the utmost confidence that the ability, tact, and earnestness which, employed in the advocacy of a just principle, have secured for it an amount of parliamentary support seldom if ever obtained for any measure in so short a time, will continue to guide it to still more prosperous issues. On their part they venture to promise on behalf of the society they represent, the most strenuous and unceasing efforts to strengthen the hands of their leaders in the House of Commons and they earnestly appeal to the members of the Society, and to the public, for the means to enable them to redeem their pledge.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

Of the Society, held in the MAYOR'S PARLOUR, TOWN HALL, Manchester, November 8th, 1871.

The MAYOR OF MANCHESTER in the Chair.

The Secretary read the Report of the Executive Committee.

The Treasurer read the Statement of Accounts.

Resolution I.—Moved by Dr. Pankhurst, seconded by Joseph Crook, Esq., supported by Mrs. Thomas Dale:

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

Resolution II.—Moved by Mrs. Josephine E. Butler, seconded by Miss Ashurst Biggs:

That this meeting hereby expresses its earnest thanks to Mr. Jacob Bright, Mr. E. B. Eastwick, the Right Hon. Lord John Manners, Dr. Lyon Playfair, and the Right Hon. George Ward Hunt, for introducing and supporting the Women's Disabilities Bill, also to the Members of the House of Commons who voted or paired in its favour in the division on the second reading of the measure on May 2, 1871; and respectfully requests Mr. Jacob Bright and his coadjutors to take steps for the re-introduction of the Bill at an early period of the forthcoming session.

Resolution III. - Moved by Jacob Bright, Esq., M.P., seconded by Mr. Alderman Bennett, supported by Miss Shedden:

That the following persons be the Executive Committee for the ensuing year :- Jacob Bright, Esq., M.P., Mrs. Jacob Bright, Miss Barton, Miss Becker, Miss E. Becker, Mrs. Butler, Thomas Chorlton, Esq., Miss Hacking, Mrs. R. R. Moore, Dr. Pankhurst, Rev. S. A. Steinthal, Mrs. Sutcliffe, Mrs. J. P. Thomasson, Miss Alice Wilson.

JACOB BRIGHT, Esq., M.P., in the Chair.

Resolution IV.-Moved by Miss Becker, seconded by Miss Alice Wilson:

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

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Lydia E. Becker in Account with Rev. S. A. Steinthal. From Nov. 21, 1870, to Oct. 31, 1871.	£ s. d. By Wages and Office Expenses. 0 14 7	1 1000
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ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS.

1870-71.

Ashworth, Miss L. S. (Bazaar Fund)
Acworth, Mrs
Addison, Mis
Allan. Mr. W 2 2 0
Austin, Miss E. A
Page Fund) 1 1 0
Barlow, Mr. James (Bazaar Fund) 0 1 0
Barmby, Rev. G
Rarmby Miss
Deatond Mr. 1 D
Bazley, Sir Thomas, Bart., M.P
Recker, Miss E
Bell, Mrs. E. C
Bent, Mr. George
Bibby, Miss Ellen
Binney, Mr. E. W., F.R.S
Black, Rev. J
Blackburn, Mrs
Blackburn, Mrs. B
Bleackley, Mrs
Blumer, Mr. J. G
Boucherett, Miss Jessie
Boult, Miss Lucy 0 2
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Brown, Miss M. A
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Slatter, Mrs. Smith, Mrs. Smith, Miss Smith, Mr. H. F. Smith, Mr. Walter Spence, Mr. Peter Spencer, Mrs. Steinthal, Mr. H. M. 5 0 0 Street, Rev. J. C. Stuart, Mr. James Sutcliffe, Mr. Reuben 0 5 0 Sutcliffe, Mrs. Reuben Sutcliffe, Mrs. S. B. Talbot, Mr. J. H., jun. Taylor, Mrs. Thomas Taylor, Miss Ursula Thacker, Mrs. Thomas, Mrs. Thomas, Miss Thomasson, Mr. J. P. (Bazaar Fund) Thomasson, Mrs. J. P. (Bazaar Fund) Thomson, Miss Dora 1 0 Thorburn, Mrs. Jenny Todd, Mrs. Tootal, Miss Travers. Miss 2 0 0 Tucker, Miss Tully, Mr. Thomas.. Watts, Mrs. Alfred 0 5 0 Winkworth, Mrs. Winkworth, Mrs. (Bazaar Fund) 5 0 (

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS, 1871

Name of Borough. Section Sectio									
Abrayon		of n	-	Jo (ds	ds ds	40	0	of
Abrayon			oio oi.	to to	gh	ar ed 87	o . v	f vp	to
Abrayon	Name of Payough	No	o o ste	tic en	M	st 1	S. v.	00,00	wk wd.
Abrayon	Name of Borough.	l l l so	m. gri	or me	f	f.	On oto	o.o.	ne ne
Abrayon		ta er Re	Reg N	% Ke	m°	On o	tal rsc	ZEZ	Ve le
Abrayon		15 P	F-	L A	o u	000	Pe	N	N N
Abingdon		-			Z.	Z			
Abingdon									The section of
Ashton-under-Lyne 5,304 710 1 to 6,4 4 3 3 3 5 3 5 5 1 to 6,7 5 3 5 5 5 5 5 7 5 5 5 5				1 to 10.3					
Ashron-dimer-Lyine 3,304 410 1 to 6.4 4 3 2,563 393 1 to 5.5				1 to 7.1	1	1 1	520	39	1 to 12.3
Banbury					4	3			
Barrow-in-Furness 2,307	,, (3 contested wards)								1 to 5.5
Bath	Parmour in Furnace						313	THE PROPERTY OF THE PARTY OF TH	
Georiested wards 2653 524 1 to 4	Battow-III-Furitess						1,393	65	1 to 20.4
Bedford 2,352 198 1 to 10.8 2 2 236 3 1 to 7.6	(2 contested wards)					2	7500	000	
Berwick-upon-Tweed	Bedford							The same of the sa	
Contested ward	Berwick-upon-Tweed							3	1 to 77.6
Bewelley								THE WHITE IS NOT THE OWNER.	74.75
Birmingham								AND REAL PROPERTY.	
Gootested wards	Birmingham					100000000000000000000000000000000000000		3	1 to 53.8
Bodtim	,, (3 contested wards)							693	1 to 8 6
Boston	Bodmin							AND PART OF STREET OF THE	
Bradford	Boston		A CONTRACTOR CONTRACTOR	The state of the second of the		A COLUMN TO SELECTION AND ADDRESS OF THE PARTY OF THE PAR			
Gontested wards 22,201 3,076 1 to 6.2 12,702 1,827 1 to 5.9	Bradford							NEW YORK OF THE PARTY OF THE PA	
Bristol	,, (7 contested wards)	22,201	3,076					1,827	
(4 contested wards) 6349 842 1 to 6.6 3751 414 1 to 8 Bridgnorth			2,412	1 to 7.7					
Bury St. Edmunds	,, (4 contested wards)			1 to 6.6			3751	414	
Calpe	Bridghorth					0		And the second second second	
Calme 309 56 1 to 4.5 1 0 0 Carmarthen 1,676 317 1 to 4.2 2 1 505 74 1 to 5.8 Chard 1,452 199 1 to 6.3 2 2 2 949 111 1 to 7.5 Chard 1,452 199 1 to 6.3 2 2 2 949 111 1 to 7.5 Chard 1,452 1 to 4.6 1 1 74 2 1 to 36 Chester 6,427 1,103 1 to 4.8 5 2 1,088 163 1 to 5.6 Chipping Wycombe 683 50 1 to 12.6 1 0 0 0 Clifton, Dartmouth, Hardness 650 104 1 to 5.2 1 1 361 37 1 to 8.7 Congleton 2,165 348 1 to 5.2 3 0 0 0 Coventry 7,024 <	Burn St Edmunds							The state of the s	
Carmarthen	Calne					Bridge Bridge			
(1 contested ward)	Carmarthen					The second second	0	0	
Cararavon 1,452 199 1 to 6.3 2 2 949 111 1 to 7.5 Chard 148 26 1 to 4.8 5 2 1 to 36 Chester 6,427 1,103 1 to 4.8 5 2 1,088 163 1 to 5.6 Chichester 1,238 236 1 to 4.2 2 2 775 117 1 to 5.6 Chipping Wycombe 683 50 1 to 12.6 1 0 0 0 Clifton, Dartmouth, Hardness 650 104 1 to 5.2 1 1 361 37 1 to 5.6 Clifton, Dartmouth, Hardness 650 104 1 to 5.2 1 1 361 37 1 to 5.6 Congleton 2,165 348 1 to 5.2 3 0 0 0 Coventary 7,024 898 1 to 6.8 5 1 1	(1 contested ward)					TO THE PERSON		71	
Chard ()	Carnaryon								
Chester	Chard					100000000000000000000000000000000000000			
(2 contested wards 2,742	Chester							1 7 - 5 7 1 1 A B A	
Chichester 1,238	,, (2 contested wards)								
Chipping Wycombe. Clifton, Dartmouth, Hardness	Chichester	1,238	236						CONTRACTOR OF THE PROPERTY OF
Hardness	Chipping Wycombe	683	50	1 to 12.6	1			0	STATES OF STATES
Congleton 2,165 348 1 to 5.2 3 0 0 0 0	Clifton, Dartmouth,	650	104	1 to 5 2	1	7	261	37	
Coventry	Congletes)		PARTIES TO	THE REAL PROPERTY.					1 to 8.7
Contested ward Denbigh Contested ward Dewsbury Contested ward Dewsbury Contested ward Denchester Contested ward	Coventry		1			THE PART CONTRACTOR	0	0	
Derbly	(1 contested ward)				5	1			
Derby	Denhigh								
1467 1467 1407 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509 1509	Derby					1 1	703	The second of	1 to 6.3
Dewsbury	(1 contested ward)			1 60 0.2		1"		THE RESERVE AND REAL PROPERTY.	
Section Sect	Dewsbury		415	1 to 9 2		3			7 +0 77 5
Dorchester	" elec. Nov. 20, 1871	4,241							
3,339	Dorchester	740					427		
1, (2 contested wards)	Dover								CONTROL OF THE PARTY OF THE PAR
Durshable 779 152 1 to 4.1 1 1 607 116 1 to 4.2 Durham 2,230 365 1 to 5.1 3 3 1,367 176 1 to 6.7 Evesham 723 79 1 to 8.1 1 0 0 0	,, (2 contested wards)	1,572	182			The second		77	1 to 12.8
Durham 2,230 365 1 to 5.1 3 3 1,367 176 1 to 6.7 Evesham 723 79 1 to 8.1 1 0 0 0	Dunstable				1	1	607		
Falmouth			100000000000000000000000000000000000000				1,367		THE STREET STREET
Filst							0		
$ \begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	Flint							COLOR STORES	1 to 6.7
1,622 316 1 to 4.1 818 94 1 to 7.7	Folkstone						0		
Glastonbury	(2 contested wards)						010		
Goldling Guildford 1,126 172 1 to 7.1 1 1 101 2 1 to 49.5 Hastings 3,232 abt. 500 1 to 5.5 1 0 0 abt. 250 1 to 5.6 Haverfordwest 965 129 1 to 6.4 1 0 0 0 0 1 to 4.7 Hertford 799 100 1 to 6.9 1 0 0 0 0 Kidderminster 3,396 362 1 to 8.3 2 2 2,553 232 1 to 10 Leominster 915 116 1 to 6.8 1 1 451 24 1 to 17.7	Glastonbury					1			
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$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	Hastings	3,232	abt. 500						
Haverfordwest 965 129 1 to 6.4 1 0 0 0 Hertford 799 100 1 to 6.9 1 0 0 0 Kidderminster 3,396 362 1 to 8.3 2 2 2,553 232 1 to 10 Leoninster 915 116 1 to 6.8 1 1 451 24 1 to 17.7 Lightfield	,, (1 contested ward)	1664	abt. 250						
Hertford 799 100 1 to 6.9 1 0 0 0 Kidderminster 3,396 362 1 to 8.3 2 2 2,553 232 1 to 10 Leoninster 915 116 1 to 6.8 1 1 451 24 1 to 17.7 Lighfield 274 107 1 to 6.8 2 2 2 2 2	Haverfordwest								
Anddermineter	Hertford		100		1			0	
Lichfield 974 106.8 1 1 451 24 1 to 17.7	Alddermireter			1 to 8.3				232	1 to 10
14011111111	Lichfold						451	24	
	radiffield	1,274	197	1 to 5.4	2	0	0	0	COLUMN PURE PURE PURE PURE PURE PURE PURE PURE

*No real contest.

Name of Borough.	Total No. of Persons on Register.	No. of Women on Register.	Proportion of Women to Men on Register.	No. of Wards in Borough.	No. of Wards Contested Nov. 1, 1871.	Total No. of Persons who Voted.	No. of Women who Voted.	Proportion of Women to Men who Voted.
Lincoln Liskeard Ludlow Maidenhead Maidstone ,, (1 contested ward) Maldon Manchester ,, (8 contested wards) Margate Marlborough Monmouth Morpeth Neath Newark Northampton ,, (1 contested wards) Oldham ,, (6 contested wards) Oswestry Pembroke Penryn Penzance Pontefract Pwllheli Reigate Richmond, Yorkshire Rochdale Romsey Ruthin Rye St. Ives Salford ,, (11contested wards Scarborough ,, (1 contested wards Stratford-on-Avon Tamworth Tenterden Torrington, Great Tenby Totnes Truro ,, (1 contested ward Walsall Welshpool Winchester ,, (1 contested ward Windsor (New) Wisbech Wolverhampton Wrexham	1,934 540 876 738 1,318 2,104 5,991 2807 15,542 14,033 13,763 8,982 1,295 1,943 590 1882 796 466 1,974 637 8,316 234 600 578 1,094 21,916 20,568 4,358 1,316 642 710 504 647 1,579 647 486 647 1,579 647 1,579 647 1,579 647 1,319 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,316 1,31	291 180 193 279 abt1000	1 to 5.2 1 to 6.8 1 to 9.3 1 to 12.1 1 to 9.6 1 to 5.6 1 to 4.3 3 1 to 5.6 1 to 4.7 1 to 9.6	1 12 2 1 1 1 1 1 1 2 2 1 3 1 3 2 2 2 8 8	0	0 445 481 265 481 265 19,044 0 0 0 0 3 1,761 1,197 1197 5,544 7,567 970 0 346 900 467 0 437 502 6,268 130 360 491 0 12,227 639 0 312 0 550 336 351 389 21 871 301 796 972 6845	1 55 134	1 to 9.3 1 to 17.9 1 to 300 1 to 13.4 1 to 6.2
				1 3			1	Torrest !

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS, 1869, 1870, 1871.

Name of Borough.	No. of Women on Municipal Register in 1869.	No. of Women who Voted in 1869.	No. of Women on Municipal Register in 1870.	No. of Women who Voted in 1870.	No. of Women on Municipal Register in 1871.	No. of Women who Voted in 1871.
Abingdon Banbury Barrow.in-Furness Bath (whole city) ,, (2 contested wards).,, (1,,,,,) Bedford Berwick-upon-Tweed ,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,	83 83 83 1250 243 173 93 1533 2465 234 83 698 147 84 74 352 314 61 ‡ 198 ‡ 171 ‡ 128 89 870 	49 * 111 5 * 107 150 150 242 107 150 242 104 21 98 63 9 63 9 63 9 63 9 63 9 63 9 63 9 63 9 63 9 63 9 63 9 63 9 65 65 9 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65 65	104 94 95 1303 171 1534 2477 200 25 1048 235 86 1022 152 188 75 462 346 128 346 128 346 128 346 128 346 128 346 128 346 128 346 128 346 128 346 128 346 128 346 128 346 128 346 128 346 128 346 128 346 128 346 128 346 128 346 128 346 128 346 128 346 128 346 128 346 128 346 128 346 128 346 128 346 128 346 128 346 128 346 128 346 128 346 128 346 128 346 128 346 128 346 128 346 128 346 128 346 128 346 128 346 128 346 128 346 128 346 128 346 128 346 128 346 128 346 128 346 128 346 128 346 145 1621	56 28 29 72 70 \$723 530 \$88 2 9 100 16 11 6 106 3 168 98 168 28 100 14 105 28 29 100 14 105 29	98 93 130 1408 524 198 206 60 94 \$\frac{1}{2}\$ 2412 26 1103 472 236 104 898 123 \$\frac{1}{2}\$ 365 365 172 327 316 34 172 abt 500 abt 250 1'99 106 \$\frac{1}{2}\$	39 26 65 269 3 31 46 414 74 111 2 163 117 37 81 \$\$ \$\$ \$\$ \$\$ \$\$ \$\$ \$\$ \$\$ \$\$ \$\$ \$\$ \$\$
Leominster	119 96	18 22	116 110 °	603 37 9	i16 83	24 46

^{*} No contest, or no real contest.

Name of Borough.	No. of Women on Municipal Register in 1869.	No. of Wotner who Voted in 1869.	No. of Women on Municipal Register in 1870.	No. of Women who Voted in 1870.	No. of Women on Municipal Register in 1871.	No. of Women who Voted in 1871.
Lyme Regis Ludlow Maidenhead Maidstone ,, (1 contested ward). Manchester. ,, (9 contested wards). ,, (8 contested wards). Morpeth Newark ,, (1 contested ward). ,, (2 ,, ,,) , (3 ,,) Northampton. ,, (1 contested ward). Penryn. Penzance. Pontefract Richmond, Yorkshire Rochdale Ruthin. Ryde, Isle of Wight Rye Salford ,, (5 contested wards) ,, (8 ,, ,,) ,, (11 ,, ,,) Scarborough ,, (1 contested ward) Totnes Truro ,, (1 contested ward). Welshpool Winchester ,, (1 contested ward)	67 ‡ 51 344 7187 3599 129 233 394 49 306 69 69 69 41 135 298 43 2769 528 \$29 231 \$30 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 \$40 	6	69 120 46 364 9013 142 229 333 54 354 † 70 1018 142 327 38 2829 620 114 45 114 114 114 114 114 114 114 114	11 64 12 3 ‡ 107 101 119 9 65 ‡ 157 * 728 259 * ‡ abt 22 ‡	\$\frac{1}{2}\$ 83 63 63 355 50 8855 5231 135 235 393 186 49 389 117 77 1576 130 \$\frac{1}{2}\$ 40 3238 3030 763 285 120 253 84 125 291	\$\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\
Wisbech, ,,)	290	103	277	132	279	134

^{*} No contest, or no real contest.

‡ No return.



MANCHESTER NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

RULES.

- 1. The object of the Society is, to obtain for Women the right of voting for Members of Parliament on the same conditions as it is, or may be, granted to men.
- II. Approval of the objects of the Society, and an annual subscription of any amount shall constitute membership.
- III. The subscriptions are due on the first day of January for the current year.
- IV. An Executive Committee shall be appointed at an Annual General Meeting, which committee shall have power to add to its number.
- V. The committee, at its first meeting subsequent to the Annual Meeting, shall appoint a secretary and a treasurer.
- VI. A General Meeting of the Society shall be held once a year to receive the report, the statement of accounts, to appoint the committee, and transact any other business which may arise.
- VII. A Special General Meeting of the Society may be called at any time by the committee, and, at the written request of twenty-five Members, the Secretary shall call a Special Meeting. At such meeting no subjects shall be discussed but those mentioned in the notice summoning the members.
- VIII. No General Meeting of the Society shall be called without eight days' public notice of such meeting.
- IX. These rules shall not be altered except at a General Meeting; and no rule shall be altered at any meeting unless a month's notice of such proposed alteration has been given to the committee.

MANCHESTER NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

VIII. By endeavouring to increase the number of members.

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

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

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

A. Ireland and Co., Printers, Manchester.

PETITIONS IN FAVOUR OF WOMEN SUFFRAGE PRESENTED TO PARLIAMENT DURING THE SESSION OF 1871.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday, March 30.

The Earl of Minto presented a petition from a public meeting at Selkirk, in favour of the admission of women who are householders and ratepayers to the franchise.

The Earl of Derby presented a petition from a public meeting of inhabitants of Rawtenstall, in favour of giving the franchise to women.

Monday, May 1.

Lord Lyttleton presented a petition from Manchester, praying for the removal of the electoral disabilities of women.

Lord Romilly presented similar petitions from Colonel W. E. Evans and others; Bourton-on-the-Hill, Gloucestershire; Hendon, Middlesex; Woolastone, Gloucestershire; Ingatestone, Essex; and meetings at Marylebone and Hackney.

The Earl of Derby presented a petition from Barton-on-Irwell, praying for admission of women to the franchise.

Tuesday, May 2.

The Earl of Lichfield presented a petition from inhabitants of Stretford, praying for the removal of the electoral disabilities of women.

Lord de Tabley presented petitions to the same effect from inhabitants of Nantwich, and of Macclesfield.

Thursday, June 15.

The Bishop of Exeter presented a petition from inhabitants of Cheetham Hill, for the removal of the electoral disabilities of women.

[The above is not a complete list of petitions which have been presented to the House of Lords. As their lordships do not issue a special report of petitions presented to them, the same facilities do not exist for procuring full information as in the case of petitions to the House of Commons.]

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

In the following list of petitions those marked ¶ have the addresses of some or all of the petitioners affixed.

Those marked ₹ are signed officially.

WOMEN'S DISABILITIES BILL.-Against.

Mar. 8 Dundee, Provost, Magistrates, and Town Council of; William Hay, town-clerk ... Sir J. Ogilvy ... 1

WOMEN'S DISABILITIES BILL.-In Favour.

M	701	MEN'S DISABILITIES BILL.—In Favor	ır.
feb.	14	TChelsea, Inhabitants of Sir Charles Dilke	2,240
"	14	Greenwich, " Mr. Taylor	66
"	15	¶Marvlebone, , Mr. H. Lewis	
"		TBradford, ,, Mr. Miali	319
"	15	Batley Carr, " " "	39
"	15	Windhill, Meeting at; Thos.	
		Longfellow, Chair-	
		man ,, ,,	1
, ,,	15	Worksop, Meeting at; Edwin	1
		Priest, chairman Mr. Wheelhouse	1
"	15	Buxton, Meeting at; T. J.	1
		Cooper, chairman	1
"	15	SHeaton, Meeting at; George	1
		Brockway, chairman	1
"	16	SHaworth, Meeting at; Joseph	1
	7.0	Heap, chairman Lord F. Cavendish	1
77	16	Sidle, Meeting at; Joseph	1
	10	Rhodes, chairman ,,	-
"	10	SHuddersfield, Meeting at; W. White, chairman Mr. Leatham	1
	16	Dewsbury, Meeting at; F. Gut-	
"	10	teridge, chairman Mr. Sergt. Simon	1
	16	¶Patience Hodgkinson and others Mr. Chas. Turner	54
"	17	¶Manchester (Cheetham Ward),	
"		Inhabitants of Mr. Jacob Bright	4,195
	17	¶Ambleside, ,, Mr. Lowther Monk Coniston, ,, Mr. F. Stanley ¶Salford, ,, Mr. Charley ¶Bury St. Edmunds Mr. Greene	76
"	17	Monk Coniston Mr. F. Stanley	65
"	20	Salford Mr. Charley	345
"	20	TBury St. Edmunds, " Mr. Greene	42
"	20	SHebden, Meeting at; L. R.	
"		Patchett, chairman Mr. Stansfeld	1
"	20	TBirkenhead, Inhabitants of Mr. Taylor	270
"	21	Tower Hamlets, ,, Mr. Ayrton	2,026
"	21	Longwood, Meeting at; name of	
"		chairman illegible Mr. H. Beaumont	1
"	21	Manchester (St. Michael's	
,,		Ward), Inhabitants of Mr. Birley	2,000

	Feb	21	SRothesay, Meeting at; A. Mac-	
			Kirdy chairman W an.	ماه
	"	21		
	"		o a radiocidate as Win Windle	THE PERSON NAMED IN COLUMN TWO IS NOT THE PERSON NAMED IN COLUMN TWO IS NAM
	"	99	TBradford, " Mr. Wyndnam Mr. W. Forster wyndnam at;	40
	"	44	Was Will at;	10
			will. Willis Wood,	
	"	22	SBradford, Meeting at; Wm.	
	"		Drapor sheims.	
	"	22	Draper, chairman SGreenock, Meeting at; James	
	-//		Morton chairman M. G.	
	"	22	Morton, chairman Mr. Grieve Scarborough, Inhabitants of Sir H. Johnston	
	"	23	SIrvine, Meeting at; G. Paulin,	ne 188
			Chairman No. C	
	"	23		1
	"		" ~ COCK POI 0,	1,389
	"	44	Launceston.	504
	"	24	Wednesfield, Meeting at; J.	100
			(iriththe chairman M. Truit	
	"	27		. 1
	2,2	27	1 n / 1222	
	"	27	ELockerbie, Meeting at; Wm.	347
			Liackingo, Chair-	
		90	man Major Wall-	. 1
	1)	28	(Mediock-street	
			Ward), Inhabitants	
		28	Manchester (Oxford street) Mr. Birley	1,042
	"	20	" - Tanonostor (Oxford-street). In-	-,011
	"	28	habitants of " Annan, Meeting at; W. Battey, " "	202
			Chairman 35 T	
M	Iar.	1 5	chairman Mr. Jardine Helensburgh, Meeting at;	. 1
			Thos. Steven, pro-	
			Vost chairman M. A	
	"	2	vost, chairman Mr. Arch. Ewing Manchester, Inhabitants of Sir T. Bazley	1
	"	2	Manchester " Sir 1. Bazley	1,010
	"	2 5	Renfrew, Meeting at; Robert "	663
			Gallacher chairman M. D.D.	
	"	2 9	oalorushing, illianing of Market of	
	"	2010000	- Land of the state of the stat	175
	"			
	"	2 3	Samuel	180
			Nell, chairman, and	
		9	Others Maior W 11	4
	"	2 9	The state of the s	7.07
	"	6 9	Finsbury, Mr.W. M.Torrens	2.038
	"	6 =		515
	"	•	on cheester, Meeting at; Henry	
188	,,	6 9	Austin, chairman Mr. Bathurst	1
	"	6	~ and of tand. I lill a lill a little of the	
	,	6 ¶	Jane M. Symon Admiral Erskine Bury, Inhabitants of Mr. Philips Mr. Philips	1
				247
			Marylebone, "	2,328
			Chapman, chairman Mr. T. Hughes	
			in 1. Hughes	1 .

Iar.	7 TYork, Inhabitants of Mr. Leeman	295
	WI LOCKE	,854
"	7 Wigtown, " Lord Advocate	125
"	7 Wigtown, " Lord Advocate 7 Wigtown, " Lord Advocate 7 SWolverhampton, Meeting at; The W. Barker	
"	()()[[[] \\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\	
	chairman Mr. Villiers	1 17
. ,,	8 ¶Kilmarnock, Householders of Mr. Bouverie	30
"	8 ¶Kilmarnock, " " " 8 \$Bridge of Allan, Meeting at;	30
"	8 Bridge of Allan, Meeting at;	1
	H. Dove, chairman Admiral Erskine	109
"	8 Knaresborough, Inhabitants of Mr. Illingworth	
"	9 ¶ Manchester (St. Michael's Ward), Inhabitants	
	of Mr. Jacob Bright 9 ¶Manchester(St.Michael's Ward),	545
	O Manchaster (St Michael's Ward).	
, 77	Inhabitants of "	591
	o Table Inhabitants of Mr Carter	1.182
"	9 Salford, " Mr. Cawley	1,048
"	a Rirmingham Meeting at: James	
"	Austin, Chairman Mr. Dixon	
	o Shoffeld Inhabitants of Mr. Hadfield	510
"	O Discours LiOrd (t. Hallillou	162
"	a Edinburgh. Meeting at; D.	
"	Milaren chairman Mr. Miller	1
"	9 ¶Hackney, Inhabitants of Mr. Reed	2,010
77-	a Rath Meeting at: J. Hulbert,	1
	mayor, chairman Sir William Tite	2,269
"	9 ¶Chelsea, Inhabitants of	2,200
"	10 ¶Manchester (Medlock-street	
	Ward), Inhabitants of Mr. Birley	503
	10 ¶ Salford, Inhabitants of Mr. Cawley	636
"	10 Scampbelltown, Meeting at; D.	
, ,,	Mcdougall chairman Mr. Craulura	1
	10 ¶ Stranraer, Inhabitants of Lord Advocate	1.002
"	10 SWhithorn, Meeting at; D. D.	
"	Robertson, chairman Lord Advocate	1
	10 Spristol. Meeting at; F. W.	
"	Newman, chairman Mr. Morley	1
"	13 THorncastle, Inhabitants of Colonel Amcotts	164
"	13 A. W. Nicholson and others Mr. Jacob Bright	493 173
"	13 ¶Margaret R. Hughes and others "	348
"	13 ¶ Lichfield, Inhabitants of Colonel Dyott	46
,,	13 Plymouth, Mr. Edwards	10
"	13 SGreenock (Members of the Town Council, Seal) Mr. Grieve	1
	10 Prome Coint Edmunds Inhahi-	
"	Bury Saint Edmunds, Inhabitants of Mr. Hardcastle	29
	13 TFinshury Inhabitants of Mr. Lusk	2,048
"	12 Westminster Mr. W. Smith	1,941
"	14 Stoneykirk Lord Garlies	49
"	14 Castle Donglas Mr. Maxwell	53
"	14 Pontypool Meeting at: Thos.	
799	Thomas, D.D., Pre-	
	sident Mr. Richard	1

M	Iar. 14 STavistock, Meeting at; R.	
	Luxton, chairman Mn A D	
	" 15 Manchester (Medlock-street	1
	Ward), Inhabi-	
	tants of Mr. Birley	
	" 15 ¶Manchester tants of Mr. Birley (Medlock-street	576
	777	
	Ward) Inhabi-	
	,, 15 Annan, Inhabitants of Major Walley	511
	15 Trum	85
	16 TEdial " Sir F. Williams.	64
	16 Saymon " Mr. M'Laren	1,017
	" 17 TMom W Col. Wilson Patten	49
	77 - " " " LILICITY YY AVITE ATTA OTHORY ME. D. 1	519
	77 - "Induction of Mr. Table Deal	507
,		626
	77 - 11 - 11 - 11 - 11 - 11 - 11	2,120
,	, - CHICABIULY	
,	, 17 SKirkcudbright, Meeting at; Mr. Figgins	108
	James Sproat,	
	chairman M. I	
"	, 17 SPlymouth, Meeting at; W. F.	1
	Collier, chairman Mr. Morrison	
. , ,	TIT 11	1
,,	17 TD	114
,,	20 Nowton Cain I T	116
"		79
"	20 TGoodham 1 2 7 Sir William Bagge	79
"	20 Hamar Mr. Dent	132
"	20 Clarina " " Isouth Efficial	120
	20 Portpatrick, " Lord Garlies	570
99	7/1 - / 200	138
"	20 TRuck Mr. Gladstone	979
"	M- XT 1	052
"		212
"	Ma C Mall	66
"		152
"	Collegiate Church	102
	Ward). Women	
	Citizens of City	7.4
"	21 ¶Manchester (New Cross Ward),	14
	Inhahitants of	070
99	Manchester. Inhabitants of	678
22	21 ¶Manchester (Medlock-street "	508
	Ward), Inhabitants	
	0f M. D' 1	
"	21 ¶ Saltford and Keynsham, In-	512
	habitants of W. D. 1.1 D.	
"		54
"	21 Brighton, Mr. D. Dalrymple 1	36
"	22 TNoman I 1 1 " MIT. White 1.9	00
"	In Hodel	44
,,	die je incoming at, D. Murray.	
	23 ¶ Lambeth Inhabitants of Sir Crum-Ewing	1
"	23 City of I Sir J. Lawrence 2.0	
"	23 Bodmin " Mr. Lawrence 2.0	
"	25 Dodinin.	
9;	11 / - W HOISHOUIIIIIIIII Maa / 1 / 0 7	83
	10	

			-0	April 4
Mar.	24	TWest Aberdeenshire, Women of Mr. Fordyce		
	9.4	THackney, Inhabitants of Mr. Holms 1	,933	,, 4 8
"	21	Rawtenstall, Meeting at; John		
"	44	B. Whitehead, chair-		,, 4
		D. Whitehead, chair-	1	,, 17 \$
		man Mr. Holt		"
22	24	¶Elizabeth Garrett and others Mr. H. Lewis 2		., 17
"	24	¶W. F. Cowell Stepney and others Mr. Taylor	192	
	24	Bilston, Meeting at; J. Perry,		,, 17
"		chairman Mr. Villiers	1	,, 17
	97			,, 17 ¶
22	21	Meeting signed by Robert Ans-	1	,, 17 §
		truther, chairman Sir R. Anstruther		"
"	27	¶Manchester, Inhabitants of Mr. Jacob Bright	670	" 17 ¶
,,	27	¶Manchester (Medlock-st. Ward),		,,
,,		Women Citizens of ,,	12	" 17 ¶
	97	Burslem, Inhabitants of Sir Ed. Bulwer	52	" 18 ¶
"		¶Salford Mr. Cawley	542	" 18 ¶
"	21		77	
"	27	¶Godalming, " Mr. Cubitt		" 18 ¶
"	27	Lewes Lord Pelnam	263	10 ~
,,	28	TBolton, , Mr. Hick	1,313	" 18 g
	28	Lymington Lord G. Lennox.	45	
"	28	Scheltenham, Meeting at; T.		" 18 ¶
"	40	Wright, M.D., chair-		,, 18
		Wright, M.D., Chair-	1	,, 18
		man Mr.H.Samuelson	1	70 T
,,	28	Saundersfoot, Meeting at; J.		,, 10 7
		Beddoe, chairman Mr. Scourfield	1	
	28	Neyland, Meeting at; W. B.		
"	-0	Caher, chairman ,,	1	" 18 ¶]
	90		230	
"		¶Pembroke and vicinity ,,		" 18 ¶1
"	28	Exeter, Meeting at; J. Bourn,	1	10 7
		chairman Mr. Sol. General	1	
,,	. 30	Widford and other places, In-		,, 18 \$
,,		habitants of Mr. Cowper	65	
	30	TPoole, Inhabitants of Mr. Arthur Guest	50	" 18 ¶A
"			54	" 18 ¶A
"	30	Giat Galanch Sin I Trolowny	23	" 18 I
"	30		20	10 00
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	162 p	etiti	ons from 162 individual women householders.
			Total number of Petitions 620—Signatures 186,890
	The	petiti	ons marked \ have the addresses of some or all of the petitioners affixed.
			The Petitions marked & are signed officially.
	The	e fo	ollowing summary of petitions for Women's Suffrage,
1	reser	ated	to the House of Commons during the session of 1871,
i	s tak	en f	from the thirtieth Parliamentary report:—
			No. of Petitions Total Total signed Officially No. of No. of
7	17		or under Seal, Petitions, Signatures
1	vome	en's	Disabilities Eill—Against 1 1 1
	"		" In favour 73620186,890
			7, 100,000

324.6230604134

(12)

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

THIRD ANNUAL

MEETING IN EDINBURGH

IN

QUEEN STREET HALL,

On 22D JANUARY 1872,

UNDER THE AUSPICES OF

THE EDINBURGH BRANCH OF THE NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

EDINBURGH: PRINTED BY JOHN GREIG & SON.

MDCCCLXXII.

13:103-

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

THIRD ANNUAL MEETING

IN FAVOUR OF

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE,

HELD IN

QUEEN STREET HALL, EDINBURGH, JANUARY 22. 1872.

A Public Meeting was held in Queen Street Hall, on Monday, 22d January, in favour of conferring the Electoral Franchise on Women who are qualified as being owners or occupiers of lands or houses in their own right. On the platform were—Sir Robert Anstruther, Bart., M.P.; Mr Duncan M'Laren, M.P.; Mr John Miller, M.P.; Dr Lyon Playfair, M.P.; Professors Kelland, Masson, and Calderwood; Mr. W. A. Brown, advocate; Mr M'Lennan, advocate; Bailie Marshall; Mr John Cox, Mr R. Cox, W.S., Mr Alexander Nicolson, Mr W. M'Crie, Mr David Pryde, Councillors Millar and Bladworth, Mr Stephen Wellstood, Mr James Clark, Mr Ord of Muirhouselaw; and a number of ladies, including Mrs M'Laren, Mrs Ord, Mrs Clark, Mrs M'Crie, Mrs Warren; Misses Taylour of Belmont, Wigham, Hunter, M'Laren, Burton, Kirkland, and Walker; Mrs Robertson and Miss Shepherd, Paisley, &c.

On the motion of Professor Kelland, Sir Robert Anstruther was called to the chair.

The Chairman said it would require few words from him to convince the meeting that the subject they were met to discuss was one which demanded their serious attention. From the first time this subject was mooted in Parliament, he felt himself compelled by a sense of justice to give it his cordial support—(applause)—and for this simple reason, that it appeared to be just. He did not trouble himself with abstruse questions regarding what might follow the enfranchisement of women. He dealt with this question, as he was accustomed to deal with most other public questions, in a very simple fashion. He asked himself whether the thing proposed to be done

was just and right; and if he conceived it to be just and right, he voted for it, and left the consequences to take care of themselves. (Applause.) It appeared to him that it was singularly appropriate that a subject of this sort should be discussed in this city. Edinburgh had become famous for the education of women, and he might also say famous for the want of education of women. (Laughter.) Within the last year he had been delighted and surprised at the magnificent schemes which had been carried out for the endowment of the schools under the charge of the Merchant Company; and the chairman of that Company had been praised by all sections of the community in England and Scotland, and all the civilised world he might say. (A Voice—"Question.") It must be a great satisfation to that gentleman, and those who acted with him, to know that their example had been held up as worthy to be followed by all educational reformers. There was another subject connected with the education of women he referred to the failure of the lady medical students in Edinburgh to obtain satisfaction and justice at the hands of the University Court. It was not his province to enlarge on that question, but he did say that it was with surprise and regret that those who were interested in the University of Edinburgh had seen the authorities failing to implement what was considered to be their honourable promise to those students. (Applause and hisses.) He did not hesitate to say they had the sympathy of all those who were interested in the medical profession; and it would be very easy for him to demonstrate what, in his opinion, was the folly of those distinguished gentlemen. That would be foreign to his purpose. He would only say this, that when they found in a free country men behaving so unfairly to women, it was high time that they should be given more power to speak and act for themselves. (Cheers, and a hiss.) Sir Robert then proceeded to refer to the debate which took place in the House of Commons early last spring on the very interesting question which they were to discuss that evening. That was a debate, he said, of a very remarkable kind. Those who were interested in the enfranchisement of women might contrast it very favourably with the debate and division which took place on the subject the year before. Among the speeches there was, above all, that of the Prime Minister. It was not a very long speech, it was not a speech in which he declared his opinion in their favour; but, if he was not very much mistaken, it was a speech which caused them to see the beginning of the end of their great movement. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) Before, however, alluding to that speech, he would refer to one or two others. The first speech hostile to their movement was made by Mr Bouverie, the member for Kilmarnock. It was a speech characterised by great want of taste, and one which, had there been time, might have been very easily answered. Mr Bouverie did not hesitate in that speech to bring very serious charges against some very distinguished people -against men who were not in the House to defend themselves. He said—"To his mind, his hon. friend (Mr Jacob Bright) struck at the very foundation of society—namely, the family. Was the

head of the family the man or the woman? Was the head of the

family to be the master of the family, or was he not?" Then he went on to say that he would quote a passage from Mr Mill:-" If married life were all that it might be expected to be, looking to the laws alone, society would be a hell upon earth." And again-" The law of servitude in marriage is a monstrous contradiction to all the principles of the modern world. There remain no legal slaves except the mistress of every house." Mr Mill didn't say there a word against the sanctity of marriage; what he objected to, and most reasonably, was the law under which woman was compelled to be the absolute slave of her husband. Upon that Mr Bouverie founded this very unwarrantable remark—" Such were the views on which were founded the operations of those persons outside the House who asked for an extension of the franchise to women owners of property." It would be impertinence on his (Sir Robert's) part to attempt to defend Mr Mill against such charges as these; and his whole married life gave a triumphant answer against any charges made against him by Mr Bouverie. And they with him would acquit all others interested in this movement of anything like the charges that Mr Bouverie would there desire to bring against them. Another speech was that of Mr James, the member for Taunton, who complained that if they gave the franchise to women, they would then be eligible to sit in the House of Commons, and, of course, to be representatives in the House of Peers, act on juries, and sit upon the Episcopal benches. It appeared to him that that was straining the matter a little too far. He never heard any desire on the part of any lady to become a bishop. He did not know that a bishop's was such an enviable position, although he had a seat in the House of Lords; nor had he heard, on their part, any claim or desire to be admitted members of the House of Commons. In principle it was perfectly true, if it were competent for women to sit on school-boards in London, comprising forty-nine members, it might be competent for them to sit in the House of Commons. It would enliven their debates and society very much. His answer to Mr James would be, that if it were objectionable that they should assert these claims, they could exclude them by statute. One of Mr James' statements was, that if women were endowed with the franchise they could not be expected to give an unbiassed vote, the result of their political convictions. There was no doubt that, if true, was a very serious charge; but it proved rather too much. If they refused to enfranchise women because they could not be expected to give an unbiassed vote, they ought to disfranchise all men who did not give such a vote. It was matter of notoriety that a large number of the enfranchised classes were not in a position to exercise an independent opinion of themselves; and they had no scruple to give them a vote. His firm belief was, that so far from not giving an unbiassed vote, they would, quite as much as any class of the constituency, desire that their votes should be used for the general and social welfare. (Laughter.) Mr James hoped that the House would not be led away by itinerant and restless ladies; but he seemed to forget that there had been itinerant and restless men

who had accomplished great things-there was hardly any reform effected in the country but had been accomplished by agitation. Mr James winded up by imploring the House not to attempt to upset what nature had ordained and custom had ratified as the natural place for women in the State. If nature had ordained it—he presumed he meant the God of nature—and custom had ratified it, possibly they should have nothing further to say; but he adduced no proof that God intended unequal laws passed by men as against women. (Applause.) In concluding, Sir Robert alluded to the speech of Mr Gladstone, which he said indicated the working of his mind. They knew very well that when that distinguished man took anything in hand he carried it through. They had seen him take one or two things in hand since he became Prime Minister of England. They had all succeeded; and he thought they might fairly hope that if Mr Gladstone would devote his mind candidly and honestly to the consideration of this question it would succeed also. "We have done wisely," he said, "on the whole, in giving both the franchise and the right of sitting on the school board to women. Then comes a question with regard to Parliament, and we have to ask ourselves whether we shall or shall not go farther. Now I do go as far as to admit that my hon, friend has a presumptive case for some change in the law; although, for my part, I will go no farther until I know more of the nature of the change to be effected. . . . I admit there is more presumptive ground for change in the law than some of the opponents of the measure are disposed to own." Then further on he said—"I cannot help thinking that, for some reason or other, there are various important particulars in which women obtain much less than justice under our social arrangements;" and "I am by no means sure that these inequalities may not have an indirect connection with a state of law in which the balance is generally cast too much against women, and too much in favour of men." When they considered by whom these words were spoken, he thought they might, without presumption, take it that Mr Gladstone was turning his mind towards this matter seriously. In the closing sentence of his speech, Mr Gladstone said that although he could not vote for the bill of last year without some modification, yet he was not "sorry to think that some activity of thought in these busy days of ours is directing itself to the subject of the relations which actually prevail between men and women; and if it should 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, and who shall see his purpose carried onward to its consequences in a more just arrangement of the provisions of other laws bearing upon the condition and welfare of women, will, in my opinion, be a real benefactor to his country." As far as he (Sir Robert) could render Jacob Bright any assistance, he would be glad to do it, and hoped that those present, by their conduct and their resolutions, would give all the assistance in their power to aid him in passing his measure through the House of Commons. (Applause.) Apologies for absence had been received from Sir John Murray of Philiphaugh, Professor Caird, and the Rev. Dr Pulsford. A telegram has also been received

from Miss Robertson, who was to have been one of the speakers; and Professor Hodgson wrote: - "If I had any leisure and strength for public meetings not connected with my immediate duties, I would certainly be present at the meeting this evening. The more I think of the subject the more surprised I am that, all other legal qualifications for the suffrage being present, sex should be made a disqualification. Of course, the advocates of the present one-sided and unjust state of affairs will require women to shew reason why they should be admitted to the franchise; but I think as regards principle the advocates of the present system are bound to shew why women should be excluded. That the admission of women to the rights of voting would powerfully help to abolish what of male tyranny, injustice, and cruelty yet remain in our legislation and social intercourse, I am satisfied; and I have not yet heard or read of any valid argument against it. I trust that this meeting will greatly aid the movement. It is well that both the members for the burgh and the member for the university are warmly in its favour." (Applause.)

Miss Wigham, one of the secretaries, then read the annual report of the Edinburgh Branch of the Society:—

"In presenting our Annual Report for the year 1871 to our friends and supporters, we would claim their continued and increased sympathy and help, in the hope that many more anniversaries will not come round before our efforts in this matter shall have arrived at their legitimate conclusion, being crowned with success. Reasonable objections to our claims cannot well be substantiated, and unreasoning prejudice is fast dying away before the advance of general intelligence.

"Our operations during the past year have been similar in character to those adopted during previous years, but we have to report an increase in amount of work done, and a proportional amount of successful result.

"The holding of public meetings has again been adopted to considerable extent. The series commenced with the great Annual Meeting in the Music Hall, on the 12th January 1870, presided over by our much honoured senior member, Mr Duncan M'Laren, and aided by the presence and advocacy of Mr John Stuart Mill, and many other influential friends of women's suffrage. This was followed, during the year, by sixty public meetings held in different parts of the country. These were generally presided over by the chief magistrate or some other influential citizen of the towns in which they were held: and from nearly all of these, petitions were voted and signed by the chairman in support of Mr Jacob Bright's Bill.

"We have to express our obligations to Mrs Fawcett for coming to Scotland, and delivering able and elegant lectures in St Andrews, Stirling, and Paisley; and we must again record our thanks to Miss Taylour, for her most industrious, gratuitous, and efficient advocacy of women's suffrage, while delivering upwards of fifty addresses in many

towns of Scotland. On nearly all of these occasions, the lecturer was accompanied by a member of our committee, who succeeded in organising allied committees to the number of twenty-four, to co-operate with our Association, and to promote the signing of petitions to parliament, and in other ways to give efficient aid in the future agitation.

"On the 13th of February 1871, Mr Jacob Bright's Women's Electoral Disabilities Bill was introduced into the House of Commons; besides his name, on the back of the Bill were also the names of Mr E. B. Eastwick and Dr Lyon Playfair. On the 3d of May, Mr Jacob Bright, in a powerful speech which called forth the warm commendation of the Premier, moved the second reading of the Bill. The motion was seconded by Mr Eastwick, and supported by Lord John Manners, Dr Lyon Playfair, and Mr Ward Hunt. The arguments used by these gentlemen, it would seem to us, must convince every candid mind of the justice of the cause they so ably and generously advocate; and for their advocacy we would record our heartfelt thanks.

"The opposition was conducted by Mr Bouverie, Mr Scourfield, Mr Beresford Hope, Mr Newdegate, and Mr James, and to the speeches of these gentlemen we may refer for all the objections that can possibly be raised against women's suffrage—not a very convincing array truly!

"Mr Gladstone spoke carefully yet candidly on the question, reviewed the arguments on both sides, admitted that the 'mover of the Bill had a presumptive case for some change;' 'that there was more presumptive ground for some change in the law than most of the opponents of the measure are disposed to own; alluded to the fact that there is a progressive increase in the number of self-dependent women, and that they approach the task of providing for their own subsistence under greater difficulties than attach to their more powerful competitors; and that there are various important particulars in which women obtain much less than justice under social arrangements. He added, 'I am by no means certain that these inequalities may not have an indirect connection with the state of law in which the balance is generally cast too much against women, and too much in favour of men.' He touched on several points wherein the law does less than justice to women, and concluded by stating that he was not prepared to vote for the Bill in its present state. He added, 'I am not sorry to think that some activity of thought in these busy days of ours is directing itself to the subject of the relations which actually prevail between men and women; and if it should 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, and who shall see his purpose carried onward to its consequences in a more just arrangement of the provisions of other laws bearing upon the condition and welfare of women will, in my opinion, be a real benefactor to his country.' Mr Gladstone did not (as in 1870) vote against the Bill!

"On the question being put, there appeared for the second reading, 151; against it, 209; majority against the Bill, 58.

"Although numerically we seem to have lost, the analyses of the division gives many encouraging circumstances, a few of which we quote, as they cannot fail to be of historical interest. The Bill was supported by 96 Liberals and 55 Conservatives, including four members of the late Government, Mr Disraeli, Mr Corry, Mr Ward Hunt, and Lord John Manners. Out of the 151 who voted for the Bill, 42 were new supporters; of these, 20 were Liberal and 22 Conservative. Seventeen members who voted against the Bill in 1870 voted for it last session. Five others who voted against Mr Mill's motion in 1867, voted with Mr Bright in 1871; so that out of the 42 new adherents, 22 were former opponents. Against this, we must notice the defection of three members who voted for the Bill in 1870, and against it in 1871. The majority which threw out the Bill contained 115 Liberals and 102 Conservatives. The five great towns which return each three members to Parliament, give undivided support to the Bill. There is no other political or social question which secures the unanimous support of the representatives of these large towns. Out of their 15 votes, 12 were recorded in its favour in May last, and one adverse vote was explained as having been given under a mistake, the other two were neutral. Of the constituencies, 22 gave their full vote of two each for the Bill; 61 gave it their full vote of one each; and 38 constituencies have given each one vote for the Bill, their other vote being neutral; so that 125 constituencies are now ranged on the side of the Bill against 100 in 1870.

"The total number of members now in the House of Commons who have voted or paired in favour of women's suffrage is 202. For the Bill, counting tellers and pairs, on 5th May, there were 159, against it, 228, and absent, 271; of the Scotch members, 25 voted for the Bill, 13 against it, and 22 were absent, the Scotch members having thus declared themselves as two to one in favour of women's suffrage. During the session of 1870, 622 petitions signed by 186,976 persons were presented to the House of Commons in favour of women's suffrage. Of these petitions, 286 were sent from Scotland, including 10 from the Town Councils of the most influential cities and burghs.

"We desire to express our sincere thanks to all the members who voted for the Bill, and especially to Mr Jacob Bright, for so ably and vigorously introducing and conducting the question. He has agreed again to bring in his Bill early next session, and we earnestly hope he will be supported from without even more largely than in past years, to shew a sense of gratitude to himself, as well as a strenuous determination to press for a successful issue to this year's struggle.

"The exercise of the municipal franchise by women in England is a useful illustration of the advantage of women voting at elections. To Scotland this act of justice has not yet been extended, but it is probable

the greater will include the less, and the claim for Parliamentary representation will include that for Municipal representation also.

"The important position which the question of women's suffrage has now assumed, has called for the organisation of a representative society in London to watch over the question. This Central National Society numbers among its members forty members of Parliament, and a long list of the most influential names. All local associations throughout the kingdom are invited to take part, by their representatives, in the deliberations of this society, whose special function it is to watch the action of Parliament, and summon on occasions of importance, the energy, strength, and co-operation of the provincial societies—thus forming at once a rallying point and watch-tower for the whole country.

"A very pointed argument in favour of women's suffrage exists in the fact, that more than two millions of women in the British islands are self-supporting, and this number is increasing from year to year. Many of these women conduct extensive business concerns, and many provide for the support of families and dependents. That these industrious, tax-paying citizens should be denied the right of direct representation is an injustice which surely cannot long be tolerated. We claim representation for all women who are householders or owners of land in their own right, because we cannot but see that injustice in legislation prevails towards non-represented classes, and that appeal to the Imperial Parliament is more respected from electors than from non-electors. We also claim the suffrage for women in order to their having just legislation in matters specially referring to them wherever the laws are partial and unjust. But not for themselves alone do women desire the franchise; they wish to have a constitutional opportunity of expressing their opinion in matters of which they are peculiarly qualified to know something: such as questions concerning the care of the poor—the reformation of criminals—the laws of health—concerning morality and education—and concerning war and peace.

"The Home Secretary, on being questioned recently by his constituents as to his views of women's suffrage, gave forth as one argument against it, "that women in Parliament might vote us into a war, knowing that they were themselves exempted from the danger of bearing arms." Could even the Home Secretary possibly utter this argument seriously? Because, personally, women are not expected to go forth to battle, have they not vital interests dearer than their own lives perilled by the declaration of war? Do not women feel even more keenly than men the terrible attendants of war—the waste of precious life—the multiplication of widows and orphans—the desolation of homes—the cramping of industrial resources—the national suffering; and they would reasonably wish to have some voice respecting these things—not to sit in Parliament and vote the country into a war—but seriously and intelligently to vote for such men being sent there as shall act for the general well-being of the nation, applying the principles of legislation

uniformly to all classes, and who shall, in the spirit of true patriotism, institute measures in accordance with that 'righteousness which alone exalteth a nation.'"

Miss Wigham then read the names of committee, and added, "In reading over these names, there is one name omitted to which we would refer with feelings of touching interest. We allude to that of Miss Dick Lauder, whose sudden removal from among us has filled our hearts with sadness. We shall greatly miss her faithful, ready help, her unvarying gentleness, and her wise counsel; but, while feeling our loss, and deeply sympathising with her bereaved family, we bow before the Wisdom which has taken her from this sphere of service. It might have been more in accordance with our feelings that this meeting should not have been held to-night, but it would not be according to the mind of her who has left us, that duty should be postponed on account of feeling; and the sudden removal of workers from this life but calls to those who remain to fill up the ranks, and to be yet more zealous and faithful, for the time is short; we know not how short."

Mr Alex. Nicolson, advocate, seconded the adoption of the report. He said he looked upon this movement as one of the most important of the present time; and believed that when it attained practical success—the time for which was not far distant—it would lead to results, both as regarded social and political consequences, which, so far from being injurious, as some ignorant and prejudiced people thought, would, in his estimation, be beneficial both as regarded their influence on general politics and upon the relations of society. He believed the anticipations expressed in the report were well founded, and though they had met with some obstructions in the past, and might look forward to such before they attained success, they must look to it as a part of the ordinary process through which every salutary change in this country had to pass before it became law. This measure, to adjust the balance of political power, had been on the tapis for only four or five years. When it was first introduced to the House, only seventy members voted for it, and it had since gained to its side no less than two hundred members of the House of Commons. That fact in itself was a strong presumption that a measure which in so short a time had commended itself to so large a number of members was likely soon to be crowned by success, especially when they looked at the constitution of the majority, and considered the fact that twenty-five to thirteen of the Scotch members were in favour of the bill. This measure had drawn to its support men who were diametrically opposed to each other, not only in politics, but on almost all matters on which men thought. It was a certain augury of the success of this measure when they found that it drew into the lobby such men as Mr Mill and Mr Disraeli, Mr Jacob Bright and Mr Ward Hunt, Dr Lyon Playfair, and Lord John Manners, the latter of whom, he said, was the representative of everything that was sentimental and conservative.

(Applause.) He did not say that in disparagement of Lord John Manners; on the contrary, he entertained great esteem for his Lordship both as a man and a poet. Another augury of success was the speech made by Mr Gladstone, which shewed that after the Premier had overcome the difficulty of making up his mind—(laughter)—and had attained that point when he was satisfied that it was his duty, he would then, with all the earnestness and power of his magnificent nature—(renewed laughter)—declare that this measure must be carried, and that the whole weight of the Government would go in its support. (Applause.)

The Chairman put the motion to the meeting, and declared it carried.

Mr Miller, M.P., moved the following resolution:—"That the ownership or occupation of lands or houses being now the basis of representation, it is unjust in principle to make sex a ground of disqualification, thereby excluding a large number of intelligent persons well qualified to exercise the electoral franchise, who pay all the national taxes and local rates equally with men." To his mind this resolution brought pointedly before them the wrong to women by the existing state of the law, and if it was their opinion that such a wrong existed, it would be their duty to move so as to have the law amended as soon as they possibly could. The present state of the law appeared to him to have arisen from some eastern idea that women were inferior to men, or that exercising the right of voting in the election of members of Parliament is incompatible with their nature. This idea was one they could not admit, and he did not know how else they could account for the existing state of the law. The defect which some classes of women in this country previously had through want of education was being done away with, and he hoped this movement would go on until the sexes were on a footing of perfect equality; but even in their present state, women were not in any degree inferior to those who enjoyed the franchise. They knew that the right of women to vote had been conceded in 1869 in municipal elections in England, and that in such elections they had exercised their right with quite as much intelligence as men. In 1870 the same right was conceded in the English Education Bill, and not only that, but women have been elected as members of the School Boards, even of the School Board of our great metropolis. (Applause.) Parliament having gone so far in the right direction, it was difficult for him to understand why it stopped short of giving to them the Parliamentary franchise. He hoped sincerely this would soon be accomplished. Some people said that women did not wish to interfere in politics. Mr Jacob Bright's Bill would not enforce voting on the part of women householders, it would only confer the right, that right to be exercised as they may think fit; but he knew many women who would exercise their right, and quite as intelligently as men. It was also objected that women could not undergo the hustling and tumult of voting at general elections. In answer to this, he was happy to be able to say that they had no tumults at their Edinburgh elections; but even in districts where such scenes took place, the ballot system, which will (it is all but certain) be in operation before the next general election, will admit of the most delicate lady recording her vote with the utmost comfort. He for one would rejoice to see women in possession of the Parliamentary franchise, as he felt confident that were their voice heard by our Legislators, it would vastly aid in making laws most important for their own sex and the social condition of the country. (Hear, hear.) Had women been allowed to vote for members of Parliament, they might never have had their statute-book polluted with such laws as had lately been passed, and the sooner these were wiped off the better. (Cheers and hisses.) He hoped that this meeting, and others to be held in the country, would not hesitate in adopting the resolution he had proposed. (Applause.)

Miss Taylour of Belmont, who was received with loud cheers, said—I beg to second the resolution which has now been submitted to this meeting. I do so with a feeling of solemnity, for I believe that the cause which we seek to advance by our meeting here this evening is one of grave and vital importance. The question at issue is not merely that of deciding the justice of admitting ratepaying women to a due share of the privileges as well as the burdens of householders; nor is it one narrowed down to the consideration of whether the one sex is mentally equal to the other; but it is in reality the great and important question of whether woman is a complete and responsible human being, having the correspondent inherent rights of such, or whether she is in truth but a mere chattel, created solely for man's service or pleasure, and consequently intended to be dependent upon his will and subject to his rule. This question involves the most momentous and weighty interests; it affects the welfare of the whole human race— (applause)—and we have come to a period in the world's history when it must be settled completely and conclusively. It is fortunate that the difficulty of its settlement bears no proportion to the magnitude of its importance. In truth there is no difficulty surrounding it that will not be easily swept away by those who have entered into the spirit of our Lord's command—" Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." Emancipated from narrow prejudice and superstition, and enlightened by Christian love, reason will be quite able to guide to a just and wise arrangement of those matters of detail that selfishness or ignorance now so often persistently strive to distort and darken. Every one capable of forming an intelligent and candid opinion must surely allow that the capacities bestowed by nature upon any creature are given for development and use; also that such gifts can never be fully developed and used while they are repressed and dwarfed by restraint. Yet, so far as women are concerned, these very plain axioms have always been, and still are, more or less practically denied. This denial has not been the less real or less foolish because it can be traced back to the earliest ages of the world. Hoary antiquity may 14

becloud with its delusive mists, and appeal to a morbid veneration: but it can never change that which is eternally true. The root from which woman's subjection sprung may be easily traced. When sin entered the world there came in its train dangers and difficulties that required man—the physically stronger—to take the precedence that was indispensable in order to enable him to become the protector of woman—the physically weaker—but the taking of this precedence did not prove man's superiority to woman in any other attribute than that of mere muscular power. (Applause.) And as a balance to this superior strength, impartial nature has endowed woman with such peculiar attributes as enable her to give to man adequate compensation for the protection that he accords. In the beginning man and woman were created equals, made in the same divine image. God blessed them unitedly, and gave them conjoint dominion over the world. The distinctive characteristic differences that marks the sexes were intended to complement each other, and blend in one harmonious and perfect unity, not to lead to the usurpation of power by the one over the other. But sin came and changed this natural order of things, by converting the precedence—necessarily taken by the protector—from a matter of expediency, into a sovereignty that increased with exercise, until mere physical power established a supremacy that has existed in a greater or less degree until now. Under this arbitrary rule woman has been more or less degraded to the position of a slave; been treated in many respects as a mere chattel, and she has rarely, if ever, been in a position fully to develop, and freely to use the powers with which her God has gifted her. Politically, men have taken upon themselves the right of legislating for women, without any direct reference to their feelings and opinions without any direct acknowledgment of the truth that they are reasoning beings like themselves. So also socially. Men have arrogated to themselves in general the right to dictate to women what they should and should not be, and do, and learn; what is befitting for them, what unseemly, apparently quite unconscious that, in so doing, they treat them both unjustly and insultingly. If woman was intended thus to be under man's rule, it naturally follows that nature must have suited her gifts to the level of the designed position of inferiority. Either, then, she has the spirit and powers of an inferior, and will remain in the state of subjection natural to such, without need of restraint, and without feeling that state a hardship; or, on the other hand, she has not been given the spirit and lower powers of an inferior, in which case the laws, the rules that would force her into subordination, are both unnatural and cruelly tyrannical. A most emphatic protest in now being made against the old and worldwide form of falsehood that assumes the inferiority of woman; and the very fact of such a protest being made, proves forcibly and conclusively, that neither in spirit nor in capacity is she a mere servile appendage to man. Woman stands forth now before the world, and claims as her birth-right the freedom to which every human being has an inalienable title. She claims the right to belong to herself, as a self-contained individual existence—the right that every soul, stamped

with the divine image, has of striving to perfect itself by the free exercise of its own faculties: the right to refuse submission to the sovereign rule of a fellow-creature, weak and erring as herself: the right to perfect liberty in fulfilling her duties in the world in accordance with nature's teachings and her own convictions: in short, her right to live up to the full measure of her capacities, to reach up to the highest and most useful standard she can attain. In answer, some may say that we have—under existing circumstances—all these rights sufficiently acknowledged and respected. Those who would say so take a very narrow and imperfect view of life indeed, and proclaim their ignorance in regard to the workings of human nature. It is undoubtedly true that some women can and do live high and useful lives under existing circumstances. But if all this high and holy living was united to the untrammelled practical living that should be made possible to every aspiring human soul, what an added wealth of work would come to bless the world! What an amount of gladness would accrue to many hitherto circumscribed workers, who are mourning over sorrow that they are helpless to relieve; sorrows, some of which they believe to be in some measure caused or intensified by the repression that degrades woman to the position of a mere cipher, or to that of a restrained and enfeebled worker. It is worse than vain to expect women to work with strong hearts and unflagging energy in the alleviation of distress, in the reclamation of the outcast, and the protection of the weak, if they are not permitted to give effective expression to their opinions when laws are framed that regulate these matters—laws that often nullify or weaken their best-directed efforts. Reason alone—apart from all the lessons that experience can teach—shews us that it is not a matter of doubt, but one of certainty, that none of the great social problems of life now awaiting solution can ever be satisfactorily settled until women take their full share in the regulation and administration of human affairs. And just in proportion as the feminine differs from the masculine, is it necessary for legislation to be the result of the combined wisdom of both sexes. Nor should woman's thoughts and influence be confined to social matters, for as her interests are co-extensive with human interests, wherever they extend her voice should be heard. The widest political questions affect her well-being as much as that of man, and even in their adjustment she must have something wise and useful to say that is especially hers. In deliberations that involve the issues of life and death, direct female influence should carry its full weight. The burdens and horrors of war fall quite as heavily upon women as upon men—perhaps more so, for there are sufferings worse than death or physical pain, as thousands of desolate women can testify. It is desirable, therefore, that we should have the franchise—not only that we may, through its exercise, be enabled to bring our due influence to bear directly upon social politics, but also that we may be in a position to give constitutional expression to our opinions, power to our influence, when men are called upon to debate matters that refer to peace and war. We are entering upon a momentous and stirring era in the world's history—much that has

hitherto been venerated and set apart for respectful homage is about to be dethroned. The knell of departing Conservatism is being rung —(loud applause)—and while it sounds out loud and clear, thrones shake, and people clamour for what will prove a delusion and a mockery, unless it is founded upon the basis of immutable justice and truth. When the spirit of change is thus brooding everywhere over the land—when destructive forces are marshalling, and the overturn of many things is imminent—are women—one half of the human race—to take no recognised part in determining questions that will involve the entire reorganisation of society? Yes! And when change is threatening to lay its busy hand upon our own time-honoured Constitution, are the daughters of free Britain to have no voice in deciding alterations that will affect the welfare of their beloved landno power to give constitutional and effective expression to the loyal devotion that burns within them? Women are patriots as well as men; we, equally with our brothers, are descendants of liberty-loving sires. Yes, Scotchmen, if you love liberty and justice, we, your sisters, love them too. The same blood that flows in your veins flows in ours—the blood of those who fought and bled in the defence of right. Think you that we are content to forego our share in the freedom that our ancestors so nobly gained? No, we are not. Like you, we have inherited their love of liberty, their spirit of patriotism. This love of liberty, this spirit of patriotism that we possess, has at last cast aside the apathy that has hidden it so long, and, quickening into life and vigour, is inspiring us to arise and seek a position more worthy of the daughters of those who won the liberties you so much prize. If reforms are to be based upon the great fundamental principles of truth and justice—upon which alone stable and righteous government can be founded—woman must no longer be considered a political nonentity —she must no longer be treated as a chattel, or classed politically with minors, paupers, criminals, or lunatics; but she must take her true, her normal position by man's side—the dignified position of one who is conjoint owner of human capacity and human responsibility. The whole world, heavy laden with sin and sorrow, is crying loudly for ministration. So long as its intense hunger for sympathy is unsatisfied, its mighty cry for help unanswered, there will be work enough to task to the utmost the ability and the energy of every earnest man and woman in it. No estimate can ever be formed of how much the world has been impoverished by the folly that has ignored and repressed the highest powers of half the human race. Sometimes the foolish remark is made that the success of this movement for advancing the position of women will result in the turning of the world upside down. I once heard an excellent reply made to this by a gentleman, who said that, in his opinion, the world had been upside down all this time; and that he looked to the restoration of woman to her proper place of conjoint authority over it as the means by which it will be set right side up again. I believe there is a precious germ of truth enfolded in this reply. Since man and woman share the same humanity—are equally entrusted with the same awful talent of individual responsibility-

are called to live after the same divine example, and are joint-heirs of the same eternal destiny—should they not be guided in their lives by the self-same principles; and does not this involve equal freedom of action for both? This freedom has never yet been fully accorded to woman. Drawn down to the standard fixed by man, she has been restrained and subjected to his rule, until slavery has done its work by degrading her more or less too generally into a state of apathetical indifference, or selfish and enervating frivolity. Here and there in the past is seen the vision of some noble woman rising above the circumstances that surrounded her-bright exceptions, demonstrating what many might have been, if restraining pressure had been withdrawn. Prophetic, too, of coming days -when woman, stirred by high resolve, would, with the aid of good and earnest men, shake off the bondage that has fettered and degraded her sex so long, and advance with solemn step and thoughtful brow to resume her proper place by man's side. Those days have come. Even now is woman rising from the apathy and ignorance of past ages, and as she makes her first step forward, she meets an obstacle that bars her progress. This barrier is formed by the political disabilities that shut her up to the endurance of unjust laws, that brand her unlawfully with the insulting stamp of inferiority, and that weaken and restrain her efforts in every direction. We come to you, our brothers, and we ask you to remove this obstacle from our path. And we believe you will, for we have faith in your manhood, in your love of justice. Perhaps there is not one man present who would deliberately allow low and selfish considerations to lead him to withhold either political or social justice from women, but probably there are many amongst you who have hitherto held back from helping us to gain our enfranchisement, because you have permitted the fanciful veil of poetic imagery to hide from your view the realities of life. I beseech of you, brothers, to cast this veil aside, and look at the sad truths it conceals. Look seriously at the painful fact that tens of thousands of unprotected women are struggling to escape from the cold grasp of cruel poverty. Crushed beneath a sad weight of deprivation, they almost hopelessly seek or wait for the work that comes not. These struggling, suffering women are the sisters of our countrymen, and some of you now before me may yet have daughters amongst them. I solemnly charge you to ponder this sad—this unnatural state of things; and when you trace, as you easily may-how much of this misery results from the political and social injustice to which women are subjected, I feel confident that you will come with generous haste to aid us in the advancement of the righteous reform we seek. Emancipation from prejudice and superstition will be followed, too, by the recognition of the truth, that the womanliness that is worthy of admiration will not, as some absurdly dread, disappear or be injured by the concession of political justice; for as an Act of Parliament did not confer the distinctive attributes of womanhood, neither can one destroy them. Nature, which gave woman her peculiar gifts, will maintain them-nay more, she will assert her power by developing them more and more in pro-

portion as full and perfect liberty is attained, for undue restraint and subjection is as injurious to the development of true womanhood as to that of manhood. We are told that "whatever day makes man a slave takes half his worth away," and so is it also with woman. In like manner as enfranchisement benefits man, so will it benefit her also. Freedom, not subjection, is the root of virtue in the one sex as well as in the other. Weak dependence upon the will of others is not womanliness, any more than the self-asserting power of mere brute force is manliness. It is true, too, that the parasite, however much it may please the eye by its graceful twinings, is no sign of good to the noble tree; it often causes the decay that it so certainly hastens. In view of the true solemnity of human life, and the undoubted duty that lies upon woman to take her full share of work and responsibility in regard to all that concerns it, what are the paltry, petty objections worth that are brought forward to interpose between her and the due discharge of this duty? They are mere motes in the sunbeam, mere flecks of foam upon the ocean wave. There they dance, there they shimmer; but the all-pervading flood of light shines brightly over all, undimmed in lustre and in power; the sounding main sweeps grandly on, its mighty depths unconscious of the froth that crests its waves: so the bright enlightening outflow of truth, the overpowering might that accompanies just principle, will continue to endure, and despite all paltry obstructions, will carry the righteous reform sought for on to a triumphant issue. If any tell you that the cry for woman's restoration to her normal position in the world comes only from a "restless and discontented few" who would draw the many into degradation, believe them not—the cry comes from the very heart and soul of true and earnest womanhood. It is uttered by those who would struggle upwards to regain the high position from which they have been dethroned, and who-in their upward struggle-would bear, high above all vulgar strife, the spotless fame of pure and gentle womanhood. It is not degraded and masculinised woman that we would enthrone, but the woman that nature formed to be noble, tender, pure, and true; and we would make it possible, too, for all women to escape from degradation, and join in the endeavour to rise to her original place in God's creation. From the deepest, most solemn conviction of our hearts, then, has our earnestness in this arduous work been evolved; and those have never fathomed the depths of an earnest woman's nature, they know nothing of the inflexibility of her determination, nor the energy with which she can prosecute what she believes to be a duty, if they think we will relax our efforts until success has crowned them. Then, and then only, may we hope to see the lofty ideal of the poet realisedwoman rising to the full height of her normal grandeur,-

> "Till at last she set herself to man Like perfect music unto noble words; And so these twain upon the skirts of time Sit side by side, full summ'd in all their powers, Dispensing harvest, sowing the To-be, Self-reverent each, and reverencing each;

Distinct in individualities,
But like each other ev'n as those who love.
Then comes the statlier Eden back to man,
Then reign the world's great bridals, chaste and calm,
Then springs the crowning race of humankind."

May these things be. (Loud cheers.) The resolution was also adopted.

Professor Calderwood submitted the third resolution to the meeting -" That this meeting desires to thank Mr Jacob Bright for his advocacy of the electoral rights of women, and for the success which has attended his efforts to enlighten the public mind on the subject by means of the discussion raised by him in Parliament on the bill for removing the electoral disabilities of women, and respectfully requests him to introduce his bill early in the ensuing session." He was sure they were are all deeply convinced of the important service done to the country by any member who carried a measure of practical reform through the House of Commons. Those who remembered the ability with which Mr Bright advocated this cause when he appeared in Edinburgh, and had observed the effective support he had given to the claim of the ladies, when introducing his measure to Parliament, would be satisfied that he was entitled to hearty thanks and strong encouragement in continuing his efforts. On the ground of justice, he did not think much needed to be said with reference to the case before them. They had been asked-Who is the head of the house? To this, however, they had a very ready answer—the person who pays the rent of the house—(hear, hear)—and the taxes, and supports all who live in the house. And if it so chanced, because of affliction, that the person who was thus the head of the house was a woman, he felt ashamed of the man who would deny her the rights as head of the house. (Hear, hear, and applause.) And if it chanced that the woman was an eldest sister, and supported the house, and not an eldest brother, so much the more would he honour that sister, and stand by her claim to be honoured in the midst of our country, where he hoped they would always value moral worth and true honest purpose in fulfilling all the obligations which Providence might lay upon them. (Applause.) If they passed from the claims of justice to the interests of their nation, he would like to know if any one, looking upon the influence women exercised in society, would say that members of Parliament would be in no respect the better of having some portion of their constituency peculiarly interested in those matters which especially concerned women. He could not understand how there should be opposition to such a measure as this, except it was upon the very natural, proper, and honourable feeling which would desire to shelter women from suffering and rudeness, from shamelessness and from scorn. They all honoured the feeling which would cast a sheltering hand over woman, and try to save her from exposure to any of those perils which men might be prepared to encounter. Acknowledging all this, if there stood before them a plain injustice through a person who held property and discharged all the duties connected therewith, not receiving the rights of

property, then he would say, let justice be done. Had the question never been raised by those who thus ought to have a vote, they might possibly have been content to let it go by, but they were now entering a time when legislation must deal more especially with social questions, and touch women's interests even more than it had done in the past, and therefore they had come to a time when it was a right thing that a woman should stand forward and claim on ordinary grounds of justice that she should exercise such influence in the nation as her property and place distinctly entitled her to according to other principles of the Constitution. Then it was said that if women received that right which they claimed, they would use the right to the franchise, proceeding on knowledge gathered at second hand. He should like to know where the man was that used his right to the franchise, and proceeded from knowledge that was not gathered from second hand. He wondered who attended meetings gathered together for considering the interests of the community, who had knowledge at first hand on questions connected, for instance, with the army and navy, and those matters with which the Legislature had to deal, and professed itself competent to judge. He thought there were not many who would make such a claim. He should ask how many members of Parliament proceeded in legislation from knowledge gathered at second hand. When they had to do with the rights of women, and all those things which touched personal and domestic well-being, did they pretend to profess that they proceeded upon knowledge gained at first hand? He thought it was at least a feasible thing that, before they legislated for women, they should ask women to tell what they wished to be done in their own interests. (Applause.) They would give them a fair opportunity of expressing their own wishes, and, at least so far as some of them were constitutionally on other grounds entitled to vote, let them vote, indicating the direction in which they wish legislation should proceed. If they asked what women were so much interested in, he asked, were there no legal questions most seriously involving the interests of women, whose husbands were to them anything but the protectors they ought to be, and who knew what it was to allow their wives to toil and then take the gain? Was it not true that the laws affecting women might affect women holding property which was their own by all law and justice, just as a man who made it claimed it simply upon the grounds of earning it; and if it were true, consequent upon our present relations, that year after year orphan children were sadly neglected, and were cast upon the care of the State, was it asking too much in the interests of sound and good government that women should also have something to say in reference to the education of those orphans, those dependents upon the State, whose training now determined the position that would afterwards be held by them as members of the nation. (Applause.) He thought they had only to consider what were the reasons which women had to speak out, only to bear in mind what was the nature of their claims, to be convinced that there should be some opportunity for giving voice to those wrongs which were now burning deep into the hearts of some, and finding no

utterance. He asked nothing in the way of discussing questions in regard to equality, but one question, and a great question, was this—Had women some knowledge in reference to their own wants that men had not? Was it true that the woman's sphere was home? And if it were true, could she not speak for home and all domestic claims as men could not? If so, she should be granted that right which she claimed by getting a free, formal, legitimate opportunity of expressing her desires, which would not only be in accordance with justice, but ultimately be a gain to the whole. (Applause.)

Mr W. A. Brown, advocate, seconded the resolution, and in doing so he said that at one time he held very different views, and he appeared there that night in the humble attitude of penitence and conversion. (Laughter.) But while most cordially supporting the movement, he desired to explain the grounds on which his views rested. He did not recognise the political equality of the sexes as its foundation, and that for the best of all reasons, that he did not believe in that equality, or any other equality, in relation to the sexes. He said this in no disparaging sense; in some respects women were superior to men; all that he contended for was that equality could not be predicated in the constitution of the sexes. Nor did he think that anything of the nature of a State necessity had been made out requiring this claim to be conceded. On the occasion of the extension of the suffrage in 1868 there was a necessity which the State could not fail to recognise without serious injury to itself—he meant when a large section of the community for the first time received political power. He did not think that the cause they were met to promote stood in anything like that position; but that was not a matter to be regretted, for on that account it had a chance of receiving more close and dispassionate attention. He felt it to be open to him to say he thought it was holding the language of exaggeration to represent the continued withholding of this claim as a peril to the State. But on the other hand he had no doubt the cause was immovably fixed on principles of justice, and what was more, upon a clear view of what would eventually be for the public good; and, therefore, although he should not be disappointed if the cause progressed with but slow stages, he looked forward without apprehension to its ultimate and complete triumph. His reasons for supporting the movement were -(1.) That he could not withhold this claim without operating an injustice. Until the basis of parliamentary representation was changed in this country, he could not understand upon what principle a distinction could be maintained with the view of imposing disabilities between the property of women and the property of men. (2.) It was unjust and unwise not to concede it in view of the future history of the country, which would probably be called upon to a much greater extent than in the past to deal with questions, and with ever new and shifting aspects of the questions of women's rights. It was manifestly absurd that the ultimate solution of those questions in which women would certainly be gravely interested,

should depend on the voice and votes of men alone. (3.) A third reason was, that the influence and interference of women in political matters were proverbial, but while admitting that this influence was right, it should be provided that women should have political knowledge, and that could not be secured without political responsibility. Mr John Stuart Mill had pressed this argument with unanswerable force. (4.) He supported it because he believed that the co-operation of women with men on the political platform was an agency that was required to complete the moral education of the world. The world was growing older, and he doubted whether it was getting better, and they might well consider whether a great responsibility did not lie with them for having so long rejected the assistance which women had proved themselves so well able to render in the crusade they had to wage against vice, pauperism, intemperance, and crime. (Applause.) He concluded by proposing that the following addition be made to the motion: -" Resolve to present petitions to both Houses of Parliament, and memorials to the Prime Minister and Home Secretary in terms of the resolutions, and authorise the Chairman to sign the same in the name of the meeting."—Agreed to.

Mr Duncan M'Laren, M.P., in moving a vote of thanks to the Chairman, said this should not be merely a formal vote of thanks, such as was passed to every Chairman, but one coming heartily from the meeting—(loud cheers)—for Sir Robert Anstruther had come at much inconvenience to himself in consequence of a recent accident, and had he not been devoted to this as he was to every other liberal question—(cheers)—he would have had ample grounds for declining to take part in this meeting.

The motion was carried by acclamation, and duly acknowledged by Sir Robert Anstruther.

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The National Society for Women's Suffrage.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

OFFICE: 9, BERNERS STREET, LONDON, W.

FIRST REPORT

OF THE

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,

PRESENTED AT THE

GENERAL MEETING OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE,

HELD AT THE WESTMINSTER PALACE HOTEL, ON WEDNESDAY, THE 17th JULY, 1872.

LONDON:

DUNLOP AND CO., PRINTERS, KING'S HEAD COURT, SHOE LANE.

1872.

THE

Aational Society for Momen's Suffrage,

Central Committee,

9, BERNERS STREET, LONDON, W.

TREASURER—HENRY HOARE, Esq., 37, Fleet Street, E.C. BANKERS—LONDON AND WESTMINSTER BANK, 217, Strand. SECRETARY—MISS EMMA A. SMITH.

REPORT of the Executive Committee presented at the General Meeting of the Central Committee, held at the Westminster Palace Hotel, on Wednesday, July 17th, 1872.

The Central Committee of The National Society for Women's Suffrage was formed in November, 1871. For a long time previous there had been a growing feeling amongst the supporters of Women's Suffrage in London, and the more prominent Committees in the country, that the constantly increasing width and strength of the movement called for a more centralized mode of action than its initial stages rendered necessary, or perhaps possible. Prompted by this feeling a number of friends in London, at the request of Professor Sheldon Amos, met and formed themselves into a Committee, on the 6th of November, 1871. At their request Mrs. Frederick Pennington, Professor Amos, and Mr. Charles H. Hopwood undertook to act as Honorary Secretaries. On the Committee being formed it lost no time in putting itself into communication with the leading Provincial Committees, which at once promised co-operation to the fullest extent.

A circular was issued inviting the co-operation of all Committees in the United Kingdom, in which it was stated that the Central Committee would be formed on the broadest possible basis, and that all Members of all Executive Committees, as well as such single delegates as the Committees in connexion with the Central Committee might appoint, should be Members of the Executive of the Central Committee.

The sole aim of the new Committee was declared to be to remove the Political Disabilities of Women.

1st. By constituting itself a central medium of communication between the various Provincial and Local Committees, and the Members having charge of the Women's Disabilities Bill, in order to afford them the most energetic and opportune support, both in and out of Parliament.

2ndly. By aiding in the formation of new Provincial and Local Committees.

3rdly. By acting as a centre for the collection and diffusion of information with regard to the progress of the movement in all parts of the country.

A large amount of correspondence was undertaken, and great exertions made by individual Members of the Committee to make known its objects and the spirit by which it was actuated, but the success which resulted fully compensated them for their labours. Many Members of Parliament added their names to the Committee, and numerous subscriptions were obtained. The existing Committees with only two or three exceptions, promptly responded with expressions of confidence in the Central, and approval of its proposed action.

On the majority of the Provincial Committees having signified their wish to associate themselves with the Central Committee, a General Meeting was held at the Langham Hotel, London, on Wednesday, January 17th, 1872, at which Mr. Jacob Bright, M.P., presided. After a resolution had been passed approving of the previous proceedings, an Executive Committee was appointed, and endowed "with all the necessary powers for promoting the movement, subject to the control of the Central Committee."

The Executive Committee applied itself earnestly to its labours, and spared no efforts by Correspondence, by Printing and Distributing Publications, by Petitions, by Public Meetings and Lectures, by Conferences, by formation of new Committees, by influencing Members of Parliament and the Public Press, to fulfil the promises made at the commencement.

The Committee has reason to believe that, by its formation, a real and lasting impulse has been given to the cause, and that the opponents of Women's Suffrage have been forcibly impressed by the completeness of the organization. It is indisputable that, during the past year, a knowledge of the movement, and an enthusiastic interest in it, have radiated to widely distant parts of the country never reached before. Of this the number of Committees now in connexion with the Central, the new ones formed, the number of petitions signed and the contributions received, are of themselves sufficient proofs. Looking to the future, the Committee may usefully remind itself that, as yet, only a superficial stratum of Society has been stirred. While no opportunity must be omitted of widening the movement, an imme-

diate exertion of energy is needed in deepening and strengthening it, especially by extending it to the working classes of the country.

It is unnecessary to allude further to the proceedings in the House of Commons, as the Members of the Society are already fully acquainted with what passed there; but it is not possible to refrain from expressing admiration and gratitude for the eloquent advocacy of Mr. Jacob Bright, M.P., Mr. Eastwick, M.P., and other friends in the Debate.

To summarize its proceedings, the Executive has to report that eight Public Meetings have been held by its direction or under its auspices. Of these it is right to notice specially one held on the 29th of April at St. George's Hall, Langham Place, and another at the Hanover Square Rooms, on the 10th of May, both of which were attended by overflowing audiences.

At the suggestion of the Committee several ladies hospitably opened their houses on various occasions for the reception and entertainment of friends of Women's Suffrage.

A Soirée, numerously attended, was held on the 30th of April, and a Conference, presided over by Mr. Eastwick, M.P., on the 2nd of May, both of which took place at the Westminster Palace Hotel.

Sixty-six Local Committees have connected themselves with the Central, and forty-five Members of Parliament have also joined the Committee.

One hundred and forty-six Petitions, containing 135,738 signatures, have been collected by, or sent to Parliament through the agency of, the Central Committee. Subsidies to a considerable amount have been granted to many Local Committees, and where none existed, the services of paid agents have been secured.

It remains to be mentioned that, deeming it a convenient time for retiring from their office, the Hon. Secs. pro tem. placed their resignation in the hands of the Executive Committee, at its meeting on the 12th June, but, at the request of the Committee, they consented to continue their services until the present meeting. With the expression of unabated attachment to the cause of Women's Suffrage, and the hope that their exertions have merited approval, they wish it to be understood that they have no intention of offering themselves for re-election.

In its work the Committee has been latterly assisted by Miss Emma A. Smith, who was retained as Secretary under the Hon. Secs., and whose zeal, industry, and intelligence, vouched for by excellent testimonials, have entitled her to the most cordial recognition of her services.

The accounts of the Executive Committee have been duly audited by Mr. Hamilton Hill.

NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMENUFFRAGE: CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

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FIFTH ANNILL DEDODE

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REPORT

OF THE

Bristol & West of England Society

FOR

WOMEN'S SUFFRACE,

1872.

OBJECT.—To recover for Women Householders, or Owners of Property, the ancient right of voting for Members of Parliament.

BRISTOL:
H. HILL, PRINTER, 2 BALDWIN STREET.

1873.

FIFTH ANNITAT DEDODE

Bristol & Mest of England Society

FOR

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

REPORT FOR 1872.

THE work of your Committee during the past year has been chiefly devoted to holding public meetings in towns which have hitherto shown but little interest in the question of Women's Suffrage, and the increased support gained through these efforts has been very encouraging.

Public meetings were held in April, at Cheltenham, Worcester, Hereford, Leominster, Tewkesbury, Glastonbury, Taunton and Market Lavington. They were addressed by Miss Rhoda Garrett and Miss Lilias Ashworth, and in all resolutions were adopted, affirming the principle of the Women's Disabilities Bill, and petitions were forwarded by the Chairman to the borough or county members. At Taunton the meeting was exceptionally important, it was further addressed by Miss Sturge of Birmingham, Mrs W. S. Clark of Street, and the Rev U. R. Thomas, and was presided over by the Rev Prebendary Clarke.

ANNITAT DEDODE

During the month of November, a series of meetings was held in the principal boroughs of South Wales, presided over by influential local gentlemen, and addressed by Miss Caroline Biggs of London and Miss Lilias Ashworth; the meetings were of a crowded and enthusiastic character, and through their influence committees were established in several towns.

Your Committee here beg to express their cordial than to those ladies who have, at different times, come from some distance to address the public meetings of the Society.

A largely attended meeting was held in February of last several small meetings were held of women burgesses in the different wards-in which an attempt was made to impress on the minds of women householders, not only the value of a parliamentary vote, but the obligation of using the power it confers, honestly and wisely. The interest evinced was very earnest.

At all these meetings, petitions to Parliament were adopted Bristol in voting on this measure. and forwarded to both Houses by the President.

During the Parliamentary session of 1872, 842 petitions signed by 355,800 persons, were presented to the House Commons in support of the Women's Disabilities Bill. 0 these, 45 petitions were sent by this Society, containing 16,536 signatures.

The "Women's Suffrage Journal" continues to be sent by your Committee to every newspaper in the counties of Gloucester, Somerset and Wilts, as well as to upwards of 100

correspondents in various towns in the western counties.

While public interest is rapidly increasing on this question, continues to gain greater support each year in the House f Commons. In 1870, when the Bill was first introduced, 19 Members of Parliament voted for it and 245 against it, while in 1872 the votes recorded in its support were 163, gainst 242. Thus while the opposition has not increased, the upporters of the measure are more numerous than when the Bill was first introduced. Amongst the supporters may be year, in the Broadmead Rooms of this city (Lady Amberley counted many of the leading statesmen in the House. The President of the Society, in the chair;) and during the spring total number of members now in the House of Commons who have voted or paired in favor of Women's Suffrage

> We have pleasure in acknowledging the consistent support ven by Mr Samuel Morley to the Women's Disabilities ill, and we regret that Mr Kirkman Hodgson should not found in the same lobby with the senior member for

The work of the Society has each year been increasing throughout the adjacent counties, and your Committee earnestly desire that should the Bill be again defeated this year they will be enabled to further strengthen and extend their organization. With the certainty of a general election aking place before very long, your Committee believe that the influence which can be brought to bear on con-

FIFTH ANNIIAT DEDODE

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stituencies is, at the present moment, of double importance; they will therefore endeavour to prosecute even more earnestly the work in which they are engaged.

To do this they will require increased support from their friends, and they trust that those who sympathise with their efforts will do all in their power to assist the work by personal co-operation, or by largely increased subscriptions.

While the Committee feel confidence in the progress of the cause for which they are working, they would remind you that the more vigorously this agitation is conducted, the shorter the time will be before success is attained.

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March 5th, 1873

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Miss Ramsay - - 0 10 0 Miss Thomas - - 0 5 0

SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS

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FIFTH ANNIAT DEDADOR

President:

THE VISCOUNTESS AMBERLEY

Vice-Presidents:

THE COUNTESS OF MAR, Hilston Park, Mon. LORD EDMOND FITZ-MAURICE, M.P. Calne Miss CARPENTER, Bristol LADY BOWRING, Exeter Rev Prebendary PERCIVAL, M.A. Clifton

Rev Canon Kingsley, Eversley Rect Rev John W. CALDICOTT, M.A. Bri Dr Lush, M.P. Fisherton House, Salish Rev D. THOMAS, B.A. Bristol MARK WHITWILL, Esq, Bristol

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Miss L. Leonard, Tyndall's Park Miss F. Leonard, Clifton Miss E. Leonard, Clifton F. W. H. Myers, Esq, M.A. Chelten Miss Molle, Clifton Mrs R. Norris, Clifton Park House Mrs John F. Norris, Clifton Mrs Oakley, Snakescroft, Monmouth E. M. Oakeley, Esq, B.A. Clifton Colle Mrs Price, Clifton Miss Price, Clifton Miss Marian Price, Clifton Miss Mary Priestman, Durdham Park The Rev Campbell Quin Mrs Ramsay, Croydon Miss Ramsay, Croydon Miss Rawlings, Gloucester Mrs Robberds, Cheltenham R. D. Robjent, Esq, Bristol Mrs Sebly, Taunton Mrs Alfred Shipley, Totterdown Mrs W. Smith, Sundon House, Clif Mrs Arthur Tanner, Sidcot Mrs Charles Thomas, Stoke Bisho Miss Thomas, Belgrave Road, Clif J. Trehane, Jun, Esq, Exeter Wilberforce Tribe, Esq, Bristol Miss Julia Venning, Redland Hall W. Weaver, Esq, Worcester Matthew Weir, Esq, Portland Square Mrs E. Williams, Brislington Rev Thomas Wilkinson, Tewkesbu

Committee:

Mrs Beddoe Mrs Black Mrs Colman T. W. Dunn, Esq, M.A. Alan Greenwell, Esq, M.A. J. G. Grenfell, Esq, B.A.

Mrs Grenfell Rev E. Harris, M.A. Miss Malin Professor F. W. Newman J. F. Norris, Esq Miss Mary Price

Theasunen:

Miss Estlin, 16 Belgrave Road, Clifton

Secnetaries:

| Rev Urijah R. Thomas, Briston Miss Lilias S. Ashworth, Bath

Miss Solly Miss Gertrude Thomas Herbert Thomas, Eso Miss Eva Tribe J. W. Willis, Esq

Miss Priestman

RULES.

Annual Subscribers of any amount will be enrolled as Members, and entitled to receive papers or tracts of the Society on application.

Annual Subscribers of 5/ or upwards shall be invited to become members of the Council. Subscriptions due in January.

The Council meets once a year.

The Committee is empowered to add to its number by a unanimous vote. Three Members shall form a quorum.

Any one desiring to join the Society, will kindly sign his or her name.

Name.	-		-	•	,	-	-	,	,	1.5	•	1	,	-	1	-	-	-	1	,	

FIFTH ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

OF THE

MANCHESTER NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

PRESENTED AT THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING,
NOVEMBER 6th, 1872.

MANCHESTER:
ALEXANDER IRELAND & CO., PRINTERS
1872.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, 1871—72.

METH ANNUAL REPORT

THE fifth year of your Society's existence has witnessed a great development of public interest and support with reference to the question of women's suffrage, and in the operations of your Executive Committee. The Parliamentary history of the year also affords matter for encouragement.

On the 7th of February the Women's Disabilities Removal Bill was ordered to be brought in by Mr. Jacob Bright, Mr. Eastwick, and Dr. Lyon Playfair. On the first of May, Mr. Jacob Bright, in a most able and convincing speech, moved the second reading of the measure. The motion was seconded by Mr. Eastwick, and supported by Mr. Maguire, Mr. Heron, the Attorney-General, and Sir Charles Adderley. The opposition was conducted by Mr. Bouverie, Mr. Scourfield, Mr. Knatchbull Hugessen, Mr. Baillie Cochrane, Mr. Osborne Morgan, Mr. Beresford Hope, the Attorney-General for Ireland, Mr. J. Hardy, Mr. W. Fowler, and Lord Henry Scott. The lastnamed nobleman did not, however, vote against the Bill. When the division was taken there appeared for the Bill, 143. against, 222—majority 79.

When we add the tellers and pairs to the votes in the two preceding years, we shall find that, although the opposition is numerically stronger than last year, the supporters of the Bill are also more numerous; and that, taking the three years since Mr. Bright first introduced the measure for the consideration

of the present Parliament, the number of his supporters has steadily increased. The figures are as follows:—

1870

AGAINST.

		1010.	
For	THE B	ILL.	
, ,	Con	Total.	Li

T.	.,	Con.	г	Total.	Liberal.	Con.	Total.	
	00	21		94	137	 99	440	
	0			9	4			
Pairs	17	 6		23	11	 - 04	945	
	79	40		119	150	94	240	

1871.

Votes Tellers	96	 55	151		118	 102 1	 220
Tellers Pairs	3	 3	6		4	 2	 6
Tans	100		159		123	105	228
			187	2			

		101.			
Votes 105	38	143	114	108	222
7	1	2			
Tellers 7	11	18	8	10	18
	 		100	119	242
113	50	163	125	110	

We see that while the number of members who can be mustered in opposition to the measure remains much at the same point as in 1870, the number of its supporters is considerably larger, and among these appear many of the leading statesmen in the House, while none of corresponding weight figure in the ranks of the opposition.

The minority of 143 contains 105 Liberals and 38 Conservatives. Last year there voted for the Bill 96 Liberals and 55 Conservatives. The loss is therefore in Conservative votes, while we have gained nine Liberal votes. The 222 who followed Mr. Bouverie into the lobby consisted of 114 Liberals and 108 Conservatives. Last year he led 115 Liberals and 102 Conservatives. He has therefore lost one Liberal vote and gained six Conservatives.

Twenty-one of the members who voted this year were new supporters—of these twelve were Liberals and nine Conservatives. Five of these were members who have been returned to Parliament, during the present year, for Kerry, Tamworth, Wick, Wexford, and Wallingford. We hope that these votes

are a sign of what we may look for from elections in the future. Mr. J. R. Yorke, who voted with Mr. Mill in 1867, but who lost his seat at the general election in 1868, was returned for East Gloucestershire just before the division, and paired for the Bill. Three members who voted against the Bill in 1871 voted for it on the last occasion. They are Sir Charles Adderley, Mr. Kennaway, and Mr. John Hinde Palmer. Sir Stafford Northcote, who was absent last year, voted this year in favour of the measure. Mr. Disraeli paired for the Bill.

Your Committee record with regret the loss by death, since the division last May, of four of their Parliamentary supporters, namely, Mr. John Platt, member for Oldham; Colonel Sykes, Aberdeen; Sir Thomas Hesketh, Preston; and Mr. J. F. Maguire, Cork city. Mr. Maguire supported Mr. Mill in 1867, and has recorded his vote on every occasion when Mr. Jacob Bright's Bill has been before the House of Commons. In the debate in May last he made an able and eloquent speech in favour of the second reading of the Bill. In Preston both the candidates promised to support the Bill if returned; your Committee had therefore the satisfaction of knowing that whatever might be the event of the election, the voice of Preston in favour of women's suffrage would not be weakened in the House of Commons.

Four constituencies, Birmingham, Glasgow, Leeds, and Manchester, have each given their full vote of three for the Bill. Two constituencies, Buckinghamshire and Liverpool, have given each two out of their three votes for the Bill.

Twenty-three constituencies have given their full vote of two each for the Bill, namely—

and for the Di	n, namery—	
Bolton	Finsbury	Salford
Brighton	South Hants	Sheffield
Carmarthen co.	Kerry	Shrewsbury
Chelsea	Leicester	Wenlock
Derby	Macclesfield	Wexford co.
Devon East	Oldham	Westminster
East Essex	Penryn & Falmouth	Worcester
Edinburgh	Preston	Troreoster.

Seventy constituencies have given their full vote of one each for the measure:—

Aberdeen East	Downpatrick	Leith
Aberdeen West	Dumbarton	Linlithgow
	Dundalk	Malmesbury
Aberdeen city	Drogheda	Newport, Isle of
Andover	Edinburghshire	Wight
Ashton-u-Line		Paisley
Ayrshire South	Edinburgh and St.	
Banbury	Andrew's Univer-	Portarlington
Bandon	sities	Rochdale
Berwickshire	Elgin and Nairn	
Brecknockshire	Ennis	South Shields
Bridport	Fife	Stalybridge
Burnley	Frome	Stirling
Caithness	Gateshead	Stockton
Calne	Gravesend	Swansea
	Greenock	Tewkesbury
Cardigan co.	Haddington dist.	Tralee
Cardigan dist.	Haverfordwest	Tynemouth
Carlow	Hawick	Wakefield
Cheltenham	Helston	Wallingford
Chichester		Walsall
Chippenham	Hertford	Warrington
Clonmel	Horsham	Wexford
Cockermouth	Invernesshire	Wick
Denbigh dist.	Kidderminster	VYICK
Devizes	Kilkenny city	
D. hanny	Knaresborough	
Ti I- form col	estituencies have each	n given one vote to t

Forty-four constituencies have each given one vote to Bill, their other vote being neutral on the last division:—

iii, their ourse	D 11:- 00	Hereford
Bedford	Dublin co.	
Belfast	Durham North	Hertford co.
The state of the s		Huntingdonshire
Bradford	Durham city	
Cork co.	Essex West	Kent Mid
	Grantham	King's co.
Cork city		Limerick city
Cornwall East	Hackney	
	Hants North	Lincoln
Devon North		Marylebone
Dover	Hants South	Marylesone
4010		

Mayo	Somerset West	Sussex East
Meath	Somerset Mid	Tamworth
Merthyr Tydvil	Southampton	Tipperary
Newark	Staffordshire North	
Notts South	Stockport	Westmeath
Reading	Stoke-on-Trent	Wigan
Rutland	Suffolk East	Wiltshire North

Rutland Suffolk East Wiltshire North Forty-three constituencies have given one vote for and one against the Bill, being forty-three votes on each side:—

-	,	-8 -010	u cach side .—
	Bristol	Leicester South	Somerset Mid
	Carlisle	Londonderry co,	Southwark
	Chester	Newcastle-u-Lyne	Sunderland
	Colchester	Newcastle-on-Tyne	Surrey East
	Coventry	Northampton N.	Surrey West
	Devon South	Northampton S.	Tiverton
	Dublin city	Northampton	Tyrone
	Dundee	Northumberland S.	Weymouth
	Durham North	Nottingham	Wilts North
	Exeter	Plymouth	Wolverhampton
	Glamorgan	Queen's County	Worcester East
	Gloucester East	Reading	Worcester West
	Halifax	Roscommon	York
	Ipswich	Salisbury	reger vi dons com

We see that 97 constituencies give full and clear votes for the Bill, and 44 give clear, though not full, votes for it, so that 141 constituencies are clearly ranged on the side of the Bill, against 126 in last year, and 100 in 1870. The total number of members now in the House of Commons, who have voted or paired in favour of women's suffrage, is 217, against 202 at the corresponding period of last year.

Leicester North Scarborough

Counting tellers and pairs in the two divisions of 1871 and 1872 there were—

de out gar el enqu	For th	ne Bill.	Aga	inst.	Absent.		
Harman Service and a	1871.	1872.	1871.	1872.	1871.	1872.	
English members	102	112	166	191	197	160	
Welsh							
Scotch							
Irish	18	22	34	28	53	55	

During the Session of 1872 there were presented to the House of Commons 843 petitions, signed by 355,801 persons, in favour of the Women's Disabilities Bill. Of these 181 were from public meetings or municipal councils under their corporate seals. In 1871 there were 620 petitions, with 186,890 signatures. Last year only six municipal councils petitioned for the Bill. This year twenty-seven town councils have petitioned in its favour, namely:—Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Hartlepool, Huddersfield, Wakefield, Salford, Bootle-cum-Linacre, Dewsbury, Newark, Falmouth, Middlesborough, Manchester, Northampton, Hanley, Stockport, Scarborough, Tenby, Wrexham, Edinburgh, Stirling, Montrose, Kirkcaldy, Dumbarton, Wick, Burntisland, Selkirk, Wigton, and Stromness.

Many petitions have been presented from local boards of health and boards of guardians, all of which bodies know by practical experience the working of women's suffrage, and have women ratepayers among their constituents. Against this weight of opinion and demand for the measure we have to set three petitions against it, from the town councils of Arbroath, Dundee, and Inverness. But these petitions against conferring privileges on women have been signed exclusively by men, and by representative bodies which have no women constituents, for the Act of 1869, which conferred the municipal franchise on women, does not extend to Scotland.

The petitions from the various wards in Manchester were signed by 51,051 persons; the Salford petitions received 10,696 signatures. The increase in the number of signatures over last year is, in Manchester, 20,000, and in Salford, 6,408. The petitions sent through the efforts of friends of the Manchester committee, in 1872, were 142 in number, signed by 79,030 persons. Last year they were 120 in number, with 45,251 signatures. A complete list of all petitions for women's suffrage, presented to the House of Commons during the session of 1872, is appended to the present Report.

During the month of April a deputation of your Committee, consisting of the Secretary and the Rev. B. Glover, accom-

panied by Miss Stuart, visited the North of England, and meetings were held in the following towns:—Sunderland, Newcastle, North Shields, South Shields, Hartlepool, Whitby, Darlington, and Middlesborough. These meetings were attended in the aggregate by thousands of persons, and petitions in favour of the Bill were adopted with almost complete unanimity. Petitions were afterwards sent from the above towns, signed by upwards of 50,000 persons. In the town of Newcastle alone 25,000 persons signed the petition in less than a fortnight. Your Committee desire here to recognise the value of the services rendered by Miss Stuart, who kindly accompanied the deputation, and contributed greatly to the success of the meetings.

Meetings in connection with your Society have also been held during the year at Padiham, Heywood, Warrington, Manchester, Bury, Oldham, Rochdale, and Stockport. Invitations have been sent to your secretary by various Liberal Associations, and other societies formed for different social and political objects, to address meetings called by their societies for their own purposes, on the question of women's suffrage. These invitations have been responded to with a gratifying result as to the interest excited by the subject, and the assent which was accorded to the principle.

The coherence and force of the organisation have been strengthened by the formation in London of a Central Committee of the National Society for Women's Suffrage, which, without in any way interfering with the freedom or the action of the existing societies, may become an instrument by which the public opinion created in the country can be brought to bear on the House of Commons.

In London, just before the debate on the Bill, a large meeting was convened under the auspices of the Central Committee, at St. George's Hall, under the presidency of Mr. Jacob Bright, M.P. After the division a conference of friends and representatives of the different societies was held in the Westminster Palace Hotel, presided over by Mr. Eastwick, M.P. And, lastly, a meeting was held in Hanover Square

Rooms, Dr. Lyon Playfair, M.P., in the chair, in which replies were made by ladies to the speeches delivered in the House of Commons against the measure. At all these meetings representatives of your society assisted.

The regulations adopted by returning officers under the provisions of the Ballot Act have in most cases precluded the possibility of obtaining returns respecting the number of women who took part in the municipal elections on the first of November last, similar to those which the courtesy of the Town Clerks of the several boroughs enabled your Committee to present last year. But the Manchester papers report a great apparent increase in the number of women voters in several wards in this city where a contested election took place. As the women voted last year in the same proportion as men to the number of each on the register, it would seem that they must have voted this year in a greater proportion to their number on the register than the men voters. The Ballot Act has diminished the facilities for exercising improper influence over the electors, and increased the security and comfort of recording a vote. Under these circumstances it might have been expected that the number of women who exercised their electoral rights would increase, and it is a matter for congratulation that experience seems to have borne out this expectation.

The issue of the Women's Suffrage Journal has been maintained, and its circulation continues to increase. Extracts from and favourable notices of the Journal are frequently given in various newspapers, and thus facts and arguments bearing on the question are brought before large numbers of persons whom your Committee have no means of reaching directly.

The increase of popular support for the question is manifested in another way by the increase in the subscription list. The amount received by your Committee in 1871 was more than double that obtained in 1870, and the subscriptions for 1872 have again increased in nearly the same ratio. The increase in these two successive years has been the result of special effort. In 1871 Mrs. J. P. Thomasson undertook to

collect £500. In May, of the present year, the Committee received from Mr. R. B. Kennett an offer of one hundred guineas, conditional on twenty similar sums being contributed within a fortnight, which period was afterwards extended to a month. Your Committee on receiving this generous offer immediately took steps for making the conditions known among their friends, and have to report the gratifying circumstance that in four weeks time the sum of £1,200 was promised, all of which has since been received. Although the conditions were not strictly fulfilled, the donor was good enough to send the hundred guineas, and your Committee offer their earnest thanks to the gentleman whose liberality started the prize fund, and to those ladies and gentlemen whose prompt and generous response to the appeal has placed the Society in a stronger financial position than it has ever before occupied. But the work increases faster than the funds, and that which is marked out for 1873 cannot be satisfactorily accomplished unless an approximation to double the income of the present year can be obtained. Your Committee, therefore, earnestly press on their friends the desirability of endeavouring to augment the number of members of the Society, and of occasionally giving, besides their annual subscriptions, donations to meet the special work of the year.

In requesting their Parliamentary friends to take steps as early as possible in the coming session for the re-introduction of the Bill to Remove the Electoral Disabilities of Women, your committee feel sustained by the conviction that never before in the history of the movement did the question stand in so strong a position. There is a growing sense among the people of the justice of the claim — time itself works in its favour, for when the demand for a measure has been pressed during a series of years, with constantly increasing force, the question derives an element of strength through its mere persistence, and has a claim for consideration which in this country is seldom given to any subject on its first introduction. The idea of women's suffrage has lost the sense of novelty and incongruity which formed so large an element in the sentimental

objection to its adoption, and the practice of voting in municipal elections has familiarised everyone with the personal attendance of women at the polls. The passing of the Ballot Act has removed another set of objections of a practical character, by taking away any excuse for refusing representative government to women which could be derived from men's neglect of the duty of securing quiet and order at elections. Your committee therefore look forward with confidence and hope to the coming year, satisfied that whether the accomplishment of their object be more or less delayed, that it must inevitably arrive at no very distant date, and that each succeeding year brings them nearer to the only practical solution of the great question to which they are devoting their efforts.



FIFTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

Of the Society, held in the MAYOR'S PARLOUR, TOWN HALL, MANCHESTER, November 6th, 1872.

JACOB BRIGHT, Esq., M.P., in the Chair.

The Secretary read the Report of the Executive Committee.

The Treasurer read the Statement of Accounts.

Resolution I.—Moved by Dr. Pankhurst, seconded by Mrs. Lucas:

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

Resolution II.—Moved by Miss Stuart, seconded by Miss Becker:

That this meeting hereby expresses its earnest thanks to Mr. Jacob Bright, Mr. E. B. Eastwick, Dr. Lyon Playfair, Mr. Heron, The Attorney-General, and the Right Hon. Sir Charles Adderley, for introducing and supporting the Women's Disabilities Bill, also to the Members of the House of Commons who voted or paired in its favour in the division on the second reading of the measure on May 1, 1872; and respectfully requests Mr. Jacob Bright and his coadjutors to take steps for the re-introduction of the Bill at an early period of the forthcoming session.

Resolution III.—Moved by Mr. J. P. Thomasson, seconded by Mrs. King:

That the following persons be the Executive Committee for the ensuing year: —Jacob Bright, Esq., M.P., Mrs. Jacob Bright, Miss Barton, Miss Becker, Mrs. Butler, Thomas Chorlton, Esq., Rev. B. Glover, Mrs. Lucas, Mrs. R. R. Moore, Dr. Pankhurst, Rev. S. A. Steinthal, Mrs. Sutcliffe, Mrs. J. P. Thomasson, Miss Alice Wilson.

Resolution IV.—Moved by Miss Alice Wilson, seconded by the Rev. S. Alfred Steinthal:

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

S. ALFRED STEINTHAL

A C CALLES	WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.	t, 1872.
IN ACCOUNT WITH	THE MANCHESTER NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.	From November 1st, 1871, to October 31st, 1872.

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Audited and found correct, Manchester, November 5, 1872, LOUIS BORCHARDT, M.D.

LYDIA E. BECKER IN ACCOUNT WITH REV. S. A. STEINTHAL,

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From November 1st, 1871, to October 31st, 1872.	ESS SERVICE SE	To Balance due to Secretary	" Salaries and Office Expenses	,, Stationery, &c	", Furniture	", Public Meetings	", Deputations to London	", Advertising	", Publications	", Parliamentary Papers	", Canvassing	", Postages		
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ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS, 1871—1872.

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PETITIONS IN FAVOUR OF WOMEN SUFFRAGE PRESENTED TO PARLIAMENT DURING THE SESSION OF 1872.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

February 29th.

Lord CLINTON presented a petition from Lawrencekirk, Kincardineshire, praying for the removal of electoral disabilities of women.

March 4th.

Lord Airlie presented a petition from certain inhabitants of the burgh of St. Andrew, praying that the right of voting for members of Parliament may be conferred on women.

March 14th.

The Earl of Airlie presented a petition from Forfar, in favour of conferring upon women the right to vote for members of Parliament.

March 22nd.

The Earl of Airlie presented a petition from the Executive Committee of the Haddington Branch of the National Society for Women's Suffrage, praying that the Parliamentary franchise may be conferred on women.

April 11th.

The Earl of Rosebery presented a petition from the inhabitants of Windy Nook, near Gateshead, Durham, in favour of an extension of the political franchise to women.

April 16th.

Lord RAVENSWORTH presented a petition from South Shields, in favour of women's suffrage.

April 18th.

The Earl of Dufferin presented a petition from a public meeting of the inhabitants of Stalybridge, and also one from a public meeting at Cumbernauld, Dumbartonshire, to remove the electoral disabilities of women.

April 19th.

The Earl of Ducie presented a petition from women house-holders and ratepayers of Bath, in favour of female suffrage.

April 24th.

The Earl of Morley presented petitions in favour of female suffrage from certain inhabitants of Manchester.

Lord ROMILLY presented a petition from Canterbury for removal of electoral disabilities of women; and petitions from Bourton-on-the-Hill, Moreton-in-the-Marsh, and persons residing in London and the neighbourhood to the same effect.

April 26th.

Lord Lyttleton presented a petition from Stourbridge in favour of removing the electoral disabilities of women, and from Worcester to the same effect.

April 29th.

Lord ROMILLY presented a petition from some of the inhabitants of Putney and Wandsworth in favour of removal of electoral disabilities of women; from some of the inhabitants of Rugby, Dinas-y-Mowddy, Merionethshire, Northampton, Norwich, and Stow-on-the-Wold, Gloucestershire, to the same effect.

April 30th.

Lord Romilly presented petitions from inhabitants of Canterbury, Portsmouth, Greenwich, Lambeth, Chelsea, Bognor and North and South Bersted, and Stow-on-the-Wold, Gloucestershire, to remove the electoral disabilities of women.

May 2nd.

The Earl of AIRLIE presented a petition from the inhabitants of New Castleton, Roxburghshire, praying that the Parliamentary franchise may be conferred on women.

May 4th.

The Earl of Shaftesbury presented petitions in favour of female suffrage from Chelsea, Lambeth, Newington Causeway, and Brighton.

June 7th.

The Earl of Shaftesbury presented a petition for women's suffrage from North Shields.

June 11th.

The Archbishop of York presented petitions from Middlesborough against the exclusion of women from voting for Members of Parliament.

June 13th.

The Bishop of MANCHESTER presented a petition from 106 inhabitants of Ardwick, Manchester, praying for the removal of the electoral disabilities of women.

[The above is not a complete list of petitions.]

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

The petitions marked ¶ have the addresses of some or all of the petitioners affixed.

The petitions marked \$\mathbb{Z}\$ are signed officially.

WOMEN'S DISABILITIES BILL.—AGAINST. Mar. 13 & Dundee, Provost, Magistrates, and Town Council of ... Mr. Armitstead Seal 1 April 8 SArbroath, Magistrates and Town Council of Mr. Baxter ... Seal 1 May 1 SInverness, Provost, Magistrates, and Town Council of, J. Mackenzie, provost ... Mr. Mackintosh Total number of Petitions 2—Signatures WOMEN'S DISABILITIES BILL.—In FAVOUR. Feb. 6 SNorthampton, Meeting at; M. P. Mansfield, chairman Mr. Gilpin Seal 8 SWarrington, Meeting at; Peter Rylands, chairman ... Mr. Rylands ... 12 SRotherham, Meeting at; J. M. Habersham, chairman... Mr. Beaumont... 12 SOban, Meeting at Mr. Craufurd ... 12 Bristol, Meeting at; Kate Amberley, president ... Mr. Morley ... 12 SGalston, Meeting at; Andrew Black, chairman ... Mr. M'Laren ... " 12 SEdinburgh, Meeting at; R. Anstruther, chairman ... Mr. Miller ... " 12 SBury, Meeting at; R. H. Alcock, chairman Mr. Philips ... " 12 SHawick, Meeting at; Stephen Anderson, chairman ... Mr. Trevelyan... " 12 SNew Cumnock, Meeting at; David Brown, chairman Sir David Wedderburn " 12 SMauchline, Meeting at; William Stevens, chairman ... 12 Scatrine, Meeting at; David Greenhill, chairman ... " 12 SKilbirnie, Meetingat; Alexander Lamberton, chairman ... " 13 SStafford, Meeting at; William Lloyd, chairman ... Mr. Salt " 13 SLeicester, Meeting at; Archibald Forbes Macdonald, chairman Mr. Taylor ...

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	27	14	¶Manchester (St. James's Ward) Mr. Birley ¶Salford (Greengate Ward) Mr. Charley	1,202
	"	14	SPontefract, Meeting at; Edward Mr. Charley	654
	"		Potter, chairman Mr. Childers	
	,,	15	TSaint Andrews, Meeting at; A.	1
	"		Bethune, chairman Sir Robert An-	
			struther	1
	, ,,	15	Manchester (Exchange Ward) Sir Thos. Bazley	352
	"	15	Nanchester (Collegiate Church	
			Ward) Sir Thos. Bazley	812
	27	15	Istirling Mr. Campbell	1,006
	"	15	Stromness (Orkney) Mr. Dundas	228
	27	19	Stromness (Orkney), Meeting at;	
		15	John Stanger, chairman ,, Stromness, Members of the	1
*	"	10	Stromness, Members of the Town Council ,,	
		15	Ardrossan, Meeting at; Alex.	9
	"	10	Cross, chairman Mr. Finnie	7
	"	15	Dalry, Meeting at; William	1
	"		Burt, chairman ,,	1
	,,,	15	¶Dublin, Meeting at Mr. Pim	254
	"	75	Blackmadz	70-
	- 22	16	Manchester (St. John's Ward) Mr. Jacob Bright	1,548
	"	16	Manchester (St. Ann's Ward)	244
	"	16	Stirling, Meeting at; Thomas	
		70	Lowe, chairman Mr. Campbell	1
	"	19	Newcastle-on-Tyne, Meeting at;	
		10	T. Bayfield, chairman Mr. Cowen	1
	"	20	¶Maidenhead Mr. Walter SWakefield, Meeting at; Goodwyn	16
	"	20	Barmby, chairman Mr. S. Beaumont	1
	"	20	¶ Manchester (St. Luke's Ward) Mr. Birley	561
	"	20		3,266
	"	21	Manchester (Cheetham Ward) Sir Thos. Bazley	749
	"	21	¶Salford (St. Matthias Ward) Mr. Cawley	650
	"	21	Masham, Meeting at; T. Peni-	
		0.	stone, chairman Colonel Duncombe	1
	"	21	Northallerton, Meeting at; Jno.	
		01	Manners, chairman ,, ,, ,, ,, Coniston, Inhabitants of Col. Wilson Patten	1
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	"	21	Soldham, Meeting at; Isaiah Lee, chairman Mr. Platt	2
		22	TPaisley, Inhabitants of Mr. Crum-Ewing	
	"	22	Falmouth, Meeting at; Howard	1,010
	"		Fox, chairman Mr. Robt. Fowler	1
	,,	22	R. Macdonell Colonel Sykes	1
	"	22	May M'Combie ,, ,,	1
	,,	22	Margaret Anderson ,, ,,	1
	"	22	Euphemia Mowatt ", ",	1
	"	23	Manchester (St. Luke's Ward) Mr. Birley	563
	"	23	Inverary, Inhabitants of Mr. Crauford	43
	,.	23 8	Hampstead, Meeting at; W. D.	,
		23	Christie, chairman Lord G. Hamilton Portpatrick, Meeting at; A.	1
	"	208	Urquhart, chairman Sir John Hay	1
	"	23	Portnatrick Inhabitants of	134
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26 ¶Manchester (St. George's Ward) Sh Photos 203 26 ¶Keith, Inhabitants of Mr. Robert Duff 203 27 Mr. Cawley 673
" 28 Salford (St. Matthias) Mr. Cawley 673
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,, 28 Dumfries, Meeting at, Thomas Shortridge, chairman Mr. Jardine 1
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" 5 Manchester (Cheetham Ward) " 704
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6 T Dalkeith. " " " "
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chairman Mr. Kinnaird
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8 Clifton. Inhabitants of Wil. Holley
11 Charantur Westing at: 110mas
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11 TGlasgow, Inhabitants of Mr. Granam 9,100
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" 11 ¶Clifton. " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " "
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11 Holywood, ,, III. III III.
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12 SHuddersfield, Mayor, Aldermen,
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" 13 Malton, Meeting at; J. Craven, chairman Mr. C. Fitzwilliam 1
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" 13 Banbury, Meeting at; W. Banton, chairman Mr. Samuelson 1
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Mar. 13 Newton SaintLoe, Inhabitants of Sir William Tite	105
" 14 Burntisland, Meeting at; David	
Low, chairman Mr. Aytoun	1
,, 14 wakeneld, Mayor, Aldermen.	
and Burgesses of, in	
Council assembled Mr. S. Beaumon	t Seal
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,, 18 SDollar, Meeting at; J. Duncan-	
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" 18 Manchester (St. George's Ward) Sir Thos. Bazley	1,084
" 18 Stirling, Provost, Magistrates.	~
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T Gilbert chairman W. Carington	
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" 18 Dewsbury, Mayor, Aldermen,	1
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" 19 SNorth Shields, Meeting at; Mary	
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" 19 & Bristol, Meeting at (Women Bur-	
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" 19 & Liskeard, Meeting at; Richard S.	
Raby, Mayor Mr. Horsman	1
" 19 Finsbury, Inhabitants of Mr. Lusk " 19 SInnerleithen, Meeting at; A.	1,012
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" 19 STewkesbury, Meeting at; T. Wil-	cal I
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" 22 SBuckingham, Meeting at, John Small, chairman Sir H. Verney 1 22 Peterborough, Inhabitants of Mr. Wells 1,272 35 SBurntisland, Provost, Magistrates, and Town Council
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"	4	Peebles, Meeting at; Robert Sir George Mont-	
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27	4	Scrieff, Meeting at; D. R. Wil-	
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"	4	Stockport, Meeting at; John	
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"	o o	Stalybridge, Meeting at; J. F.	
	5	Cheetham, chairman Sir E. Buckley	1
"	J	Elgin, Meeting at; Alexander	
	5	Russell, chairman Mr. Grant Duff	1
"	5	Lerwielz Mr. M.	3,512
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"		M. Brown, chairman Mr. H. Samuelson	1
"	5		1.105
"	5	Dalry, " Sir David Wed-	1,100
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22	8	Manchester (New Cross Ward) ,,	1,035
"	8	Manchester(St. Michael's Ward) ,, W. T. Wood and others Mr. Jacob Bright	1,046
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"	8	Salford " " "	1,131
"	8	Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Meeting	
	0	at; John Glover, chairman Mr. Cowen	1
27	8	Chelsea, Meeting at Mr. Eastwick	1
"	8	SSouth Shields, Meeting at;	
	0	Edwd. Moore, chairman Mr. Stevenson	1
37	8	Beverley, Meeting at; William	
	0	Lambert, chairman Mr. Sykes	1
"	8	Edinburgh, Members of the	1
	9	Executive Committee	4
"	9	Frances Wood Smith Mr. Adams	1
"	9	M. Cadogan ,, ,,	1
"	9	Maria Murray ,, ,, Dollar, Members of Executive	1
"	0	Committee	6
Lini.	9	SBramley, Meeting at; C. Mary	U
"		Monckton, president Mr. Baines	1
"	9		1,063
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Amil	9 Manchester (Medlock-st. Ward) Mr. Birley 1,056
April	a T 1 1 Mosting of 1 John
27	Kirkpatrick Mr. P. Bouverie . 1
	Kirkpatrick Mr. P. Bouverie . 1 General School of the sea, Inhabitants of Sir Charles Dilke 1,025
22	O & Koith Meeting at: W. Tillesule
17	ahairman Wr. Grall Dull.
	9 Cumbernauld, Inhabitants of Mr. A. Ewing
22	o Alamandan Handargan
22	Westminster Inhabitants of Capt. Grosvenor 1,490
"	9 Wilmslow, " Mr. Legh 112 9 Forres, Meeting at; Robt. Peat, Mr. Mackintosh 1
"	9 Forres. Meeting at; Robt. Peat,
27	chairman iii Illia Midokiii oon .
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"	9 SNairn, Meeting at; C. B. Mack-
22	intosh, chairman ,,
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22	kenzie, M.D., chairman
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	o Gillegworth Inhabitants of Mr. Pease
27	O Rochdele Mr. 1110s. Fotter 2,020
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	and lown council of
"	11 SMiddlesborough, Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of Mr. Bolckow Seal 1
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22	11 SPaisley, Meeting at; Thomas Coats, chairman Mr. Crum-Ewing
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"	6	Devonport, ,,	•••	Mr. Formatt	1,198 26
"		Forest Hill, "	•••	Mr. Fawcett	342
"	6	Hackney, ,,	•••	Mr. Holmes	422
"	6	Hackney, ,,	•••	"	484
"	6		•••	Sir A. Maitland	32
,,	6			Sir A. Mainain	1
"	6	Liberton, Mary Burton	···	"	1
, ,,	6	Dalkeith, Executive Council	01		
		the Society for Wome			
		Suffrage; A. Mitche	en,		1
	0	convener		"	15
"		Granton, Inhabitants of	•••	Lord Henry Scott	48
"	1	Gosport, ,,		Mr. Talbot	70
,,		Tstafford, ",	•••	Mr. Jacob Bright	1,452
"		Manchester, ,,	•••	Sir D. Corrigan	1,016
,,	6	Dublin, ,,	•••	Mr. Gladstone	944
"		Greenwich, ,, Margaret Hunter and anothe	70	Mr McLaren	2
"	8	¶Bethnal Green, Inhabitants	of	Mr Reed	1,062
,,		Torrowing	<i>J</i> 1 •	Mr. M'Combie	55
,,	10	Inverurie, ,, Dumbarton, ,,		Mr. P. Bouverie	558
"	13	Lymm		Colonel Legh	23
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"	10	Local Board, R. Llo	ovd.		
		chairman	,,,	Mr. Hanb -Tracy	2
	21	Hereford, Inhabitants of		Mr Hoskyns	46
"		Leicester, ,,		Mr. Taylor	500
June	3	SCockermouth, Meeting at;	W.		
ounc	o	Irwin, chairman		Mr. Fletcher	1
	3	Ripple, Tewkesbury, and Upt	on-		
"		on-Severn, Inhab. of		Mr. Knight	46
	11	Blindcrake, Meeting at; Jan	mes		
"		Cooper, chairman		Mr. Wyndham	1
June	2	Alexander Walker and oth	ers,	101668	
		Alexander Walker, ch	air-		
		man		Colonel Wilson	
				Patten	1
July		2 Coatbridge, Inhabitants of	; J.	a. m. a.	
,		Inglis, chairman	•••	Sir Thomas Cole-	
				brooke	1
"	2	7 & Congleton, Inhabitants of,	ir	1	
		public meeting	as		
		sembled; Joseph Wy	yatt	, DC T 1	1
		chairman		. Mr. Legh	1

July 30 Birkenhead, Inhabitants of,
in meeting assembled:
Alex. Phillips, chair-
Aug. 10 Silloth, Inhabitants of, in public 1
meeting assembled; Jos.
Osborn, chairman Mr. Wyndham 1
Total number of Petitions 848—Signatures 355,806
The following summary of petitions for Women's Suffrage
presented to the House of Commons during the session of 1872,
as taken from the supplement to the thirty-second Parliament
ary report .—
No. of Petitions Total signed Officially No. of Signatures.
Women's Disabilities Removal Bill—
Against 3 3 3
Against 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 355,806



MANCHESTER NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

RULES.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

MANCHESTER NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

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

I. By collecting signatures to the petition, forms of which may be obtained from the secretary.

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

III. By writing letters, asking the local Members to support the Bill to remove the electoral disabilities of women.

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

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

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

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

VIII. By endeavouring to increase the number of members.

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

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

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

A. Ireland and Co., Printers, Manchester.

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING IN EDINBURGH

IN

QUEEN STREET HALL,

ON 27TH JANUARY 1873.

UNDER THE AUSPICES OF

THE EDINBURGH BRANCH OF THE NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

EDINBURGH: PRINTED BY JOHN GREIG & SON.

MDCCCLXXIII.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

MRS M'LAREN, Newington House, PRESIDENT.

MISS BURTON, Liberton Bank.

MISS CALDWELL, 2 Victoria Terrace, Portobello.

MISS CRAIG, 6 Carlton Street.

MISS A. CRAIG, 6 Carlton Street.

MISS CRUDELIUS, 14 Inverleith Terrace.

MRS FERGUSON HOME of Bassendean.

MISS M. HUNTER, 5 Great Stuart Street.

MISS E. KIRKLAND, 13 Raeburn Place.

MRS LOW, 30 Minto Street.

MRS M'QUEEN of Braxfield.

MRS NICHOL, Huntly Lodge.

MISS E. STEVENSON, 13 Randolph Crescent.

MRS WELLSTOOD, 14 Duncan Street.

MRS WIGHAM, 5 Gray Street.

MISS HUNTER, 5 Great Stuart Street, TREASURER.

MISS WIGHAM, 5 South Gray Street,
MISS AGNES M'LAREN, Newington House,
MISS TAYLOUR,

SECRETARIES.

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



FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING

IN FAVOUR OF

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE,

HELD IN

QUEEN STREET HALL, EDINBURGH,

JANUARY 27. 1873.

A Public Meeting, in favour of Women's Suffrage, was held in Queen Street Hall, on Monday, 27th January. The hall was crowded, the number of ladies present being especially large. On the platform there were—Mr M'Laren, M.P.; Professors Hodgson, Calderwood, and Masson; Councillors Macdougald and Millar; Messrs W. A. Brown, advocate, Ord (Muirhouselaw), Hugh Rose, Wm. M'Crie, J. Crawford, S.S.C., D. Pryde, M.A., and John Burn Murdoch; Mrs Ernestine L. Rose (New York), Miss Robertson (of Dublin), Mrs M'Laren, Miss Wigham, Miss Stevenson, Mrs Ord, Mrs Nichol (Huntly Lodge), Mrs E. Parker (Dundee), Mrs Masson, Miss Taylour, Miss Burton, Miss Agnes M'Laren, &c. The Lord Provost stated that letters of apology had been received from Mr Miller, M.P., Mr Macfie, M.P., Lady Amberley, Rev. Dr Pulsford, Bailie Cousin, &c.

On the motion of Mr M'LAREN, M.P., the Lord Provost was called to the chair.

The Lord Provost, on taking the chair, said he was very happy to preside on such an occasion. It was a meeting where really one might say "Ladies and gentlemen," and perhaps it was a little more interesting than the common run of meetings on that account. In addition to that, they were met to deal with a subject which he thought was of paramount importance. It was one of the great questions of the age, and it was one which he thought when solved, as it would be and must be before long, would exercise a very great influence upon society. It had always appeared to him—and he might say so as chairman maintaining a neutrality without giving offence—that, considering that the principle of the British constitution was that no one should be taxed who was not represented, and

who had not a share in the representation, it was the grossest injustice that women who were not as the law classes them, femmes couvertes—that was, who had not husbands, or who were not represented by husbands—should not have a right to vote for members of Parliament, and in other matters in which they pay taxes. (Applause.) He was satisfied that the solution would be speedy, seeing the great number of members of Parliament who are now in favour of a change of the law, that when the change did come it would have the most beneficial effect upon public business. (Applause.) He did not speak entirely of choosing members of Parliament. There were many other matters—the municipal institutions, the management of the poor—that especially—(hear, hear)—where it would be a blessing if women had a right to vote and to be represented. (Applause.) He was proud to occupy the chair at a meeting of that kind, where he had an opportunity of testifying his own sense of what was due to women in the matter, and of expressing the hope that a change in the law would not be long in being effected. (Applause.) He would now ask Miss Wigham to read the Report. (Applause.)

Miss Wigham then read the Annual Report of the Edinburgh

Branch of the Society:-

"The conclusion of our sixth year of work in this cause claims from us a brief summary of proceedings since our last Annual Report was presented to our friends.

"We have occasion to look back upon the intervening period with much satisfaction, as it has been marked by great activity and corresponding progress. The cause of Women's Suffrage is making rapid strides in the estimation of intelligent persons of all classes. In illustration of this, we may mention that ninety-five public meetings have been held in Scotland during the year, which have mostly been presided over by the chief magistrate or other influential person in the town or district in which they have been held. The attendance has generally been crowded, and on every occasion but one, resolutions have been passed in favour of petitioning Parliament in support of Mr Jacob Bright's Bill. Besides the petitions thus sent from public meetings, signed b the chairman, and 14 from Town Councils, 172 other petitions were from Scotland, signed in all by 44,749 persons, praying for the remova of the Electoral Disabilities of Women; whilst the total number petitions sent to the House of Commons from the United Kingdor was 829, signed by 350,093 persons, almost double the number of las year. (Applause.)

"Consequent upon the public meetings which have been held, 35 additional committees have been formed, making in all 60 allied committees in Scotland, composed of gentlemen and ladies of good position in the various towns where the importance of the question has been recognised. (Applause.) We have thus reason to appreciate the active services of the ladies who have given their time and talents to advance this cause throughout the country. Our eloquent friend, Miss Taylour, has ad-

dressed most of the meetings; and when we mention that she has addressed within the last three years 123 meetings, and has now been prevailed upon to become Secretary of our Edinburgh Branch of the Association, our friends will agree with us that we owe her much for her willing and powerful service.

"Our agitation has been conducted without a single paid agent, and remembering the work that has been done, it will not be denied, even by those who consider them incompetent to exercise the Franchise, that some executive talent has been accorded to women.

"Mr Jacob Bright moved the second reading of his Bill for the removal of the Electoral Disabilities of Women on the 1st of May 1872, in a most able speech. He was supported by Mr Eastwick, Sir Charles Adderley, Mr Heron, the Attorney-General, and the late lamented Member for Cork. We would again record our sincere thanks to Mr Jacob Bright and his supporters for their able advocacy of the principle of this Bill, and for the promise of future help.

"On the last division 163 members of all political opinions voted in favour of, and 242 against, the motion. It was therefore lost on that occasion by a majority of 79; but notwithstanding this result, it is evident that there is an increase of support in the House, for in 1870 119 voted for it; in 1871, 159; and in 1872, 163. These numbers include the tellers and pairs. Although the hostile minority was increased by 10, we shall hope that on the next division the weight of members, as well as of intellect and good sense, will be on our side. The Scotch members were again as two to one on the side of Women's Suffrage, 25 having voted for the Bill, 14 against, whilst 25 were absent. While expressing our obligations to the 25 Scotch members who voted for us, we would especially thank our own City and University members, who have never been absent from a division, and who have consistently aided the cause of Women's Suffrage by vote and voice on every occasion of its being brought forward.

"Two very important measures directly connected with according the Franchise to women in Scotland, have passed the House of Commons during the last Session. First, the Ballot Bill, which provides a quiet and dignified mode of voting suitable for women, calculated to protect them from the excitement formerly attendant on elections, which has hitherto been put forward by opponents as their strongest objection against women being allowed to exercise their right to the Franchise. The other measure referred to is the Scotch Education Bill, which not only provides for the voting of women, but also permits the election of women to the School Boards, thus recognising their right to direct representation and action on a matter so important as National Education.

"The trial of voting by Ballot in the municipal elections has proved entirely satisfactory; and to shew how women do appreciate the Franchise (when protected by the Ballot), we may state that in Manchester,

at the first municipal election in which they had the power of voting, the number of women on the electoral roll who exercised their right was proportionately smaller than that of the men; whilst under the Ballot the positions were reversed, and the proportion was in favour of the women. But this need not alarm our timid friends (?), seeing that the proportion of male to female voters is as seven to one.

"During the past year we have had sorrowfully to record the loss of several of our warmest supporters, among these we may mention the names of John Francis Maguire, M.P. for Cork; Col. Skyes, M.P. for Aberdeen; and Matthew Hill, Esq., late Recorder of Birmingham, for

whose faithful services we feel a grateful appreciation.

"In looking forward to another year, we would claim the support of all who love impartial justice, and who appreciate the representative character of our national Legislature.

"The late elections have given us two new supporters in Scotland, and we have reason to believe that we shall have more friendly votes recorded when the next division takes place; and we may hope it will not be long before the right of the Franchise will be given to women, and that they will feel bound to exercise it intelligently, conscientiously, and religiously, not only for the benefit of their own sex, but for that of the whole of the body politic of our beloved country."

Mr Brown, advocate, moved the approval of the report. He said it appeared from it, on the one hand, that every legitimate means, attended by the most untiring energy, had been put forward to promote the great end of the society; and, on the other hand, that the response of the people of Scotland had not been in the least degree doubtful, but, on the contrary, had been cordial, weighty, sympathetic, and in the last degree encouraging. Whether or not the time had yet come for the complete and final triumph of this movement, one thing at least was quite certain, and that was a great end established—that it had taken its place, and that no mean one, among the great and foremost questions of the day—that it could no longer be pushed aside as the offspring of mere visionary enthusiasm —that it ranked on its side a portion at least of the best intellect of the country, and that the admission was now made universally that very grave arguments indeed were necessary to cope with its invincible pretensions. The report spoke for itself, because it contained a statement of facts that needed no commentary. One of the aids the movement stood imperatively in need of was, that men who interested themselves in public questions should not hesitate t make a frank, candid, and open avowal of their feelings, but should resolve to make every sacrifice of personal convenience, and even of things that were more important, as a pledge of the honesty of their convictions; and, in a special manner, should resolve to run the risk of the unpleasantness and unpopularity of being for a time at least in the minority, and of being denounced, it might be by ridicule, by a great number of people who thought themselves wise, but were

only wise in their own conceit. (Hisses and applause.) Turning to the merits of the question, he said the basis of political representation in this country was property. No distinction was drawn by the State between the property of men and the property of women; on the contrary, the property of men and the property of women played the same common part in promoting government and the prosperity of the country; and, accordingly, to confer political representation on men and withhold it from women was just, in other words, to impose a disability on one section of the people without reason, without any necessity for it, and with the result of operating an act of signal injustice. (Applause.) Strictly speaking, according to accurate conceptions of thought and language, no member of the State was entitled to political privileges or political power. These were distributed by the State amongst its members according as it judged proper and considered to be most conducive to the common good. If the State could shew now that it was not expedient that this privilege should be extended to women—that it could not be extended to women without operating injuriously to the State—he frankly admitted the obligation of the State had been sufficiently discharged. How was it proposed to shew this? It was said that if we admitted women to the political franchise there would be a great social revolution. If by this was meant that when women were admitted to this right there would ensue an internecine war between the sexes—(laughter)—if it was meant that women were immediately to proceed to revenge the injuries which for centuries they had suffered at the hands of men, then he admitted that would be very like a social revolution indeed. (Laughter.) But this assumption was altogether unwarranted, and, moreover, was an assumption which at every turn was contradicted by facts. In regard to that class of women who were in favour of this movement, it was a libel upon them to say that they had done anything in connection with the vindication of their rights, from which a conclusion so sinister could be inferred. No doubt they had been pertinacious, but pertinacity was evidence of a good cause. As editors of newspapers and magazines, as directers of public institutions of every conceivable sort, women had been selected to fill the most responsible offices, and the testimony was everywhere explicit to the effect that the work had been conscientiously and thoroughly done. (Applause.) No doubt, a certain amount of this must be put down to the credit of new-born zeal, but a considerable balance was left, which enabled him to repel the accusation that they were actuated by any but the most worthy motives in their present crusade. As to that class of women who were hostile or indifferent to the movement, all he could say was that he left them in the hands of the men who were so fond of playing them off as their trump cards in this movement. (Laughter.) If it were true that they were not anxious for political power, and were willing that it should continue in the hands of men, they were in no danger of promoting that social revolution of which such a horror was professed. Another revolution might certainly ensue—a revolution in favour of knowledge,

and of reason, and of everything that gives dignity to human character and to human destiny, and for the purpose and end of such a revolution the sooner they were in the strife the better. Another argument used against granting the suffrage to women was that its extension to them would bring into bodily shape and presence a phantom which had been for some years back floating to and fro in the political atmosphere, but of which, so far as he could see, nobody had been able to give a proper account—the Conservative reaction. But he found on inquiry that men arrived at this conclusion by assuming—to which he did not object—that Liberalism is a reasonable thing, but by further assuming—against which he certainly protested—that women would vote with the Tories just because Liberalism was a reasonable thing, and they were incapable of any exercise of the franchise that was not absurd. (Laughter.) Those who maintained this view placed themselves in the position of either begging the whole question, or in the worse of reasoning in a circle. In his concluding remarks Mr Brown urged upon the members of the society the necessity for increased exertion. The vote of the House of Commons last year might have carried a feeling of momentary disappointment, but it had not a hostile significance in the remotest degree. The tide was not receding because each successive wave did not reach the same margin of the shore. They were resisted not by men who had studied this question, but by men and women who calmly told them that to think seriously upon the question was the acme of absurdity. He believed there was a certain amount of honest, sincere, intelligent, and high principled opposition to the cause; but he believed that was the exception and not the rule; and from that consideration they were to gather hope, and not discouragement, because the remainder of the opposition, notwithstanding its high intellectual ability and its social and political position, consisted of men opposed to the cause merely because they believed women would become less attractive to them, less fit companions for the hours of idleness, which was all the attention they thought fit to bestow upon them—(laughter)—men who were desirous to perpetuate the social and political bondage of women, because that was the only condition and these the only circumstances in which their own imperial tastes and habits could be gratified without disturbing-men not devoid of moral feeling, not devoid of moral culture, but whose practical ethics had not been placed higher than the fancy of the poet—"The dream of freedom is a slave's embrace." Against such an opposition their cause must triumph at no distant date. No exertion should be spared on the part of the ladies in the way of self-improvement, so that when their kingdom opened up to them they might be able to occupy it with dignity and self-respect, and so at once to make evident the justice of the triumph of their cause. He recommended them, when the school boards came to be elected, to profit by the example shewn by ladies in England who had offered themselves as candidates for the membership of these boards, and who had proved their fitness to sit upon them. He greatly deceived himself if it should prove that prejudice

was stronger here than on the other side of the Tweed. A great field was to be occupied in the question of education; and if the women of Scotland could intervene to allay the ecclesiastical and denominational contentions that had so long disfigured and still embittered their social history, and by the divine rule of love and charity, to guide the people to true issues of life and happiness, they would make a noble return for the calumnies and the injustice under which they had so long suffered.

Mr John Burn Murdoch seconded the motion, which was carried.

Professor Hodgson, who rose to move the second resolution, said that one thing that encouraged him was the reflection that the hiss they had heard, as it was no doubt masculine in gender was also singular in number. (Laughter.) His resolution was as follows:— "That all women who are owners or occupiers of lands or houses in their own right should be entitled to vote for members of Parliament, in the same circumstances as men who are owners or occupiers of lands or houses of the same description or value." This resolution explained and vindicated itself, he said. It did not claim any womanhood suffrage, because there was no manhood suffrage. We had at the present time simply household suffrage, and all this resolution contended for was that the women who fulfilled the conditions that were imposed upon men in order to qualify them for the franchise should not be rejected on account of their sex. It did not claim any qualification on account of their sex—it did not insist that sex should be a qualification—but it insisted that it should not be a disqualification. Take the example of the Queen. She was not on the Throne because she was a woman, but she was on it though she was a woman. If on every ground common to men a woman had a claim to vote, she should be permitted to vote. He did not think this was by any means an unreasonable view to take. Some people in opposing the granting of the suffrage to women thought that it was intended that daughters should vote in their fathers' houses, and wives in their husbands' houses, and that thus what Mr Brown had called an internecine war would arise. No such thing was intended. All that was intended was that those women, exceptional no doubt, but still numerous, who were the occupiers of lands and houses, should be entitled to vote on that ground. This was a reasonable and just proposition. The arguments that were most commonly urged against the granting of what they asked seemed to be matters rather of feeling than intellect—not to be despised on that account, because we were not merely intellectual beings, but actuated by feeling as well as intellect. The first argument against it was that it was a new thing—an innovation on that which had previously existed. On this point he thought some argument could be raised. This was an innovation, but, fortunately, it was ceasing to be looked at in that light, seeing that there had been so many examples of women being raised to offices of trust and responsibility. The fact that a thing was an innovation and something new was no argument against its adoption whatsoever. All the things that were now old

were once new; and the question was not whether a thing was new, but whether it was true, whether it was just and kind that the thing should be done. If it was right that it should be done, novelty was an argument in its favour, as it shewed that we were doing something better and something more than we had hitherto done. (Applause.) But the more common ground of objection was that which had been alluded to that night—that women were not intellectually qualified to use the franchise. This was obviously an assumption by those who had least right to make it-by men, by those who prided themselves upon gallantry and being exceedingly respectful to the female sex, but who were very apt to shew that their respect was somewhat spurious by speaking of women, and especially behind their backs, as beings of an inferior order of creation altogether. There were many persons whose politeness consisted in first robbing woman of the ground on which she stood, and then politely handing her a chair. As regarded the particular point of women's fitness for the exercise of the franchise, he maintained that so long as no knowledge qualification, no educational qualification, was required for men exercising the franchise, it was an insult to the whole female sex to maintain that they by virtue of their sex should be disqualified, and on that ground alone. It was monstrous that that which was not applied to one human being of one sex, should be applied to every one of the other sex—the whole sex being disqualified upon a ground the application of which to the other sex was not even dreamt of. (Applause.) There was another answer to this objection, and it was that those ladies who would be likely to vote on the ground that this resolution maintained, were precisely most likely to be the elite of their own sex in intelligence, in that amount of qualification which was required in practical affairs, in the choice of legislators, and in the management of the business of life—those ladies who had property of their own, and were the heads of households-competent to manage their own affairs, and to regulate their own households. Were they to be told that those persons, exceptional in their own sex, were below the average of the other sex? This was absurd. They were told as a further objection that women had not asked for this privilege or this right. But the fact that many thousands of women had petitioned for it affords a very sufficient answer to the objection that ladies did not wish to have this right. That some did not wish for it he was quite prepared to believe; and considering the kind of education that women had up to this time had, the keeping of them in leading strings, the estranging of their minds from the public affairs as beyond their province, it was not to be considered wonderful that the great majority of women were not instructed in this question which so deeply affected them. But it was not desired or intended to make all women vote whether they would or not. From this objection one would think that there was an intention to force them into the polling booth. The vote would only be confined to those who wished to exercise the right, and it was absurd to maintain that because some did not wish to exercise the right, and did not think it a matter of importance, that they should stand in the way of those who did. (Applause.)

Miss Robertson of Dublin seconded the motion. She said: I took a long journey to be present at this meeting to-night, partly because I wished to testify in a practical manner my appreciation of the honour done me in inviting me to be here, and partly because I felt that I would like to tell the people of Edinburgh in their own city how much I know that the cause of the enfranchisement of women owes to the talent, the energy, and the perseverance of the ladies who form the Edinburgh Committee for Women's Suffrage. In all parts of the United Kingdom the advance of the movement for obtaining the franchise for women ratepayers has been very remarkable; but I think the progress of the question has been more marked in Scotland than elsewhere, as at first a comparatively small number of Scotch members of parliament were favourable to granting women this suffrage, while now a very large proportion of them support the measure. This encouraging state of things no doubt is owing in a great measure to the judicious manner in which the agitation for procuring the suffrage for women has been carried on, and to the spread of information on the subject throughout the country. In general those who are working in this cause find that want of knowledge of the question, and of the aims of those who advocate it, form the chief reasons of opposition. I have been requested to second the resolution so ably moved by Professor Hodgson, and the words of which you no doubt remember. I think those words suggest a great deal of reflection. The fact that women are permitted to hold property, and to be owners of houses and lands, proves that they are considered capable of filling a very responsible position, and of enjoying very important rights. The fact that women have been allowed to hold property has existed, I may remark, from the earliest period of which we have any record, and, consequently, the power of ownership which is allowed to women in this country is a privilege which has been handed down from the rudest and most ancient times. We are therefore all thoroughly accustomed to women enjoying the rights of property. In the present condition of society in this country, we are indeed familiar that in the case of men, ownership of houses and lands confers a claim to the parliamentary franchise. But although many members of parliament consider that such ownership should equally confer the franchise upon women, and though upwards of three hundred thousand persons petitioned the House of Commons last session to grant the suffrage to such women, still this conviction is of so comparatively recent date, that no one could expect every one universally to adopt it at once as a matter of course without hesitation or without any inquiry. But the simple point to be considered in this question is this: If the interests of men require to be represented, would not representation for women be necessary? No one, I suppose, imagines that women have got no interests to be taken care of, nor could it on the other hand be declared that they would not know

how to use the privilege of getting their interests represented. For when, by the accident of birth or other circumstances, women have been afforded the opportunity of ruling over kingdoms, they have proved themselves fully equal even to that great responsibility, their subjects were quite as prosperous, and their countries quite as well attended to as when under the sway of male sovereigns. All readers of history are well aware of this fact, and even newspaper readers may remember that about three weeks ago, in an account given of China, there was mention made of the wise administration of the Empress Dowager of China who, as regent, governed that vast empire for the last eleven years. I will quote the words of the Times correpondent on this subject: "The Chinese government is stronger, the treasury is richer, and the facilities for improvement are greater than when the Empress Dowager set the machinery by which the government goes on; and the object steadily held in view, - the attainment of good order and rule for the millions who inhabit China,—is daily nearer to becoming an established fact." We have all heard that the treatment of women in China is very degrading, and have boasted of the superior manner in which women are regarded in this country; but if, as we see was the case, a Chinese woman was invested with the office of regent, and filled that important office of trust and responsibilty in the exemplary way that has been stated, can any Scotchman or any Englishman boast much of his superior civilization to the Chinese, if they would deny to all their fellowcountrywomen the infinitesimal part in the government which a vote would give? But the objection in some minds to women voting is not that they think women are of insufficient capacity, but that they consider there is something masculine about voting, and that if women obtained the suffrage their feminine qualities would desert them, and they would become like men. This mistaken fear arises from the fact that men have monopolized the parliamentary vote for so long a period, that many persons consider that the exercise of the franchise requires peculiarly masculine qualities, inasmuch that some have gone so far as to say that women could not claim the right of the suffrage, because they are not prepared to take up arms in defence of their country. Now nothing could more plainly point out how little thought, how little pains, have been taken by many of our opponents to study this question, when they could for a moment put forth such an insane objection. Let any person ask a British soldier on active service, with his breast covered with medals, if he can exercise the franchise? If he has ever done? Do the people here think that the soldiers they see quartered in Edinburgh have a vote for the city or any other place? If they do think so they are very much mistaken. The qualification for the suffrage is not the capability of fighting battles—it is given on completely other grounds. Our soldiers are not in the class of householders and ratepayers; they occupy quarters provided for them by Government; they do not fulfil the conditions of property and residence which confer the franchise in this country. Since, therefore, the very men whose profession it is to guard us from foreign attack have not got the suffrage

themselves, such a fact proves clearly how misinformed those persons are who say that women are debarred from the privilege of representation because they do not defend the nation. There are other persons who do not assist this movement from being under the impression that women are excluded from the suffrage in order to save them trouble and to preserve their dignity; but an examination into the laws of the country will soon convince any thinking person, that so far from being treated with exceptional indulgence or tenderness, women are legally treated with great harshness and severity as regards their property and the custody and guardianship of their children. Our laws relating to women generally date from very ancient times. What we consider in these days to be advanced civilization and enlightenment have, as yet, very little to do with the legal position of women. The same spirit of tyranny that characterised many of the laws respecting masses of men in the past, no doubt influenced the laws respecting women; but men having got the benefit of the franchise, have been emancipated from a thraldom that they would consider now intolerable; while women being still unrepresented, continue to suffer from the severe laws made in dark ages. We are accustomed to hear from our opponents in this cause a good deal about the wisdom of our ancestors respecting the position of women, but no one would venture to talk of the wisdom of our ancestors respecting the position of men, and that it would be well to return to the practice of keeping masses of men in serfdom, subject to the despotic will of their lords. We must acknowledge that our ancestors' general idea of government was tyranny; their idea of religious zeal, intolerance and persecution; their rewards for scientific research. punishment and torture. If rulers in dark and superstitious times made harsh laws for women, they also made harsh laws for men; but the blessing of parliamentary representation has benefited men, while women are still denied that blessing and protection. The more the franchise is extended to men the worse it will be for women. Even now, women are rapidly becoming the only excluded class—if I might call half the population of the country "a class." Men of every description—educated and uneducated—even if just only a little removed from idiocy—are now receiving the benefit of representation, while women of the highest attainments, and women earning their bread honestly and independently, are still deemed incapable of exercising that privilege. Exclusion from the advantages of political representation has always been deemed a mark of degradation never a symbol of dignity. If any town disgraces itself by corrupt practices at elections, it is disfranchised as a punishment, and I have just come from a country where the greater part of the male population during the last century were excluded from parliamentary representation owing to their religion. This was not done certainly to increase the happiness of Irish Catholics, or to add to their dignity, but from a very different motive. I shall not here pause to inquire into the merits of the case; it would be foreign to our purpose to do so. It is sufficient to say, that Irishmen for years laboured under disabilities very similar to those under which women all over the

United Kingdom suffer from. They could not vote for members of parliament; they could only be permitted to fill subordinate offices in the State; and even difficulties were devised and created about their guardianship of children—their ability to execute deeds and to purchase lands. Happily all this has now passed away, and I only allude to it as an illustration, to shew how political disabilities were never imposed on any people as a mark of respect or indulgence.

One of the worst results that arise from the exclusion of women from the franchise is, that men who are inclined to be just and kind to women, are, nevertheless, taught by this exclusion, that women must be mentally inferior to men, or wherefore permit them to labour under such disabilities? They cannot believe that this exclusion arises from injustice, because they are so just themselves, and they have been taught to consider our laws and customs as based upon right principles. There are numbers of these men; they are not, of course, deep thinkers—for deep thinkers are rare among either men or women—but they are estimable men, whose opinion is of much consequence to those around them, and who imagine that, however sensible their female relatives and friends may undoubtedly seem, yet still there must be some great general inferiority among women to account for the subordinate position they hold. Those who read and think deeply understand how it was only by great and mighty efforts that men in this country arose from serfdom to a glorious liberty that adds lustre to the name of Great Britain, and makes every man under British rule feel that he inherits a freedom that must ennoble his nature. I may observe that I do not advocate the enfranchisement of women from any utopian idea that the world will suddenly become perfect when women are enfranchised. I believe the country will be improved so far that one great blot upon it now will be removed; but it is precisely because I think women are so like men in their thoughts and aspirations, that I ask this measure of justice for them. If I thought they were either too exalted or too debased to experience humiliation under insult and misery under oppression, I would not endeavour to advance this cause—nor devote all my time to it as I do. I believe that women in every circumstance of life should be represented as women. That in what is called their womanly sphere—in their home-life, as wives and mothers, they especially need representation—as much as in their spheres of industry and worth as bread-winners for themselves and others. The idea that women are all provided for by men must vanish before stern facts. Every one here knows women working or trying to work for their own livelihood, struggling in a hard world under every possible disadvantage—receiving no indulgence anywhere—obliged to pay to the uttermost like every one else for what they buy, yet poorly paid for their work, as all women's work is paid. Realities tell more than fanciful theories, and unfortunately realities let us know that women stand much in need of the power, the privilege, and protection of Parliamentary representation. For this reason I advocate so warmly the enfranchisement of women,—and for this reason at the present time I have great pleasure in seconding the resolution just proposed.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Mrs E. Rose then moved the third resolution, as follows: -- "That this meeting desires to thank the twenty-five Scotch members who have voted for Mr Jacob Bright's bill, and especially the members for our own city and university, who have consistently promoted the cause by vote and speech on every occasion; and further resolves to petition both houses of Parliament and to memorialise the Prime Minister and Home Secretary in favour of the Bill to remove the Electoral Disabilities of Women." In supporting the resolution, she said, that in a country which recognised the principle that taxation without representation was tyranny, it certainly did not require a great many arguments to prove the title of women to the franchise; and yet, strange to say, woman is taxed and not represented. There were no arguments that could be brought against this just claim. Two years ago, some opposition was heard in the House of Commons against Mr Jacob Bright's bill, and last year again opposition was made to the same bill. But what were the arguments adduced against it? They were so puerile, so childish, so trifling, that it was really a waste of time to consider them. (Laughter.) One argument against the bill was that woman was not logical. (Laughter.) Now, really she was not standing there to prove that she is logical; she only meant to say that that was an exceedingly illogical argument—(laughter)—for the franchise was not given for logic. (Continued laughter and applause.) Had it been based upon logic, she doubted whether that member of Parliament would ever have been in his place. (Laughter and applause.) Again, some other member adduced the argument against the bill-Mr Beresford Hope; alas! what was in a name! he was exceedingly hopeless-(laughter)-he was afraid if woman got the franchise she would bring sympathy and consolation into Parliament. He said sympathy and consolation were very good in a family, it was very necessary for a man at home; but if woman had the franchise she might bring these qualities into politics, and, bringing them into politics, would increase the expenditure of the country. (Laughter.) How that followed may be very logical, but she could not see it. But, as the franchise is not based upon logic, members of Parliament have a perfect right to be as illogical as they please. (Laughter.) The Attorney-General for Ireland a year ago gave what seemed to be the best reason why he was opposed to the bill, and it was, "Because a woman told him so." (Great laughter and applause.) These were specimens of about all the arguments that had been brought against the motion in Parliament—(laughter)—and if that was in Parliament, what could they expect out of it? (Continued laughter and applause.) One class of opponents to the bill said that woman was inferior to man; she was not going to argue whether she was or not, though she did not believe it. (Laughter and great applause.) But suppose she was inferior in some things, she might be superior in others, and the one balanced the other. (Applause.) Another class of opponents said woman was far superior to man, and that was the very reason why they did not wish to give her the franchise. (Applause and laughter.) She was so superior that they were afraid that her coming in contact

with men at elections would contaminate her. (Laughter.) A writer in a scientific monthly recently went so far as to say that, if woman really had the franchise, she would have to change the mode of her dress, because her clothes would be fairly torn off her back by the mobs at the polling places. She did not believe that either; but supposing it were true, and that men behaved so badly that it would be unsafe for women to go to the ballot boxes with them, what then? Was the misconduct of man a reason why woman should be deprived of her rights? No; on the contrary, she would say-"If it is true that he behaves so badly, that is an additional, and perhaps the greatest, reason why woman should have the franchise and be there, and there, as everywhere, to teach him how to behave." (Loud applause.) It was as self-evident as that two and two make four, that human beings under the same conditions ought to have the same general rights; and where were the conditions so different in this case? Humanity recognises no sex, justice recognises no sex, mind recognises no sex, morality recognises no sex-(hear, hear)-pleasure and pain, virtue and vice, life and death recognise no sex. Like man, woman comes involuntarily into existence; like him she is subject to all the vicissitudes of life; like him, when she violates the laws of her being, she has to pay the penalty; like him, when she breaks the laws of the land, she has to be punished. Then, in the name of common sense! in the name of justice! why should woman, under the same conditions as man, not have the suffrage the same as he has? She supports the Government; she pays rates and taxes; she has the right to representation. Woman ought to claim the suffrage on the ground simply of justice; but it went much further, far deeper than that. What elevated man will not degrade woman. (Applause.) Man has become elevated by the franchise. How so? By being recognised as a citizen of a great empire; while woman has never yet been recognised as a citizen except to pay taxes. (Laughter and some hisses.) If woman had the franchise it would elevate her in the public mind, and that reacting on her would elevate her in her own estimation. It would make her look upon herself with more respect, with more dignity. Perchance she might not be quite so willing to become the mere toy and plaything of flattering men as she had been—laughter and applause—but she would become instead a better companion for an intelligent man, a better citizen to society. She would take a higher aim and have a higher object in life. She would know that life consists not only in pleasing men, but in endeavouring to make the world better and happier for having lived in it. (Applause.) She would be better capable of fulfilling her duties as a mother who lays the foundation of the infant mind, as a woman who, by some mystic sympathy, rules youth, who councils manhood, and solaces old age. Talk about the superiority of man! (Laughter.) The stream cannot run higher than the source that feeds it. It was the mother who laid the foundation of the male infant mind. (Loud applause.) She urged them to go to the Legislature, to send in petitions to Parliament; and if they once obtained the franchise every one would agree that it was right, and would only wonder why it had not been given long ago. A final argument against the movement was, that woman was utterly unqualified for the franchise. How did they know that? It reminded her of the good old lady who would not allow her son to go into the water until he had first learned how to swim. Woman has never had a chance to prove what she could do. From childhood to the grave the law had placed woman in the power of man, it deprived her of her property and her earnings, deprived her—a mother—of her children; yet these laws were made by men as good as men were now. She did not accuse them of wilfully insulting their mothers, but here were the stern facts—in the law-books they found "he and his,"—"he and his," but they never found "she and hers," except when taxes are required. (Great laughter and applause.) Why did they want the suffrage? Because it was the key to unlock the statute-books, and as soon as woman obtained the suffrage, those barbarous laws would have to be changed; and better, more humane, more just laws would have to take their place. (Hear, hear, and applause.) It was a puerile and frivolous argument that woman would cease to be womanly. Did man cease to be manly when he got the franchise? Woman might become stronger in mind, more faithful to convictions; she might become more intellectual; she might take a greater and wider view of the duties and responsibilities of life; but would that unsex her? Would that change her nature? Would she be less a mother, less a sister, less a woman? No! Believe; trust in the right, do justly, and leave all the consequences to themselves. (Loud applause.)

Mr Crawford, S.S.C., seconded the resolution.

The resolution was then put to the meeting, and passed amid

applause and some hissing.

Mr Hugh Rose proposed a vote of thanks to the ladies who had delighted and instructed them by their eloquent addresses. (Loud applause.)

On the motion of Mr Millar, a vote of thanks was passed to the Lord Provost for presiding, after which the meeting separated.

TREASURER'S STATEMENT.

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REPORT

OF THE

Bristol & West of England Society

FOR

WOMEN'S SUFFRACE,

1873.

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

BRISTOL:

H. HILL, STEAM PRINTER, 2 BALDWIN STREET.

1874.



President:

THE VISCOUNTESS AMBERLEY

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Ilfracombe	-	Miss Lewin	Tavistock	-	Miss Rachel Evans
Leominster	-	Miss Southall	Tewkesbury	-	Rev Thomas Wilkinso
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Committee:

Harris, M.A.

Ir Joseph Bartlett	Mrs Grenfell
Irs Beddoe	Rev E. Harris, M.
Irs Black	Miss Malin
Irs Colman	J. F. Norris, Esq
W. Dunn, M.A.	Miss Mary Price
lan Greenwell, M.A.	Miss Priestman
G. Grenfell, B.A.	Miss M. Priestman

Miss Solly Miss Lillie Thomas Mrs Charles Thomas Mr Thornton Miss Eva Tribe Eliza Walker, M.D.

Non. Secretaries:

Rev Urijah R. Thomas Miss Lilias S. Ashworth

Treasurer:

Miss Estlin, 16 Belgrave Road, Clifton

Secretary-Miss ANNIE WESTLAND - Office-53 PARK STREET, BRISTOL

RISTOL & WEST OF ENGLAND SOCIETY

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

ANE .

We are able this year to record a great advance in the ork of this Society.

Owing to the large increase of public support, your ommittee was convinced that in order to effectually carry on work it would be necessary to open a Central Office in stol, and to appoint a permanent Secretary. An Office accordingly taken at 53 Park Street, and your Committee so fortunate as to secure the services of Miss Westland, o had previously given the Society much valuable assistance.

The last Annual Meeting of the Society took place on arch 13th, at the Victoria Rooms, and was presided over by Rev Prebendary Percival.

During the past year twenty-one public meetings have n held in the West of England in support of the Women's sabilities Bill: of this number three were held in Bristol and fton during the months of April and May; one at Westoner-Mare in May; seven were held in October at Merthyr, oucester, Stroud, Cirencester, Crickdale, Malmesbury and ippenham; seven were held in November at Monmouth, rlborough, Bridgwater, Plymouth, Tavistock, Barnstaple Tiverton; and three during January at Hereford, rcester and Leominster; at all these meetings, except rlborough and Worcester, resolutions were passed affirming principle of the Bill, and Memorials to the Members

requesting them to vote in favour of it, as well as Petitions to Parliament, were adopted almost without a dissentient. In every place the meetings were addressed by two or more ladies as a deputation from the National Society, and b influential local speakers.

It is gratifying to state that at almost every meeting ministers of religion have come forward to speak in support of this movement.

A conference of friends and subscribers was held Hamilton's Rooms, 53 Park Street, on November 3rd.

In addition to the above public meetings a series of lecture was given at the invitation of the Society by Miss Downing 0 London, at Lynton, Ilfracombe, Teignmouth, Dawlish Clevedon and Portishead.

During the last Session 909 Petitions were presented Parliament in support of the Women's Disabilities Bill, signs by 326,960 persons. The Petitions sent through you Committee were 64 in number, and were signed by 9,34 persons. Twenty-three of the Petitions presented were from Municipal Corporations under their corporate seal. Amon these were Bath and Plymouth.

Memorials were forwarded during last Session Mr Gladstone and Mr Disraeli, signed by women in all par of the kingdom. The Memorial to Mr Disraeli was presente by Mr Gore Langton, who received the following reply: "Dear Gore Langton,

"I was much honoured by receiving from your hands the Memorial signed by 11,000 women of England, among them s illustrious names, thanking me for my services in attempting abolish the anomaly that the Parliamentary franchise attached to household or property qualification, when possessed by a woma

hould not be exercised, though in all matters of local government, when similarly qualified, she exercises this right. As I believe this anomaly to be injurious to the best interests of the country, I trust o see it removed by the wisdom of Parliament.

> "Yours sincerely, "B. DISRAELI."

An influential deputation from the Society waited on Mr Kirkman Hodgson on December 18th. Mr Hodgson in teply said, "The question appeared to him a very wide one, including the position of married women with property as well s spinsters and widows. His belief was that only a small minority of women were desirous of having the franchise, but he said that if half the 1300 women burgesses of Bristol sent nim a petition to present to Parliament in support of Mr Jacob Bright's bill, he should feel bound to respect their views."

Mr Hodgson was in error as to the number of women burgesses in Bristol, the actual number being upwards of 2600, out far more signatures have already been obtained than were demanded by Mr Hodgson.

The Bath Branch of this Society has done some effective work during the past year, of which a report will shortly be ssued by that Committee. The large meeting held there during the early part of last year, was of the most influential character.

The Women's Disabilities Bill was read a first time in the House of Commons, on February 7th. On April 30th, Mr Jacob Bright moved the second reading; Mr Eastwick seconded the motion, which was supported by Mr Sergeant herlock, the Rt. Hon. Lord John Manners, Mr Fawcett, Mr Heron, the Rt. Hon. J. W. Henley, and Sir John

Trelawny. The speakers in opposition were Mr Bouverie, The Women's Disabilities Bill will be introduced on an Mr Scourfield, Mr Leatham, the Rt. Hon. H. A. Bruce, early day to the new Parliament. Mr Beresford Hope, Earl Percy, Mr Knatchbull Hugesson, Your Committee would here urge upon their members rejected by 222 votes to 155—majority 67. The vote was once this question before all Candidates for Parliament in the largest which has yet been given on the measure. While boroughs and counties. the number of opponents was the same as in the division in 1872, the votes for the Bill were 12 more than in the previous received in the Parliament now dissolved, leads your Committee

Commons who supported the Bill was 222.

this Association has sustained in the death of Mr Gore Langton, your Committee request their members to send Petitions member for West Somerset. On every occasion when the numerously signed from every constituency, praying Parliament Women's Disabilities Bill was before Parliament, Mr Gore to pass this Session the Women's Disabilities Bill. Langton voted for the measure, and he was ever ready to give his influence and generous aid to the advancement of this the agitation vigorously their funds must be largely increased. question.

of several earnest friends, Mr John Stuart Mill, Mrs Somerville, than doubled. Your Committee believe that no greater Mr Chisholm Anstey, and Archdeacon Sandford.

In December a letter was addressed to Mr Gladstone, opinion on this question. signed by the Secretaries of the various centres of the National Society in the United Kingdom and Ireland, requesting him to who, by their voluntary labours, have enabled your Committee receive a deputation. He replied, that though unable to accomplish an amount of work which they could not comply with that request, he would give his attention to any otherwise have undertaken. written communication they might forward to him on the subject. At a conference of the National Society, held at Birmingham, on the 22nd January, a memorial entering fully into the question was forwarded to Mr Gladstone. His reply has not yet been received by your Committee.

Mr Newdegate, and Mr Greene. On a division, the Bill was throughout the West of England, the importance of bringing at

The increased support which this measure has each year year. The hostile majority was therefore reduced from 79 to 67. to the belief that efforts wisely directed at this crisis will The total number of members in the late House of ensure the full recognition, by a new House of Commons, of he claim of women to representation.

Your Committee record with sincere regret the loss which In order to strengthen the hands of Members of Parliament,

Last year your Committee stated that in order to carry on t is with great satisfaction they can record that since the last The Society has also to lament the death during the year report was issued, the subscription list of the Society has more ridence can be brought forward of the strength of public

We would here desire to thank those ladies and gentlemen

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SUBSCRIPTIONS & DONATIONS

FOR THE YEAR 1873.

Treasurer in Account with the Bristol & West of England Society for Women's Suffrage for 1873. Cx.	Balance due to Treasurer Public Meetings in Bristol Ditto in Towns in West of England Agents — Travelling, Salaries, and other Expenses Petitions Publications Women's Suffrage Journal Printing Salaries and Rent of Office, 6 months Furniture and Office Expenses Balance in hand To 19 19 4 To 19 19 19 To 19 19 19 To 19 19	£512 14 0
Dr. Treasurer in Account with the Bristol & West o	Subscriptions and Donations £488 14 ° Tickets sold at Meetings 24 ° °	£512 14 0

WILBERFORCE TRIBE, Public Accountant, Bristol.

Audited and found correct,

January 27th, 1874

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FOURTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE

Birmingham Society for Momen's Suffrage.

PRESENTED AT THE

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, MARCH 17TH, 1873.

In reviewing the past year your committee are glad to remark many indications of increased public opinion in favour of the claim of women householders to the franchise. The success which attended the public meeting held in the Town Hall, under the presidency of George Dixon, Esq., M.P., December 6th, 1872, when Professor and Mrs. Fawcett spoke, gave the question a political position which it had not before obtained in Birmingham. The recognition given it in the resolution passed by the Liberal Association, when the Borough Members met their constituents, has also added strength to the cause. Six petitions in favour of Mr. Jacob Bright's Bill were presented from Birmingham last year. Your Committee have pleasure in acknowledging the consistent support given to the Bill for the removal of the Disabilities of Women by the Members for Birmingham, who have always voted in favour of it. The formation of a Central Committee of the National Society for Women's Suffrage in London has formed a connecting link between the different existing societies. In connection with this Central Organisation, meetings have been held at Stourbridge and Banbury, your Committee was represented at these towns, and your hon. secretary has also attended meetings at Taunton, Wellingborough, Huddersfield, Bristol and Bradford, in connection with the London, West of England, and Manchester Societies. During the Parliamentary Session of 1872, 842 petitions, signed by 355,800 persons, were presented to the House of Commons in favour of the Bill to

RULES.

Annual Subscribers of any amount will be enrolled as Members, and entitled to receive papers or tracts of the Society on application.

Annual Subscribers of 5/ or upwards shall be invited to become members of the Council. Subscriptions due in January.

The Council meets once a year.

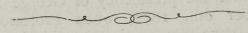
The Committee is empowered to add to its number by a unanimous vote. Five Members shall form a quorum.

Any one desiring to join the Society, will kindly sign his or her name.

Residence.....

remove the Disabilities of Women—the votes of members in its support were 163. If the second reading of Mr. Jacob Bright's Bill takes place as was fixed, on April 30th, your Committee believe it will obtain increased support in the House. Whilst devoting their energies to obtain a just recognition for women—your Committee are not unmindful that the vote in itself is useless, unless the sense of its being a trust to be exercised for the good of the community can be awakened in the minds of its possessors. They therefore strongly feel the importance of endeavouring to give women ratepayers an intelligent interest in the questions affected by their votes.

Your Committee have pleasure in acknowledging several new subscriptions during the past year. In order to enlarge their work they have taken an office at No. 4, Broad Street Corner, and have engaged a secretary—they must therefore continue to look to their friends for monetary ability to meet increased expenses.



COMMITTEE.

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Treasurer—Mrs. Ashford, Speedwell Road.

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NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

OFFICE:

9, BERNERS STREET OXFORD STREET, W.

SECOND ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

PRESENTED AT THE

Ceneval Meeting,

HELD AT

THE WESTMINSTER PALACE HOTEL,

JUNE 23RD, 1873.

LONDON

C. ANDERSON, PRINTER, 7, KING STREET, SNOW HILL, E.C.

1873

SECOND ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE

Pational Society for Women's Suffrage.

PRESENTED TO THE GENERAL MEETING ON MONDAY, JUNE 23RD, 1873.

In presenting their Second Annual Report, your Committee feel that there is much cause for congratulation among the friends of the movement, on account of the solid progress made during the past year, not only in public opinion, but in the House of Commons also. Although the Bill has not yet passed, there is no doubt, from the increased support it has met with everywhere, that a real and lasting advance has been made in the question.

On the first day of the Session, Mr. Jacob Bright, M.P., gave notice to re-introduce the "Women's Disabilities Removal Bill." On February 7th it passed its first reading, and on the 30th of April Mr. Bright rose to move the second reading. He was supported in the debate by Mr. Eastwick, Serjeant Sherlock, Right Hon. Lord John Manners, Mr. Fawcett, Mr. Heron, Right Hon. J.W. Henley, and Sir J. Trelawney. The opposition to the Bill was conducted by Mr. Bouverie and Mr. Scourfield, and included Right Hon. E. Knatchbull-Hugessen, Mr. Beresford Hope, Mr. Leatham, Right Hon. H. A. Bruce, Earl Percy, Mr. Goldney, and Mr. Greene. On the division of the House there appeared

For the	e Second I	Second Reading		,	15	
Against	"	"			22:	
Majorit	y against	the Bill			6'	

The Bill was therefore lost.

There is much in the analysis of the division list to afford encouragement to the friends of the political enfranchisement of women. The full strength of the opposition appears to be reached by 220 or

222 votes, a number which has been maintained for four successive years; but if tellers and pairs be counted, we shall find that the number of opponents is even diminishing. In 1872 they counted 222 votes, which, with tellers, and 18 pairs, made in all 242. This year there have been again 222 voters, making, with tellers, and 15 pairs, only 239 opponents, or three less than last year. Meanwhile the votes recorded in favour of the Bill have increased from 143 to 155, making, with tellers and pairs, 172—a larger number than had ever before been attained.

The minority of 155 who voted in favour of the Bill included 109 Liberals and 46 Conservatives. Last year 105 Liberals and 38 Conservatives voted. This is a fact of some importance, as showing that the influence of the movement is extending on both sides of the House of Commons. Among the leading Conservatives who voted for it were Mr. Disraeli, Sir C. Adderley, Mr. Gordon, Mr. Ward Hunt, Lord John Manners, Sir Stafford Northcote, and Mr. Henley. Of members connected with Mr. Gladstone's Government, Mr. Stansfeld and Mr. Hibbert supported the Bill. Among the Conservatives who voted against it were Mr. Gathorne Hardy and Mr. Newdegate, and amongst the Liberals, Mr. Bruce, Mr. Cardwell, Mr. Childers, Mr. Grant Duff, Mr. Glyn, Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen, Mr. Lowe, Sir Henry Storks, and Mr. Winterbotham.

Of the 172 Members who voted or paired this year in favour of the Bill, 27 were Scotch, of whom 23 had supported the Bill before, 2 were new Members, 1 had never voted, and 1 had previously opposed it. Twenty-two were Irish Members, of whom 19 had previously voted for it, 1 was a new Member, and 2 had voted against it. Of the remaining 123 Members belonging to England and Wales, 33 were County Members representing 29 constituencies—of these 6 were new votes; and 90 were Borough Members, representing 74 constituencies, of which 7 were new votes. Your Committee beg to call your attention to the favourable vote of Mr. Henley, the Senior Member for Oxfordshire, who had hitherto opposed the Bill, and whose opinions have deservedly great weight in the House.

During the past year the supporters of the Political Enfranchisement of Women have had to lament the death of many warm friends and adherents to the movement; amongst others of Colonel French, M.P., Mr. Corry, M.P., and the following Members of the Central Committee: Colonel Sykes, M.P., Mr. J. F. Maguire, M.P., Sir John Bowring, Mrs. Somerville, Archdeacon Sandford, and Mr. Cowell Stepney; and lastly, of Mr. John Stuart Mill, whose unwearied energy in behalf of this movement first raised it to the rank of a Parliamentary question. At a meeting on May 21st, a resolution was passed by your Committee, "That this Society deplores the death of Mr. John Stuart Mill, whose earnest and invaluable devotion to the cause of the Political Enfranchisement of Women led to the first introduction by himself to Parliament of the measure for effecting that object, and has contributed so largely to the very successful

progress of the agitation, and to the present satisfactory position of the question."

During the past Session, memorials in favour of the measure, signed by upwards of 11,500 women of England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland, were presented to Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Disraeli. The object in collecting names to these memorials was not to obtain a large number from any place, but to make the memorial as general as possible; and every English county, with the exception of Rutland, and most of the large towns, sent representative signatures.

The memorial to Mr. Gladstone was forwarded to him by Mr. Jacob Bright; and Mr. Gladstone, in acknowledging it, expressed his sense of the importance to be attached to it. The memorial to Mr. Disraeli was presented by Mr. W. H. Gore-Langton, M.P., and has been acknowledged by the following letter:—"Dear Gore-Langton—I was much honoured by receiving from your hands the memorial, signed by 9,000 women of England, among them some illustrious names, thanking me for my services in attempting to abolish the anomaly that the Parliamentary franchise attached to a household or property qualification, when possessed by a woman, should not be exercised; though in all matters of local government, when similarly qualified, she enjoys this right. As I believe this anomaly injurious to the best interests of the country, I trust to see it removed by the wisdom of Parliament.—Yours sincerely,

B. DISRAELI."

Your Committee desire to call your attention to two steps which have been taken in Parliament with reference to the political rights of women. A Bill is before the House for the extension of the household franchise qualification to counties, and otherwise to amend the laws relating to the representation of the people. Mr. Jacob Bright has placed on the notice paper of the House of Commons an amendment in Committee on this Bill in these words:—

"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 be registered as voters, and to vote in the election of members of Parliament, any law or usage to the contrary notwithstanding."

It is scarcely probable that the amendment will be discussed this Session, as the understanding seems to be that the County Franchise Bill will not be pressed further this year than the second reading; but the amendment shows that the Parliamentary supporters of the movement do not intend to allow the question of the extension of the franchise in any direction to be discussed apart from the claims of women to representative government.

A Bill has been introduced by Mr. Butt, M.P. for Limerick, with the object of assimilating the conditions of the municipal franchise in Ireland to those in England. But Mr. Butt's Bill limits the franchise to male ratepayers, and so far fails of its proposed object.

The number of public meetings held since last summer has been over 160; of these your Committee have the pleasure to announce that 34 have been held in England through their means, namely—at St. Helen's, Lincoln, Great Grimsby, Boston, Grantham, Stamford, Retford, Banbury, Peterborough, Daventry, Wellingborough, Northampton, Lynn, Norwich, Bury St. Edmunds, Harwich, Bedford, Luton, Leighton Buzzard (discussion), Enfield (discussion), Great Marlow, Wallingford, Windsor, Reading, Hastings, Folkestone, Dover, Deal, Sandwich, Maidstone, Canterbury; and, in London, at Islington and Chelsea, and in the Hanover Square Rooms on April 28th. This last was presided over by Mr. E. B. EASTWICK, M.P., and it was addressed by the Lady Anna Gore-Langton, Mr. R. N. Fowler, M.P., Mr. Heron, M.P., Miss Becker, Miss Rhoda Garrett, Mr. WM. JOHNSTON, M.P., Miss BEEDY, Miss STURGE, Mr. ASHURST, Mrs. ARTHUR ARNOLD, and Mrs. Buckton. Your Committee have also aided in promoting public meetings in the North of Ireland, viz., at Armagh, Belfast, Carrickfergus, Coleraine, Derry, and Dungannon.

Your Committee desire to express their hearty thanks to those ladies and gentlemen who have attended and spoken at public meetings and discussions in behalf of the movement. They consider that these are the best means of enlightening popular opinion upon the subject.

Your Committee have also to record the kindness of Lady Anna Gore-Laneton and of Miss C. Williams, in holding drawing-room meetings at their houses, on May 23rd and June 19th, at which to discuss the question. They would suggest to other friends that in some country towns, where public meetings seem unadvisable, drawing-room meetings might be held with advantage, and that many ladies would attend these who are unable or unwilling to go to public meetings.

Your Committee have pleasure in reporting that during the past year ten new local Committees have been established in England and Wales, and have placed themselves in connection with the Central Committee, namely: Bedford, Cardiff, Congleton, Croydon, Deal and Sandwich, Dover, Grimsby, Hastings, Luton, and Oxford; making a total of 76 Committees and Societies now working in connection with the Central Committee.

Your Committee have published and distributed, during the past year, the following pamphlets:—

- "Women's Suffrage," by Mrs. Arthur Arnold.
- "WHY WOMEN DESIRE THE FRANCHISE," by Miss Cobbe (reprint).

"Reasons For and Against the Enfranchisement of Women," by Mrs. Bodichon (reprint).

"THE WOMEN'S DISABILITIES REMOVAL BILL" (leaflet).

REPORT OF MEETING IN THE HANOVER SQUARE ROOMS, April 28th, 1873.

LADY ANNA GORE-LANGTON'S SPEECH, April 28th.

Mr. Mill's Speech in Parliament, May 20th, 1867 (reprint).

During the first three months of the Session, petitions in favour of the measure were circulated. 912 petitions (175 of which were under seal), containing 327,915 signatures, have been presented to the House of Commons. Of this number 157 petitions, with 101,935 signatures, were obtained through the efforts of the Central Committee, including 84,883 signatures from inhabitants of the Metropolitan Boroughs. Petitions have also been sent to the House of Lords, but of these no official report can be obtained.

In consequence of a resolution passed by the Executive Committee on October 16th, 1872, "that the work of the Society should be carried on by a permanent Secretary, in the place of the Honorary Secretaries," your Committee have secured the services of Miss Mary Dowling as Secretary. From the high testimonials received of this lady's character and ability, they have every reason to believe that the work of the Association will be carried on by her with increased activity. Miss Dowling will enter on her duties on the 1st of August.

Your Committee regret to state that they will lose the services of Miss E. A. Smith, who is leaving England on a visit to America. Her zeal and ability during the time she has acted as Secretary have done much to forward the progress of the movement.

Your Committee desire to take this opportunity of thanking the friends of the Society for their liberal aid to the funds during the past season. The total expenditure of the Central Committee has only slightly exceeded £800, with which comparatively small sum much valuable work has been accomplished. It is confidently hoped that the growing interest felt in the question throughout the country will insure a corresponding increase in the support which has hitherto been so generously afforded.

A fund for the purpose of meeting the expenses of the coming year is now being collected, and has already been liberally supported by many of the friends of the movement. It is of urgent importance that funds should be raised, not only by means of a few large contributions, but also by a wide increase in the circle of small subscribers, and an earnest appeal is made to those who sympathise in the question, to manifest their interest by personal co-operation in collecting subscriptions to the funds of the Society.

Your Committee take this opportunity to remind the Members of every Local Committee or Society in connection with the Central Committee, that they are at all times privileged to attend the Committee Meetings at the Central Office; and venture to express the hope that, when in London, they will do so, feeling sure that mutual confidence and co-operation are alone necessary to carry on the work successfully.

It is also earnestly hoped that the friends of the movement will aid the cause by establishing Local Committees, by causing the delivery of Lectures, or the holding of Public Meetings; by procuring the insertion of facts and arguments bearing on the question in the local Press, and by writing to Members of Parliament urging them to consider the

There is one other point to which your Committee would call particular attention. In view of an impending general election, many candidates for election are now holding meetings. They would most strongly urge on all supporters of this movement to aid it by causing questions on the subject of the disfranchisement of women to be put to each candidate in case of an election, asking him whether he will, if returned, vote for the "Bill to remove the Electoral Disabilities of Women."

National Society for Women's Suffrage: CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

Receipts and Payments from June 30, 1872, to June 20, 1873.

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Examined and found Correct,

H. J. TILDEN.

19th June, 1873.

Auditor.

SECOND ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

tional Society to Women's Suffrage.

Of the Central Committee, held at the Westminster Palace Hotel, on Monday, June 23rd, 1873, at 4 P.M.

Mr. E. B. Eastwick, M.P., in the Chair.

The Report of the Executive Committee and the statement of accounts were presented, and taken as read.

RESOLUTION I.—Moved by Mr. Arthur Arnold, seconded by Miss Becker:—
"That this meeting adopts the Report and financial statement, as audited, and directs that they be circulated, and pledges itself to continue the most strenuous efforts in furtherance of the movement."

RESOLUTION II.—Moved by Mrs. Buckton, seconded by Mrs. McLaren:—"That the Executive Committee for the ensuing year consist of the following persons,* and of delegates, the same being members of Local Committees, appointed by Local Associations to represent them."

RESOLUTION III.—Moved by Mr. A. J. Ellis, F.R.S., seconded by Miss Babb:—
"That this meeting desires to express its warm thanks to the Honorary Secretaries,
Miss C. A. Biggs, and Miss Agnes Garrett, and to the Secretary, Miss Emma Smith,
for the zeal and ability with which they have, throughout the past year, promoted
the cause of the Enfranchisement of Women."

RESOLUTION IV.—Moved by Mr. Frederic Hill, seconded by Mr. Hodgson Pratt:
—"That the thanks of the meeting are due to the Chairman for presiding, and to
the 172 Members of Parliament who voted or paired in the last division in favour
of the Women's Disabilities Removal Bill."

* For list of Executive Committee, see pages 14-16.

SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS.

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Addison, Mrs., Chathill	•••	hop. I		0	5	0
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- 5. The Executive Committee shall, at its first meeting, appoint the officers.
- 6. A Special General Meeting may be called by the Executive Committee at any time; or, at the written request of not less than twenty-five members of the Central Committee, the Secretary or Secretaries shall call a Special General Meeting, to discuss such matters only as are mentioned in the notice of such meeting.
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SIXTH ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

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OF THE

MANCHESTER NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

PRESENTED AT THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, DECEMBER 3rd, 1873.

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